

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

Number: 157 - 176

Date : 06 FEBRUARY 1981

NATO SECRET

IMMEDIATE

COPY
EXEMPLAIRE

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NADA/ASSESSMENT/FEB 001/JIC/061350Z

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC.

POLAND

1. THE LATEST CONFRONTATION BETWEEN SOLIDARNOSC AND THE REGIME ENDED IN COMPROMISE. SUBSEQUENT CRITICISM FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WAS COINED IN TERMS WHICH IMPLIED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PERFORMANCE OF THE KANIA REGIME. THE NATIONAL STRIKE PLANNED FOR 3 FEBRUARY WAS SUSPENDED BUT SOME ACRIMONIOUS DISPUTES IN THE PROVINCES REMAIN UNRESOLVED. A PARTY PLENUM IS SCHEDULED TO START ON 9 FEBRUARY.

2. THE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARNOSC ON 30-31 JANUARY MARKED A FURTHER RETREAT BY THE GOVERNMENT. ALTHOUGH THE UNION DID NOT GAIN ALL IT WANTED. THE GOVERNMENT ACCEPTED SOLIDARNOSC'S EARLIER PROPOSAL THAT, WHILE THE 5-DAY 40-HOUR WEEK SHOULD BE ENSHRINED IN LAW, THERE SHOULD NEVERTHELESS BE SOME SATURDAY WORKING ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS IN 1981, THE 42-HOUR WEEK AGREED BEING A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE PROPOSALS OF THE TWO SIDES. SOLIDARNOSC GAINED A GOOD DEAL ON ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA: CONFIRMATION OF EARLIER PERMISSION TO PUBLISH A WEEKLY NATIONAL PAPER, PLUS RADIO AND TV REPORTING OF STATEMENTS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNION'S NATIONAL LEADERSHIP, LOCAL COVERAGE OF LOCAL RESOLUTIONS, PRESENTATION OF SOLIDARNOSC VIEWS ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC MATTERS BEFORE DECISION, AND A 45-MINUTE WEEKLY RADIO AND TV PROGRAMME TO BE MADE BY SOLIDARNOSC. THE PAPER AND PROGRAMMES WILL BE SUBJECT TO STATE CENSORSHIP. GOVERNMENT AND UNION APPEAR TO HAVE AGREED TO AVOID MENTION OF THE GENERAL QUESTION OF THE LIBERALISATION OF CENSORSHIP, WHICH WAS ONE OF THE UNION'S FOUR PRINCIPAL DEMANDS ON ENTERING THE TALKS. NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON THE REGISTRATION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY, BUT THE GOVERNMENT AGREED TO SEND A DELEGATION TO RZESZOW TO TALK TO FARMERS' REPRESENTATIVES WHO ARE STAGING A SIT-IN THERE: THE GOVERNMENT ALSO ANNOUNCED LATER THAT THE SUPREME COURT WOULD GIVE ITS RULING ON REGISTRATION WITHIN 10 DAYS. A JOINT GOVERNMENT/SOLIDARNOSC COMMISSION IS TO BE SET UP TO CONTINUE CONTACTS. ON 1 FEBRUARY THE NATIONAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE OF SOLIDARNOSC, WHILE EXPRESSING DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE OUTCOME OF THE TALKS, ACCEPTED IT "AS THE INITIAL STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SOCIAL DEMANDS OF OUR UNION". IT ALSO PROMISED CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE FARMERS. THE NATIONAL ONE-HOUR STRIKE PLANNED FOR 3 FEBRUARY WAS SUSPENDED.

P. A. Sub - R. City

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(Poland)

3. THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE PRECEDED BY A MEDIA CAMPAIGN DESIGNED TO EXERT PRESSURE ON SOLIDARNOSC TO MODERATE ITS POLICIES. THE GOVERNMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT ON 29 JANUARY WHICH REFERRED TO A RUTHLESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST STATE ORGANS, THE DANGER OF CHAOS AND ANARCHY, AND THE THREAT TO THE HOMELAND, AND WARNED THAT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS HAD A DUTY TO ENSURE LAW, ORDER AND DISCIPLINE. THE PROSECUTOR-GENERAL'S OFFICE ISSUED A STATEMENT ON 30 JANUARY POINTING OUT THAT THE OCCUPATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS, DISRUPTION OF WORK, LIBEL AND THE PRINTING AND CIRCULATION OF UNCENSORED MATERIALS WERE ALL CRIMINAL OFFENCES. THE GOVERNMENT PUT OUT LENGTHY DOCUMENTS CLAIMING EXTENSIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POST-STRIKE AGREEMENTS. MEDIA COMMENT DISTINGUISHED BETWEEN LEGITIMATE UNION QUESTIONS - PAY AND WORKING CONDITIONS, UNION REGISTRATION AND ACCESS TO THE MEDIA - AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT LEGITIMATE - INTERFERENCE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AND STATE PERSONNEL QUESTIONS; AND REPEATED THE FAMILIAR WARNING THAT POLITICAL ACTIVITY BY SOLIDARNOSC IN VIOLATION OF THE POSTSTRIKE AGREEMENTS COULD LEAD TO AN ENDING OF THESE AGREEMENTS. ALL THIS WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CRITICISM OF SOLIDARNOSC ACTIVITIES, IN PARTICULAR THE WAVE OF STRIKES AND PROTESTS IN THE REGIONS.

4. THE PRESSURE ON SOLIDARNOSC FROM THE REGIME WAS REINFORCED BY A SERIES OF ATTACKS IN THE SOVIET MEDIA. THE STRONGEST OF THESE, A TASS REPORT OF 29 JANUARY, LATER PRINTED IN PRAVDA, ACCUSED SOLIDARNOSC OF RESORTING TO BLACKMAIL, THREATS, PROVOCATIONS AND SOMETIMES PHYSICAL FORCE, AND OF INCREASING ANARCHY: ITS LEADERS WERE SAID TO BE TRYING TO TURN SOLIDARNOSC INTO A POLITICAL OPPOSITION TO THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. UNDER THE SLOGAN OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL, TASS SAID COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES WERE AIMING FOR THE DISMANTLING OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND. THE CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF THESE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES MAY HAVE BEEN TO MAKE SOLIDARNOSC LEADERS ACCEPT, FOR THE MOMENT, AN AGREEMENT FALLING SHORT OF THEIR DEMANDS.

5. THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE FOLLOWED BY A CHORUS OF HARSH COMMENT FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH WENT BEYOND PREVIOUS CRITICISMS OF SOLIDARNOSC. TASS DESCRIBED THE SITUATION AS ONE OF "SHARP POLITICAL STRUGGLE" AND CLAIMED THAT WORKERS WERE "EXPECTING MEASURES TO BE STEPPED UP TO REPEL COUNTER-REVOLUTION". PRAVDA REPRINTED EXTRACTS FROM AN EAST GERMAN REPORT WHICH CONTAINED THE MOST STRONGLY WORDED COMMENT TO

APPEAR SO FAR IN THE SOVIET OR EAST GERMAN MEDIA. IT ACCUSED SOLIDARNOSC LEADERS OF DELIBERATELY PROVOKING ANARCHY AND CHAOS, "FLYING THE COLOURS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION" AND AIMING AT THE COMPLETE EROSION OF SOCIALISM. PRAGUE TELEVISION DESCRIBED THE SUPPORT OF SOLIDARNOSC (NOW USUALLY REFERRED TO AS "WALESA'S TRADE UNIONS"), FOR A FARMERS' UNION AS AN ATTACK ON THE SOCIALIST FOUNDATIONS OF POLAND'S ECONOMY AND ACCUSED SOLIDARNOSC OF USING "MORAL TERROR". EVEN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS IN A RARE DIRECT COMMENT REFERRED TO CONCERN IN HUNGARY OVER THE RECENT DISRUPTIVE ACTIONS IN POLAND.

WHICH WERE SAID TO BE DAMAGING POLISH NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST SYSTEM. THE TONE AND DIRECTION OF THESE ATTACKS IMPLY MORE CLEARLY THAN EVER BEFORE DISSATISFACTION WITH THE POLISH REGIME'S HANDLING OF THE CRISIS. KANIA'S LATEST SPEECH, WHILE ON THE WHOLE TAKING A MODERATE LINE AND STRESSING THE NEED FOR PATIENCE IN CONTACTS WITH SOLIDARNOSC, WENT FURTHER THAN EVEN BEFORE IN WARNING AGAINST THOSE WISHING TO TURN THE UNION INTO A POLITICAL OPPOSITION

PARTY. PARTY SECRETARY OLSZOWSKI'S SPEECH ON THE SAME OCCASION TOOK A MARKEDLY HARDER LINE AND HAS BEEN GIVEN GREATER PROMINENCE. A TOUGHENING OF THE REGIMES ATTITUDE HAS BECOME EVIDENT IN THE LAST FEW DAYS IN RELATION ALSO TO SUCH MATTERS AS STRIKE PAY, FARMERS' UNIONS AND STRIKERS' DEMANDS FOR PERSONNEL CHANGES.

6. THERE HAVE BEEN INDICATIONS RECENTLY THAT THE POLISH LEADERS WERE DETERMINED TO TAKE TOUGHER MEASURES AGAINST SOLIDARNOSC AND ACCEPTED THE RISK THESE MIGHT LEAD TO VIOLENCE. THEY MAY HAVE DECIDED THAT THE LATEST CONFRONTATION DID NOT PROVIDE A SUITABLE OCCASION FOR SUCH MEASURES; OR THEY MAY HAVE FELT THAT A FURTHER EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO INDUCE A MORE CO-OPERATIVE AND MODERATE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE UNION. BUT THE PRESSURE ON THE POLISH LEADERS TO TAKE STRONGER ACTION, PARTICULARLY FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND THEIR OTHER WARSAW PACT ALLIES, MAY WELL BECOME IRRESISTABLE. THERE IS CLEARLY DISAGREEMENT IN THE PARTY ON HOW TO PROCEED BOTH IN RELATIONS WITH SOLIDARNOSC AND ON THE WHOLE QUESTION OF REFORM, BUT THE UNIONS AT LEAST ARE STEELING THEMSELVES FOR STRONGER GOVERNMENT ACTION. A PARTY PLENUM IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN ON 9 FEBRUARY AND A SESSION OF PARLIAMENT WILL FOLLOW ON 11-12 FEBRUARY. A NEW LINE WILL HAVE TO BE AGREED FOR THESE MEETINGS, AND THE ADOPTION OF A TOUGHER STANCE COULD WELL BE ACCOMPANIED BY CHANGES IN THE LEADERSHIP, POSSIBLY INCLUDING THE DEPARTURE OF KANIA HIMSELF.

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