

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

Number: 0827 - 0828

Date : 13 MARCH 1981

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY

COPY.
EXEMPLAIRE. N°

115

AS (81) 025

P. A. Sub - Registry

File No 19-10-81

PA
P 131340Z MAR 81
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NADA/USESSMENT/MAR 005/JIC/131330Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND -

1. THE RELATIVE CALM IN POLAND WHICH FOLLOWED JARUZELSKI'S APPOINTMENT HAS BEEN BROKEN BY A SERIES OF INCIDENTS INDICATING A TOUGHER LINE FROM THE REGIME AND CONTINUING IMPATIENCE IN SOLIDARNOSC.
2. WITHIN 2 DAYS OF THE POLISH LEADERS' RETURN FROM MOSCOW ON 4 MARCH, THE AUTHORITIES DETAINED THE KOR LEADER KURON FOR 6 HOURS, TRIED TO SERVE A SUMMONS ON ANOTHER LEADING KOR ACTIVIST MICHNIK (NOW GIVEN SOLIDARNOSC BODYGUARDS), AND CHARGED 4 MEMBERS OF THE ANTI-SOVIET DISSIDENT ORGANISATION KPN ALREADY IN DETENTION, INCLUDING ITS LEADER MOCZULSKI, WITH SEEKING TO UNDERMINE POLAND'S FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL INTERESTS. SOME SOLIDARNOSC BRANCHES AND OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO COMPLAINED OF HARASSMENT. IN LODZ A PLANNED SERIES OF STRIKES WAS CALLED OFF WHEN THE AUTHORITIES AGREED TO REINSTATE 4 WORKERS SACKED FROM A MILITIA HOSPITAL AND TO PERMIT SOLIDARNOSC TO BE ACTIVE IN THE HOSPITAL. STRIKE ACTION IS ALSO THREATENED IN RADOM, BUT THIS RELATES MAINLY TO THE OFFICIAL ATTITUDE TO EVENTS THERE IN 1976, WHEN A WORKERS' DEMONSTRATION WAS FORCIBLY SUPPRESSED.
3. IT LOOKS AS THOUGH, UNDER PRESSURE FROM MOSCOW THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAS DECIDED THAT IT MUST TAKE SOME ACTION AGAINST DISSIDENTS. NEVERTHELESS, ITS ACTION HAS BEEN CAREFULLY JUDGED SO FA. KPN HAS NO LINKS WITH SOLIDARNOSC, WHICH DISAPPROVES OF ITS VIEWS WHILE DEFENDING ITS RIGHT TO EXPRESS THEM, AND THE DETENTION OF KURON WAS TOO BRIEF TO ALLOW TIME FOR ANY REACTION BY THE UNION. THE SOLIDARNOSC NATIONAL LEADERSHIP DECIDED AT AN EMERGENCY MEETING TO TAKE NO IMMEDIATE ACTION. INSTEAD IT CALLED FOR TALKS WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND WARNED THAT CONTINUED HARASSMENT COULD JEOPARDISE "SOCIAL CALM" AND THAT SOLIDARNOSC WOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THE RELEASE OF DISSIDENTS. WALESIA SUBSEQUENTLY HAD TALKS WITH DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI ON 9 MARCH AND WITH PRIME MINISTER JARUZELSKI ON 10 MARCH. ALTHOUGH MANY PROBLEMS REMAINED UNRESOLVED AFTER THESE MEETINGS THEY PAVED THE WAY FOR GOVERNMENT CONCESSIONS ON THE DISPUTE IN LODZ. IT WAS APPARENTLY ALSO AGREED THAT A WAY MUST BE FOUND TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS THROUGH NEGOTIATION.

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4. THE TEMPORARY DETENTION OF KURON DID NOT DETER HIM FROM SPEAKING AT A STUDENT RALLY ON 8 MARCH TO MARK THE ANNIVERSARY OF POLICE ACTION AGAINST STUDENTS IN 1968. THE RALLY PASSED OFF PEACEFULLY, BUT THE REGIME MUST BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF GROWING LINKS BETWEEN THE STUDENTS AND SOLIDARNOSC. A SECOND RALLY, NO DOUBT CONDONED IF NOT INSPIRED BY SOME PEOPLE IN AUTHORITY, WAS HELD THE SAME DAY BY A GROUP WHO ANNOUNCED THE FORMATION OF A NEW PATRIOTIC ORGANISATION, "GRUNWALD". SOME SPEECHES AT THIS RALLY HAD A MARKED ANTI-JEWISH TONE. AN ARTICLE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE NEWSPAPER ON THE STUDENT RALLY DESCRIBED THE STUDENT LEADERS IN 1968 (NOW LEADING KOR ACTIVISTS AND MOSTLY JEWISH) AS "ZIONISTS, REVISIONISTS AND FREE-LANCERS ON THE PAYROLL OF FOREIGN SUBVERSIVE CENTRES" AND AS PEOPLE TO WHOM THE INTERESTS OF ISRAEL WERE CLOSER THAN THOSE OF POLAND. ALL THIS SUGGESTS THAT ELEMENTS IN THE REGIME ARE PREPARED TO USE POLISH ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST KOR.

5. THE DRAFT TRADE UNION LAW, WHICH HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY SOLIDARNOSC, HAS NOW BEEN PUBLISHED. THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IS HEDGED ABOUT BY CONDITIONS BUT CANNOT BE SUSPENDED FOR MORE THAN 2 MONTHS IN ONE YEAR EXCEPT IN TIME OF WAR OR GENERAL MOBILISATION. THE DRAFT DOES NOT COVER THE QUESTION OF UNIONS OR PRIVATE FARMERS, ON WHICH SEPARATE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE HELD. THE THREE INDEPENDENT UNIONS FOR PRIVATE FARMERS HELD A JOINT CONGRESS IN POZNAN ON 8-9 MARCH AT WHICH THEY FORMALLY ESTABLISHED A SINGLE JOINT UNION. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THE CONGRESS CALLED FOR LEGISLATION TO LEGALISE THE UNION AND CONDEMNED CENSORSHIP. UNION ACTIVISTS IN RZESZOW ARE REPORTED TO HAVE WARNED THE PRIME MINISTER THAT PEASANTS THERE WOULD REFUSE TO DELIVER FOOD IF POLAND DID NOT RATIFY THE ILO CONVENTION GIVING FARMERS THE RIGHT TO FORM TRADE UNIONS. THE DRAFT LAW ON CENSORSHIP, WHICH IS A PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE MATTER FOR THE RUSSIANS, IS TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE GOVERNMENT NEXT WEEK AND THEN TO PARLIAMENT. SEVERAL KEY POINTS IN THE DRAFT REMAIN UNRESOLVED AND BOTH VARIANTS ARE TO BE PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT FOR ITS DECISION. HOWEVER IT SEEMS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT THE PARTY WILL GET THE DECISION IT WANTS FROM PARLIAMENT.

6. DISAGREEMENT CONTINUES WITHIN THE PARTY OVER PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS. SOME IN THE LEADERSHIP, NO DOUBT ENCOURAGED BY MOSCOW, HOPE TO POSTPONE IT AT LEAST UNTIL THE AUTUMN, BUT THERE IS STILL PRESSURE FROM SOME OF THE RANK AND FILE FOR AN EARLY CONGRESS. FACTIONALISM IN THE PARTY REINS A SERIOUS PROBLEM ALTHOUGH A CONFERENCE OF LIBERALLY-MINDED PARTY ORGANISATIONS FROM SEVERAL PROVINCES WHICH WAS TO BE HELD IN TORUN HAS BEEN POSTPONED, PERHAPS UNDER PRESSURE FROM THE CENTRE. ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT A "CLUB OF 80" WAS FORMED SOME TIME AGO TO FIGHT FOR THE EXTREME HARD-LINE TENDENCY IN THE PARTY, AND THE "KARL MARX CLUB" NOW BEING SET UP IS TO SUPPORT THE MODERATE KANIA/JARUZELSKI LINE IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS.

7. THERE HAS NOT BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF COMMENT ON POLAND IN THE SOVIET MEDIA OVER THE LAST WEEK. PRAVDA ALLEGED ON 7 MARCH THAT POLAND WAS IN A SERIOUS CRISIS AS A RESULT OF IMPERIALIST SUBVERSION. THE CHARGES AGAINST KPN MEMBERS WERE REPORTED BY TASS, SIGNIFYING SOVIET APPROVAL OF THE MOVE. TASS ALSO REPORTED THAT "ARMED GROUPS" WERE PREVENTING THE AUTHORITIES FROM ENSURING THAT MICHNIK REPORT TO THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE. PRAVDA HAS PUBLISHED A FURTHER THEORETICAL ARTICLE ON THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS, WHICH STRESSES THAT UNIONS MUST WORK UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY AND QUOTES LENIN'S DENUNCIATION OF THOSE IN 1921 WHO DEMANDED A DECISIVE ROLE FOR THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE RUNNING OF THE ECONOMY. CZECHOSLOVAK RADIO HAS CLAIMED THAT AFTER A PERIOD OF RELAXATION "HOSTILE AND ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY ACTIVE AGAIN IN POLAND".

8. THE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF "ROUTINE JOINT COMMAND STAFF EXERCISES" INVOLVING "TOKEN TROOP UNITS" IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF SOYUZ-81. PRIOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF SUCH EXERCISES IS UNUSUAL, THOUGH IT IS ENCOURAGED UNDER CSCE PROVISIONS. THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS PROBABLY INTENDED TO REBUT REPORTS IN THE WESTERN MEDIA OF LARGE-SCALE MANOEUVRES, AND WILL AT THE SAME TIME HAVE SERVED TO PREVENT UNDUE ALARM IN POLAND ITSELF.

9. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS HAVE LED TO AN INCREASE OF TENSION IN POLAND. THE REGIME HAS SO FAR TAKEN CARE TO MINIMISE THE RISK OF CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARNOSC IN ITS ACTIONS AGAINST DISSIDENTS, BUT FURTHER ACTION AGAINST THOSE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNION WOULD PROBABLY LEAD TO PROTEST STRIKES AT LEAST BY THE MORE RADICAL SOLIDARNOSC BRANCHES IF NOT BY THE MOVEMENT AS A WHOLE. THIS COULD WELL PRECIPITATE A CRISIS. NO LESS SERIOUS IN ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE POLISH REGIME AND FOR THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TO THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS THE INABILITY OF THE LEADERS TO REASSERT UNITY AND DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE PARTY. THE HOLDING OF A PARTY CONGRESS IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD HIGHLIGHT THE DISARRAY IN THE PARTY AND EXPOSE THE WEAKNESS OF ITS LEADERSHIP.

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