

NATO SITUATION CENTRE  
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

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NADA/ASSESSMENT/APRIL 004/JIC/101845Z  
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC  
POLAND

P. A. Sub - Registry  
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(Poland)

1. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET UNION IS MAINTAINING A HIGH LEVEL OF PREPAREDNESS WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT A LARGE SCALE MOVE INTO POLAND IS IMMINENT. SPEECHES BY POLISH LEADERS SUGGEST THAT, ALTHOUGH CONCERNED ABOUT THE CURRENT SITUATION, THEY REMAIN DETERMINED TO PERSIST IN A POLICY OF CONCILIATION AND LIBERALISATION. THIS PUTS THE RUSSIANS IN A DIFFICULTY DILEMMA.
2. THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS GENERALLY QUIET DESPITE A FEW STRIKE ALLERTS, SIT-INS AND STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. POLISH OFFICIALS AND THE MEDIA ARE PORTRAYING BREZHNEV'S SPEECH IN PRAGUE AS REASSURING. WALESA HAS THIS WEEK SPOKEN WARMLY OF JARUZELSKI'S GOVERNMENT, CALLED FOR THE UNION TO ADOPT LESS AGGRESSIVE TACTICS AND HINTED THAT EXTREMISTS SHOULD BE DROPPED FROM SOLIDARNOSC.
3. PREPARATIONS ARE CONTINUING FOR THE EXTRAORDINARY PARTY CONGRESS DUE TO BE HELD BEFORE JULY 20. THE POLITBURO MET ON 7 APRIL AND DECIDED TO CALL THE NEXT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM DURING THE LAST 10 DAYS OF APRIL. THIS MEETING WILL MAKE CHANGES IN THE POLITBURO, ENDORSE THE PROGRAMME TO BE PUT TO THE CONGRESS AND FIX A DATE. ELECTIONS ARE ALREADY UNDER WAY IN PARTY ORGANISATIONS AT THE LOWEST LEVEL. IT APPEARS THAT MOST OF THE NEWLY-ELECTED PARTY OFFICIALS HAVE NEVER HELD PARTY OFFICE BEFORE AND THAT MANY ARE MEMBERS OF SOLIDARNOSC. THERE IS STILL SOME DOUBT OVER HOW ELECTIONS AT THE HIGHER LEVEL ARE TO BE CONDUCTED: RANK-AND-FILE MEMBERS IN GDANSK HAVE EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE DRAFT ELECTORAL RULES.
4. IN SPEECHES AT THE CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY CONGRESS HUSAK USED HARSH LANGUAGE ABOUT POLAND AND REITERATED THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE: BREZHNEV HIMSELF SPOKE IN LOW KEY BUT LEFT ALL OPTIONS OPEN: AND VIRTUALLY ALL FRATERNAL DELEGATES COMPARED POLAND WITH HUNGARY IN 1956 AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1968. OLSZOWSKI'S SPEECH WAS UNREMARKABLE, EXPRESSING CONCERN AT CERTAIN DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND BUT REFERRING ALSO TO PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS.
5. THE SPEECHES BY KANIA IN GDANSK YESTERDAY AND JARUZELSKI TO THE SEJM THIS MORNING WERE RATHER DIFFERENT IN TONE, NO DOUBT REFLECTING THEIR DIFFERENT AUDIENCES, BUT WERE COMPLEMENTARY IN CONTENT.

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N A T O S E C R E T

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KANIA NOTED THE SHARP CRITICISM EXPRESSED BY PARTY MEMBERS, INCLUDING DISSATISFACTION AT FAILURE TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE POLITBURO AT THE LAST PLENUM, AND PROMISED THAT THE PARTY WOULD "OVERCOME ALL RESISTANCE TO SOCIALIST RENEWAL". HE REAFFIRMED IN THE SHARPEST TERMS THE NEED FOR THE POLES TO OVERCOME THESE DIFFICULTIES SOLELY "BY OUR OWN STRENGTH" AND USING POLITICAL MEANS. JARUZELSKI EXPRESSED EXTREME GLOOM ABOUT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE SOCIAL TURMOIL. HE ALSO PRESENTED TO THE SEJM A SET OF MEASURES TO HELP RESTORE THE SITUATION AND SAID HE WOULD RESIGN IF THEY WERE NOT PASSED. FULL DETAILS ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE BUT THE MEASURES INCLUDE SUSPENSION OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE FOR TWO MONTHS (AS ALLOWED FOR UNDER DRAFT LEGISLATION RECENTLY AGREED BY SOLIDARNOSC) AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION TO WATCH OVER PUBLIC ORDER. JARUZELSKI ALSO IMPLIED THAT ILEGAL MEETINGS AND LEAFLETS WOULD NO LONGER BE TOLERATED AND THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF ANTI-SOCIALISTS MUST BE CURTAILED.

6. THESE TWO SPEECHES, AND THE VERY FULL REPORTING IN THE MEDIA OF THE RANK-AND-FILE CRITICISMS IN GDANSK, MAY BE INTENDED PARTLY TO DEMONSTRATE TO MOSCOW THE PRESSURES FACED BY THE POLISH LEADERSHIP IN DEALING WITH THESE PROBLEMS. TO THE POLES THEY CONVEY THE INITIAL NEED TO MAINTAIN CALM, STRENGTHEN UNITY AND AVOID A NEW CRISIS WHICH MIGHT GIVE THE SOVIET UNION A JUSTIFICATION FOR MILITARY INTERVENTION.

7. THE PROPAGANDA AND MILITARY BUILD-UP LAST WEEKEND, TOGETHER WITH A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC INDICATIONS POINT TO THERE HAVING BEEN AN EXPECTATION THAT EXTRAORDINARY MEASURES OF SOME KIND WOULD BE TAKEN BY POLISH LEADERS ON MONDAY 6 APRIL WHICH MIGHT POSSIBLY LEAD TO SOVIET MILITARY ACTION. IN THE EVENT THE ACTION WAS NOT TAKEN AND A SOVIET DECISION WAS APPARENTLY MADE TO TAKE OFF THE PRESSURE FOR THE MOMENT. 7 APRIL SAW BREZHNEV'S AND OLAZORWSKI'S SPEECHES IN PRAGUE, THE POLITBURO MEETING IN WARSAW, THE BEGINNING OF A RELAXATION IN THE SOVIET MILITARY POSTURE AND THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE END OF THE SOYUZ-81 EXERCISE.

8. THE DECISION ON THE NEXT STEP WILL REQUIRE DISCUSSION IN THE SOVIET POLITBURO ON BREZHNEV'S RETURN TO MOSCOW. THE DISINCENTIVES TO INTERVENE MILITARILY IN POLAND ARE AS POWERFUL AS EVER AND WILL WEIGH HEAVILY. ON THE OTHER HAND IT IS HARDLY CONCEIVABLE THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS CAN ACQUIESCE IN AN INDEFINITE CONTINUATION OF PRESENT TRENDS IN POLAND WHICH THREATEN TO REMOVE POLAND FROM THE SOVIET ORBIT AND TO ERODE THE SOVIET POSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE GENERALLY AND WHICH CAN HAVE SERIOUS REPERCUSSIONS EVEN IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF. AND THE LATEST INDICATIONS ARE THAT THE POLISH LEADERS ARE STILL UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO TAKE THE SORT OF MEASURES WHICH WOULD FULFIL THE SOVIET REQUIREMENT THAT THE TIDE OF LIBERALISATION SHOULD BE HALTED. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MILITARY SPHERE DURING THE COMING WEEK ARE LIKELY TO INDICATE WHETHER THE RUSSIANS HAVE OPTED FOR EARLY ACTION OR WILL WAIT LONGER TO SEE HOW THE SITUATION DEVELOPS. THEIR MAJOR CONCERN IS LIKELY TO REMAIN THE SITUATION WITHIN THE POLISH PARTY; AND THEY WILL BE CONSCIOUS OF THE DANGER THAT, IF THE CONGRESS WHICH IS PLANNED TO TAKE PLACE BY 20 JULY IS HELD FOLLOWING FREE ELECTIONS THROUGHOUT THE PARTY, THE ESSENTIAL INSTRUMENT OF POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL IN POLAND MIGHT BE DAMAGED BEYOND REPAIR.

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