

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
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Number: 167 - 185

Date : 15 APRIL 1981

NATO SECRET

PRIORITY

COPY.
EXEMPLAIRE. No

115

AS(81) 038

SITCENSERN
4052

Reg PA (2092)
P 151405Z APR 81
FM LONDON
TO AIG 6006
AIG 6007
BT

NADA/ASSESSMENT/APRIL 0057/JIC/151405Z APR
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

P. A. Sub - Registry

File No 19-10-01
(Poland)

1. THERE HAS BEEN SOME FURTHER RELAXATION IN THE SOVIET MILITARY POSTURE IN AND AROUND POLAND. JARUZELSKI'S LATEST MEASURES HAVE MET WITH A GUARDED RESPONSE FROM SOLIDARNOSC. THE SITUATION IN THE PARTY MUST BE CAUSING THE RUSSIANS GRAVE CONCERN.

2. THE SEJM ADOPTED WITH ONLY FOUR ABSTENTIONS A RESOLUTION INCORPORATING JARUZELSKI'S CALL FOR A 2-MONTH BAN ON STRIKES, A HALT TO WORKERS' DEMANDS, INCLUDING PAY DEMANDS, FOR THE REST OF THIS YEAR, AND A MORE RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE FROM THE MEDIA. THE

RESOLUTION ALSO CALLED FOR PROTECTION OF THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE POOREST, PUBLICATION THIS MONTH OF VARIOUS ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES, INCREASED ATTENTION TO AGRICULTURE, INCLUDING THE UNION OF PRIVATE FARMERS, SPECIAL PROTECTION FOR MILITARY FACILITIES AND INDUSTRIES AND URGENT IMPLEMENTATION OF PLANS TO

CREATE AN INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR WORKERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMY. SOLIDARNOSC DESCRIBED THE BAN AS UNJUSTIFIED AND POINTED OUT THAT THE WAY TO AVOID STRIKES WAS TO ELIMINATE THEIR CAUSES BY OBSERVING THE LAW AND ADHERING TO AGREEMENTS.

WALESA AND A NUMBER OF PRESS ARTICLES (INCLUDING ONE IN THE PARTY DAILY TRYBUNA LUDU) HAVE URGED THE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE AND SHOW THEIR DEDICATION TO THE RENEWAL PROCESS WITHOUT HAVING TO BE PUSHED INTO GRUDGING CONCESSIONS THROUGH STRIKE THREATS.

3. SOLIDARNOSC HAS AGREED ITS POSITION FOR THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS WITH THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS SCHEDULED FOR 16 APRIL BUT MAY BE DELAYED BY A DISPUTE OVER TV COVERAGE. SUBJECTS THEY WISH TO COVER INCLUDE THE BYDGOSZCZ INCIDENT, ACCESS TO THE MEDIA, THE PRIVATE FARMERS' UNION, LEGAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING STRIKES, POLITICAL DETAINEES AND THE RULE OF LAW

(APPARENTLY THEY SEEK GREATER INDEPENDENCE FOR THE JUDICIARY AND LIMITS ON THE ROLE OF THE POLICE). IN NONE OF THESE AREAS WILL THE REGIME FIND IT EASY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, GIVEN SOVIET SENSITIVITIES, BUT THE UNION WILL PRESS HARD FOR THEM AS A QUID PRO QUO FOR AVOIDING STRIKES. SOLIDARNOSC IS ALSO PREPARING FOR ITS FIRST PROPER ELECTIONS. THIS PROCESS SHOULD

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HELP REMOVE SOME RESENTMENT IN UNION BRANCHES AGAINST LEADERS WHO HAVE NEVER BEEN DULY ELECTED. GIVEN THE RADICALISM OF SOME OF THE LOWER LEVELS IT COULD LEAD TO A STRENGTHENING OF THE MILITANT WING OF THE UNION. HOWEVER THERE ARE SIGNS THAT EVEN SOME OF THE MILITANTS, INCLUDING THE HEAD OF THE MAZOWSZE (WARSAW REGION) BRANCH, ARE BEGINNING TO

BELIEVE THAT MEANS OTHER THAN STRIKES MUST BE ADOPTED.

4. IN THE PARTY THE ELECTION PROCESS HAS ALREADY BEGUN, WITH MEETINGS UP TO FACTORY LEVEL ELECTING NEW OFFICIALS AND, IN SOME CASES, DELEGATES TO THE PARTY CONGRESS. MEETINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY HAVE BEEN FULLY REPORTED IN THE POLISH MEDIA, INCLUDING HARSH CRITICISM OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND CALLS FOR THE REMOVAL OF HARD-LINERS FROM THE POLITBURO. KANIA HAS HINTED THAT SUCH CHANGES COULD TAKE PLACE AT THE NEXT PLENUM DUE IN THE LAST 10 DAYS OF APRIL. THIS COULD REMOVE FROM THE POLITBURO THE MEMBERS MOST TRUSTED BY MOSCOW.

5. AT THE SED CONGRESS HONECKER REFERRED ONLY BRIEFLY AND IN MILD TONES TO POLAND: SUSLOV, HEADING THE SOVIET DELEGATION, DID NOT MENTION POLAND BUT WARNED OF THE FATEFUL CONSEQUENCES OF ANY DEVIATION FROM OUR REVOLUTIONARY TEACHINGS: BARCIKOWSKI REITERATED POLAND'S COMMITMENT TO A POLITICAL SOLUTION AND CLAIMED THAT THE PARTY WAS STILL THE LEADING FORCE IN THE COUNTRY; AND BILAK (CZECHOSLOVAKIA) TOOK A HARD LINE ON PRIVATE

FARMING, DELEGATES FROM THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES ON THE OTHER HAND SPOKE IN FAVOUR OF THE PROCESS OF REFORM IN POLAND. SPEAKERS FROM THE FLOOR ADOPTED A MUCH HARSHER TONE. A WORKER SUGGESTED IT WAS HIGH TIME THE POLISH PARTY AND THE WORKERS OPPOSED ANTI-SOCIALIST INTRIGUES MORE ENERGETICALLY. THE LEADER OF THE EAST GERMAN YOUTH ORGANISATION GROUPED ANTI-COMMUNISTS, REVISIONISTS AND RENEWERS (IE SUPPORTERS OF THE RENEWAL IN POLAND) AS ENEMIES OF TRUE SOCIALISM.

6. THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE REPORTED THE SEJM SESSION BRIEFLY, CONCENTRATING ON JARUZELSKI'S CALL FOR A STRIKE BAN AND HIS REMARKS ON ANTI-SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES AND THE NEED TO PROTECT DEFENCE-RELATED FACILITIES AND INDUSTRIES. PRAVDA OF 13 APRIL, IN A DESPATCH FROM ITS CORRESPONDENT IN WARSAW, MADE THE CLEAREST REFERENCE YET TO THE DISARRAY IN THE PARTY; POLISH WORKERS WERE REPORTED AS CONDEMNING PARTY MEMBERS WHO WANTED TO FORCE THROUGH VIEWS ALIEN TO MARXISM-LLENINISM UNDER THE BANNER OF "IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM AND "PARTNERSHIP" OF VARIOUS POLITICAL FORCES".

OTHERWISE SOVIET PROPAGANDA HAS CONCENTRATED ON ALLEGED LINKS BETWEEN KOR AND/OR SOLIDARNOSC AND A VARIETY OF WESTERN ORGANISATIONS FROM RADIO STATIONS TO "FASCIST" AND "REVANCHIST" BODIES IN BRITAIN AND WEST GERMANY.

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7. SOVIET FORCES ARE REVERTING FROM THE HEIGHTENED STATE OF PREPAREDNESS OBSERVED EARLY LAST WEEK TO THE LEVEL WHICH THEY WERE MAINTAINING PREVIOUSLY. RECENT MILITARY ACTIVITY WILL HAVE LED TO A HIGH LEVEL OF PREPAREDNESS AND COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS IN THE SOVIET FORCES. THIS WILL BE REDUCED FOR A PERIOD OF ABOUT SIX WEEKS FOLLOWING THE SPRING TROOP ROTATION, WHICH SHOULD BE LARGELY COMPLETED BY 1 MAY. ANY DELAY OR ABNORMAL FEATURES IN TROOP ROTATION WOULD IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES BE PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT.

8. DESPITE THE PRESENT CALM THERE IS PLENTY OF SCOPE FOR A RENEWED CONFRONTATION IN POLAND. IT

COULD BE SPARKED OFF BY THE FAILURE OF THE REGIME TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS WHICH SOLIDARITY IS DEMANDING, AN INCIDENT OF THE KIND WHICH OCCURRED IN BYDGOSZCZ, OR ECONOMIC MEASURES SUCH AS STEEP PRICE RISES OR THE CLOSURE OF FACTORIES. TROUBLE COULD FLARE UP SPONTANEOUSLY OR BE INSTIGATED BY THOSE INSIDE OR OUTSIDE POLAND WHO WISH TO PROVOKE A CRACKDOWN; AND IT COULD WELL PRECIPITATE SOVIET INTERVENTION. IF THERE IS NO INTERNAL CONFLICT OF THIS KIND THE SOVIET LEADERS WILL BE FORCED INTO A DECISION FOR OR AGAINST INTERVENTION BY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POLISH PARTY. THE TREND TOWARDS DEMOCRATISATION IN THE PARTY AND LIBERALISATION IN SOCIETY NOW APPEARS TO BE IRREVERSIBLY UNLESS IT IS FORCIBLY STOPPED; AND THIS REQUIRES ACTION FROM OUTSIDE POLAND. THE RUSSIANS HAVE TWICE (IN NOVEMBER LAST YEAR AND IN APRIL) SHARPLY STEPPED UP THEIR MILITARY PREPARATIONS BUT HAVE ON BOTH OCCASIONS BALKED AT INTERVENTION AND CHOSEN TO AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS. BUT TIME IS NOT ON THEIR SIDE. IF THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS TAKES PLACE IN JULY IT COULD REVEAL A UNITED AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHARING MANY OF THE AIMS OF SOLIDARNOSC AND ENJOYING WIDE POPULAR SUPPORT. BY THEN THE RUSSIANS WILL NEED TO DECIDE WHETHER THE COSTS OF INTERVENTION OUTWEIGH THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR ACQUIESCING IN THE CLEAR REJECTION BY ONE OF THEIR EAST EUROPEAN ALLIES OF THE SOVIET POLITICAL MODEL.

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