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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JUNE 003/JIC/121310Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND (NATO SECRET)

(Poland)

1. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAS ADOPTED A HARSHER TONE IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET PRESSURE, BUT ANY REVERSAL OF THE TREND TOWARDS LIBERALISATION WILL LEAD TO AN INCREASE IN SOCIAL TENSION. HARDLINERS STRONGLY ATTACKED THE EXISTING LEADERSHIP AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING BUT IT WAS DECIDED TO MAKE NO LEADERSHIP CHANGES BEFORE THE CONGRESS IN JULY, WHICH KANIA SAID WOULD GO AHEAD AS SCHEDULED.

2. THE POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MET ON 9-10 JUNE TO CONSIDER A LETTER RECEIVED FROM THE SOVIET CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE LETTER WAS THE FIRST COMMUNICATION SENT BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP TO THE POLISH CENTRAL COMMITTEE AS A WHOLE; PREVIOUSLY PRESSURE HAS BEEN APPLIED MAINLY ON MEMBERS OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. THE LETTER CRITICISED KANIA AND JARUZELSKI FOR FAILING TO HEED SOVIET ADVICE AND CARRY OUT THEIR COMMITMENTS; ACCUSED THE PARTY OF YIELDING STEP BY STEP TO ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES, SO THAT ITS REVOLUTIONARY GAINS WERE IN MORTAL DANGER; ALLEGED THAT COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES HAD GAINED CONTROL OF SOLIDARNOSC. CLAIMED THAT THE MASS MEDIA WERE WORKING NOT FOR THE PARTY BUT FOR ITS ENEMIES; WARNED THAT ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES HAD TAKEN OVER THE ELECTORAL PROCESS LEADING UP TO THE PARTY CONGRESS, THAT DEDICATED AND EXPERIENCED COMMUNISTS WERE BEING BRUSHED ASIDE AND THAT THE CONGRESS COULD EVEN SEE A COUP AGAINST MARXIST-LENINIST FORCES AIMED AT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PARTY. DESPITE THIS STRONG LANGUAGE THE LETTER DID NOT DIRECTLY CALL FOR CHANGES IN THE LEADERSHIP OR POSTPONEMENT OF THE CONGRESS OR THREATEN ANY MILITARY ACTION; AND IT ENDED WITH ONLY A MUTED ECHO OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE. BY NOTING THAT THE SITUATION WAS NOT YET HOPELESS IT INDICATED THAT THE POLES WERE TO BE GIVEN ANOTHER CHANCE TO PUT THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER. THE LETTER CAN BE SEEN AS A FURTHER AND MORE VIGOROUS EFFORT TO INDUCE THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO ADOPT A MORE DECISIVE AND ORTHODOX APPROACH TO POLAND'S PROBLEMS.

3. THE SOVIET LETTER FOLLOWED A FURTHER BARRAGE OF CRITICISM IN THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA DIRECTED AT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. EVEN THE HUNGARIANS

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AND BULGARIANS, WHO HAVE HITHERTO TAKEN A RELATIVELY RELAXED ATTITUDE TO POLISH EVENTS, HAVE NOW JOINED IN THE CHORUS. SOVIET ENCOURAGEMENT MAY HAVE LED TO THE SHORT-LIVED ACTIVITIES OF THE KATOWICE PARTY FORUM, AN EXTREME CONSERVATIVE GROUP WHOSE DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED BY EVEN THE MORE HARD-LINE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. REACTION TO THE KATOWICE GROUP, WHOSE VIEWS WERE VOCIFEROUSLY ENDORSED BY MOSCOW EVEN AFTER ITS DISBANDMENT, MUST HAVE STRONGLY REINFORCED SOVIET FEARS OF THE STRENGTH OF REFORMIST TRENDS IN THE POLISH PARTY.

4. KANIA'S REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM RESPONDED TO THE EXPLICIT WARNINGS FROM MOSCOW BY TAKING A SOMEWHAT HARDER LINE THAN HAS BEEN USED AT RECENT PLENUMS. GREAT STRESS WAS PLACED ON THE NEED TO RESTORE PARTY AUTHORITY AND CONTROL, STRUGGLE AGAINST ANARCHY AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION, AND RESTORE DISCIPLINE IN THE ECONOMY AS THE PREREQUISITES FOR NATIONAL SURVIVAL. KANIA WAS LESS CLEAR ON HOW THIS WAS TO BE ACHIEVED. HE STATED THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD GO AHEAD ON SCHEDULE, AND THAT THE POLITBURO SAW NO SENSIBLE ALTERNATIVE TO THE GENERAL PROCESS OF REFORM. HOWEVER HE ALSO CALLED FOR PERSONNEL CHANGES IN THE MEDIA IN ORDER TO RESTORE PARTY CONTROL; HINTED AT DISCIPLINARY MEASURES AGAINST EXTREMISTS ON BOTH WINGS OF THE PARTY; AND SAID THAT THERE COULD BE NO FURTHER TOLERANCE OF ANTI-SOCIALIST/ANTI-SOVIET ACTIVITIES. HE ALSO APPEALED TO PARTY MEMBERS NOT TO REJECT EXPERIENCED PARTY OFFICIALS IN THE ELECTIONS TO THE PARTY CONGRESS.

5. THE DEBATE FOLLOWING KANIA'S REPORT WAS ACRIMONIOUS. HARDLINERS - OF WHOM THERE ARE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WHICH WAS ELECTED BEFORE THE REFORM PROCESS BEGAN - STRESSED DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM AND THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY. AT LEAST ONE SUGGESTED THAT THE AGREEMENTS WITH SOLIDARNOSC SHOULD BE RENEGOTIATED; AND ANOTHER IMPLIED THAT POLISH FORCES SHOULD BE USED IF NECESSARY TO RESOLVE CRISES IN ORDER TO PREVENT SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION. MANY EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP, THE PARTY SECRETARY GRABSKI CLAIMED THAT IT WAS INCAPABLE OF LEADING THE PARTY PROPERLY IN THE PERIOD UP TO THE CONGRESS. THE POLITBURO THEN MET AND DECIDED THAT ALL MEMBERS SHOULD SUBMIT THEMSELVES INDIVIDUALLY TO A VOTE OF CONFIDENCE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE COMMITTEE HOWEVER DECIDED BY MAJORITY VOTE AGAINST THIS. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT NEITHER HARDLINERS NOR MODERATES WERE CONFIDENT OF GAINING FROM SUCH A VOTE AND BOTH SIDES SAW ADVANTAGE IN POSTPONING PERSONNEL CHANGES UNTIL THE CONGRESS RATHER THAN PRECIPITATING A POSSIBLE CRISIS NOW.

6. THE SOVIET LETTER AND THE POLISH PLENUM HAVE HIGHLIGHTED THE DEEP DIVISIONS IN THE PARTY AND ITS LEADERSHIP AND RALLIED THE CONSERVATIVES. THE VIEWS OF THE KATOWICE FORUM ARE NO DOUBT SHARED BY DIEHARDS IN THE PARTY APPARATUS AND AMONG THE OLDER GENERATION OF PARTY STALWARTS. THE REFORM PROCESS AND CONGRESS ELECTIONS THREATEN TO DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR POSTS, PRESTIGE AND PRIVILEGES.

BUT IT IS NOT ONLY THEY WHO ARE FIGHTING FOR SURVIVAL. EVEN RELATIVELY WELL-REGARDED MEMBERS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP ARE HAVING DIFFICULTY GETTING ELECTED. PROSPECTS FOR UNPOPULAR HARDLINEERS LOOK DIM UNLESS SOME RIGGING IS INTRODUCED, AND THIS WOULD ONLY FURTHER DISCREDIT THE PARTY.

7. ANY ATTEMPTS TO REVERSE EARLIER POLICIES OF NEGOTIATION AND CONCILIATION WOULD BE BOUND TO LEAD AGAIN TO INCREASED SOCIAL TENSIONS. THE PROPOSED TIGHTENING UP OF THE MEDIA WILL BE UNPOPULAR NOT ONLY WITH JOURNALISTS AND OTHER INTELLECTUALS BUT ALSO WITH THE POPULATION AT LARGE, AND IF IT IS FOLLOWED BY MORE BIASED REPORTING OF SOLIDARNOSC ACTIVITIES WILL LEAD TO DIRECT CLASHES WITH THE UNION. MORE DIRECT ACTION AGAINST THE UNION OR ITS ADVISERS WOULD MEET WITH AN EVEN STRONGER RESPONSE. THE REGIME'S LIMITED ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE WAS SHOWN BY THE RECENT RELEASE FROM CUSTODY, AS A RESULT OF WIDESPREAD PROTESTS AND HUNGER-

STRIKES, OF A GROUP OF OVERTLY ANTI-SOCIALIST DISSIDENTS. HOWEVER THE REGIME COULD USE THE LAW-AND-ORDER ISSUE, TO WHICH IT HAS RECENTLY GIVEN CONSIDERABLE PROMINENCE, AS AN EXCUSE TO TIGHTEN UP IN SOME FIELDS. JOINT POLICE/ ARMY PATROLS HAVE ALREADY BEEN INTRODUCED IN TROUBLESOME AREAS. THE REGIME WILL CERTAINLY WISH TO GET A FIRMER GRIP ON THE POLICE, WHO HAVE SHOWN SIGNS OF REFORMIST TENDENCIES. A NEW INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION FOR THE POLICE HAS BEEN SET UP, AND THE BYDGOSZCZ POLICE HAVE PROTESTED ABOUT THE USE OF POLICE FOR DISREPUTABLE POLITICAL PURPOSES.

8. DESPITE THE INCREASED LEVEL OF POLITICAL PRESSURE, THERE HAS SO FAR BEEN NO UNUSUAL SOVIET MILITARY ACTIVITY. MARSHAL KULIKOV IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN IN POLAND SINCE LATE MAY. ACCORDING TO ONE REPORT, KULIKOV TOLD KANIA THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS PLANNING TO CONDUCT MANOEUVRES AROUND BUT NOT IN POLAND IN EARLY JULY. WE WOULD EXPECT THERE TO BE A SIGNIFICANT LEVEL OF FIELD TRAINING BY SOVIET FORCES DURING JULY AS THIS IS THE MID POINT OF THE SUMMER TRAINING CYCLE. THE SOVIET UNION HAS DECLARED MANOEUVRES UNDER THE TERMS OF THE CSCE EACH JUNE-JULY SINCE 1976.

9. THE SOVIET LETTER REPRESENTED A SIGNAL TO THE POLISH HARDLINERS STILL IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NEED FOR THEM TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE LEADERSHIP TO STEM THE TIDE OF REFORMISM. THE RUSSIANS WILL NOT BE SATISFIED WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE PLENUM. BUT NO POLISH LEADERSHIP WOULD BE ABLE TO CARRY OUT THE KIND OF TOUGHER MEASURES THE RUSSIANS WOULD NO DOUBT LIKE TO SEE WITHOUT PROVOKING INTERNAL DISTURBANCES OR FURTHER SPLITS IN THE PARTY. ALTHOUGH THE RUSSIANS HAVE BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO DEMAND ANY SPECIFIC ACTION OF THE POLES AND THUS NOT TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO ACTION IF THE POLES FAIL TO RESPOND, POLISH FAILURE TO ACT WOULD BE A CONSIDERABLE BLOW TO SOVIET PRESTIGE AND CREDIBILITY. IN THE PERIOD UP TO THE CONGRESS IN JULY WE EXPECT TO SEE FURTHER PRESSURE AND PROPAGANDA DIRECTED AT THE POLES, POSSIBLY INVOLVING A WARSAW PACT SUMMIT AND ALMOST CERTAINLY MILITARY MANOEUVRES. THERE IS STILL TIME FOR THE RUSSIANS TO PRE-EMPT THE CONGRESS BY MILITARY INTERVENTION IF THEY COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THEIR INTERESTS NOW REQUIRE THIS.

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