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NADA/ASSESSMENT/OCT 007/JIC/291443Z OCT 81

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC:

POLAND (THIS TEXT HAS BEEN RELEASED TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION).

1. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT INTENDS TO SEND TROOPS THROUGHOUT POLAND TO ASSIST WITH PREPARATIONS FOR WINTER. SOME SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED. SOLIDARITY HAS SO FAR REACTED CAUTIOUSLY TO THESE GOVERNMENT MEASURES. A ONE HOUR TOKEN STRIKE TOOK PLACE ON 28 OCTOBER.

2. ON FRIDAY 23 OCTOBER THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT IT WAS SENDING TROOPS, INCLUDING THOSE WHOSE TOUR OF MILITARY SERVICE HAS RECENTLY BEEN EXTENDED, TO 2,000 PREDOMINANTLY RURAL AREAS THROUGHOUT POLAND, STRESSING THAT THEY WERE TO HELP ECONOMIC TASKS, PARTICULARLY TO ENSURE THAT FOOD SUPPLIES REACH MARKETS. THE DETACHMENTS OF TROOPS SEEM LIKELY TO BE SMALL AND COULD ASSIST IN OVERCOMING BUREAUCRATIC INEFFICIENCIES, AND THE PRESENT DISTRUST OF LOCAL OFFICIALS AND POLICE BY THE PEASANTRY. THEY COULD EASE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION PROBLEMS AND PREVENT SOME DIVERSION OF FOOD SUPPLIES TO THE BLACK MARKET BUT CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO HAVE ANY REAL IMPACT ON FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. THEY WILL ALSO PROVIDE A VISIBLE MILITARY PRESENCE WHICH MAY ACCUSTOM THE POPULATION TO AN EXPANDED MILITARY ROLE. THEY SEEM NOT TO BE BEING DEPLOYD IN SUFFICIENT NUMBERS TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THE ROLE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT. AND THE INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES HAVE SHOWN THAT THEY CAN COPE WITH DISTURBANCES ON THE SCALE OF THOSE IN KATOWICE AND WROCLAW. THE MOVE MAY BE AN ATTEMPT TO HEAD OFF HARSHER DEMANDS BY HARD-LINERS WITHIN THE PARTY. IT WILL ALSO COUNTERACT COMPLAINTS FROM SOLIDARITY THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT TAKING ACTION OVER THE DETERIORATING FOOD SUPPLY SITUATION. SOLIDARITY HAS REACTED CAUTIOUSLY SAYING THAT IT WOULD WELCOME ANY IMPROVEMENT IN THE SUPPLY SITUATION IF THIS IS THE TROOPS' MAIN PURPOSE. GOVERNMENT DELEGATES ARE ALSO TO BE SENT OUT TO THE REGIONS, WHICH WILL GIVE THE GOVERNMENT FURTHER LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCES AND WARSAW.

This document consists of three pages.

Document NOT to be released

3. SOME CONSCRIPTS ARE ANGRY AT NOT BEING DISCHARGED ON TIME AND HAVE ASSERTED THAT THEY WILL NOT ALLOW THEMSELVES TO BE USED AGAINST WORKERS' INTERESTS.

4. NINE SOLIDARITY MEMBERS HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH ANTI-STATE ACTIVITIES. THIS IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH PAST PRACTICE AND MANY SOLIDARITY MEMBERS HAVE BEEN DETAINED IN RECENT MONTHS WITHOUT MUCH PUBLICITY. THOSE ARRESTED LAST WEEK DURING DISTURBANCES IN KATOWICE AND WROCLAW HAVE BEEN RELEASED AND THE BAN ON PUBLIC MEETINGS LIFTED. A FURTHER INCIDENT THIS WEEK IN SILESIA IN WHICH SOME TYPE OF GAS WAS ALLEGEDLY USED IS UNDER INVESTIGATION.

5. A PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON WEDNESDAY REVEALED NO SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN PARTY APPOINTMENTS AND JARUZELSKI, ELECTED PARTY LEADER AT THE LAST PLENUM, KEEPS HIS OTHER POSTS AS PRIME MINISTER AND DEFENCE MINISTER. THE COMMITTEE CONSIDERED SEPARATING THE THREE POSTS, BUT DECIDED THAT IN THE PRESENT SITUATION THEY WERE BETTER COMBINED. THIS COULD REFLECT A BITTER STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY AND A FAILURE TO AGREE ON CHANGES. THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT APPOINTMENT WAS THAT OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF SIWICKI TO THE POLITBURO. THE COMMITTEE ALSO MADE CHANGES IN ITS DEPARTMENTAL STRUCTURE. USEJM MEETING SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY IS TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF A BAN ON STRIKES.

6. THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL COMMISSION WHICH MET IN GDANSK ON FRIDAY 23 OCTOBER ADOPTED A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR A ONE HOUR TOKEN STRIKE ALLEGING GOVERNMENT INACTION OVER THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THAT THE AUTHORITIES WERE NOW ACTING REPRESSIVELY AGAINST SOLIDARITY. THE STRIKE TOOK PLACE AS PLANNED ON 28 OCTOBER. SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE WORRIED AT THEIR LACK OF CONTROL OVER WILDCAT STRIKES, AND LINKED THE TOKEN STRIKE TO A CALL FOR AN END TO UNCO-ORDINATED STRIKE ACTION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY: THIS CALL HAS SO FAR NOT BEEN HEEDED. THE GOVERNMENT CONDEMNED THE CALL FOR A STRIKE AND DENIED THAT IT HAD TAKEN REPRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST ANYONE ON LEGITIMATE UNION BUSINESS.

7. THE GDANSK MEETING REVEALED THAT OPINIONS DIFFERED ON HOW TO RESPOND TO THE HARDER LINE BEING TAKEN BY THE AUTHORITIES. SOLIDARITY MADE A SERIES OF DEMANDS ACCOMPANIED BY THE THREAT THAT IF THEY WERE NOT MET BY THE END OF THE MONTH FURTHER STRIKE ACTION WOULD BE CONSIDERED. AMONGST OTHER THINGS SOLIDARITY DEMANDED THE SETTING UP OF A COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL CONTROL. THIS APPEARS TO BE A PROPOSAL FOR A NON-PARTY CONSULTATIVE BODY WITH A SUPERVISORY ROLE WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ANY SPECIFIC MEASURES. THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSED A JOINT COMMISSION: THIS HAS BEEN REJECTED BY SOLIDARITY BUT THE TWO PROPOSALS COULD IN TIME BE RECONCILED SINCE BOTH

SIDES APPEARED TO ACCEPT THE NEED FOR A MORE INSTITUTIONALISED RELATIONSP.

8. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES UNDER GENERAL JARUZELSKI APPEAR TO BE WILLING TO DEMONSTRATE A GREATER ASSERTIVENESS FOR EXAMPLE BY GIVING A GREATER, THOUGH STILL LIMITED RÔLE TO THE ARMED FORCES IN SUPPORT OF THE CIVIL POWER, AND BY CONTINUING TO ACT AGAINST SOME ACTIVISTS. THEY CONTINUE TO BE WILLING TO CONDUCT A DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY, THOUGH JARUZELSKI AND WALESA HAVE APPARENTLY NOT MET SINCE JARUZELSKI'S ELECTION AS PARTY SECRETARY. THE MEASURES TAKEN SO FAR MAY HELP THE GOVERNMENT TO WITHSTAND PRESSURE FROM WITHIN THE PARTY FOR TOUGHER MOVES AGAINST SOLIDARITY, BUT MAY LEAD TO INCREASED SOLIDARITY SUSPICION OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS. JARUZELSKI WILL HAVE TO MOVE CAREFULLY IF HE IS NOT TO HEIGHTEN THE RISK THAT A MAJOR CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARITY WILL BE BROUGHT ABOUT.