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Ref PA

COMCENTRE NAC/MC
Number: 117 / 120
Date : 20 NOVEMBER 1981
NATO CONFIDENTIAL
PRIORITY

COPY.
EXEMPLAIRE. N°

112

P 201042Z NOV 81
FM LONDON
TO AIG 6006
AIG 6007
BT

AS (81) 093

P. A. Sub - Registry
File No 19.10.01 (Poland)

NADA/ASSESSMENT/NOV 002/JIC/201042Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC.
POLAND.

1. DEBATE IS CONTINUING ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD". MEETINGS ARE BEING HELD THIS WEEK BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARITY DELEGATIONS TO CONSIDER POSSIBLE NEGOTIATIONS ON CERTAIN CONCRETE ISSUES. STRIKES AND OTHER PROTESTS CONTINUE IN A NUMBER OF AREAS.

2. THE "FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD" MOOTED AT THE JARUZELSKI/GLEMP/WALESA MEETING ON 4 NOVEMBER HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF MUCH DISCUSSION IN POLAND. SO FAR IT REMAINS A NEBULOUS CONCEPT AND THERE IS APPARENTLY LITTLE AGREEMENT ON WHAT PRACTICAL FORM THE FRONT MIGHT TAKE. JARUZELSKI HAS HAD MEETINGS WITH LEADERS OF THE TWO SMALLER PARTIES (THE PEASANTS PARTY AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY) AND THE YOUTH, WOMENS, VETERANS AND NON-SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS, ALL OF WHOM HAVE EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE FRONT. THE AUTHORITIES CLEARLY DO NOT ENVISAGE ANY NEW ORGANISATION CONFINED TO THE PARTY/GOVERNMENT, CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY, BUT ARE THINKING OF A BROAD-RANGING BODY IN WHICH SOLIDARITY'S INFLUENCE WOULD BE DILUTED. THE IDEA OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT (PRESUMABLY IN THE SENSE OF REAL POWER-SHARING) HAS BEEN RULED OUT BY OLSZOWSKI AND OTHERS. THE PARTY HAS SUBMITTED PROPOSALS ON THE PRINCIPLES FOR THE FRONT TO VARIOUS ORGANISATIONS, AND AN "INITIATIVE GROUP" IS LIKELY TO BE SET UP TO CARRY THE DISCUSSION FURTHER. PARTY OFFICIALS HAVE SPECIFIED THAT PARTIES TO THE FRONT MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY, AND POLAND'S ALLIANCES AND SOCIAL SYSTEM.

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3. THE CONCEPT OF THE FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD MAY BE REFLECTED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO NEW BODIES. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED A RESOLUTION TO SET UP A SOCIAL CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL, AND ADVISORY BODY OF NOMINATED EXPERTS ATTACHED TO THE GOVERNMENT, AS CALLED FOR BY THE LAST SESSION OF THE SEJM. A SUCCESSOR MUST ALSO BE FOUND FOR THE PRESENT, DISCREDITED NATIONAL UNITY FRONT, WHICH ALONE HAS THE RIGHT TO NOMINATE CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS. ACTION IN THIS AREA IS URGENTLY NEEDED SINCE LOCAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS ARE DUE TO START AT THE LOWEST LEVEL ABOUT THE TURN OF THE YEAR AND AT HIGHER LEVELS EARLY IN 1982. SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS IN SOME AREAS ARE REPORTEDLY ALREADY COLLECTING THE NAMES OF POSSIBLE CANDIDATES. THE GOVERNMENT MUST PRODUCE NEW ELECTORAL REGULATIONS BEFORE THE ELECTORAL PROCESS CAN START, SINCE THE OLD PROCEDURES ARE UNIVERSALLY RECOGNISED AS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE. SOLIDARITY IS DRAWING UP ITS OWN DRAFT REGULATIONS AND IT IS LIKELY TO PROVE DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE SOLIDARITY'S IDEAS WITH THOSE OF THE PARTY.

4. SOLIDARITY IS REACTING WITH SOME RESERVE TO THE IDEA OF A FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD, BUT MAY BE PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH IT SO LONG AS IT DOES NOT INTERFERE WITH THE UNION'S ABILITY TO PURSUE THE KIND OF BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT WHICH ALONE SEEM LIKELY TO PRODUCE THE CONCESSIONS IT SEEKS. PRELIMINARY BILATERAL MEETINGS ARE TAKING PLACE THIS WEEK AND SUBSEQUENT TALKS IN WORKING GROUPS WILL, AT SOLIDARITY'S SUGGESTION, INCLUDE THE UNION'S PROPOSAL FOR A NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL COUNCIL FOR THE ECONOMY, PUBLIC CONTROL OVER AND UNION ACCESS TO THE MEDIA (ON WHICH A NUMBER OF HARD-LINE STATEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE BY PARTY LEADERS), ECONOMIC REFORM AND SELF-MANAGEMENT, PRICE REFORM, ELECTIONS TO LOCAL COUNCILS, AND JUDICIAL REFORM. THE AUTHORITIES HAVE MADE ONE OR TWO CONCILIATORY GESTURES PERHAPS INTENDED TO IMPROVE THE CLIMATE FOR TALKS, NOTABLY BY DISMISSING THE HARD-LINE PROSECUTOR-GENERAL. BOTH SIDES HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO A WILLINGNESS TO MAKE CONCESSIONS, BUT THE TALKS ARE NEVERTHELESS LIKELY TO BE DIFFICULT.

5. WALESA AND OTHER SOLIDARITY LEADERS ARE DOING THEIR BEST TO END STRIKES, BUT NEW ONES KEEP BREAKING OUT. PROTESTS, OFTEN OVER GOVERNMENT POLICIES, HAVE SPREAD TO FARMERS AND STUDENTS. OLSZOWSKI HAS REPEATED THAT IF STRIKES DO NOT END THEY WILL HAVE TO BE BANNED. IN PRACTICE THE AUTHORITIES WILL HAVE TO TOLERATE A LOW LEVEL OF STRIKE ACTIVITY UNLESS THEY ARE PREPARED TO END THE POLICY OF CONCILIATION.

6. POLISH COMMENT ON THE COUNTRY'S APPLICATION TO REJOIN THE IMF SUGGESTS THAT THE MOVE IS INTENDED NOT ONLY TO HELP TO SECURE ACCESS TO FURTHER WESTERN FUNDS BUT ALSO TO GIVE THE GOVERNMENT A SHIELD BEHIND WHICH TO HIDE IN IMPOSING UNPOPULAR OR UNORTHODOX ECONOMIC MEASURES. MOSCOW MUST HAVE ACQUIESCED IN POLAND'S DECISION TO SEEK MEMBERSHIP. THE CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY HAS IMPLICITLY CRITICISED POLAND'S AND HUNGARY'S DECISION TO JOIN THE IMF IN DESCRIBING THE FUND AS "A BASTION OF CAPITALISM IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SOCIALISM AND PROGRESS".

7. THE SOVIET PRESS REPORTED THE POLITBURO STATEMENT ENDORSING THE FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD IN A BRIEF AND NON-COMMITTAL MANNER, BUT SIGNALLY FAILED TO MENTION THE JARUZELSKI/GLEMP/WALESA MEETING. MOSCOW WILL BE WATCHING CAREFULLY TO SEE WHAT FORM THE FRONT TAKES.

PRAVDA HAS ADOPTED A NEW PROPAGANDA VARIATION, THE PUBLICATION OF AN EDITORIAL REVIEW QUOTING LETTERS FROM ALL OVER THE SOVIET UNION DEPLORING THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND PARTICULARLY THE ACTIVITIES OF SOLIDARITY RADICALS, AND IMPLICITLY CALLING ON THE POLISH AUTHORITIES TO TAKE TOUGHER ACTION. IN OTHER SOVIET COMMENT THERE ARE SIGNS OF ANXIETY ABOUT THE INCREASING NATIONAL SENTIMENT AND CHURCH INFLUENCE IN POLAND (BOTH BEING USED BY THE LEADERSHIP IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONAL UNITY), WHICH ARE NO DOUBT THOUGHT LIKELY TO INCREASE ANTI-SOVIET FEELING.

8. THE IMPETUS GIVEN TO NATIONAL CONCILIATION BY THE TRIPARTITE MEETING IS LIKELY TO DISAPPEAR FAIRLY QUICKLY IF IT IS NOT FOLLOWED BY ACTION TO GIVE IT CONCRETE EXPRESSION. IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR THAT THE AUTHORITIES INTEND ANYTHING MORE THAN A FACADE BEHIND WHICH THEY WOULD TRY TO RE-ESTABLISH THEIR OWN AUTHORITY. THE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD SO FAR APPEAR TO OFFER LITTLE INCENTIVE TO SOLIDARITY TO ABANDON ITS PREVIOUS TACTICS OF SEEKING CONCESSIONS THROUGH PRESSURE AND BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

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