

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

Number: 031 /032

Date : 13 DECEMBER 1981

NATO CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY

COPY. No 112
EXEMPLAIRE.

AS (81) 095

P. A. Sub - Registry
File No 19-10-01

(Poland)

NADA/ASSESSMENT/DEC 002/JIC/131730Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC:
POLAND.

1. THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND ON THE NIGHT OF 12/13 DECEMBER AND THE ARREST BOTH OF SOLIDARITY LEADERS AND OF GIEREK AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE DISCREDITED FORMER REGIME WAS CLEARLY BASED ON PLANS CAREFULLY PREPARED IN ADVANCE. RELATIONS BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND THE POLISH AUTHORITIES HAD DETERIORATED SHARPLY OVER THE PAST WEEK AND NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THEM HAD BROKEN DOWN. WE DO NOT YET KNOW WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE LEADING MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY, WHO WERE IN GDANSK. SOLIDARITY HAD PREPARED PLANS FOR COUNTERING MEASURES SUCH AS THOSE NOW TAKEN; JARUZELSKI MUST HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE PREVENTED FROM IMPLEMENTING THESE, AND THAT THE GENERAL POPULATION WILL ACCEPT HIS CLAIM THAT HE WISHES THE POLISH "RENEWAL" TO CONTINUE AND TO AVOID SOVIET INTERVENTION. THE SOVIET UNION HAS REPORTED BRIEFLY JARUZELSKI'S ANNOUNCEMENT BUT SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO OTHER COMMENT.

2. MARTIAL LAW WAS DECLARED IN POLAND FROM MIDNIGHT ON 12/13 DECEMBER. A MILITARY COUNCIL FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, CONSISTING OF MILITARY LEADERS WAS SET UP UNDER JARUZELSKI. MILITARY COMMISSARS HAVE BEEN APPOINTED TO OVERSEE CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT. OTHER STEPS TAKEN INCLUDE SEALING OF THE BORDERS, SEVERING OF TELEX AND DIPLOMATIC LINKS, IMPOSITION OF A CURFEW, SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES, A BAN ON STRIKES AND GATHERINGS OTHER THAN RELIGIOUS CELEBRATIONS, A TAKEOVER OF THE BROADCASTING SYSTEM AND SUSPENSION OF REGIONAL BROADCASTS. THREATS TO OFFICIAL PERSONS AND PREMISES ARE TO BE COUNTERED THROUGH THE USE OF ARMY UNITS.

3. JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH ANNOUNCING THE MEASURES STRESSED THAT THEY WERE INTENDED TO BE OF SHORT DURATION AND WOULD BE RESCINDED WHEN CALM AND ORDER WERE RESTORED. THE MEASURES WERE INTENDED TO PRESERVE THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE "RENEWAL" AND REFORMS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC REFORM WOULD BE CONTINUED, JARUZELSKI LEFT THE DOOR OPEN FOR FUTURE COOPERATION WITH VARIOUS FORCES IN POLAND INCLUDING THE "HEALTHY FORCES" IN SOLIDARITY. AUTHORITIES MUST HOPE THAT THESE ASSURANCES, TOGETHER WITH THE POPULARLY DEMANDED DETENTION OF GIEREK AND OTHER FORMER PARTY LEADERS AND THE PROMISE OF AN END TO CORRUPTION AND INEFFICIENCY, WILL HELP TO FORM PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE MEASURES.

4. JARUZELSKI ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT SOLIDARITY EXTREMISTS AND ACTIVISTS OF ANTI-STATE ORGANISATIONS WERE BEING DETAINED. WE DO NOT YET KNOW HOW SUCCESSFUL THIS OPERATION HAS BEEN. SOLIDARITY'S NATIONAL COMMISSION WAS MEETING AT THE GDANSK SHIPYARD ON 12 AND 13 DECEMBER AND IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER POLICE WERE ABLE TO DETAIN THEM INDIVIDUALLY

N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L

This document consists of two pages.

Document 01 to 10

-2-

OR ISOLATE THEM IN THE SHIPYARD. SOLIDARITY LEADERS MAY HAVE HAD SUFFICIENT WARNING TO ALLOW THEM TO DISPERSE. WHETHER SOLIDARITY CAN CONTINUE TO OPERATE IN ANY FORM IN THE LIGHT OF ARRESTS AND INTERRUPTED COMMUNICATIONS WILL OBVIOUSLY BE CRUCIAL TO WHAT HAPPENS NEXT IN POLAND. SOLIDARITY HAS LONG HAD DETAILED CONTINGENCY PLANS FOR JUST SUCH A STEP, INVOLVING A GENERAL STRIKE, INDUSTRIAL SABOTAGE, THE OCCUPATION OF FACTORIES, THE APPOINTMENT OF ALTERNATIVE LEADERS ETC. BUT WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THESE PLANS ARE STILL VALID. THEY MUST IN ANY CASE BE KNOWN TO THE AUTHORITIES, WHO WILL NO DOUBT TAKE STEPS TO COUNTER THEM. THE FIRST REACTION BY SOLIDARITY HAS BEEN THE DISTRIBUTION THIS MORNING OF LEAFLETS CALLING FOR A GENERAL STRIKE.

5. THE MINIMUM PUBLIC REACTION IS LIKELY TO BE ONE OF SPORADIC STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS. WIDESPREAD STRIKES ARE QUITE LIKELY, AND A NATIONWIDE STRIKE CANNOT BE RULED OUT. THAT WOULD FACE THE AUTHORITIES WITH THE CHOICE OF NEGOTIATING WITH STRIKE LEADERS, SITTING OUT THE STRIKE (DIFFICULT IN THE PRESENT CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION), OR USING FORCE TO END THE STRIKE. THE LAST OPTION COULD ENTAIL A CONSIDERABLE RISK OF VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED. IF THE POLICE OR ARMY OPEN FIRE, THE RISK OF THE SITUATION DETERIORATING TO THE POINT AT WHICH SOVIET INTERVENTION WOULD BE LIKELY WILL INCREASE.

6. POLISH POLICE AND ARMY HAVE CORDONED OFF STREETS AROUND THE SOLIDARITY HEADQUARTERS IN WARSAW. THE BUILDING HAS BEEN SURROUNDED AND OCCUPIED BY THE POLICE. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE REST OF THE COUNTRY.

7. SO FAR THERE HAS BEEN NO SIGN OF ANY SOVIET MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

8. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN POLAND HAS BEEN DETERIORATING STEADILY SINCE THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, AT WHICH THE UNION'S POLITICAL AMBITIONS WERE FOR THE FIRST TIME ENSHRINED IN POLICY DOCUMENTS. BUT THERE HAS BEEN A PARTICULARLY SHARP DETERIORATION IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS. IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT SOLIDARITY IS NOT PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN THE FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD ON THE REGIME'S TERMS. ACTIONS BY THE AUTHORITIES SUCH AS THE ENDING OF THE STUDENT FIREMEN'S STRIKE HAVE CLEARLY CONVINCED THE UNION THAT THEY ARE NOT SERIOUS ABOUT DISCUSSING CONCILIATION. IT WAS BECOMING CLEAR THAT THE SEJMS WOULD NOT PASS THE SPECIAL POWERS LEGISLATION DESIRED BY THE PARTY. ARCHBISHOP GLEMP'S APPEAL TO THE SEJMS NOT TO DO SO WAS A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO PARTY AUTHORITY. THE PARTY'S POSITION IN THE FACTORIES HAS BEEN CRUMBLING; MOVES BY SOLIDARITY TO EXPEL PARTY COMMITTEES FROM THE FACTORIES HAVE BEEN FALLING IN MOMENTUM. FINALLY, THE SOLIDARITY NATIONAL COMMISSION MEETING IN GDANSK ON 12 DECEMBER ADOPTED RESOLUTIONS CALLING ON THE SEJMS NOT TO PASS THE TRADE UNION LAW (WHICH THE AUTHORITIES HAD AMENDED TO MAKE IT TOUGHER) AND SUPPORTING EFFORTS TO SET UP INDEPENDENT UNIONS FOR THE POLICE; CALLED FOR NATIONWIDE PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS ON 17 DECEMBER; REITERATED ITS CONDITIONS FOR JOINING A FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD; AND DISCUSSED A PROPOSAL TO HOLD A REFERENDUM ON THE FUTURE FORM OF A POLISH GOVERNMENT.

9. JARUZELSKI MUST HAVE BEEN UNDER INCREASINGLY SEVERE PRESSURE TO ACT TO STEM THE CLEAR DISINTEGRATION OF AUTHORITY IN POLAND, BOTH FROM HARD-LINERS IN THE PARTY AND FROM MOSCOW. HE MAY ALSO HAVE FELT HE HAD TO ACT IN ORDER TO PREEMPT A CALL BY HARD-LINERS FOR SOVIET ASSISTANCE. HIS SPEECH SUGGESTED THAT THIS WAS POLAND'S LAST CHANCE OF GETTING OUT OF THE CRISIS BY ITSELF.

10. THE SOLIDARITY PROPOSALS OF 12 DECEMBER WILL HAVE PROVIDED THE GOVERNMENT WITH JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR MOVE, BUT THE POLICE ACTION AND THE OTHER MEASURES TAKEN TO INTRODUCE MARTIAL LAW WERE CLEARLY WELL PLANNED AND PREPARED. A BARRAGE OF PROPAGANDA AGAINST SOLIDARITY OVER THE PAST WEEK MUST HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO PREPARE THE POPULATION FOR TOUGH MEASURES. JARUZELSKI WILL HAVE TO PERSUADE THE GENERAL POPULATION THAT HE IS ACTING IN GOOD FAITH AND IN ORDER TO FORESTALL SOVIET INTERVENTION IF HE IS TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF AVOIDING BLOODSHED OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH WILL BE CRUCIAL IN THIS SITUATION AND JARUZELSKI IS LIKELY TO SEEK AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE AND A PLEA FOR CALM FROM THE CHURCH LEADERSHIP.

BT

-2-