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GERMAN DELEGATION  
TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

DÉLÉGATION ALLEMANDE  
AU CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE-NORD

Brussels, 28 August 1980

REG. P.A.
ACTION SLIP
NO 11413/80

*Reg PA*  
*cc M. Cella*  
*No. devague*  
*M. Cella*  
*RSCS*  
*Reg PA*

*Dear Glenn,*

P. A. Sub - Registry
File No 19-10-01 (Poland)

Following our discussion in the Political Committee on Poland please find enclosed excerpts from a report of our Embassy in Moscow continuing the evaluation of the Soviet Reaction to the events in Poland.

I am sending a copy of this letter and the enclosure to all members of the Political Committee and the representative of the IMS.

*Sincerely yours*  
*Anton*

1 encl.

Mr. Glenn R. CELLA  
Director of the  
Political Directorate and  
Chairman of the Political Committee

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Brussels, 28 August 1980

RESTRICTEDN o t eSubject: Soviet Reaction to the Events in Poland

1. Gierek's speech of 24 August was reported in detail from 25 to 26 August 1980 in all Soviet mass media in the form of a TASS report from Warsaw. Although Gierek is not always quoted verbatim, the report reproduces Gierek's thoughts and language more or less adequately in a somewhat more general form. The form of reproduction of Gierek's speech especially reduces the emotional nature of his urgent appeal. Thus, there is no reference to his admission that the reports which he had received about the situation in Danzig, Stettin etc. had moved him to a particular degree and that they hid a complicated truth. His promise to carry out a fundamental change in the policy of Party and State and to adjust it to the realities of the present time is also omitted.

2. Gierek's remarks on the problem of free trade unions are not fully reproduced. Thus, there is no mention of his promise that the forthcoming trade union elections would be fully democratic, secret and with an unlimited number of candidates. On the other hand, the TASS report from Warsaw repeats his words about the authentic defence of workers' interests as the noblest function of trade unions.

3. In spite of the more general presentation and the omission of several points raised by Gierek, the TASS report is - in view of Soviet conditions - an unusually frank and comprehensive reproduction of Gierek's speech. To this extent, the line which was begun with the report on Gierek's statement of 18 August was continued. The Soviet population still does not receive any detailed information on the events in Poland, but it is felt that in view of the indirect Soviet reporting

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so far, which practically limits itself to the repetition of Polish statements, the population will be aware that a serious economic crisis in Poland has developed into a political crisis.

4. A TASS commentary by Kornikov which is apparently reserved for foreign readers and which was published in the English-language service of TASS on 25 August constitutes the first direct Soviet reaction to the events in Poland. Kornilov comments not so much the situation in Poland as - from a defensive attitude - western propaganda which, he believes, was trying to exploit the situation to discredit socialism, inspired by imperialist circles in the United States and NATO. In addition to this polemic charge, Kornilov builds up two further lines of defence. On the one hand, he expresses the thought that, in view of the economic difficulties in the capitalist camp (he briefly refers to the critical situation in the capitalist economy, unemployment figures etc.), the western propaganda hardly had a right to criticize the situation in Poland whose problems are described by him as capable of solution, at least in principle.

5. On the other hand, his commentary contains a clear reference to German revanchist demands by mentioning territorial claims as had again been voiced in the "Deutsche Nationalzeitung" in view of the present situation in Poland. Kornilov also criticizes the remark in the "Westfälische Rundschau" which had spoken of changes in the present system in Poland. Kornilov's arbitrary selection of German comments indicates that a further step which was usually taken in the case of earlier unrest in Poland will follow: the reference to the danger from outside which threatened Poland at times of internal weakness.

6. The TASS commentary by Kornikov represents a first Soviet hint and advice to communist parties in the world and other organizations close to them. It must also be regarded as a first, cautious disciplinary move in view of the rather critical comments on the events in Poland in some communist Parties.