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CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

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POLAND.

P. A. Sub - Registry  
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*Poland*

1. SOVIET MILITARY PREPARATIONS ARE CONTINUING IN AND AROUND POLAND. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REGIME AND SOLIDARNOSC ARE AGAIN MOVING TOWARDS CONFRONTATION.
2. DESPITE THE GENERAL OPTIMISM EXPRESSED BY MANY POLISH OFFICIALS THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS THAT THE PERIOD OF DOMESTIC CALM RESULTING FROM THE INTENSE PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE EXERTED ON THE POLES OVER THE LAST TWO WEEKS IS COMING TO AN END, WITH A HARDENING OF POSITIONS ON THE PART OF BOTH THE REGIME AND THE SOLIDARNOSC TRADE UNION ORGANISATION. OTHER GROUPS SUCH AS PRIVATE FARMERS ARE ALSO SHOWING SIGNS OF RESTIVENESS. THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO CLAW BACK A CONCESSION GRANTED EARLIER CAME WHEN THE AUTHORITIES IMPOSED RESTRICTIONS ON THE SCREENING OF A DOCUMENTARY FILM ABOUT THE STRIKES WHICH TOOK PLACE IN GDANSK IN AUGUST. THE RESTRICTIONS WERE ACCOMPANIED BY A PRESS ARTICLE ATTACKING THE FILM FOR BEING DISTORTED AND TOO POLITICAL. SOLIDARNOSC HAS PROTESTED AGAINST THE RESTRICTIONS AND SUGGESTED THAT IT IS LIKELY TO PROVOKE UNREST. SOLIDARNOSC LEADER LECH WALESIA INSTANCED THE FILM WHEN HE THREATENED IN AN INTERVIEW THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT STOP ITS PROVOCATION SOLIDARNOSC WOULD "DEAL A VERY SERIOUS BLOW. THE WHOLE COUNTRY WILL BE INVOLVED".
3. IN A SPEECH ON 10 DECEMBER THE SOVIET DEFENCE MINISTER, USTINOV, MADE THE FIRST PUBLIC REFERENCE TO THE POLISH CRISIS BY A MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO. HIS REMARKS INDICATE THAT SOVIET CONCERN OVER THE TREND OF EVENTS IN POLAND HAS NOT ABATED SINCE THE MOSCOW SUMMIT.
4. SOLIDARNOSC HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT IT IS FORMING A SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND POLITICAL PRISONERS. THE COMMITTEE IS TO PRESS FOR THE RELEASE OF 4 DISSIDENTS (NONE OF WHOM HAS STRONG LINKS WITH SOLIDARNOSC). THE SOLIDARNOSC STATEMENT CLAIMED THAT IT WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO PUT PEOPLE INTO PRISON FOR THEIR CONVICTIONS AND THAT THE AGREEMENTS REACHED

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N A T O S E C R E T

IN THE SUMMER COMMITTED THE AUTHORITIES TO RELEASE POLITICAL DETAINEES. (IN FACT THE GDANSK AGREEMENT ONLY PROVIDED FOR A REVIEW OF THE CASES OF POLITICAL DETAINEES - AND AT LEAST ONE OF THE FOUR DISSIDENTS NAMED HAS BEEN ARRESTED SINCE THEN). THE REGIME, WITH ITS NEW LEADERSHIP AND NEW POLICIES ADOPTED AT THE VII PLENUM, SEEMS BOUND TO REJECT SOLIDARNOSC'S CLAIM TO ANY LOCUS STANDI ON A PURELY POLITICAL

QUESTION SUCH AS THAT OF POLITICAL DETAINEES, AND SOLIDARNOSC'S LATEST ACTION WILL CONFIRM THE VIEW OF THOSE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE POLAND WHO BELIEVE THE ORGANISATION HAS AIMS GOING WELL BEYOND WHAT IS LEGITIMATE FOR A TRADE UNION.

5. THE LINES ARE THUS DRAWN FOR A NEW ROUND OF CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE REGIME AND SOLIDARNOSC. IN THE NEW CLIMATE THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES IS LIKELY TO BE MORE ROBUST THAN PREVIOUSLY; WHILE SOLIDARNOSC NO DOUBT FEARS THE BEGINNING OF THE END FOR ITS OWN FREEDOM OF ACTION IF IT DOES NOT ADOPT A MORE MILITANT STANCE AT THIS STAGE. THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ARE LIKELY TO LEAD TO RENEWED TENSION IN THE COUNTRY. THIS WILL BE AGGRAVATED IF, AS SEEMS LIKELY DESPITE THE STRENUOUS EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE GOVERNMENT, FOOD SUPPLIES ARE NOT GREATLY IMPROVED BEFORE CHRISTMAS. FEELINGS COULD BE RUNNING HIGH AT THE TIME OF THE GDANSK CEREMONIES ON 16 DECEMBER TO MARK THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1970 RIOTS.

6. SOVIET FORCES ARE NOW WELL PREPARED FOR INTERVENTION AND ARE CAPABLE OF A RAPID MILITARY MOVE INTO POLAND. WHILE WE WOULD STILL EXPECT TO SEE SOME ADDITIONAL MILITARY INDICATORS PRIOR TO AN INTERVENTION, WE NOW JUDGE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LATEST PREPARATIONS, THAT THE AMOUNT OF WARNING TIME WE MIGHT RECEIVE OF A MAJOR SOVIET MOVE INTO POLAND COULD BE AS LITTLE AS 24 HOURS.

7. WE HAVE DETECTED NO TROOP MOVEMENTS INTO THE GDR/ POLISH BORDER AREA WHERE THE RECENTLY IMPOSED TEMPORARY RESTRICTED AREAS HAVE LAPSED. MOVEMENTS OF BOTH CZECHOSLOVAK AND SOVIET FORCES INTO A TRAINING AREA IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA NEAR THE POLISH BORDER HAVE BEEN DETECTED SINCE LATE ON 8 DECEMBER. THERE IS LIMITED EVIDENCE THAT A CALL UP OF SOME CZECHOSLOVAK RESERVISTS IS TAKING PLACE.

8. PRESENT EVIDENCE INDICATES THAT NO ORDER HAS YET BEEN GIVEN FOR INTERVENTION IN POLAND BUT THAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE FELT IT NECESSARY, EVEN AFTER THE WARSAW PACT

MEETING IN MOSCOW, TO COMPLETE THE PREPARATIONS WHICH WILL ENABLE THEM TO INTERVENE RAPIDLY. THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS MOVING IN A DIRECTION CALCULATED TO CONFIRM THE RUSSIANS IN THE VIEW THAT INTERVENTION WILL BE NECESSARY.

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