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08 JANUARY 1981

P. A. Sub = Registry

File No. 19-10-81 (Poland) AS ( 81 ) 001

The following assessment was submitted to the NATO Situation Centre by the JIC LONDON. It has been transmitted to Capitals (MEAs and MODs) and MNCs by the originator.

POLAND

1. WORKERS AND AUTHORITIES IN POLAND ARE MOVING AGAIN TOWARDS CONFRONTATION AFTER A PERIOD OF RELATIVE CALM.
2. THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN DISPUTE IS THE DEMAND FOR A 5-DAY WEEK, WHICH SOLIDARNOSC MAINTAINS WAS GRANTED AMONG THE PROVISIONS OF THE GDANSK AND OTHER AGREEMENTS (THOUGH EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF MINERS NO TIME-SCALE WAS SPECIFIED IN THE AGREEMENTS). THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARED TO CONCEDE A 5-DAY WEEK TO BE INTRODUCED OVER 5 YEARS, OR TO BE INTRODUCED IMMEDIATELY IF ACCOMPANIED BY A LONGER WORKING DAY. THE SOLIDARNOSC NATIONAL CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE VOTED AT A MEETING ON 7 JANUARY TO PROCLAIM UNILATERALLY A 5-DAY WORKING WEEK FROM THIS WEEKEND. THIS DECISION WAS REACHED AFTER A 5-HOUR MEETING BETWEEN UNION LEADER WALESKA AND DEPUTY PREMIER JAGIELSKI APPARENTLY FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY AGREEMENT. WALESKA, WHO HAS UP TO NOW TAKEN A RELATIVELY CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE TO THE AUTHORITIES, APPEARS NOW TO TAKE A GLOOMY VIEW OF THE ATTITUDE OF THE REGIME TO THE UNIONS, WHICH HAS PROBABLY HARDENED SINCE THE MOSCOW SUMMIT. A NUMBER OF BRANCHES OF SOLIDARNOSC ARE ALSO TAKING OR THREATENING STRIKE OR OTHER PROTEST ACTION OVER A RANGE OF ISSUES, FROM THE REGISTRATION OF THE PRIVATE FARMERS UNION TO THE DISMISSAL OF A GOVERNMENT MINISTER. ON THE OTHER HAND AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE PUBLICATION IN SZCZECIN OF A WEEKLY SOLIDARNOSC NEWSPAPER WITH A CIRCULATION OF 100,000 AND OTHER SOLIDARNOSC PUBLICATIONS ARE LIKELY TO FOLLOW. THERE COULD HOWEVER BE TROUBLE IF THE AUTHORITIES DECIDE THESE PAPERS MUST BE SUBJECT TO OFFICIAL CENSORSHIP.
3. THE CHURCH HIERARCHY SEEMS TO BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT ITS CRITICISM OF DISSIDENT GROUPS. THE PRIMATE HAD A MEETING ON 4 JANUARY WITH LEADERS OF THE WARSAW BRANCH OF SOLIDARNOSC INCLUDING THE KOR DISSIDENT MICHNIK. ALTHOUGH THE CARDINAL MAY HAVE USED THE MEETING TO URGE MODERATION ON THE FAIRLY RADICAL WARSAW BRANCH OF THE UNION, THE SIGHT OF HIM IN DISCUSSIONS WITH ONE OF THE MOST FREQUENTLY CRITICISED DISSIDENTS IS LIKELY TO DISMAY BOTH POLISH AND SOVIET LEADERS. A FURTHER SIGN OF A MORE ACTIVE ROLE BY THE CHURCH CAME IN A SHARP ATTACK ON GOVERNMENT POLICIES CONCERNING CHURCH AID TO THE SICK CONTAINED IN THE SERMON GIVEN DURING THE MASS BROADCAST ON 4 JANUARY.
4. FERMENT CONTINUES IN MANY INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES, WHERE THE PARTY HAS SUFFERED SOME LOSS OF CONTROL. IN THE SECRET ELECTIONS FOR DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNION OF WRITERS (HELD ON 28-30 DECEMBER) PARTY CANDIDATES WON

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ONLY A HANDFUL OF SEATS. THE CONGRESS ENDED WITH THE ELECTION AS CHAIRMAN OF THE UNION OF THE INDEPENDENTLY-MINDED JAN JOZEF SZCZEPANSKI WHO IN AN INTERVIEW AFTER THE CONGRESS EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT INTELLECTUAL LIFE WOULD NOW SLOWLY RETURN TO NORMAL. THE ATTITUDE OF THE REGIME TO CREATIVE FREEDOM SEEMS FAR FROM CLEAR. THE MINISTER OF CULTURE, SPEAKING AT THE WRITERS' CONGRESS, SAID THAT THE BROAD LIMITS OF CREATIVE FREEDOM WOULD BE PRESERVED EXCEPT FOR "EXTREME NIHILISTIC AND NEGATIVE TRENDS OR FOR PSEUDO-LITERARY PROPAGANDA". HOWEVER A PARTY SECRETARY ADDRESSING CULTURAL WORKERS IN CRACOW IN LATE DECEMBER PRESENTED A MORE TRADITIONAL PARTY LINE; PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO WORK OF VALUABLE IDEOLOGICAL AND MORAL CONTENT, WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED MAINLY FROM PARTY MEMBERS, AND WORKS SHOULD BE EVALUATED FOR THEIR USEFULNESS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM. THE CONGRESS OF ADVOCATES HELD IN POZNAN IN EARLY JANUARY AMONG OTHER THINGS LAID STRESS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, CALLED FOR A STRENGTHENING OF THE RULE OF LAW AND NOTED THAT THE LAW MUST GUARANTEE CIVIL LIBERTIES. FOR ITS PART THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES HAS ELECTED THE LIBERAL HISTORIAN GIEYSZTOR AS ITS CHAIRMAN. THERE IS PROBABLY WIDESPREAD DISAGREEMENT IN THE PARTY ON THE PROPER ROLE FOR ALL SECTIONS OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, AND NO CLEAR POLICY MAY EMERGE UNTIL THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONGRESS.

5. PRAVDA ON 2 JANUARY PRINTED A TASS REPORT WHICH CHARGED THAT ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES WERE USING SOLIDARNOSC AS A COVER AND URGING THE UNION TO BECOME A POLITICAL ORGANISATION ACTING AS A COUNTERWEIGHT TO THE OFFICIAL ORGANS OF POWER. THIS FOLLOWED A TASS REPORT OF 29 DECEMBER THAT A MEETING OF POLISH LABOUR VETERANS HAD SENT A LETTER TO POLISH PARTY MEMBERS WHICH SPOKE OF FORCES HARMFUL TO SOCIALISM TRYING TO INFLAME THE SITUATION IN POLAND AND THE GROWING THREAT OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION. THE SOVIET PARTY THEORETICAL JOURNAL KOMMUNIST HAS ALSO CARRIED AN ARTICLE CRITICISING THE POLISH PARTY'S FAILURE TO RE-ESTABLISH THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY AND DESCRIBING POLAND'S PROBLEMS AS "AN ACUTE POLITICAL CRISIS". ON THE OTHER HAND THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE PUT OUT SOME MORE FAVOURABLE COMMENT ON POLAND, INCLUDING AN ARTICLE IN IZVESTIYA ON 1 JANUARY WHICH GAVE A NOTABLE OPTIMISTIC ACCOUNT OF PARTY AND FACTORY WORK IN SILESIA AND ELSEWHERE.

6. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS SUGGEST THAT THE PERIOD OF CALM IN POLAND, WHICH RESULTED MAINLY FROM A CONCERTED EFFORT BY REGIME, UNIONS AND CHURCH TO BURY THEIR DIFFERENCES FOR THE MOMENT IN THE FACE OF SOVIET PRESSURE AND THE CLEAR POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET INTERVENTION, HAS NOW ENDED. SOLIDARNOSC IS CLEARLY DISILLUSIONED ABOUT THE REGIME'S ATTITUDE AND PROBABLY BELIEVES THAT ONLY RENEWED MILITANCY CAN PREVENT ITS GAINS BEING CLAWED BACK. THE PARTY LEADERSHIP HAS LITTLE SCOPE FOR COMPROMISE GIVEN THE COUNTRY'S CRITICAL ECONOMIC POSITION AND SOVIET PRESSURE FOR AN END TO CONCESSIONS. THE RUSSIANS MUST VIEW THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS WITH GREAT CONCERN. THE MILITARY PREPARATIONS THEY MADE EARLIER WOULD ENABLE THEM TO INTERVENE IN POLAND AT SHORT NOTICE IF CIRCUMSTANCES MADE THIS NECESSARY.

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