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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JAN 007/JIC/2311225Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

1. STRIKES HAVE TAKEN PLACE OR ARE THREATENED IN MANY PARTS (Poland) OF POLAND. NEGOTIATIONS APPEAR TO HAVE REACHED DEADLOCK ON THE MOST PROMINENT ISSUE, THAT OF SATURDAY WORKING.
2. A SERIES OF UNCO-ORDINATED SHORT STRIKES OR SIT-INS TOOK PLACE IN AT LEAST 12 PROVINCES ON 16 JANUARY, THE MOST NOTABLE BEING THE TOTAL STOPPAGE OF WARSAW MUNICIPAL TRANSPORT FOR 4 HOURS. SOLIDARNOSC ACTIVISTS HAVE BEEN ACCUSED IN THE MEDIA OF USING COERCIVE MEASURES TO ENCOURAGE MEMBERS TO STRIKE, INCLUDING PICKETING AND THREATS OF EXPULSION FROM THE UNION. MANY OF THE STRIKES WERE STAGED TO REINFORCE SOLIDARNOSC'S POSITION ON SATURDAY WORKING AND PROTEST AGAINST PLANS TO DOCK THE PAY OF THOSE ABSENT ON 10 JANUARY. OTHER STRIKERS WERE DEMANDING THE REGISTRATION OF "RURAL SOLIDARNOSC", IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENT OR PERMISSION TO USE PUBLIC BUILDINGS, WERE PROTESTING ABOUT THE USE OF POLICE TO END SIT-INS, OR WERE CALLING FOR THE DISMISSAL OF LOCAL OFFICIALS OR FACTORY MANAGERS.
3. AT ITS MEETING ON 20 JANUARY SOLIDARNOSC'S NATIONAL LEADERSHIP DECIDED TO PRESS ITS DEMAND FOR FREE SATURDAYS AND URGE WORKERS TO ABSENT THEMSELVES ON 24 JANUARY; PROPOSED AN IMMEDIATE START TO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT; AND, AGAINST WALESA'S ADVICE, SUPPORTED PLANS FOR WARNING STRIKES IN AT LEAST 4 REGIONS. THEY ALSO CALLED FOR A MEETING WITH THE GOVERNMENT WITHIN 2 WEEKS TO DISCUSS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POST-STRIKE AGREEMENTS, WHICH WAS DESCRIBED AS "HIGHLY UNSATISFACTORY". SPECIFIC ISSUES MENTIONED WERE SOLIDARNOSC'S ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA, RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES AND THE NEW CENSORSHIP LAW. THE MEETING EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR "RURAL SOLIDARNOSC" AND SAID INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISES WERE FREE TO ORGANISE STRIKES ON 28 JANUARY TO BACK THE FARMERS' DEMANDS. DISSATISFACTION WAS ALSO EXPRESSED WITH THE 1981 PLAN, THE DRAFT ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME, AND THE PLANS FOR MEAT RATIONING.

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- 1 -

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of three pages.

4. AT SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN SOLIDARNOSC LEADERS AND A TEAM HEADED BY THE PRIME MINISTER THE LATTER PROPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JOINT COMMISSION TO SUPERVISE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENTS AND EXAMINE "CURRENT ISSUES". NO PROGRESS WAS MADE ON SATURDAY WORKING, THE GOVERNMENT REJECTING A COMPROMISE SOLIDARNOSC FORMULA TO REDUCE THE WORKING WEEK TO 41 AND A HALF HOURS. EARLIER THE UNION HAD APPEARED READY TO AGREE TO VOLUNTARY SATURDAY WORKING IF THE GOVERNMENT WOULD OFFICIALLY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE OF FREE SATURDAYS. THE ATMOSPHERE AT THE TALKS IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN BAD. THE GOVERNMENT SIDE DREW ATTENTION TO SOLIDARNOSC'S ALLEGED "INADMISSIBLE ABUSE OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE." THIS MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED AS A REMINDER THAT WHEN THE UNION WAS REGISTERED IT WAS WARNED THAT ITS LEGAL STATUS COULD BE RESCINDED IF IT ABUSED THE RIGHT TO STRIKE.

5. DURING WALESA'S MEETING WITH THE POPE BOTH MEN STRESSED THAT THE UNION WAS NOT A POLITICAL ORGANISATION, AND THE POPE, WHILE EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR THE UNION, COUNSELLED MODERATION. AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE END OF HIS VISIT TO ITALY WALESA NOTED THAT SOLIDARNOSC NO LONGER NEEDED THE HELP OF THE DISSIDENT ORGANISATION KOR. KOR HAS RECENTLY BEEN ATTACKED IN BOTH THE SOVIET AND POLISH PRESS, AND WALESA'S STATEMENT MAY BE SEEN AS A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO DISTANCE THE UNION FROM THE ORGANISATION. INDIVIDUAL KOR MEMBERS ARE, HOWEVER, WELL ENTRENCHED IN SUBSIDIARY ORGANS OF SOLIDARNOSC.

6. THE AUTHORITIES WILL SOON HAVE TO MAKE ANOTHER CRUCIAL DECISION, THIS TIME ON THE QUESTION OF CENSORSHIP. DRAFTING TEAMS FROM THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND FROM CULTURAL AND ACADEMIC ORGANISATIONS HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO AGREE ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW LAW ON CENSORSHIP (THE FINAL DRAFT OF WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN READY BY 15 JANUARY) AND THE DRAFT SUBMITTED TO THE PREMIER CONTAINS A NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVE VERSIONS FOR KEY ARTICLES. DIFFERENCES CONCERN THE QUESTION WHETHER THE CENSOR'S OFFICE SHOULD BE SUBORDINATED TO THE GOVERNMENT OR PARLIAMENT, THE EXEMPTION OF VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF LITERATURE (INCLUDING INTERNAL UNION AND ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS), PUBLICATION OF THE CENSOR'S DECISIONS, AND SANCTIONS FOR INFRINGEMENT OF THE LAW. IN ALL CASES THE WRITERS AND ACADEMICS ARE DEMANDING MORE LIBERAL PROVISIONS THAN THE MINISTRY. THE EVENTUAL OUTCOME WILL BE A GOOD TEST CASE OF THE EXTENT OF REFORM TOLERABLE TO THE REGIME.

7. SOVIET COMMENT ON POLISH AFFAIRS HAS CONSISTED ALMOST ENTIRELY OF REPORTS FROM POLISH SOURCES. ONE COMMENTARY REFERRED TO "CREEPING COUNTER-REVOLUTION" AS EVIDENCED BY THE ACTIVITIES OF KOR, THE OCCUPATION OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND THE DECLARATION OF FREE SATURDAYS. PRAVDA PUBLISHED SELECTIVE QUOTATIONS FROM SPEECHES BY KANIA AND BARCIKOWSKI. THE FORMER INCLUDED KANIA'S ENDORSEMENT OF CO-OPERATION WITH SOLIDARNOSC, HIS CRITICISM OF THE UNION, AND HIS CONDEMNATION OF "DIARCHY". BARCIKOWSKI WAS QUOTED AS ACCUSING SOLIDARNOSC OF NOT OBSERVING ALL THE CLAUSES OF ITS STATUTES AND ITS EXTREMIST WING OF USING TACTICS "HOSTILE TO THE STATE". THE REFERENCE TO THE UNION'S STATUTES APPEARS TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE LEGALITY OF ITS ACTIVITIES.

8. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND AUTHORITIES HAVE DETERIORATED AGAIN, WITH HARD-LINERS IN THE ASCENDANCY ON BOTH SIDES, THE EXTENT OF SATURDAY WORKING ON 24 JANUARY, OFFICIALLY A "WORKING SATURDAY", WILL SHOW THE DEGREE OF SUPPORT ENJOYED BY THE TWO SIDES. A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT MAY BE REACHED IN THE END, BUT THE ATMOSPHERE HAS BEEN FURTHER SOURED AND MANY OTHER SOURCES OF FRICTION WILL STILL REMAIN. SOLIDARNOSC IS IN SOME DISARRAY; THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP CANNOT EXERCISE FULL CONTROL OVER THE BRANCHES, WHICH ARE PREPARED TO USE THE STRIKE WEAPON IN PURSUIT OF LOCAL ENDS AS WELL AS TO SUPPORT NATIONAL ACTION. FURTHER DISRUPTION IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE SEEMS INEVITABLE AND WILL FURTHER EXACERBATE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

9. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TENSIONS IN POLAND APPEAR TO THE OBSERVER TO VARY IN SERIOUSNESS FROM WEEK TO WEEK, BUT THE GENERAL TREND SHOWS A WORSENING OF THE SITUATION. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE MILITARY SITUATION AROUND POLAND IN THE RECENT PAST THIS TREND MUST BE CAUSING THE RUSSIANS DEEP AND CONTINUING CONCERN. AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DETERMINING THE SOVIET ATTITUDE OVER THE COMING WEEKS WILL BE THE COURSE OF PREPARATIONS FOR THE FORHCOMING POLISH PARTY CONGRESS, SCHEDULED FOR LATE MARCH/EARLY APRIL.

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