

NATO SITUATION CENTRE
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

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NATO CONFIDENTIAL

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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JULY 002/JIC/091845Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC.

POLAND.

1. THE SOVIET UNION HAS CLEARLY DECIDED TO LET THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS GO AHEAD ON 14 JULY. IT IS LIKELY TO LAST AT LEAST FOUR DAYS. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP MUST HOPE THAT THE CONGRESS WILL BE RELATIVELY UNEVENTFUL AND END WITH THE ELECTION OF A NEW LEADERSHIP SIMILAR TO THE PRESENT GROUP. THE POST-CONGRESS PERIOD WILL BE CRUCIAL FOR THE FUTURE OF POLAND. MANY ELEMENTS IN THE POLISH SITUATION MUST REMAIN DEEPLY DISTURBING TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, BUT THEY ARE LIKELY TO GIVE THE NEW POLISH LEADERS SOME TIME AFTER THE CONGRESS TO PROVE THEMSELVES.

2. THE MOSCOW LETTER OF 5 JUNE PRODUCED A GENERAL SOBERING OF MOOD IN POLAND.

IN THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES IN THE CONGRESS ALL THE KEY MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP SECURED MANDATES BUT FEW RADICALS FROM EITHER WING OF THE PARTY WERE ELECTED. THE OFFICIAL MEDIA ARE NOW GIVING MORE PROMINENCE TO ORTHODOX VIEWS AND LESS TO THOSE OF THE RADICAL REFORMISTS. SOLIDARNOSC HAS TAKEN STEPS TO CURB ITS OWN PUBLICATIONS AND ITS LEADERS ARE TAKING A GENERALLY MODERATE STAND. PARTY CONSERVATIVES HAVE BECOME MORE OUTSPOKEN, AND LIBERALS APPEAR TO BE ON THE DEFENSIVE. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE SEEKING TO CLAW BACK CERTAIN CONCESSIONS, FOR INSTANCE IN THE DRAFT TRADE UNION AND CENSORSHIP LAWS. MOST IMPORTANTLY, IT NOW APPEARS PROBABLE THAT A NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP SIMILAR IN CHARACTER TO THE PRESENT ONE WILL EMERGE FROM THE PARTY CONGRESS. THESE MILDLY ENCOURAGING FACTORS MUST HAVE CONTRIBUTED

TO THE SOVIET DECISION, EVIDENT IN THE RESULTS OF GROMYKO'S VISIT AND FROM OTHER INDICATIONS, TO ALLOW THE PARTY CONGRESS TO GO AHEAD.

3. ON THE OTHER HAND THERE REMAIN, FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, A NUMBER OF VERY DISTURBING FEATURES IN THE SITUATION IN POLAND. DESPITE THE BETTER PROSPECTS FOR THE CONGRESS THE GENERAL UNCERTAINTY OVER ITS OUTCOME MUST DEEPLY OFFEND SOVIET VIEWS OF HOW PARTY AFFAIRS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED. GRABSKI'S FAILURE TO SECURE

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KANIA'S REMOVAL AT THE LAST PLENUM DEMONSTRATED THE DIFFICULTY OF TRYING TO MANIPULATE THE CONGRESS. OTHER NEGATIVE FEATURES ARE THE REGIME'S FAILURE TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THE SUPPOSED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS: SOLIDARNOSC RADICALS REMAIN IN PLACE; NO ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN AGAINST KOR DISSIDENTS; THE FOUR NATIONALIST KPN DISSIDENTS ARE BEING GIVEN A SCRUPULOUSLY FAIR TRIAL; AND THE DESECRATION OF SOVIET WAR MEMORIALS IS BEING BLAMED ON DRUNKEN VANDALS RATHER THAN ANTI-SOVIET ELEMENTS. SOLIDARNOSC OFFICIALS ARE ANGRY ABOUT GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO CLAW BACK EARLIER CONCESSIONS;

GOVERNMENT/UNION RELATIONS ARE DETERIORATING AGAIN, STRIKE THREATS HAVE RESUMED, AND THE PROSPECTS ARE FOR FURTHER CLASHES AFTER THE CONGRESS. THE CONTINUING DECLINE IN THE ECONOMY MUST ALSO BE CAUSING THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES GRAVE CONCERN.

4. ON BALANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR AN UNDRAMATIC CONGRESS ARE BETTER NOW THAN THEY SEEMED SOME WEEKS AGO. THERE SEEMS TO BE A GOOD CHANCE THAT A RELATIVELY CALM CONGRESS WILL ENDORSE A MODERATELY REFORMIST COURSE WHILE ESCHEWING ANY RADICAL DEPARTURES WHICH WOULD BE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION. KANIA MAY WELL RETAIN HIS POST AND THE NEW LEADERSHIP MAY BE NOT VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE OUTGOING GROUP. IF HOWEVER THE CONGRESS DOES RESULT IN UNACCEPTABLE CHANGES THE PROPAGANDA GROUNDWORK HAS BEEN LAID FOR IT TO BE DECLARED INVALID; THERE HAVE BEEN CLAIMS THAT THE DELEGATES DO NOT TRULY REPRESENT THE WORKERS, THAT SOME HAVE BEEN ELECTED IN WAYS CONTRARY TO THE ELECTORAL RULES, AND THAT SOLIDARNOSC HAS MANIPULATED THE ELECTIONS AND WILL TRY TO MANIPULATE THE CONGRESS. TO INVALIDATE THE CONGRESS WOULD NEVERTHELESS

BE A DRASTIC STEP WHICH WOULD HAVE SERIOUS AND UNPREDICTABLE CONSEQUENCES. WE BELIEVE SUCH A STEP WOULD BE TAKEN ONLY UNDER SEVERE SOVIET PRESSURE AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE TO BE PREPARED FOR A VIOLENT REACTION. THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF SUCH PREPARATIONS AT PRESENT AND WE THINK IT UNLIKELY THAT A BID TO INVALIDATE THE CONGRESS WILL BE MADE DURING THE PROCEEDINGS.

5. THE CONGRESS ITSELF WILL DO LITTLE TO SOLVE POLAND'S PROBLEMS, AND AFTER IT THE LEADERSHIP WILL NO LONGER HAVE THE CONGRESS AS AN EXCUSE FOR DELAYING MEASURES TO TACKLE THEM. DIFFICULT DECISIONS MUST BE MADE ON SUCH THINGS AS ECONOMIC REFORMS, PRICES AND EMPLOYMENT. AT THE SAME TIME SHORTAGES OF FOOD AND OTHER BASIC GOODS ARE LIKELY TO INCREASE SOCIAL TENSION. CLASHES BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARNOSC ARE LIKELY TO RESUME AND THE REGIME WILL AGAIN BE TEMPTED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO BUY PEACE OR THE CO-OPERATION OF THE UNIONS. TOUGHER POLICIES, FOR INSTANCE TOWARDS DISSIDENTS, WOULD RISK PROVOKING STRIKES. EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE EXTERNAL THREAT WILL NOT SUBDUCE

POLAND.

SOLIDARNOSC FOR VERY LONG. THE POST-CONGRESS LEADERSHIP, PUT INTO POWER BY A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED CONGRESS, SHOULD ENJOY GREATER LEGITIMACY AND BROADER POPULAR SUPPORT SO LONG AS IT CUTS DECISIVELY AND ALONG THE LINES ENDORSED BY THE CONGRESS. BUT FURTHER PROCRASTINATION OR THE ADOPTION OF TOUGHER POLICIES WOULD QUICKLY ERODE THE BASIS FOR THAT SUPPORT.

6. FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW THE CONGRESS IS LIKELY

TO TURN OUT LESS BADLY THAN THEY FEARED EARLIER. BUT ONCE IT IS OVER THE SOVIET LEADERS MAY FIND THEMSELVES IN THE SAME DILEMMA WHICH HAS FACED THEM ALMOST THROUGHOUT THE POLISH CRISIS; WHAT TO DO IN A SITUATION WHICH IS CLEARLY UNSATISFACTORY AND IS NOT IMPROVING, BUT WHICH NEVER GETS SUFFICIENTLY BAD TO MAKE INTERVENTION IMPERATIVE WHATEVER THE COST. THEY ARE LIKELY TO GIVE THE NEW POLISH LEADERSHIP SOME TIME TO PROVE THEMSELVES, WHILE MAINTAINING THE SAME KIND OF POLITICAL PRESSURE THAT THEY HAVE USED UP TO NOW.

BT

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