

NID 81

January 24, 1981

SITUATION REPORTS

POLAND

Solidarity leader Walesa's appeal for a walkout today in the name of "worker unity" may help make the boycott larger than the one staged two weeks ago.

The move by Walesa, who apparently had initially opposed today's action, seems intended to shore up his authority within the union. The incident also demonstrates how an unyielding attitude by the regime can allow union militants to gain the upper hand, at least momentarily, in the direction of the union.

Soviets Sharpen Attacks

The Soviet press has issued a barrage of articles this week condemning Solidarity's leaders for their stand on the issue of the 5-day, 40-hour workweek. While the initial articles were based on Polish reporting, the most recent ones were of Soviet origin.

A TASS item on Wednesday referred to Solidarity as that "so-called" trade union. This questioning of Solidarity's legitimacy as a representative of the Polish workers has not been repeated in subsequent Soviet coverage but was picked up by the Czechoslovak media. Another TASS item yesterday described the leaders of Solidarity who are instigating strikes as "under the rein of forces hostile to socialism."

The Czechoslovaks, taking their cue from the Soviets, have--as usual--gone a step further. Yesterday the party paper, in an apparent reference to Solidarity, called for the "dissolution" of organizations that have become bases for "counterrevolutionary elements."

The Soviet media yesterday also gave prominence to an appeal for a rebuff to the "subversive activity of antisocialist elements" issued by a group of Polish

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160

[REDACTED] NID 81 [REDACTED]

January 24, 1981

veterans who fought with the Soviet Army in World War II. The Polish press, however, failed to report the story. In Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviets used the same tactic of quoting--and sometimes fabricating--"open letters" and "appeals" from hardline factions as an indicator to the regime on the course of action they favored and as a way to help justify eventual intervention on behalf of "progressive" elements. [REDACTED]

Combined Maneuvers

Moscow has focused renewed attention on Soviet-Polish military cooperation at a time of increased unrest in Poland. The Soviet Army newspaper reported yesterday on combined maneuvers by Polish soldiers and Soviet motorized infantry units in Poland without making it clear when these exercises took place. [REDACTED]

We have, in fact, no evidence of any current combined maneuvers, and those reported by the Army newspaper may have occurred weeks ago. A Polish newspaper reported on 14 January that a small-unit combined exercise had taken place. [REDACTED]

During a period of unrest in early November, Moscow and Warsaw announced that they had held military maneuvers. The announcement was designed to pressure workers into backing down from some of their demands. A television film of the alleged maneuvers had actually been taken months earlier. [REDACTED]

Military Posture

Soviet military forces opposite Poland remain in a routine readiness posture and are conducting exercises typically observed at this point in the training cycle.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] elements of
a Polish mechanized division out of garrison at Szczecin,

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NID 81

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near the Polish - East German border, and Polish naval units, absent from their base last week probably for an exercise, had returned to port.

The preparatory phase of a combined Soviet-Czechoslovak exercise is under way in Czechoslovakia.