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POLAND: Continued State of Readiness

*The military situation in and around Poland remains relatively unchanged since yesterday, despite official announcements that Soyuz-81 has ended and Brezhnev's somewhat restrained statements in Prague. Solidarity leader Walesa's call yesterday for the union to abandon its tactics of confrontation in its dealings with the government will make it difficult for Prime Minister Jaruzelski to gain parliamentary support for an immediate imposition of martial law. Walesa may have learned of Jaruzelski's plans and will press even harder for a moderate stance during the three-day meeting of Solidarity's national leadership slated to end tomorrow.*

[REDACTED]

We have detected no new movements of Soviet units into Poland, however, and there are no signs of mobilization activity by Soviet forces in the western USSR.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Over the next few days Warsaw Pact forces are expected to maintain their preparedness for a possible invasion. [REDACTED]

#### Soviet Troop Rotation

The semiannual Soviet troop rotation is scheduled to begin next week in Eastern Europe and possibly next month in the western USSR. The rotation replaces about a quarter of Soviet conscripts and lowers the preparedness of Soviet units for several months. [REDACTED]

If the Soviets are planning to invade Poland in the next few weeks, they might delay the rotation or use it as a means to reinforce their units in Eastern Europe by retaining seasoned troops while bringing in new ones. They could, on the other hand, conduct a normal rotation in some units in the forward area while making special arrangements for those earmarked for an invasion. The heavy air and rail movements associated with the rotation will likely make it more difficult to detect preparations for intervention. [REDACTED]

#### Plea for Moderation

In a recent interview with a Catholic newspaper, Walesa said that those in the union who still favor confrontation should step aside. He said that the union would lose support if it pressed too hard for further concessions and that the union should concentrate on implementing the agreements that have already been reached, including the enactment of new legislation. Walesa said that the union already was working closely with members of the parliament on such measures. [REDACTED]

Walesa may have difficulty convincing the entire union leadership to accept his moderate lines. Union hardliners probably still resent the terms of the agreement settling the incident in Bydgoszcz and are impatient

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to press other demands. Walesa undoubtedly will try to strengthen his argument for moderation by pointing to a continued threat of martial law. [REDACTED]

#### Brezhnev's Speech

President Brezhnev's brief remarks on Poland yesterday in his address to the Czechoslovak party congress seem intended to undercut Western charges that the USSR is preparing a military intervention. His comment that "one must suppose" Polish Communists will rebuff the enemies of socialism suggests that the Soviets are also still hoping, but without much confidence, that the Kania regime will take decisive measures--such as the imposition of martial law--to stem the liberalization process. [REDACTED]

As in his speech to the Soviet congress in February, Brezhnev avoided the harsh rhetoric characteristic of the Soviet media and of Czechoslovak General Secretary Husak's speech on Monday. He underscored Moscow's concern, however, by comparing Polish events to the "Prague Spring" in Czechoslovakia in 1968. [REDACTED]

Brezhnev's remarks give no clear guide as to Soviet intentions on Poland. Coming a day after Husak's hard-line comments on the situation, however, they serve to portray Brezhnev as the restrained statesman who is above blunt pressure tactics. [REDACTED]