

CIACO NID 81 [REDACTED]

September 19, 1981

USSR-POLAND: Moscow's Warning

The Kremlin's attack on growing anti-Sovietism in Poland reflects its deep concern that Warsaw's indecisiveness in responding to the upheaval in Poland threatens Soviet security interests and the cohesion of the Warsaw Pact. [REDACTED]

The Soviet warning to the Polish regime may have been delivered as early as 10 September, after the appeal by the Solidarity congress to East European workers. It is intended to stem the reported disarray within the Polish leadership, stiffen the resolve of those leaders still inclined toward compromise, and intimidate the Polish population. [REDACTED]

Moscow's outline of its grievances, nevertheless, falls well short of a call for an all-out assault by the regime on Solidarity. The version published by the Soviets condemns "counterrevolutionary" dissident organizations and the "extremist" leaders of Solidarity, but it distinguishes between the latter and Solidarity's rank and file. It implicitly urges the regime to take strong action against the most outspoken elements, possibly including detention of dissident leaders, to restrict Solidarity's access to the media and public forums, and to prevent another appeal by the union to Soviet and East European workers. [REDACTED]

The absence of specific recommendations or threats suggests that Moscow realizes the regime's position is weak and that there are limits to Warsaw's ability to act. Nonetheless, the Soviet version of the message expresses "conviction" that the Polish regime will act without delay. Moscow clearly is signaling the Polish leaders that the breathing spell they have enjoyed since the party congress in July is over and that events in Poland are again approaching the limits of Soviet tolerance. [REDACTED]

More Government Rhetoric

After its all-day "emergency" session on Thursday, the Council of Ministers in Warsaw released a communique

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that was long on rhetoric but short on action. The government side presented a bill of charges very similar to that made by the party leadership on Wednesday, but its tone was as much pleading as demanding. [REDACTED]

The regime called on Solidarity to repudiate extremists who are trying to seize power, block economic solutions, and undermine Poland's alliances. The government only indirectly threatened a possible declaration of a state of emergency, by revealing that it had "examined concrete measures" that "may turn out to be essential" in defending the state. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the population is showing a heightened sense of uncertainty, but not undue alarm, at the statements by the Politburo, Solidarity, and the Soviet Central Committee. One local Solidarity paper described the Soviet message as interference in Polish internal affairs and asked rhetorically whether the USSR understood the phrase "Workers of the world, Unite!" when it attacked the union's appeal to East European and Soviet workers. [REDACTED]

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