

CIACO NID 81 [REDACTED]

March 28, 1981

POLAND: Warning of Intervention

The worsening crisis in Poland has markedly increased chances that the Polish Government will impose martial law and that the Soviets might subsequently intervene militarily. [REDACTED]

Our ability to provide warning varies significantly:

--Should the Poles impose martial law, we would expect to have no advance warning of the movement of Polish security forces and military units.

--If the Poles request immediate Soviet assistance to maintain martial law, a limited Soviet force could participate with little or no warning. The risks to the Soviets would be high, however, because a small force might not be able to cope with potentially rebellious elements in the Polish Army and an aroused population.

--A major Soviet intervention of 30 or more divisions at the request of the Poles or solely at Moscow's initiative would require large-scale preparations lasting 10 to 14 days and would provide us about 8 days of warning.

Preparations for a major intervention would exceed those of last December and would include an extensive mobilization of reservists and civilian vehicles and other large-scale logistical activity. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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CIACO NID 81- [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

While disclaiming any Soviet intention of intervening in Poland "unless we are kicked into doing so," a Soviet Embassy official in Berlin told [REDACTED] yesterday that concern over the situation was quite high in Moscow. He contended that the Soviets view the confrontation between Solidarity and the regime as still within manageable bounds, but his attitude of "nervousness combined with uncertainty" appeared to belie this. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CIACO NID 81 [REDACTED]

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Pivotal Party Plenum

Many Poles, including leading members of Solidarity, expect that the Central Committee session tomorrow will be a showdown between moderates favoring negotiations and conservatives favoring harsher measures, including martial law. [REDACTED]

Party moderates at the lower levels continue to press their demand for the punishment of those responsible for police brutality. Some have gone further to demand a purge of party conservatives who are thought to be blocking reforms. [REDACTED]

The leadership of the party organization in Gdansk, generally considered one of the most liberal, on Thursday publicly called the use of police in Bydgoszcz a "great mistake" and warned that attempts to "arbitrarily" solve the current conflict could destroy the party's ties with society and set the rank and file against the party leadership. At least several other party organizations have expressed similar sentiments. [REDACTED]

The Central Committee probably will be divided over these issues, and even the party leadership cannot be certain how the debate will turn out. A victory for the conservatives probably would lead to a decision to implement martial law. Under present circumstances, such an outcome could severely split the already weakened party and reduce its ability to play a guiding role in implementing martial law. [REDACTED]

A victory for the moderates would signal the party's intent to continue trying to resolve its disputes with Solidarity through political means. The moderates would be tempted to oust some of the leading conservatives but might hesitate out of fear of Soviet reaction. Although the meeting could end in a stalemate, the pressure of a possible nationwide general strike beginning on Tuesday makes this an unlikely alternative. [REDACTED]

Soviet Reaction

Moscow quickly condemned the strike yesterday for "paralyzing" the Polish economy, [REDACTED]

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Talks Continue

Talks yesterday between Solidarity leader Walesa and Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski again ended inconclusively after four hours, suggesting that the party leadership remains severely divided on its response to Solidarity's demands. During the talks--which are slated to resume today--Rakowski gave Walesa a copy of the government's official report on the incident at Bydgoszcz, which Walesa had pledged to study. The report may indicate how seriously the regime intends to pursue its negotiations with Solidarity. [REDACTED]

A report that absolves the police of all blame would indicate the regime is not intent on lessening tensions. There is, however, a widespread expectation in Poland the report will support Solidarity's position that excessive force was used. This finding would be viewed by many Poles as an important initial step toward meeting Solidarity's demands. [REDACTED]