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POLAND : DOMESTIC SITUATION.

THE POLISH WORKERS UNITED PARTY (PWUP) CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM MET ON 24TH AUGUST FOLLOWING A SERIES OF POLITBURO MEETINGS DURING WHICH THE MOST DELICATE POINTS WERE PROBABLY DISCUSSED. IN HIS SPEECH, DELIVERED ON THE EVENING OF THE SAME DAY AFTER THE CC PLENUM, GIEREK CLAIMED: "I MADE UP MY MIND TO CONVENE THIS ASSEMBLY FOR EXAMINING THOROUGHLY THE VERY REASONS WHICH LED TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. I LISTENED WITH THE UTMOST EMOTION TO THE CLAIMS OF OUR COMRADES BOTH AT DANZICA AND THE BALTIC AREA. FROM THEIR SPEECHES, SUCH A PARTICULAR TRUTH AND VIGOUR COME TO

BE KNOWN THAT I CANNOT BUT FEEL INVOLVED AS A PARTY ACTIVIST. THIS DRAMATIC CONFLICT MUST BE SOLVED BY AN ARRANGEMENT WITH THE WORKING CLASS". MOREOVER, GIEREK ANNOUNCED "ENOURMOUS CHANGES" IN THE NATIONAL POLICY, ADDING THAT, "NEW TRADE UNIONS MUST BE IMMEDIATELY ELECTED IN ALL ENTERPRISES WHICH REQUESTED IT AFTER DEMOCRATIC CONSULTATIONS", BUT HE CONFIRMED THAT "ONLY A SOCIALIST POLAND CAN BECOME A SOVEREIGN COUNTRY, WITH SAFE BOUNDARIES AND INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY ONLY SOCIALISM ENSURES AT PRESENT OUR NATIONAL AND GOVERNMENT INTEREST. ALL THESE ARE ESSENTIAL VALUES AND WE WILL DEFEND THEM FIRMLY". THE POLISH LEADER RECOGNIZED THAT STRIKERS HAVE KEPT ORDER AND CAUSED NO DAMAGE TO THE PUBLIC PROPERTY. HIS SELF-CRITICISM WAS A QUITE WIDE AND DETAILED ONE.

AS IS USUAL IN THE EASTERN COUNTRIES DURING SOCIO-ECONOMIC CRISIS, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ALSO ESTABLISHED A NUMBER OF TOP-LEVEL PARTY AND GOVERNMENT SHIFTS. SUCH A RESHUFFLE INVOLVED SOME OUTSTANDING PERSONALITIES. HOWEVER, PRESIDENT OF STRIKERS JOINT COMMITTEE IN DANZICA, LECH WALESA, AFTER GIEREK SPEECH, AFFIRMED: "WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN MEN SHIFTS, BUT ONLY IN THE CONCESSION OF THE 21 CLAIMS: STIKE CONTINUES".

DISCUSSED FROM THEIR JOBS WERE 4 POLITBURO (OUT OF 14) AND 2 CANDIDATE MEMBER.

ONE SURPRISING FACT WAS THE REMOVAL OF PREMIER BABIUCH (IN CHARGE FOR ONLY SIX MONTHS), WHO WAS LONG SINCE CONSIDERED THE TRUST-MAN OF GIEREK, WHILE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL RECOVERY IS REPRESENTED BY STEFAN OLSZOWSKI (FORMER FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER AND AMBASSADOR CREDITED TO THE GDR), DISMISSED AS POLITICALLY LIBERAL-ORIENTED IN FEBRUARY PAST DURING THE 8TH PWUP CONGRESS.

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IN THE EVENING OF AUGUST 24, AT THE LENIN SHIPYARDS OF DANZICA NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ALSO STARTED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION LED BY VICE-PREMIER MIECZISLOW JAGIELSKI AND THE STRIKERS JOINT COMMITTEE. JAGIELSKI HAS SKILFULLY FACED THE PROBLEMS INHERENT THE 21 CLAIMS PUT FORWARD BY WORKERS, ASSURING THAT THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM WILL BE IMPROVED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM, PRESENTLY BEING WORKED OUT BY GOVERNMENT EXPERTS. HOWEVER, NO CONCESSION HAS BEEN MADE AS TO QUESTIONS SUCH AS FREE TRADE UNIONS, RIGHT OF STRIKING AND FREEDOMS OF PRESS AND EXPRESSION.

YET NOW NO DECISION WAS MADE, BUT THE GOODWILL SHOWN FROM BOTH SIDES IS AN HOPEFUL INDICATION FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS TO CONTINUE.

THERE IS NO CLEAR EVIDENCE OF PARTICULAR RESTRICTIONS ON PEOPLE MOVEMENT AND CONTROLS BY POLICE ARE NOT TOO STRICT, OR SHOWY SUCH AS BARBED-WIRED BARRAGES.

HOWEVER TOURIST MOVEMENT HAS DECLINED IN THE BALTIC AREA. NO SIGNIFICANT DEPLOYMENT OR UNUSUAL ACTIVITY IS REPORTED AS REGARDS THE POLISH ARMED FORCES OR THE NORTHERN GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES (NGF). ALSO NORMAL APPEARS TO BE THE SITUATION OF FORCES, OTHER THAN SOVIET, IN THE BORDERING COUNTRIES. ON THE EXTERNAL FRONT, THE MAJOR EVENT WAS THE CANCELLATION OF THE SUMMIT BETWEEN GIEREK AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, FRG. HOWEVER, POLISH NEGOTIATIONS TO RAISE A WEST-GERMAN LOAN ARE STILL IN PROGRESS.

#### COMMENT

STRIKERS OF BALTIC AREA SEEM DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THEIR ACTION AND THERE ARE NO SIGNS OF TIREDNESS. OVER 300 ENTERPRISES JOINED THE STRIKES AND A SORT OF PARALLEL ORGANIZATION, OTHER THAN THE STRIKERS, IS

CARRYING OUT AN EFFICIENT SERVICE, ENSURING THE LOGISTICAL RESUPPLY INTO THE STRIKER AREA WHICH IS CONTROLLED, BUT NOT ISOLATED, BY POLICEMEN.

AT PRESENT, SIGNS OF WEAKNESS BY STRIKERS COULD BE THE FOLLOWING:

- THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GROUP INTERNAL TO THE STRIKERS COMMITTEE, AIMING AT FURTHER CUTTING THE NUMBER OF CLAIMS
- THE WIDENING OF FOOD STUFFS FORESTALLINGS, A PHENOMENON ALREADY OCCURRED AT STETTINO, WHICH IS A SIGN OF PEOPLE INCREASING FEARS ABOUT THE OUTCOME OF WORKERS' STRUGGLE
- AUTONOMOUS MOVES OF DEALINGS WITH THE GOVERNMENT

COMMISSION

TAKING PLACE IN SOME PLANTS OR CENTERS, WHILE THE STRIKERS UNIFIED COMMITTEE CLAIMS TO ACT AS THE ONLY COUNTERPART

- THE QUICK REPRESSION OF STRIKING MINOR GROUPS ELSEWHERE IN POLAND

- A POSSIBLE NEGATIVE REACTION BY PUBLIC OPINION IN OTHER PARTS OF THE COUNTRY, EVEN IF IN THE BALTIC SECTOR SUPPORT TO THE STRIKERS COULD BE MAINTAINED TO THE PRESENT EXTENT

- THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE CHIEF OF THE STRIKERS

JOINT COMMITTEE, UNDER WHICH A DIFFERENCE IS MADE CLEAR VIS-A-VIS THE COMMITTEE FOR WORKERS DEFENSE.

THE GOVERNMENT LEADERS, DESPITE THE STRONG BUILT-UP OF THE POLICE FORCES IN THE CRITICAL AREA, DO NOT APPEAR TO BE ORIENTED TOWARDS A REPRESSIVE ACTION.

A CERTAIN NUMBER OF WELL KNOWN DISSIDENTS (18) HAVE BEEN ARRESTED, BUT NATIONAL AUTHORITIES SEEM TO HESITATE VIS-A-VIS THE DECISIVENESS SHOWN BY THE STRIKERS. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH POSTURE IS CAUTIOUS AND MODERATE. THEIR FEAR IS THAT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE CHURCH MIGHT DETERIORATE.

CALLS BY THE EPISCOPATE TO BOTH SIDES AIM AT KEEPING QUIET AND RESPONSIBLE AND THE ONLY APPEAL DEVIATING FROM THIS COURSE OF LINE WAS LAUNCHED DURING PAST SUNDAY HOLY SERVICE AT WROCLAW, WHEN THE POLISH PRIMATE HINTED AT ECONOMIC QUESTIONS WHICH ARE CLEARLY BEYOND HIS SPHERE OF COMPETENCE.

IN CONCLUSION, IT IS CLEAR THAT ANY RECOURSE TO FORCE IS NOT IN THE GOVERNMENT MINDS AND, FOR THE TIME BEING, EFFORTS ARE CONCENTRATED TO SPLIT OUT THE STRIKERS FRONT.

SUCH A DRIVE OBVIOUSLY INCLUDES A NUMBER OF RISKS TO BE ASSUMED, WHICH RANGE FROM THE HUGE GROWTH, IN THE LONG RUN OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC NET LOSSES UP TO THE POSSIBLE SPREADING OF DOUBTS OVER THE SUCCESS OF STRIKERS ACTION, LEADING THEM TO USE VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO SPEED UP NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE AUTHORITIES.

MOSCOW SEEMS TO WANT TO MAINTAIN ITS SUPPORT AND CONFIDENCE TOWARDS GIEREK, CONSIDERING HIM AS THE ONLY PERSONALITY STILL ABLE TO SOLVE PEACEFULLY THIS CONTINGENCY. THE POLISH LEADER AND HIS NEW STAFF ARE UNLIKELY TO BELIEVE IN A SUCCESSFUL POLICY FURTHER TO AN EVENTUAL SURRENDER BY STRIKERS, BUT UNDOUBTEDLY THEY HOPE THAT A FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY, TOGETHER WITH A NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS AND PROMISES, MAY AT LAST BRING THE STRIKERS AGAIN TO THEIR JOBS.

WHILE A CONTINUATION OF STRIKES COULD BECOME DRASTICLY CRITICAL TO THE ECONOMIC PRODUCTIVITY, NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT

CONTINUE WELL AFTER A PACIFIC SOLUTION.

RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS LIKELY TO HAVE AN EVEN MORE SERIOUS AND IRREVERSIBLE IMPACT, ABSOLUTELY DRAMATIC NOT ONLY AS REGARDS THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. SOVIETS ARE CERTAINLY REALIZING THIS AND MIGHT BE WILLING TO GRANT NEW LARGER FACILITIES, PROVIDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD SUCCEED IN KEEPING AGAIN CONTROL OVER THE SITUATION.

HOWEVER, THE DANGER OF A DRAMATIC EVOLUTION OF THE CRISIS IS STILL PENDING, WHOSE CONSEQUENCES ARE, FOR THE TIME BEING, BEYOND ANY POSSIBLE REALISTIC EVALUATION.

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