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NADA/ASSESSMENT/OCT 002/JIC/030930Z OCT

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND: RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. THE SITUATION IN POLAND REMAINS CONFUSED WITH INDICATIONS THAT THE LEADERS OF THE FREE TRADE UNIONS ARE BECOMING IMPATIENT AT THE SLOW PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE STRIKE AGREEMENT AND THAT THE RUSSIANS REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE NEW UNIONS.

INTERNAL SITUATION

2. A PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHICH WAS TO BE HELD ON 26 SEPTEMBER DID NOT TAKE PLACE. IT IS NOW TO BE HELD ON 4 OCTOBER. THE DELAY IN HOLDING THE MEETING

TOGETHER WITH THE ABSENCE OF KANIA FROM PUBLIC VIEW FOR THE LAST WEEK HAS FUELLED RUMOURS THAT KANIA HAD BEEN CALLED TO MOSCOW. VISITS BY THE POLISH PARTY LEADERSHIP TO EASTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS, INCLUDING A VISIT BY JAGIELSKI TO MOSCOW, TOOK PLACE BETWEEN 10 AND 16 SEPTEMBER. WE WOULD EXPECT KANIA TO VISIT MOSCOW AT SOME STAGE: A SECRET VISIT TO MOSCOW AT THIS TIME COULD INDICATE EITHER A SOVIET SUMMONS OR A NEED TO DISCUSS POLICY PRIOR TO THE HOLDING OF THE DELAYED CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING.

3. THE SOVIET UNION HAS EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS IN A REVIEW OF A BOOK WHICH WAS GIVEN PROMINENCE IN PRAVDA ON 25 SEPTEMBER. ALTHOUGH NOT EXPLICITLY RELATED TO POLAND, THE REVIEW IS CLEARLY RELEVANT TO EVENTS THERE AND CONTAINS AN ATTACK ON THE CONCEPT OF FREE TRADE UNIONS AND REFERENCE TO LENIN'S ASSERTION THAT TRADE UNIONS IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY COULD ONLY OPERATE UNDER THE DIRECT LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. A FURTHER ARTICLE APPEARED IN PRAVDA ON 27 SEPTEMBER UNDER THE AUTHORITATIVE PSEUDONYM PETROV WHICH ATTACKED WESTERN INTERFERENCE IN POLAND AND REFERRED TO SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO

POLAND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THESE ARTICLES SERVE TO KEEP UP THE OVERT SOVIET POLITICAL PRESSURE ON POLAND.

4. RECENT STATEMENTS MADE BY OLSZEWSKI AND A REPORT OF A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING CONFIRM THAT THE LEADERSHIP'S CURRENT PREOCCUPATION IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR IS TO EXECUTE THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENTS MADE WITH THE STRIKERS AND TO BRING ABOUT A RETURN TO FULL PRODUCTION AS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR DOING SO. ACCORDING TO THE AUTHORITIES PRODUCTION

LOSSES IN SEPTEMBER COULD AMOUNT TO 25 BILLION ZLOTIES (US DOLLARS 800 MILLION) IN ADDITION TO THE 36 BILLION ZLOTIES (US DOLLARS 1.2 BILLION) LOST DURING AUGUST. THE LEADERSHIP APPEARS TO BE RELYING ON A FAMILIAR MIXTURE OF EXHORTATIONS TO WORK AND SHORT TERM FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUT THEY WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY IN PROVIDING FOR REAL INCREASES IN CONSUMPTION. INFLATIONARY PRESSURES WILL INCREASE BECAUSE RETAIL SUPPLIES WILL IN THE LAST QUARTER BE DOWN ON THE COMPARABLE PERIOD LAST YEAR WHILE PURCHASING POWER WILL BE BOOSTED BY WAGE INCREASES. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE WORK FORCE IS DISSATISFIED WITH THE RATE OF PROGRESS. SMALL SCALE SPORADIC STRIKES ARE STILL CONTINUING.

THE GDANSK FREE TRADE UNION HAS CALLED FOR A SELECTIVE WARNING STRIKE ON FRIDAY 3 OCTOBER AT WHAT IT DESCRIBES AS THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO FULFIL AGREEMENTS ON PAY RISES. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS SINCE ANNOUNCED PAY INCREASES FOR 8 MILLION WORKERS IN OCTOBER AND FOR THE REST OF THE STATE WORK FORCE BY THE END OF THE YEAR. HOWEVER IT APPEARS THAT THE STRIKE WILL GO AHEAD DESPITE THE CONDEMNATION BY THE DEPUTY PREMIER BURCIKOWSKI AND A VISIT TO GDANSK BY JAGIELSKI ON 1 OCTOBER.

5. KANIA IS REPORTED TO HAVE MET STUDENT LEADERS IN WARSAW. THIS UNDERLINES THE POLISH LEADERSHIP'S CONCERN THAT THE RETURN OF STUDENTS FOR THE NEW ACADEMIC YEAR BEGINNING ON 1 OCTOBER COULD EXACERBATE EXISTING PROBLEMS. STUDENTS AT A NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES HAVE BEGUN TO FORM UNIONS ALONG THE LINES OF THE FREE TRADE UNIONS.

MILITARY SITUATION

6. THERE ARE NO REPORTS OF UNUSUAL TROOP MOVEMENTS BY SOVIET TROOPS EITHER IN THE WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS OR IN THE GROUPS OF FORCES IN EUROPE. REPORTS FROM WARSAW INDICATE THAT A FEW ROUTES ACROSS THE POLISH/SOVIET BORDER MAY BE CLOSED TO TRAFFIC ALTHOUGH MAJOR CROSSING POINT AT BREST IS OPEN. WE WOULD EXPECT FIELD TRAINING BY SOVIET FORCES WHICH IS SLIGHTLY ABOVE THE LEVEL OF LAST YEAR, TO END BY THE MIDDLE OF OCTOBER PRIOR TO THE START OF THE SEMI-ANNUAL TROOP ROTATION OF FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE. BEFORE A SOVIET MILITARY INVASION OF POLAND WE WOULD EXPECT TO SEE A GREATER LEVEL OF ACTIVITY IN THE WMD'S AND THE GROUPS OF FORCES: ALTHOUGH SOME DIVISIONS IN THE WMD'S AND GROUPS OF FORCES COULD BE MOVED INTO POLAND AT SHORT NOTICE.

CONCLUSION

7. THE RISK OF SUCH ACTION WILL REMAIN EVER PRESENT. ALTHOUGH IT APPEARS POSSIBLE THAT THE RUSSIANS' VIEW ON TIMING MIGHT BE INFLUENCED BY THEIR ESTIMATE OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE CONTINUING CONFLICT BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN WAS PREOCCUPYING WESTERN ATTENTION, ANY DECISION TO INTERVENE IN POLAND WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE SOVIET ASSESSMENT OF EVENTS IN THAT COUNTRY.

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