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POLAND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND EAST EUROPEAN REACTIONS.

1. THE SITUATION IN POLAND REMAINS UNSTABLE. THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE AUTHORITIES AND THE UMBRELLA ORGANISATION OF THE FREE TRADE UNIONS, SOLIDARNOSC, IS UNRESOLVED DESPITE THE REGISTRATION OF THE LATTER. SOME EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS HAVE ADOPTED A MUCH HARDER LINE ON DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND.

2. WHEN SOLIDARNOSC FIRST SUBMITTED ITS STATUTES FOR REGISTRATION BY THE WARSAW COURT A MONTH AGO THE COURT RAISED OBJECTIONS ON 10 POINTS. IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON ALL BUT TWO OF THESE. THE COURT CONCEDED THAT SOLIDARNOSC MIGHT OPERATE NATIONWIDE, WHILE SOLIDARNOSC MADE CONCESSIONS OVER THE SCOPE OF ITS MEMBERSHIP, THE SEPARATE REGISTRATION OF ITS REGIONAL BRANCHES, AND THE ELIGIBILITY OF MANAGERIAL AND POLITICAL OFFICIALS FOR UNION OFFICE. DEADLOCK WAS REACHED HOWEVER OVER THE COURT'S DEMAND THAT THE STATUTES INCLUDE THE POLITICAL UNDERTAKINGS WRITTEN INTO THE GDANSK AND OTHER AGREEMENTS, INCLUDING RECOGNITION OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE STATE AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE COUNTRY'S ALLIANCES. SOLIDARNOSC WAS PREPARED TO INCLUDE IN ITS STATUTES ONLY A REFERENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION, WHICH ITSELF REFERS TO THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY (BUT NOT TO POLAND'S ALLIANCES) BUT AS A COMPROMISE OFFERED TO INCLUDE THE REQUIRED WORDING IN AN ANNEXE TO THE STATUTES. THE SECOND POINT OF DISAGREEMENT CONCERNED THE RIGHT TO STRIKE; THE AUTHORITIES WANTED IT MADE CLEAR IN THE STATUTES THAT STRIKES WOULD ONLY BE USED AS A LAST RESORT. ON 24 OCTOBER, WHEN SOLIDARNOSC LEADERS AGAIN REFUSED TO MOVE ON THESE TWO POINTS, THE COURT UNILATERALLY CHANGED THE STATUTES AS IT HAD DEMANDED AND THEN REGISTERED THE ORGANISATION. LEADERS OF SOLIDARNOSC REACTED ANGRILLY TO THIS DECISION. THEY HAVE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WILL APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT AGAINST THE WARSAW COURT'S DECISION AND THAT MEANWHILE THEY WILL ACT AS THOUGH SOLIDARNOSC HAD BEEN REGISTERED WITHOUT THE COURT'S AMENDMENTS. SOME LEADERS HAVE CALLED FOR FURTHER STRIKES, BUT WALESZA HAS DECLARED HIMSELF AGAINST THIS. A MEETING OF SOLIDARNOSC'S LEADERSHIP IS BEING HELD ON 27 OCTOBER TO DECIDE ON FURTHER ACTION. THE LEADERSHIP IS LIKELY TO BE DIVIDED; MANY MEMBERS ARE CONSIDERABLY MORE MILITANT THAN WALESZA.

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of four pages.

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### 3. THE REGIME'S UNPRECEDENTED FIRMLINESS

IN THE FACE OF SOLIDARNOSC INTRANSIGENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE TWO ISSUES IN QUESTION WERE COMPLETELY NON-NEGOTIABLE, PROBABLY BECAUSE ONLY ON THESE TERMS WOULD THE COMING INTO EXISTENCE OF INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS BE TOLERATED BY MOSCOW. THE LEADERSHIP WILL HOPE THAT THE ANGER OF SOLIDARNOSC WILL ABATE AS IT BEGINS ITS PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES AS A LEGAL BODY (ELECTIONS HAVE ALREADY STARTED), THAT IT WILL BE WEAKENED BY DIVISIONS IN ITS LEADERSHIP, AND THAT THE GENERAL PUBLIC WILL UNDERSTAND THE NECESSITY FOR THE AUTHORITIES' ACTION. EVEN IF ALL THIS HAPPENS THERE ARE FURTHER AREAS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT IN THE NEAR FUTURE; THE CONTENTS OF SOLIDARNOSC'S NEWSPAPER, ITS RECEIPT OF FUNDS AND GIFTS (EG. A PRINTING PRESS) FROM ABROAD, THE REGISTRATION OF ITS REGIONAL BRANCHES, ETC. AFTER THE SETBACK OVER REGISTRATION THE LEADERS OF SOLIDARNOSC MAY BE LESS INCLINED TO COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES, FOR INSTANCE IN THE SETTLEMENT OF PAY DISPUTES AND MORE INCLINED TO USE THEIR STRENGTH. THIS STRENGTH WAS AMPLY DEMONSTRATED DURING WALESKA'S RECENT TOUR OF SOUTHERN POLAND ADDRESSING MASS MEETINGS OF SUPPORTERS. SOLIDARNOSC IS ALSO NOW RECEIVING INCREASED SUPPORT FROM THE CHURCH AND FROM INTELLECTUALS THOUGH THE CHURCH AT LEAST CAN BE EXPECTED TO PLAY A MODERATING ROLE. KANIA'S RECENT MEETING WITH CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI WAS PROBABLY USED TO SEEK THE CHURCH'S COOPERATION AND MAY HAVE INVOLVED THE TRANSMISSION OF A MESSAGE TO THE POLISH POPE.

4. MEANWHILE THE DISCREDITED OFFICIAL POLISH CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS IS BEING DISBANDED, ALL ITS CONSTITUENT UNIONS HAVING LEFT OR DECLARED THEIR INTENTION TO LEAVE. THE INDIVIDUAL UNIONS ARE TRANSFORMING THEMSELVES INTO "INDEPENDENT SELF-GOVERNING UNIONS" AT A SERIES OF CONGRESSES. 14 ENTIRELY NEW UNIONS HAVE NOW RECEIVED SEPARATE REGISTRATION FROM THE WARSAW COURT. THE STATUTES OF ALL THESE INCLUDE THE KIND OF WORDING DEMANDED BY THE COURT FROM SOLIDARNOSC. HALF OF THEM ARE SMALL UNIONS BASED ON A SINGLE ENTERPRISE OR GROUP OF ENTERPRISES, THOUGH TWO ARE REGIONAL AND FOUR ARE APPARENTLY NATIONWIDE PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS. NONE OF THEM, ACCORDING TO SOLIDARNOSC, IS AFFILIATED TO THAT BODY. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW MANY OF THESE NEW UNIONS AND THE REMODELLED OFFICIAL UNIONS WILL ACT INDEPENDENTLY AND HOW MANY ARE PARTY-DOMINATED BODIES SET UP TO DISCOURAGE WORKERS FROM JOINING THE SOLIDARNOSC UNIONS. SOME PARTY OFFICIALS ARE ENCOURAGING PARTY MEMBERS TO JOIN SOLIDARNOSC UNIONS, PRESUMABLY BELIEVING THAT THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO GAIN SOME KIND OF INFLUENCE IN THAT BODY. INDEED THE REGIME MAY WELL HAVE AS ONE OF ITS AIMS THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF THIS SORT OF CONFUSION IN THE TRADE UNIONS AS A WHOLE.

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5. NO SOVIET LEADER HAS YET MADE ANY PUBLIC REFERENCE TO DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND SINCE THE STRIKES, AND SOVIET MEDIA COMMENT HAS BEEN SPARSE AND MORE MUTED SINCE THE SERIES OF PETROV ARTICLES IN SEPTEMBER. THE THEMES OF THESE ARTICLES HAVE HOWEVER BEEN TAKEN UP WITH EVEN GREATER FORCE BY EAST GERMAN AND CZECHOSLVAK LEADERS. IN A SPEECH ON 13 OCTOBER HONECKER MADE THE PLAINEST THREAT SO FAR OF WARSAW PACT MILITARY INTERVENTION. AFTER A SHARP ATTACK ON ALLEGED WESTERN AID TO "ANTI-SOCIALIST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES" IN POLAND, HONECKER WENT ON; "POLAND IS AND REMAINS A SOCIALIST COUNTRY. IT BELONGS INSEPARABLY TO THE SOCIALIST WORLD. NO ONE CAN TURN BACK THE WHEEL OF HISTORY. WE, TOGETHER WITH OUR FRIENDS, WILL MAKE SURE OF THAT." (THE LAST SENTENCE WAS OMITTED FROM THE PUBLISHED TEXT BUT CLEARLY HEARD BY RADIO LISTENERS.) CZECHOSLOVAK PARTY SECRETARY BILAK, IN A SPEECH MADE ON 8 OCTOBER BUT ONLY PUBLISHED ON 14 OCTOBER, COMPARED THE SITUATION IN POLAND WITH THAT IN CZECHOSLVAKIA IN 1968, AND IMPLIED THAT TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IN POLAND WERE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. CEAUSESCU OF ROMANIA ALSO WEIGHTED IN ON 15 OCTOBER WITH A SWINGEING ATTACK ON THE POLISH PARTY. WHILE ALL THREE LEADERS HAVE DOMESTIC REASONS FOR TAKING A HARD LINE ON POLAND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HONECKER AND BILAK WOULD HAVE SPOKEN IN THIS MANNER UNLESS THEY WERE CONFIDENT THAT MOSCOW WOULD APPROVE. THE RUSSIANS ARE PROBABLY TRYING TO KEEP ALL THEIR OPTIONS OPEN WHILE ALLOWING EAST GERMAN AND CZECHOSLVAK LEADERS TO REMIND THE POLES OF THEIR LIKELY FATE IF THEY CANNOT PUT THEIR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER.

6. THE ABOVE SPEECHES REFLECT, IN PART, THE GREAT NERVOUSNESS OF THE EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS LEST POLISH DEVELOPMENTS SPILL OVER INTO THEIR OWN COUNTRIES. THE SPEECHES ARE DESIGNED TO CONVINCe PEOPLE AT HOME THAT SIMILAR TRENDS WILL NOT BE PERMITTED. CONCRETE ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN SOME CASES TO MITIGATE THE DANGER. MOST OF THE COUNTRIES ARE ATTEMPTING TO IMPROVE SUPPLIES OF FOOD AND CONSUMER GOODS, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM. THE GDR HAS INCREASED ITS FOREIGN EXCHANGE REQUIREMENT FOR VISITORS FROM THE WEST, THEREBY CUTTING DOWN THE NUMBER OF VISITORS ESPECIALLY FROM THE FRG AND SIGNALLING A HARDER LINE TO ITS OWN PEOPLE. ROMANIA HAS FOLLOWED ITS ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN OSTENSIBLE REDUCTION IN DEFENCE AND ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS IN FAVOUR OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC SPENDING WITH LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO CONVINCe THE PEOPLE THAT CORRUPTION WILL NOT BE TOLERATED IN ROMANIA. THE CZECHOSLOVAK AUTHORITIES HAVE DETAINED BRIEFLY A LARGE NUMBER OF DISSIDENTS, SOME OF WHOM HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE GDANSK AGREEMENT. KADAR OF HUNGARY ON THE OTHER HAND HAS STATED THAT THE POLES MUST SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS THEMSELVES AND HAS SPECIFICALLY PROMISED THAT THERE WILL BE NO "HARDENING" WITHIN HUNGARY ITSELF.

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7. THE GENERAL STAFF CONTINGENCY COMMUNICATIONS REMAIN ACTIVE AND THIS, COMBINED WITH CERTAIN ACTIVITY ON THE GROUND HAS INCREASED SOVIET CAPABILITY TO TAKE ACTION IN POLAND SHOULD THE SITUATION REQUIRE IT.

8. THE REGIMES CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARNOSC MAY WELL HAVE BEEN UNAVOIDABLE. IT HAS HOWEVER INTERRUPTED THE TREND OF CONCILIATION AND INJURED THE GOODWILL ESSENTIAL TO ECONOMIC RECOVERY. IN ADDITION TO ITS RELATIONS WITH THE WORKERS THE LEADERSHIP FACES MANY INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS IN THE COMING WEEKS. THEY CANNOT SUPPLY THE FOOD AND CONSUMER GOODS TO MEET INCREASED PURCHASING POWER, WHICH WILL ADD TO POPULAR DISCONTENT. DISCUSSION OF THE NEW CENSORSHIP LAW AND THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA COULD LEAD TO FRICTION PARTICULARLY WITH THE INTELLIGENTSIA. THE PARTY ITSELF LACKS COHESION AND CONFIDENCE AND ITS LEADERSHIP IS NOT UNITED. KANIA HAS SHOWN THE RUSSIANS THAT HE CAN STAND FIRM ON AN ISSUE OF PRINCIPLE, BUT IN DOING SO HAS MADE RESOLUTION OF POLANDS SEVERE PROBLEMS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. THE RUSSIANS MAY BE APPEASED FOR THE MOMENT, BUT THE RISK OF MILITARY INTERVENTION REMAINS.

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