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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JAN 009/JIC/301825Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND (NATO SECRET)

1. POLAND SEEMS TO BE HEADING FOR THE MOST SERIOUS CONFRONTATION SINCE NOVEMBER. BOTH SOLIDARNOSC AND THE LEADERSHIP HAVE EXPRESSED READINESS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS BUT THESE ARE UNLIKELY TO LEAD TO A RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS.
2. THE SOLIDARNOSC APPEAL TO WORKERS TO STAY AWAY FROM WORK ON 24 JANUARY, OFFICIALLY A "WORKING" SATURDAY, APPEARS TO HAVE RECEIVED RATHER MORE SUPPORT THAN THE SIMILAR BOYCOTT ON 10 JANUARY, THOUGH RELIABLE FIGURES ARE NOT AVAILABLE. THE AUTHORITIES, WHO HAD HOPED FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR CASE AGAINST FREE SATURDAYS, MUST HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED. THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SUBSEQUENTLY SAID THAT FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON WORKING HOURS WERE POSSIBLE BUT ONLY IN AN ATMOSPHERE FREE OF "CONFLICTS AND TENSIONS". THE POLITBURO HAS DECLARED ITSELF IN FAVOUR OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EXPERTS, BUT NO DATE HAS BEEN FIXED FOR TALKS. WALESZA HAS PROMISED THAT SOLIDARNOSC WILL DEFEND ANY WORKER SUBJECTED TO SANCTIONS FOR NOT WORKING ON 24 JANUARY. THERE ARE THE FIRST SIGNS OF TROUBLE OVER THE DOCKING OF PAY FOR NON-WORKING ON 10 JANUARY: WARSAW RADIO REPORTED "TENSION" IN SZCZECIN OVER THIS ISSUE. REGIONAL BRANCHES OF SOLIDARNOSC HAVE ORGANISED OR ARE PLANNING FURTHER STRIKES ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES. HOWEVER THE UNION'S NATIONAL LEADERSHIP ON 28 JANUARY CALLED FOR AN END TO ALL UNCO-ORDINATED STRIKES EXCEPT ON PURELY LOCAL QUESTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME IT CALLED FOR A ONE-HOUR NATIONAL WARNING STRIKE ON 3 FEBRUARY AND THREATENED TO BEGIN AN OPEN-ENDED GENERAL STRIKE ON 18 FEBRUARY UNLESS A SETTLEMENT WAS NEGOTIATED. IT IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN THAT THIS ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE CENTRAL CONTROL ON THE BRANCHES OF SOLIDARNOSC WILL SUCCEED. THE AUTHORITIES SEEM INTENT ON TAKING A HARD LINE IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT DO TAKE PLACE.
3. INFORMATION AND CENSORSHIP ARE CAUSING ADDITIONAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE WORKERS AND THE REGIME. SOLIDARNOSC IS DEMANDING DIRECT ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA, WHICH IT CLAIMS HAVE FAILED TO REPORT THE UNION'S DEMANDS AND OPINIONS FAIRLY AND HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PORTRAY IT AS A-WRECKER OF THE ECONOMY. THERE IS SOME JUSTIFICATION FOR THESE COMPLAINTS. A GENERAL TIGHTENING UP IN CONTROL OF THE MEDIA SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE LAST FEW WEEKS, FOR WHICH OLSZOWSKI IS RUMOURED TO BE RESPONSIBLE. PRINTING

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WORKERS ARE NOW BEGINNING TO ACT AGAINST CENSORSHIP. IN SZCZECIN THEY STAGED A SIT-IN TO PROTEST AT DRASTIC CENSORSHIP OF THE LATEST ISSUE OF THE LOCAL SOLIDARNOSC PAPER. THE MAIN WARSAW PAPER WAS PREVENTED FROM APPEARING ON 23 JANUARY BECAUSE OF A REFUSAL TO ALLOW A SOLIDARNOSC RESOLUTION TO BE PRINTED IN THE PAPER. SOME PRINTERS HAVE TAKEN TO MARKING THE CENSORS~~rs~~ EXCISIONS BY MEANS OF BRACKETS AND DOTS. JOURNALISTS URGING THE REGIME TO ADOPT MORE LIBERAL CENSORSHIP PROVISIONS: THE SZCZECIN BRANCH OF THEIR ASSOCIATION HAS PASSED A RESOLUTION SHARPLY ATTACKING EXCESSIVE CENSORSHIP AND OFFICIAL PRESSURE ON JOURNALISTS. THE VISIT OF THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET PARTY'S INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION DEPARTMENT ON 13-20 JANUARY WILL HAVE SERVED TO REMIND ALL CONCERNED OF THE KEEN SOVIET INTEREST IN INFORMATION AND CENSORSHIP QUESTIONS.

4. IN RELATIONS WITH THE STUDENTS THE REGIME HAS ON THE WHOLE CONTINUED ITS SO FAR SUCCESSFUL POLICY OF CONCILIATION. REGULATIONS HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED WHICH SHOULD PERMIT THE REGISTRATION OF THE NEW INDEPENDENT UNION OF STUDENTS, AND GREATER STUDENT PARTICIPATION IS TO BE PERMITTED IN THE RUNNING OF UNIVERSITIES. SOME STUDENT DEMANDS ARE HOWEVER POLITICALLY SENSITIVE. STUDENTS AT LODZ UNIVERSITY, WHERE A SIT-IN HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR A WEEK, ARE DEMANDING THAT MARXISM - LENINISM AND OTHER POLITICAL SUBJECTS SHOULD BE OPTIONAL, THAT THERE SHOULD BE GREATER CHOICE IN THE STUDY OF LANGUAGES (IE NO COMPULSORY RUSSIAN), AND THAT ACCESS TO THE CAMPUS BY POLICE AND SECURITY OFFICIALS SHOULD BE RESTRICTED.

5. AN EVEN MORE INTRACTABLE PROBLEM FOR THE POLISH LEADERSHIP IS THE FORTHCOMING PARTY CONGRESS, SCHEDULED FOR LATE MARCH/EARLY APRIL. THE PREPARATIONS INCLUDE ELECTION OF DELEGATES AND THE DRAWING UP OF REVISED PARTY STATUTES AND A DRAFT PROGRAMME. SWEEPING CHANGES IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE INEVITABLE IN VIEW OF THE RECENT TURN-OVER IN OFFICIALS (ABOUT HALF THE PROVINCIAL FIRST SECRETARIES, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE BEEN REPLACED SINCE THE CRISIS BEGAN). PARTY CELLS HAVE ALSO BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION TO HOLD NEW ELECTIONS IF THE MEMBERSHIP OR EXECUTIVE REQUESTS IT, AND SUCH ELECTIONS ARE GOING AHEAD IN SOME PLACES. FAIRLY RADICAL CHANGES IN THE PARTY STATUTES HAVE BEEN PROPOSED, MOSTLY IN THE DIRECTION OF DEMOCRATISATION. SUGGESTIONS INCLUDE LIMITS ON THE NUMBER OF TERMS OF OFFICE AND ON THE SIMULTANEOUS HOLDING OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT POSTS, SEPARATION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS, REDUCTIONS IN THE PARTY BUREAUCRACY, AND GREATER CONTROL BY THE LOWER ECHELONS OVER THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. IN A SPEECH IN MID-JANUARY PARTY SECRETARY BARCIKOWSKI REVEALED THAT NEW ELECTORAL RULES PROVIDE THAT THE NUMBER OF PARTY EMPLOYEES SHOULD REMAIN CONSTANT, THAT THERE SHOULD BE 50 PER CENT MORE CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS THAN SEATS, AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE SECRET BALLOTS. THE PROVISION ON CANDIDATES SUGGESTS A STRICT LIMIT TO THE DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY TO BE PERMITTED, AND OTHER RADICAL PROPOSALS ARE ALSO LIKELY TO BE WATERED DOWN BEFORE THE MEETING. THE CONGRESS WILL HAVE TO DISCUSS AND ADOPT NEW POLICIES IN A WHOLE RANGE OF CONTROVERSIAL AREAS INCLUDING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM. DEBATE WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP ON THE OFFICIAL LINE TO BE ADOPTED IS LIKELY TO BE DIFFICULT, ESPECIALLY

AS THE RUSSIANS WILL BE WATCHING DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY. THERE ARE ALREADY RUMOURS OF POSTPONEMENT OF THE CONGRESS, THE EXACT DATE OF WHICH SHOULD BE FIXED BY A PLENUM IN JANUARY. ALTHOUGH POSTPONEMENT WOULD BE UNPOPULAR WITH THE PARTY RANK AND FILE, THE LEADERSHIP MAY FIND IT THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THEIR IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS.

6. SOVIET COMMENT ON POLISH DEVELOPMENTS HAS BECOME MORE DIRECT AND SHOWN INCREASING HOSTILITY TO SOLIDARNOSC, WHICH HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A "SO-CALLED TRADE UNION". THE SHAVEST REPORT, PUBLISHED IN PRAVDA, SPOKE OF ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES BEING AT WORK IN SOLIDARNOSC'S RIGHT WING, AND CLAIMED THAT THE UNION'S LEADERSHIP WAS SEEKING CONFRONTATION WITH THE ORGANS OF POWER. AMONG THE EAST EUROPEANS THE CZECHOSLOVAKS HAVE RECENTLY VOICED THE STRONGEST CRITICISMS, CLAIMING FOR INSTANCE THAT SOLIDARNOSC OFFICIALS ARE "ABUSING THE PATIENCE OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

AND PARTY TO TURN SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY INTO A LICENCE FOR PRESSURE AND DISRUPTIVE DEMAGOGY". RUDE PRAVO ALSO PUBLISHED A GENERAL THEORETICAL ARTICLE WHICH WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY AIMED AT THE POLES. THIS STATED THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION REQUIRED, AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE DISSOLUTION OF ORGANISATIONS USED BY THOSE SEEKING A CHANGE OF POLITICAL POWER AND PREVENTION BY LAW OF THE ACTIVITIES OF ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES. THE ARTICLE INCLUDED A RESTATEMENT OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE: "THE DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY IS A MATTER FOR THE WHOLE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY".

7. THE MILITARY SITUATION IN AND AROUND POLAND REMAINS UNCHANGED. THE SOVIET ARMY NEWSPAPER HAS REPORTED THAT SMALL-SCALE JOINT MANOEUVRES BY POLISH AND SOVIET TROOPS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN POLAND. NO RECENT JOINT ACTIVITY IN POLAND HAS BEEN ATTACKED AS IT WOULD HAVE BEEN IF IT HAD BEEN ON A SIGNIFICANT SCALE.

8. SOLIDARNOSC'S LATEST ULTIMATUM IS LIKELY TO LEAD TO A SHOWDOWN WITH THE AUTHORITIES. EVEN IF A CRISIS IS AVERTED ON THIS OCCASION, THE HARDER LINE BEING ADOPTED BY THE LEADERSHIP APPEARS CERTAIN TO PRECIPITATE ONE SOONER OR LATER. THE LEADERSHIP MAY WELL CALCULATE THAT SOLIDARNOSC WILL LOSE SUPPORT CAUSING FURTHER DISRUPTION AND THAT ANY REACTION TO STRONG MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST THE UNION OR ITS MILITANTS COULD BE HANDLED BY THE POLISH SECURITY SERVICES. IF SO THEY MAY WELL BE MISCALCULATING. IN ANY CASE THE RISKS OF DECISIVE ACTION MAY APPEAR PREFERABLE TO CONTINUED APPEASEMENT OF SOLIDARNOSC, WHICH WOULD INCREASE SOVIET DISILLUSIONMENT AND LEAD INEVITABLY TO MILITARY INTERVENTION.

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