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THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC.

POLAND.

1. THE NEW POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS GOT OFF TO AN ACTIVE START AND INITIAL REACTION SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN FAVOURABLE. SOLIDARNOSC IS ADOPTING A WAIT-AND-SEE ATTITUDE AND FOR THE MOMENT IS BEING LESS COMBATIVE THAN OF LATE.

2. IN HIS FIRST SPEECH TO POLAND'S PARLIAMENT AS PRIME MINISTER, GENERAL JARUZELSKI DECLARED HIS COMMITMENT TO NEGOTIATION AND SUPPORT FOR THE PROCESS OVERSEE ECONOMIC MATTERS AND OF A COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATION WITH TRADE UNIONS UNDER NEWLY-APPOINTED DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI, AND A 10-POINT PROGRAMME FOR DEALING WITH THE MOST ACUTE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES. IN RETURN HE CALLED FOR AN END TO ANARCHY, GREATER TRUST AND CO-OPERATION FROM THE PEOPLE, AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, A 90-DAY MORATORIUM ON STRIKES TO ALLOW THE AUTHORITIES A BREATHING SPACE TO PUT THEIR IDEAS INTO ACTION.

3. THE REACTION OF SOLIDARNOSC WAS CAUTIOUS. ITS NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION (NCC) STATED IN A PRELIMINARY RESPONSE THAT THE UNION RESERVED THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IF NO PROGRESS WAS MADE IN NEGOTIATIONS, ESPECIALLY ON ACCESS TO THE MEDIA AND THE RECENT DECREE ON STRIKE PAY; OR IF DISSIDENTS WERE ARRESTED OR ACTION TAKEN AGAINST FARMERS' UNION LEADERS. BUT SUBSEQUENT SOLIDARNOSC STATEMENTS INDICATE THAT THE UNION IS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT IMPOSING STRIKE THREATS. THE UNION APPEARS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW THAT THERE IS NO LEGAL BASIS AT PRESENT FOR REGISTRATION OF A FARMERS' UNION; BUT THE QUESTION WILL COME UP AGAIN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEW TRADE UNION LAW (WHICH JARUZELSKI PROMISED FOR THE FIRST HALF OF THIS YEAR). ALL OUTSTANDING STRIKES HAVE NOW BEEN SETTLED OR CALLED OFF. AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED WITH STUDENTS STAGING A SIT-IN AT LODZ UNIVERSITY AND THE INDEPENDENT ASSOCIATION OF STUDENTS HAS BEEN REGISTERED. AN AGREEMENT HAS BEEN SIGNED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE FARMERS IN RZESZOW; THIS DOES NOT DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF A TRADE UNION FOR FARMERS. ACCORDING TO AN AGENCY

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REPORT THE DISSIDENTS ORGANISATION ⁻²⁻ KOR HAS DECIDED TO REDUCE ITS ACTIVITIES. THE CHURCH IS CONTINUING TO COUNSEL MODERATION AND CONCILIATION, WHILE MAINTAINING ITS SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE FARMERS.

4. THE POLISH REGIME HAS CLEARLY ADOPTED A NEW INFORMATION POLICY AS PART OF ITS PLAN FOR GREATER DIALOGUE AND CO-OPERATION WITH THE PEOPLE. JARUZELSKI HIMSELF GAVE A LENGTHY PRESS CONFERENCE, MUCH OF WHICH WAS BROADCAST, AND

THE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION WAS MOSTLY BROADCAST LIVE. JOURNALISTS WERE ASSURED THAT THE AUTHORITIES WOULD WELCOME CRITICISM. JARUZELSKI AND RAKOWSKI WERE BOTH EVASIVE HOWEVER OVER THE TIMING OF THE NEW CENSORSHIP LAW. RAKOWSKI SUGGESTED THAT THE PROVISIONS WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN AGREED SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED FORTHWITH. THE LEADERSHIP MAY HOPE THAT BY INCREASING THE FLOW OF INFORMATION AND OPERATING THE EXISTING CENSORSHIP SYSTEM MORE LIBERALLY THEY CAN DEFLECT THE DEMAND FOR A FUNDAMENTAL REVISION OF THE CENSORSHIP LAW. ANY SUCH REVISION WOULD CREATE INTENSE ANXIETY IN MOSCOW.

5. THE RECENT MEETINGS AND SPEECHES DWELLED AT LENGTH ON THE CATASTROPHIC STATE OF THE POLISH ECONOMY. IN JANUARY, INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT FELL BY MORE THAN 10 PER CENT AND PRODUCTIVITY BY 7 PER CENT COMPARED WITH JANUARY 1980, AND EXPORT PERFORMANCE WAS DISMAL. JARUZELSKI WARNED THAT THE SITUATION WAS BOUND TO DETERIORATE FURTHER THIS YEAR. THE 1981 PLAN AND BUDGET APPROVED BY PARLIAMENT SHOWED THE OVERRIDING PRIORITY BEING

GIVEN TO IMPROVING LIVING CONDITIONS. FULFILMENT OF THE PLAN FOR HARD COAL EXTRACTION WAS SINGLED OUT AS BEING CRUCIAL TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OTHER PLAN TARGETS. (SOME MINERS HAVE SINCE DECLARED THAT THEY WILL WORK FREE SATURDAYS IN ORDER TO MAKE UP SOME OF THE SHORTFALL). JARUZELSKI EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE ECONOMIC REFORM PROPOSALS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO FURTHER WIDESPREAD DISCUSSION AND THAT THE FIRST MEASURES WOULD BE PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY JUNE, WITH IMPLEMENTATION STARTING IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE YEAR. HE ALSO HOPED THAT SOME OF THE PROMISED REFORMS - IN PARTICULAR GREATER AUTONOMY AND WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT - WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BEFORE THE NECESSARY LEGISLATION WAS PASSED. KANIA AND JARUZELSKI BOTH STRESSED THAT STRIKES MUST END IF THE AUTHORITIES WERE TO STABILISE THE ECONOMY AND IMPLEMENT THE GDANSK AND OTHER AGREEMENTS.

6. THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA HAVE REPORTED THE POLISH GOVERNMENT CHANGES AND PARLIAMENTARY SESSION IN A FAIRLY POSITIVE MANNER. THE SOVIET MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATION TO JARUZELSKI, UNLIKE THAT TO HIS PREDECESSOR, WAS SIGNED BY BREZHNEV AS WELL AS THE SOVIET PREMIER, WHICH MUST BE CONSTRUED AS AN EXTRA ENDORSEMENT OF JARUZELSKI. IN THE LAST WEEK THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE CONCENTRATED IN THEIR COVERAGE OF POLAND ON VIOLENT ATTACKS ON ALLEGED WESTERN SUBVERSION AND INCITEMENT, REFERRING IN PARTICULAR TO THE ACTIVITIES OF WESTERN RADIO STATIONS AND THEIR SUPPOSED LINKS WITH KOR DISSIDENTS AND OTHER ANTI-SOCIALIST ELEMENTS. MOSCOW RADIO AGAIN ACCUSED THE WEST OF USING CREEPING COUNTER-REVOLUTION TO SUBVERT POLAND. AFTER A SHORT LULL, ATTACKS ON EXTREMIST ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARNOSC

AND SUGGESTIONS THAT STRONG MEASURES SHOULD BE TAKEN AGAINST THEM WERE RESUMED IN A REPORT IN IZVESTIA ON 16 FEBRUARY. TASS ON 18 FEBRUARY FOR THE FIRST TIME ACCUSED KOR AND THE RIGHT WING OF SOLIDARNOSC OF STIRRING UP TROUBLE AMONG POLISH STUDENTS.

7. KANIA'S VISITS TO PRAGUE ON 15 FEBRUARY AND EAST BERLIN ON 17 FEBRUARY WERE PROBABLY DESIGNED TO SEEK UNDERSTANDING OF THE LATEST TURN OF EVENTS IN POLAND AND OF POLISH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, WHICH ARE IN TURN AFFECTING THE EAST GERMAN AND CZECHOSLOVAK ECONOMIES, AND TO ASK FOR MODERATION IN THOSE COUNTRIES, MEDIA COMMENT ON POLISH AFFAIRS. JARUZELSKI RECEIVED THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN AMBASSADORS IN WARSAW ON 17 FEBRUARY. ALL THIS ACTIVITY IS NO DOUBT RELATED TO THE FORTHCOMING MEETINGS OF WARSAW PACT LEADERS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS, WHICH OPENS ON

23 FEBRUARY. THE ROMANIANS HAVE PRINTED THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT ON POLAND SINCE EARLY DECEMBER. IT ENDORSED THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT PLENUM, AND MAY REFLECT RELIEF THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES APPEAR TO BE TAKING A MORE DECISIVE LINE.

8. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN WELL MANAGED TO CREATE THE IMPRESSION OF A FRESH START. JARUZELSKI'S ASSUMPTION OF A KIND OF PRESIDENTIAL ROLE, LEAVING THE DAY-TO-DAY RUNNING OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO HIS DEPUTIES, GIVES THE GOVERNMENT IMPROVED STATUS VIS-A-VIS THE PARTY, WHICH WILL HOWEVER RETAIN ITS DECISION-MAKING ROLE. THE CHANGE SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN REASSURANCE TO UNION LEADERS, WHO FOUND PINKOWSKI'S VACILLATION AND LACK OF AUTHORITY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH. HOWEVER ANY PRECIPITATE ACTION BY THE REGIME OR WILD-CAT STRIKES IN THE PROVINCES COULD EASILY SPOIL THE ATMOSPHERE. A NUMBER OF SERIOUS PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE TRADE UNION LAW AND ACCESS TO THE MEDIA, WILL HAVE TO BE TACKLED SOONER OR LATER, AND THE NEED TO RENEGOTIATE

SOME PROVISIONS OF THE GDANSK AND OTHER AGREEMENTS IS ALSO LIKELY TO CAUSE DIFFICULTIES. WE BELIEVE THAT WHEN KANIA MEETS SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN LEADERS IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS HE WILL BE GIVEN MORE TIME TO GET HIS HOUSE IN ORDER.