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POLAND .

1. IN THEIR MOST RECENT ACTIONS THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAVE ADOPTED DIFFERENT TACTICS AND HAVE GONE ALONG WITH THE TIDE OF LIBERALISATION RATHER THAN RESISTING IT . THEY HAVE DROPPED THEIR EARLIER OPPOSITION TO THE LEGISLATION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY AND TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF HORIZONTAL LINKS WITHIN THE PARTY .
2. THE AGREEMENT ON THE LEGALISATION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY (THE PEASANTS'S UNION ) WAS FINALLY SIGNED ON GOOD FRIDAY AFTER A FURTHER SIT -IN AND THREAT OF A HUNGER STRIKE . UNDER THE AGREEMENT THE SEJM IS TO PASS LEGISLATION ENABLING THE UNION TO BE REGISTERED BY 10 MAY ON THE SAME BASIS AS OTHER UNIONS . REPRESENTATIVES OF RURAL SOLIDARITY WILL PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT LEGISLATION ; AND THERE WILL BE NO OFFICIAL ACTION AGAINST THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN PROTESTS ON BEHALF OF THE UNION . THE POLISH LEADERS HAD EARLIER STRENUOUSLY OPPOSED THE LEGALISATION OF THE UNION . THEY PROBABLY DECIDED TO REVERSE THEIR ATTITUDE BECAUSE IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE REGISTRATION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY WAS A TOP PRIORITY FOR SOLIDARNOSC AND BECAUSE OF PRESSURE FROM THE CHURCH (PRIVATE FARMERS ARE ONE OF THE MAINSTAYS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH , AND THE CLERGY HAVE IN SOME AREAS STRONGLY ENCOURAGED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RURAL SOLIDARITY ) . THE REGIME MAY HOPE THAT , AS WELL AS BRINGING PEACE , THE LEGALISATION OF THE UNION WILL IMPROVE MORALE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND HELP TO STIMULATE FOOD PRODUCTION . BUT THE UNION SEEMS BOUND TO BECOME A FOCUS FOR PEASANT GRIEVANCES AND ASPIRATIONS AS SOLIDARNOSC HAS FOR THE WORKERS , AND MANY OF ITS LEADERS ARE YOUNG AND MILITANT .
3. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARNOSC ON CERTAIN OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS WILL BEGIN ON 6 MAY . A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS SUGGESTS THAT IT WILL CONCENTRATE ON TRYING TO SECURE THE UNION AS CO -OPERATION AND GET IT TO SHARE RESPONSIBILITY IN DEALING WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS . THE GOVERNMENT ALSO WISHES TO DISCUSS THE DELICATE QUESTION OF SOLIDARNOSC AS FOREIGN CONTACTS . ITS PROPOSALS ON ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA FALL WELL SHORT OF THE UNION AS DEMANDS . SOLIDARNOSC HAS PUT OUT ITS FIRST PROGRAMME DOCUMENT . ACCORDING TO THIS THE UNION AS VALUES ARE TAKEN FROM NATIONAL TRADITIONS , CHRISTIANITY , DEMOCRACY AND "SOCIALIST PUBLIC OPINION " . THE UNION PROMISES NOT TO MAKE FAR -REACHING PAY AND SOCIAL DEMANDS THIS YEAR BUT CALLS ON THE GOVERNMENT

(Poland)

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TO IMPLEMENT ECONOMIC REFORMS BACKED UP BY POLITICAL REFORMS, TO PROTECT AVERAGE INCOMES WHILE GIVING PRIORITY TO THE POOR, TO ENSURE FULL EMPLOYMENT, AND TO CO-ORDINATE POLICY WITH SOLIDARNOSC. IN A FURTHER MOVE TO AVOID CONFRONTATION WITH SOLIDARNOSC AT THIS JUNCTURE THE AUTHORITIES HAVE REPORTEDLY POSTPONED UNTIL MID-MAY THE TRIAL OF 7 NATIONALIST KPN DISSIDENTS ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR NEXT WEEK. THE MEDIA ARE ALSO REPORTING MUCH MORE FREELY THE WIDE-RANGING DEBATE GOING ON IN SOCIETY AND IN THE PARTY, INCLUDING CRITICISM OF THE LEADERSHIP.

4. PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS CONTINUE. THE CONGRESS COMMISSION MET ON 16 APRIL TO DISCUSS THE NEW DRAFT PARTY STATUTES. AMENDMENTS WERE MADE TO THE EARLIER DRAFT TO PROVIDE FOR A GREATER DEGREE OF DEMOCRACY. IN THE NEW VERSION THE COMPETENCE OF PARTY BODIES, INCLUDING THE FIRST SECRETARY, IS DEFINED. THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL PARTY MEMBERS AND PRIMARY PARTY ORGANISATIONS IS TO BE ENHANCED AND THEIR RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS AND TO CRITICISE HIGHER BODIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE TO BE EXTENDED; BUT THIS PROCESS IS TO STOP SHORT OF "FRACTIONALISM", IE THE FORMATION OF GROUPS WITHIN THE PARTY. ROTATION OF CADRES IS TO BE MANDATORY; EXCEPT AT THE LOWEST LEVEL PARTY SECRETARIES ARE NOT TO SERVE MORE THAN TWO TERMS. THERE IS TO BE NO CHANGE IN THE EXISTING FORMULAE ON THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY, DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM (THOUGH THE FORMER ELEMENT IS STRESSED MORE THAN THE LATTER) OR IDEOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES. NEVERTHELESS THE CHANGES, TAKEN TOGETHER WITH EARLIER AMENDMENTS TO THE ELECTORAL RULES, WHICH ALLOW FOR SECRET BALLOTS AND MULTIPLE CANDIDATES, REPRESENT A SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN THE DIRECTION OF REFORM.

5. A LARGE CONFERENCE OF GRASS-ROOTS RADICALS (MANY REPRESENTING POWERFUL INDUSTRIAL OR ACADEMIC PARTY ORGANISATIONS) WAS HELD IN TORUN ON 15 APRIL. THE CONFERENCE WAS ORIGINALLY TO BE HELD SOME WEEKS AGO BUT WAS POSTPONED IN THE FACE OF STRONG PRESSURE FROM THE PARTY LEADERSHIP; SUCH "HORIZONTAL" LINKS BETWEEN PARTY ORGANISATIONS ARE NORMALLY REGARDED AS ANATHEMA IN SOVIET-STYLE COMMUNIST PARTIES. IN THE NEW CLIMATE THE MEETING WAS NOT ONLY HELD BUT ATTENDED BY A FEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND GIVEN A CAUTIOUS WELCOME IN THE POLISH PRESS. DELEGATES EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH PREPARATIONS FOR THE CONGRESS, COMPLAINED ABOUT SLOWNESS IN IMPLEMENTING REFORM, CALLED FOR THE REMOVAL OF HARDLINERS FROM THE PARTY LEADERSHIP, CLAIMED THAT THE CONGRESS COMMISSION DID NOT REFLECT PARTY VIEWS, AND DEMANDED THE TELEVISIONING OF THE NEXT CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. THE CONFERENCE REPRESENTS A NEW DEPARTURE IN POLISH POLITICS AND A FURTHER COMPLICATING FACTOR FOR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. THE LATTER WOULD NO DOUBT LIKE TO CHANNEL THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE RADICAL MOVEMENT INTO SAFER DIRECTIONS. BY SENDING A SENIOR PARTY OFFICIAL THEY HAVE IN EFFECT GIVEN THE MOVEMENT A CERTAIN LEGALITY. A FURTHER MEETING SIMILAR TO THAT IN TORUN IS TO BE HELD IN GDANSK ON 5 MAY. IF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM TO BE HELD ON 29 APRIL, WHICH IS EXPECTED TO MAKE PERSONNEL CHANGES AS WELL AS EXAMINING THE NEW DRAFT PARTY PROGRAMME AND STATUTES DOES NOT PRODUCE RESULTS SATISFACTORY TO THE RADICAL, THE GDANSK MEETING COULD BE VERY STORMY INDEED.

6. SOVIET COMMENT ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS HAS

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SO FAR BEEN SURPRISINGLY RESTRAINED. IN REPORTING KANIA'S CLOSING SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS COMMISSION TASS PICKED OUT HIS REFERENCES TO ANARCHIC AND HOSTILE FORCES BUT ALSO INCLUDED HIS EMPHASIS ON STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY WITHIN THE PARTY. THE RECOGNITION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY WAS REPORTED WITHOUT COMMENT, THE TORUN MEETING NOT AT ALL. OTHER REPORTS CONTINUE TO CRITICISE SOLIDARNOSC "RIGHTISTS" AND DISSIDENTS, AND TO STRESS THEIR ALLEGED LINKS WITH SUBVERSIVE CENTRES IN THE WEST. THE STRONGEST COMMENT WAS RESERVED FOR A MEETING IN WARSAW TO COMMEMORATE THE KATYN MASSACRE DESCRIBED BY PRAVDA AS "AN ANTI-SOVIET ORGY". ON THE OTHER HAND A SENIOR SOVIET OFFICIAL, SPEAKING ON MOSCOW TELEVISION, BALANCED REFERENCES TO "OPENLY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FORCES" IN POLAND WITH THE STATEMENT THAT PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS WERE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO STABILISE THE SITUATION. AS USUAL PRAGUE HAS BEEN MORE OUTSPOKEN IN ITS CONDEMNATION OF POLISH DEVELOPMENTS. CZECHOSLOVAK COMMENTATORS CLAIMED THAT THE TORUN MEETING AIMED TO TURN THE PARTY INTO "SOME KIND OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY"; THAT SOLIDARNOSC'S NEW PROGRAMME HAD PRACTICALLY NO PLACE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAD YIELDED AGAIN TO POLITICAL PRESSURE IN RECOGNISING RURAL SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE WARNINGS OF "SOUND FORCES" IN POLAND THAT IT COULD BECOME AN OPPOSITION AGRARIAN PARTY WITH AN ANTI-SOCIALIST PROGRAMME. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT MOSCOW, THOUGH NOT EXPRESSING SUCH VIEWS, ENTIRELY SHARES THESE SENTIMENTS.

7. THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL REDUCTION IN MILITARY ACTIVITY THROUGHOUT THE FORWARD AREA (GDR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND, AND WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS OF THE USSR). THERE ARE NO SIGNIFICANT TROOP DEPLOYMENTS AND MUCH OF THE TRAINING OBSERVED IS INVOLVED WITH END-OF-TRAINING-CYCLE PROFICIENCY TESTS. THE POLISH FORCES ARE APPARENTLY PREPARING FOR A NORMAL DEMOBILISATION AND INDUCTION OF CONSCRIPTS THIS MONTH. THE SOVIET SPRING TROOP ROTATION AIRLIFT BEGAN, ON SCHEDULE, ON 15 APRIL AND APPEARS TO BE PROCEEDING NORMALLY, BUT IT WILL NOT BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR FOR SOME TIME WHETHER THE AIRLIFT IS A NORMAL TWO-WAY ROTATION. DURING THE PERIOD OF ROTATION UP TO MID-JUNE THE SOVIET FORCES ABILITY TO INTERVENE RAPIDLY WILL BE SIGNIFICANTLY IMPAIRED.

8. THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS SUGGEST THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THEIR EARLIER POLICY OF GRANTING CONCESSIONS ONLY AT THE LAST MOMENT AND UNDER EXTREME PRESSURE HAD MERELY LED TO A GULF OF MISTRUST BETWEEN LEADERSHIP AND WORKERS AND HAD PRECIPITATED ONE CRISIS AFTER ANOTHER.

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MAKING ANY SOLUTION TO POLAND'S LONG -TERM PROBLEMS IMPOSSIBLE . POLAND'S LEADERS NOW APPEAR TO BE PREPARED TO ACQUIESCE MORE READILY IN MUCH OF THE LIBERALISATION BEING DEMANDED BY THE POPULATION AT LARGE , INCLUDING THE PARTY GRASS -ROOTS . THE DANGER NOW IS THAT THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO EXERT SUFFICIENT CONTROL OVER THE PROCESS OF REFORM TO PREVENT IT GOING SO FAR AS TO BE INTOLERABLE TO THE RUSSIANS .

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