

NATO SITUATION CENTRE  
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

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NADA /ASSESSMENT /MAY 001/JIC / DATED 01 MAY 1981  
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC 011130Z MAY 1981  
POLAND

1. THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD ON 29-30 APRIL ENDORSED THE PROCESS OF REFORM IN POLAND AND CONTINUED PREPARATIONS FOR THE PARTY CONGRESS, FIXING THE DATE FOR 14 - 18 JULY. THE EXTREME DEMANDS OF THE RADICALS, INCLUDING THE REMOVAL OF HARDLINERS FROM THE POLITBUREAU WERE NOT MET.

2. THE PLENUM TOOK PLACE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF GRASS ROOTS DEMANDS FOR MORE SWEEPING REFORM AND OF WARNINGS FROM THE SOVIET UNION ABOUT THE DANGER OF REVISIONISM (A CARDINAL HERESY IN THE SOVIET BOOK). SUSLOV'S VISIT TO WARSAW ON 23-24 APRIL WAS PROBABLY INTENDED TO GIVE HIM A FIRST-HAND PICTURE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND AS WELL AS AN OPPORTUNITY OF TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE HANDLING OF THE PLENUM. ACCORDING TO THE POLISH GOVERNMENT PRESS SPOKESMAN, SUSLOV WAS CONCERNED MAINLY ABOUT ANTI-SOCIALIST FRINGE ELEMENTS IN SOLIDARNOSC THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO ACT ON THE ECONOMY AND THE UPEHAVAL IN THE PARTY. THE LAST WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY THE CRUCIAL FACTOR. THE POLES EXPLAINED TO SUSLOV WHAT THEY WERE TRYING TO ACHIEVE IN POLAND, BUT THERE WAS NO MEETING OF MINDS. ACCORDING TO POLISH OFFICIAL GUIDANCE, SUSLOV SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS DISTURBED BY DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE PARTY AND THAT, UNLESS THE MOVEMENT FOR RADICAL REFORM WAS STOPPED, THE POLISH PARTY WOULD BE GUILTY OF REVISIONISM. A TASS REPORT FROM WARSAW ISSUED THE DAY AFTER SUSLOV'S RETURN TO MOSCOW AND SUBSEQUENTLY PRINTED IN BOTH PRAVDA AND IZVESTIA MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE MAIN DEVELOPMENT

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*(Poland)*

WORRYING THE RUSSIANS WAS THE PROCESS EMBODIED IN THE TORUN MEETING OF PARTY ORGANISATIONS WHICH WAS HELD OUTSIDE THE NORMAL PARTY FRAMEWORK. TASS ACCUSED REVISIONIST ELEMENTS OF WANTING TO RENOUNCE THE PARTY'S EXISTING STRUCTURE AND CREATE FORUMS WHICH WOULD TAKE THE PLACE OF THE LEADING ORGANS OF THE PARTY. KANIA'S REPORT TO THE PLENUM WAS CUTIOUS ON THE SUBJECT, NOTING THE NEED FOR PARTY UNITY AS WELL AS DEMOCRACY; DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI AND OTHER SPEAKERS DEFENDED THE USEFULNESS OF "HORIZONTAL" PARTY ORGANISATIONS. IN PRACTICE THERE SEEMS LITTLE THE PARTY LEADERSHIP CAN DO TO HALT THE TREND.

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N A T O S E C R E T

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of three pages.

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3. KANIA'S REPORT WAS GENERALLY MODERATE IN TONE, IN KEEPING WITH THE CURRENT SPIRIT OF CONCILIATION IN THE LEADERSHIP. HE CRITICISED SOLIDARNOSC FOR BEING TOO KEEN TO STRIKE, FOR PUBLISHING UNACCEPTABLE MATERIAL AND FOR ITS LINKS WITH KOR DISSIDENTS. BUT HE CALLED FOR THE UNION'S CO-OPERATION IN SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ON PARTY MATTERS HE SUPPORTED PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE STATUTES ON ELECTION PROCEDURES AND ROTATION OF PERSONNEL.

HE OPPOSED THE WIDESPREAD CALL FOR LEGAL ACTION AGAINST FORMER PARTY LEADERS FOR POLITICAL ERRORS. THE PLENUM DID HOWEVER ESTABLISH A COMMISSION TO SPEED UP INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE CONDUCT OF PARTY LEADERS. OTHER DEMANDS BY THE PARTY RADICALS, SUCH AS THE TELEVISIONING OF THE PLENUM PROCEEDINGS AND OBSERVER STATUS FOR REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE TORUN MEETING, WERE REJECTED.

4. THE PLENUM TOOK NO ACTION TO REMOVE LEADING HARD-LINERS FROM THE POLITBURO, DESPITE EARLIER CALLS FOR SUCH CHANGES. FORMER PRIME MINISTER PINKOWSKI AND THREE OTHERS WERE DROPPED FROM THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. IN RESPONSE TO POPULAR PRESSURE TWO WORKER REPRESENTATIVES ( IN FACT PARTY SECRETARIES FROM MAJOR INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES ) WERE ADDED TO THE POLITBURO. TWO REGIONAL PARTY BOSSES WERE ALSO PROMOTED INTO THE LEADERSHIP, ONE ( FROM OPOLE ) AS A CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO AND THE OTHER ( SZECZIN ) AS A PARTY SECRETARY. THE OVERALL EFFECT OF THE CHANGES WILL PROBABLY BE SLIGHT, BUT WILL TEND TO STRENGTHEN THE REFORMIST WING AND DILUTE THE INFLUENCE OF MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE POLIT-

BURO. THE CHANGES WILL NECESSITATE A RE-ALLOCATION OF RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE SECRETARIAT.

5. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARNOSC ARE PROGRESSING IN A PLETHORA OF WORKING GROUPS. INTERIM AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON THE IMPORTANT TRADE UNION BILL, INCLUDING PROVISIONS FOR TRADE UNIONS OF FARMERS AND ARTISANS. IT IS NOW TO BE SUBMITTED FOR PUBLIC DEBATE. UNEMPLOYMENT IS A LOOMING PROBLEM, WITH THE AUTHORITIES WISHING TO REMOVE AT LEAST 1 MILLION PEOPLE FROM THEIR CURRENT JOBS; BUT THE GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED THAT THERE WILL BE NO OBLIGATORY TRANSFERS UNTIL AGREEMENT IS REACHED WITH THE UNION. THE UNION IS ALSO DEMANDING THAT THOSE OBLIGED TO CHANGE JOBS SHOULD NOT SUFFER MATERIALLY AND IS INSISTING ON THE REGIME'S OBLIGATION TO MAINTAIN FULL EMPLOYMENT. TALKS ON SOLIDARNOSC'S ACCESS TO THE MEDIA ARE CONTINUING, AS ARE THOSE ON VARIOUS MATTERS CONCERNING THE RULE OF LAW. NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

6. ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, MARKET SUPPLIES ARE GETTING WORSE, THOUGH THE IMPACT OF THIS IS BEING MITIGATED FOR THE MOMENT BY HOARDED STOCKS. RATIONING OF BUTTER AND CEREALS IS TO BE INTRODUCED IN MAY. RATIONING OF OTHER FOODS IS IN FORCE IN SOME AREAS; IN OTHERS SHORTAGES ARE SO ACUTE AS TO MAKE RATIONING IMPRACTICABLE.

SOLIDARNOSC IS PREPARED TO DISCUSS PRICE RISES , BUT IS LIKELY TO DEMAND COMPENSATING CHANGES IN WAGES OR BENIFITS . DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND UNION ON A WHOLE RANGE OF ECONOMIC ISSUES SHOULD BE ABLE TO GO AHEAD NOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS , ACCORDING TO JARUZELSKI , PUT BEFORE THE SEJM THE PROMISED ECONOMIC REPORT , STABILISATION PROGRAMME , AND

ASSESSMENT OF PROPOSALS ON ECONOMIC REFORM . THE AGREEMENT WITH OFFICAL WESTERN CREDITORS SHOULD HELP FACILITATE MOVES TO RESETTLE POLISH DEBTS TO WESTERN COMMERCIAL BANKS , BUT THIS PROCESS INVOLVES HUNDREDS OF BANKS IN NUMEROUS COUNTRIES AND WILL BE MORE COMPLICATED , PROTRACTED AND POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS . IF SUCCESSFUL IT WILL GIVE THE POLES A BREATHING SPACE IN WHICH TO TACKLE SOME OF THEIR MORE PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND TO INTRODUCE THE NECESSARY RESTRUCTURING OF THE ECONOMY , ON WHICH POLAND 'S LONG TERM ECONOMIC STABILITY WILL DEPEND .

7. THE PLENUM WAS CONDUCTED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO AVOID ANY MAJOR NEW POINTS OF CONTENTION WITH THE RUSSIANS . THE SUSLOV VISIT HAS CLEARLY HAD NO EFFECT ON THE POLISH LEADERSHIP 'S COMMITMENT TO THE REFORM PROCESS , THOUGH IT MAY HAVE INFLUENCED THE HANDLING OF THE PLENUM . DISILLUSION WITH THE LEADERSHIP AND PRESSURE FOR REFORM FROM THE PARTY'S GRASS -ROOTS MAY HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE FAILURE TO ADOPT MORE RADICAL POLICIES , AND THIS COULD MAKE EVEN MORE BITTER THE

PERIOD OF DEBATE AND CRITICISM BETWEEN NOW AND THE JULY CONGRESS . IT IS NO MORE LIKELY THAN BEFORE THAT THE DEBATE OR THE CONGRESS CAN BE CONTAINED WITHIN BOUNDS THAT MOSCOW WOULD CONSIDER ACCEPTABLE .  
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