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NADA/ASSESSMENT/MAY 002/JIC/071830Z
POLAND

1. AFTER LAST WEEK'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM THE POLISH PARTY IS EMBARKING ON PRE-CONGRESS DISCUSSIONS AND ELECTIONS. THE CELEBRATIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF MAY APPARENTLY PASSED OFF WITHOUT INCIDENT. LEGISLATION HAS BEEN PASSED TO PERMIT REGISTRATION OF RURAL SOLIDARITY. NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND SOLIDARNOSC ARE CONTINUING LARGELY WITHOUT ACRIMONY, AND THE INDUSTRIAL SCENE REMAINS CALM.

2. THE MAIN DOCUMENTS DISCUSSED AT THE PLENUM, THE DRAFT PARTY PROGRAMME AND REVISED STATUTES, WILL BE PUBLISHED SHORTLY AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AT ALL LEVELS OF THE PARTY. NO DATE WAS SET FOR ANOTHER PLENUM. THE PLENUM LAID DOWN SOME REGULATIONS FOR ELECTIONS TO THE CONGRESS. IT WILL BE A MUCH LARGER GATHERING THAN PREVIOUSLY: SOME 4,000 DELEGATES MAY ATTEND. THIS MEETS POPULAR CALLS FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY, BUT THE LEADERSHIP MAY ALSO HOPE THAT A LARGER MEETING WILL BE EASIER TO MANIPULATE. IT IS STILL NOT CLEAR PRECISELY HOW DELEGATES ARE TO BE ELECTED: THE AMENDMENTS TO THE TEMPORARY ELECTORAL REGULATIONS APPROVED BY THE PREVIOUS PLENUM HAVE NOT BEEN PUBLISHED. SOME PARTY ORGANISATIONS HAVE DISREGARDED THEM IN HOLDING ELECTIONS, CLAIMING THEM TO BE INSUFFICIENTLY DEMOCRATIC. THE PARTY LEADERSHIP WILL TRY TO CONTROL THE ELECTIONS AS FAR AS THEY CAN. THE NORMAL STIPULATION THAT THE BODY OF DELEGATES SHOULD CORRESPOND TO THE SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION AND THE PROVISION FOR SOME SCREENING OF NOMINEES MAY ALLOW SOME SCOPE FOR THIS. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE HOW FAR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP WILL SUCCEED IN GETTING A CONGRESS THAT WILL PROVE REASONABLY CONTROLLABLE. THE FOLLOW-UP MEETING TO THE TORUN CONFERENCE OF PARTY RADICALS, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED FOR 5 MAY, IS NOW TO BE HELD IN EARLY JUNE. THE GDANSK PARTY IS ASKING THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR HELP IN ORGANISING THE MEETING, PROBABLY TO FORESTALL SOVIET CRITICISM THAT THE QUOTE HORIZONTALISTS UNQUOTE ARE ACTING OUTSIDE THE PARTY STRUCTURE.

3. THE TRADITIONAL MAY DAY RALLY IN WARSAW TOOK PLACE ON A MUCH REDUCED SCALE THIS YEAR. PARTY AND STATE LEADERS HEADED THE PROCESSION INSTEAD OF VIEWING FROM A STAND. IN MANY PLACES GATHERINGS OF OTHER KINDS REPLACED THE TRADITIONAL MARCHES. SOLIDARNOSC DID

(Poland)

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NOT TAKE PART AS AN ORGANISATION BUT MANY INDIVIDUAL WORKERS DID. CELEBRATIONS WERE ALSO WIDELY HELD ON 3 MAY TO MARK THE ANNIVERSARY OF POLAND'S FIRST (1791) CONSTITUTION AND ALSO TO MARK AN IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARY. SOME OF THE 3 MAY EVENTS ARE LIKELY TO HAVE INCLUDED NATIONALISTIC SPEECHES, BUT WE KNOW OF NO UNTOWARD INCIDENTS. THE MAIN EVENT IN WARSAW WAS AGAIN ATTENDED BY PARTY AND STATE LEADERS, WHO NO DOUBT WISHED TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH A POPULAR REVIVAL (COMMEMORATION OF CONSTITUTION DAY HAS BEEN BANNED SINCE THE WAR) AND USE IT TO PROMOTE NATIONAL PRIDE AND UNITY. THERE WAS A STRONG RELIGIOUS ELEMENT TO MANY CELEBRATIONS ON 1 AS WELL AS 3 MAY. PRAYERS WERE SAID FOR CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI WHO MAY BE TERMINALLY ILL. HIS DEATH WOULD CREATE PROBLEMS BOTH FOR THE CHURCH, WHICH MIGHT HAVE DIFFICULTY IN FINDING A SUCCESSOR AS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND TO THE CLERGY, AND FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE SINCE IT WOULD REMOVE AN IMPORTANT STABILISING INFLUENCE.

4. SOLIDARNOSC HAS ALSO EMBARKED ON NATIONWIDE ELECTIONS AT ALL LEVELS LEADING UP TO ITS FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS PLANNED TO BEGIN ON 31 AUGUST, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE GDANSK AND SZCZECIN AGREEMENTS. IN WARSAW THE SOLIDARNOSC REGIONAL BOARD REJECTED A PROPOSAL FROM ITS RADICAL LEADER THAT NON-UNION MEMBERS (EG DISSIDENTS) SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAND FOR UNION OFFICE. THIS REFLECTS APPARENTLY INCREASING DISSATISFACTION WITH THE ROLE OF DISSIDENTS IN THE UNION. MANY MEMBERS SEEM TO FEEL THAT THE DISSIDENTS ARE USING THE UNION FOR THEIR OWN ENDS, A VIEW CAREFULLY FOSTERED BY THE POLISH AUTHORITIES.

5. SOVIET PUBLIC REACTION TO THE PLENUM HAS SO FAR BEEN MUTED. THE PERSONNEL CHANGES WERE REPORTED WITHOUT COMMENT. LENGTHY EXTRACTS FROM KANIA'S REPORT WERE PRINTED IN THE MAIN SOVIET PAPERS. THESE GAVE A REASONABLY EXTENSIVE BUT HIGHLY SELECTIVE SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH, OMITTING IN PARTICULAR ALL REFERENCES TO SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR REFORM OR DEMOCRATISATION OF THE PARTY. TASS HAS ALSO RE-PRINTED A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CONDEMNING A PRESS CONFERENCE HELD BY THE POLISH COMMITTEE FOR THE LIBERATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. PARTICIPANTS WERE DESCRIBED AS ROGUES WEARING SOLIDARNOSC BADGES. SUCH COMMENT WILL BE INTENDED TO STRENGTHEN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP'S RESOLVE TO RESIST DEMANDS FOR THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL DETAINEES. RECENT EVENTS, IN PARTICULAR THE PLENUM ARE LIKELY TO BE VIEWED BY SOVIET LEADERS AS CONSTITUTING A FURTHER RETREAT BY THE POLISH LEADERSHIP.

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