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THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC

POLAND.

1. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT ISSUED A STATEMENT ON 25 MAY CONDEMNING ASSAULTS ON SOVIET TROOPS IN POLAND, WHICH IT SUBSEQUENTLY MODIFIED TO REFER TO INSULTS. STUDENT SPONSORED MARCHES IN POLAND TO DEMAND FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE TAKEN PLACE AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS AGAIN CRITICISED REVISIONISM IN THE POLISH PARTY.
2. FOLLOWING A COUNCIL OF MINISTERS' REVIEW OF PUBLIC ORDER IN POLAND WARSAW TELEVISION BROADCAST A STATEMENT WHICH CRITICISE THE "RISING TIDE OF LAWLESSNESS" IN POLAND AND REFERRED TO "INDIVIDUAL CASES OF ATTACKS" ON SOVIET SOLDIERS STATIONED IN POLAND. THE STATEMENT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY AMENDED TO REFER TO CASES OF INSULTS. THE AUTHORITIES ARE EVIDENTLY CONCERNED ABOUT RECENT EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-SOVIET FEELING AND THE GENERAL LEVEL OF PUBLIC DISORDER. SIGNS OF ANTI-SOVIETISM HAVE INCLUDED A REASSESSMENT OF SENSITIVE PERIODS OF POLISH HISTORY, REFERENCES TO THE KATYN MASSACRE AND DEFACEMENT OF SOVIET MEMORIALS IN POLAND. THE GOVERNMENT MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN WORRIED THAT DEMONSTRATIONS AND MARCHES BEING ORGANISED FOR 25 MAY TO DEMAND FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS MIGHT LEAD TO TREET DUORDERS. IN THE EVENT THE MARCHES, WHICH IN WARSAW INVOLVED 10,000 PEOPLE, PASSED OFF WITHOUT SERIOUS INCIDENT.
3. SOVIET COMMUNICATIONS TROOPS HAVE BEEN RETAINED IN POLAND CONTINUOUSLY SINCE SEPTEMBER, AND THERE ARE SIGNS THAT MORALE HAS SUFFERED. THE POLES THEMSELVES HAVE BEEN SENSITIVE TO THIS CONTINUED SOVIET PRESENCE IN AREAS WHERE TROOPS HAVE NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN STATIONED AND SOME COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN VOICED AT THE PRESENCE AND ACTIVITIES OF THE TROOPS: CONTINUING FRICTION HAS LED TO A SERIES OF MINOR INCIDENTS, THE MOST RECENT BEING THE ALLEGED BEATING-UP BY SOVIET SOLDIERS OF A POLISH MECHANIC AT LEGNICA: BUT WE KNOW OF NO SERIOUS DISTURBANCES. THE POLISH STATEMENT MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE A PROPER DEGREE OF CONCERN AND TO REASSURE THE RUSSIANS THAT FIRM ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN TO DEAL WITH ANTI-SOVIET MANIFESTATIONS. BUT THE POLES MAY HAVE DECIDED THAT THE FIRST VERSION WAS MORE LIKELY TO ANTAGONISE THE POLISH PEOPLE AND TO PROVIDE THE

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RUSSIANS AND EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITH PROPAGANDA MATERIAL AND SHOULD BE TONED DOWN. THE WARNING AGAINST HARASSMENT OF SOVIET SOLDIERS MAY INDICATE THAT SECURITY WILL BE TIGHTENED IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE PARTY CONGRESS: THERE ARE REPORTS THAT JOINT PATROLS BY REGULAR AND MILITARY POLICE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED.

4. WITHIN POLAND THE DEATH OF CARDINAL WYSYNSKI HAS REMOVED A MODERATING INFLUENCE. INVESTIGATIONS INTO CHARGES OF CORRUPTION ARE CONTINUING AND MUST BE PRESUMED TO HAVE PROMPTED THE SUICIDE OF TWO FORMER GOVERNMENT MINISTERS. THIS IS INDICATIVE OF THE TENSIONS WHICH EXIST IN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT CIRCLES AND MAY SERVE TO FUEL SOVIET FEARS OF A WITCH HUNT OF LEADING POLITICAL FIGURES: THIS COULD BE SEEN AS AN UNDERMINING OF AUTHORITY WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO FURTHER LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE PARTY. GIEREK APPEARED LAST WEEK BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ESTABLISHED TO INVESTIGATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE POLICIES WHICH GAVE RISE TO THE PRESENT CRISIS.

5. SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN COMMENT ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND HAS CONCENTRATED ON THE TWO MAIN THEMES OF THE DANGER FROM THE GROWTH OF LAWLESSNESS AND PRESSURE FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE PARTY. ON 23 MAY A STRONGLY CRITICAL TASS REPORT FROM WARSAW PUBLISHED IN ISVESTIA REVIVED THE CHARGE THAT THERE WERE REVISIONISTS IN THE POLISH PARTY WHO HAD STEPPED UP THEIR EFFORTS TO PUSH THE PARTY IN A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC DIRECTION. TASS LINKED THESE REVISIONISTS WITH ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES IN SOLIDARITY AND CLAIMED THAT THEY WERE FORMING A UNITED FRONT. A PRAVDA ARTICLE OF 21 MAY ALSO REFERRED CRITICALLY TO REFORMIST TRENDS WITHIN THE POLISH PARTY AND ALLEGED THAT SOME PEOPLE UNDER THE PRETEXT OF "RENEWAL" WERE TRYING TO INTRODUCE IDEAS ALIEN TO MARXISM-LENINISM AND TO REJECT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE PARTY WAS BUILT. THE MOST STRIDENT ATTACKS HAVE BEEN MADE BY EAST GERMANS. AN EAST GERMAN NEWS AGENCY ARTICLE CLAIMED THAT EVENTS IN POLAND WERE BEING DETERMINED BY THE CHURCH AND SOLIDARITY RATHER THAN THE PARTY, WHICH WAS SPLIT BY FACTIONS: SOLIDARITY REPRESENTATIVES WERE ABLE TO INFLUENCE PARTY PRE-CONGRESS ELECTION CONFERENCES IN THE DIRECTION OF THE RADICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE POLISH PARTY. TAKEN TOGETHER WITH INCREASED CZECHOSLOVAK CRITICISM OF THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN POLAND, THESE ATTACKS MAY WELL SIGNAL A STEPPING UP OF PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN WITH THE AIM OF INFLUENCING MEMBERS OF THE POLISH PARTY IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE CONGRESS IN JULY.

6. THE MAIN IMPRESSION CONVEYED BY THE CURRENT SITUATION IN POLAND IS ONE OF DRIFT AND A LACK OF EFFORT BY THE LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A GRIP OF THE SITUATION. THE GROWING PUBLIC INDISCIPLINE AND THE EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-SOVIET FEELING MUST BE WORRYING THE RUSSIANS DESPITE POLISH ATTEMPTS TO REASSURE THEM. OF THE GREATEST CONCERN TO THE RUSSIANS HOWEVER IS THE SITUATION IN THE POLISH PARTY. THE LATEST SOVIET COMMENT INDICATES THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE NOT AT ALL HOPEFUL ABOUT THE LIKELY OUTCOME

OF THE CURRENT LOCAL PARTY ELECTIONS AND THE SELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE POLISH PARTY CONGRESS: BUT THEY APPEAR TO SEE LITTLE ALTERNATIVE AT THE MOMENT TO TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE PROCESS BY PROPAGANDA PRESSURE.

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