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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JUNE 004/JIC.  
POLAND.

1. THERE HAVE BEEN ONLY MINOR CHANGES IN POLISH POLICY TO FOLLOW UP THE TOUGHER LINE TAKEN AT LAST WEEK'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING AND SESSION OF PARLIAMENT. THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA CONTINUE TO STRESS THE DEEPENING OF THE CRISIS IN POLAND. THE PUBLICATION OF THE MOSCOW LETTER HAS BROUGHT THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE POLISH AND SOVIET LEADERSHIPS INTO THE OPEN AND MADE THE SOVIET DILEMMA EVEN MORE ACUTE; BUT THERE CONTINUES TO BE NO EVIDENCE OF UNUSUAL MILITARY ACTIVITY.
2. AT THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT ON 12 JUNE PRIME MINISTER JARUZELSKI REPEATED MANY OF THE THEMES OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM EARLIER IN THE WEEK, NOTABLY THE NEED FOR MORE DECISIVE ACTION TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER, AND TO CURB AND PUNISH ANTI-SOVIET ACTS AND PUBLICATIONS. HE APPEALED TO THE PUBLIC FOR SUPPORT IN THIS AND TO SOLIDARNOSC TO PURGE ITSELF OF EXTREME ELEMENTS. HOWEVER, ALMOST THE ONLY SPECIFIC MEASURE ANNOUNCED IN THIS CONTEXT WAS THE INTRODUCTION OF TIGHTER CONTROLS OVER PRINTING EQUIPMENT. BUT IT WAS NO DOUBT AS A RESULT OF MOSCOW'S WARNINGS THAT THE DRAFT CENSORSHIP LAW HAS APPARENTLY BEEN WITHDRAWN FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION. PARTY SECRETARY OLSZOWSKI HAS HAD A MEETING WITH IDEOLOGICAL AND MEDIA OFFICIALS FROM THE PROVINCES, PRESUMABLY IN AN EFFORT TO EXERT PRESSURE FOR THE DISSEMINATION OF MORE ORTHODOX VIEWS IN THE MEDIA. IN ADDITION THE LIBERAL HEAD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MEDIA HAS REPORTEDLY RESIGNED. NEVERTHELESS THERE IS NO LIKELIHOOD OF A RETURN TO THE KIND OF MEDIA REPORTING THAT MOSCOW WOULD CONSIDER DESIRABLE, AS THIS WOULD UNDERMINE THE WHOLE REFORM PROCESS. A FURTHER DELICATE PROBLEM FOR THE REGIME IS THE TRIAL OF FOUR OVERTLY ANTI-SOCIALIST DISSIDENTS WHICH BEGAN ON 15 JUNE. IT WILL PROBABLY BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE REGIME AS WELL AS OF DEFENDANTS THAT THE TRIAL SHOULD NOT END SOON AS THE OUTCOME IS BOUND TO DISPLEASE EITHER THE SOVIET UNION OR SOLIDARNOSC.

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3. IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY WALESA HAS BEEN TAKING A GENERALLY HELPFUL ATTITUDE TO THE AUTHORITIES, SPECIFICALLY CALLING FOR THE UNION TO CONFINE ITSELF TO NORMAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES AND ESCHEW POLITICS, AND SUGGESTING THAT SOME OF THE HUNDREDS OF AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE UNION AND THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE RENEGOTIATED. HE AND OTHER SOLIDARNOSC OFFICIALS HAVE CONDEMNED AND DISSOCIATED THE UNION FROM ANTI-SOVIET INCIDENTS AND OUTBREAKS OF HOOLIGANISM AND HAVE DESCRIBED SOME OF THESE AS PROVOCATIONS. THE ACTUAL EXTENT OF ANTI-SOVIET INCIDENTS IS NOT CLEAR. JARUZELSKI HAS DESCRIBED THEM AS "RARE" BUT AN EXTREME HARD-LINE JOURNAL WHICH HAS RECENTLY BEGUN TO APPEAR HAS CLAIMED 30 "ATTACKS" ON SOVIET SOLDIERS OR THEIR FAMILIES IN RECENT WEEKS.

4. PROVINCIAL PARTY CONFERENCES AND THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES TO THE JULY CONGRESS ARE GOING AHEAD. SOME 600 DELEGATES (OUT OF A TOTAL OF NEARLY 2,000) HAVE BEEN ELECTED SO FAR. IN HIS CLOSING SPEECH AT LAST WEEK'S PLENUM KANIA MADE A SPECIAL PLEA THAT MEMBERS OF THE CURRENT POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT (WHO NUMBER 19) SHOULD BE ELECTED AS DELEGATES, NO DOUBT IN RESPONSE TO MOSCOW'S FEARS THAT ITS CHIEF FRIENDS WOULD FAIL TO SECURE ELECTION. SO FAR 6 OF THE 19 HAVE SECURED ELECTION, INCLUDING KANIA AND JARUZELSKI, BUT THESE ARE ALL FROM THE MODERATE/REFORMIST WING OF THE PARTY. SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE BY HARDLINERS AT THE PLENUM THAT SOME EARLIER ELECTIONS SHOULD BE DECLARED INVALID BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT CONDUCTED IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PARTY STATUTES, BUT THIS COULD NOT BE DONE WITHOUT PROVOKING A REVOLT AMONG THE RANK-AND-FILE IN THE RELEVANT ORGANISATIONS.

5. SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA COMMENT ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS SUGGEST CONSIDERABLE DISSATISFACTION, WITH CLAIMS THAT THE CRISIS IS STILL GETTING WORSE AND THAT ANTI-SOVIET INCIDENTS ARE NOT BEING CURBED. THE SOVIET MEDIA, UNPRECEDENTEDLY, DID NOT REPORT KANIA'S SPEECH AT THE PLENUM, AND THEIR SUMMARY OF THE PLENUM RESOLUTION PLACED THE ACCENT HEAVILY ON ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF WHAT HAD GONE WRONG AND ACCEPTANCE OF SOVIET CRITICISM AND REMOVED NEARLY ALL REFERENCES TO THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO REFORM AND BOTH SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO THE PARTY CONGRESS. FOLLOWING ITS LEAKING IN POLAND THE FULL TEXT OF THE MOSCOW LETTER HAS BEEN PRINTED IN THE MAIN SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN (EXCEPT ROMANIAN) PAPERS. THE BULGARIAN, HUNGARIAN AND CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS HAVE ALSO PRINTED LONG AND CRITICAL COMMENTARIES CENTRED AROUND THE MOSCOW LETTER. ONLY THE HUNGARIAN COMMENTARY INDICATED MUCH HOPE THAT THE POLES COULD SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. PUBLICATION OF THE LETTER WILL GIVE TO THE POPULATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND EASTERN EUROPE THEIR clearest indication so far of the depth of the crisis in Poland and the extent of Soviet concern. IT WILL ALSO SERVE TO PREPARE THEM FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF MILITARY ACTION SHOULD THE SOVIET LEADERS DECIDE THIS IS NECESSARY.

6. THE TEXT AND TENOR OF THE SOVIET LETTER AND THE TREATMENT OF KANIA'S REPORT SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP WERE HOPING FOR KANIA'S REMOVAL AT THE PLENUM AND HIS REPLACEMENT

BY HARD-LINE LEADERS WHO WOULD TURN THE REFORM PROCESS IN A DIRECTION MORE ACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW. EVEN IF THE HARD-LINERS HAD SUCCEEDED IN OUSTING KANIA IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE CHANGE OF DIRECTION THEY DESIRE COULD HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED WITHOUT A REVOLT IN THE PARTY AND SEVERE DISTURBANCES IN THE COUNTRY AT LARGE. THE MOSCOW LETTER HAS HOWEVER INDUCED - AT LEAST TEMPORARILY - A MORE SOBER ATTITUDE IN THE POLISH PEOPLE, INCLUDING SOLIDARNOSC OFFICIALS. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER ITS EFFECT WITHIN THE PARTY WILL BE SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE A PRE-CONGRESS CAMPAIGN AND ELECTIONS ON LINES TOLERABLE TO MOSCOW. DESPITE THE RHETORIC THE KANIA/JARUZELSKI REGIME DOES NOT APPEAR WILLING TO MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIAL MODIFICATIONS TO THE POLICY OF REFORM, WHICH ENJOYS BROAD POPULAR SUPPORT, OR TO TAKE STERN MEASURES AGAINST "ANTI-SOCIALIST FORCES". IN THE FACE OF THIS SITUATION THE SOVIET UNION IS LIKELY TO STEP UP POLITICAL PRESSURE OF VARIOUS KINDS. SO FAR THERE IS NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE MILITARY SITUATION.

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