

NATO SITUATION CENTRE  
CENTRE DE SITUATION OTAN

COMCENTRE NAC/MC

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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JULY 001/JIC/031535Z  
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC  
POLAND

1. ALL THE BEST KNOWN MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP HAVE BEEN ELECTED AS DELEGATES TO THE PARTY CONGRESS WHICH STARTS ON 14 JULY. SOVIET MEDIA COMMENT HAS BEEN SPARSE, BUT GROMYKO IS TO VISIT WARSAW FROM 2 JULY.
2. THE LAST PROVINCIAL PARTY CONFERENCES HAVE NOW BEEN HELD AND HAVE ELECTED PROVINCIAL FIRST SECRETARIES AND DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS. THE ELECTION PROCESS WAS TENSE AND LONG DRAWN OUT IN SOME CASES, WITH KANIA HIMSELF INTERVENING TO URGE THE ELECTION OF CERTAIN CANDIDATES, IN THE EVENT ALL THE MOST IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE LEADERSHIP SECURED ELECTION, BUT MANY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEES OTHER NOMINEES DID NOT. A LEADING SPOKESMAN FOR THE RADICALS ALSO FAILED TO SECURE ELECTION. ONLY ABOUT HALF THE PROVINCIAL FIRST SECRETARIES WERE RE-ELECTED TO THEIR POSTS, AND IN SOME AREAS THE ENTIRE LOCAL LEADERSHIP WAS THROWN OUT. PARTY HARDLINERS HAVE EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION AT THE NUMBER OF CHANGES AND AT THE SMALL NUMBER OF WORKERS ELECTED TO PROVINCIAL PARTY POSTS OR TO THE CONGRESS. LITTLE IS KNOWN OF THE VIEWS OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF DELEGATES, BUT MORE THAN A QUARTER ARE PARTY OFFICIALS AND A THIRD ARE SAID TO BE MEMBERS OF SOLIDARNOSC. A CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL HAS SUGGESTED THAT EXTRA WORKERS SHOULD BE COOPTED AS DELEGATES. A DEVICE OF THIS KIND COULD BE USED TO DILUTE THE INFLUENCE OF THE ELECTED DELEGATES AT THE CONGRESS, THOUGH THE LATTER WOULD PROBABLY NOT AGREE TO COOPTED DELEGATES BEING GIVEN VOTING RIGHTS.
3. A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM IS TO BE HELD TO DISCUSS THE REPORT OF THE GRABSKI COMMISSION WHICH HAS BEEN INVESTIGATING THE ERRORS AND ABUSES OF THE PREVIOUS LEADERSHIP: IT WILL PROBABLY ALSO ENDORSE THE CONGRESS DOCUMENTS AND PROCEDURES. IN ADDITION A NUMBER OF CONFERENCES OF GROUPS OF DELEGATES ARE TO BE HELD BEFORE THE CONGRESS, NO DOUBT IN AN ATTEMPT TO ENSURE THAT THE CONGRESS GOES REASONABLY SMOOTHLY. THE ISSUING OF INVITATIONS TO CMEA MEMBER-COUNTRIES SUGGESTS THAT THE POLISH LEADERSHIP BELIEVES THAT THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED.
4. CEREMONIES HELD IN RADOM AND POZNAN TO MARK THE ANNIVERSARIES OF THE 1976 AND 1956 RIOTS RESPECTIVELY PASSED OFF PEACEFULLY, AND WERE USED BY THE AUTHORITIES

FOR FURTHER GESTURES OF CONCILIATION. WALESZA HAS CONTINUED TO MAKE SPEECHES APPEALING FOR UNITY, DENYING THAT SOLIDARNOSC HAS POLITICAL AMBITIONS AND CALLING FOR THE RENEGOTIATION OF UNION/GOVERNMENT AGREEMENTS. OTHER REMARKS OF HIS WILL BE LESS WELCOME TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, SUCH AS HIS ANGRY ATTACK ON THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THERE ARE ANTI-SOCIALIST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ELEMENTS IN THE UNION. SOLIDARNOSC OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION WITH THE DRAFT TRADE UNION AND CENSORSHIP LAWS. BUT THE SOLIDARNOSC EXECUTIVE HAS PROPOSED MEASURES TO SUPERVISE UNION PUBLICATIONS MORE CLOSELY, AND IF NECESSARY TO TAKE SANCTIONS AGAINST ANY DEPARTURE FROM UNION POLICY.

5. THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IS GOING TO WARSAW ON 2 JULY TO PAY A "BRIEF FRIENDLY VISIT" AT THE INVITATION OF THE POLISH PARTY AND GOVERNMENT. HE MAY BE GOING IN PART FOR CONSULTATIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION OF THE CONGRESS DOCUMENTS; AT THE SAME TIME GROMYKO WILL NO DOUBT TRY TO ASSESS THE LIKELY OUTCOME OF THE CONGRESS PERHAPS WITH A VIEW TO THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL OF SOVIET REPRESENTATION, AND TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO REITERATE SOVIET VIEWS - PERHAPS MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN A PARTY IDEOLOGIST COULD DO. A FINAL ATTEMPT DURING GROMYKO'S VISIT TO GET THE CONGRESS POSTPONED CANNOT BE RULED OUT.

6. SOVIET MEDIA COMMENT HAS BEEN RELATIVELY SPARSE SINCE THE ZAMYATIN COMMENTARY. THE CZECHOSLOVAK AND BULGARIAN MEDIA HAVE, HOWEVER, BEEN PRODUCING ENDLESS VARIATIONS ON THE THEMES OF THE MOSCOW LETTER, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN REPLAYED BY THE SOVIET MEDIA. BULGARIA APPEARS FOR THE PRESENT TO HAVE REPLACED THE GDR AS LEADER OF THE PROPAGANDA ATTACK ON POLAND. THE CHANGE IS STRIKING, AS UNTIL RECENTLY THE BULGARIAN MEDIA GAVE ONLY VERY LOW KEY PRESENTATION OF POLISH EVENTS. IN HUNGARY PARTY MEETINGS ARE DISCUSSING A POLITBURO PAPER CLAIMING THAT THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOCIALISM ARE IN DANGER IN POLAND AND THAT IF THIS PERSISTS ALL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES MAY HAVE TO JOIN IN SAVING POLAND. CEAUCESCU HAS GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO EXPRESS SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT FOR THE CURRENT POLISH LEADERSHIP AND THEIR POLICIES.

7. THE POLISH LEADERSHIP MUST BE REASONABLY SATISFIED BY THE COMPLETION OF THE CONGRESS ELECTIONS WITHOUT AN OPEN SPLIT IN THE PARTY AND WITH THE ENDORSEMENT OF ALL BEST-KNOWN PERSONALITIES IN THE POLITBURO, INCLUDING THOSE MOST FAVOURED BY MOSCOW. A MOOD OF RESTRAINT APPEARS TO BE PREVAILING IN THE PARTY AND SOLIDARNOSC, DISCREETLY ENCOURAGED BY THE CHURCH. BUT IT WILL BE A MAJOR PROBLEM FOR THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO SECURE AT THE CONGRESS A BROADLY-BASED NEW LEADERSHIP THAT WILL ENJOY POPULAR SUPPORT AND AT THE SAME TIME BE ACCEPTABLE TO MOSCOW. MANY FEATURES OF THE POLISH SCENE MUST CONTINUE TO BE DEEPLY DISTURBING TO THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING THE RECENT DISPLAY OF DEMOCRACY IN ACTION AND THE UNCERTAINTY OVER THE OUTCOME OF THE CONGRESS.

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