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NADA/ASSESSMENT/JULY 007/JIC/231900Z  
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC  
POLAND (NATO CONFIDENTIAL)

THE PARTY CONGRESS HELD ON 14-20 JULY GENERALLY ENDORSED THE MODERATE LINE PURSUED IN RECENT MONTHS BY THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. FEW NEW POLICY INITIATIVES WERE ADOPTED. THE NEW PARTY LEADERSHIP WILL HAVE TO TACKLE SERIOUS PROBLEMS WITHOUT DELAY IF POLAND'S SLIDE IS TO BE HALTED. MOSCOW APPEARS TO HAVE GRUDGINGLY ACCEPTED THE OUTCOME OF THE CONGRESS.

2. THE CONGRESS DEVOTED MORE ATTENTION TO PROCEDURAL MATTERS AND ELECTIONS THAN TO DISCUSSIONS OF POLICY.

THE MAIN DOCUMENTS, THE PARTY PROGRAMME AND REVISED STATUTES, HAVE STILL TO BE FINALISED. THE DEBATES ARE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN HEATED, PARTICULARLY IN THE CLOSED SESSIONS ABOUT WHICH FEW DETAILS ARE AVAILABLE. THE CENTRIST LINE OF KANIA'S OPENING REPORT SEEMS TO HAVE MET WITH GENERAL ACCEPTANCE, THOUGH IT WAS CRITICISED FOR NOT PUTTING FORWARD CONCRETE SOLUTIONS. AMONG THE FEW NEW ELEMENTS IN THE MAIN SPEECHES WERE HARSH CRITICISM BY KANIA AND JARUZELSKI OF SOME IDEAS ON WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT FLOATED BY SOLIDARNOSC; WARNINGS THAT WHATEVER MEASURES WERE NECESSARY WOULD BE TAKEN TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND PREVENT ECONOMIC BREAKDOWN; AND KANIA'S SUGGESTION THAT THE NATIONAL UNITY FRONT (WHICH UNITES ALL GROUPS REPRESENTED IN PARLIAMENT) SHOULD BE EXPANDED TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL THE TRADE UNIONS, RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS ETC. KANIA, IN HIS SPEECH FOLLOWING HIS REELECTION AS FIRST SECRETARY, DEFINED THE LINE HE INTENDED TO PURSUE AS THAT OF SOCIALIST RENEWAL, AGREEMENT, AND STRUGGLE AGAINST THREATS TO SOCIALISM.

3. IN THE ELECTIONS TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THE 275 CANDIDATES FOR THE 200 SEATS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN CHOSEN LARGELY SO AS TO GIVE APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATION TO ALL REGIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS. THE MAIN FEATURE OF THE NEW COMMITTEE IS THE PREPONDERANCE OF SHOP-FLOOR WORKERS AND PEASANTS. SOME 40 OF THE MEMBERS REPORTEDLY BELONG TO SOLIDARNOSC. ONLY 18 MEMBERS OF THE OUTGOING CENTRAL COMMITTEE, INCLUDING 4 MEMBERS OF THE POLITBURO, WERE RE-ELECTED. SOME OF THE BEST-KNOWN FIGURES FROM BOTH WINGS OF THE PARTY FAILED TO SECURE ELECTION. THE COMMITTEE CONTAINS FEW REPRESENTATIVES OF SUCH KEY BODIES AS THE PARTY APPARATUS, REGIONAL PARTY ORGANISATIONS AND ECONOMIC MINISTRIES, THOUGH THE MILITARY

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AND SECURITY APPARATUS ARE WELL REPRESENTED. MEMBERS MAY THUS CONSIDER THEMSELVES LESS PART OF AN ESTABLISHED ELITE THAN REPRESENTATIVES OF GRASS-ROOTS OPINION; THIS COULD MAKE THEM LESS AMENABLE TO CONTROL BY THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. LITTLE IS KNOWN OF THE PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE NEW MEMBERS AND THEIR BEHAVIOUR IS THUS UNPREDICTABLE.

4. THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT ELECTED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONTAIN A HARD CORE OF 6 EXPERIENCED MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL PARTY AND STATE BUREAUCRACY, PLUS A NUMBER OF WORKERS, INTELLECTUALS AND REGIONAL PARTY OFFICIALS WITH LITTLE EXPERIENCE OF THE CENTRE. THE WORKERS IN PARTICULAR COVER A WIDE RANGE OF OPINION, FROM THE ULTRACONSERVATIVE SIWAK, NOTABLE FOR HIS VIOLENT ATTACKS ON SOLIDARNOSC AND HIS APPEARANCES IN THE SOVIET AND CZECHOSLOVAK MEDIA, TO THE REFORMIST LABECKI, WHO IS THOUGHT TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO SOLIDARNOSC. IN THE ELECTION FOR THE FIRST SECRETARY THE CONGRESS WAS GIVEN A CHOICE OF PERSONALITY BUT NOT OF POLICIES, BOTH THE MORE HARD-LINE AND THE MORE REFORMIST CANDIDATES REFUSING TO STAND IN THE INTERESTS OF PARTY UNITY. NEVERTHELESS, THE ELECTION WILL HAVE ENHANCED KANIA'S PERSONAL POSITION, AND IT IS CLEAR THAT JARUZELSKI, DESPITE THE LACK OF ACHIEVEMENT OF HIS GOVERNMENT, ALSO RETAINS GREAT PERSONAL AUTHORITY. THE OVERALL BALANCE OF OPINION IN THE NEW POLITBURO IS NOT YET CLEAR, BUT IT MAY BE NO EASIER TO REACH CONSENSUS IN THE NEW BODY THAN IT WAS IN THE OLD. OVERALL THE LEADING ORGANS APPEARS TO LACK EXPERIENCE OF INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT. THE EXTENT OF THE SHAKEUP IN THE PARTY STRUCTURE MAKES IT DIFFICULT TO PREDICT HOW THE LEADERSHIP WILL OPERATE AND WHAT PATH IT WILL FOLLOW.

5. THE SOVIET UNION MUST HAVE BEEN DISTURBED BY THE LACK OF CONTROL OVER THE PROCEEDINGS DEMONSTRATED BY THE POLISH LEADERSHIP. HOWEVER, IT IS APPARENTLY PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH THE OUTCOME OF THE CONGRESS AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT. BREZHNEV'S CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM TO KANIA WAS COOL AND CURSORY. THE ATMOSPHERE AT KANIA'S MEETING WITH THE HEAD OF THE SOVIET DELEGATION AFTER THE CONGRESS WAS HOWEVER DESCRIBED AS "WARM AND FRIENDLY". SUFFICIENT HARD-LINERS PROBABLY REMAIN IN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING THE INFLUENTIAL OLSZOWSKI, TO REASSURE MOSCOW THAT ITS VIEWS WILL NOT BE IGNORED. THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE REPORTED THE CONGRESS IN LOW-KEY, NEUTRAL TERMS, OMITTING ALL REFERENCES TO SUCH UN-SOVIET FEATURES AS MULTIPLE CANDIDATES FOR ELECTIONS. THERE ARE NO NEW SIGNS OF PREPARATIONS FOR SOVIET MILITARY ACTION IN POLAND.

6. THE NEW POLISH LEADERSHIP WILL HAVE NO LULL IN WHICH TO SORT OUT ITS INTERNAL PROBLEMS. IT MUST TURN ITS ATTENTION IMMEDIATELY TO POLAND'S GRAVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND MAKE DECISIONS WHICH WERE PUT OFF DURING THE PRE-CONGRESS PERIOD. ALTHOUGH THE STRIKE OF AIRLINE WORKERS HAS BEEN SUSPENDED, THE BASIC ISSUE OF THE PERMISSIBLE

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EXTENT OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT REMAINS UNRESOLVED AND IS LIKELY TO LOOM LARGE IN GOVERNMENT/UNION NEGOTIATIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SOLIDARNOSC IS ALSO LIKELY TO WANT TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS ON AT LEAST THE CENSORSHIP AND TRADE UNION BILLS. ALL THIS WILL TAKE PLACE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF A SERIOUS ECONOMIC DETERIORATION WHICH WILL FORCE THE REGIME TO SEEK UNION ACQUIESCENCE IN UNPOPULAR MEASURES ON PRICES, EMPLOYMENT AND OTHER ECONOMIC ISSUES. FURTHER CONFRONTATIONS AND STRIKES SEEM INEVITABLE, AND THE AUTHORITIES, DESPITE THEIR TOUGHER LINE IN PUBLIC, WILL AGAIN HAVE TO DECIDE WHEN AND WHAT TO CONCEDE. IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER THE NEW LEADERSHIP WILL TAKE RAKOWSKI'S ADVICE TO SEIZE THE INITIATIVE AND ACT BEFORE BEING FORCED INTO A CORNER. THE SOLIDARNOSC LEADERSHIP FOR ITS PART MAY FIND IT DIFFICULT TO PURSUE A CONSISTENT OVERALL POLICY IN ADVANCE OF ITS OWN CONGRESS IN SEPTEMBER/OCTOBER, BUT IS LIKELY TO PRESS ON WITH ITS DEMANDS IN INDIVIDUAL AREAS.

7. THE CONGRESS ENDORSED THE CONCEPT OF RENEWAL, WITHIN CERTAIN WELL-DEFINED LIMITS. POLES AT LARGE MAY HAVE FOUND THE PROCEEDINGS SOMETHING OF AN ANTI-CLIMAX. THE LIVELY DEBATES AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS WILL HAVE PLEASED PARTY MEMBERS, EVEN IF THEY RESULTED IN FEW POLICY INITIATIVES. ONE RESULT OF THE CONGRESS WILL BE A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE PATTERNS OF CONTROL AND ACTIVITY IN THE PARTY. THE LEADERSHIP SHOULD HAVE GREATER LEGITIMACY AND AUTHORITY; BUT WHETHER IT CAN WORK OUT, AGREE ON AND IMPLEMENT CONSISTENT POLICIES REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THE PROBLEMS FACING POLAND ARE AS INTRACTABLE AS EVER, WITH THE ECONOMY IN DIRE STRAITS AND APPARENTLY IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ASPIRATIONS OF SOLIDARNOSC AND THOSE OF THE PARTY, URGED ON BY MOSCOW. A NEW CONFRONTATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND UNION COULD TAKE PLACE AT ANY TIME. THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE KEEPING A CLOSE EYE ON DEVELOPMENTS, EXPECTING THE PARTY TO REASSERT ITS AUTHORITY.

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