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NADA/ASSESSMENT/OCT 001/JIC/011820Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

1. SOLIDARITY'S CONGRESS, WHICH BEGAN ON 26 SEPTEMBER, IS NOW EXPECTED TO GO ON AT LEAST UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK. THE OUTCOME IN TERMS BOTH OF THE UNION'S FUTURE PROGRAMME AND OF LEADERSHIP ELECTIONS REMAINS UNCERTAIN. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN SEVERAL DEVELOPMENTS WHICH WILL AROUSE CONCERN IN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP AND EVEN GREATER CONCERN IN MOSCOW.
2. DISCUSSION DURING THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF THE CONGRESS WAS DOMINATED BY THE ISSUE OF WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT. THE UNION LEADERSHIP WAS SEVERELY CRITICISED BY RADICAL SPEAKERS FOR CONCEDING TO THE AUTHORITIES THE RIGHT TO NOMINATE MANAGERS IN KEY ENTERPRISES, CONTRARY TO A RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONGRESS. NEVERTHELESS, THE CONGRESS WILL PROBABLY FINALLY ACCEPT THE UNION LEADERSHIP'S POSITION, THOUGH PROTESTING AT THE WAY IN WHICH IT WAS REACHED, AND NOT CHALLENGE - AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT - THE LEGISLATION ENACTED ON THE BASIS OF IT. THE CONGRESS IS NOW DEBATING THE UNION DRAFT PROGRAMME. VOTING HAS NOT YET TAKEN PLACE. THOUGH MUCH OF THE PROGRAMME RELATES TO STANDARD TRADE UNION AFFAIRS, THE DRAFT ALSO MAKES A NUMBER OF ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL DEMANDS, THESE INCLUDE AN END TO THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT MONOPOLY, A SECOND CHAMBER IN THE SEJM (PARLIAMENT), AN END TO CENSORSHIP, FREE DISCUSSION OF POLAND'S HISTORY, A BROADCASTING SERVICE RUN ENTIRELY BY SOLIDARITY, STRICTER CONTROL OVER THE POLICE, ACCESS TO PUBLIC DOCUMENTS, AND RIGHTS OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS. THERE IS NO REFERENCE IN THE DRAFT TO THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY. MANY OF THE DEMANDS MAY BE WATERED DOWN IN THE FINAL VERSION, BUT A CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL ELEMENT SEEMS BOUND TO SURVIVE. TASS HAS ALREADY DESCRIBED THE DRAFT PROGRAMME AS THE MANIFESTO OF A POLITICAL PARTY RATHER THAN A TRADE UNION DOCUMENT.
3. DURING THE CONGRESS THE DISSIDENT WORKERS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE (KOR) ANNOUNCED THAT IT WAS BEING DISBANDED ON THE GROUNDS THAT ITS ACTIVITY IS NOW BEING CARRIED ON BY SOLIDARITY. THIS MAY BE INTENDED MAINLY AS A TACTICAL MEASURE TO FORESTALL ANY GOVERNMENT PLAN TO DECLARE THE ORGANISATION ILLEGAL AND DETAIN ITS ACTIVISTS ON THE GROUNDS OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP. THE MOVE MAY BE UNWELCOME TO SOLIDARITY MODERATES, WHO HAVE BEEN WARY OF TOO CLOSE CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE UNION AND DISSIDENTS.

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IT WILL ALSO BE A GIFT TO SOVIET PROPAGANDA, WHICH ALREADY CLAIMS THAT SOLIDARITY IS INFILTRATED AND DOMINATED BY ANTI-SOCIALIST DISSIDENTS.

4. THE CONGRESS ALSO HEARD A SPEECH BY A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF MILITIA WORKERS, AN INDEPENDENT UNION OF POLICEMEN NOT AFFILIATED TO SOLIDARITY.

THE UNION CLAIMS 40,000 MEMBERS, BUT THE WARSAW COURT HAS SO FAR DEFERRED A DECISION ON ITS APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION. A NUMBER OF POLICEMEN HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN DISMISSED FOR JOINING THE UNION, THOUGH THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR CLAIMS THAT THE UNION DOES NOT EXIST. THE AUTHORITIES ARE LIKELY TO BE CONCERNED AT THIS EVIDENCE THAT THE POLICE CANNOT NECESSARILY BE RELIED UPON TO PLAY THEIR TRADITIONAL REPRESSIVE ROLE, AND AT THE PROSPECT OF THE UNION GETTING SOME BACKING FROM SOLIDARITY.

5. THE SECOND STAGE OF THE CONGRESS HAS NOT SO FAR ADOPTED ANY MEASURES AS OPENLY PROVOCATIVE TO THE SOVIET UNION AS THE MESSAGE TO EAST EUROPEAN WORKERS ADOPTED AT THE FIRST STAGE, THOUGH A LETTER OF SUPPORT FROM A ROMANIAN WORKER WAS READ OUT. A CONCILIATORY DRAFT HAS BEEN PREPARED FOR THE UNION PROGRAMME WHICH RECOGNISES POLAND'S POSITION IN POST-WAR EUROPE AND ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THIS WILL SURVIVE INTACT IN THE FINAL VERSION.

6. THE SEJM SESSION WHICH PRECEDED THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SAW ONE NOTABLE DEVELOPMENT IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTY AND SEJM. THE AUTHORITIES APPARENTLY TRIED AT THE LAST MOMENT TO AMEND THE TEXT OF THE DRAFT LAWS ON STATE ENTERPRISES AND WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN AGREED EARLIER BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND A COMMISSION OF THE SEJM. A MAJORITY OF DEPUTIES INDICATED INFORMALLY THAT THEY WOULD NOT VOTE FOR THE AMENDMENT, AND IT WAS WITHDRAWN. THIS IS PROBABLY THE FIRST INSTANCE OF AN EAST EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT - TRADITIONALLY A RUBBER STAMP FOR PARTY DECISIONS - FLOUTING THE WISHES OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP, ALBEIT IN THE CORRIDORS RATHER THAN IN PUBLIC SESSION. THE MOVE SHOWS THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE SEJM HAS GAINED IN CONFIDENCE, HAS BEGUN TO PLAY A MORE ASSERTIVE ROLE IN SOCIETY AND HAS TAKEN ON SOMETHING OF THE ROLE OF A MEDIATOR BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND THE REGIME. THE INCIDENT HAS ALSO DEMONSTRATED THE INEPTITUDE OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP AND ITS INABILITY TO IMPOSE ITS WILL - A FACT WHICH WILL NOT BE MISSED IN MOSCOW.

7. SOVIET COMMENT ON POLISH DEVELOPMENTS HAS CONTINUED TO BE HARSH AND CRITICAL, WITH SEVERAL REFERENCES TO THE FAILURE OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO TAKE NECESSARY ACTION. THE SERIES OF MEETINGS OF SOVIET WORKERS IS CONTINUING, AND THE TONE OF THEIR MESSAGES TO POLISH WORKERS IS INCREASINGLY HARSH. REFERENCES TO THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE ARE RESURFACING. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A REVIVAL OF AN EARLIER TYPE OF COMMENT: REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF POLISH HARD-LINE GROUPS CALLING FOR AN END TO CONCESSIONS, IMPLEMENTATION OF A "GENUINELY MARXIST-LENINIST LINE" AND, IN ONE CASE, A PURGE IN THE PARTY.

IN JUNE SUCH REPORTS WERE TAKEN BY POLISH HARD-LINERS AS ENCOURAGEMENT TO TRY TO OUST KANIA, AN ATTEMPT WHICH FAILED. THIS TIME IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE SOVIET UNION IS CALLING FOR A CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP OR MERELY TRYING TO FORCE THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A TOUGHER LINE. EITHER WAY MOSCOW IS NO DOUBT CULTIVATING DISAFFECTED HARD-LINERS WHO COULD FORM THE NUCLEUS OF AN ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP.

8. THE SECOND STAGE OF SOLIDARITY'S CONGRESS IS BETTER ORGANISED THAN THE FIRST STAGE. MODERATES HAVE PROBABLY BEEN TAKEN ABACK BY THE VEHEMENCE OF SOME OF THE RADICAL SPEECHES, BUT ARE WORKING BEHIND THE SCENES TO TRY TO ENSURE THE ADOPTION OF REASONABLY UNPROVOCATIVE POLICY DOCUMENTS. THE AUTHORITIES REACTED AFTER THE FIRST STAGE OF THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS WITH FIERCE CRITICISM OF THE UNION, BUT SUBSEQUENTLY ADOPTED A CONCILIATORY LINE DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE MODERATION AT THE SECOND STAGE. THIS DUAL ATTACK APPEARS TO HAVE HAD LITTLE EFFECT ON LEADING UNION RADICALS, BUT, TOGETHER WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE CHURCH AND OTHER MEDIATORS, MAY HAVE HELPED TO SWAY THE MAIN BODY OF SOLIDARITY DELEGATES TOWARDS LESS CONFRONTATIONAL POLICIES. JARUZELSKI'S REFERENCE AT THE SEJM TO A PROPOSAL TO SET UP UNDER THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS A GROUP OF ADVISERS FROM VARIOUS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS CAN BE SEEN AS A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE SOLIDARITY THAT MORE COULD BE GAINED BY CO-OPERATION THAN BY CONFRONTATION. THE POLITBURO HAS ANNOUNCED THAT A CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WILL BE CONVENED SHORTLY: THIS WILL PRESUMABLY LOOK AT THE RESULTS OF THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS AND REFORMULATE POLICY FOR DEALING WITH THE UNION.

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