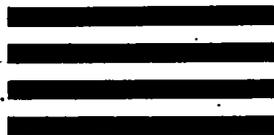


NATO SITUATION CENTRE  
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NADA/ASSESSMENT/OCTOBER 003/JIC /081745Z

*(Poland)*

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC  
POLAND (NATO CONFIDENTIAL).

1. THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS ENDED ON 7 OCTOBER WITH THE ADOPTION OF A RADICAL UNION PROGRAMME. WALESA WAS RE-ELECTED AS LEADER OF SOLIDARITY, BUT WITH A SMALL MAJORITY ONLY OVER THREE MORE RADICAL CANDIDATES.

2. THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS ENDED AFTER 18 DAYS OF OFTEN CONFUSED AND HEATED DEBATE. ITS CHIEF ACHIEVEMENT WAS THE ADOPTION OF A FORMAL PROGRAMME FOR THE UNION'S ACTIVITY OVER THE NEXT TWO YEARS. FULL DETAILS OF THE PROGRAMME ARE NOT YET AVAILABLE, BUT NEWS AGENCY REPORTS SUGGEST THAT IT IS EVEN MORE RADICAL THAN THE ORIGINAL DRAFT. AMONG THE POLITICAL DEMANDS LIKELY TO AROUSE CONCERN IN THE POLISH LEADERSHIP ARE A REDUCTION IN DEFENCE SPENDING IN PERIODS OF CRISIS; THE SEPARATION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POWER; AN END TO THE PARTY'S MONOPOLY OF THE MASS MEDIA; FREE ELECTIONS AT THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL, WITH THE UNION DRAFTING A NEW ELECTION LAW; AND THE TRIAL OF FORMER LEADERS, FAILING WHICH THE UNION WOULD SET UP ITS OWN PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL. OTHER RESOLUTIONS DEMANDED A PRICE FREEZE PENDING IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC REFORMS, WITH A NATIONAL WARNING STRIKE WITHIN 14 DAYS IF TALKS WITH THE GOVERNMENT FAILED, AND CALLED FOR THE COMMITTEE IN DEFENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS TO BE TAKEN UNDER SOLIDARITY'S WING. EARLIER THE CONGRESS ADOPTED A RESOLUTION ON WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT. THIS PROTESTED THAT THE LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE SEJM DID NOT TAKE ADEQUATE ACCOUNT OF SOLIDARITY'S VIEWS, AND PRESCRIBED THAT THE UNION SHOULD HOLD A REFERENDUM AMONG MEMBERS WITH A VIEW TO REQUESTING THE SEJM TO MAKE APPROPRIATE AMENDMENTS TO THE LAWS; BUT IT STOPPED SHORT OF A DECISION TO BOYCOTT THE NEW LAWS, AS THREATENED AT THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONGRESS. THE FINAL VERSION OF THE PROGRAMME OMITTED ANY REFERENCE TO SOCIALISM OR THE SOVIET UNION, BUT INCLUDED A STATEMENT THAT SOLIDARITY WOULD SEEK CHANGES "WITHOUT INFRINGING ON POLAND'S INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES."

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3. WALESA WON JUST OVER HALF THE VOTES CAST IN THE ELECTION FOR THE NEW LEADER OF THE UNION, IN A CONTEST WITH THREE MORE RADICAL CANDIDATES. THE MOST EXTREME CANDIDATE, RULEWSKI - THE ONLY ONE WHO CAME CLOSE TO QUESTIONING POLAND'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE WARSAW PACT - RECEIVED FEWEST VOTES. IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT ONLY WALESA'S PERSONAL AUTHORITY AND CHARISMA ENSURED HIS VICTORY, THOUGH HE IS ALMOST CERTAINLY MORE POPULAR AMONG THE UNION'S RANK AND FILE THAN AMONG THE CONGRESS DELEGATES. HIS SLIM MAJORITY MAY MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO CONTINUE HIS AUTOCRATIC STYLE OF LEADERSHIP, WHICH WAS THE SUBJECT OF MANY COMPLAINTS BY DELEGATES. PRELIMINARY REPORTS SUGGEST THAT RADICALS HAVE DONE WELL (AND PARTY MEMBERS BADLY) IN THE ELECTIONS FOR THE UNION'S NATIONAL COMMISSION. THIS WOULD ALSO LIMIT WALESA'S

ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE. THE COMPOSITION OF THE SMALL PERMANENT PRESIDUM TO BE ELECTED BY THE NATIONAL COMMISSION WILL BE VERY IMPORTANT TO THE WAY THE UNION CONDUCTS ITS AFFAIRS. IN HIS OWN SPEECHES WALESA HAS STRESSED THE NEED TO RESPECT THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES, PURSUE CONCILIATION, AND REFRAIN FROM DEMANDING IMPOSSIBLE CONCESSIONS. HIS ELECTION WILL BE A RELIEF TO THE PARTY AND STATE LEADERSHIP, WHO WOULD HAVE FOUND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO WORK WITH ANY OF THE OTHER CANDIDATES.

4. THE ENDING OF THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE FOLLOWED BY A STREAM OF CRITICISM IN THE SOVIET AND EAST EUROPEAN MEDIA. SOVIET COMMENT DURING THE CONGRESS CLAIMED THAT THE SECOND STAGE HAS BEEN NO IMPROVEMENT ON THE FIRST STAGE AND PURSUED THE LINE THAT SOLIDARITY IS PREPARING TO SEIZE POWER. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN FURTHER IMPLIED CRITICISM OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP FOR THEIR INACTION IN THE FACE OF A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE HEAD OF THE HUNGARIAN TRADE UNION ORGANISATION, WHO IS ALSO A MEMBER OF THE HUNGARIAN POLIT-BURO, HAS SENT A LETTER TO SOLIDARITY WHICH, WHILE CRITICISING MANY ASPECTS OF SOLIDARITY'S ACTIVITIES, CONTAINED AN EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNES TO "DISCUSS AND DEBATE AT ANY TIME THE ROLE AND CALLING OF THE TRADE UNIONS". THIS PROBABLY REPRESENTS THE FIRST OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION TO SOLIDARITY FROM ANY EAST EUROPEAN ORGANISATION AND IT HAS BEEN HAILED BY WALESA AS A BREAKTHROUGH. THE HUNGARIANS WILL HAVE HAD THEIR OWN DOMESTIC REASONS FOR SENDING THE LETTER (E.G. A DESIRE TO PURSUE THEIR IMAGE AS A RELATIVELY BROAD-MINDED SOCIETY AND TO COUNTER INTERNAL CRITICISM THAT THE HUNGARIAN UNIONS ARE IN THE PARTY'S POCKET) BUT THE DECISION WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY CLEARED WITH MOSCOW.

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5. ACCORDING TO THE POLISH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON (NOT NECESSARILY A RELIABLE SOURCE), THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WHICH, IT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED, WILL TAKE PLACE SHORTLY, WILL REACH THREE MAIN CONCLUSIONS; THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT WOULD IN FUTURE REFUSE TO DISCUSS ANYTHING WITH SOLIDARITY THAT WAS NOT STRICTLY UNION BUSINESS; A ROUND-TABLE CONSULTATION PROCESS UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE PARTY WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN WHICH SOLIDARITY WOULD BE ONLY ONE OF MANY ELEMENTS REPRESENTED (SOMETHING OF THIS KIND WAS FORESHADOWED IN JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH TO THE LAST SESSION OF THE SEJM); AND THERE WOULD BE A STRENGTHENING OF PARTY DISCIPLINE (THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS INDICATIONS RECENTLY OF PRESSURE ON PARTY MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE PARTY AND THE UNION - THE PRESSURE COMING FROM BOTH SIDES). THE FIRST OF THESE ELEMENTS IS CLEARLY THE MOST IMPORTANT. IF IT WERE IMPLEMENTED, IT WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD IN A VERY SHORT TIME TO AN OPEN TRIAL OF STRENGTH WITH SOLIDARITY.

6. THE PROGRAMME ADOPTED BY THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS SEEMS BOUND TO DISPLEASE THE POLISH AND SOVIET LEADERSHIP. EARLIER, THE FORMER APPEARED TO HAVE HOPES THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD ADOPT A MORE MODERATE LINE. HOWEVER, THE PARTY DAILY TRYBUNA LUDU HAS ALREADY DESCRIBED THE PROGRAMME AS "TO SOME EXTENT A POLITICAL PROGRAMME". THE POLISH LEADERSHIP WILL HAVE TO ADOPT A NEW LINE TOWARDS SOLIDARITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE CONGRESS, AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THIS.

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