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(Poland)

NADA/ASSESSMENT/OCTOBER 006/JIC/231054Z

THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC.

POLAND.

1. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ON 16-18 OCTOBER ELECTED JARUZELSKI TO REPLACE KANIA AS PARTY LEADER IN AN ATTEMPT TO ENSURE A MORE VIGOROUS IMPLEMENTATION OF EXISTING POLICY RATHER THAN ANY RADICAL CHANGE IN DIRECTION. CLASHES BETWEEN POLICE AND SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS IN SOUTHERN POLAND HAVE LED TO A BAN ON MEETINGS IN ONE AREA.

2. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM UNDERLINED THE DEEP DIVISIONS IN THE PARTY. HARDLINERS LED BY THE WARSAW PARTY LEADER CALLED FOR DRASTIC CHANGES IN POLICY INCLUDING THE DECLARATION OF A STATE EMERGENCY. BUT IN SPITE OF THE GENERALLY HARDER ATTITUDE OF MEMBERS THE PLENUM IN THE END ENDORSED THE LINE LAID DOWN BY THE PARTY CONGRESS IN JULY, INCLUDING THE POLICIES OF RENEWAL AND OF DIALOGUE WITH ALL THOSE NOT AGAINST SOCIALISM. IT DID HOWEVER CALL FOR A SERIES OF MEASURES TO COMBAT ECONOMIC DECLINE AND STRENGTHEN PARTY AUTHORITY. THESE INCLUDE STERNER ACTION AGAINST ANTI-SOCIALIST MANIFESTATIONS, CLOSER PARTY SUPERVISION OF THE MEDIA, THE RENEGOTIATION OF AGREEMENTS WITH SOLIDARITY, AND TEMPORARY SUSPENSION OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE (NOT IN ANY CASE YET ENSHRINED IN LAW). THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEMANDED THAT SOLIDARITY DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM ANTI-SOCIALIST ACTIVITIES, REFRAIN FROM STRIKES, CO-OPERATE WITH THE ECONOMIC CRISIS PROGRAMME, AND STOP ITS DISCOURAGEMENT OF SATURDAY WORKING.

LITTLE OF THIS IS NEW, AND MUCH OF IT HAS BEEN REPEATED MANY TIMES BEFORE WITHOUT MUCH EFFECT. THE MOST IMPORTANT AND POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE ISSUES ARE RE-NEGOTIATION OF AGREEMENTS AND SUSPENSION OF THE RIGHT TO STRIKE. SOLIDARITY HAS ITSELF CALLED FOR SOME RENEGOTIATION IN ORDER TO TIDY UP THE HUNDREDS OF EXISTING AGREEMENTS, BUT WOULD REACT STRONGLY IF THE AUTHORITIES TRIED UNDER THIS GUISE TO CLAW BACK MAJOR CONCESSIONS GRANTED EARLIER. A SPOKESMAN FOR THE UNION HAS SAID THAT THERE CAN BE NO RE-NEGOTIATION OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENT. ALTHOUGH SOLIDARITY HAS AT VARIOUS TIMES CALLED FOR AN END TO STRIKES FOR A CERTAIN PERIOD IT WOULD BE UNHAPPY AT THE FORMAL SUSPENSION OF THIS RIGHT, WHICH IS ITS MAIN WEAPON. A PRESIDUM MEMBER HAS SAID THAT THE

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UNION WOULD NOT HEED A STRIKE BAN. IN ANY CASE SOLIDARITY APPEARS TO HAVE LITTLE CONTROL OVER THE PRESENT WAVE OF LOCALISED STRIKES, WHICH ARE THE RESULT OF FRUSTRATIONS GENERATED MAINLY BY FOOD SHORTAGES.

3. THE PLENUM ALSO CONTINUED A MOVE TOWARDS GREATER DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE PARTY, SEEN ALREADY IN THE EXPULSION OF A LEADING SOLIDARITY ACTIVIST AND A POPULAR AND INFLUENTIAL SPOKESMAN FOR PARTY REFORMISTS, AND THE SACKING OF THE EDITOR OF THE YOUTH NEWSPAPER FOR PUBLISHING AN INTERVIEW WITH A LEADING DISSIDENT. ELEVEN MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WHO ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF SOLIDARITY (40 IN ALL WERE ELECTED IN JULY) RESIGNED FROM THE UNION DURING THE CONGRESS. KANIA'S REPORT TO THE PLENUM SUGGESTED THE ISSUE OF NEW PARTY CARDS TO WEED OUT THOSE NOT TOTALLY COMMITTED TO THE PARTY LINE AND PRODUCE A SMALLER BUT MORE COHESIVE AND MILITANT PARTY. THIS PROPOSAL WAS NOT APPARENTLY ENDORSED IN THE FINAL RESOLUTION, WHICH CONFINED ITSELF TO EXHORTATIONS TO MEMBERS TO FOLLOW THE PARTY LINE. THIS SUGGESTS A MAJORITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DOUBTS THE WISDOM OF ENCOURAGING FURTHER POLARISATION BETWEEN THE PARTY AND SOLIDARITY ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE FAILURE OF PARTY MEMBERS TO SECURE ELECTION TO SOLIDARITY'S LEADING ORGANS AT ITS RECENT CONGRESS.

4. A NUMBER OF FACTORS PROBABLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE DECISION (BY 104 VOTES TO 79) TO ACCEPT KANIA'S UNEXPECTED RESIGNATION, AFTER A SIMILAR MOVE IN JUNE WAS REJECTED. MORE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS HAVE COME TO FIND HIS LOW-KEY STYLE OF LEADERSHIP INAPPROPRIATE IN A CRISIS SITUATION WHICH DEMANDS MORE VIGOROUS ACTION; THE SOVIET UNION WAS CLEARLY UNHAPPY WITH HIM AND THERE ARE REPORTS THAT IT WAS REFUSING TO DO BUSINESS WITH HIM; AND IT MAY HAVE BEEN FELT THAT A CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP MIGHT PERSUADE MOSCOW THAT ITS INTERESTS WOULD BE BETTER PROTECTED. GENERAL JARUZELSKI WAS PROBABLY CHOSEN AS SUCCESSOR MAINLY BECAUSE OF HIS PERSONAL POPULARITY AND PRESTIGE, BASED ON THE AUTHORITY CONVEYED BY HIS UNIFORM, AND THE HOPE THAT HE WOULD ACT MORE RESOLUTELY TO HALT POLAND'S SLIDE. THERE MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN A SHORTAGE OF CANDIDATES WILLING TO TAKE OVER THE JOB IN THE CURRENT SITUATION. FURTHER CHANGES IN THE POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT ARE TO BE MADE AT ANOTHER CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM TO BE HELD WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, AND IF THE PARTY ADHERES TO ITS NEW STATUTES - WHICH IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN - THERE WILL ALSO HAVE TO BE CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT. THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW PREMIER, MINISTERS OF DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND POSSIBLY, A VICE-PREMIER IN CHARGE OF NEGOTIATIONS TO REPLACE RAKOWSKI WOULD BRING IN IMPORTANT NEW FACES AND SHOULD PROVIDE FURTHER CLUES ABOUT THE INTENTIONS OF THE LEADERSHIP. JARUZELSKI HAS SAID THAT HE WILL BRING NON-PARTY MEMBERS INTO THE GOVERNMENT IN AN ATTEMPT TO MAKE IT MORE REPRESENTATIVE.

5. JARUZELSKI'S ELECTION DOES NOT IN ITSELF AFFECT THE LIKELIHOOD OF THE EVENTUAL DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY, THOUGH THIS REMAINS THE LIKELY ULTIMATE STEP

IF POLAND CONTINUES TO MOVE TOWARDS A BREAKDOWN IN ORDER. IT MAY HOWEVER AFFECT THE WAY IN WHICH SUCH A DECISION MAY BE REACHED. IT IS TOO EARLY TO SAY WHETHER THE ACTIONS OF THE POLICE IN KATOWICE EARLIER THIS WEEK, IN WHICH THEY CLASHED WITH SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS, AND IN A SIMILAR INCIDENT IN WROCLAW, AFTER WHICH MEETINGS THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE WERE BANNED, REPRESENTS A CO-ORDINATED POLICY OR STEMS FROM LOCAL INITIATIVE. THE EXTENSION FOR TWO MONTHS OF THE TERM OF MILITARY SERVICE FOR CONSCRIPTS WHO WERE DUE TO BE RELEASED THIS WEEK WILL IMPROVE THE PREPAREDNESS OF THE POLISH FORCES AT A TIME WHEN IT WOULD NORMALLY BE REDUCED. THIS INDICATES CONTINUED CONTINGENCY PLANNING AGAINST THE NEED TO DECLARE A STATE OF EMERGENCY.

6. THE SOVIET UNION IS PROBABLY PLEASED AT THE REMOVAL OF KANIA, BUT LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE ELECTION OF JARUZELSKI, WHOM THEY HAVE CRITICISED IN THE PAST FOR HIS RECORD OF COMPROMISE AND CONCESSION. BREZHNEV'S MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS WAS RATHER LESS FULSOME THAN THAT SENT TO KANIA WHEN HE REPLACED GIEREK. IT REMINDED HIM OF WHAT MOSCOW EXPECTED OF HIM (PARTY UNITY, ACTION AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION ETC), EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT HE WOULD USE HIS POSITION FOR THESE ENDS AND OFFERED SOVIET UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT. THERE MAY NOW BE A LULL IN SOVIET PROPAGANDA ATTACKS WHILE THE SOVIET UNION WAITS FOR ACTION FROM THE NEW POLISH LEADERSHIP. IT IS PROBABLY NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT JARUZELSKI WILL ACTUALLY CARRY OUT THE POLICIES THAT MOSCOW CONSIDERS NECESSARY. MEANWHILE THE SOVIET TROOP ROTATION OF FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE WHICH BEGAN ON 15 OCTOBER APPEARS TO BE PROCEEDING NORMALLY, AND MARSHAL KULIKOV HAS BEEN IN THE GDR PROBABLY TO REVIEW EXERCISES TO MARK THE END OF THE TRAINING CYCLE IN THE GROUP OF SOVIET FORCES IN GERMANY.

7. THE HARDER TONE OF MANY SPEECHES AT THE PLENUM REFLECTS CONCERN AT THE RENEWED OUTBREAK OF STRIKES, AT SOLIDARITY'S OVERTLY POLITICAL PROGRAMME COMBINED WITH ITS REJECTION OF GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS FOR GREATER CO-OPERATION IN POLICY DISCUSSIONS ALONGSIDE OTHER UNIONS AND ORGANISATIONS, AND AT THE LACK OF ANY PROSPECT FOR A HALT IN THE ECONOMIC DECLINE. THE PLENUM STOPPED SHORT OF ENDORSING A RADICALLY NEW LINE, RECOGNISING NO DOUBT THAT A WHOLESALE ATTACK ON SOLIDARITY WOULD LEAD TO DISASTER, BUT ELECTED JARUZELSKI TO TRY TO INJECT MORE VIGOUR AND RESOLUTION IN TO THE PROCESS OF GOVERNMENT. THE PARTY MUST HOPE THAT A FIRMER TONE WILL INDUCE SOLIDARITY TO CO-OPERATE ACTIVELY IN PUTTING AN END TO STRIKES AND TO DROP SOME OF ITS MORE EXTREME DEMANDS. WALESAS'S INITIAL REACTION HAS BEEN RELAXED, THOUGH THE REST OF THE SOLIDARITY LEADERSHIP MAY INSIST ON A STRONGER REACTION TO THE PARTY'S PROPOSALS WHEN THE UNION'S NATIONAL COMMISSION MEETS TO CONSIDER POLICY ON 22 OCTOBER. IN ESSENCE THE CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP DOES NOTHING TO RESOLVE THE PARTY'S BASIC PROBLEM; HOW TO PERSUADE SOLIDARITY TO CO-OPERATE IN ECONOMIC MEASURES WHILE REFUSING FURTHER CONCESSIONS OF A POLITICAL NATURE AND INTENSIFYING ATTACKS ON UNION RADICALS. IN VIEW OF THE RAPIDLY DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION, JARUZELSKI WILL HAVE LITTLE TIME TO PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS. THIS FACT AND THE CLASHES BETWEEN POLICE AND SOLIDARITY GIVE LITTLE CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM.

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