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(Poland)

NADA/ASSESSMENT/DEC 001/JIC/031910Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

1. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING ON 27-28 NOVEMBER SHOWED THE PARTY TO BE CONCERNED OVER THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, THE IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC REFORM, INTERNAL DIVISIONS, AND CHALLENGES FROM SOLIDARITY AND OTHER POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS. A CONSIDERABLE GULF REMAINS BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND THE AUTHORITIES OVER THE CREATION OF NEW BODIES, BUT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING.
2. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING PRODUCED LITTLE NEW ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, BUT CONFIRMED THAT ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES ARE TO BE INTRODUCED ON 1 JANUARY 1982. AT THE SAME TIME IT WAS RECOGNISED THAT THE ECONOMIC REFORM ~~COULD~~ NOT BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL IN THE CURRENT CHAOTIC SUPPLY SITUATION, AND THAT FOR AN INTERIM PERIOD THE FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE MANAGERS AND WORKERS COUNCILS WOULD HAVE TO BE SUBORDINATED TO A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CENTRAL DIRECTION IN ORDER TO ENSURE FULFILMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC PRIORITIES. THIS SITUATION WILL LEAVE A GOOD DEAL OF SCOPE FOR CONFLICTS OF INTEREST AND DISPUTES WITHIN AND BETWEEN ENTERPRISES AND GOVERNMENT. INITIALLY, IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC REFORM WILL AGGRAVATE EXISTING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND GIVE RISE TO NEW TENSIONS. THE AUTHORITIES SEEM PARTICULARLY APPREHENSIVE ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WORKERS' COUNCILS, MANY OF WHICH HAVE ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED. SOME SOLIDARITY RADICALS ARE CURRENTLY WORKING TO SECURE THE EXCLUSION OF PARTY ORGANISATIONS FROM ENTERPRISES, AND AT LEAST ONE FACTORY WORKERS' COUNCIL HAS ENDORSED A SOLIDARITY PROPOSAL TO THIS EFFECT. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION DESCRIBED THIS AS ILLEGAL "POLITICAL ADVENTURISM" AND THREATENED THAT ALL AVAILABLE MEANS WOULD BE USED AGAINST THE INSTIGATORS OF SUCH ACTION.
3. IT IS PROBABLY FOR THESE REASONS, RATHER THAN BECAUSE OF THE CONTINUING STRIKES AND PROTESTS, THAT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE INSTRUCTED PARTY DEPUTIES TO THE SEJM TO GO AHEAD WITH THE DRAFT SPECIAL POWERS LEGISLATION TABLED AT THE LAST

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N A T O C O N F I D E N T I A L This document consists of Three pages.

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SESSION OF THE SEJM. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS THIS FAELING LEGISLATION WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT TO BAN STRIKES AND PUBLIC GATHERINGS, USE MILITARY COURTS FOR SOME NORMALLY CIVIL PROCEEDINGS, IMPOSE ADDITIONAL CENSORSHIP AND RESTRICT FOREIGN TRAVEL AND ACCESS TO TELECOMMUNICATIONS. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW MUCH PRESSURE THE PARTY IS WILLING TO PUT ON THE SEJM TO GET THIS LEGISLATION PASSED: THE SEJM MAY IN ANY CASE BE MORE WILLING TO PASS IT NOW THAT ITS EARLIER RESOLUTION ON STRIKES HAS PROVED TO BE ONLY PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE, AND IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT POLLS SHOWING THAT AT LEAST A STRIKE BAN WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION. BUT IT IS HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE WHETHER THESE SPECIAL POWERS COULD ACTUALLY BE USED WITHOUT PROVCKING A VERY STRONG REACTION FROM SOLIDARITY WHICH WOULD STAND TO LOSE MUCH THAT IT HAS ACHIEVED OVER THE LAST 18 MONTHS. THE SEJM IS EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THE SPECIAL POWERS LEGISLATION SHORTLY, AND MAY ALSO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF POSTPONING THE LOCAL ELECTIONS DUE EARLY NEXT YEAR.

4. THE AUTHORITIES ARE ALSO CLEARLY ALARMED BY THE RECENT CREATION OF, OR UPSURGE IN ACTIVITY OF, VARIOUS POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS. THE POLICE BROKE UP A MEETING OF FOUNDER-MEMBERS OF THE "CLUBS OF A SELF-GOVERNING REPUBLIC", A LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC GROUP ADVOCATING, INTER ALIA, PLURALISM AND A RENEGOTIATION OF POLAND'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE BEEN WARNED THAT THE ORGANISATION IS ILLEGAL AND ARE UNDER INVESTIGATION. THESE ORGANISATIONS AND THE NATIONALIST CONFEDERATION OF AN INDEPENDENT POLAND (KPN), WHICH APPEARS TO BE GAINING ADHERENTS RAPIDLY, ALL HAVE LINKS WITH SOLIDARITY RADICALS IN AT LEAST SOME AREAS. THE PARTY CLAIMS THAT IN ALL THERE ARE NOW SOME 35 POLITICAL PARTIES IN EXISTENCE. THE PROSPECT OF LOCAL ELECTIONS UNDER REVISED ELECTORAL PROCEDURES, TOGETHER WITH IMPATIENCE AT SOLIDARITY'S LIMITED ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, HAVE PROBABLY STIMULATED INTEREST IN THE LIBERAL AND THE CONSERVATIVE-NATIONALIST GROUPS. ULTRA-ORTHODOX MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES HAVE ALSO SPRUNG UP IN RESPONSE TO THE PARTY'S OFFICAL ESPOUSAL OF A LIMITED REFORMISM. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THREATENED LEGAL PROCEEDINGS AGAINST FOUNDERS OF "ANTI-SOCIALIST ORGANISATIONS" IF THEY DO NOT HEED THE CURRENT WARNINGS.

5. MORALE IN THE PARTY APPEARS TO BE AT A LOW EBB. THE PARTY IS LOSING LARGE NUMBERS OF MEMBERS, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE WORKING CLASS. IT HAS NOT BEEN HELPED BY THE ACTIVITIES OF THE MILITAR OPERATIONAL GROUPS WHICH HAVE BEEN HELPING TO COUNTER BOTTLE-NECKS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND SHOWING UP THE INEFFICIENCY AND SOMETIMES CORRUPTION OF THE LOCAL BUREAUCRACIES. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING SHOWED ITS MEMBERS TO BE DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE CHALLENGE TO THE PARTY AT THE FACTORY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL, AND DIVIDED ABOUT HOW THEY SHOULD REACT. THERE ARE SOME SIGNS THAT HARD-LINERS ARE GAINING GROUND, A TENDENCY THAT WILL BE STRENGTHENED IF ATTEMPTS TO PURSURE A POLICY OF CONCILIATION FOUNDER. THE GOVERNMENT ACTION IN USING RIOT POLICE TO END A SIT IN

OF STUDENT FIREMEN IS PERHAPS SYMPTOMATIC OF THE NEW MOOD. OFFICIAL ACTION AGAINST POLITICAL GROUPS AND SOLIDARITY RADICALS AND THE ASSUMPTION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF SPECIAL POWERS WOULD MAKE THE PROCESS OF CONCILIATION MORE DIFFICULT.

6. THE MOST RECENT COMMENT ON THE FRONT OF NATIONAL ACCORD SUGGESTS THAT THE REGIME SEES THIS ORGANISATION AS TAKING OVER THE ELECTORAL FUNCTIONS OF THE DISCREDITED NATIONAL UNITY FRONT AS WELL AS HAVING SOME CONSULTATIVE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ROLE. AN "INITIATIVE GROUP" IS CURRENTLY BEING SET UP, WHICH WILL FORM A COUNCIL OF NATIONAL ACCORD TO OVERSEE THE CREATION OF THE FRONT ITSELF. THE INITIATIVE GROUP IS TO CONSIST OF 7 - 8 PERSONS, AND THE CHURCH HAS ALREADY NOMINATED ITS REPRESENTATIVE. SOLIDARITY HAS SO FAR REFUSED TO APPOINT ANYONE TO IT, DEMANDING THAT PROGRESS BE MADE ON SOME OF ITS KEY DEMANDS BEFORE IT AGREES TO TAKE PART IN THE FRONT. THE GOVERNMENT IS REFUSING EVEN TO TALK ABOUT ONE OF THESE DEMANDS, MEDIA ACCESS, UNTIL SOLIDARITY STOPS ITS POSTER CAMPAIGN ON THE ISSUE. THE ONLY GOVERNMENT/SOLIDARITY WORKING GROUP APPARENTLY STILL NEGOTIATING IS THAT DISCUSSING SOLIDARITY'S PROPOSAL FOR A NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL COUNCIL ON THE ECONOMY AND THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL FOR A MIXED COMMISSION INVOLVING THE GOVERNMENT AND ALL THE UNIONS. SOLIDARITY HAS DROPPED ITS DEMAND THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD HAVE A VETO OVER GOVERNMENT POLICY, BUT THE TWO SIDES ARE STILL FAR APART.

7. THE SOVIET PRESS HAS COMMENTED ONLY SPARSELY IN RECENT WEEKS ON POLISH DEVELOPMENTS. BUT ON 1 DECEMBER IZVESTIA PRINTED A VIRULENT ATTACK ON SOLIDARITY'S LEADERS, ACCUSING THEM OF USING NAZI METHODS AND TRYING TO ESTABLISH A DICTATORSHIP BASED ON INTIMIDATION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL TERROR. THE ARTICLE IMPLICITLY CRITICISED THE POLISH AUTHORITIES FOR FAILING TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST UNION LEADERS. AFTER A BREATHING SPACE FOLLOWING JARUZELSKI'S ASSUMPTION OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT MOSCOW IS AGAIN PRESSING THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO TAKE A TOUGHER LINE.

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