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NADA/ASSESSMENT/OCT 006/JIC/101531Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

1. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AFTER A WEEK'S DELAY ON 4 - 6 OCTOBER WAS MARKED BY ACRIMONIOUS DISCUSSION AND LEFT MANY IMPORTANT PROBLEMS UNRESOLVED. THE ONE-HOUR STRIKE ON 3 OCTOBER SHOWED THE STRENGTH BUT ALSO THE DISCIPLINE OF THE FREE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

2. KANIA'S REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DROVE HOME THE SERIOUSNESS OF POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND PRESENTED A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE REASONS FOR THEM. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE WERE NO INSTANT ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS, BUT REPEATED EARLIER PROMISES OF REDUCED INVESTMENTS, EXTRA IMPORTS OF FOOD AND RAW MATERIALS, THE POSSIBLE INTRODUCTION OF MEAT RATIONING (DEMANDED BY THE WORKERS IN THE INTEREST OF EQUITY), GREATER INCENTIVES FOR SAVING AND CLOSER SCRUTINY OF THE COST OF LIVING. THE QUESTION OF ECONOMIC REFORMS IS TO BE SUBMITTED TO EXPERT EVALUATION AND DRAFTING. KANIA ENDORSED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS AND THE CREATION OF A TRADE UNION MOVEMENT ORGANISATIONALLY DIVIDED BUT POLITICALLY UNITED. HE MADE ONLY A PASSING REFERENCE TO OPPOSITION FORCES. KANIA LAID GREAT STRESS ON THE NEED FOR DEMOCRATISATION IN THE COUNTRY, WITH A GREATER ROLE TO BE PLAYED BY PARLIAMENTARY, YOUTH AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS AND BY NON-PARTY MEMBERS. HE TOOK A LIBERAL LINE ON THE CREATIVE INTELLIGENTSIA BUT REAFFIRMED THE PARTY'S CONTROL OF THE MASS MEDIA, ALTHOUGH IN COLLABORATION WITH JOURNALISTS. ON INTRA-PARTY MATTERS HE STATED THAT PROPOSALS FOR A NEW PARTY CONGRESS WOULD BE PUT TO THE NEXT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING. CONSIDERATION IS TO BE GIVEN TO GUARANTEES OF PARTY DEMOCRACY SUCH AS SECRET ELECTIONS TO PARTY BODIES, LIMITS ON TENURE OF OFFICE FOR LEADING JOBS, AND THE SEPARATION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT POSTS. SUCH MEASURES WOULD GO BEYOND ANYTHING AT PRESENT EXISTING IN EASTERN EUROPE AND WOULD BE VIEWED WITH SOME SUSPICION IN MOSCOW.

3. THE DISCUSSION FOLLOWING KANIA'S REPORT REVEALED DEEP DIVISIONS AND POLITICAL ANIMOSITIES. THE INTERIOR MINISTER (WHO HAS SINCE BEEN REPLACED IN THE LATEST ROUND OF GOVERNMENT CHANGES BY A PROFESSIONAL SECURITY OFFICIAL AND HAS HIMSELF REVERTED TO AN ECONOMIC JOB AS A DEPUTY PREMIER) TOOK A RELATIVELY HARD LINE ON THE OPPONENTS OF SOCIALISM: POLAND, HE SAID, WOULD DEEPEN CO-OPERATION WITH FRATERNAL ORGANS AGAINST THE CO-ORDINATED SUBVERSIVE ATTACK ON THE COUNTRY. THE SHARPEST ATTACK ON CORRUPTION AND CAREERISM CAME FROM MOCZAR, PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME BOARD OF CONTROL (A WATCHDOG BODY) AND ONE OF GIEREK'S CHIEF VICTIMS. THIS ORGANISATION IS TO BE GIVEN AN ENHANCED ROLE IN THE FUTURE BUT MICZAR'S EXTREME NATIONALISM PROBABLY RULES HIM OUT FOR A TOP PARTY POST. THE SHARPEST

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ATTACK ON THE PREVIOUS REGIME CAME FROM GRABSKI, THE RECENTLY REHABILITATED PARTY SECRETARY. GRABSKI DEMANDED THE REMOVAL FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE OFFICIALS SACKED FROM THEIR POSTS IN SEPTEMBER. THIS WAS DULY DONE, BUT THE FACT REMAINS THAT BABIUCH AND THE OTHERS CONCERNED WERE MERELY SCAPEGOATS. GLEREK'S OWN RESPONSIBILITY IS TO BE EXAMINED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ONCE HIS HEALTH IMPROVES. RECENT PERSONNEL CHANGES SUGGEST SOME INCREASED INFLUENCE FOR THE REFORMING WING OF THE PARTY, NOTABLY OLSZOWSKI.

4. THE FREE TRADE UNION ORGANISATION SOLIDARNOSC WENT AHEAD WITH A SELECTIVE ONE-HOUR STRIKE ON 3 OCTOBER TO PROTEST AGAINST SLOW IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PAY INCREASES AND THE PROVISIONS ON ACCESS TO THE MEDIA FOR THE NEW UNIONS DESPITE EFFORTS BY DEPUTY PREMIER JAGIELSKI TO GET THE STRIKE CANCELLED. INFORMATION ABOUT THE NEW UNIONS IN THE MEDIA HAS IN FACT INCREASED, AND THE STRIKE ITSELF WAS QUITE FULLY REPORTED.

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE AUTHORITIES WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET THE UNIONS DEMANDS FOR 10 MINUTES PER WEEK ON NATIONAL TELEVISION, 20 MINUTES ON LOCAL TELEVISION, AND A DAILY NEWSPAPER AS LARGE AS THAT OF THE OFFICIAL TRADE UNIONS. THE PARTY MEDIA CHIEF HAS SAID THAT UNIONS WOULD BE GIVEN MORE ACCESS TO THE MEDIA WHEN THEY CLARIFIED THEIR GOALS AND IMPROVED THEIR CO-OPERATION WITH THE AUTHORITIES. THIS IS PRESUMABLY AN ATTEMPT TO GET THE UNIONS TO KEEP THEIR SIDE OF THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING RECOGNITION OF THE ROLE OF THE PARTY AND CO-OPERATION IN INCREASING PRODUCTIVITY. A GENERAL STRIKE PLANNED FOR MID-OCTOBER HAS BEEN CALLED OFF.

5. THE FIRST INDEPENDENT TRADE UNIONS HAVE NOW BEEN REGISTERED BY THE WARSAW COURT: BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THESE ARE NEW UNIONS OR OLDFUNIONS WHICH HAVE DISAFFILIATED FROM THE CENTRAL COUNCIL AND PROCLAIMED THEMSELVES INDEPENDENT. THE COURT HAS RAISED 10 OBJECTIONS TO THE STATUTES OF THE UMBRELLA ORGANISATION SOLIDARNOSC AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS. THE COURT REPORTEDLY PROPOSED THAT THE MOVEMENT SHOULD BE LIMITED TO THE GDANSK AREA AND THAT ITS STATUTES SHOULD RECOGNISE THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. PERHAPS WITH REFERENCE TO ANOTHER OF THE COURT'S DEMANDS, AND IN ORDER TO DEFUSE THE REGIME'S ANXIETY OVER A POSSIBLE ALLIANCE BETWEEN WORKERS AND INTELLECTUALS, LEADERS OF SOLIDARNOSC HAVE STATED THAT UNIONS OF STUDENTS AND INTELLECTUALS WOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO JOIN THE ORGANISATION, WHICH IS PURELY A WORKERS' BODY.

6. THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE DIRECT COMMENT IN THE SOVIET MEDIA ON THE LATEST POLISH DEVELOPMENTS. PRAVDA PUBLISHED KANIA'S REPLY TO BREZHNEV'S MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS APPOINTMENT AFTER AN UNEXPLAINED DELAY OF OVER THREE WEEKS. A FAIRLY FULL VERSION OF KANIA'S REPORT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WAS CARRIED BY TASS, THE PASSAGES OMITTED INCLUDED THOSE CONCERNING THE ONE-DAY STRIKE AND THE POLISH MEDIA'S PROPAGANDA OF SUCCESS AND FLATTERY. A NOTE OF WARNING WAS HOWEVER CONVEYED IN A PRAVDA ARTICLE ON 2 OCTOBER WHICH REFERRED TO POLAND'S DEPENDENCE ON SOVIET RAW MATERIAL SUPPLIES.

7. ALTHOUGH THE SITUATION IN POLAND IS RELATIVELY CALM FOR THE MOMENT, ECONOMIC ACTIVITY HAS NOT PICKED UP AND THERE IS NO SOLUTION IN SIGHT TO THE CRITICAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THE REGIME OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. THE ONE-HOUR STRIKE DEMONSTRATED THE WEAKNESS OF THE REGIME VIS-A-VIS THE NEW TRADE UNIONS, BUT ALSO SHOWED A MEASURE OF DISCIPLINE AND RESPONSIBILITY AMONG THE LATTER. THE ISSUE OF A NATIONAL BODY FOR THE UNIONS IS LIKELY TO REMAIN CONTENTIOUS. THE REFORMISTS HAVE EMERGED FROM RECENT PERSONNEL CHANGES IN A

SOMEWHAT STRONGER POSITION, BUT THEIR IDEAS HAVE YET TO GAIN GENERAL ACCEPTANCE WITHIN THE PARTY. THE RUSSIANS WILL HAVE BEEN ALARMED BY THE EVIDENCE OF PRESSURES AND DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PARTY WHICH HAS EMERGED FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING. BUT FOR THE MOMENT THEY APPEAR TO BE PREPARED TO GO ALONG WITH KANIA AND THE LINE HE IS PURSUING. ALTHOUGH SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION IS AN EVER-PRESENT THREAT, IT IS NOT IMMINENT.

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