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(Poland)

NADA/ASSESSMENT/FEB 004/JIC/271732Z
THE FOLLOWING IS AN ASSESSMENT BY JIC
POLAND

1. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS MADE ITS FIRST FULL AND AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND. THE COUNTRY ITSELF REMAINS QUIET.

2. BREZHNEV'S REPORT TO THE SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS ON 23 FEBRUARY INCLUDED THE FIRST OFFICIAL STATEMENT ON POLAND TO BE PUT OUT BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP SINCE THE CRISIS BEGAN. BREZHNEV BLAMED THE CRISIS ON A COMBINATION OF IMPERIALIST SUBVERSION AND INTERNAL POLICY MISTAKES AND MISCALCULATIONS, WHICH HAD ALLOWED ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM (UNSPECIFIED) TO PURSUE ANARCHY AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION. THIS HAD LED TO A THREAT TO THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE. BREZHNEV IMPLICITLY ENDORSED THE STEPS BEING TAKEN BY THE NEW POLISH GOVERNMENT TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS, WHILE MAKING IT CLEAR THAT POLAND'S ALLIES WOULD "DEFEND THE SOCIALIST GAINS OF THE PEOPLE" IN POLAND AS ELSEWHERE. HE INDICATED SOME AREAS IN WHICH THE POLISH PARTY WAS CONSIDERED TO HAVE GONE WRONG WHEN HE RECOMMENDED FRATERNAL PARTIES TO HEED THE MASSES, FIGHT BUREAUCRACY AND "VOLUNTARISM", DEVELOP SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND "PURSUE A BALANCED AND REALISTIC POLICY IN FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS". BREZHNEV DID NOT REPEAT THE EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY OF THE POLISH LEADERSHIP TO OVERCOME ITS PROBLEMS THAT WAS CONTAINED IN THE WARSAW PACT STATEMENT IN DECEMBER. BUT HE DID SAY THAT SOCIALISM COULD OPERATE IN DIFFERENT WAYS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT NATIONAL AND HISTORICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND DIFFERENT FORMS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

3. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE CONGRESS KANIA CONCEDED THAT AN ACUTE POLITICAL STRUGGLE WAS GOING ON IN POLAND. HE SAID THAT THE PARTY HAD CHOSEN TO SEEK A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS AND PROMISED PATIENCE IN WINNING OVER "ALL HONEST POLES": BUT HE CLAIMED THAT THE PARTY HAD THE "WILL AND STRENGTH TO MAKE SURE COUNTER-REVOLUTION FAILS" IN POLAND. BY USING BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE KANIA IMPLICITLY CONCEDED THAT POLAND'S ALLIES WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IF THE POLISH PARTY FAILED IN THIS. HE THANKED THE RUSSIANS FOR THEIR CONFIDENCE IN THE POLES' ABILITY TO RESOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS ON THEIR OWN, BUT THIS PASSAGE WAS OMITTED FROM THE VERSION OF THE SPEECH PUT OUT BY TASS THOUGH NOT FROM THAT PRINTED IN PRAVDA.

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4. THE EAST GERMAN AND CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS HAD VIRTUALLY NOTHING TO SAY ABOUT POLAND IN THEIR SPEECHES IN MOSCOW, PERHAPS AS A RESULT OF PRESSURE FROM KANIA DURING HIS MEETINGS WITH THEM LAST WEEK.

5. THE SOVIET MEDIA HAVE BEGUN TO PUT OUT SOME FAIRLY OPTIMISTIC REPORTS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, WHICH DWELL ESPECIALLY ON THE ALLEGEDLY WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND ITS CALL FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE, BUT INCLUDE A NOTE OF EXPECTATION THAT THE PARTY WILL BEIN TO REASSERT ITS AUTHORITY. BUT THESE REPORTS ARE INTERSPERSED WITH FURTHER

ATTACKS ON DISSIDENTS AND THEIR SUPPOSED LINKS WITH RADIO FREE EUROPE AND OTHER WESTERN ORGANISATIONS, AND ON THE LEADERSHIP OF SOLIDARNOSC, WHICH IS AGAIN SAID TO BE TRYING TO PLAY THE ROLE OF A POLITICAL OPPOSITION.

6. POLAND ITSELF REMAINS QUIET, WITH NO SIGNIFICANT STRIKE ACTION GOING ON. THE TEAM WORKING ON THE DRAFT TRADE UNION LAW HAS RESOLVED SOME OF THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED, BUT NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON THE QUESTION OF FARMERS' UNIONS. CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI HAS AGAIN STATED THAT WORKERS ON THE LAND HAVE AS MUCH RIGHT TO FORM ASSOCIATIONS AS INDUSTRIAL WORKERS. THE POLISH AUTHORITIES ARE PROBABLY AS DISINCLINED AS MOSCOW TO GIVE LEGAL STATUS TO A BODY GROUPING PEOPLE WHO ARE NOT ONLY PRIVATE LANDOWNERS BUT ALSO CONSTITUTE THE MOST DEVOUT, INDIVIDUALISTIC AND CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT IN POLISH SOCIETY.

7. THERE CONTINUE TO BE WIDESPREAD CALLS FOR SPEEDY ACTION ON THE DRAFT CENSORSHIP BILL. THE GULF BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE AND THE COMMISSION OF WRITERS AND SCHOLARS WHICH PRODUCED AN ALTERNATIVE AND MORE LIBERAL DRAFT REMAINS AS DEEP AS EVER, BOTH ON THE CONTENTS OF THE BILL AND ON THE PROCEDURE FOR DEALING WITH IT. THE MINISTER HAS SAID THAT A DRAFT CAN BE SUBMITTED TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS IN 4-6 WEEKS. MANY POLES WILL REGARD THE REGIME'S TREATMENT OF THIS ISSUE AS A YARDSTICK OF ITS GOOD INTENTIONS IN THE SPHERE OF LIBERALISATION.

8. THE SOVIET UNION HAS SIGNED AGREEMENTS GRANTING POLAND CREDIT TO COVER EXTRA DELIVERIES OF SOVIET GOODS AND DEFERRING UNTIL 1985 REPAYMENT OF CREDITS DRAWN BY THE POLES IN 1976-80. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE OVERALL POLISH TRADE DEFICIT WITH THE USSR IN THIS PERIOD WAS THE EQUIVALENT OF ABOUT DOLLARS 1750 MILLION. A RESCHEDULING OF THE REPAYMENT OF SOVIET HARD CURRENCY ASSISTANCE TO POLAND (TOTALLING AT LEAST DOLLARS 500 MILLION IN 1980) MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN THE AGREEMENT, BUT THIS IS NOT YET CLEAR. THE POLISH ANNOUNCEMENT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE MEETING OF WESTERN CREDITORS IN PARIS: IT MAY HAVE BEEN DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE THEM TO REACH A SIMILAR RESCHEDULING AGREEMENT BY GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT POLAND WILL NOT NEED TO USE WESTERN MONEY TO REPAY ITS CMEA CREDITORS.

9. BREZHNEV'S REMARKS ON POLAND WERE ESSENTIALLY

NON-COMMITTAL AND APPEAR DESIGNED TO LEAVE ALL SOVIET OPTIONS OPEN. POLISH LEADERS WILL NOT HAVE BEEN UNDULY ALARMED BY THEM, BUT THEY WILL HAVE NOTED WITH SOME CONCERN BREZHNEV'S FAILURE TO EXPRESS CONFIDENCE IN THEIR ABILITY TO SOLVE THEIR OWN PROBLEMS AND THE OMISSION OF THIS THOUGHT FROM THE TASS VERSION OF KANIA'S SPEECH. KANIA

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HIMSELF REITERATED HIS DUAL POLICY OF CONCILIATION TOWARDS POLISH WORKERS PLUS DETERMINATION NOT TO PERMIT ANARCHY OR THE COLLAPSE OF PARTY CONTROL IN POLAND. IF THE PRESENT LULL IS TO BE CONVERTED INTO A LASTING PEACE THE REGIME MUST NOW KEEP UP THE MOMENTUM IN ITS EFFORTS TO GET THE ECONOMY MOVING AND MUST CONTINUE TO TREAT SOLIDARNOSC AS A SERIOUS NEGOTIATING PARTNER. SOME DIFFICULT ISSUES HAVE STILL TO BE FACED. THE TEMPTATION TO EVADE THEM WILL BE GREAT BUT MUST BE RESISTED IF RELATIONS ARE NOT TO DETERIORATE AGAIN.
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