

## Polish 'experiment' moves into danger zone

by Rachel Douglas

As you read this report, Soviet tanks may already be rolling across the Polish countryside. If they do, now or some weeks ahead, the predominantly British- and Jesuit-connected destabilizers of Poland will have achieved their goal of destroying independent European policies on East-West relations and manipulating confrontation between the superpowers.

Television newscasts of independent trade-union leader Lech Walesa working the crowds in Krakow and Gdansk may give the appearance of a spontaneous popular outpouring, but he is proceeding according to a script penned chiefly in London. The Poles who turn out to cheer him are being set up.

The intelligence networks that orchestrated the Polish crisis in August are gunning for a new escalation that could culminate in a Soviet intervention. Highly placed sources in France and West Germany believe that although the dispatch of Warsaw Pact troops into Poland is the policy option of last resort for Moscow, exactly such a decision could come soon after the Nov. 4 United States election.

The London *Daily Telegraph*, often a platform for London-based circles who give orders to Polish dissidents, stated editorially Oct. 17 that Poland was safe from Soviet invasion until Nov. 4 because the Russians "do not want to give certain victory to Mr. Reagan." But the *Telegraph* projected that Poland would slip "out of effective Communist control," suggesting that the U.S.S.R. would inevitably make its move.

Since that assessment was published, two growing clashes—between the trade unions and the Warsaw re-

gime and between Poland and its Warsaw Pact neighbors—have lowered the threshold. On Oct. 29, a forum at West Germany's Konrad Adenauer Foundation, featuring Russian and Polish emigrés with their fingers on the pulse of the Polish experiment in liberalization, was dominated by a mood of expectation that its days are numbered. Leszek Kolakowski, a prominent emigré member of the KOR dissident group who works from All Souls College at Oxford University, predicted "a bloody revolution" would break out in the face of Soviet troops—and soon, because Moscow was "only waiting until after the U.S. elections."

The British plan proceeds on two levels. On one is the union movement of Walesa, who was groomed for his present role by the KOR (Workers Defense Committee) of Kolakowski and one-time revolutionary leftist Jacek Kuron.

On the other level is the new Polish regime, which replaced Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) chief Edward Gierek in a cold coup carried out between Aug. 29 and Sept. 5. Under former security director Stanislaw Kania and reinstated Politburo economics specialist Stefan Olszowski, the Poles are elaborating a program which, in the words of one source from a Soviet-allied country, will "take Poland away from socialism."

Ranking members of the new regime either belonged to the group called Experience and the Future (DiP) or agree with its program of abandoning the heavy industry priority that formed the backbone of the Polish economy's socialist sector under Gierek.

In the DiP, which is the subject of a special section of

this report, lies the secret of Polish politics today. The international efforts to destabilize Poland, emanating from sources of funds and strategy like London's peer-studded Arts Council, New York's Freedom House, worldwide labor networks of the Jesuit order and the socialist Second International, psychology and social control centers like the Tavistock Institute in Sussex, England, and the Aspen Institute, all intersect in the DiP.

The purpose of activating these networks of influence inside Poland has been, and still is, to parlay the Polish crisis into an international strategic geometry of controlled confrontation between the two superpowers. In this fundamental respect and in the included anti-industry bias of the operation, the Polish developments are cut from the same cloth as those in Iran.

These crises proceed to the advantage only of the international networks that launched them, the advocates of deindustrialization and depopulation of the entire planet. The dumb giants U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., helped along by British agents of influence controlling relevant aspects of their policies, totter into the trap, while the maneuvering room of alternative power centers like France is restricted.

The Polish crisis knocked the legs out from under key policies of the continental Western European governments. Already squeezed by Middle East oil cutoffs, France and especially West Germany suffered a second blow to their energy prospects when plans for joint East-West high-technology development of the Polish coal industry fell victim to the freeze of East-West ties in the wake of the summer strikes.

The Polish explosion also spelled the end of the delicate diplomacy between East and West European leaders aimed at averting world war. With the weakening and then the ouster of Gierek, one East-West meeting after another was struck from the fall agenda. One result was to strengthen those in the U.S.S.R. who had questioned the viability of Europe-centered détente all along.

After the battering of its "Europe card," the Brezhnev leadership locked into a "world of the superpowers" posture, prepared to make geopolitical deals over Iran for the sake of helping Jimmy Carter get reelected, but meanwhile girding for war. Brezhnev's own Oct. 16 tirade against "American imperialism" suggests that accommodation between the Carter and Brezhnev administrations will be about as long-lived as the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, the prelude to world war.

Almost nowhere, and certainly not in Eastern Europe, is the design of manipulating the superpowers fully grasped.

The Soviet bloc has responded in knee-jerk fashion, with warnings focused on Lech Walesa and on alleged American and West German aid to "antisocialist forces" in Poland. East German leader Erich Honecker, who earlier this year quoted West German chancellor Helmut

Schmidt on the need to prevent war from ever again arising on German soil, now talks about "increasing our defense capabilities" and denounces "West German imperialism."

After a crescendo of warnings culminating in Honecker's declaration that Poland will remain socialist even if its friends must "see to that," the East Germans imposed strict curbs on transit across their border with Poland. The decision was announced with no explanation, but it has been rumored repeatedly that a Warsaw Pact military move into Poland would involve the deployment of forces across that border.

The Oct. 28 announcement of this step provoked the first open clash between ruling parties in the Warsaw Pact after weeks of obvious tension, as the East Germans and Czechs dubbed "antisocialist" the very trade union committee leaders with whom the Warsaw regime was negotiating. On Oct. 29, the PUPW daily *Trybuna Ludu* accused the East Germans of failing to understand the situation in Poland.

### **Walesa's bid for power**

On a tour of southern Poland Oct. 18-23, Lech Walesa dropped all pretense of being "not political," as he had always insisted. In Krakow, Walesa shouted to crowds that he was ready to assume any responsibility the Polish people gave him.

Then, in meetings in the coal district town of Jastrzebie and back in its home city of Gdansk on the Baltic Sea, the coordinating committee of Walesa's trade union federation "Solidarity" debated whether or not to launch new strikes over the issue of its legal status.

On Oct. 24, a judge in Warsaw approved statutes for Solidarity, legally registering the union as a national organization. But the judge unilaterally inserted into the statutes a clause, disputed by Solidarity, defining the federation's recognition of the leading role of the communist party in Polish society. Members of the coordinating committee, some of whom had been arguing for strikes even before the court decision, set Nov. 12 as a new strike deadline. The committee issued an ultimatum to the government to come to Gdansk and negotiate or else Solidarity would "turn itself into a strike committee and undertake appropriate steps." Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski arrived in Gdansk late on Oct. 28.

### **A program for crisis**

The program of the Kania regime has not been revealed in its entirety, but the outlines emerged at the Oct. 4-6 meeting of the PUPW Central Committee. Kania's report there bore the imprint of Politburo members Stefan Olszowski and Tadeusz Grabski, known as advocates of a consumer-tilted approach to

running the Polish economy. This approach will not only undercut heavy industry but, in the medium and long term, reverberate against consumption too.

Their policies are essentially those of the DiP.

Kania described a new mechanism to screen proposed industrial investments that will apparently slash several large high-technology projects. He affirmed a commitment to the "small-scale character" of Polish agriculture. The Catholic bishops of Poland, in an early October statement, concurred. They endorsed the complete decollectivization of agriculture, the elimination of that small portion of Polish farming that is not already the domain of miniscule private plots.

Poland faces a hard winter of shortages. With the economic policy it is charting, the new regime would make the economic crisis worse over the months and years ahead. But together with the activities of Lech Walesa, it could cause Warsaw Pact troops to enter Poland much sooner than that.

## The DiP: incubator for Polish insurgents

On Aug. 28, 1980, the daily newspaper of the ruling Polish United Workers Party stated editorially that there could be no question of setting up a second trade union structure in Poland.

On Aug. 30, a tentative settlement of the strike in the Gdansk shipyards was announced, the crucial component of which was the go-ahead to set up "free trade unions" outside the official union apparatus.

What had happened in those two days was a coup. Communist party chief Edward Gierek was already bereft on Aug. 24 of his closest political allies, who were dropped from the Politburo. He could not carry out the step he reportedly favored: dispatch of Polish troops armed with tear gas to disperse the crowds in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk. His own political career came to its official close on Sept. 5.

### Olszowski's return

The new Polish regime is a coalition. Former security chief Stanislaw Kania, who was supported by Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski in his opposition to the use of force, is the party's first secretary. A resurgent party faction grouped around Mieczyslaw

Moczar, Kania's predecessor on the security force and formerly a powerful party baron, is building power from its alliance with Kania.

The clue to the new regime's character is the prominence of Stefan Olszowski. According to a report published in the *New Statesman*, an attempt was made to install Olszowski as the first secretary. Instead, he regained the posts from which Gierek had purged him in February 1980: member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary for economic affairs.

With Olszowski, his allies, and their non-party advisers in the driver's seat, it is as if Ralph Nader, Jerry Brown and the sensitivity-trained graduates of the Congressional Clearinghouse of the Future had seized the executive branch of the government of the United States.

### 'Experience and the Future'

In the 1976-78 period, after a wave of strikes and food price protests, Olszowski was entrusted with drafting an outline for economic reform. His conclusions led, even before this summer's coup, to the gradual dismantling of Gierek's industrial investment program, just at the point when Poland's British and American creditors had decided that Poland no longer merited development or balance-of-payments loans on favorable terms.

From Olszowski's consultations on economic reform, according to several Western scholars who know him and his aides, emerged the project known as DiP—*Doswiadczenia i Przyszlosc*, or Experience and the Future.

DiP did not crystallize as an institution, but conducted study groups and surveys on reform. Its coordinators were members of the liberal wing of the party, social scientists, and independent intellectuals, including many from the Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia.

One Western friend of DiP calls it the most "pivotal" group in Poland "because of its long-range and far-reaching liberal reform strategy, which does not pose itself as a direct threat to the Soviet system." The strikes and the agitation of dissidents like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik of the Workers Defense Committee (KOR) served to open the door for implementation of the DiP program.

Its first document, "Report on the State of the Republic and Ways to Improve It," circulated in May 1979, after which DiP was banned from meeting. This year, its coordinators conducted a survey of 150 prominent Poles, one-third of them party members, which they printed up under the title "How To Get Out Of It." The main points of the second document, which has been summarized by Radio Free Europe Research, foreshadowed what Kania and Olszowski have now begun to do.