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SITUATION REPORTS

POLAND

The party's Central Committee meeting, now scheduled for Monday after a two-week delay, will review regime policy toward the trade unions, try to restore morale and discipline among the rank and file, and probably announce personnel changes.

Party leader Kania reportedly has wanted to make major changes in the Politburo for some time. However, he may not have the political clout to do so; many of the regional first secretaries he has replaced remain on the Central Committee and are not likely to support him. Even Kania may have decided to forgo a major change in the interest of leadership stability, given the sorry state of the party.

Kania is likely to exhort party leaders to take firmer measures to restore discipline in the ranks. [redacted] central party organizations are concerned that some local leaders are violating party statutes and not obeying orders. [redacted]

[redacted] Other party leaders seems to be apprehensive because so many members have joined the Solidarity union or resigned from the party. [redacted]

Heated discussion can be expected over recent regime concessions to trade union demands and its reliance on trade union leader Walesa to calm the situation in Warsaw earlier this week. Party moderates, on the other hand, will attempt to portray Walesa's success in persuading union militants to restrain themselves as a hopeful sign that the regime can establish a constructive relationship with "responsible" union leaders.

The circumstances in which Walesa scored his success, nevertheless, cannot be a source of great comfort to any in the regime or to the Soviets. His task was not easy--it reportedly required more than three hours of persuasion--and could have cost him some of his

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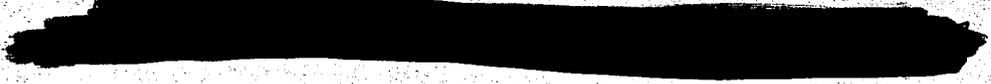

following within the union movement. He had to bring forth a parade of witnesses to bolster his arguments for restraint, including dissident leader Jacek Kuron, who has previously been attacked as "antisocialist."

Soviet Commentary

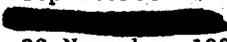
The Soviets have yet to comment on how the Poles, for the second time this week, have averted a major confrontation. The issue must have been discussed at the regular Politburo meeting on Thursday, and a commentary on the subject may be issued at any time.

The Soviets, meanwhile, are still denying that they have any intention of intervening in the Polish crisis. A *Literaturnaya Gazeta* article on 26 November, playing a recent Polish article, asserts that "everyone is well aware of the attitude of the Soviet leadership, which has stated clearly and openly that the development of events in Poland is Poland's domestic affair."

The Polish article, according to *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, says that this stand gives the Poles a chance to resolve their present difficulties "by political means." And, while noting that an overly protracted crisis could ruin everything, the thrust of the article is that the Poles still have time to put their house in order. In fact, the references to the views of the Soviet leadership on the Polish question are the most positive remarks to appear in the Soviet press on the subject since Solidarity was legalized on 10 November.



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[REDACTED]

Military Activity

The Soviets are continuing to raise the preparedness level of some forces likely to participate in any invasion of Poland

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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These measures improve Soviet preparedness and probably involve some review of planning, but available evidence does not yet suggest the extensive mobilization and logistics buildup that would be needed to support a large-scale invasion. For example, a tank division--located adjacent to a division where there is some apparent mobilization activity--is not mobilizing. [REDACTED]

Nevertheless, the improvements made thus far suggest that under urgent circumstances the Soviets could carry out their final preparations in less than a week. If they made such a precipitate move, there might be no more than two or three days' warning. [REDACTED]

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