

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 Przyszlasc*, 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.

The DiP theme was “a fundamental change in the existing style of governing the state. . . . The faulty style of governing is the source and the cause of the current crisis.” Since their ouster, Gierek and his associates have been castigated at a Central Committee plenum for their “style” of rule, while the content of their policies is undone as well.

The DiP survey called for relaxation of censorship, to make “full and true information” available in Poland.

It attacked “stultifying centralization” and, in the case of economic policy, specified the need for “a shift away from central control of the economy and toward greater autonomy of regional and smaller units,” “a change in the methods of management,” and reorganization of the economy to “enhance the role of individual enterprises.” Kania and Olszowski, in their outline of Poland’s new economic policy, came out for no less.

DiP advocated “comprehensive internal reform of the party organization,” a demand DiP members subsequently voiced from the floor of the Polish parliament.

It demanded “recognition of the Church’s rights within the system . . . [and] access for the Church to the mass media.” Two weeks after the Gdansk strike settlement, Poles could hear Sunday mass on television for the first time.

Who is in DiP?

Sampling the membership of DiP indicates how the new regime and the dissidents, the strikers and their government collocutors, are the two tracks of one effort, an effort that is directed from outside Poland.

Jan Szczepanski. Poland’s leading sociologist, Szczepanski is an intellectual eminence of DiP. He is a non-party delegate to the Sejm, Poland’s parliament, where on Sept. 5 he boasted of having “the precise sociological tools” to understand what happened in the Polish strikes and what has to be done in Poland now. Szczepanski is a recruit of the Tavistock Institute, the British intelligence center for international operations conducted through the sociology and anthropology professions. He sits on the board of its theoretical journal, *Human Relations*.

Szczepanski is a member of the Aspen Institute too, and in the United States he studied at the American spinoff of Tavistock, the Stanford Center for Advanced Study on Behavioral Sciences. Reports that Szczepanski had acted in an advisory capacity to the Gdansk Inter-factory Strike Committee during the strikes in August were bolstered when the agreement reached by the committee mandated a “center for the study of social affairs” to service the new unions.

In his capacity as Polish chairman of the Anglo-Polish Round Table, Szczepanski consults each year

with such Britons as Mark Bonham Carter, an advisory board member of the Index on Censorship, a London-based platform for Eastern European dissident writers. The Index is financed by the Arts Council, presided over by, among others, Anthony Quinton, the colleague of KOR dissident coordinator Leszek Kolakowski at All Souls and Trinity Colleges, Oxford.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Bogdan Cywinski. Both are editors of Catholic publications associated with the lay group “Znak.” With their colleague **Jerzy Turowicz**, who like Cywinski is based in Krakow, these two men are a preferred liaison channel of European and American Jesuit influence into Poland. All are active in the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia, which has recently recruited a new member, leader of the “Solidarity” trade unions, Lech Walesa. Cywinski coordinates the Society for Academic Courses, or “flying university,” whose curriculum encompasses the “Christian existentialism” developed at the Catholic University of Lublin, the logical positivism of Oxford Prof. A. J. Ayer, and the writings of KOR members Leszek Kolakowski and Adam Michnik on contemporary Polish intellectual history. Mazowiecki and Cywinski head the advisory committee of the Solidarity unions.

Janusz Beksia. Professor Beksia was one of three members of Gierek’s scientific advisory board who were secretly participants in DiP. Beksia resigned from Gierek’s staff and from the party, but now is back on the job as a top consultant of Stefan Olszowski in drafting economic reforms for the new regime.

Stefan Bratkowski. Like Szczepanski, he is a sociologist, but Bratkowski is a member of the communist party as well. At a September meeting of the party association of the Polish Writers Union, Bratkowski called for purging the party—as began to happen with the expulsion of Gierek’s supporters at the Oct. 4-6 Central Committee plenum—and instituting democratic norms on the model of the KOR and the Gdansk unions.

Jan Strzelecki. Another sociologist, Strzelecki is one of three Polish members of the Club of Rome, center of international projects for deindustrialization.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski. As a Central Committee member, Rakowski kept his association with the DiP low key, but when he wrote an editorial in his weekly *Polityka* last July 5, after the first small strikes had occurred in Lublin, it was widely recognized as the DiP program coming into the public eye. Rakowski called for reform: “Telling the truth . . . is just a beginning. Our vital national interest requires . . . a comprehensive program for structural changes involving the guidance and management of the national economy . . . thought out decentralization. Our society has still not been psychologically conditioned to make sacrifices.”