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SITUATION REPORT

POLAND

Commemorative ceremonies on the Baltic Coast yesterday, held in the same calm and sober atmosphere that marked observances in Gdansk on Tuesday, showed a restraint that is an important political victory for Solidarity, the Church, and--to a lesser extent--the party. [REDACTED]

Solidarity demonstrated a "responsible" attitude and an ability to control its followers. The Church reaffirmed its tremendous influence and showed a clearer sense of purpose and unity than has been evident in recent months. The regime's participation probably brought it some popular good will, nowever transitory it might prove to be, and provided some evidence that its policy of establishing a cooperative relationship with the new unions still has a chance to succeed. [REDACTED]

Each of these key actors may also have incurred some costs. Some members of Solidarity were critical of Walesa's moderate speech in Gdansk, an indication that there is still sentiment for a harder union position. Walesa must be sensitive to such attitudes. [REDACTED]

The Church's moderating activity included some implicit criticism of dissident Kuron that reportedly has outraged other members of Kuron's organization, and may signal the opening of a rift between the Church and the political dissidents. [REDACTED]

These same dissidents have criticized Cardinal Wyszynski and what they consider to be his overly cooperative attitude toward the regime and his guarded support of Solidarity. They believe, furthermore, that some members of the Church hierarchy and the laity share their views. They may be inclined to try to galvanize greater opposition to Wyszynski's policies, although the Cardinal appears to have strong support within the Church. [REDACTED]

The government has committed itself even more strongly not to use force and to forge a tripartite partnership

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as a way to "socialist renewal"--commitments that may be misinterpreted by the Kania regime's hardline critics. At least one East German party official reacted to the commemorative ceremonies in Gdansk by suggesting that a "new Dubcek" is at work in Poland. [REDACTED]

Soviet Commentary

In its first "Petrov" article on Poland in almost three months, *Pravda* yesterday castigated last week's NATO ministerial statement that warned against Soviet intervention as part of a "provocative campaign" of interference in Poland's internal affairs. (U)

"Petrov," a pseudonym denoting Central Committee authorship, singled out the US delegates who "slandered Soviet foreign policy" by engaging in conjecture about Moscow's intentions in Poland. In what appears to be a defense of Poland's right to call for Warsaw Pact military assistance, the article claimed that the NATO ministers were attempting to "deprive" the Polish state of the possibility of defending against "external and internal enemies." [REDACTED]

The article expressed confidence in the Polish party. It repeated the statement made by the Polish delegation at the Warsaw Pact summit on 5 December that Poland "has been, is, and will remain" a socialist state and a "firm link" in the socialist alliance. At the same time, "Petrov" reiterated a theme that has been given prominence of late in the Soviet media by attacking two prominent Polish dissident organizations. [REDACTED]

Military Activity

[REDACTED] an unusual amount of Soviet field training and exercise activity, but [REDACTED] not [REDACTED] any evidence of large-scale mobilization. [REDACTED]
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Exercise activity continues in the Carpathian Military District with at least one division engaged in associated field training.

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