

~~Top Secret~~

POLAND: Solidarity Efforts To Organize

Solidarity members are trying to use discontent over prospective price increases to obtain support for underground union activity. Solidarity leader Walesa, meanwhile, continues to refuse to negotiate with the government unless other union leaders can participate. The Church is planning a public response to the statements Premier Jaruzelski made in his speech to parliament on Monday.

Walesa remains in good spirits [redacted] in the vicinity of Warsaw where he apparently is being held. [redacted] Walesa still refuses to negotiate with the government without the participation of the union presidium but remains moderate in outlook. [redacted]

[redacted] members of Solidarity's presidium held in an internment center. He described them as "radical" and "determined"; they continue to refuse to talk with the government without their unconditional release. [redacted]

Comment: Solidarity's use of the prospective price increases to build support for underground activity almost certainly has contributed to regime nervousness about implementing them. The spread of the news among workers that an underground national union structure is being formed may help raise the morale of local activists, although such an organization is probably only in its early stages. The tenacity of presidium members, who generally were not hardliners within Solidarity, blocks the regime's efforts to obtain the support of some Solidarity members. [redacted]

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Church Strategy

Senior Church officials reportedly are formulating what may be a tough public response to the positions taken by Jaruzelski in his speech on Monday. Glemp and several senior bishops will discuss this response with the Pope in Rome next week. The Pope is said to have been pleased with the strong position on martial law the Polish bishops expressed last week.

Comment: The Church believes that taking such a strong and unequivocal posture on martial law is necessary to keep pressure on the regime to ease restrictions, but there is likely to be discussion in Rome over the Church's tactics in dealing with the regime. Some bishops probably are concerned that tough statements will encourage undesirable active resistance and play into the hands of regime hardliners, who favor a tougher attitude toward the Church. These clerics may point to the government's apparent decision earlier this month to cut back broadcasts of Sunday Masses as evidence of the regime's capacity for retaliation.

There may also be differences over how much the Church should support Jaruzelski. Among those accompanying Glemp to Rome is Archbishop Gulbinowicz, who has consistently favored a tough line toward the regime. Gulbinowicz may differ with Glemp on aspects of strategy, and both men may want the Pope to settle these differences.

Regime Blames US Sanctions

A Polish agricultural official told the Hungarian press that this year's harvest may be below that of last year because of shortages of seed, fertilizer, and pesticides. He also claimed that restrictions on the US export of grain to Poland have created a fodder shortage that will cause farmers to use 30 to 40 percent of the seed allocated for spring sowing to feed their livestock.

Comment: The regime is exaggerating the extent that the US restrictions will hurt the economy, suggesting it will use the sanctions as an excuse for shortfalls in food availability. Moreover, the amount of grain normally set aside for seed could not satisfy fodder demands for more than several weeks. Farmers probably would slaughter their animals before feeding them seed for sowing next season's crop.

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