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Special Analysis

POLAND: Another Test of Wills

The second anniversary tomorrow of the legal recognition of Solidarity will mark the first attempt by underground union leaders to organize nationwide strikes and demonstrations to protest the recent dissolution of the union. The regime appears to have the upper hand and has carried out a systematic campaign to discourage participation in the planned protests. The authorities will interpret a limited response as proof that their policies are working and as another large step toward ending martial law. Church leaders continue to emphasize their opposition to violence, and many local priests probably have urged workers to avoid bloodshed. A low turnout may erode the morale of underground activists, but they will persevere and the political stalemate will continue.

The call for strikes and demonstrations apparently has not been greeted with much enthusiasm. [redacted] leaflets or rumors calling for strikes have appeared in 27 of 49 provinces. Before the demonstrations on 31 August, leaflets were distributed in at least 41 provinces.

[redacted] There have been some isolated reports, however, of young people collecting grenades, tear gas canisters, and other weapons to be used in demonstrations.

Solidarity sources have told [redacted] that they believe workers are too afraid to stage strikes. [redacted] workers to be apathetic and dejected, fearing economic reprisals.

Workers are disgruntled by what they view as a lack of leadership from the underground. Solidarity, in fact, does not seem well organized at the shopfloor level.

The call for strikes urged workers to set up secret strike committees, implying that none existed. Moreover, workers fear that the underground is thoroughly penetrated by the secret police and that any strike organizers would be easily spotted and subjected to harsh penalties.

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The Regime's Preparations

The authorities appear more confident about their ability to control events than they did in August, when numerous high-level officials warned of bloody revolution. A government spokesman recently claimed the underground is too weak to mount large-scale demonstrations. [REDACTED]

Premier Jaruzelski's advisers may in fact be confident they can handle any challenge offered by Solidarity. Their avoidance of exaggerated warnings this time may be designed to avoid alarming the Soviets and to prevent domestic hardliners from claiming that Jaruzelski is not able to maintain order. [REDACTED]

Nevertheless, the authorities have taken extensive precautions. [REDACTED] the regime has sent military commissars and senior political leaders into factories to warn about the consequences of protests. [REDACTED]

Special teams have been sent into the schools to monitor behavior. Special mandatory activities have been scheduled for students. (TS U)

The police have already begun detaining Solidarity activists and yesterday arrested another senior Solidarity leader. [REDACTED] increased security patrols in Warsaw. [REDACTED]

There probably will be a large show of strength by the security forces, especially near important factories. [REDACTED]

The government, however, also is offering the populace some inducements. At the Lenin shipyards, for example, the authorities may have tried to buy off workers by giving them large pay increases. In a similar vein, the announcement of a papal visit in June 1983 is an effort to quiet discontent. [REDACTED]

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The Church Appeals for Calm

Church leaders are again urging moderation. Archbishop Glemp's fear of violence prompted him to express his opposition to the strikes and to meet yesterday with Jaruzelski. [REDACTED]

Glemp and other Church officials evidently have accepted the dissolution of Solidarity and are looking for ways to reduce tension. The Archbishop reportedly believes workers eventually will have to live with the new government-controlled unions. [REDACTED]

Prospects

The regime seems to be in command. Although there will be numerous symbolic job actions, only a few strikes in the important factories are likely. There also probably will be demonstrations in the streets tomorrow and on Thursday--Poland's prewar national day--but these will be put down by the authorities. [REDACTED]

Limited protests will demonstrate that while public sympathies remain with Solidarity, most people believe little can be done now to change the situation. Even if the turnout is small, underground leaders will continue to plan and organize for the future, arguing the need to be better prepared for the next time. [REDACTED]

The regime is likely to interpret a weak response to the strike calls as proof that its policies are working. Jaruzelski probably would proceed with his plans to lift martial law by the end of the year, assuming no major demonstrations take place around 13 December, when Solidarity has called for a week of protests. [REDACTED]

If the strikes are more widespread than now seems likely, however, workers could regain some of their confidence and ignore calls for moderation. In this event, some Solidarity leaders believe worker demands for revenge could quickly lead to bloodshed. [REDACTED]

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