

[REDACTED]

SPECIAL ANALYSES

POLAND: Jaruzelski's Options

[REDACTED]

*The regime, three days after attempting a military solution to Poland's crisis, has fallen short of isolating union militants and restoring order in the factories. [REDACTED]*

A war of attrition is developing between the security forces and those Solidarity factory committees that have been able to reconstitute themselves. The likelihood of widespread violence will increase as the regime confronts strikers in some of Poland's largest factories. [REDACTED]

Solidarity leaders, for their part, overplayed their hand in their tenacity in the negotiations with the regime over how to share power and were overconfident that the regime would not move against them. Solidarity leaders must be further disappointed that the Polish labor force did not spontaneously go out in a general strike after their arrest, as they had anticipated. They probably still believe, however, that no one can run Poland without their cooperation. [REDACTED]

Premier Jaruzelski is unlikely to allow the situation to remain stalemated for long, having committed himself to a high-risk course in imposing martial law. He can either attempt to reopen negotiations with Solidarity leader Walesa, hoping that the union's more moderate leaders now may be willing and able to make concessions, or he can apply brute force massively to destroy Solidarity completely. [REDACTED]

By reopening negotiations, Warsaw may hope that the rank and file will show more flexibility, having seen what militancy can precipitate. Such a move, however, does not appear to be a promising possibility, both because the regime currently seems disinterested

in a political solution and because union leaders probably would be unwilling to make a deal while Solidarity members are still being arrested. [REDACTED]

The more likely, immediate prospect is for an escalation in the use of force with greater participation by the Army. This course runs the risk that the Army will prove unreliable. It also is possible that a greater use of force will be no more successful than the current level in breaking the workers' movement, restoring order, and getting the factories operating again. Such action could push Poland toward chaos. [REDACTED]