

December 22, 1981

SPECIAL ANALYSES

POLAND: The Weeks Ahead

[REDACTED]

The strategies of the three major Polish participants in the immediate post-martial law period are beginning to emerge. Wide-spread clashes do not seem likely in the next week or so, but major acts of violence may yet occur. Whether Premier Jaruzelski has won his gamble will be determined by the popular mood that may begin to gel during the holiday period. [REDACTED]

The Government believes that strike activity is diminishing and would have the public believe that yesterday it was confined to Silesia. The strikes that are continuing probably are particularly serious, however, especially in their potential for additional loss of life and for major industrial sabotage. [REDACTED]

Some evidence suggests the military may have shifted its tactics away from the use of brute force toward talking the last strikers out of their installations or waiting them out. Such a shift might appeal to a regime that believes it has the situation generally under control and that does not want any more martyrs. [REDACTED]

Reactions to Repression

Solidarity militants probably are continuing to replace arrested union leaders and attempting to organize new strikes. The limited information filtering out of Poland does not indicate that they are meeting with initial success. [REDACTED]

The failure of large crowds to gather in the last few days may be the result of the curfew, heavy snows, and the approach of Christmas. The absence of crowds has lowered the potential in the short term for clashes which might lead to a broader public uprising. [REDACTED]

The Church also has weighed in along traditional lines to discourage violence in the pursuit of release

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of the detainees and the reestablishment of Solidarity. One important Bishop is attempting to mediate between the Government and Solidarity moderates, presumably including Lech Walesa. [REDACTED]

There are few signs that either the regime or the remnants of Solidarity's leadership are interested in seeking an accommodation. Some individuals, however, may be willing to bargain for short-term gains. [REDACTED]

In the next week or so, resistance to martial law is likely to continue. It probably will be essentially passive, however, as the regime attempts after Christmas to get the labor force back to work. Although the potential for additional strikes and violence will remain, it is unlikely to be on the scale of the past week. [REDACTED]

The regime, in the meantime, probably will begin emphasizing a more restrained approach to offset its repressive actions. While some of the Solidarity detainees may well be tried, others are likely to be released if strike activity subsides. [REDACTED]

Party and governmental officials apparently are also being weeded out, although it is uncertain whether this is because they were incompetent, or distrusted by the public, or because they were overly sympathetic with Solidarity's activities. Some putative institutional and economic reform measures may be announced. [REDACTED]

A Long Way To Go

Poland, nevertheless, will have even greater economic and political problems in the weeks and months ahead than it has ever had. The military regime will not easily give up the control it feels it has gained through martial law. Solidarity will regain some of its organizational cohesion as it gets over the shock of martial law and elects new leaders or sees its veterans released. [REDACTED]

It is too early to determine whether the Polish people will accept the current situation; if not, Jaruzelski's initial defeat of the reform movement may have only ignited the fuse of a larger explosion. [REDACTED]