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SPECIAL ANALYSES

POLAND: Reviewing Martial Law

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Six weeks after the imposition of martial law, Premier Jaruzelski faces numerous problems that threaten his current firm hold on power. The situation in the country is inherently unstable as intraparty strife continues, Solidarity activists try to organize resistance, the economy slides, and the popular mood sours. [REDACTED]

Archbishop Glemp recently has expressed apprehension that current trends will lead to popular unrest and violence. A close adviser to Jaruzelski has publicly admitted that the economy is deteriorating, blaming Western sanctions, and fears spontaneous protests against planned price hikes. The Soviets made their gloomiest public assessment yet on the Polish situation in a recent article in *Pravda*. [REDACTED]

Trouble Spots

Jaruzelski's failure on Monday to chart a comprehensive program that goes beyond the current emphasis on "control" suggests that moderates and hardliners are still jockeying for primacy in the leadership. Partly as a consequence, local party organizations are in disarray. Although Jaruzelski's control over the martial law mechanism provides him an important political lever, a continued impasse in the leadership will undermine his authority. [REDACTED]

Solidarity activists still at large are disseminating underground leaflets and trying to create a clandestine structure. Organizational work, however, continues to be seriously hampered by the internment or arrest of more than 6,000 activists and martial law restrictions. [REDACTED]

The Church is increasing its pressure on the government to lift martial law, but at the same time fears that Solidarity's intransigence will contribute to violent popular unrest. Poland's bishops last week issued a pastoral letter and a private message to Jaruzelski warning of civil war. [REDACTED]

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397A

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Archbishop Glemp privately seems to view Jaruzelski as a moderate who probably ought to be supported against hardliners. The Church, which appears divided on this issue, cannot go too far in putting pressure on Solidarity or supporting Jaruzelski without risking its own credibility.

The economy is the key variable, and production continues to decline because of lingering passive resistance among workers, bad weather, and raw material shortages aggravated by Western sanctions. Delay in formulating policy may only deepen the economic slide.

The regime's policy of using threats and blandishments to induce private farmers to step up deliveries has had mixed results. Reduced meat rations this month are only being met with stopgap Soviet shipments. The government intends to proceed with massive price hikes in early February but has increased the partially offsetting wage hikes in the hope of heading off manifestations of worker resentment.

Looking Ahead

Concerns about control probably will prompt the government to keep basic martial law restrictions in effect beyond spring, despite Jaruzelski's ambiguous promise in his speech on Monday to ease restrictions by the end of February. Although many of the participating Polish military units have resumed normal training, the civilian police remain primarily responsible for maintaining order.

The popular mood has soured now that the initial shock of martial law has worn off. This increases the likelihood of strikes or other forms of unrest in the near future. The regime, however, will use whatever force is necessary to suppress resistance.

This may be a viable strategy for the short term, but it carries the risk of touching off larger scale unrest that will be more difficult to control. It also delays further the political accommodation that must be reached if the economy is to recover.

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