

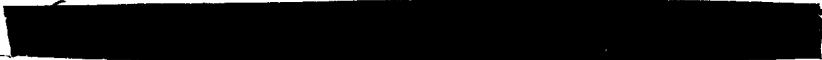
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SPECIAL ANALYSIS

POLAND: Increasing Resistance



The regime--after imposing martial law two months ago--still has failed to make serious progress in addressing Poland's political and economic problems. Its concern to maintain control, in fact, appears to be trapping it in a spiral of repression and resistance.

Resistance has grown since the beginning of February and now includes extensive distribution of pamphlets, increased public demonstrations, and silent marches. There also have been acts of violence by individuals, and the authorities have accused Solidarity extremists of plotting terrorist attacks.

Recent acts of defiance include a bomb that was discovered on Saturday close to party headquarters in Lubin and a firebomb that was hurled at a monument in Warsaw over the weekend. A worker in Warsaw yesterday blew himself up while constructing a bomb.

The protests are directed not only at martial law, but also at such diverse actions by the regime as raising prices and removing religious symbols in a schoolroom. Solidarity activists have helped organize some of the protests, but thus far there have been no strikes.

University and high school students have played a leading role in the two major demonstrations in Gdansk and Poznan. The participation of women and children in some of the protests, as in Swidnik, apparently prompted the regime to hold back on the use of force.

Growing Frustrations

The Military Council continues to hold the reins of power, but its members are increasingly frustrated

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in their efforts to reform the chaotic and inefficient government bureaucracies. Senior military men probably expect to play a leading political role indefinitely.

The party is wracked by dissension at the top and is unable to exert much influence at the grass roots. Conservatives pressing for a broader purge reportedly are focusing on several of Premier Jaruzelski's moderate advisers but not on Jaruzelski himself. They know that the Premier continues to enjoy the support of the senior military leadership, and that to try to remove him against his will would risk dividing seriously the very forces needed to retain control.

The increased resistance, however, may reinforce the strong position of the police and security forces. Some in these services will argue that demonstrations must be repressed forcefully to discourage others, and they might even stage provocations in order to demonstrate their willingness to crack down.

The Church appears increasingly divided, and the prospects of a more open confrontation with the regime are increasing. Some clerics believe that the Church will be the next target for repression. A number want more vigorous opposition to martial law.

Spokesmen for the regime have publicly criticized those in the Church involved in "political activities." Increased harassment of the Church would escalate public protests, intensify repression, and strengthen hardliners in the regime.

Outlook

Prospects are for an even greater level of resistance to martial law. Although the use of force may be effective in the short run, the avowed purpose of martial law--the suppression of political radicals--would be transposed into suppression of the Polish populace. This risks undermining the willingness of some in the military to participate in a crackdown.

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In addition, the regime will not again have the element of surprise that was so important in the success of the initial implementation of martial law. If Polish forces are inadequate, Moscow will feel compelled to send Soviet troops to restore order. [REDACTED]

The Soviets probably are seriously concerned by the spreading resistance in Poland and its diverse forms. While they have focused since the imposition of martial law on the longer term problems within the Polish party and economy, Moscow's attention is again being forced back to the inability of the Polish Government to eradicate highly visible demonstrations of resistance. [REDACTED]

The Soviets will press the Jaruzelski regime to employ all means at its disposal to suppress major displays of resistance quickly. If Moscow believes the situation threatens to get out of hand, it will again raise the prospect of military intervention. In any event, the survival and spread of resistance to martial law--with the prospect of more to come in the spring--means that Poland will not only be a continuing preoccupation for the Soviets, but contrary to its hopes in December, Moscow still will be faced with the unfinished business of restoring control there. [REDACTED]

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