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Memorandum from John Stein to the Director of Central Intelligence, '[Redacted] Report'

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Summary:

Translation of a classified document from the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs, providing information on: current political, socio-economic developments in the country; attitudes of the mass media, creative arts and academic circles; activities of the Roman Catholic Church; Western perspectives on Poland; and cases of disorderly conduct.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

1 December 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : John H. Stein
Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT : Report

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John H. Stein

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26pp

Intelligence Information Special Report

COUNTRY Poland/USSR

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SUBJECT

Ministry of Internal Affairs Daily Report No 1, 21 September 1981

SOURCE Documentary

Summary:

This report is a translation of a Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs document entitled "Daily Report No 1" for 21 September 1981, classified SECRET. The report provides information on:

- current political, economic, and social developments and trends in the country, workplaces, and rural areas;
- attitudes of the mass media, creative arts circles, and institutions of higher learning;
- initiatives and activities of the Roman Catholic Church;
- Western perspectives on Poland; and
- cases of disorderly conduct.

Of particular note are the reactions to the hardline manifestos issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the Soviet leadership concerning the threats to the socialist order and the challenge by Solidarity.

End of Summary

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Ministry of Internal Affairs
WARSAW, 21 September 1981

DAILY REPORT No 1

1. General Domestic Situation

During the past 2 days the situation in the country has improved slightly. The statements issued recently by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee are still a prime topic of discussion in workplaces.

Three basic types of reactions can be distinguished within the context of the emerging polarization of public opinion. First, there are the positive reactions displayed by party members, some members of industry-wide unions, administrative workers, and personnel in engineering and technical occupations; second, there are negative reactions displayed by Solidarity officials at the factory level and by most of this union's membership; third, there are the reactions of those who are undecided--older workers, women, and less active members of Solidarity.

Typical of the first category of views and reactions are opinions to the effect that the statement issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo amounts to a final warning to extremist forces, while the letter from the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government is a final warning addressed to the PPR government in view of its indecisiveness and inconsistency. It is feared that the strong words used in the Politburo statement will not be backed by equally strong action on the part of the government.

The underlying theme of these negative views and assessments is the argument that what we are dealing with is yet another attempt to intimidate the public, an attempt that is doomed to failure.

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As for the third category of reactions, it can be noted that there is a growing sense of danger; there is widespread fear of intervention.

The factory-level organizations ar the focal point of the Solidarity propaganda campaign which is aimed at engendering a climate of disapproval of the stands taken by the authorities. The regional branch organizations are taking a more moderate line in this regard, and in many cases they have been taking a wait-and-see attitude. Everyone is waiting for an official response from the National Consultative Commission. The Solidarity plant committees have been giving their support to the statement made by the National Consultative Commission [NCC] press spokesman, Janusz ONYSZKIEWICZ, but this statement is not a topic of widespread debate.

The situation in the country's individual provinces has been shaping up as follows:

WARSAW Province--During the proceedings of the Mazowsze Regional Council held on 17 September 1981 Jacek KURON, while giving his analysis of the statement released by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo, declared that Solidarity has found itself on the very threshold of confrontation. He informed the Council that at a conference of the PUWP and the coalition political parties the PUWP leadership insisted on a declaration of a state of emergency, but that the coalition parties would not give their consent to such action. Jacek KURON went on to say that in the eyes of public opinion the Union has suffered a defeat as far as its efforts to safeguard the people's living standards are concerned. In his opinion, the breakdown of the present political system means that it is necessary to build a new one that would be based on a freely elected constituent assembly or on national agreement. Solidarity extremists from the Ursus Automotive Works claim that "the people want outside intervention, for only then will it have been made clear who governs Poland--the Russians or the Poles." Moderate workers, especially those with more seniority, believe that Premier JARUZELSKI should restore order in the country by using internal

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forces only, thereby precluding outside intervention, in order to break up the union "monolith" ["gora"].

CHELM Province--There is talk among Solidarity officials here about the possibility of intervention by allied armed forces. The Regional Council [of Soldarity] did not take an official position on the Politburo statement or the CPSU letter, but it did start distributing copies of the S. BRATKOWSKI letter in workplaces.

BYDGOSZCZ Province--The following opinions are being heard in workplaces in this province:

- we can't let ourselves be intimidated--the authorities are powerless (Home Construction Combine);

- the Politburo statement is designed to protect the interests of the ruling elite;

- these interests are being defended under the banner of slogans calling for the salvation of socialism, disregarding the possibility that there might be bloodshed; the government has no plan to resolve this crisis and it should be replaced (BYDGOSZCZ Cable Factory);

- the statement issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo is a final warning to Solidarity, and decisions should be made to take concrete action as a followup to this warning; it is not possible for the authorities to come to terms with Solidarity (INOWROCLAW Chemical Works);

- the Soviet statement is valid criticism; we should be ashamed of our government and Party that they are permitting themselves with such unheard-of nonchalance to be stripped of their power (Predom-Romet Bicycle Works).

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WROCLAW Province--During a mass meeting at the Mera-Elwro Center a letter was drafted to the USSR ambassador denying the right of the Soviet Union to interfere in Poland's internal affairs;--at the Fadrom Works approval was given to the text of a letter to the workers of the Kirov Works in MOSCOW that refutes the claim that Solidarity is antisocialist and anti-Soviet. At the Wroclaw Industrial Construction Enterprise the statement issued by the Party was rated as an expression of the steadfastness of the authorities. J. ONYSZKIEWICZ's statement was given a cool reception.

GDANSK Province--There have been signs that members of the Solidarity leadership are giving serious consideration to the possibility of a confrontation and armed outside intervention. Preparations will likely be made for such an eventuality.

KRAKOW Province--On 18 September during an emergency meeting to discuss "The Situation in the Country in the Wake of the Politburo Statement and the Question of Declaring a Strike Alert in Malopolska" the Regional Council of Solidarity passed a resolution cancelling the strike readiness alert set for 21 September. In addition, alternate members of the council's presidium were appointed as a hedge against future threats, it was decided that from now on the council will meet without all members being present, considering the possibility that attempts might be made to place them under arrest, and it was resolved that in the event that Solidarity officials are arrested, their children will be placed under the care of the Church. On 19 September a mass meeting was held at the Cable Machinery Plant on the initiative of the PUWP Plant Committee, the Solidarity Plant Committee, and the industry-wide unions. A resolution was adopted which, among other things, raised objections to the language of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo statement. The resolution also objected to the Soviet statement. The text of the resolution was addressed to the government, the Sejm, and the PUWP Central Committee.

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LODZ Province--Opinions are divided among factory workers in the LODZ metropolitan area; older workers regard the letter from the CPSU Central Committee as a final warning; younger workers downplay the importance of the stand taken by the Soviet leaders, characterizing it as "saber rattling" aimed at intimidating Solidarity and ultimately removing the radicals from the union leadership.

POZNAN Province--During the debates that are going on among factory workers claims are being made that the Politburo statement will not accomplish the desired results due to the universal criticism of the government's incompetence in leading the country out of the crisis. The Solidarity Plant Committee at MOSTOSTAL in POZNAN lodged a strongly worded protest in which it accused the government of lying, spreading slander and hostile propaganda, and inciting social unrest. The Politburo statement was viewed as part of a campaign of provocation aimed at forestalling the second round of the Solidarity congress.

RADOM Province--The statements issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee are being labeled here as attempts at intimidation that will have no further consequences. Workers who are not Solidarity members believe that after the publication of these statements members of the union became less militant and began to watch what they were saying. J. ONYSZKIEWICZ's statement did not reach many of the plants in this area.

PILA Province--At the POLAM plant the statements of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee were deemed to be the final warning against the danger of allied military intervention. At the POWOGAZ works in PILA the message contained in both of these documents was greeted with contemptuous criticism.

JELENIA GORA Province--The statements of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee were viewed as harbingers of imminent confrontation and a cutoff of Soviet economic aid. Some workers, mainly those with university degrees, are calling for the isolation of Solidarity extremists like RULEWSKI and BUJAK. The work forces are becoming

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increasingly critical of both Solidarity and the government. In the long run, however, most workers regard Solidarity as their genuine representative and champion.

ZIELONA GORA Province--The Solidarity Regional Council here told the plant committees to stay calm and mount no propaganda campaign. The statement issued by the Regional Council was printed, but not distributed. On 18 September the leadership of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity Regional Council in ZIELONA GORA transferred some of the union's records and files to an unknown destination. This action coincided with an electronic sweep of the building occupied by the Regional Council in order to check for the possible presence of listening devices.

SUWALKI Province--Rank-and-file Solidarity members do not agree with the Politburo statement. They declare that they are ready to come to the union's defense. They believe that in an open conflict the military will take a neutral position. The Regional Council informed the [Solidarity] plant committees that plan directors and PUWP plant committee secretaries received instructions to place plant transport vehicles at the disposal of the Security Service on 25 September.

SLUPSK Province--The statements of the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee are viewed here as meaningless in view of the failure to take any corresponding actions to back them up. The Politburo statement was praised by members of the Party and the industry-wide labor unions.

KALISZ Province--Regional officials dismiss the possibility of allied military intervention. They are convinced that the military will refuse to take part in any action against the general public. The average citizen is terrified by the present situation.

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SIERADZ Province--Tensions have been mounting here, and it is feared that a confrontation is imminent. Solidarity is being charged more and more often with taking actions that aggravate the internal situation. The workers, with women at the forefront, regardless of their party or union affiliations, are saying that they want peace and improvement in the supply situation. There has been no upsurge in activity among Solidarity officials in workplaces.

RZESZOW Province--Factory workers are taking no interest in the political games being played by the Solidarity leadership. Union activists are convinced that "the statements of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee are an attempt at intimidation that will not be backed by concrete action."

KATOWICE Province--Solidarity officials here believe that an attempt has been made to isolate Solidarity from the rest of society before the convening of the second round of the Solidarity congress. They are critical of the performance of the mass media, claiming that, "they have acquiesced to the line propagated by the print media in the socialist countries."

KOSZALIN Province--The presidium of the Solidarity Maritime Regional Council issued a communique in which it stated that "the statement of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo contains slanderous remarks and amounts to an attempt to test the public's powers of resistance to demagoguery." The authors of the communique maintain that the message to the peoples of Eastern Europe is an affirmation of the principles of internationalism.

LUBLIN Province--Members of the Branch Party Organization No 10 attached to the AGROMET PUWP Plant Committee in LUBLIN launched an initiative condemning the statement of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and passed a resolution which contains, inter alia, a statement to the effect that, "the statement of the PUWP Politburo is making no constructive contribution, and is serving only to inflame the situation in our plant."

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ZAMOSC Province--On 18 September the ZAMOSC Interfactory Founding Committee held a meeting during which it was concluded that Solidarity activists might be placed under arrest in the wake of statements issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee. It was recommended that all council members make arrangements to find themselves a stand-in who is not already serving as member of the Interfactory Founding Committee or the plant committee. They were instructed to keep this information secret.

2. Events Having an Impact on the Situation in Workplaces

The situation that arose in the wake of the publication of the statements of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo, the CPSU Central Committee, and the Soviet Government has done nothing to slow down the activities of regional and plant branches of Solidarity. Caucuses with delegates to the National Solidarity Congress are still being held, mass meetings, rallies, and conferences are being organized to discuss supply and self-management issues, and the regional councils are deliberating.

a) Critical Workplaces

On 19 September workers of the K. Swierczewski Precision Engineering Products Factory held a rally during which a stand was taken on the statements made by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government. A decision was made to issue an appeal in which the Soviet statement was described as an insulting provocation directed against the Polish nation. It was further stressed that the passage in the [PPR] Constitution, to which reference was made in the Soviet statement, was incorporated into the Constitution by authorities who have since been discredited and without the advice or consent of the people. A similar rally was held at the WARSAW Metallurgical Works.

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b) Other Workplaces

On 21 September at the Olimpia Knitted Goods Plant in LODZ the local Solidarity organization plans to organize a 1-hour warning strike in order to force an improvement in the supply situation.

3. The Situation in Rural Areas

On 20 September a harvest festival was celebrated in WOLIN (SZCZECIN Province) that was organized by the Provincial Council of NSZZ Solidarity and attended by Bishop K. MAJDANSKI of SZCZECIN, the chairman of NSZZ Solidarity regional organization for Western Pomerania, M. JURCZYK, delegations from GORZOW, PILA KOSZALIN, and SLUPSK provinces, and representatives of local authorities. A total of about 6,000 people took part in these festivities. The celebrants assembled in front of the ruins of a local church where they were welcomed by the local pastor, Father MAJEWICZ, and they then moved on to an NSZZ amphitheater where Bishop MAJDANSKI blessed the standards of the Solidarity Provincial Council and the local ZBOWiD club.

In his address M. JURCZYK made a reference to the statement of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo, claiming that the authorities still have not paid their debts for the mistakes of previous years and now they are getting ready to use armed force against the workers. "How could we allow things to reach the point where a soldier may have to fire on his worker father? We want dignity and equality. We do not want to overthrow socialism and we do not want to take power. We want to live in harmony with the peoples of the Soviet Union, but we will not agree to the trading relationships that now exist with that country. Workers self-management and local self-government are now the most important issue on Solidarity's agenda. The authorities are weak because they do not enjoy the respect of the public. We have to have authorities who enjoy this respect, and therefore new elections to the Sejm should be called."

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Also participating in these festivities was J. KULAJ, chairman of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity District Founding Committee, who stated, inter alia, that, "at the present time Poland has no leaders who accomplish anything, rather they merely govern. So if these leaders do not want to do what the people want them to do, the people have the right to elect leaders who will fulfill their demands."

After mass was said, the chairman of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity Provincial Council, T. BAUMGART, asked that the NSZZ Solidarity standard bearers representing the Western Pomeranian Region and the private farmers come forward and parade by the assembly as a symbol of the new worker-peasant alliance. He then added that, although he was invited, the governor of SZCZECIN Province failed to show up for these ceremonies, which attests to the attitude of government authorities toward private farmers.

A meeting of the presidium of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity District Founding Committee is supposed to be held at the Peasant House in WARSAW on 21 September at 1000 hours.

a) Private Farming Sector

On 19 September at 0800 hours 10 members of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity blocked the entrance to the ZAKROCZYM Township Office (WARSAW Province) and refused to allow employees and citizens on official business to enter the building. This was their way of protesting against the charging of interest on the unpaid third installment of the land tax. Action was taken to put a stop to this incident and to identify its instigators and participants.

Farmer members of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity in the township of BATORZ (TARNOBRZEG Province) announced that on 23 September they will stage a protest against the failure of local authorities to meet their demands concerning personnel changes in some plants that provide services to farmers and also against the poor supply situation. This protest will consist of their refusal to deliver any farm produce to procurement points and marketplaces.

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The NSZZ Solidarity organization at the KRASNIK Ball Bearing Factory plans to join this strike. It has announced that on 23 September it will stage a sympathy strike to show its solidarity with the farmers from BATORZ. For the past several days leaflets have been distributed in this township that bear the signature of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity and urge farmers not to deliver produce to procurement points.

On 20 September in WLOCLAWEK there was a meeting of the National Council of Women and the provincial council of the NSZZ Peasants Solidarity. The government's agricultural policies were criticized during this meeting. Officials of the Peasants Solidarity were critical of the statement issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo, and they issued their own statement on this matter.

4. The Situation in the Mass Media and in Creative Arts Circles

a) Press, Radio and Television

The announcement that the Sejm would convene from 24 to 25 September generated a great deal of interest in Polish journalist circles. There is continuing speculation about the possibility that martial law might be declared. Among the leaders of the Polish Journalists Association the opinion has been voiced that this would be a horrendous blunder, since it would lead to a general strike, civil war, and intervention. According to those who hold these views, the authorities should not continue using the tactic of escalating threats, rather they should be exploiting the mistakes that are being made by Solidarity, which on many issues is its "own worst enemy."

On 18 September a meeting was held at the home of Krzysztof SLIWINSKI attended by, inter alia, S. BRATKOWSKI, B. GEREMEK, and T. MAZOWIECKI. During this meeting there was a discussion of the question of whether or not to draft a "letter from Polish intellectuals" containing a dramatic appeal that would urge both sides to come to their senses. It was decided that this document would be "objective" and that the contents would be similar to the letter of 20 August 1980.

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Journalists working for the national press take the view that there is dissension in the party-government leadership over the issue of whether or not a decision might be made to declare martial law. Some are of the opinion that in case there is a rise in the level of tension, the site of the deliberations of the second round of the Solidarity congress will be moved to the grounds of the [GDANSK] shipyards, as a result of which the congress might somehow be automatically transformed into a "second power center."

Some pro-Solidarity members of the journalist profession believe that the statements of the PUWP Central Committee Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee serve to reinforce radical tendencies in the ranks of Solidarity officials. This is borne out, in their opinion, by what has transpired during the work of the Solidarity Congress Task Force XI which is concerned with relations with other sociopolitical forces. They claim that one of the platform documents drawn up by this task force is not so much political in nature as it is downright ideological. This document portrays Solidarity as a kind of leftist political party and rules out the possibility of any room for a dialogue with the PUWP. According to these opinions, the radicals are putting together even more extremist plans in preparation for the second round of the Solidarity congress, plans that amount to an open challenge to the Party.

The prevailing mood among employees of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs is still characterized by a certain amount of tension in connection with the refusal on the part of the Radio Committee to organize a rally on RTV premises (scheduled for 21 September) that would be attended by L. WALESA. As a result of the operational measures that were taken and the firm opposition of the senior members of the Radio Committee, on 20 September WALESA cancelled his scheduled appearance at this meeting and postponed it until a later date. He explained his decision to cancel by citing the current situation in the country and the preparations for the second round of the Solidarity congress. The Secretariat of the National Consultative Commission sent a telex to the RTV Solidarity Commmittee concerning this matter.

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The RTV Solidarity organization briefed employees on the resolution adopted by the National Coordinating Commission on 15 September concerning the holding of a referendum on 24 September on the question of a possible strike action.

The referendum on this question was held on 18 September at the Polish Radio Center in KATOWICE. Out of a total of 280 employees, 176 persons cast ballots on this referendum. There were 136 votes in favor of a possible strike.

Some Solidarity activists at RTV are of the opinion that the decision calling the Sejm into session prior to the second round of the Solidarity national congress and the debate on the Law on Enterprises and Self-Management are "just as much of a provocation" as the communique issued by the Public Prosecutors Office announcing the conclusion of the investigation of the events in BYDGOSZCZ. According to those who espouse these views, this will make a shambles of the efforts dedicated to restoring the prestige of the Sejm in the eyes of public opinion.

Task Force XIII of the NSZZ Solidarity National Congress met in LODZ from 17 to 19 September. This session was attended by 22 persons (50 percent of those invited). The deliberations of this task force meeting were devoted in their entirety to consideration of the question of Solidarity's access to the mass media and, in particular, to spelling out a concrete position on this issue and drafting an appropriate statement. Moderate forces dominated the debate on this subject, even though certain radical elements also spoke out. At the end of the meeting three committees were formed to deal with the following issues: socialization of the mass media, trade union access to the mass media, and ways and means of realizing these goals. The task force also drafted an open letter to Premier JARUZELSKI stating its concern over the situation in Polish Radio and Television.

A representative of Polish RTV informed those in attendance at this meeting that military specialists and civilians have lately been receiving training at the WARSAW Transmitter Stations Center, in the operation of radio and television equipment, and that a TV broadcast station had been installed in a Polish Armed Forces facility in the WARSAW area.

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During this meeting discussants also raised the issue of jamming radio broadcasts, especially programs broadcast by Radio Free Europe. It was decided that a case could be made for demanding the shutdown of jamming installations by claiming that these installations are obsolete and create a dangerous working environment for those who operate them. Those in attendance took the view that the closing of these installations would make a major contribution toward the conservation of energy.

b) Creative Arts Circles

On 18 September at the headquarters of the Polish Academy of Sciences in WARSAW a meeting was held between members of this institution's Solidarity chapter and delegates to the First Congress of the NSZZ Solidarity. The meeting was attended by B. GEREMEK, and in responding to questions he stated that, "confrontation with the authorities is impossible." In his judgement the national government is too weak to instigate a test of strength. GEREMEK was of the opinion that the message to the workers of Eastern Europe was not political in nature, and its contents could be interpreted solely in a philosphical context. Persons who attended this meeting claimed that it failed to live up to their hopes, since they had expected more fundamental pronouncements.

c) Institutions of Higher Education

The national congress of the Academic Community Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity was held in POZNAN on 19 and 20 September with 60 persons in attendance. The delegates to this congress discussed, among other things, the laws on higher education, workers self-management, principles of university financial management, the issue of the awarding bonuses at the discretion of university rectors, and salary increases for faculty members. With regard to the laws on higher education the assembled delegates passed a resolution in which it is stated that the National Consultative Commission of the Academic Community NCCAC "takes the position that all changes made by the ministry and the government should be repealed." In this resolution the NCCAC calls upon the Solidarity Committee at the Jagiellonian University in KRAKOW to maintain strike readiness

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until 24 September. At the same time it advocates the use of all statutory measures (including the calling of a strike) in the event draft laws are submitted to the Sejm with amendments. The resolution also contained instructions for Solidarity committees in the universities that are concerned with encouraging committees to become involved in the deliberations of individual university senates so that they can lobby for the unamended version of the draft laws, the waging of a public information campaign on government methods of operation, manipulative practices being employed by the ministry, and the formation of a protest campaign coordinating committee in WARSAW that would be responsible for directing a possible future strike action.

As for university financial management, the NCCAC decided that this problem should be addressed by the Economics Academy in POZNAN. On the self-management issue the NCCAC took the stand that workers self-management bodies should not be established in institutions of higher education. This was caused by the fear of unbalancing Solidarity's position and decreasing its influence on higher education.

A strike alert is still on at the M. Copernicus University in TORUN. This action was supported by the university senate. The Executive Council of the PUWP University Committee also lodged a protest against the amendments to the law on higher education . The Institutional Council [Rada Zakladowa] of the Nauka Polish Teachers Union resolved that if this problem is not resolved by 30 September in line with the Union's [Solidarity] position, it will engage in other forms of protest after this deadline.

On 18 September on the grounds of Poznan Polytechnic leaflets issued by this institution's Independent Students Association presidium were distributed which protested against the amendments to the draft law on higher education. On the same day a joint meeting of the Independent Students Association presidium and the Solidarity Council was held in order to make decisions on joint actions. Consideration was given to the possibility of staging a sit-in strike. A final decision on this matter is supposed to be made at the beginning of this week.

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Members of the College Committee of the Independent Students Association at the Higher Pedagogical School in RZESZOW declared a strike alert by way of a protest against the amendments of the draft law on higher education.

On 18 September at the Economics Academy in POZNAN an emergency meeting of the school's delegates to the regional Solidarity conference was held in response to the statement issued by the PUWP Central Committee Politburo. The assembled participants passed a resolution in which they expressed their profound concern over the sharp deterioration in the political situation as a result of the one-sided coverage given to the proceedings and resolutions of the Solidarity First Congress by party and government authorities. The resolution also asserts that the resolutions passed by the Solidarity congress aim toward a genuine democratization of public life and it objects to the Politburo's assessment that the Congress has broken the GDANSK, SZCZECIN, and JASTRZEBIE accords, the attempts to break up the Union and sow discord in society at large, and the charges accusing Solidarity of having instigated and organized anti-Soviet campaigns.

5. Initiatives and Actions of the Roman Catholic Church

On 19 and 20 September, during various religious ceremonies around the country (confirmations, visitations, blessings of Solidarity standards, harvest masses) 25 bishops made public appearances and delivered 28 sermons. Some of the problems discussed by the bishops included human labor, the propagation of atheism, the role of the mass media, and so on. There were no reported cases of disorderly conduct during any of these ceremonies. In many churches around the country a letter from the bishops on the occasion of World Mass Media Week and the communique from the 180th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate were read to congregations, and the latest encyclical of Pope John Paul II was also discussed.

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On 20 September a religious ceremony was held at the Stomil stadium in OLSZTYN to bless the harvest and the standard of the Solidarity organization in the Mazuria-Warmia region. Taking part in the ceremony were: the Primate of Poland, Archbishop GLEMP, Bishop OBLAK, clergymen from OLSZTYN, the aktiv of the Provincial Founding Committee of the Private Farmers NSZZ Solidarity, and officials of the NSZZ Solidarity organization from OLSZTYN. At the high point of the ceremony approximately 20,000 people were in attendance. A field service was celebrated by Archbishop GLEMP, who delivered a homily to suit the occasion. In reference to the country's present situation he appealed for the preservation of law and order and public tranquility, stressing the need of "discordant social groups" for understanding and reconciliation. "In spite of tensions we have preserved the peace without resorting to violence, which is usually referred to as 'confrontation.' However, the voices of the working world are beginning to be joined by other voices, unrestrained outcries, which, consciously or unconsciously, are unjustly presenting a distorted picture of the nation's true feelings and aspirations. Justice cannot be achieved through injustice; and are we really unaware of the fact that such wrongs and errors have been committed within the ranks of the grass-roots renewal movement? It is wrong to harm the good reputation of any man. In the heat of battle one forgets that one's opponent is entitled to his self-respect, and this self-respect may not be violated at the price of spreading falsehoods and exaggerating defects and mistakes. Inasmuch as the renewal movement has proclaimed that it derives inspirartion from the teachings of Christianity, I as Primate am entitled to remind it of the Christian tenet of "love thy neighbor," which goes so far as to say that one must love one's enemies. This is the Christian way and the Christian proposition for breaking the "vicious circle." Referring to the encyclical of Pope John Paul II entitled "Laborem Exercens" (On Human Labor) Archbishop GLEMP made the following statement: "The moral concept of work in terms of bearing personal responsibility for tasks performed is just as important now as it ever was. In other words, by working do I extend my hand to receive the money which I have honestly earned by putting in a full day's work, or am I merely grasping for wages when I have spent almost the whole day standing idle?" He went on to say that the only way out of this crisis is through work.

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After saying mass, Archbishop GLEMP personally blessed the harvest and the standard of the NSZZ Solidarity.

On 20 September at the Cistercian Cloister in MOGILA (KRAKOW Province) a sermon was delivered by Cardinal RUBIN, Prefect of the Congregation of the Eastern Rite, who was on a visit there. Referring to the cross, he said that in the church of his youth on "the frontiers of Poland the cross was a symbol and reminder of the victory over those who are the enemies of the followers of the cross. Today, the church of my childhood no longer exists. It has been suppressed."

Yesterday, at the Stal stadium of the Railroad Workers Sports Association in RZESZOW Bishop TOKARCZUK, Ordinary of the Diocese of PRZEMYSL, blessed the standard of the Plant Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity chapter at the Rzeszow Communications Equipment Plant. In his sermon he mentioned the domestic situation and remarked that "we are now faced with a wave of mounting tensions." He urged the audience not to waste any "opportunities to put their own houses in order so that order, liberty, and the dignity of man will reign supreme in this house in place of violence, extortion, deceit, injustice, and the selfish pursuit of purely private goals." He went on to say: "reactionary forces would like to break our spirits; they would like to wear us out psychologically. We are indeed worn out, but we must always bear in mind the high stakes we are playing for. This is why we cannot allow ourselves to become fearful of attempts to intimidate us or interfere with us, since we are not threatening anyone; preserve your trust in unity, self-control, and prudence so that you will ultimately realize your goal." This ceremony was attended by 20,000 persons.

On 20 September in the parish church in JAROSLAW (PRZEMYSL Province) Bishop BLASZKIEWICZ, Suffragan of the PRYZEMYSL Diocese, blessed a Solidarity standard. In his sermon he stressed that "the standards of Solidarity sprang forth from the blood of workers spilled in GDANSK and POZNAN, from the blood of 13-year old Romek [victim of 1956 POZNAN disturbances], from the longing for justice, and from the strong will of the people."

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6. Western Perspectives on Poland

a) Reports from Abroad

The U.S. Department of State believes that only a substantial improvement in Poland's economic situation and, as foreseen by the State Department, the establishment of closer ties of cooperation between the authorities and the Church will create a realistic basis for curbing the influence of the radical wing of the NSZZ Solidarity.

According to State Department forecasts, the polarization process within the ranks of Solidarity is going to accelerate, and this process will be furthered by the open attacks which the union's radical wing is mounting against the government and the raising of new demands for the participation of Solidarity in running the country. Under these circumstances the State Department expects that some time in the immediate future a renewed effort will be made to establish closer relations between the government and the Church, which, in the cost of concessions made by the authorities in favor of its interests, will support the offensive against KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee--Workers Defense Committee]. At the present time the "disarmament" of Solidarity by eliminating the influence wielded by KOR, KPN Confederation for an Independent Poland , and then the "hotheads" like J. RULEWSKI is the most urgent task facing the authorities, since this will enable them to "save face" in terms of their relations with the USSR.

Right now, the Polish authorities are not strong enough to engage in an open confrontation with Solidarity. However, the key prerequisite for strengthening the hand of the authorities over the long run is an improvement in the country's economic situation, especially in terms of the consumer goods supply situation, which "would take the wind out of the radicals' sails."

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b) Views and Comments of Diplomats and Foreign Journalists in Poland

The concerns of diplomats and correspondents from the capitalist countries continue to revolve around the following theme: will the government make a decision to take firmer action against Solidarity and, if so, what form will this action take? And, above all, will the government decide to take such action before the opening of the second round of the Union's National Congress.

Compared with the trend of opinion that prevailed within these circles over the past few days, when a test of strength confrontation was considered to be a very realistic possibility, Western observers are now taking a more cautious approach to their forecasts of future developments in our internal situation.

According to some of the assessments being made in these circles, a critical role will be played by public opinion, which is divided but is showing no signs of hostility to the opposition [i.e., Solidarity et al]. Rather it continues to react to events in a cautious manner.

The intelligence residencies in NATO embassies are showing an increasingly stronger interest in the military situation in Poland, especially in the rotation of Soviet Army units, which they assume might be used to reinforce Soviet military forces stationed in Poland and near its borders. The intelligence residencies are also taking an interest in the manner and extent to which military personnel are being put to work in the coal mining industry, the economic benefits that are being reaped as a result, and in the event that this program is expanded the possible impact on the combat potential of the PAF.

7. Other Signs of Hostile Activities

In the early morning hours of 18 September in CYBINKA (ZIELONA GORA Province) Jan KUZMA (age 20, member of Solidarity) and Miroslaw CZYGALA (age 17), being under the influence of alcohol, used oil-base paint to paint over the public information

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display case of the local Township-Municipal PUWP Committee. This was their way of protesting party propaganda slandering Solidarity.

On the same day as yet unidentified lawbreakers painted the slogan "Down with the communists!" on the building of the PUWP Municipal Committee in LECZYCA (PLOCK Province).

The persons responsible for desecrating the monument in ZEROCIN (BIALSKO-PODLASKA Province) to Security Service and Citizens Militia officers killed in the line of duty have been identified as four boys between the ages of 12 and 14. They explained that they destroyed the monument because they did not think it was right to have erected a monument in the honor of Citizens Militia and Security Service officers. They said that it should have been dedicated to Home Army soldiers as the only force which represented the interests of the Polish nation.

On 17 September a large number of leaflets and posters of an anti-Soviet nature were distributed in GORZOW WIELKOPOLSKI and SIEDLCE. The theme of this material was the anniversary of 17 September 1939 and was signed by NSZZ Solidarity.

8. Typical Cases of Disoderly Conduct

On 20 September two persons responsible for starting a brawl at the "Mikrus" bar and assaulting other citizens were being held at the Citizens Militia Station II in ZABRZE. A group of approximately 30 young people gathered in front of the station, demanded the release of the persons being detained, and threatened to storm the station. The persons being detained were released and the crowd dispersed.

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On 20 September in SZCZECIN a group of several dozen young men wearing black jackets and motorcycle helmets and armed with sticks and clubs gathered together. They were planning on beating up pupils of the Maritime High School by way of revenge for a fight that taken place on the previous day between pupils of this school and members of a young men's Volunteer Work Brigade. Citizens Militia Motorized Reserve forces intervened and dispersed this group.

On the same day in PIEKARY SLASKIE (KATOWICE Province) at approximately 2100 hours a fight broke out between a group of young people on their way home from a discotheque and residents of the Mineworkers House. Altogether approximately 200 people were involved in this fight. Two miners' houses and a vegetable stand were demolished and windows were broken in the administrative building of a housing cooperative. The damage was set at about 300,000 zlotys. Order was restored by a large force of Citizens Militia officers using their service truncheons and [tear] gas. Two ringleaders and six other persons involved in this incident were arrested.

On 18 September at 1900 hours the Citizens Militia Station in PLONSK (CIECHANOW Province) was entered by a resident of that town, Stanislaw GORCZYCA, who took a bottle of denatured alcohol out of his pocket, broke it open and doused himself with the contents, and then proceeded to set himself on fire. Owing to the immediate assistance offered by the officers on duty GORCZYCA suffered no injuries. He was hospitalized and placed under observation.

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