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POLISH SITUATION -- SOLIDARITY;  
PARTY/GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH

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SOLIDARITY:

THE MARCH 19 BYDGOSZCZ INCIDENT GREATLY STRENGTHENED THE HAND OF RADICALS WITHIN SOLIDARITY'S LEADERSHIP VIS-A-VIS WALESA'S MORE MODERATE APPROACH. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SOLIDARITY'S TEMPORARILY INCENSED AND GALVANIZED RANK-AND-FILE, RADICALS WERE ABLE TO PUSH THROUGH THE GENERAL STRIKE THREAT. BUT WALESA STAYED ON TOP OF THE RADICALS'

WAVE AND TO SOME EXTENT TEMPERED IT; ONCE IT SUBSIDED AND AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED WITH THE GOVERNMENT, HE FACED THE RADICALS DOWN AND NOW HAS EMERGED STRONGER AND LESS BEHOLDEN TO THEM THAN EVER BEFORE.

PARTY-GOVERNMENT:

AS DID RADICALS IN SOLIDARITY, CONSERVATIVE HARDLINERS CONCENTRATED IN THE PARTY-STATE AND SECURITY APPARATUSES EXPLOITED THE RYDGOSZCZ INCIDENT FOR TEMPORARY POLITICAL GAIN. KANIA-JARUZELSKI FACED THEM DOWN, BUT WERE ABLE TO PRESERVE THEIR MODERATE APPROACH ONLY BY DEPENDING IN LARGE MEASURE ON PRESSURE FROM THE PARTY'S RADICALIZED GRASS-ROOTS. KANIA-JARUZELSKI CAME OUT OF THE MARCH 29-30 CENTRAL PLENUM AHEAD OF THEIR HARDLINE COLLEAGUES, BUT THEY ARE NOW THEMSELVES UNDER GREATER PRESSURE THAN BEFORE FROM THE PARTY'S RANK-AND-FILE TO MOVE IN A REFORMIST DIRECTION.

TO A MUCH GREATER DEGREE THAN WALESA, MOREOVER, KANIA-JARUZELSKI ALSO HAVE HAD CONSTANTLY TO LOOK OVER THEIR SHOULDERS AT MOSCOW. BOTH BECAUSE OF KANIA'S-JARUZELSKI'S IOU'S TO PARTY RADICALS AND BECAUSE OF THE WAY MOSCOW OPERATES, KANIA-JARUZELSKI TODAY DO NOT LOOK OVERALL STRONGER THAN BEFORE THE RECENT PLENUM -- DESPITE HAVING PREVAILED OVER THEIR HARDLINE OPPONENTS. IF NOT RESISTED BY KANIA-JARUZELSKI, THE RADICAL MAJORITY IN THE POLISH PARTY CONSTITUTES A TRIP-WIRE FOR MOSCOW. BUT KANIA-JARUZELSKI HAVE BEEN NEITHER LEADING NOR RESISTING THE MAJORITY, BUT RATHER RESPONDING TO IT AND RELYING ON ITS PRESSURE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HARDLINERS.

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THE KANIA REGIME APPEARS TODAY TO HAVE LOST MUCH OF MOSCOW'S CONFIDENCE. THIS REPRESENTS A MAJOR DANGER FOR POLAND AND LEAVES FEW OPTIONS FOR PREVENTING THE APPLICATION OF THE ULTIMATE SANCTION -- FULL-SCALE SOVIET INTERVENTION. KANIA'S CHOICES RANGE FROM ACQUIESCENCE TO THREATS OF MASSIVE RESISTANCE.

MOSCOW HAD ONCE HOPED THAT THE KANIA REGIME WOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP THE POLISH CRISIS WITHIN ACCEPTABLE BOUNDS. INDEED, THE SOVIETS DISPLAYED FAR GREATER TOLERANCE THAN PERHAPS EVEN THEY HAD THOUGHT POSSIBLE. THEY EVEN COULD HAVE RECONCILED THEMSELVES

TO THE EXISTENCE OF AN INDEPENDENT POLISH TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. SOVIET HOPES RESTED ON:

. -- KANIA'S REPEATEDLY STATED LOYALTY TO THE WARSAW PACT AND HIS COMMITMENT TO USE FORCE IN POLAND IF THE SITUATION DEMANDED; AND

. -- THE PRESENCE IN THE POLITBURO OF SUCH PRO-SOVIET HARDLINERS AS OLSZOWSKI, WHO PROVIDED BOTH A MEASURE OF CONTROL OVER THE POLISH SECURITY APPARATUS AND A GUARANTEE AGAINST A RUNAWAY LIBERALIZATION.

GENERAL JARUZELSKI'S APPOINTMENT AS PREMIER IN FEBRUARY WAS SEEN AS PROOF THAT THE POLES WOULD NOT SHRINK FROM TAKING FORCEFUL ACTION. THERE HAD BEEN PLEDGES TO BREZHNEV BY KANIA TO THIS EFFECT IN OCTOBER AND AGAIN AT THE DECEMBER 5 PACT SUMMIT. MOSCOW'S EXPECTATIONS, HOWEVER, SOON BEGAN TO ERODE WHEN JARUZELSKI MADE NEW CONCESSIONS TO FARMERS, STUDENTS, AND THE WORKERS. TWO WEEKS AGO PRESSURES BY OLSZOWSKI AND OTHER HARDLINERS TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW IN THE AFTERMATH OF BYDGOSZCZ FAILED WHEN JARUZELSKI REPORTEDLY THREATENED TO RESIGN.

THE CHURCH:

THE CHURCH IN MANY WAYS IS NOT ONLY THE MOST INFLUENTIAL ELEMENT IN POLISH POLITICS, BUT ALSO THE MOST MYSTERIOUS. PRESUMABLY THE CHURCH FAVORED THE RESULTS OF THE MARCH 29-30 PARTY PLENUM -- INSOFAR AS IT RESULTED IN A COMPROMISE FAVORING THE KANIA-LED MODERATES -- AND THE MARCH 30 SOLIDARITY-GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT. BUT THE CHURCH IS BASICALLY A CONSERVATIVE FORCE WITH MUCH MORE TO LOSE THAN TO GAIN SHOULD THE CURRENT STATUS QUO CHANGE.

THE CHURCH WANTS TO PRESERVE BOTH ITS OWN AS WELL AS SOLIDARITY'S GAINS. IT WANTS TO AVOID A MASSIVE BACKLASH FROM THE SOVIETS. WHILE IT IS NOT INIMICAL TO FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION, IT KNOWS THAT TOO MUCH TOO FAST THREATENS WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.

THERE ARE SOME INTIMATIONS OF DIFFERENCES AMONG CHURCHMEN OVER WHAT THE BALANCE SHOULD NOW BE AND IN

WHAT DIRECTION IT MIGHT BE MOVED. THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS THAT SOME IN THE CHURCH HIERARCHY MIGHT BE WILLING TO SEE SOME SACRIFICE OF INDIVIDUAL KOR MEMBERS AND OTHER DISSIDENTS -- AS LONG AS IT WERE NOT BRUTAL -- IN ORDER TO KEEP THE SOVIETS OUT. BUT IT IS NOT KNOWN HOW CREDIBLE THESE INDICATIONS ARE.

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