

~~Top Secret~~

## POLAND

*Events of the past week provide convincing evidence that the accommodation reached between the regime and the Solidarity union is not substantially reducing the tensions that run throughout Polish society.*

Clumsy and arbitrary actions by regional party and government officials, such as those by the provincial governor in Czestochowa, and by local union officials are causing new local confrontations which gain national attention.

Many professional and other groups, including the health and education workers who held a sit-in strike in Gdansk, have their own problems and complaints that they want the regime to address. These groups have been encouraged by the workers' success and are getting support from other groups, such as the students who expect to join these professions.

Neither the regime nor the union movement is sufficiently united that their leadership can count on disciplined compliance from the rank and file. Both sides are thus being faced with the difficult problem of having to cooperate to resolve local conflicts without compromising themselves in the eyes of their followers.

As a consequence, regime and union leaders find themselves preoccupied with local issues at the very time that they need to be working together on the longer term programs to deal with economic and sociopolitical problems. Without such programs, there will be a constant risk of local conflicts turning into national confrontations. There also is the ever present danger that leaders on either side could lose control to more radical elements who would be more inclined toward a direct confrontation.

For the moment, however, the forces seeking compromise continue to prevail. The unrest in Gdansk has apparently been resolved by regime willingness to grant pay increases. In Czestochowa, the conflict may soon end; the provincial governor who caused the labor unrest by his harassment of Solidarity has offered to resign.

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The leadership of Solidarity will meet tomorrow in Szczecin to discuss a coordinated strategy toward the regime. Union leader Walesa is concerned that the regional unions are unilaterally using the strike weapon too frequently. He would like to see strikes used only as a last resort.

Walesa, however, will find it difficult to convince some of his colleagues of the wisdom of such a course. In the past, he has argued that the strength of the union movement lies at the regional level and that union leaders in the field know best the problems they face.

#### Soviet Statement

In the first public reference to Poland by a senior Soviet official since the Supreme Court's decision on 10 November, Leonid Zamyatin, Chief of the Central Committee's International Information Department, reiterated on Sunday past Soviet and East European criticism of alleged foreign interference in Polish affairs.

Although he did not refer specifically to the registration of Solidarity, the tenor of Zamyatin's remarks reflected Moscow's intensifying concern about the union's growing power. He warned that "hostile elements" both outside and within Poland were instigating the formation of "certain structural units" and were "structurally and legally" promoting opposition to the current socialist system.

The head of the Polish Central Committee's Department of Press, Radio, and Television was in Moscow at the end of last week to consult with officials of the Soviet Central Committee's Propaganda Department. The demands of the new trade unions for a relaxation of censorship in Poland were almost certainly a major topic in the discussions.

#### Aid by Western Unions to Solidarity

Fragmentary reports continue to indicate that Solidarity is receiving aid from unions in the West. Although the size or importance of the aid cannot be determined, it gives some substance to Soviet claims of Western "interference."

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In Sweden, a member of the major Confederation of Trade Unions recently informed [REDACTED] that the confederation planned to provide Solidarity with several thousand dollars, which the Poles hoped to use to pay for printing equipment. The confederation also has sent a delegation to Poland and has arranged meetings between leaders of Solidarity and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. [REDACTED]

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