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### Special Analysis

#### **EASTERN EUROPE: New Directions for Opposition**

*Dissident groups in Eastern Europe are adopting new tactics and taking up new issues to win popular support and increase their influence on regime policies. Several governments have taken over issues raised by the dissidents, especially environmental problems; all have taken or threatened to take tough actions to prevent the spread of opposition activity. Nonetheless, opposition ideas may gain greater prominence in the future as a new generation comes of political age.* [REDACTED]

In Poland, Solidarity is trying to create a network of overt councils that would provide a more effective platform from which to bring pressure on the regime. A new and relatively small organization, Freedom and Peace, is winning youthful support for its opposition to military service, which is worrying the authorities. [REDACTED]

In East Germany, some of the prime movers behind the peace movement of the early 1980s have turned their attention to human rights issues. The Honecker regime is increasingly concerned about the dissidents' focus on domestic problems, circulation of petitions, and unwillingness to leave East Germany. The authorities have put an unusual amount of pressure on the Lutheran Church to distance itself from the dissidents. [REDACTED]

Environmental issues, especially after the Chernobyl' accident, provide fertile ground for dissident activity. East German authorities took the unprecedented step of reassuring the public after getting a petition complaining about the use of nuclear power. The Polish parliament also formally responded to a citizens' petition that expressed concern about nuclear power, but it reaffirmed the official line that Poland must proceed with its development program. [REDACTED]

In Hungary, opposition to the building of a dam along the border with Czechoslovakia resulted in petitions and street protests and forced the regime to step in with stiff warnings and police measures earlier this year. [REDACTED] some party members are sympathetic to the public's concern about the dam. The authorities in Budapest have also responded to members of the opposition who have expressed dismay at the fate of ethnic Hungarians in Romania. [REDACTED]

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### Increased Outside Contacts

The dissident organizations are trying to expand their contacts with each other. The most dramatic example occurred this fall when 122 dissidents from Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia signed the Budapest Appeal commemorating the 1956 Hungarian revolution. [REDACTED] all major Hungarian dissident groups were scheduled to meet secretly last week to discuss the revolution, only the second time the divergent strands of the Hungarian opposition have met to discuss a common agenda. (C NF)

Dissidents are also increasing their contacts with Western groups, such as the West German Green Party, from which the East Europeans derive encouragement, advice, and some material help. Concern about these contacts has caused the authorities to lift passports and increase surveillance. (C NF)

### Outlook

With the exception of Solidarity in Poland, most of the opposition groups remain small, divided, and isolated, but party leaders may have to pay more attention to their grievances than in the past. These groups do offer alternative solutions to a growing number of economic, social, and environmental problems; as the societies become increasingly alienated from their rulers, they may be quicker to seize on issues that could be embarrassing to the regimes; and new groups seem to arise quickly in the region during periods of change.

[REDACTED]

There is little chance any of these groups will get a direct say in politics or that the ruling parties will move toward Western-style pluralism. But younger party leaders may soon develop a better understanding of the grievances expressed by the opposition, and these issues may prove divisive within the regimes as the next generation comes to power. [REDACTED]