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January 09, 1981

SITUATION REPORT

POLAND

Solidarity and the regime appear to have hardened their positions on the issue of a five-day workweek and have taken positions on other issues that may provoke new disputes. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Solidarity's final resolution on the workweek issue dropped some of the conciliatory language contained in the earlier version, and a prominent Solidarity leader raised the possibility of strikes if workers are penalized for not working this Saturday. If an explicit strike threat is contained in the resolution, it would be the first such ultimatum by Solidarity since late November. Local Solidarity chapters are already telling workers not to show up for work this Saturday. [REDACTED]

The regime responded by taking a tough stand concerning work this Saturday but left open the possibility of future negotiations. The Ministry of Labor yesterday evening announced that workers' pay would be docked if they did not work on Saturday. At the same time, the Ministry gave local industries the authority to negotiate with workers over reduction of the workweek, thereby allowing the national authorities to sidestep the issue. The Ministry restated the acceptable options--every other Saturday off or a five-day 42.5-hour week--but excluded the possibility of a 40-hour week demanded by Solidarity. [REDACTED]

The government may hope that some local Solidarity chapters are more inclined to compromise than are the national leaders. [REDACTED] at least some elements are prepared to change their position if the authorities will agree to establish a mixed commission for negotiations and set up a timetable for moving to the shorter workweek. [REDACTED]

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Other Solidarity chapters may be slow to open negotiations, and there may be some national leaders who feel the union must stick together on this issue. At least some Solidarity leaders feel that the regime has tried to present workers with a fait accompli. One commented that the regime had arbitrarily drawn up its proposals, adding that the government had acted not as "our partner but as our opponent."

Other actions yesterday by Solidarity and the regime may help to sour the atmosphere. The Solidarity National Coordinating Commission, in a gesture of defiance, appointed the well-known dissident Jacek Kuron to a newly established committee that will plan a program of union activities and economic reform proposals. The Polish and Soviet media have labeled Kuron and his close colleagues as "antisocialist."

The regime, for its part, stepped up its criticism of Solidarity and some of its leaders. A *Trybuna Ludu* article yesterday, for the first time in recent memory, linked a close associate of Solidarity leader Walesa, Andrzej Gwiazda, with the "antisocialist" activities of Kuron and Adam Michnik, a leading figure in the Social Self-Defense Committee. Gwiazda was criticized for an interview he gave a West German newspaper in which he allegedly supported a "multiparty system."

The article, replayed on Polish television and radio, also harshly criticized the sit-in demonstrations in southern Poland and the accompanying demands for the ouster of local government and party officials as "noisy anarchy." The commentary accused some local leaders of Solidarity of organizing this pressure and added that "we must oppose these phenomena with courage."

Soviet Commentary

The Soviet media continue to take the initiative in attacking "antisocialist elements" in Poland, rather than relying on citations from the Polish press. A *Pravda* article yesterday called Michnik a "renegade" whose expressed aim is to reduce the Polish Communist Party to

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"the 'role of partner' . . . of those very forces who are seeking to destabilize its power." The *Pravda* article struck a positive note at the end, however, claiming that Michnik and his companions are foundering in their efforts and predicting that socialist Poland will continue making progress along the tested course. [REDACTED]

Radio Moscow made the same point in a Polish language broadcast to Poland yesterday, and several Soviet newspapers carried a TASS item from Warsaw on how a plenum of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society had stressed the importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance for Poland's security. An item in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on Wednesday by its London correspondent had taken a different tack--focusing on the activities of the Polish Government-in-exile and other emigre organizations there. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* said that these organizations--enjoying the hospitality of the British Government and support from the US, Canada, and West Germany--are attempting to use Solidarity to undermine the party's leading role in Polish society. Like other recent Soviet commentaries on the Polish question, however, it did not attack Solidarity itself. [REDACTED]