

P.S.C. NEWS

No. 2 May 1981 **Polish Solidarity Campaign Newsletter** 20p

THE BYDGOSZCZ CRISIS AND AFTER

Events in Poland again captured the world headlines in the last weeks of March and the first week of April. The traumatic events of that period sparked off by police violence against Solidarity activists, and followed by long and tense negotiations that brought Poland to the brink of an all out strike, and possibly civil war, the cathartic effect of the crisis on Party discipline, the threat of a split in the Solidarity leadership, and renewed rumblings of a Soviet invasion that held the whole world on tenterhooks for a full week as Warsaw Pact manoeuvres in Poland were prolonged indefinitely.

The dramatic events in Bydgoszcz, an industrial town in northern Poland, must now be well known. Farmers demanding an independent "Rural Solidarity" union had been occupying a building in Bydgoszcz belonging to the Communist-run United Peasant Party, for some time. On March 19, they were invited to raise their grievances, and some 30 representatives turned up at the Local Provincial Council meeting. After accepting a motion about the deferment of one financial item earlier on the agenda, the Council Chairman suddenly suspended the whole meeting and demanded that all should leave the building. The Solidarity delegation and some 45 members of the provincial Council refused to do this despite cajolement, threats, and special pleading by the provincial authorities, the local chief prosecutor and the police. The councillors insisted on carrying on the meeting and after six hours of intense debate and discussions drew up a joint document with the Solidarity delegates about the obligation of the Council to raise the matter again at its next meeting with the active participation of the same Solidarity delegates and peasants. While the document was being signed the police proceeded to eject the Solidarity delegates by force out of the building and into the courtyard, where three of them were beaten to unconsciousness. One of them, a 63 year old peasant, suffered considerable brain damage and there were fears for his life.

GENERAL STRIKE

This incident led to a general strike in the town of Bydgoszcz, and the immediate threat of such a strike throughout the whole country. The government and Party leaders shilly-shallied as they instituted, revoked and then revived commission reports on the Bydgoszcz incident, and argued among themselves over what policy to adopt. In common with some Western commentators they accused Solidarity of making a mountain out of a mole-hill, by threatening to engulf the whole country over one provincial incident.

Yet to Solidarity the Bydgoszcz brawl was just the tip of the iceberg. Violence against Solidarity



members and sympathisers was becoming more and more common. In Opole two students had been badly beaten and seven students protesting at their victimisation were arrested. In Katowice a Solidarity activist in the giant Steelyards was taken to hospital with a broken jaw and two broken ribs following an attack. In Warsaw policemen manhandled bus drivers wearing Solidarity armbands, and beat up one of them for complaining, while a police tear gas bomb was thrown into a shop where shop assistants also wore arm bands. In Siedlce, a member of the Solidarity regional council was attacked in his office and suffered eye damage while being

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SOLIDARNOSĆ

Solidarity With Polish Workers

SOLIDARNOSĆ

P.S.C. Diary

The first issue of PSC News met with a warm and enthusiastic response. Copies went as far afield as Canada, Australia, Scandinavia, Germany and, of course, to Warsaw, bringing back congratulations, comments on design, contents and suggestions for future issues. And in Britain we sold out. This issue will hopefully continue to provide trade unionists and all sympathisers of 'Solidarity' with information about the developments in Poland and from that, to encourage support for our brothers and sisters in Poland. An unofficial journal, 'Glos', published in Warsaw described our campaign in the following way:

"...towards the other end of the social spectrum, an organisation has been set up, called 'Polish Solidarity Campaign', which includes largely young people, standing politically somewhat left of centre and interested in the trade union movement. They understand the situation very well and are trying to get others to understand it. On January 29th they organised a very effective picket in front of the Polish Embassy. It was not a mass demonstration: about 30 people stood for some hours with banners in front of the embassy, handing out leaflets. Both the banners and the leaflets reflected a cross-section of relevant issues: 'Recognise Rural Solidarity', 'Abolish Censorship', 'Release Political Prisoners', '11 million Polish Workers Can't Be Wrong'. On February 3rd, the Polish Solidarity Campaign organised a press conference in the Polish Cultural Centre, but this was a conference organised by English people for English people. It was an honest attempt to analyse Polish problems in depth, and encourage commitment. Perhaps we should not overestimate the influence of these young people, but there is no doubt that they themselves are committed to the hilt, and that is a lot." (Glos, Issue 2, March 1981)

We have been able to increase by 1,000 copies our print run of this Newsletter, but much work remains to be done in order to strengthen ties between the British and Polish labour movements. Since the TUC's decision to recognise 'Solidarity' it set itself a target to

STATEMENT OF AIMS

PSC News is issued in order to acquaint trade unionists and other sympathisers of the Solidarity movement with the latest developments in Poland. Many of these events must seem confusing to the general British reader and we hope that this newsletter will go some way to explaining the intricacies of the transformation taking place in Poland at the present time.

As an active organisation, which has spent the last nine months trying to bring Polish and British trade unionists closer together we feel we hope the newsletter will also serve coordinate activity and information about contacts and support for Solidarity in the British labour movement.

Address for Correspondence:
PSC, 18 Mervyn Road, LONDON W5

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Send to: Treasurer PSC
18, Mervyn Road, LONDON W5

I/We
Address.....

enclose my/our annual subscription/affiliation fee of £5 for membership of the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

Please include me/us in your circulation for the PSC Newsletter.

Please send me/us "Solidarnosc" badges @ £1.00 each. I/we enclose a cheque/P.O. for £.....

raise £20,000s worth of equipment, handbooks for 'Solidarity'. The source of this small (given the TUC's means) sum will be left to individual unions to raise on a discretionary basis. The TUC also invited Bogdan Lis to visit the British trade union movement. He was carefully closeted and 'guarded' at various Trade Union offices, met the heads of unions, visited Ruskin College at Oxford etc. He was made unavailable to ordinary trade unionists, and other organisations, including ourselves, though we tried to meet him. While the PSC welcomed the belated decision of the TUC to recognise 'Solidarity', and issue the invitation to Brother Lis, we feel much more should be done at the union level. Direct exchanges of delegations, and branch to branch contact is required to establish long lasting fraternal relations.

A U.C.W. branch responded to our appeal for equipment and donated a duplicator which we shipped to Warsaw for the use of a regional branch of 'Solidarity'. The PSC also sent out circulars to all London Labour Party constituencies informing them of our work and urging them to affiliate to the campaign.

We had a contingent on the 'Hands off Polish Workers' demonstration to the Soviet Embassy. Readers may remember that this demonstration was delayed for a month due to the government's ban. Our membership voted to attend the march, but not to give it our official support since we felt that there should be no restrictions on the slogans for the march. With our banners and slogans we mustered a sizable contingent for the march.

On 31st May we are holding our Annual General Meeting where we will be assessing events in Poland, our work, and making future plans. Our activity has increased since our formation and as we have expanded our membership but we hope to increase our influence and impact on the labour movement.

Finally, we are making public for the record a copy of our correspondence and a resolution concerning the 'Focus Policy Group' to scotch any rumours implying that we have connections with them:

Copy of Letter sent to David Irving

April 15th, 1981

I am writing to you on behalf of the Polish Solidarity Campaign to inform you of the decision we have taken on April 15th, 1981, to decline your offer of collaboration. You will recall that it was you who made the approach to us, after reading in 'The Guardian' a report of our press conference launching an appeal for material aid for the Polish trade union 'Solidarity'. We told you then, verbally, that we felt that our political attitudes and areas of support were so distant that no gain could come from any joint activity. Since then, you contacted us again, with an offer to pass on to the PSC cash collected by yourself on behalf of Polish 'Solidarity'. This offer was discussed at a subsequent committee meeting of the PSC, the unanimous feeling that in view of the well-known political sympathies of yourself, and their obvious unacceptability not only to our own membership, but to 'Solidarity' in Poland we should not accept this offer. However, being a democratic organisation, we were obliged to refer the matter to our full membership for a final decision. This we did on April 15th, when the following resolution was passed:-

"The PSC resolves to have no connection whatsoever with David Irving and his 'Focus Policy Group'. We also repudiate as false the assertion made in 'Focal Point' of April 14, 1981 that the Focus Policy Group has 'established' 'contacts with 'fundraising efforts like Polish Solidarity Campaign'. The only 'contact' has been that of Mr Irving phoning our secretary asking for PSC collaboration, collaboration that PSC has at no point offered, promised, or given."

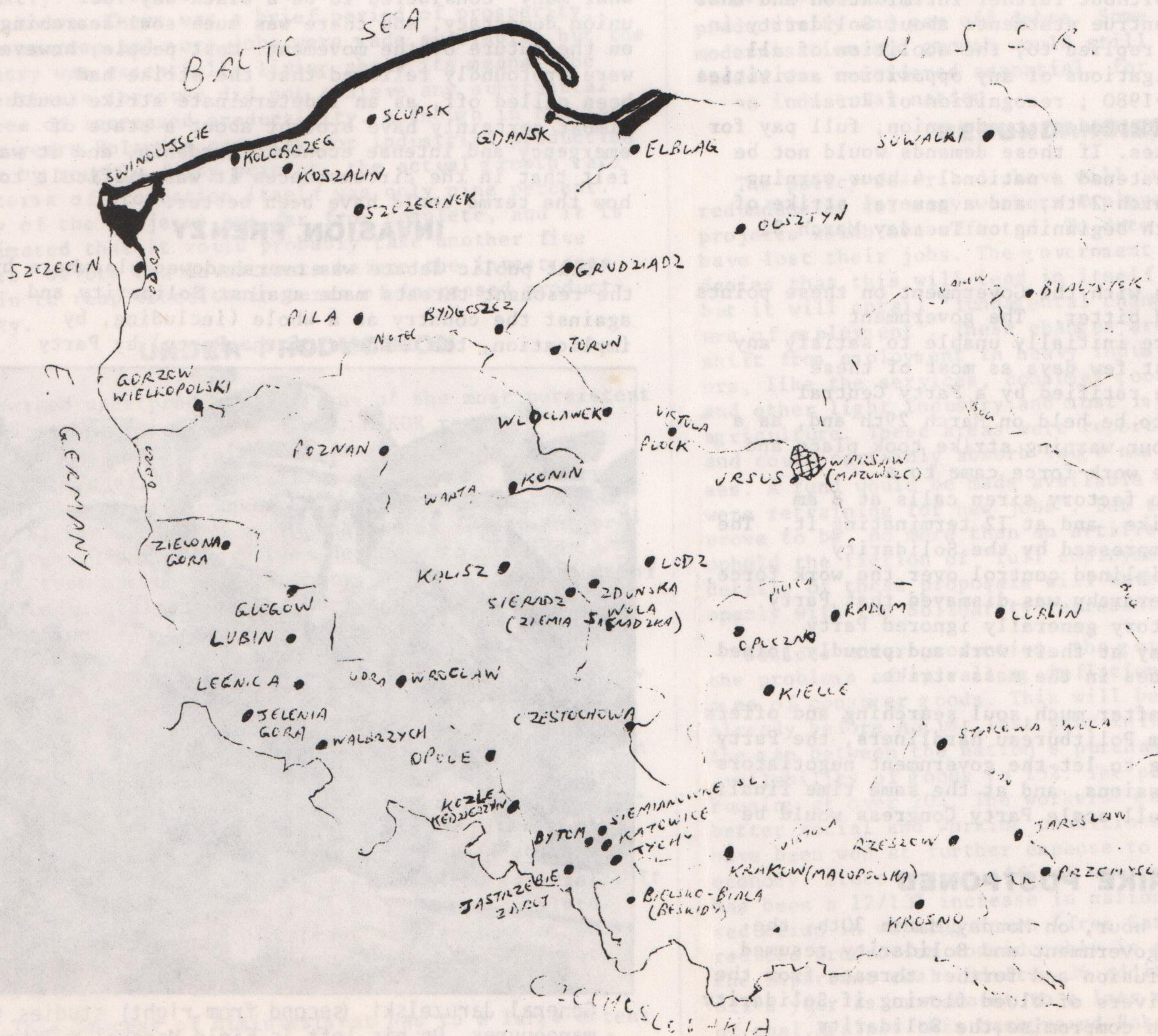
R. Blick (for PSC)

J.K. S.M.

ADDRESSES OF REGIONAL UNION COMMITTEES OF SOLIDARITY

Name	Address	Chairman	Telephone	Telex
BESKIDY	Bielsko-Biala Bohaterow Warszawy	Patrycjusz 2/18 Kosmowski	28727	035210
BIALYSTOK	Unitra-Biazet	Franciszek Golebiowski	412003	852122
BYDGOSZCZ	ul. Dworcowa 23	Jan Rulewski	220509	0562197
BYTOM	Dom Kultury "Dymitrow", Luzycka	Andrzej 7 Cierniewski	811451	033250
CZESTOCHOWA		Zbigniew Kokot	30251	037248
ELBLAG	Igo Maja 2/5	Ryszard Kalinowski	2456	
GDANSK	Hotel Morski Gdansk-Wrzeszcz Grunwaldzka 103	Lech Walesa	416234	0512184
GLOGOW	Glogow-Zukowice Huta Miedzi-Glogow	Czeslaw Dobrowolski	36683	
GORZOW	Urząd Miejski Wielkopolski Sikorskiego	Borowski	27231	044202
GRUDZIADZ	Dom Zakladu Urzadzen Okret Lotnicza 21	Jerzy Warna Przybylski	25261	
JASTRZEBIE ZDROJ	Igo Maja 23	Tadeusz Jedynak	62074	
JELENA GORA	Wojska Polskiego 26	Piesiak	23004	
KALISZ	Staszica 28a	B. Sliwa	72744	
KATOWICE	Stelmacha 17	Andrzej Rozplochowski	628150	0315292
KEDZIERZYN-KOZLE	Kedzierzyn Hot-1 nr.5 Energetykow		36999	
KIELCE	Swietokrzyska 10a	Jaroslaw Dominczyk	43751	06122004
KOLOBRZEG	PZL Piastowska 4/2		5714	
KONIN	Bydgoska 6/13	Skoczylas	24056	
KOSZALIN	Drzymaly 1	Elzbieta Potrykus		31959
KRAKOW (MALOPOLSKA)	Kamelicka 16/3	Andrzej Cyran		28103 24997
KROSNO	1000-lecia 18	Zygnunt Zanojski		22366
LEGNICA	Roosvelta 1	Jerzy Wezlorz		20212 0787320
LUBIN	Kombinat Gorn-Hutn. Miedzi, Don Scinawa	Ryszard Sawicki		41001
LUBLIN	Okopowa 7	Czeslaw Niezoda		22979
LODZ	Sienkiewicza 63	Andrzej Slowik		62550 34062
MAZOWSZE	Warszawa Szpitalna 5	Zbigniew Bujak		277433 274481 816077
OLSZTYN	WPKI i M Kolobrzaska	Krupinski		30101 052215
OPOCZNO	Zaklad Kolberga 2	Ireneusz Predki		886080
OPOLE	Ozimska 53	Boguslaw Bardon		37924 0732386
PILA	Komuny Paryskiej 19	Naszkowski		2335 4144
PLOCK	Krotka 7/23	Wojciech Wiscicki		25894 83640
POZNAN	Dlugosza 16a	Lech Dymarski		46319 0413260
PRZEMYSL-JAROSLAW	Przenysl Grunwaldzka 131/42	Czeslaw Kijanka		442 ext.154 0633413
RADOM	Malczewskiego 9	Andrzej Sobieraj		27995 067455
RZESZOW	Obroncow Stalingradu 9/16	Antoni Kopaczewski		44762 0633320
SIEMIANOWICE SL.	Wyzwolenia 22	Zbigniew Suchlobowicz		282991

continued on back page.



overpowered, after which he was tied up and gagged while his assailants ransacked the room and confiscated Solidarity printing material. Near Bydgoszcz, a barn belonging to the son of the old peasant beaten up in the assault of March 19, was burned to the ground while the son was visiting his father in hospital. The homes of three Solidarity activists were set alight in Bialystok. The windows of Solidarity's headquarters in Wloclawek were deliberately smashed. In Nowy Sacz a 59 year old Chairman of a Solidarity factory committee disappeared one day before a union election and his body was found three days later (he had been hung). A notable 86 year old Socialist and member of KOR was beaten up by an assailant and taken to hospital with a shattered pelvis. A sugar refinery worker and Solidarity member died after a beating by police in a village near Opole.

PROMISES BROKEN

These ugly incidents were taking place in a loaded tense atmosphere where government promises made in the Gdansk Accords had been neglected, where the mass media's presentation of news in Poland was deteriorating daily and indulging in bias, propaganda and calumny and where wilful disinformation and rumour-mongering through false telex messages and fabricated Solidarity bulletins was being reinforced by police swoops on Solidarity Committee rooms and the detention of Solidarity bill-posters.

In these circumstances the Solidarity leadership was convinced that the Bydgoszcz incident was merely the biggest link so far in a chain of carefully orchestrated acts of violence and intimidation which were aimed at taming the new union.

The Solidarity National Coordination Committee (the KKP) put forward the following demands to the Government: the punishment of those responsible for the Bydgoszcz incident and other acts of violence; a full guarantee that the union would be able to carry on its activities without further intimidation and that any slanderous or untrue statements about Solidarity in the media would be replied to; the abolition of all charges and investigations of any opposition activities in the period 1976-1980; recognition of Rural Solidarity as an independent trade union; full pay for any period of strikes. If these demands would not be met Solidarity threatened a national 4 hour warning strike on Friday March 27th, and a general strike of indeterminate length beginning on Tuesday March 31 March.

The negotiations with the Government on these points were protracted and bitter. The government representatives were initially unable to satisfy any demands in the first few days as most of these decisions had to be ratified by a Party Central Committee meeting to be held on March 29th and, as a result, the four-hour warning strike took place and the nation's entire work-force came to a standstill between factory siren calls at 8 am commencing the strike, and at 12 terminating it. The authorities were impressed by the Solidarity leadership's disciplined control over the work force, while the Party hierarchy was dismayed that Party members in the factory generally ignored Party instructions to stay at their work and proudly joined Solidarity colleagues in the mass strike.

On March 29th, after much soul searching and offers of resignation from Politbureau hardliners, the Party decided on agreeing to let the government negotiators make limited concessions, and at the same time finally confirmed that a full scale Party Congress would be called in July.

STRIKE POSTPONED

At the eleventh hour, on Monday March 30th, the talks between the government and Solidarity resumed, and after much confusion and further threats from the government about rivers of blood flowing if Solidarity was not prepared to compromise, the Solidarity negotiators announced over the state television that

the general strike which was to begin the next day was postponed. It was an authoritative decision taken without consultation with the KKP or the regional committees of Solidarity, and it was only after two stormy days of bitter debate, and three offers of resignation, that the Solidarity leadership officially called off the strike threat and accepted the terms, "as a basis for further talks".

The agreement of March 30th confirmed that the Bydgoszcz Council meeting had been suspended in an unconstitutional way, that action would be taken against the civil authorities in Bydgoszcz over their role, and investigations will be held into the culpability of individual policemen, that a new trade union law would be presented to the parliament by the end of April, that further consideration would be given by the government about the possibility of legalizing Rural Solidarity as a union, that a joint government union committee will reconsider the presentation of news in the media, that both sides would endeavour to solve all disputes by negotiation, and that full pay for the period of the strike would be made.

The whole of the following week the Solidarity press expressed the deep internal divisions that had arisen throughout the movement about what some leaders considered to be the inadequacy of the terms obtained from the government (no punishment of those Warsaw Party leaders responsible for planning Bydgoszcz? no recognition of Rural Solidarity? no promise to terminate criminal investigations over political activities in the period prior to the strikes of August?). There was also criticism of the seemingly crucial role played in the negotiations by Solidarity's expert advisors, and the decision taken unilaterally by the Chairman of the KKP (Lech Walesa) to postpone the strike due to begin next morning. This decision made it almost impossible psychologically to call a strike alert the next day in case of any change of heart by the KKP. There was great bitterness about what many considered to be a black day for union democracy, and there was much soul-searching on the future of the movement. Most people, however, were profoundly relieved that the strike had been called off, as an indeterminate strike would almost certainly have brought about a state of emergency and intense economic hardship, and it was felt that in the circumstances it was difficult to see how the terms could have been better.

INVASION FRENZY

That public debate was overshadowed elsewhere by the resonant threats made against Solidarity and against the country as a whole (including, by implication, the leaders of the Party) by Party



General Jaruzelski (second from right) studies the manoeuvres. On his left is Field Marshal Kulikov Commander of Warsaw Pact Forces.



Tanks assemble for Warsaw Pact manoeuvres

officials and press spokesmen in Moscow, Prague and East Berlin. Fear of the effect on the internal situation in those countries of a Solidarity influenced Poland led to accusations of "anarchy and the spectre of counter-revolution". These regimes confirmed their readiness to help their Polish Party comrades in restoring Socialism. This threat of Soviet military intervention was punctuated by the prolongation of the "Friendship" military manoeuvres by Warsaw Pact forces in Poland. The United States threatened the Soviet Union with an alliance with China, and a suspension of trade and disarmament talks, the Western press published diagrams of how the Soviet invasion of Poland would be carried out, hysterical reports about supposed instability and economic chaos in Poland continued in the Soviet press, and the Soviet President descended on the Czechoslovak Party Congress in Prague to confer with other Warsaw Pact representatives and with Polish Party hard-liners. Meanwhile, in Poland, all was calm, there were no strikes, no governmental acts of violence, while the Solidarity leadership having convinced itself that foreign intervention or a military clampdown was possible but unlikely, carried on with its herculean task of further negotiations with the Government.

On April 8th, the Soviet President declared he was still prepared to give his Polish comrades time to stabilize the situation in Poland by themselves, and the following day, the manoeuvres, which had allowed Soviet military units to cross the length and breadth of Poland and familiarise themselves with the Polish terrain, were terminated. On April 10th, the Prime Minister imposed a 2-month moratorium on strikes and

Strike Moratorium

General Jaruzelski's call for a strike moratorium was answered by the following statement issued by Solidarity on April 10th.

The KKP wishes to express its deep concern over the decision of Premier Jaruzelski to resign from office as president of the Council of Ministers if Parliament does not pass his resolution to suspend the right to strike for two months. The KKP believes that there is a genuine possibility of avoiding strikes through eliminating the causes of strikes, and by observing all our laws and keeping to the agreements. The withdrawal of the right to strike will be understood by society as a condemnation of any acts which could lead to strikes, and this will lead heightened social tension.

We feel that when agreements have been signed and both sides are capable of realising them, the resort to the tactics described above is both inexplicable and unjustified.

The KKP wishes to point out that no parliamentary resolution will be able to prevent a strike, if the safety of our Union is threatened or if there is any flagrant breach of the law.

strike alerts, but promised to introduce an urgent economic reform programme and the recognition of a peasants trade union within one month. Parliament, in accepting these measures, stressed the trade union movement's key role in representing and defending the interests of the working man, and commended the conciliatory role of the Catholic Church during negotiations. The Solidarity leadership stressed in turn that the new strike moratorium was an arbitrary decision, but that if workers were not provoked then there need be no strikes.

This relaxed the tension that had gripped Poland so tightly since March 19th.

In the meantime, the Rural Solidarity movement was legalized as a trade union by the court, discussions with the government are continuing on a new trade union law, on urgent economic reforms (including the exciting concept of workers councils), on political prisoners, on Solidarity's foreign relations, on censorship, on access to the mass media (Solidarity has been given radio and TV time now). Solidarity now has its own national weekly *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* and it is beginning to conduct its internal elections at regional level, which are crucial in order to ensure that the present Solidarity leadership which had emerged from the regional strike committees of last August are still representative of their members' views. Solidarity has announced it will hold its first Annual Conference on August 31, the first anniversary of the Gdansk and Szczecin Accords, when the government conceded the right for workers to form independent unions.

The major problem for the Party leadership at the moment is the infection of its own rank and file by Solidarity's democratic spirit. Party organisations at local level are now linking up horizontally with other local Party organizations, in their demand for economic and political reforms and crucial changes in the Party leadership. This undermines the old centralized structure on which all East European ruling Parties have been run hitherto, and it is the Soviet leadership's main concern in Poland at the moment. Some hardline Party leaders at national and regional level (including those at Bydgoszcz) have been sacked, and the Soviet leaders had to intervene personally to ensure that the two leading hardliners remain at least until the Party Congress in July. That July Congress is likely to be the next flashpoint for a national and international crisis.

While politically the country is calmer now and while independent consumer, environmental, student, artisan, tenant and other associations are now flourishing, the economic scarcities continue. Rationing has been introduced on meat, butter and sugar though this has not improved the availability of food products in the shops in any dramatic way, prices are to be increased, wages frozen, temporary emigration is being encouraged, preparations are being made for ½ million workers to be laid off from bankrupt industries. The economic prospects in the immediate future are bleak and take much of the shine out of Solidarity's achievements in restoring national morale.

Yet such economic changes had been inevitable in view of the economic mismanagement throughout the Seventies, and the presence of Solidarity merely makes it possible for the economic measures to be introduced, while permanent economic reforms ensure that they will not recur again. Without Solidarity's moral authority the Government would never have been able to make such dramatic changes.

Wictor Mocszynski

To Lech Walesa

From Andrzej Gwiazda

Szczecin 9.4.81

Lech, I am addressing this open letter to you out of my concern over the most essential issues facing Solidarity. Three years ago, on April 30th, the Founding Committee of Free Trade Unions in the Coastal Area was set up. Until that time we had witnessed a state of administrative chaos and arbitrary decision-making, alongside the powerlessness of the workers. I saw the main source of evil in the degraded condition of society paralysed by fear. The breaking of the barrier of fear through the ability to formulate and defend one's own opinions, and to organise with the aim of achieving them, were the main goals of the free trade unions in which we were both active collaborators.

The achievement of these aims required the cooperation of both intelligentsia and workers. From the time of KOR's emergence the period of social isolation was over, when the isolated protests of the intelligentsia in 1968 and the workers in 1970 ended in defeat. Our activities were also in tune with KOR to the extent that we considered the defence of every repressed person our fundamental duty. It was an elementary condition for our actions.

I always believed you should tell people the truth. Everyone who joined us had to know what he was letting himself in for, what our cells were like. We drew nobody in by underhand methods and condemned nobody because they thought differently. Our members included the deeply religious Anna Walentynowicz, the non-believing Party member Bogdan Lis, and the KOR member Bogdan Borusewicz. We spoke to anyone. We never promised people too much. We said they would achieve as much as they were capable of obtaining from their struggle. We also said that democracy cannot be given to anyone, that the people must take democracy with their own hands. Perhaps that is why people believed us. They believed us during the August strikes, and thanks to that Solidarity emerged.

Doesn't it seem long ago when we were both distributing leaflets. And now there is a mass organisation with its posts, its funds, activists, constantly negotiating with the government.....

It is obvious however that Solidarity is realising the aims and values of the Free Trade Unions. It is a historic chance, a hope. It is a trade union, but also a movement for moral revolution, which has become the foundation of all change.

Any shadow cast on the union causes a painful wound in Polish hearts. Internal democracy is vital to our union. The anti-democratic environment, the external menace, continuous struggles and tensions, are all causes of the fact that our entire union, from top to bottom, is riddled with tendencies to deviate from democratic principles. Nevertheless, if the union fights with methods imposed by its opponents - it must fail.

It is my duty to say this, because my name, like yours Lech, and that of Anna Walentynowicz, and some others, has become a symbol for those who obtained a union in the August strikes. It was chance that brought this about. Our achievements are no greater than those of others; but a bigger responsibility rests on us. Responsibility for tolerating a situation in which people's respect for a symbol allowed us to make uncontrolled decisions instead of following the democratic rules of the union. Let us make it clear; the communique of March 31st about suspending the strike amounted in practical terms to its revocation. Whether it was a right decision or not, we had no authority to take such a decision. When the talks with the government dragged out, it was our duty to call a meeting of the National Coordinating Commission. That things turned out otherwise is partly my responsibility.

I was not able to prevent an autocratic decision undertaken without consulting the statutory organs of the union. Let's leave aside the subjective causes of this - it was our fault, Lech, that union democracy



Andrzej Gwiazda

UNION DE

The decision by Solidarity's negotiators for a national strike on March 31st was the result of an internal debate within the union. Important contributions from this open letter to Lech Walesa (right) a Deputy Chairman of Solidarity and negotiators involved in calling off the strike were made. He replied the following day. (Trans

an exchange

was broken. I know we can both find a thousand excuses for why this happened. But I also know that internal union democracy is essential. The conditions for this are openness and many-sided free flow of information; its grave is the suppression of criticism and the censorship of union publications. Every member of the union should retain the right to criticise, even after a decision is taken. Union discipline demands submission to resolutions that are passed, but leaves each member the right to his own opinion on any subject. That is how we differ from totalitarian organisations.

In the meantime, criticisms of the decision taken by both of us on March 31st, criticisms of the miserable results of negotiations with the government, have served as an occasion for action by Solidarity's enemies, and by those more naive. We are defended against imaginary enemies in KOR. The purpose of these initiatives is obvious. It is an attempt to cause internal squabbles and a break up of Solidarity. It is a question of acquiescence to repressions against activists and experts from the KOR circle. We will be next in line. For my part I wish to declare that I do not desire any such defenders. I do not need those letters and telegrams supporting the negotiating group. I read those divisive declarations with disgust. I believe the same is true of you. I declare that criticism of the the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the National Coordinating Commission is a normal phenomenon. Otherwise the union is ruled autocratically. The elected statutory bodies lose their meaning. Decisive influence rests in the hands of officials and advisers who, uncontrolled and without the burden of responsibility, have full freedom to manipulate.

Let our union not proceed up a blind alley! Let it not fritter away those values for which we fought! We must say this loud and clear.

As a vice-chairman of the National Coordinating Commission I feel responsible; that is why I submitted my resignation on April 1st. It was not an act of desertion; I withdrew it under pressure of the Commission's decision. I will carry out my functions for as long as the Commission considers it proper.

I will only depart when the democratic values in the name of which I struggle and created this union are betrayed. I expect the same declaration from you, Lech.

Andrzej Gwiazda.

DEMOCRACY

tiators to suspend the call
t sparked off a fierce
We publish below two
debate. The first is an
from Andrzej Gwiazda (left),
and himself one of the
ff the strike. Lech Walesa
lations are by PSC News)



Lech Walesa

of views

Letter to Andrzej Gwiazda

Gdansk 10.4.81

You have written me an open letter in which you remind me of our common struggle, the free trade unions, the August strike and Solidarity. I do not need to be reminded of this. I can remember it all well.

I want now what I wanted then - that Poland should be Poland, that something should be dependent on us, and that it should be possible to live in our country.

Solidarity should serve that purpose.

You have some regrets and reservations about me in relation to the latest talks with the government. I could reply that you are at the very least co-responsible, and remind you how you adjudged the situation, and what you said in Warsaw. But, for myself, I do not avoid the responsibility. I state in all conviction that the agreement we signed with the government on March 30th this year, was the best way out for the country and for the union, and that we achieved all that we could possibly have achieved at that time. Most important of all we lost nothing.

We then took the decision to summon the National Coordinating Commission not on Monday but on Tuesday. I continue to believe that it was the only decision possible in those circumstances, and I do not understand why you should have changed your mind in this matter.

This decision did not destroy union democracy, but created the conditions for it to be built. Democracy is very important for our union. That is why I am still insisting on conducting elections within the time limits set by our statutes. Then at the head of our union we will have people who have the confidence of the shop floor and a sense of responsibility to those who had elected them. I am not strong in theoretical matters, as you know, but this seems the most important thing to me in democracy.

I think that people concerned about the future of our country and the strength of our union should work towards strengthening the unity of the union and increasing its role in the life of our country. Let us leave the writing of open letters to each other till our retirement. I have been thinking myself in any case about whether not to take such a "retirement" from the union, just to leave aside the decision-making work in the union. I came to the conclusion, however, that I should not be allowed to do this so long as there exists the possibility that adventurism and irresponsibility would dominate in the union.

I believe that for the good of the union and the country I can still continue with courage and caution. I wish the same to you as well.

Lech Walesa.

4 HOUR STRIKE AT URSUS

The article below is a report on how the four-hour warning strike developed in the Ursus factory in Warsaw. The article first appeared in Tygodnik Solidarnosc. (Translation is by PSC News)

27 March, the mechanical plants at Ursus. At the gates, a workers' guard keeps watch, checking everyone coming in. Eight o'clock, the factory siren sounds and the strike has begun. Workers in greasy overalls stand around in small groups, barely a word is spoken. It seems as though everything there was to say has been said already. On the ground floor where the cog wheels are grinding, two small rooms belonging to Solidarity are teeming with people: trades union activists from the factory, unionists from the Mazowzse region who came in yesterday, the editorial board of "The Worker", and others who have been invited. In a small room opposite an archaic printing press is being worked in unbelievably cramped conditions. Someone comes in obviously flustered, the worker guards at the gates are carrying on quite unnecessary conversations with the civilians outside. "Absolutely forbidden, orders Lech Lewandowski, an engineer who is the press spokesman for Solidarity at Ursus, and a member of the Party. Someone brings in a large pot containing our breakfast - macaroni in meat sauce. We eat, smoke and talk.

WALESA SPEAKS

Suddenly in the tight corridor there is a tumult, photographers rush forward: it's Walesa. As fast as lightning a crowd whirls around him; from all sides we hear: Lech, hey Lech, Lech. We go after him to the factory floor, where the workers leaving their machines join us. Walesa gets up on the protective cover of one of the machines. He is now a head higher than the rest of the crowd. He removes his pipe from his mouth and says:

"We are meeting today at a difficult time. Many people are telling us that this is not the road we should be taking, that we should go back to work, they will steer the course they want to take, the way it was in past years, the way it was in seventy six. It is sad that we have to hurt ourselves this way, but if we do not do it today in five or ten years time we will find ourselves in the same situation. We must strike so that we make ourselves understood by those who signed the agreements but do not want to accept any form of renewal. In following the course I took in 1970 I made a big mistake, a great error, but those arrests gave me time to think things over. We will make up the losses if Poland is to belong to us. We will do our best to exercise restraint. We must act sensibly, calmly, but we must not give in. We are taking this road because we have no other. Today the situation we find ourselves in is different from what it was in August: more and more people are supporting us, even Party committees, in Bydgoszcz there were even 40 town councillors who joined us. People want the truth and they want a real renewal. I myself thought that now it would simply be a question of putting out the strikes and getting around a negotiating table - some people even bore me a grudge for this. But now that we have been physically attacked, the most important principles are at stake. We want to come to an agreement with the government, but up until now they have put forward no proposals, so we have to strike..." (Walesa at the moment looks a very tired and dejected man.)

In another unit of the factory we talk to a group of workers. Among them are some Party members, of twenty years standing. They are all unanimous: they do not want to strike but they have no alternative. They need Solidarity and they must defend it, so that there can be no return to the way it was before-that

continued over

they could not tolerate. No one has any hesitation about going on with the strike - so many days have gone by since the Bydgoszcz incident, and the authorities instead of producing some explanation and punishing the wrongdoers have sought to put the blame on Solidarity. That is simply unacceptable and that is why they must go on strike.

In the small room belonging to Solidarity there is an improvised press conference. The Press Spokesman from the Mazowsze branch answers questions mainly from foreign journalists. He says that they do not have the full facts about the progress of the strikes in the rest of the country, because the telephone lines are too busy; all they do know is that things are running smoothly. At around 11 o'clock some one suggests that they turn on the television: on the screen we see the well known emblem of Solidarity and underneath it "Strike", and then the words "Katowice Radio and Television". We gaze at this unusual card for a minute in complete silence. A murmur of approval is suddenly heard from the gathering: the "General" has come, make way for the "General"... The director general of the complex Mr Wilk, makes his way to the "speaker's" table. The foreign journalists come to life again. An Austrian woman asks if the director has come because he is fulfilling his duties or because he is joining the strike.

The director replies "I suppose you would like me to say that I am happy about this strike. Nothing of the kind. And in what capacity am I here today? You know very well that it goes without saying that a director must remain in his factory come what may."

LOSSES

Other foreign journalists ask: "Will the losses caused by the strike be made up?" He replies: "Were it not for the fact that everyone is on strike I think we would make it up. But even the cooperative workers are striking."

A young woman from among the foreign journalists asks: "Do you think that what is going on in Poland at present could possibly help the economic situation. The Director replies: "You yourself have given the answer to that question. The Polish journalists have no questions to ask; during the time I been here among you at the factory I seem to have the general impression that the Poles, usually so talkative, are in no doubt about the general situation and have no questions to ask."

Onyszkiewicz tells us that at 11 o'clock all the guests from outside must leave the factory- the strike committee will then cease to be in command at the factory; from midday routine work will resume. On hearing the siren the workers return to their machines with the same resignation and determination with which they conducted the strike.

Together with our friends we all leave the factory weary, tense, going back to our own routine lives. But after talking among ourselves for a few minutes we realize that we all feel the same way: those four hours during the strike at Ursus were psychologically the calmest moments we have experienced throughout the last stretch of exhausting weeks.



Polish peasants demonstrate support for Rural Solidarity.

Rural Solidarity

The following appeal was made by Jan Kulaj, a leader of Rural Solidarity, on Polish television following agreement being reached with the government on recognition of the union. Translation by PSC.

Dear Countrymen, Brother Peasants,

A great thing has happened to Polish agriculture. Just as last August the workers signed an agreement on having a union, so now we in turn have signed an agreement at Bydgoszcz, that says that by May 10th., we will have a peasants' trade union in Poland.

It is a great event. The rightful demands of our members have been granted. Our Government has understood, that in the situation in which our country finds itself, there can be no talk of "renewal", if the just demands of the peasants are not satisfied beforehand. Our country is in a critical situation. It is important to know who was responsible for it, but it is even more important to be aware who will lift us out of this grave situation. It will be the peasants, of course. Until recently they were the most neglected of all. In our fatherland, we peasants, in company with the combined might of the workers and of the whole nation must play the key role. We must use our toilers' hands to rescue

Poland from disaster. In order to achieve this much, we must forge a strong partnership with the workers, and it is us, agrarians, who have the bread in our hands and who must feed the nation. The food supply has become the country's main problem. The Polish peasant must be the first subject of debate, so that with his demands satisfied he will produce more bread with each day.

In our country there is an enormous task to be performed. Every citizen, regardless of his occupation, must find time to help restore the fatherland as his patriotic duty.

The union must organize the grass roots, take control of everything that is happening in the villages, the parish authorities, rural cooperatives, banks, local councils, agricultural circles, dairies. We cannot allow the countryside to witness any more falsehoods, cheating, lying or denunciations.

We must concern ourselves above all with village children; next winter they should not stand waiting at the bus stop in the frost and cold, like the condemned awaiting their sentence. The village child should not be cheated of access to schooling and recreation. Nobody has suffered so much in this country as the rural invalid, this too is a basic matter for the union to take up.

The union should reach under every roof, to the hearts of all living in the countryside. The village elder must become independent once again, a father to the whole village, while the village hall should become the centre once more of village life. The old goodneighbourly traditions must return, the village must once again be one family.

It is not normally the task of a trade union to struggle for an increase in production, but in the present historic situation, this problem does become our responsibility. The majority of peasants in Poland have been on strike, often producing only half of what could have been produced. There are good reasons for this, but today the country is utterly exhausted and we have a duty in all conscience to increase production, and to give all people, including our own children, bread and gravy.

The Rzeszow Agreement gave Poland agricultural reform: the Bydgoszcz Agreement has given peasants a trade union. It is an enormous opportunity, if God allows it, and if people do not ruin it. From this year's autumn Poland will never again be short of food. Let us remain in solidarity with one another, and God's blessing go with all of you to whom the fatherland is precious.

POLAND'S ECONOMIC CRISIS - a new strategy!

Earlier this month a report on the State of the Economy and the Government's Programme for Stabilization was presented to the Polish Sejm. It is by no means the first document of its kind to be produced in Poland since last August. The commission for Economic Reform published its draft proposals in January this year while a month earlier a report was presented to the Polish Sejm on the country's economic performance in 1980 and the outline for the budget in 1981. Both reports were generally greeted with cynicism and a good deal of derision. Whilst no one would deny that Poland is facing its worst economic crisis in its post war history, there is a wide divergence of opinion as to what are its causes and what measures should be taken to lead Poland out of the recession. The Central Planning Institute held a symposium in January to discuss the problem. Among the economists present was Mieczyslaw Rakowski, a Deputy Prime Minister, who wrote a critical review of the meeting for the Polish journal, "Economic Life". In this key article, Rakowski outlined the proposals for economic reform which broadly speaking form the basis of the government's new programme for stabilisation. Rakowski argues that there is a clear strategy for, involving radical reforms which could help Poland emerge from the present crisis.

In Rakowski's analysis one of the most important factors behind the country's economic imbalance is the government's disastrous investment programme. In the early seventies, Gierek launched an extensive programme of expensive investment projects funded largely by Western creditors, to modernise and develop Poland's industry. The short term effects of these projects are well known. There was a brief period of prosperity; incomes rose and more jobs were made available, but the country was essentially living above its means. The investments moreover did not achieve any substantial degree of increased productivity. Although in the last five years Poland's capacity for industrial production rose by roughly fifty percent, the actual growth rate in terms of production itself was only nine percent. Many of the projects are far from complete, and it is estimated that it would probably take another five years before the investments before the investments begin to reap benefits in terms of increased productivity.

UNDER-PRODUCTION

Marked underproduction is one of the most persistent problems besetting the economy. A KOR report published in GLOS (Voice) in January showed that production fell in virtually every leading industry compared with 1979. Rakowski argues that far too much capital has been tied up in the costly investment projects which should have been deployed to provide short term capital for industry. He asserts that one of the fundamental causes behind Poland's chronic underproduction is a basic lack of the necessary raw materials for production, adding that a major reason for many of the industrial shortages was a shortage of raw and intermediate materials. This is certainly a view which is commonly held. The former premier, Babiuch, blamed lack of raw materials caused by mis application of funds on heavy investments. Significantly, General Jaruzelski, the current prime minister, declared earlier this year that Poland would have to close down certain plants and sell off machinery to Eastern bloc neighbours to provide funds for basic raw materials. It was essential for Poland to embark upon a complete restructuring of the investment cycles, cutting back heavy investments and reallocating funds to promote increased production in existing plants.

This process of disinvestment has to a large extent already begun. Jerzy Gniewaszewski, the director of



Kisiel, Planning Minister (left) and Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski (right).

Investment Unit of the Planning Commission, gave details of some of the 'cuts' which had already been made in an interview with the Polish Press Association earlier in March this year. Some 800 construction projects have been shelved. This represents approximately 400 million z1, which in turn is roughly twenty percent of overall investment expenditure (2000 million zloty). Gniewaszewski added that many more cuts would have to be made, but could not specify which areas would be most affected beyond stating that those industries which relied heavily on importing materials from capitalist countries would probably suffer most - the car industry for instance. Both Rakowski and Gniewaszewski stressed that the reduction in investments would not be permanent but simply an immediate remedial step to Poland to increase productivity and pay off debts. Some form of industrial modernisation and growth would still be maintained, indeed was considered essential, for Poland's future as an industrial nation.

REDUNDANCIES

The policy described above will inevitably mean redundancies for many workers employed on construction projects which are affected. To date 700,000 workers have lost their jobs. The government emphatically denies that this will lead in itself to 'unemployment', but it will entail 'fundamental changes in the structure of employment'. These changes are essentially a shift from employment in heavy industry to other sectors, like the services, consumer goods, various crafts and other light industry, and most important of all, agriculture. These areas were reportedly undermanned and could certainly absorb large numbers of new trainees. A fund would be made available for workers "who were retraining for new jobs". But this could well prove to be no more than an artificial measure to uphold the fiction of "full employment". The precise details of these proposals will have to be discussed openly with the Solidarity representatives.

Besides under-production, the government must face the problems of spiralling inflation and severe shortages of consumer goods. This will be no easy task. Already before August last year inflation had widened the gap between the nation's purchasing power and the availability of goods to 15%. The present figure is now running at over 20%. The workers' gains in terms of better social and working conditions (and salaries) have been won at further expense to the country's economy. Since August official sources state that there has been a 12/13% increase in national salaries. The reduction in working hours (free Saturdays etc) have reduced production considerably in some industries. In the important coal industry 36 additional Saturdays off a year is tantamount to a loss of 22 million tons of coal. Against this background Rakowski proposes a

general policy of deflation, keeping very severe limits on demand for consumer goods, but arguing at the same time that more goods will be produced automatically as a result of having more capital to spend on essential materials. Rakowski himself is strongly opposed to diverting investment funds to pay for more consumer goods and food, although funds are already being used for this purpose to appease the workers. In the early economic bulletin produced by 'Solidarity's' economic advisers the investment cycles were criticised because only 24% of funds were allocated to consumer goods, while the remainder went to heavy industrial projects. Stefan Kurowski, wrote in an article in GLOS criticising the government's proposals, that fewer consumer goods should be exported. Another contentious measure may be the proposal to reduce certain salaries (those in the upper and medium range by up to 30%) while introducing a minimum wage to make for more equality in wage structures. On the whole 'Solidarity' certainly approves of a radical modification of the highly artificial wage and price structures, although the precise scope of the measures will clearly have to be discussed between them and the government.

AGRICULTURE

The area of the Polish economy where under-production is most evident and most hard felt is agriculture. The food rationing announced earlier this year is the most severe since the end of the Second World War. One cause of the shortages in the Polish shops is clearly the government's policy of leaving far too small a proportion of the home-produced food for the domestic market. But the root cause is to be found in the fundamental structure of agriculture in Poland. Poland, unlike its Soviet bloc neighbours avoided wholesale collectivisation. Three quarters of the land for farming in Poland is still in private hands. The rest (the "socialised sector") is managed by state farms and cooperatives. Government policy towards these small peasant holders since the war has been remarkably hostile. During this period many peasants have left the land to seek work in the cities. Those who remain on the land are treated very unfavourably in comparison with the public sector. Because investment resources and modern machinery are channelled almost exclusively to the socialised sector, peasants often have to rely on the most rudimentary equipment and facilities to farm their land. Under the present structure, private peasants have to sell a fixed amount of their produce to the state market at very unfavourable prices. The result is very often that peasants are discouraged from producing more than they require for their own needs.

The reforms proposed for agriculture, if successfully implemented would certainly have a far reaching effect on food production. The government proposes a radical reallocation of investment from the socialised sector (described by Rakowski as irrational and ineffective) to the private sector. Money has already been made available to provide for new equipment, chemical fertilisers, fodder, and in particular coal which



is being sold to the farmers at a specially low price. There are also proposals to sell land from the socialised sector to the private sector to enable small holders to obtain the advantages of larger scale production. Perhaps most radical of all is the proposal to move towards a free market pricing structure whereby the peasants would be assured of receiving a fair price for their work. Increases in the state purchase price from the peasants have already been implemented. The clear need to motivate peasants to increase production is recognised as is the need to encourage more workers to leave the cities and return to the land.

In spite of the proposed reforms it is difficult to foresee that Poland's economic situation will improve in the near future. Kisiel, the planning minister, announced that there was a 10% fall in total production in the first two months this year. The country's total foreign indebtedness has risen to over 27 billion dollars. The total indebtedness will increase by another 10/12% as a result of necessary grain imports this year. Poland promised to rejoin the IMF; this in itself will help it to secure foreign credit for the year, but would mean that the country must be prepared to make even more severe sacrifices to satisfy the IMF's requirements. If the government wishes to achieve any of its objectives in the immediate future the goodwill and cooperation of 'Solidarity' are essential. Perhaps in this respect the economic reforms relating to the introduction of a greater degree of worker autonomy, workers' self management and cooperatives are of the utmost importance. If workers are given more say in the running of their factories they are far more likely to respond to appeals to work harder for their country. Moreover, it is fair to point out that the gross administrative incompetence of the bureaucrats implementing the 'plans' is another major cause behind the country's disastrous economic performance. More worker democracy and factory autonomy will almost certainly result in increased efficiency and production. Even the anxious Western bankers are well aware that the country's economic revival is very much dependant on the progress of its democratic renewal.

Pyotr Iglkowski



Food queues - a regular feature of Polish life.

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS SOLIDARITY'S FOREIGN UNION CONTACTS

The Polish Government has raised a number of objections to Solidarity's contacts with foreign trade unions. We think these will be of interest to British readers. The report below is extracted from Tygodnik Solidarnosc. Translation is by PSC News.

Report on Working Group Discussions between the Government and Solidarity on Solidarity's International Contacts, 25th April 1981

Meeting took place in Foreign Office in Warsaw, to discuss "Solidarity" in the light of the Polish Peoples Republic's foreign policy. Government represented by foreign ministry officials: Cielecki, Haladan, Jaroszek Mickiewicz and Trade Union Ministry representative - Ratajczyk. Chairman was Deputy Foreign Minister Wiejacz "Solidarity" was represented by M.Wojcik, B.Lis, K. Sliwinski.

I. "Solidarity" activity inconsistent, (according to Government team,) with interests of state. Foreign office officials explained that this concerned certain leaflets and articles in union publications, as well as interviews given by "Solidarity" representatives to the foreign press, public utterances by them while abroad, and participation in "engagements aimed against the Polish Peoples Republic." In this context Minister Wiejacz asked: how does "Solidarity" understand what has been inserted in their statutes about the leading role of the PZPR (Party), and the inviolability of alliances etc? He declared that the foreign ministry also saw the constructive elements in the foreign activities of "Solidarity": the visit to Italy, especially its Vatican aspect, organising the Medicine Bank, etc.

The Union delegation said that this was the first time that it had met with the accusation that it was acting in contravention of the state's interests. As for press interviews, they are often twisted by journalists. B.Lis gave the example of one such disfigured interview, which he had given to the Swedish press. "Solidarity" publishes posters, but prints no leaflets. But there are leaflets pretending to be from "Solidarity", e.g. expansionist leaflets in German distributed in Gdansk. The delegation said that it knew of no instances where Union representatives participated in engagements aimed against the Republic. The only official delegations are those of the KKP, but it cannot take away from individuals going abroad the right to present themselves as members of "Solidarity". The union representatives informed the Government commission that there are plans to prepare information to foreigners (in foreign languages) which would represent the official standpoint of the union. They also requested the foreign ministry to prepare briefs for "Solidarity's" use on certain trade unions with whom they are or will be maintaining contacts. The delegation confirmed that the Union had never withdrawn from what it had agreed to in the Statutes. Since August there had been no demands outside of their statutory limitations, no anti Soviet slogans nor any undermining of Poland's alliances.

II. Contacts with trade unions in other countries.

According to the Government team there must be reservations where contacts have a clearly political profile. Certain western unions want to see in "Solidarity" a political party in opposition. Minister Wiejacz pointed out that, for instance, making closer contact with the American trade unions (notably the AFL-CIO), whose anti-communism is widely known and who on many occasions have refused to have any relations with trade unions in socialist countries, would have a derogatory political impact.

The "Solidarity" delegation stated that at the moment the Union is not conducting any specific foreign policy. That would be the task of the new leadership to

In the interest of solidarity with "Solidarity" we are prepared to send to Poland any number of tanks!



be elected in the coming months. At present visits are of an opinion-seeking informative character, which is why the Union is less interested in who invites the delegation as long as it can present its position without disfigurement. At present, contacts are only bilateral and no agreements on cooperation have been signed. "Solidarity" is conscious that certain trade unions would like to see it as a political party in opposition. On the whole "Solidarity" would like to retain its contacts with all representative unions, but without undertaking any conditions. K.Sliwinski raised the question of difficulty in obtaining official passports in mutual visits of factory representatives. The union is very keen on initiating cooperation at this level.

III Foreign assistance.

According to the Government team, receiving such aid raises doubts - nobody gives anything for nothing. Director Mickiewicz drew attention to the care taken by unions in countries with strong union traditions (France Britain) to retain their national character. Thus, in France, for instance, there is a very strict body of law forbidding the acceptance of any foreign aid under threat of dissolution. "Humanité" had to organise social events to obtain financial resources, as it cannot receive such assistance from outside. The Government team is particularly worried by the way "Solidarity" is taking advantage of help in training, not only in the servicing of office equipment, but in educating union officials as well. Foreign ministry representatives stated that they know of no instance where the cadres of any foreign trade union were trained abroad.

The "Solidarity" delegation assured them that the Union is not burdened with any conditions in accepting such assistance. Acceptance is normally made of material help; financial resources form a separate fund, set aside for social purposes. As for training assistance, this largely concerns the servicing of equipment. There is no ideological training of union officials abroad. On the other hand, the Union intends to take advantage of any help in how to run offices and Workers Colleges. A group of officials is travelling to France for this purpose to a school run by the CFDT.

IV. Development of contacts with trade unions in socialist countries.

The Government team asked about "Solidarity's" intentions on this matter and also about the possibility of joining one of the international trade union centres notably the World Federation of Trade Unions.

B. Lis said that Solidarity does not avoid contacts with trade unions in socialist countries. The Hungarian unions had sent an invitation to a Congress in Budapest. Unfortunately a delegation could not be sent, as Mr. Szyszka (Albin Szyszka - Chairman of the

State-run Branch Trade Unions Federation) took all the invitations himself. As to the membership of the WFTU - certain unions from socialist countries would not welcome this. For the moment "Solidarity" does not intend to join any international association of trade unions.

V. The imminent session of the International Labour Organisations.

According to the Government team matters relating to this session had been discussed abroad by Solidarity representatives, even though they had not been established in Poland yet.

The "Solidarity" delegation stated that no talks had been undertaken abroad about the ILO. "Solidarity" would like the Polish delegation to consist of individual trade unions proportionately to their numerical strength. The matter was put off until the next meeting because of the absence in Poland of those who had been discussing this matter.

VI. Definition of when a "Solidarity" delegation is of an official character.

The Government team gave examples where the foreign office had to give information to persons abroad who had presented themselves as representatives of "Solidarity", without presenting any documents entitling them to do this. This had been the case for example with Mr. Ryszkiewicz who had been organising the "Medicine Bank" among Poles in the United States. The union representatives stressed once again that they cannot forbid members of the union from speaking out or engaging in activity during private trips abroad.

VII. The "Solidarity" delegation also raised the issue of not granting official passports to officials travelling abroad on behalf of the union, only tourist passports.

The Government team asked to postpone discussion on this matter until the next sitting. Apart from that there were discussions about smoothing out contacts between "Solidarity" and the foreign ministry and about the technical problems connected with the KKP delegation's visit to Japan.

The meeting had the character of a working session and lasted two hours.

The date of the next meeting was to be April 30th.
Arr. A. Zozula

continued

SLUPSK	Lukasiewiczza 1	Kurnatowski	7418	05 34 307
STALOWA WOLA	Huta	Stanislaw	20301	062104
	Stalowa Wola	Krupka		
SUWALKI		J Slawinski		822548
SWINOUJSCIE	Swierczewskiego 4	Waldemar Kaskiewicz	1543	
SZCZECIN	Firlika 6	Marian Jurczyk	212211	0425490
SZCZECINEK	Lokal WDK 9 maja 12	Sliwinski	41192	
TORUN	Bydgoska 8	Edward Strzyzewski	23677	055301
TYCHY	Engelsa 3	Wach	279216	
WALBRZYCH	Kop Wegla Thorez Wyspianskiego	Jerzy Szulc	22410	074557
WLOCLAWEK	30 Maja 34	Marian Nowicki	24403	
WROCLAW	Plac Czerwony 1/315	Zygmunt Przydzial	33320	07715500
			32255	0712678
ZIELONA GORA	Wyspianskiego 10b	Andrzej Niezgoda	3330	
ZIEMIA	Zdunska Wola	Janowski	3524	
SIERADZKA	Zielona 21			

Also a useful address: "Solidarity's" official weekly magazine first published April 3rd 1981

"TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC", 02-363 Warszawa, P.O.Box 77, ul. Batorego 14. Chief Editor -Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Telephone Warsaw 25-62-89 telex 816776

(Each address should beg in MKZ NSZZ "SOLIDARNOSC". Where the name of the Region corresponds to the name of the local town, the town's name has not been shown in the addresses given

British Union Support

PSC has continually pressed for strong and intimate contacts to be established between British trade unions and Solidarity. For this reason we welcome the TUC's decision, following the recent visit of Solidarity Vice-President, Bogdan Lis, to raise a fund of £20,000 to provide office equipment to the new union and to arrange training facilities in Britain for Polish trade unionists.



Bogdan Lis meets Len Murray.

However, much still remains to be done to strengthen links with the new union, both at the national level of particular unions and branch to branch. With the National Conferences of many unions coming up soon, we hope firm assistance to Solidarity will be forthcoming. Already the following motion has been overwhelmingly by the Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) -

"This Conference supports the recent meaningful reforms achieved by the Polish workers. The formation of the Solidarity free trade union is a great achievement and its aims must be supported by the entire trade union movement. The necessity to establish democratic workers control over industry in Poland is of fundamental importance and as such is an aim the trade union movement internationally should be seeking. Conference, whilst congratulating the Polish workers also roundly condemns the British Press for their hypocrisy for supporting the demands of the Polish working classes, whilst at the same time opposing such progressive movements in the West."

The coming NALGO Conference has a similar motion before it, presented with the support of the National Executive. It reads -

"This conference supports solidarity and other free Polish trade unions and urges the National Executive Council and the Trades Union Congress to respond positively to their requests for moral and actual support in their struggle for full trade union rights, including their fights against the unilateral and arbitrary attempts by the Polish state to amend those unions constitutions and, further, urges the NEC and the TUC to withdraw recognition of the state-controlled organisation CRZZ."

We will carry news of further developments of support for Solidarity in the next issue of PSC News. In the meantime we urge all trade unionists to send resolutions to their unions calling for active support and to consider establishing direct links between their branch and branches of Solidarity in Poland. A list of local Branches of Solidarity can be found on page two of this issue.