

ISSUE NO. 4

Including
SPECIAL
SUPPLEMENT
 with
Full Report of
Solidarity's
Conference

POLISH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN NEWSLETTER

CHAOS IN POLAND who is to blame?

"Wildcat strikes", we are told by the British press, are to blame for "chaos in Poland". Echoing the state-controlled media in Eastern Europe, television and newspapers put the responsibility at Solidarity's door. Tales of Walesa being "defied by militants", of "anarchy" and of "chaos" are commonplace with implied disapproval of Solidarity's wicked ways and almost a sigh of sympathy for the long suffering government of the country. Is this the true picture?

Two things have to be made clear straight away.

1. Solidarity is not an army and Lech Walesa is not a fuhrer who can order it about. Walesa is a leader democratically elected by the membership to represent its views and its needs as they emerge by consensus of opinion.

2. Solidarity is a voluntary confederation of union chapters at regional level and again a voluntary confederation of Regions at national level. The Regions are autonomous in their decision-making and constitutionally entitled to pursue policies which may differ from those of other regions and those of the National Commission. Consensus policy on most issues is sought and indeed usually agreed upon but cannot be forced upon a Region.

MISLEADING

In this context references to "wildcat strikes" when a Region goes against the advice of the National Commission are misleading since it implies that it is unruly and unconstitutional action by disruptive minority groups. Nothing can be further from the truth. This is clear from recent happenings in Poland. A typical stoppage, labelled "wildcat strike" by Western media took place in the Tarnobrzeg area when the Ziemia Sandomierska Region of Solidarity went on strike.

This is a major industrial area in Central Poland with large steelworks and a chemical industry. Immediately after being constituted in December 1980 the Solidarity's Regional leadership submitted a list to the local authorities containing burning issues which required urgent attention and indeed inspired the mass support for the emerging Solidarity in the first place. These included questions of flagrant lawbreaking by local functionaries and officials, inadequate and iniquitous distribution of housing, dangerous industrial pollution and, last but not least, the breakdown of the food distribution system in the region. The original submission was followed by numerous further approaches culminating in a formal meeting with the Governor of the

Region, the regional Public Prosecutor and the Polish chiefs of 14th April 1981 when solutions to various problems were reached, formal protocols solemnly signed and dates for the implementation of various items fixed.



10 million join Solidarity to fight chaos

However, no action of any description followed.

Seven more meetings produced only vague promises and in the meantime supplies of food and other essentials to the shops were erratic and the meat supply barely met 28% of the rations issued to the population of the Region. The frustration mounted and on August 3rd the Regional Commission of Solidarity under widespread pressure from the membership requested the replacement of the inept regional administration officials, but in

P.S.C. Diary

Sept. 17th., the first anniversary of the Foundation Conference of Solidarity in Gdansk, was the occasion for a PSC public meeting. The speakers were Eric Heffer M.P., Roy Grantham of APEX, and John Taylor and Wiktor Moszczynski of P.S.C. Eric Heffer condemned the invitation to attend the Labour Conference issued to the Soviet bloc Communist Parties, and in particular that extended to the Czech Communist Party.

Members of PSC lobbied Labour Party Conference delegates at the end of September. Our leaflet condemned the Labour Party's double standards in inviting the jailers and the jailed of Eastern Europe and complained about the presence of ruling Communist Party delegates, when Solidarity's National Congress was being threatened by Warsaw Pact military manoeuvres. P.S.C. also picketed the reception in the Brighton Pavilion organized by the Labour Party's International Committee and attended by delegates from the Soviet bloc Communist Parties.

Wiktor Moszczynski of PSC stepped in as a last minute speaker at a Newcastle public meeting in October when two members of Solidarity due to address the meeting were denied passports by the Bureau of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw. The public meeting was entitled "Trades Unions, Self-Management and Socialism: the Polish Experience" and was organized by the Tyneside Socialist Centre and the Shops Stewards Committee at Vickers Elswick. No reason was given for refusing the passports but it is suspected that although the Polish authorities cannot prevent top union leaders leaving Poland, they are determined to prevent grass roots contacts being established between Solidarity and trades unionists in the West.

Two Solidarity members were also prevented from attending a conference at Ruskin College called to discuss workers self-management.

A P.S.C. leaflet was distributed on the National C N D demonstration on October 24th. The leaflet called for the defence of Solidarity against Soviet threats and pointed to Solidarity as a genuine force for peace in Eastern Europe.

The demand for PSC's SOLIDARNOSC T-shirts has recently put great pressure on the resources of our despatch department (apologies to all those who had to wait so long for their T-shirts).

The sudden boom in our T-shirt sales was thanks to the hitherto unsuspected talent of Eric Heffer M.P. as a male model for casual attire.

At the end of our P.S.C. public meeting on September 17th., Eric bought a size 44-46 inch SOLIDARNOSC T-shirt, promising to wear it at the Labour Party Conference. The "Daily Mirror" featured Eric, resplendent in his T-shirt, with a derogatory comment about his sartorial taste. "Mirror" readers obviously did not agree with these comments. When they were informed by a letter to the "Old Codgers Column" how they could obtain similar T-shirts and like Eric advertise the cause of Solidarity, orders came flooding in.

To date we have received 1100 orders and we are now producing SOLIDARNOSC sweat shirts as well.

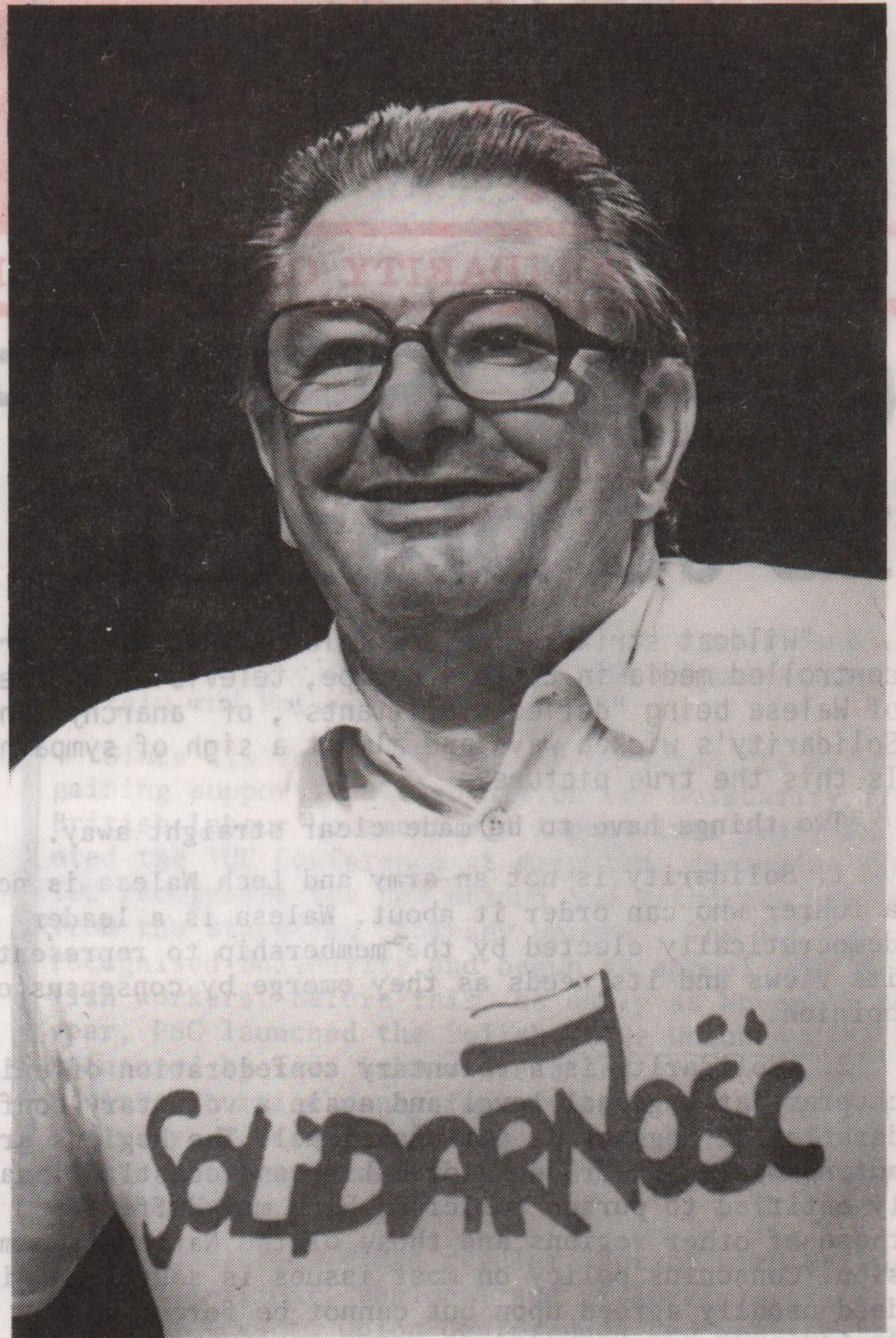
Profits will be used for printing equipment to Solidarity.

PUBLIC MEETING 30th NOVEMBER 1981- 7.30p.m.

Title: POLAND'S CHAOS-WHO'S TO BLAME?

Speakers: Neil Kinnock MP,
Philip Whitehead MP,
Jimmy Reid, a Polish speaker.

Venue Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
London W.C.1.
Nearest tube station - Holborn.



Eric Heffer showed his support for Solidarity at the Labour Party Conference this year. You can too. Buy a T-shirt, wear it with pride, and the profits will help us send essential printing equipment to Solidarity in Poland

* T-shirts: sizes 24", 26", 30", 32" for children
sizes small (34"-36")
medium (36"-38")
large (38"-40")
extra large (40"+)

£3.30 (inc. p+p) per shirt

Sweat-shirts (sizes as for T-shirts)
£6.90 (inc. p+p) per sweat shirt

For all the above write to PSC, 69 Edinburgh Road
London E 13.

All cheques to be made payable to Polish
Solidarity Campaign

British Media-Whose side are they on?

by the Editorial Board

The ousting of Polish Communist Party leader, Stanislaw Kania, and his replacement by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, may well mark a turning point in Poland's internal history. It also throws into sharp relief a style, or even a tendency, in British media coverage of events in Poland, one which PSC has, since its inception, always been critical of, but which now demands the most severe censure.

We have grown accustomed, for example, to the type of reporting personified by Tim Sebastian, BBC's man in Warsaw, face strained, the voice harsh, scarcely a week has gone by without their owner bringing to viewers in Britain dire warnings of the disasters that lay in wait for Solidarity if it continued to pursue its policy of demanding full political rights for its members.

Then there was the strange case of "Guardian's" Polish correspondent Hella Pick, who penned her articles very much in the style of a cautious reformer flying a trial balloon in the columns of "Polityka".

HERALDED

Each Gierek government purge or shuffle was heralded as the answer to the country's problems, of which Solidarity was implicitly one of the causes. But Pick went with Gierek. The emergence of his successor, Kania, brought a new name to the 'Guardians' Polish page, Michael Simmons. But the style remained the same. Solidarity caused the problems or crises, while the government, or party, simply responded. On balance, it would seem that the rulers of Poland are more sinned against than sinners. Take, for example, 'The Guardian's', front page lead on the fall of Kania. Jaruzelski, we learn, "has not minced words when speaking out...against the disruptive activities of Solidarity." Let us grant for a moment that Solidarity has indeed been guilty of what Simmons describes as 'disruption'. But what is being 'disrupted'? Surely it is a political, social and economic order that for more than three decades, has held the mass of Polish people in subjugation, has denied them the most elementary political freedom, has consigned their country to domination by a despised alien power, and now, more recently to economic ruin; which shot down in cold blood those workers who dared to stand up for their rights and which today, were it not for the moral and political force exerted by Solidarity, might do so again either alone or in concert with its Soviet architects. If anything it has been worthy of 'disruption' it has been the despotism imposed on the people of Poland.

MAN OF THE MOMENT?

Elsewhere in the same issue of the Guardian (Oct. 19) Simmons develops this theme. Jaruzelski, we read, is 'the man for a nation running out of time'. The Poles, we are informed, 'have always loved their generals'. Jaruzelski, is to prove no exception to this rule. And that despite his having authorised the participation of a Polish contingent in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. The only problem, it seems, is whether 'their [that is, the Poles] love of generals can be sustained for the next 12 months.

And how easily Simmons adopts not only the standpoint, but even the terminology, of Poland's rulers.



Media - Solidarity style

© Michael Yardley

One of the new leader's problems will be to deal with the 'right wing extremists in Solidarity', a task which, Simmons freely admits, the Russians will be pressing Jaruzelski to get to grips with pretty quickly. But, just like his ready use of the term 'disruption', what does 'right wing extremist' mean? Is it another term for fascism? Or does it simply imply a total rejection of all that Poland's past and present rulers stand for? If Simmons will look a little more closely at some of the men standing behind the current occupants of the leading government and party posts, he will detect in their politics more than a little that smacks of genuine 'right wing extremism' - right down to a virulent anti-semitism.

"WEARY POLES"

And what are we to make of Simmons' final comments, again plucked out of the air - or perhaps from a party journal - that 'many Poles have grown weary with Solidarity's tactics' and that, consequently, Jaruzelski 'has these Poles on his side' as well as the Russians. Which Poles? How many? How does Simmons know? Who exactly has told him - since he has absolutely no way of finding out for himself - that 'many Poles would welcome decisive action against Solidarity? Isn't this just the argument the Russians would invoke to justify an invasion of Poland - that the Poles have 'grown weary' of 'right wing extremists' 'disruptive activities' by Solidarity? Such opinions, coming from a widely respected Western newspaper, could prove just the ammunition the enemies of Solidarity need to fire off at their western critics. Look, even your own newspapers and television say that Solidarity is disrupting people's power in Poland, that its leaders are right wing extremists, and that the Poles have grown weary of their tactics'.

KATOWICE

These are not isolated incidents. Just read what 'The Guardian' said on October 23rd. There it was reported - not by Simmons - that Stefan Olszowski, one of Solidarity's sternest critics that if the union did not rid itself of 'right wing advisers, sooner or later it will not be able to exist'. These were Olszowski's own words, but the terminology and the tone he shares with Simmons. Simmons, for his part, gave his view of the current stage reached in the conflict between Poland's new rulers and Solidarity. He focused on Katowice, scene of a particularly ugly attack on Solidarity demonstrators by Police. But Simmons saw something else. The attack on the workers was not the responsibility of the authorities, but rather, 'conservative Marxist-Leninists'. But even more interestingly, Simmons sees blame on both sides.

The aim of Solidarity, no less than its obscure attackers was to 'get support, even if that means using agents provocateurs or infiltrators of some sort'. Of evidence to support this accusation, there is not a trace. Or, if there is, Simmons does not let us know about it. Perhaps someone 'in the know' has told him, just as he probably learned from a similar source, that 'many Poles' were now fed up with Solidarity, and impatient for action against it.

Nor is this all. The very next day (Saturday October 24th) Simmons again wrote the front page lead for 'The Guardian'. Its headlines encapsulated the story. 'Warsaw sends in the army to end chaos'. 'Government says Solidarity made unpopular measures necessary'. Well, it would wouldn't it? But what does Simmons say? The situation had been 'steadily deteriorating' for 'weeks'. And so, at last, the Polish government had 'decided to enlist the help of the army in restoring law and order.' And about time too, we are led to conclude. Once more, we are told, of 'those Poles who have had enough of public protests and shortages' - linking two quite distinct phenomena - and by so doing implying that Solidarity's 'public protests' (directed, more often than not, against shortages) were somehow responsible for Poland's economic difficulties. Further on, 'those Poles' become 'many Poles' who, we learn, see the use of the army as 'a last ditch effort by the authorities to reach a power sharing agreement with the unions'. How many is many?

"BANGING ON"

Simmons is just an extreme example of a more general case. His views on what we might term 'the leading role of the army', and the culpability of Solidarity for Poland's present problems, cannot be dismissed as the eccentric opinions of a reporter. They are quite consistent with 'The Guardian's' editorial policy, which is one of advising Solidarity to moderate its demands, thereby tailoring them not to the needs of its members, but what is deemed acceptable (in London) to the authorities in Warsaw and Moscow. On one memorable occasion, a 'Guardian' leader scolded Solidarity's Congress for 'banging on' in 'provocative' fashion about press freedom, the release of political prisoners and such like, seemingly oblivious to the hypocrisy of denying to Poland that which the writer enjoys without question here in Britain.

And just as Simmons exemplifies a more general trend of thinking in the editorial offices of his employer, so 'The Guardian' represents just one shade of what at times seems to be an all-pervading indifference to the fate of Poland, in a spectrum that ranges from the solidly establishment to the most intransigently revolutionary. The media reponds, it is true, to current events as it sees them, but how it sees them is often shaped by long and deeply ingrained traditions. Britain's attitude to Poland is no exception. Students of 19th century diplomatic history would in all probability agree that the then British political establishment, despite its occasional noises of sympathy, did nothing that might sour Whitehall's good relations with the oppressors and dividers of Poland - first and foremost, Tsarist Russia.

"ZONE OF INFLUENCE"

Since 'stability' in Europe took precedence over political liberty, those responsible for shaping British policy towards Poland have repeatedly found themselves assigning its people to this or that 'zone of influence', be it Bismarck's Germany, Hapsburg Austria, Tsarist Russia or as has been the case since 1945, Stalin's and now Brezhnev's USSR. The guidelines for this latest phase in Britain's Polish policy were laid down by The Times in the last two years of the Second World War. Visualising an Eastern Europe occupied at the war's end, by Stalin's that 'if Britain's frontier is on the Rhine then it

military forces, The Times argued on March 28th, 1943, could be 'just as pertinently said that Russia's frontier is on the Oder'. Which, of course, was as good as saying that Poland belonged to Russia's 'sphere of influence', a claim endorsed by Churchill at one of his meetings with Stalin in the later stages of the war. Britain The Times insisted, had to recognise, in advance, the legitimacy of Stalin's demands which were based upon the realisation that Russia's interests 'will best be served if the lands between her frontiers and those of Germany are held by governments and peoples friendly to herself'.

QUISLING

Hitler and Stalin both proved it was possible to create governments that are 'friendly' to their creators. Today we know them by the name of their first vassal, Quisling. But it is another matter altogether when it comes to persuading people who have been conquered and assigned to a particular 'zone of influence' to love their conquerors. It is, to be sure, quite easy, given sufficient means of intimidation to secure the outward forms of compliance with, even enthusiasm for, one's own subjugation. But genuine friendship - never. Yet his advice - and we can be sure it was listened to with respect and sympathy - was to remind the architects of British foreign policy that 'attempted interventions of western powers in relations between Poland and Russia, however well-intentioned, has rarely brought credit to those powers or - what is more important - advantage to the Polish nation.' And, The Times concluded, the time had now come to disown the London-based government in exile, and extend full diplomatic recognition to Stalin's puppet regime, then located in Moscow. 'The Times', just like 'The Guardian' today, began to assume not only the line, but even the language of Poland's oppressors. The London exiles were scornfully referred to, Molotov-fashion, as the 'emigre Polish government' long before Britain actually officially withdrew its recognition from them. And just as 'The Guardian' today finds Solidarity's trade union activities 'disruptive' and 'provocative', so then 'The Times' accused the Polish government of 'mischief making' and 'wrecking'.. In each case, the guilt lay in not accepting Russia's right to dictate to Poland the pattern of its politics and the structure of its society.

BRAVE STAND

So this tradition dies hard. And yet die it must if Poland is to secure in the West the support it deserves for its brave stand for the political liberties we enjoy as our birthright. PSC has set itself the task of evoking, and continuing, another tradition in Anglo-Polish relations, the tradition that began in 1863 with a decision by the organised workers of London to organise a public campaign against Tsarist domination of Poland. By an unforeseen chain of events the meeting convened to proclaim British labour's solidarity with Poland led to the formation of the International Workingmen's Association. It was a movement that from its inception proclaimed the duty of all democratic and working people to defend, in the interests not only of Poland, but of general human progress, the cause of Polish freedom and independence. Today, once again British labour is called upon to answer Poland's cry for help.

ACT NOW

You can play your part in many ways, through your trade union, party, or any other organisation you might belong to. But perhaps one of the most effective ways of defending Solidarity is to protest to those responsible for slandering and misrepresenting its struggle to defend the cause of democracy in Poland. Write to 'The Guardian'. Telephone the BBC (or ITV) when their reporters for the umpteenth time, appear to be acting as mouthpieces for the Polish government, and not objective recorders of events as they see them. Above all, let Poland know that here in Britain, it has friends it can count upon.

Invasion of Poland Who Gains?

Hawks in the Kremlin or the Pentagon would be guardedly relieved no doubt at a military solution to Poland's problems, even though such an event would be greeted with horror by U.S. and West European public opinion, and would be marked down as a political failure for the Soviet and Polish leadership. An invasion would delight, no doubt, members of the NCP, or the Spartacists. The latter had this gem to offer in the October issue of their British house journal: "Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this. And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution."

Yet there would be other beneficiaries from an invasion.

Mid-morning of Friday, October 16th., a rumour circulated the London Metal Exchange about Soviet military intervention in Poland. For the next two hours it spread through the wires of Europe's commodity and money markets like wildfire.

Buyers and dealers had been complaining about a depressing morning that day, now to their surprise the market was buoyant. In those brief two hours copper's price per tonne rose from £922 to £925; lead from £367 to £374; zinc from £474 to £480. Silver in the London market rose from £5.28 to £5.36 per troy ounce. On the Zurich precious metals market gold rose from \$440 to \$445. The U.S. Dollar rose generally against European currencies by several cents in as many minutes.

By noon the prices subsided again because of the "depressing" news from Poland - there had been no intervention after all.

Yet the rumours from an unknown source which had fed this false recovery, had allowed some skilful dealers to make a killing. Perhaps they are waiting for a similar "killing" to recur, slightly more prolonged next time!

Wiktor Moszczynski

Books For Sale?

A new book on Solidarity has appeared in Britain. Its title is "Quo Vadis? Poland", written by J. Mutterage and published by Harney and Jones. The name of the publishers may sound unfamiliar. In fact it is a new company and this book is its first publication, published simultaneously with an authorised history of the Czech Communist Party. It shows Solidarity in an extremely hostile light, as an agency of Western Imperialism, the Vatican, the CIA, Polish emigres and Zionism.

The publishing house admits to being a front for the New Communist Party and it has set up Harney and Jones on an agency basis for Orbis books - the official Czech publishers, in order to act as their commercial outlet in Britain. The NCP are reported to have several thousand members, and a lot of funds. One NCP district organiser reported to the 'Guardian' that "some people in the New Communist Party..are praying that the Russian tanks will roll into Poland." The publishers claim that the author J. Mutterage, is a well known Polish journalist whose book is supposed to have sold 100,000 copies in Poland.

We checked the fact with the Foreign Department of Solidarity's National Office in Gdansk. Back came the reply: "We have never heard of him or his book." This was confirmed by Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the member of Solidarity's National Presidium responsible for culture and the press. We advised Martin Walker of the "Guardian" about this in view of the recent publicity given to this ignominious book by that paper. In fact similar information had been passed to Martin Walker from the "Guardian's" Warsaw correspondent.

Walker challenged Harney and Jones spokesman Dick Geldart about the 100,000 copies sold in Poland. "We had a translation error," replied Geldart. "The letter we had said that 100,000 copies had been sold in Polish - not Poland."

Who on earth would publish 100,000 copies of an unreadable deceitful book written in Polish outside Poland? Students learning Polish at the Czech Ministry of Security perhaps?

Censors Try Cutting 'MAN OF IRON'

(Translated from "IKS" no.1 published August 1981 by the Cultural Section of the Warsaw Chapter of Solidarity)

Those of you who saw this screen masterpiece by the Polish director Andrzej Wajda which portrayed so clearly the spirit and emotion behind the Gdansk strike of 1980, would be interested to know what the Polish censorship office wanted to excise from the film, "in the spirit... of the state as a spokesman of the Social Agreement and its co-partnership in responsibility."

- Cut out the text expressed in the course of a dialogue assessing the political tension in the country: "Party monopoly from the cradle to the grave."

- Remove the twice repeated content of the popular ballad about Jan Wisniewski killed in December 1970, or at least retain it only once, in Tomczyk's room, eliminating from the text of the ballad, the expressions: "bandits from Slupsk", "bloodthirsty cops", "against the cops, against the tanks".

- Leave out of the film the documentary section which depicts arrests in the street in 1970 and scenes of a detainee being beaten by a policeman.

- Remove the scene of the recovery of a drowned body in the Motlawa. The scene suggests without ambiguity that it was the security forces who secretly killed a KOR activist. Removal of that scene along with the fragment of the text, "They can't drown the whole nation."

- Remove the scene where Tomczyk is punched in the stomach after the end of the search in his room.

- Remove the scene of Captain Wirski's exercises in the hall with the mannequins.

- Three times in the course of the film the question is raised of graves being obliterated of those killed in December 1970. Propose removal of those fragments.

- The scene appears a number of times in flashback where a group of people carry a person killed in the events of December 1970. The first flashback is accompanied by the recording of police radio conversations concerning that scene. Propose that this scene is shortened and that the radio commentaries of the police are eliminated.

- Remove those episodes in the text which concern the possibility of intervention by "our proven friends" (Capt. Wirski), the phrase by the KOR activist that "instead of burning Committees, we should set up our own.", and the expression "KOR" which is mentioned in the course of the film.

- Remove the scene where Tomczyk is in the shipyard and expresses the view about workers being persecuted in Radom and workers beaten in Ursus.

- Propose consideration of removing penultimate scene about paper agreements, the expression "Father was killed by the police in Gdynia", and the use of the name Kociolek.

FUNDAMENTALISTS AND PRAGMATISTS

There were two distinct camps - the fundamentalists and the pragmatists. The latter included Bogdan Lis, Karol Modzelewski, Andrzej Gwiazda, Sila-Nowicki and others. The fundamentalists had among their number Professor Leszek Nowak, Andre Wiczorek, K. Firlejczyk, Waldemar Gil.

The background to the discussion was the growing radicalisation of the members of the union. During the 15th September meeting delegates discussed the meetings they had held with workers during the interval between the two rounds of the conference. There appeared to be general disappointment among union members on the question of the relations with the Party and authorities. There were fears that unless the union took a more determined stand, people would turn away from it. There is no doubt that the harder line recently adopted by the authorities was behind the recent radicalisation of the union's grass roots.

Delegates who spoke at this meeting, after meeting with union members, often seemed to have less confidence in the pragmatists in spite of the fact that they were the most well-known activists in the union.

The fundamentalists spoke about the overall causes lying behind the general crisis; the pragmatists limited themselves to discussing the conditions necessary for realising last year's common agreements, how these could be advanced and what was obstructing them. The former seemed rather to be preparing the basis for an ideological manifesto; while the latter were, step by step, paving the way for a strategic plan of action. Its overall form was defined by their conception of the Gdansk Agreements.

MARXIST PARADOX

Basing themselves on the marxist concept of class struggle, the fundamentalists announce in their programme, "The Party apparatus has become the dominating class which concentrates in its hands the three essential elements of power: property, force and propaganda. Instead of the promised classless society they have built the most class-ridden society in history, a society in which on the one extreme concentrates all the political economic and doctrinal power - and at the other extreme there are the masses who have nothing (nothing to lose apart from their chains - as Marx would have said)."

Karol Modzelewski said that the fundamentalists' project had the character of an ideological manifesto and had its roots in the various conflicting Marxist doctrines which have been topical over the last decade. It was rather like a self-contained doctrine, the ideological basis for a new radical party, and as such was not suited to the needs of a ten million member pluralistic union like Solidarity.

The basic difference between the two camps, according to Leszek Kaczynski, was that the fundamentalists are eventually seeking to overthrow the system, whereas the pragmatists aim to improve and repair the system on the basis of the agreements reached last summer.

GDANSK AGREEMENTS

It is significant that the fundamentalists make no mention of the Gdansk Agreements in their programme, because they want to go beyond the Agreements. The pragmatists' point of view is based on those Agreements. In the first sentence of their project they make it clear that the Union is a part of the Gdansk Agreements on which the democratic renewal of Polish society is based:

"The Union recognises the realities of post-war Europe...and the fundamental political form of the Polish Peoples Republic. We accept the first article of the Gdansk Agreements in accordance with this principle, thus binding us not to question the place of the Polish United Workers Party in the political administration of

DEMOCRAC



One of the hallmarks of Solidarity is political pluralism. This giant union of activists of many shades of opinion among members about policy the British press tends to simplify Solidarity by referring only to the one normally shown as a representative figure, Lech Wałęsa and other "notables" of the union.

We print below two extracts ("Tygodnik Solidarnosc") of debates on the question of self-management. A commission set up between the union and the Party had made a compromise with the Resolution on Self-management.

the state. Yet there must be realism on both sides if we are to fulfil our obligations. We, from our side, demand from the authorities: firstly, that they clearly and unambiguously renounce the use of force against society when enjoying its democratic rights (protest actions, strikes, peaceful street demonstrations, forming autonomous bodies); secondly, the recognition by the Party and the state authorities that the freedoms granted to the Polish people are inviolable and that there will be no attempt to limit them."

BREAD

The pragmatists' programme meets the criticism often raised that Solidarity is trying to seize power: "It is a struggle for bread in which a trade union legitimately engages itself, and not a struggle for political power. We must promote and initiate new forms of organization, which will allow the working masses to take the production and distribution of goods into their own hands. We need worker self-management. Only that will enable society to regenerate itself, to rescue our nation and secure food for us all."

Jadwiga Staniszkis warned that the pragmatic outlook would turn away some of the grass roots members who wanted the Union to take a decisive stand "on this side or that side". These fears were confirmed by team delegates who had discussed the issue with workers at their plants.

SOLIDARITY'S ROLE

Sila-Nowicki (expert) said that the Union could not go back on the Gdansk Agreements. Questioning the rights and position of Party members in the Union would be inconsistent with the essential principle of pluralism advocated by the Union. Since last August, we have been living in a different Poland, and only a blind man could fail to see that. Jan Strzelecki added that it was the extremists from the Party who wanted to drive the Union off the course begun by the Gdansk Agreements. Solidarity is not a 'party' and is not reaching out for power, but the Union has sufficient power to supervise the authorities and exert influence on the way they function.

Y AT WORK

solidarity is its assertive democracy of 9.5 million members includes a division among its ranks, so disagreements are no surprise. Unfortunately they intensify the debates and conflicts in the ranks of "moderates" and "radicals". Walesa is representative of the former; Gwiazda, Ruzhicki and the latter.

from reports in Solidarity Weekly they focus on two of the most controversial issues: relations with the Party and the government.

The first debate takes place in two rounds of the Congress; the first was after the Solidarity Praesidium's decision not to support the government not wholly consistent with the government shown in the supple-



DEBATE ON SELF-MANAGEMENT

Andrzej Gwiazda.

The only significant victory was the fact that during the session of the Sejm (Parliament) there was an open and genuine discussion, and that a substantially unchanged version of our bill emerged from the vote. Looking at the matter from a strictly formal point of view the resolution of the Praesidium of the KKP (National Coordination Committee of Solidarity) is not inconsistent with the rules of the Congress, because the Congress can overrule the resolution. But our members think, all the same, that the decision is not in line with the principles of our Union. Discussions were held over the heads of our members. Our Union in its resolutions does not speak to the people, or to our members, but it addresses itself to the government, to the authorities. It recalls another of the Union's grandiloquent manoeuvres which ended in capitulation. "The Union marched to war in full battle dress, only to end up with a complete compromise. It has considerably weakened our negotiating power with the government on the issue of worker self-management. We have gained very little compared with what we wanted to achieve...The likelihood of our giving-way was all too predictable for the authorities...In the circumstances, the speaker recommended that the resolution should be suspended.

Daniel Filar.

Answering the critics of the Praesidium, the speaker stressed that it had strong reasons for acting the way it did. "Would anyone else have settled the issue better?" he asked the meeting and received some applause by way of answer from the hall.

Lech Walesa.

I don't want to seem an idiot, someone who will dance to whatever tune the experts choose to call. It is easy to avoid coming to decisions, but it is essential we make decisions, popular or unpopular. You gave me Gil's committee and the experts. If Gil and his group have their say, and the Praesidium takes a democratic vote three to one, then that must mean something...I am a practical man. We must eventually make our standpoint clear and come to terms with Poland as it is day. I have heard proposals today to do away with the Sejm and the Government, I could not agree to that because they would be replaced with an even worse form of totalitarianism. We must guard against making such mistakes. People have shouted "dictatorship" but have avoided taking on any responsibilities. I too could have shunned my responsi-

bility to make a decision, but what would have come of it? We are not building for ourselves, but for Poland.

Jerzy Ciepiela.

"If we allow a few activists to be decision-makers for us, then we may find that they might decide to disband the Union". Speaking about the proposals for economic reform, he said, "The government will try to provoke us but there are limits to the concessions we can make and we should not go beyond them. We must not abandon the issue of worker self-management." He criticised the current practice of the KKP: "They only call upon us when it is to seek our confirmation." Summing up, he said the decision over self-management should be set aside until the elections for the new KKP.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

I was not present at the meeting of the Praesidium about which so much has been said. Was the conduct of the Praesidium inconsistent with the resolution of the Congress? I think that the Praesidium had a right to give its approval to the compromise solution. We have with us today guests from the British trade unions. There, it is nothing unusual for a negotiating team to arrive at a settlement which the members subsequently reject. We too can reject it. But is it worth it? The Sejm has shown that it is not just the monolith it was in the past.

Jan Rulewski.

He said that he was the only person at the Praesidium to vote against the resolution. He thought that when the Union is obviously being treated with contempt it is not in its interests to go around making compromises. He proposed that the resolution of the KKP should not be recognised for formal reasons, and that the resolution of the first round of the Congress should become part of the Union's programme. They should continue the fight.

Edward Nowak (from the Lenin foundry in Krakow but also putting forward the views of the Warski Shipyard).

The workers from our plants found it totally inadmissible that four members of the Praesidium alone should take a decision on a matter of such importance. For that reason they appeal to the delegates to oppose such a blatant infringement of democracy.

Jacek Kuron.

He drew attention to the unusual circumstances in which the decision is reached. For the first time the Sejm requested the views of a genuine social movement for its opinion on the proposed resolution. For that reason the Praesidium could not ignore the Sejm's offer. Had they rejected it, this would have forced the Sejm to accept the government's version of the bill, and would have exposed the Union to further propaganda attacks. Had that occurred no doubt the Praesidium would have been attacked today for ignoring the Sejm's offer. On his own analysis Kuron expected the Sejm to reject the most important amendments put forward by the Union. It turned out differently. Support from the members of the Sejm on a number of fundamental issues made it possible for the Union to continue the fight for self-management.

Patrycjusz Kosmowski.

He disagreed with Kuron and thought that the Union had good grounds to continue the struggle. At their meetings with the voters the members of the Sejm were compelled to support the public's project. By compromising the Union had given in to the government, even though the Sejm had burned the government's fingers. Not being a member of the Praesidium he could not vote, but if he could have voted he would have voted against their decision. He vehemently attacked the experts (i.e. Kuron and other advisers to the Union) alleging that now just as at the time of the Gdansk agreements, they are making the Union's work more difficult. If they want to launch into politics they should join a party....

"Tygodnik Solidarnosc"

translated by Piotr Iglowski

EAST EUROPEAN NEWS

Solidarity Congress received the following telegram from the Soviet Founding Committee of Free Trade Unions.

Greetings to the First National Congress of Solidarity from a country where the working class has never had independent trade unions that would tenaciously defend the interests of the working masses. The achievements of the Polish proletariat are such that we can only dream of. Our own workers' movement is only being born, but in the present vortex of events and ideas a little spark is enough to make it break out in a big flame that will wipe out those who so mercilessly exploit the immense patience of the Russian people. The struggle for the rights of ordinary people in Poland is also our fight. Everything you do to bring about the death of mendacity and hypocrisy, to satisfy the elementary needs of workers, weakens our regime too. Poland will not be free as long as Russia is not free. Only democratic changes on this side of the Bug River will make it possible for us and for you to build a free and flourishing country.

How very much we need a free Russian workers' movement. How much we would like to give you our unconditional support. But the day will come, we firmly believe, that Polish and Russian workers will go arm in arm to meet democracy and progress. Today Solidarity is a signpost to us. At the cost of persecutions, blood and sufferings the Polish workers have broken the shackles of the regime trade unions. In view of your Congress we, Russian workers and members of the intelligentsia, though there are still few of us, solemnly vow to do in our motherland everything possible to help you, to spread the truth about you, to expose lies and, if need be, to defend you all by all possible means.

Long live the friendship of the Polish and Russian people.

Long live the international solidarity of all working people.

May God help you in your historical work.

Founding Committee of Free Trade Unions

Information Centre no.15#8

Translation by Information Centre on Polish Affairs (UK)

The following letter from Perm Labour Camp Complex no. 36 (in the Urals), was published in "Freedom Appeals" in the Sept-Oct issue of that American journal.

"To the independent Trade Union Solidarity.

We are with you, our Polish brothers, in your ascendant hour."

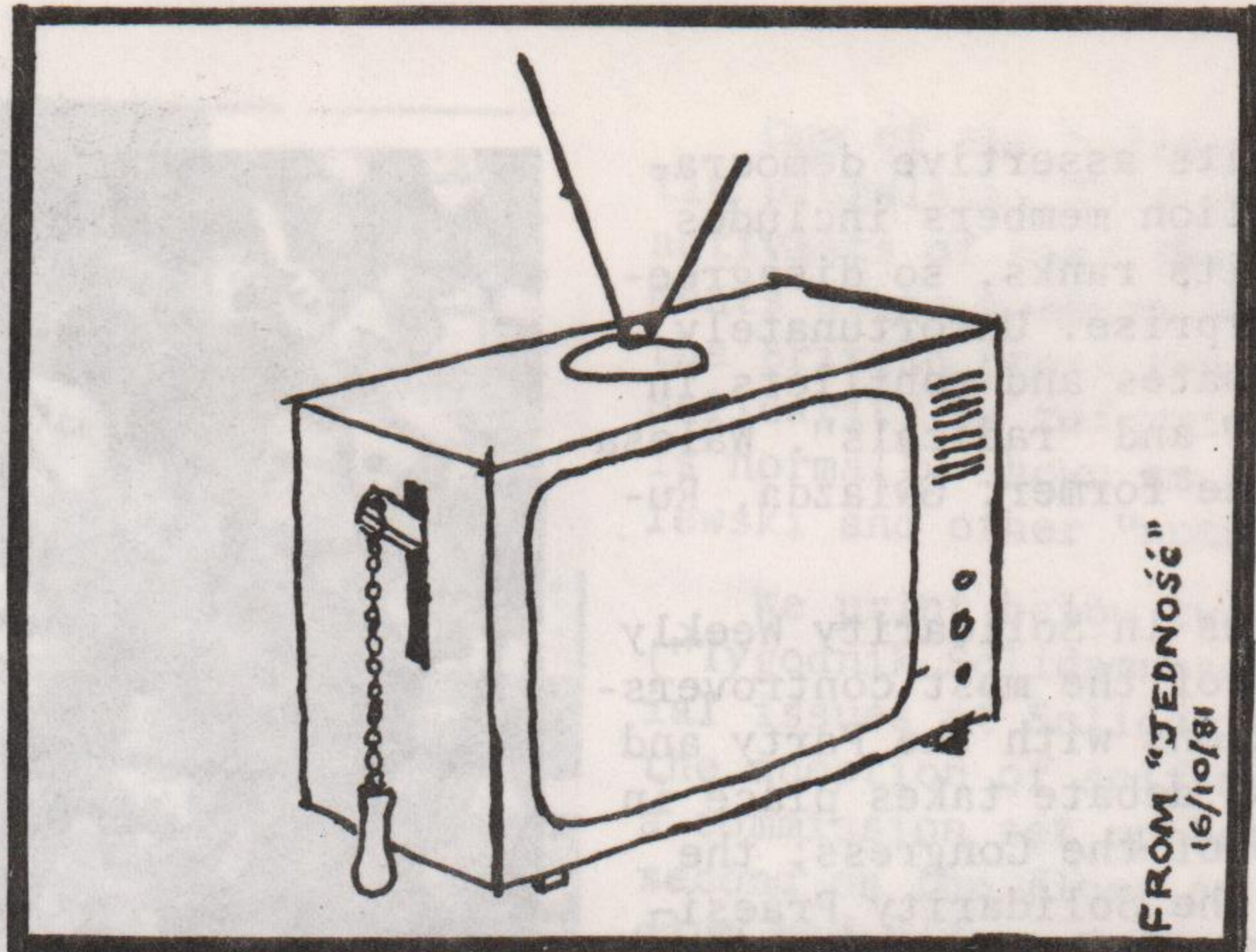
The appended signatures:

Norik Grigoryan (an Armenian and former KGB member)
Miroslav Marynovic (member of Ukrainian Helsinki Watch Group)

Victor Nikipilov (member of Helsinki Watch Group)
Alexei Satronov (ex Soviet soldier who at the age of 19 tried to escape to the West)

Alexandr Ogorodnikov (founder of Christian Seminar)
Antanas Terleckas (member of the Lithuanian Helsinki Watch Committee)

Source: US National Review Nov. 13 '81



Anatoly Marchenko, one of the first Soviet citizens to make a public declaration of support for Solidarity, was sentenced to ten years in a strict labour camp, followed by five years exile, on 4th September. All friends and relatives were excluded from his trial, in Vladimir, on charges which included 'slandorous fabrications against the Soviet State' and incitement to 'the armed overthrow of Soviet power'.

The centrepiece of the prosecution 'evidence' was a collection of Marchenko's recent writings, including an article 'Will Soviet tanks invade Poland...?'. Unfortunately no further details of this are available; the court would not allow Marchenko's incriminating writings to be read out.

The following report appeared in the Polish journal "Independence" (Niezaleznosc)

The life of Tibor Pakh, a 50 year old Hungarian lawyer, is in grave danger. He has been forcibly detained in a Budapest "psychiatric" hospital since October 9th. 1981 where he is heavily dosed with pain-inducing drugs and is being force-fed.

He was arrested on October 4th. at the Hungarian border on his way to Poland. His passport was taken away and he was sent back to Budapest. Pakh protested to the Prosecutor-General, and began a hunger strike in the University Church in Budapest. He was arrested again and taken away to a psychiatric hospital.

Tibor Pakh has been active in the human rights movement for many years. He had been arrested in 1956, and released after serving 12 years of his 15 year sentence

on Tibor Pakh has been active in the human rights movement for many years. He had been arrested in 1956, and released on medical grounds after serving 12 years of his 15-year sentence. He was the only non-Polish participant in the hunger strike in Poland in protest at the arrest of Miroslaw Chojecki (from the Polish Independent Publishing House NOWA) in the Spring of 1980. This year he wrote letters of protest to the Hungarian Government, objecting to the state's lies and misrepresentations about Solidarity.

"The Poles won because they were willing to make sacrifices. I will probably die, but I cannot give up the fight," he said.

The Hungarian opposition is appealing for help to release him from hospital. Solidarity has taken up his cause and has drafted a petition in his support.

PSC at Brighton

by A.M.Fisher

Conference

Since it exists exclusively to advance the cause of free trade unionism in Poland, the Polish Solidarity Campaign does not involve itself in the domestic political scene here in Britain. Our interest in the attitudes and activities of the major political parties arises purely from a concern that they should not do or say anything that might aid the opponents of Solidarity, and that, where possible, they should act positively on its behalf. With this in mind, PSC went to Brighton the first week of September to observe, and where the opportunity presented itself, to influence the policy of the Labour Party in matters related, directly and indirectly, to Poland.

The number one question, in our view, was the lamentable decision made by the Labour National Executive Committee to invite to Conference delegations from ruling Communist parties, including the Czech Party and the CPSU. PSC's policy has been and remains that of severing all links with bogus state-controlled 'labour' organizations from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Such fraternization only lends credence in the eyes of the more naive or badly informed to the spurious claims made on behalf of these organizations.

Even worse, it actively assists the slandering and persecution of those who are struggling, not only in Poland, but in other countries of the Soviet bloc, to establish free trade unions and other organizations genuinely representative of popular interests and opinions. On more than one occasion these "fraternal links" have been cited as proof that western socialist and trade union organizations acknowledge the legitimacy of their supposed counterparts in the east. This is then advanced as further justification for the harsh treatment meted out to those who do not share this evaluation.

A 'RIGHT BALLS-UP'

So the PSC was particularly anxious to bring the issue of the invitations to the Czechs and Russians (for the first time since 1968) to the attention of Labour Party delegates, and, if possible, to the broader public. We had already learned that as a result of what was termed a "right balls-up", the Labour Party's International Committee, on the proposal of Frank Allaun and Eric Clarke, had confirmed amid protests the invitation to the Czech and Soviet parties. Eric Heffer strongly protested against the invitations, and countered them with the suggestion to invite 8 dissidents who had been, or were still being, persecuted by these same East European parties. Labour Leader Michael Foot supported this compromise solution, resulting in Conference welcoming the jailers and the jailed.

PSC responded by producing a leaflet attacking this decision specifically, and also criticising Labour's two-faced policy generally on relations with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. We also mounted a picket of the official reception provided for international visitors at the Brighton Pavilion on the evening of Monday, 28th. September. Armed with leaflets, placards, banners and loud voices we challenged arriving guests to show their support for workers' rights in the East by staying away from the reception, where amongst others, the Czech and Soviet comrades would be on view. One placard, in parody of the Amnesty International charity event, invited prospective guests to "boycott the secret policeman's banquet". Some guests looked embarrassed, others including Western European guests and M.P's were even sympathetic. But they still went in. Jim Callaghan looked mildly amused, claiming that the invitations had nothing

to do with him. Michael Foot said that the issue of Solidarity had been raised with the Soviet leaders, and promised that all would be explained in his address to Conference. The target of the operation - the CPSU delegation - marched in looking straight ahead.

Possibly (we hope) as a result of the picket, the Soviet and Czech visitors failed to appear at the following night's international dinner. Their non-arrival might also have been influenced by memories of an encounter at the previous night's reception with the exiled dissident Pyotr Egides, and British Labour historian Walter Kendall, which ended with the Soviet delegates literally running away. Pyotr Egides, recently expelled from the Soviet Union for his editorship of the unofficial Moscow journal "Poiski" (its other editors are still in prison) was one of the principle speakers later that same evening at a well attended fringe meeting held by the East European Solidarity Campaign, with whom the PSC shares some prominent members and sponsors. Egides bitterly attacked double standards of the Labour Party on the Soviet bloc. Having spent 11 years in Soviet prisons and psychiatric institutions, he felt outraged that "the conference of the British workers' party should invite anti-Socialists" and expressed the hope that he might be permitted to address the Conference to speak in support of a motion condemning the Soviet government for, amongst other crimes, the exile of human rights campaigner Sakharov, the 15 year prison sentence passed on the Soviet free trade unionist Marchenko for supporting Solidarity, the repression of 'Poiski' and the arrest of its editors, the persecution of free trade unionists like Khlebanov (currently in a psychiatric hospital), the invasion of Afghanistan, the military threats to Poland and repeated slanders of Solidarity. A party, that passed such a resolution, declared Egides, would be a genuine workers' party. The resolution was of the utmost importance because "the Polish working class has saved the honour of the international working class."

LABOUR'S DOUBLE STANDARDS

Eric Heffer repeated what he had said at a recent PSC public meeting in London, namely that Labour's double standards concerning repression by regimes which called themselves socialist was helping to discredit socialism. He hoped that Conference would make a clear statement of support for Solidarity and he reiterated his opposition to the decision to invite the Czech and Soviet Communist parties.

In the Conference itself, neither Poland, nor the rest of the Soviet bloc, received much attention. Despite his promise to the P.S.C. picket on September 28th., Michael Foot's address to Conference did not adequately cover the issue of Solidarity in the Brezhnev talks. He only repeated the Socialist International's warning to Brezhnev not to endanger detente by interfering in Poland. According to a foreign report in the "Sunday Times", the Labour leader had intimated to Brezhnev that even a Soviet invasion would not dissuade the Labour Party from talking peace with the Russians).

The resolution supporting Solidarity put forward by the Acton Labour Party was not accepted by the Conference Arrangements Committee, because in the words of Acton delegate John Gallagher "the NEC stated that they had already made clear their position on Poland." (Yet the ambiguous NEC statement was now 13 months old!)

Continued on page 10

Continued from page 9:

•However in the debate on disarmament a Manchester delegate declared his support for Solidarity and his opposition to the presence in the hall of delegates from parties which were seeking to destroy it.

Throughout, Conference was chaired by Transport and General Workers Union leader Alex Kitson, who not so long ago, delivered a speech to a Russian Revolution anniversary rally in Moscow that had as one of its highlights, the exclamation "Long live the Soviet trade unions". So considerable pressure needed to be exerted by PSC members and other human rights activists before, at Conference's last gasp on Friday, Kitson conveyed the Labour Party's support for victims of political repression in Eastern Europe. No mention, however, of Solidarity. Those prominent in helping to secure this last minute but nevertheless invaluable - statement included Peter Hain, Phillip Whitehead (who had conducted a one-man campaign against the visits through the letter pages of Labour Weekly), Vladimir Derer of the East European Solidarity Campaign, and members of the PSC.

DIFFERING SYMPATHIES

There were also others who had been fighting the good fight on a different front. Three NEC members - Eric Hoffer, Neil Kinnock and Tony Saunois (the Young Socialist representative) continued to oppose the invitations right up to the beginning of the conference, but were heavily outnumbered by those - from all wings of the party - who wanted the East European and Soviet parties at Brighton. One of the most cheering sights of the week was Eric Hoffer, a sponsor of the PSC Trade Union Appeal Fund displaying his Solidarity T-shirt during the Tuesday session. On the debit side, an individual member of P.S.C. received rather a cool reception from Tony Benn, who only after repeated badgering, agreed to sign a petition in support of the persecuted human rights group in Czechoslovakia - Charter 77. It appears that he feared that his signing it would indicate opposition to the visit of the Czech Communist Party to Conference, a visit that Benn of course supported. It is ironic that the guests from the Czech Communist Party had just jailed another of the Labour Party's invited guests, Rudolf Battek, for seven and a half years; his "political crimes" included a letter to the Socialist International of which the Labour Party is a member.

Incidents such as this demonstrate just how far the PSC - and other organisations committed to the same general aims - have to continue to make their case for political freedom in Eastern Europe, and in our case, Poland. The sympathy of the general public is undoubtedly there. The going gets tougher the more one targets in on activists of whatever complexion who care for ideology more than humanity. P.S.C. hopes that in a year, the Labour Party, together with all other broadly-based organisations which claim to stand for political freedom, and specifically, the right of workers to organise in trade unions, comes off the fence and sides with the persecuted against the persecutors.

The members of the P.S.C. News Editorial Board are: Robin Blick (Political Editor), Piotr Iglkowski, Anna Lubelska (Sales), Wiktor Moszczyński, Steve Murray.

Views expressed in signed articles in this issue are not necessarily the views of either the Editorial Board or the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

Continued from front page:

response to an appeal of Solidarity's National Commission strike action was postponed until the conclusion of the First National Congress of Solidarity in Gdansk.

In the interval provided, however, the authorities made no moves to implement the agreements signed in April.

On October 14th. at a joint meeting of the Regional Commission of Rural Solidarity and the Regional Committee of Solidarity proper, requests were made for a discussion with representatives of the central government duly empowered to introduce changes in the local administration. These demands were ignored and a two-hour warning strike was held in the Region on October 19th. In the end the representatives did arrive but without any meaningful powers. Then the Region struck in earnest.

MEDIATION

In all 100,000 workers downed tools in the Region while the Rural Solidarity section proclaimed unqualified support for the strike and organized supplies of food to the workers occupying their factories. The strife lasted until November 2nd. when after mediation by Lech Walesa, the Regional Strike Committee agreed to suspend the strike action pending the outcome of the negotiations with the now properly constituted Government representation. In the meantime the Region will remain in a state of strike readiness and will resume strike action at short notice if necessary.

To anyone observing the development of events and the inability, or unwillingness, of the authorities to respond to the mounting anger and frustration of the country's workforce, it is clear that the dwindling ranks of the Party and State functionaries who are still obstinately hoping to hold back the tide of change, must now adapt or be replaced.

What courses of action are open to Solidarity when these obstinate leftovers of the previous regime refuse to respond to justifiable and long overdue demands?

If they demonstrate peacefully in the streets, as workers in any civilized country do, they are accused of provoking violence and inviting armed repression.

If they strike, as workers in any civilized country do, they are accused of damaging the country's crippled economy even further.

They wish neither. They cannot sit back and watch the carpet of bureaucracy unroll back over their lives. They have now announced that they will use a new weapon - the Active Strike. This does not provoke bloody confrontations nor disrupt the economy of the country. It does, however, remove the baton of authority from those against whom the strike is directed.

The howls of fury with which this announcement was met indicate that at long last Solidarity had touched the raw nerve. The men in the carpeted offices were not afraid of bloodshed. It would not have been their blood anyway. It was not the hardships caused by the disruption of the economy that worried them. They had avoided personal hardship for 35 years now and thought themselves well equipped to avoid it in future.

They are afraid of one thing and one thing only - that they may lose power, and their positions of privilege which had ensured their continuous, if undeserved, high standard of living. Active strikes will strip them of that swiftly, effectively, and, it is hoped, irrevocably.

The reaction of the "liberal" British media to such an event will be followed by us with great interest.

Poland's Economic Crisis: Who is to blame?

The Polish Government's propaganda machine (and all too often the mass media in this country) have blamed protest action by Solidarity for Poland's present economic mess. We talked to Dr. Stanislaw Gomulka (formerly at Warsaw University and now a lecturer at L.S.E.) and asked him to explain the causes of the present crisis.

PSC News: Are strikes by Solidarity responsible for Poland's present economic chaos?

S. Gomulka: We don't have figures, but I would think that strikes in Poland account for less or something in the region of working hours lost through strikes in this country, which is not very much - about 5% of hours lost through illness. So it is really insignificant for the economy, but gets noticed by the media and used by the authorities.

C: So what is the cause of Poland's economic crisis?

S.G.: The economic difficulties which Poland is experiencing are nothing new. In fact they were the cause of the strikes last summer. The key difficulty is the lack of supply of intermediate goods imported from the West, what we call "the foreign trade constraint". Poland has been forced to reduce imports of goods not only vital for consumption, but also for production. Consequently many factories have been forced to close or have had to reduce outputs. These outputs are needed by other factories, so we have a multiplier effect. Industrial output at the moment is 60% of potential output. This means there is also a huge underutilisation of the labour force, something like 40% of the labour force is actually idle. Strikes can take up to 2,3 or 4% of working time, but this is really minor compared to what is being lost through shortages.

SHORTAGES

PSC: Are these shortages a new factor in the Polish economy?

S.G.: No, shortages of imports started to play a role 3 or 4 years ago. The government has not anticipated that if one wants to introduce more modern technology by bringing in more advanced machinery it is difficult to sustain industrial output without high imports of industrial components. The government seemed surprised by the level of imports several years ago, and began to reduce them. At the same time another unfortunate element came into play. Poland's huge debt matured and was scheduled for repayment over a very short period of time in 1980-81. The nation was not informed of the size of the debt or of the timetable for repayment.

PSC: So the economic situation would be as it is now, regardless of Solidarity?

S.G.: Yes, certainly, except that partly as a result of changes following last summer's strikes coal output has dropped considerably and so have coal exports, and thus so have dollar earnings, which has contributed to worsening the balance of payments. Coal exports have dropped by something like 20 million tons per annum, or \$1 billion, which represents something like 15% of total dollar earnings. This is a loss that the economy cannot at present afford.

MINERS SELL MORE

PSC: How could coal output be increased? Surely miners cannot be expected to return to the inhuman four brigade system which they successfully fought against last summer?

S.G.: No, of course not, but Solidarity has appealed to coal miners to work on free Saturdays and there has been a considerable response to the appeal. There is a very good case for miners not working on Saturdays, but this is a crisis situation. Perhaps somebody else could be employed. Here the government is at fault for not coming up with interesting new ideas. All they have done is suggest to miners that they work more. This is unaccep-

table. The problem is that the government is not prepared to work alongside Solidarity; they are unwilling to accept that there are other sources of power and policy. Another 100,000 men are needed to work in the mines on Saturdays and Sundays. It is a major task to find, train, house and assimilate into the community this number of people. The government has found 10,000 but this is not sufficient.

FOOD

PSC: Why is there a problem with food supplies in Poland?

S.G.: In recent months there has been a drastic fall in the sale of meat to the state. Previously farmers would have received coal and fodder etc. in exchange from the state, but now there is this huge shortage of everything and farmers are exchanging meat on a barter basis with people who come from the town with goods. The state cannot compete here and we have a breakdown of the distribution system.

PSC: One of the demands of the strikers in Gdansk last year was for only surplus food to be exported, which would imply that the food situation then was pretty bad.

S.G.: The food situation was already bad in June 1980, but it has worsened dramatically over the last year due to changes in demand and supply. On the supply side, there has been a dramatic fall in meat production, something in the region of 20-25% due to a disastrous harvest last year. And potato and sugar beet crops were down by 40%. The supply of vegetables this summer has been reasonable, but meat production is affected by last year's harvest. On the demand side, the problem has been partly created by the agreements of last summer. The government was trying to buy time by, in effect, bribing people with pay rises. Wages increased by 30% over the year and production of all consumer goods dropped by 20%. So there is a gap, with extra money chasing unavailable goods. This gap could be bridged by price rises, which the government has been prevented from doing through fear. The problem is that the government is not popular and this is a measure that can be taken only by a popular government.

THE WAY FORWARD

PSC: What can the government do in the present situation?

S.G.: At present I can't really see what the government can do. It is short on ideas, and very slow; there are internal divisions in the leadership and the administration is highly inefficient and discredited by corruption on a large scale. The management is not really prepared to cope with the necessary reforms, self-management and a competitive market.

The economy is sinking under the weight of the external and internal factors mentioned. It is a centrally planned economy but also monetarist. Money is central to the system. There is a labour market and a consumer market that is being destroyed. Enterprises are hit and most of them are making losses. The government is printing money which accumulates and is worthless; so it demoralises people and is no longer an incentive. A barter system is developing. At the same time, there are huge queues of secretaries, clerks and officials queuing in office hours, making the administration and bureaucracy less and less efficient. Winter is coming and people are more and more frustrated.

The primary difficulty is political. The government has power and little popular support. Solidarity has wide support but no power. Therefore it would be useful to get together to form a body which is independent of the Polish Communist Party to deal exclusively with the economic crisis. This has in fact been suggested by Solidarity's leadership, but was rejected by the government.

Solidarity replies to Moscow propaganda

The Soviet authorities and their Warsaw Pact allies, having failed to intimidate Solidarity with large-scale military exercises in and around Poland, have resorted to a propaganda campaign against Solidarity. In this campaign of slander they are making full use of their monopoly of the media and mass communications.

In addition the Soviet authorities have arranged demonstrations of "proletarian indignation" in USSR, Czechoslovakia and East Germany. These have cut little ice however with the Polish workers. Until recently they themselves had obediently taken part in "spontaneous" May Day parades, demonstrations, displays of "fraternal support" or "indignant condemnation".

Workers in a Warsaw factory replied to one such attack in an open letter addressed to their brother motor-car workers in Moscow. It was to be published by "Tygodnik Solidarnosc", the Union weekly, which is printed in strictly limited editions (usually 500,000) and subject to state censorship. The censors refused permission for the publication of the letter and the editor had no option but to remove it.

Below is a translation of the full text of the prescribed letter. Read it for yourself and decide if its contents warrant its removal for reasons of security, of national interest, offence to public morality or any other reason.

Yet on the other hand, accusations and abuse against Solidarity flow fast, furious and unchecked in the government controlled media. Solidarity can only counter accusations, allay suspicions and sooth fears and frustrations by publishing replies in regionally printed and distributed bulletins and broadsheets.

LETTER TO THE LIKHACHOV MOTOR CAR WORKS IN MOSCOW

In reply to the letter of the workers at the Likhachov Motor Car Works in Moscow, we the workers of a Warsaw factory, the Communication Equipment Works P.Z.L. extend a warm invitation for a delegation of workers from your factory to pay us a visit in Warsaw.

During the visit we shall tell you about the activities of NSZZ Solidarnosc at our factory and also the activities of the Branch Union and of the Party Factory Committee. We hope that during our meeting we shall have a chance to clarify many matters amongst ourselves and it may be that your attitude to Solidarnosc and to members of our Union will be revised.

From what we know, all the information you have about our Union's activities comes to you through the official mass communication media, that is the press, radio and TV, and this is why we understand your embarrassment and unease at our situation. We propose you discuss your present information about us with the factory work force.

We believe that workers in all countries have a common language and common interest, and that what is said and written about workers does not always represent their true position. The Polish and Soviet workers were and still are joined by friendship and a common understanding of our problems because the situation of our workforces is similar in both our countries. A year ago the social and economic situation in our country resulting from the mistaken policies of the authorities, inspired large numbers of workers to form "free trade unions" to ensure that the same situation should never arise again.

This year the situation in our Union developed to the point where it was necessary to summon our Union's First Congress. During the Congress, delegates proclaimed with the most sincere intentions a "message to the working people of Eastern Europe". Because misleading comments have been added by our authorities, the message has been misunderstood by your work force.

This is why once again we warmly invite several workers from your factory to visit us. We will talk, we will discuss matters, and we will clarify everything to each other.

With workers greetings,
M. Zbikowski K. Kuchta
T. Kaim J. Skolik
Executive of the WSK-PZL Solidarity Union, Warsaw

What is PSC?

The Polish Solidarity Campaign is a broad non-sectarian solidarity campaign with members from a wide variety of organisations, including trade union branches, individual trade union activists, Labour Party branches and various other affiliated bodies.

The aims and objectives of PSC adopted at a General Meeting in September 1980 are to:-

1. Support and defend the struggle for all working class and democratic rights in Poland.
2. To gain recognition in Britain for Polish working class and democratic organisations, and for the withdrawal of support and recognition from state-employer-run puppet organizations.
3. To encourage and assist all forms of contact between working class and democratic organisations in Britain and Poland.

Since its formation PSC has directed its efforts to gaining support and recognition for Solidarity from the British Labour Movement. In August last year, PSC picketed the TUC Conference at Brighton, demanding that the TUC recognises the new unions and withdraws support from the state-run "company unions". The TUC has since recognised Solidarity and begun an appeal fund for Polish workers. Before this, as early as November last year, PSC launched the Polish Trade Union Appeal Fund sponsored by five Labour M.P's and prominent union activists to raise money for printing equipment for Solidarity. We are continuing this fund to supply Solidarity with equipment they need and cannot obtain from other sources.

PSC has established regular contact with Solidarity both at national, regional and at local level. We have sent speakers to union conferences and meetings and helped to arrange for Solidarity representatives to visit them.

What can you do

- * Join PSC, or affiliate your organisation to it. (Membership £5 - includes subscription to PSC News - application form below.)
- * Invite a speaker from PSC to next meeting of your branch.
- * Send a donation to the Polish Trade Union Appeal Fund - c/o W. Moszczyński, 107 Grange Road, London W.5.
- * Buy SOLIDARNOSC badges (£1 each) and T-shirts (£3 each)

MEMBERSHIP FORM

I/We..... (Name/Organisation)
.....(address)

wish to affiliate to the Polish Solidarity Campaign and enclose £5 membership fee. (Make cheques/P.O.'s payable to P.S.C.)

Solidarity's First Congress

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

A SUMMARY OF THE KEY RESOLUTIONS FROM THE CONFERENCE

We have included the resolutions and declarations below because we feel that there is much that the British Labour Movement would find interesting in the expressed views of their Polish colleagues. Many of Solidarity's concepts, particularly in the field of industrial democracy, are pioneering. None of these resolutions have been published anywhere in the British press.

The selection of resolutions published below also show the wide range of causes which Solidarity has embraced, and which justifies the Union's claim to be "a social movement" as well as "a trade union". The resolutions are all the more remarkable in that they are the product of workers who until 16 months ago had no means of expressing any opinion on anything, and had been fed a diet of misconceptions and lies in the Polish mass media.

This supplement consists of some statistical data about the Congress, a general Declaration adopted at the end of the First Session, and fourteen of the resolutions. It is worth noting here that three of those resolutions concern Self-Management: the first resolved in the First Session, the remaining ones in the Second Session following on the debate described on pp. 6 & 7 of this issue.

Incidentally the resolutions passed in the First Session are marked S1 and those in the Second Session - S2.

We are grateful to the Information Centre for Polish Affairs (UK) Ltd for translation of the resolutions into English.

The First Round of Solidarity's First Annual Congress of delegates took place in the Olivia Sports Hall in Gdansk between the 5th and 10th of September 1981. The Second Round lasted from September 26th till October 7th - a total sitting of 18 days.

In July 1981 Solidarity membership was recorded as 9,486,000. Attendance at Regional Elections to the Congress amounted to a total nationally of 8,721,531 and the number of delegates chosen was 892.

There are 42 Regional Chapters represented at the Congress covering the whole of Poland. The biggest ones were Slasko-Dabrowski Region (i.e. Upper Silesia centred on Katowice) with 1,400,000 members, Lower Silesia (i.e. Wroclaw Region) with 916,000 members, Mazowsze (covering the biggest area geographically of 7 voivodships including Warsaw) with 911,000, and then Malopolska (Krakow Region), Gdansk, Wielkopolska (based on Poznan) and Lodz.

Of the delegates to the Congress 6% were women, and the average age was 36. Every twentieth delegate belonged to the Polish United Workers Party.

The National Committee elected at the end of the Conference consisted of the 107 delegates of whom 37 were ex-officio Regional Chairmen. The National Committee was permitted to elect a Praesidium of 18 persons consisting of the Chairmen of the 6 largest Regions and 12 persons nominated by the National Chairman Lech Walesa.

The National Chairman is elected directly from the floor of the Congress. Elections for Chairman were held on October 2nd. 837 delegates participated. 48 delegates abstained. The election was decided in the first round when:

Andrej Gwiazda received 74 votes (8.84%)
Marian Jurczyk received 201 votes (24.01%)
Jan Rulewski received 32 votes (6.21%)
Lech Walesa received 462 votes (55.2%)

Lech Walesa was elected.

Sources for above: "Congress Post" nos. 1 and 3, published in English by Solidarity during Gdansk Congress, and "Tygodnik Solidarnosc" no. 28, 8.11.1981

DECLARATION

Declaration of First Congress of Solidarity Delegates
10.9.81.

The ultimate goal of Solidarity is to create dignified conditions of life in an economically and politically sovereign Poland. We mean life free from poverty, exploitation, fear and lies, in a democratically and legally organized society.

Today the nation expects:

1. Improved food supplies by way of establishing control of production, distribution and prices in co-operation with Solidarity of Individual Farmers.
2. Economic reform through the creation of authentic workers' self-governing bodies, liquidation of the party nomenclature and the introduction of effective economic mechanisms.
3. Truth through public control of the mass media and eradication of mendacity in Polish schools and culture.
4. Democracy through holding free elections to the Sejm and Peoples Councils.
5. Justice through safeguarding equality of all in the eyes of the law, release of prisoners held for their convictions, publishing and unionist activities.
6. Salvaging the imperilled health of the nation through protection of the environment, increased health service expenditure and safeguarding the social rights of the handicapped.
7. Coal for the populace and industry by ensuring proper living conditions of the miners.

We shall attain these aims in an atmosphere of unity in the Union and solidarity of its members. Actions of various forces which create feelings of external threat will not destroy our determination to fight for the ideals of August 1980, for the implementation of the agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie.

S1

SELF-MANAGEMENT

RESOLUTION ON SELF-MANAGEMENT

Delegates to the First National Congress of NSZZ Solidarity call on all union members and employees to defend workers' self-government. The authorities, terrified by the prospect of developing and consolidating self-governments, are trying to destroy them in the bud, depriving them of the right to manage the establishments, particularly the right to nominate and dismiss directors. This is done under the pretext of protecting national and state property, in reality in the name of the selfish interests of the party-state apparatus.

The recent official defence of the so-called nomenclature is an attempt to perpetuate the very same cadre system in which politically selected managers of the economy have brought it to its present catastrophic state.

Official propaganda maintains that the Government draft enjoys the support of the majority of the public. In view of this the Congress, in accordance with Art. 8 p.1 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic which states that the laws of the PPR express the interests and will of the working people, calls upon the Sejm of the PPR to order the holding at the earliest possible date of a national referendum on the scope of self-governments. The referendum should be held before the Sejm passes any laws on enterprises and self-government. Trade unions must be involved in the formulation of the questions to be asked and the holding of the referendum.

At the same time the Congress has decided that, should the state authorities refuse to hold a referendum, the Union will conduct a referendum among employees of enterprises by its own means.

Delegates to the First Congress express the hope that deputies will respect the will of the employees and take a decision that is in line with their aspirations. For this reason delegates call upon the Sejm not to pass draft laws in forms which the Government is trying to impose. The passing of a draft contrary to the will of employees would increase tension, make emergence from economic ruin more difficult and finally break the people's confidence in the Sejm. Taking this course would destroy the historic opportunity of effecting a democratic reform and society would face the problem of undertaking independent action.

Delegates to the Congress declare that the Union will not give up the fight for authentic self-government and will resolutely defend its members from bearing the cost of a reform not approved by society. We shall wage this struggle with all accessible means. We declare emphatically that in case of passing a law that thwarts the will of employees the Union will be forced to boycott such a law and undertake action to ensure the unfettered functioning of authentic self-governments.

S1

RESOLUTION ON THE PARLIAMENTARY ACTS ON EMPLOYEES' SELF-MANAGEMENT AND ON STATE ENTERPRISES

The position of our Union in the question of employees' self-management and the autonomy of enterprises has been presented in the resolution adopted by Congress on Sept. 8th., 1981. It was thus known to the parliament when on Sept. 25th. it passed the acts on state enterprises and employees' self-management. In doing this the parliament has departed from the compromise solution, agreed with the Praesidium of the National Coordinating Committee in the matter concerning the appointment of managers of state enterprises. The compromise was a far-reaching concession made in the interest of avoiding conflict with the state authorities. The parliament has also ignored views of the Union in many other matters concerning employees' self-management and the autonomy of enterprises. All the same, the Congress for the sake of mutual understanding, does not reject these acts in toto.

In accordance with an earlier resolution, the Congress decides to hold a referendum in industrial enterprises on those provisions in both acts which glaringly depart from the position of the Union, threatening the principles of industrial self-government and autonomy of enterprises to the detriment of economic reform.

We expect changes in both acts in the following matters:

1. Provisions concerning the management of individual enterprises. Congress holds that such management is the responsibility of the workers who make decisions in all important matters.
2. The provision on the composition of the committee selecting candidates to the post of director. We are of the opinion that establishing selection committees is the exclusive and inalienable right of the employees' council.
3. The provision which defines enterprises whose directors are to be hired and fired by the founding organ (i.e. the state, Trans. note). Congress is of the opinion that this can only apply to munitions factories, enterprises subject to the Ministry of Finance and such enterprises subject to the Ministry of Justice which employ prisoners.
4. The provision which allows the founding organ to impose compulsory programmes on any given state enterprise. We are of the opinion that this is permissible only in cases of natural catastrophe and in matters which are of particular importance for the defence of the country. In all such cases the founding organ is obliged to provide the relevant material resources and bear the full cost of the imposed task.
5. The provision which allows the founding organ to demand that an enterprise become part of an association of enterprises. Congress holds that this can only apply in cases of enterprises indicated above in point 3.

The National Committee will present the results of the referendum to the parliament together with a motion demanding relevant amendments of both Acts.

Congress declares that all supplementary regulations on the implementation of both Acts should first be consulted with the trade unions.

The Union in its campaign for employees self-management and autonomous enterprises will continue to be guided by the will of the workers. The workers may rest assured that the Union will do everything in its power to defend the principle of employees' self-management.

Congress calls on workers in all enterprises to create authentic organs of industrial self-government on the lines advocated by the Union. S2



DECLARATION ON THE POSITION ADOPTED BY THE PRAESIDIUM OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (KKP) IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON SEPTEMBER 22nd ON THE ISSUE OF EMPLOYEES' SELF-MANAGEMENT

The controversial manner in which the Praesidium of the KKP took its decision in negotiations on the issue of self-management - at a time between the two rounds of the Congress - is deemed by the delegates to have been improper and one that cannot be allowed to recur in the future.

While noting that the decision was prompted by the need to state the position of the Union prior to the session of the Parliament, we are bound to declare nevertheless that an infringement of Union democracy has taken place.

Also the excessive influence of experts on decisions taken by the Union authorities must be considered improper.

The newly-elected authorities of the Union are hereby enjoined to provide a clear definition of the functions and competences of experts. S2

TO THE WORKING PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE

Delegates of the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity assembled at their first congress in Gdansk send the workers of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, and Hungary and all peoples of the Soviet Union words of greeting and support. As the first independent trade union in our post-war history we are deeply aware of the community of our fate. We assure you that, notwithstanding the lies being spread in your countries, we are the authentic representation of 10 million workers which has emerged as the result of workers' strikes. We support all of you who have decided to take the difficult road and fight for free trade unions. We believe that soon your and our representatives will be able to meet to exchange our union experiences. S1

RURAL SOLIDARITY

The present economic, social and cultural conditions of life in the countryside tend to inhibit any sort of economic initiative and changes that might lead to increased agricultural production. There are brakes that take the shape of a bureaucratized system of purchases, sales, services, banking, etc.

This process of decay must be reversed. A great deal depends on cooperation between NSZZ Solidarity and NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers, in common action undertaken in the spirit of mutual confidence.

The National Committee is hereby called upon to form as soon as possible a special team of cooperation with NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers. The team would be given the task of coordinating the activities of sections (of the two movements) operating in the countryside responsible for the countryside, and of preparing a programme for common action.

This programme should deal in particular with the following:

1. Organisations concerned with agriculture, agricultural services, commerce, teaching, cultural activities and health services in the countryside, as well as with related branches of industry should establish in every town and district a local committee of cooperation with NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers.

2. Cooperatives and state enterprises should become self-managing and independent of bureaucratic pressures of administration.

3. Both movements should cooperate in creating a truly democratic system of territorial self-government in the countryside.

4. NSZZ Solidarity should in every possible way help NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers in consolidating its organisational structure. S2

THE MASS MEDIA

Our Union fights for the full implementation of the point of the Gdansk Agreement which says: Access to the mass media is an indispensable means of contact between the leadership of the union and the membership, and thus a condition of the proper functioning of the union. This justifies the application of the most effective means of pressure to achieve this end. Solidarity members in radio and television are prepared to support the efforts of the National Coordinating Committee in this respect by protest actions. In response the Government in their resolution Nr.185/81 have threatened heavy reprisals against persons taking part in such actions. This resolution goes against already agreed parts of the law on trade unions and violates the Warsaw agreement which stated that the contracting parties would respect these agreed parts. The First National Congress of NSZZ Solidarity calls upon the Government to reconsider the matter and revoke resolution Nr.185/81. The Congress, moreover, calls upon the Government to resume talks on the implementation of Point 3 of the Gdansk Agreement and hold them with care for social peace, so important in the conditions caused by the bankruptcy of economic policy. S1

NATIONAL MINORITIES

While we are concerned for the development of Polish culture, we declare that we are no less concerned that Polish citizens of other nationalities or belonging to other ethnic groups - Byelorussians, Gypsies, Greeks, Lithuanians, Lemkos, Germans, Ukrainians, Tartars, Jews and others - should find in our common motherland conditions that would enable them freely to develop their own cultures and to pass them on to future generations.

In this way we intend to remain faithful to the tradition of the multi-national Polish Commonwealth. Regional varieties add to the wealth of Polish culture and should also be cultivated.

Our Union is against all nationalistic divisions and will stand for the fullness of civic rights of all Polish citizens of whatever nationality or provenance.

Culture depends - at least in some fields - on government or communal grants. Such grants, however, may never become a pretext for limiting in any way the principle of cultural self-management. This will have to be borne in mind by our Union as well, whenever it will be in a position to make grants of this kind. S2

THE JUDICIARY

The First Congress of Delegates of NSZZ Solidarity, acting on the conviction that there can be no national renewal without an independent judiciary,

1. calls on all local branches of the Union to publicise extensively such parts of the Union's programme which deal with the matter of safeguarding the independence of judges and creating a judiciary free of political and administrative pressures;

2. calls upon the National Committee to cause the publication of works presenting the history of the judiciary in post-war Poland highlighting its part, both positive and negative, in the struggle for human and civic rights;

3. calls upon the National Committee to insist in negotiations on changes in the law that would safeguard the independence of the judiciary, as proposed in the programme of the Union, and appeals to all members of the Union to support this endeavour by all means, including protest actions. S2

KSS-KOR

The First Congress of Delegates of NSZZ Solidarity has been informed of the dissolution of the Committee for Social Self-Defence Committee K O R.

Founded in the wake of events of June 1976 as the Committee for the Defence of Workers, it provided help to the persecuted workers and their families. Being the first organized group of the democratic opposition, it expressed the unity of purpose of the intelligentsia and the workers. Until August 1980 members and associates of the Committee were frequently persecuted, imprisoned and harrassed in various ways.

The First Congress of Delegates expresses to members and associates of K O R sincere thanks for a job well done in defence of workers' interests and the national cause in general.

s2

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Last August the National Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, in the interests of social peace, called on the organisers of the so-called "star-shaped march" to cancel this form of protest against holding people in detention on the ground of their convictions. At the same time the Commission declared that it will extend protection to persons at present detained in connection with the current political trials. Three persons are at present in prison charged with political offences: Leszek Moczulski, Romuald Szeremetiew, and Tadeusz Stanski.

We declare herewith that their imprisonment constitutes violation of Clause 4 of the Gdansk Agreement and we demand their immediate release. This view held by the Union is to be made known to the Supreme Court. s2

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Polish people have embarked on the restoration of values - social, economic and cultural - which are part of the Polish national tradition. The time has come to rebuild likewise an authentic cooperative movement.

With this aim in view it is necessary

1. to review the law on cooperatives in order to bring it into line with the principles of the historic Polish cooperative movement and those of the International Cooperative Association;
2. to restore to cooperatives their independence, the right to self-management and freedom of association; in particular, the principle of voluntary cooperation and association must be acknowledged;
3. to grant cooperatives the right to form their own statutes that would enable them to fulfil the specific tasks which they may set themselves;
4. to realise that the part of the cooperative movement in order to cope with the present crisis requires the freedom to create cooperatives of various kinds which would all have the right to decide freely the scope of their activities.

Congress makes it incumbent upon the National Committee to establish a team, composed of delegates, experts and people with practical experience, with the task of drafting detailed projects of a new law on cooperatives.

Congress makes it incumbent on Regional Committees and local branches of the Union to support any changes in the cooperative movement which favour its autonomy and authentic renewal. s2

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE

Since the very foundation of our Union every significant event in the life of our organization aiming at the improvement of the conditions of life and obtaining civic freedoms for society evokes a response in the form of an anti-humanitarian campaign threatening with the loss of national independence and a bloody confrontation.

Suggestions that force might be used create a sense of permanent insecurity which affects in the first place the weakest and least resistant part of society which in every civilized country enjoys particular protection.

The intimidation campaign hits mothers who bring up their children in exceptionally difficult circumstances, undermines the sense of security of the young generation and of the elderly who are often tired of life, who in their hearts and minds carry the imprint of war, of the pre-October period, of the June events in Poznan and the December events (in the coastal cities).

The intimidation campaign has a demoralizing effect on youth. Army recruits are being subjected to a particular kind of psychological pressure - it is impossible to forget the TV picture of a soldier declaring his readiness to carry out any order.

We emphatically declare that our Union does not want a bloody confrontation. Our only weapon is the strength of our convictions which we use to defend our rights, and our determination to refuse labour when the interests of society are threatened. We do not have and do not want to have tanks, batons or any other instruments of force. It follows that an enlightened and disciplined Polish society cannot be a party to any confrontation.

The First National Congress of Delegates demands that an end be put to the propaganda of fear. We demand this on behalf of all Poles whose most vital interests are being used as counters in a bargain that is going on behind our backs. s2

DENIAL OF VISAS

A basic value of our Union is the solidarity of working people in Poland and the world over. Following this principle this Congress has invited many foreign union organizations to attend our deliberations. The refusal of entry visas to some of the invited constitutes an inadmissible interference of Government agencies into the activities of NSZZ Solidarity as guaranteed by its statute.

The National Congress condemns this action of the consular authorities and declares that denying access to the second round of our Congress to ICFTU from Brussels, AFL-CIO from the United States, PTTI and FIET from Geneva is a violation of the idea of true community and solidarity of all working people in the world. s2

AUTONOMY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Delegates to the First Congress of the Independent Self-Governing Trades Union (NSZZ) Solidarity support the position of academic circles which says that the proper functioning of higher educational establishments and learning in Poland demands the full implementation of the principle of academic autonomy in the new law on higher education to be promulgated. All detailed provisions of the law should be subordinated to this principle. The First National Congress enjoins the national leadership of the Union to ensure that the new law will take a form that is acceptable to the community of academic teachers and students. s2