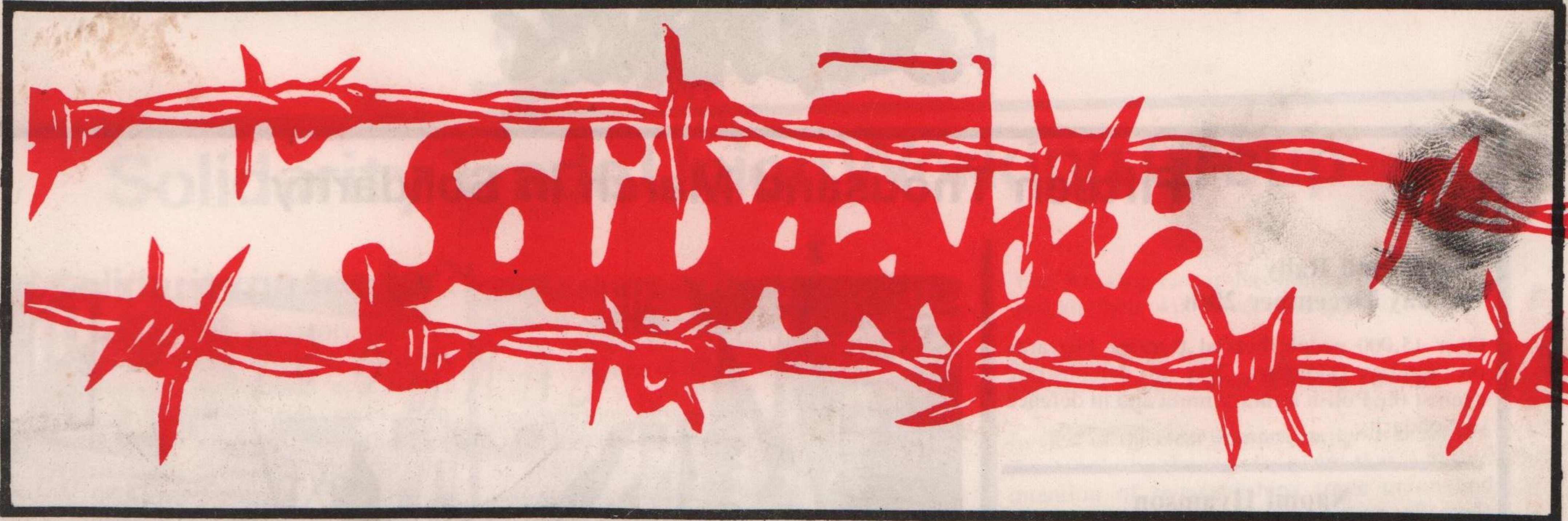


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Polish Solidarity Campaign News



Solidarnosc Bulletins
A week before the crackdown
Anti-Semitism revival

Fifteen Thousand March in Solidarity

March and Rally Sunday December 20th

Over 15,000 people braved freezing blizzards on Sunday December 20th to demonstrate against the Polish military junta and in defence of Solidarity.

Naomi Hyamson

The rally and march on the Polish Embassy was initiated and organised by the Polish Solidarity Campaign. It was chaired by Tadek Jarski for PSC; the other PSC speakers were Piotr Iglkowski and Robin Blick. Other speakers included Phillip Whitehead MP (Lab), Peter Shore MP (Lab), Shirley Williams MP (SDP), Russell Johnston MP (Lib), the prominent Solidarity and KOR member and now a founder member of the Solidarity Trade Union Working Group in London, Andrzej Lodynski, Ken Baker (GMWU), E.P. Thompson (European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign), and Mr Garlincki, President of the Union of Polish Writers Abroad.

Many British unions — GMWU, AUEW, NALGO, NUPE, to name but a few — and politicians such as Labour MP Eric Heffer sent messages of support. At a PSC press conference held to launch the rally, Mr. Heffer had repeated his call for British unions to break their links with the state run official 'trade-unions' of Eastern Europe. The press conference, chaired by Wiktor Moszczynski, was also addressed by Mr Whitehead, Mr Shore, Mr Lodynski, and — for PSC — Robin Blick, Tadek Jarski and Naomi Hyamson.

The importance of the demonstration had been underlined by the appeal just received from the Szczecin strike committee to all throughout the world 'who value democracy, freedom and workers' rights to help us in our fight by mass protests and moral support'. Mr Whitehead, Mr Shore and Mr Baker emphasised



that British working people must demand liberty for their Polish brothers and sisters. Mr Lodynski declared that 'free peoples must not watch passively while human and trade union rights are strangled in the heart of Europe'. He called for the sending of food aid to Poland — through the only reliable channel, the Church, and for economic aid to be ended until martial law was lifted and all political prisoners released. He read an appeal to the unions, peoples and governments of the West from the Solidarity working group in Zurich.

The PSC Secretary, Piotr Iglkowski — in Poland when the coup happened — spoke of the fascist-style terror there and of the clear involvement of the Soviet Union. He recalled that the West had betrayed Poland twice this century, notably at Yalta, and he urged that Poland should not now be betrayed once more.

The rally also had the rare privilege of hearing the founder member of the KOR and distinguished academic Leszek Kolakowski speak, in a taped phone call from the USA.

The deputation to the Embassy met with a cold reception. Their petition — demanding

the end of martial law, the release of detainees and the restoration of the trade union rights enshrined in the Gdansk Agreements was turned away and they were told that the state of war had been declared to prevent a coup by Solidarity, that there were 4,000 detainees and that Walesa had not been arrested.

About £4,000 were collected for medical aid and baby food, to be sent to Poland by Medical Aid for Poland.

PSC Members Meeting

At a meeting of the Polish Solidarity Campaign on Jan 5 at the Polish Social and Cultural Centre, Hammersmith, London, of about a hundred members discussed and voted on future campaigning activities. It was generally agreed that the Soviet Union had instigated the Jaruzelski coup and along with the Polish regime should be the target for a wide ranging blacking and boycott campaign. We are appealing to politicians and political parties to end all official party links with and visits to the Soviet Union and Poland (except those of a fact-finding nature) and to refuse to attend any receptions at the Soviet or Polish embassies or trade centres. The Labour Party in addition is to be asked to break all links with the ruling communist parties of Eastern Europe and not to invite visitors representing these parties to its annual conference. The trade unions similarly will be asked to break their links with the Eastern European fake "trade unions".

A working group was set up to investigate the possibilities of a selective blacking campaign by the trade unions of Soviet Polish trade excluding the supply of food and medicine to Poland. A consumer boycott of Polish and Soviet goods is also recommended. These actions should continue until the three major demands of Solidarity published in their Zurich Appeal are met. These are:

1. The end of martial law.
2. The release of all those arrested.
3. The restoration of all trade union and democratic rights established since August 1980.

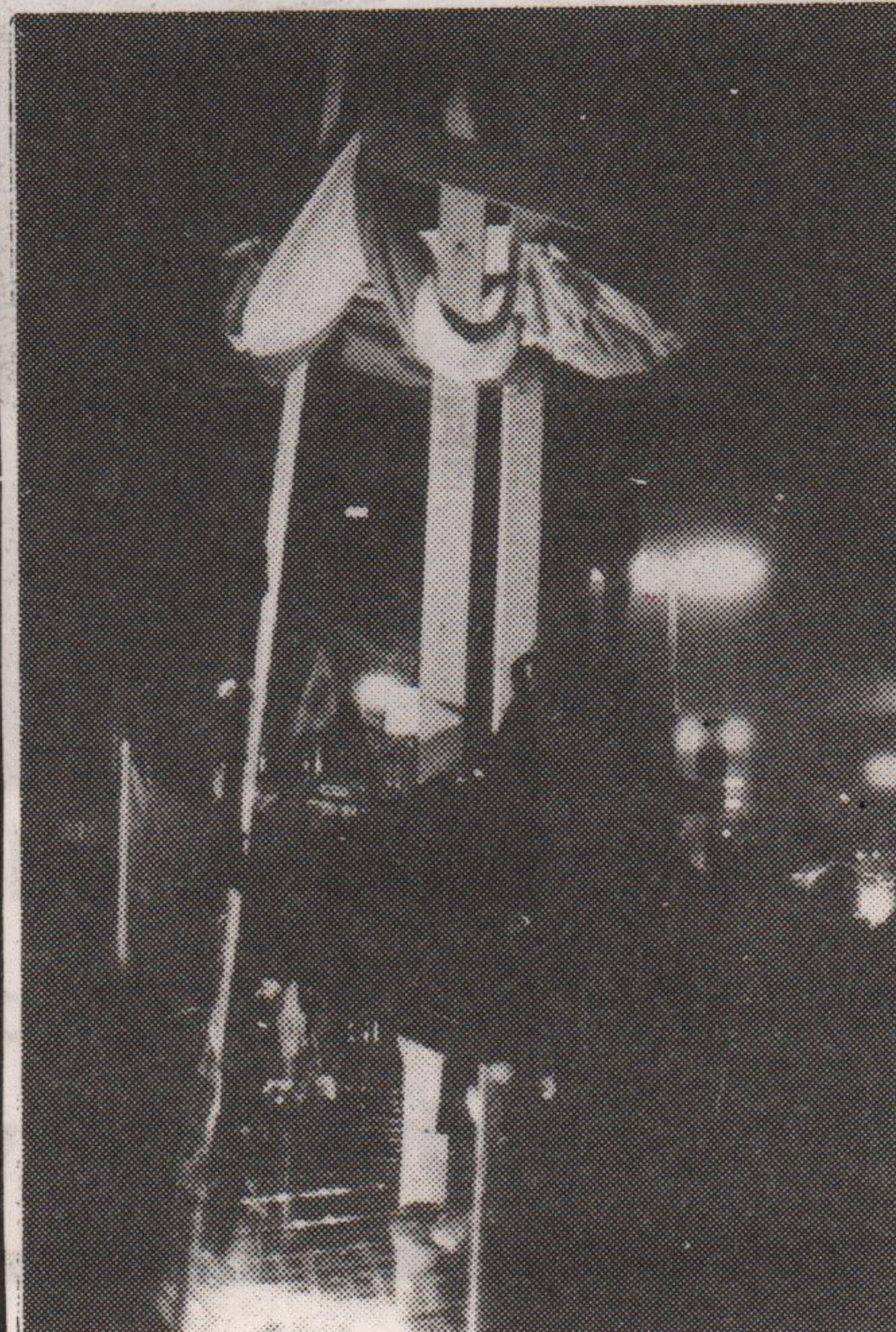
Fund raising, publicity and propaganda were extensively discussed at the meeting. A week's film festival of Polish films is projected.

Vigil At Polish Embassy

Two individuals, Krzysztof Jaracewski and Krystyna Koscia, organised a very different kind of event from the PSC demonstration in the weeks after the coup — the vigil outside the Polish Embassy. It was a powerful combination of prayer and silent protest — and also served as an information centre. The vigil began on the 11th anniversary (December 17th) of the December 1970 massacre of workers in Gdansk, with a religious ceremony modelled on that which took place in Gdansk itself a year ago. Three crosses — modelled on the Gdansk memorial and swathed in Polish flags and black drapes — were erected. They were soon surrounded with candles and flowers, making a very beautiful place of homage.

The vigil was not associated with any organisation or campaign — as Krzysztof said, it was meant to belong to everyone — but it was supported by the PSC Committee, and a number of PSC members participated. While the atmosphere was grave and reverential, the organisers were warm and friendly.

The vigil culminated with prayers and hymns on New Year's Eve — which I found deeply moving, and in which about 70 people participated.





A Week Before The Crackdown

I spent two weeks in Poland from the fourth to the sixteenth of December. It was my first visit. I arrived two days after the storming of the Polish Fire Students College in Warsaw — an incident which confronted Solidarity with its most dangerous crisis since the Bydgoszcz affair in March. Many of the Poles I met (I was staying in Warsaw) felt that the week leading up to Saturday the 12th of December was the most tense seven days they had lived through since the strikes of summer 1980. The significance of the developments in Solidarity's last week of freedom were only fully understood by commentators in the Western Press after the 13th of December.

Few commentators had any real notion of the weight of pressure bearing on the Solidarity leadership during the last five days preceding the military coup. The increasing radicalisation of the Union had come as something of a sur-

prise to Western observers who generally expected Solidarity to follow the steady path of moderation associated with Lech Walesa. The demands for a referendum on the role of the Party and for free elections to the Sejm were naturally seen by Western journalists as a major tactical blunder — as well as being wholly

Piotr Iglowski

'unrealistic'. But no one sought the reasons behind the dramatic radicalisation of Solidarity and the widening rift between Solidarity and the Government.

A key turning point in the history of the process of Renewal was the July Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. Its significance is twofold. Firstly, it marked the end of the so called 'horizontal' movement in the Party by weakening the central power structure. This

movement, led by Zbigniew Iwanov, a popular Solidarity activist, would have led to genuine democratic reforms in the structure of the PUPW. Hence Kania pushed it firmly into the background at the Congress, not allowing any of its spokesmen to put any motions to the central debates. The other major development at the Congress was the partly unforeseen consequence of Kania's minor 'cosmetic' reforms in the voting system. These allowed a large number of inexperienced Party delegates (who were at a Congress for the first time) to take office in the Central Committee. They soon fell under the influence of experienced 'hardliners' like Olszowski, Grabski and Zembinski, and allowed the pro-Soviet hardline faction of the Party to remobilise itself against the liberal sympathisers and supporters of the Solidarity movement.

The ninth Congress was generally viewed in

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the West as something of a triumph. Great importance was attached to the 'unprecedented' decision to allow a vote for the position of First Secretary. The fact that there was only one other 'token' candidate and that Kania's election was, in practice, just as much a preordained affair as in other Soviet Bloc communist parties largely escaped attention. Such reforms as were introduced at the Congress were almost meaningless in the context of the giant steps forward taken by the remainder of society i.e. Solidarity.

The other major set-back for Renewal which occurred at the Congress was the assumption of the control of the Press by the most influential hardliner, Stefan Olwowski. Since July the official media had mounted a sustained propaganda offensive against Solidarity. The government controlled the Radio and Television plus a number of widely read national and regional newspapers and magazines. Solidarity had its own publications, official and unofficial (with a far smaller circulation), but relied mostly on hand posters in the street for the dissemination of reliable information.

The constant stream of criticism levelled against the leader of Solidarity did more to worsen Government/Solidarity relationships than anything else. Solidarity was under permanent pressure to defend and justify itself to the Polish people. During my stay in Warsaw I regularly watched DTV (Polish equivalent of ITN) half hour news bulletin in the evening. Every news bulletin would always contain an interview with some 'typical' Poles who would give their reaction to the country's crisis. The 'average' workers carefully selected for the interviews would always express their disappointment with Solidarity. They thought at the outset that it would be a genuine worker movement, but could see now that it was simply the instrument of intellectuals (from the middle classes) who were only interested in gaining power. They would often stress that they had hungry families who were tired of strikes running down the economy, and that they had fought in the Warsaw Uprising and were true patriots who cared about Poland. They were tired and angry with Solidarity which was causing chaos and driving the economy to its ruin.

The other main strands of anti-Solidarity propaganda could be seen in the numerous dis-

'Since July the official media had mounted a sustained propaganda offensive against Solidarity'

ussion articles in the State press on the subject of the failure to reach agreement on the proposed Council For National Unity. Solidarity, it was argued, was the one unwilling party holding up the formation of the new National Unity Front which would comprise Government, Church and the Union. Solidarity wanted to have a say in how the economy should be run but was not prepared to bear the responsibility of being a 'partner'. It was not explained War; all Poles must forget their differences and unite behind the Government. It was no accident that there were more and more films and programmes on television about the heroic defence

of course that the Government only wanted Solidarity to enter into the Unity Front on the Government's terms, and that only two of Solidarity's proposals for the Front had been discussed by the Government negotiating team — the rest were rejected without explanation or justification. But the biggest propaganda blow was delivered a few days after I arrived in Poland when Warsaw Radio made public an edited taped of the Solidarity praesidium's meeting at Radom. The meeting had been 'bugged', and in the carefully edited highlights (featured as the prominent news story for the next few days) Lech Walesa described all previous negotiations between Government and Solidarity as a 'game' and said that the only course for the future was that of confrontation. The official media fully exploited the material to add conclusive evidence to its arguments that Solidarity was a destructive force in the hands of extremists who had lost contact with the rank and file of the Union. Walesa's insistence that fragments of a confidential discussions removed from their context were meaningless received no mention in the official press.

The other distinguishing feature of Polish propaganda which had become increasingly prominent since July was the Government's attempt to arouse new feelings of patriotism. Poland was facing the deepest crisis since the of Poland during the war. There were also ob-

'Lech Walesa described all previous negotiations between Government and Solidarity as a 'game''

vious attempts to induce Poles to identify Jaruzelski with glorious military leaders from Poland's past, e.g. Kosciuszko and more surprisingly, Pilsudski. The latter symbolised the hard military leader who could lead Poland out of crisis. The decision to send out troops to help distribute food in September helped to build up the image of the Army as the People's friend and protector. Television frequently showed (rather comical) newsreel where polite friendly soldiers helped old women to fix their central heating or visited small peasant farms to investigate why so little food was being produced. There is a direct continuity between their public relations image before and after the military crackdown. The presence of troops on the streets after 13th December was for display purposes more than anything else (they were clearly under instruction to be courteous and friendly); the arrests and beatings were usually the work of the hated Polish security and riot police. Jaruzelski accepted that the Party had totally lost credibility and was, since September trying to gain allegiance and support for a strong Army-State which would end the chaos.

The incident of the Radom tapes was the last in a series of provocations whose aim was to lower Solidarity's authority among the Poles and provoke it into taking 'extreme' action which could justify strong measures from the Government. The provocations were largely coming from the orthodox pro-Soviet wing of



the Party which had gained stronger support in the Central Committee since the July Congress and which was at the heart of the factional infighting which had come to a climax in November and early December. The aim of the 'hardliners' was to force the moderate elements in power to take harder actions against Solidarity and to discontinue dialogue.

The net result of the provocations as far as Solidarity were concerned was to increase militant radical tendencies in the Union. Those responsible for the beatings at Bydgoszcz had still not been punished, in spite of intense pressure from the Union. The Government had refused to collaborate with Solidarity on economic reforms for 1982 but instead announced a provisorium without consulting the Union. There had been an arbitrary increase in cigarette prices in October, and now in December the price of alcohol had been in-

'The incident of the Radom tapes was the last in a series of provocations'

creased. Both measures were seen by Solidarity rank and file as provocations. The last straw was the storming of the Fire Students' building and the affair of the Radom tapes. The leadership and the rank and file of Solidarity became convinced that the decision to call off the general strike in March 1981 (taken unilaterally by Walesa) had been a great error. Negotiations with the Government were achieving nothing because, as Walesa put it in his last press conference, 'the Government cheats'. The Union had to show its strength.

We all know what happened on the evening of the 12th of December. Those in the Polish hierarchy responsible probably thought that the Polish people were sufficiently tired (and starved) as well as psychologically prepared to accept the imposition of military rule and the curbing of Solidarity's powers. The extent of resistance to the coup shows that in this they seriously miscalculated.

Statement by Lawyers' Association of the Jaellonia University of Cracow. (14 December 1981)

The formation of the Military Council for National Salvation is illegal, because according to Article 31 of the Polish Constitution, the Council of State can only issue decrees when the Sejm is not in session. The decree is

therefore illegal.

There are no grounds to assume that the sovereignty of the nation or the existence of the state has been under threat.

Legally there is no way the army can repre-

sent the people.

The establishment of the Army Council for Salvation is illegal. The Polish Constitution does not allow for such an organ. The Military Council for National Salvation is therefore a military junta which stands outside the law.



7 Years for striking

On the 2nd January 1981 The District Court in Katowice handed down sentences of from 3 to 7 years in jail on a number of Solidarity members for continuing trade union activity under martial law and for taking part in the Katowice steelworks occupation (during which at least one of the giant furnaces was allowed to go out). Those sentenced were Wojciech Naruszinski, Herbert Renard, Zbigniew Sobolewski, Ryszard Bilinski and Jan Legus. In addition to jail they were given fines of between 15 and 20 thousand zloty.

In the town of Dabrowa Gorna in Silesia four trade unionists were sentenced to between 4 and 6½ years in jail and 4 to 5 years of 'curtailed public rights'.

On the 6th January PAP (the Polish Press Agency) reported that further trade unionists were sentenced in Katowice for organising strikes distributing leaflets and selling the broadsheet *Wolny Zwiakowice* (Free Trade Unionist) — the publication of Katowice District Solidarity — still being printed despite the clamp-down). The following were reported

as summarily convicted — Henryk Dobczyk, Aleksander Trzoska, Janusz Jasicki, Wojciech Zymowski, and Andrzej Grzebielch.

PAP announced further trials of trade unionists in the town of Zeran, at the Warsaw steelworks (Huta Warszawa) and at the giant Ursus tractor works where, according to reports reaching the West, hardly any tractors have been produced since the 13th December.

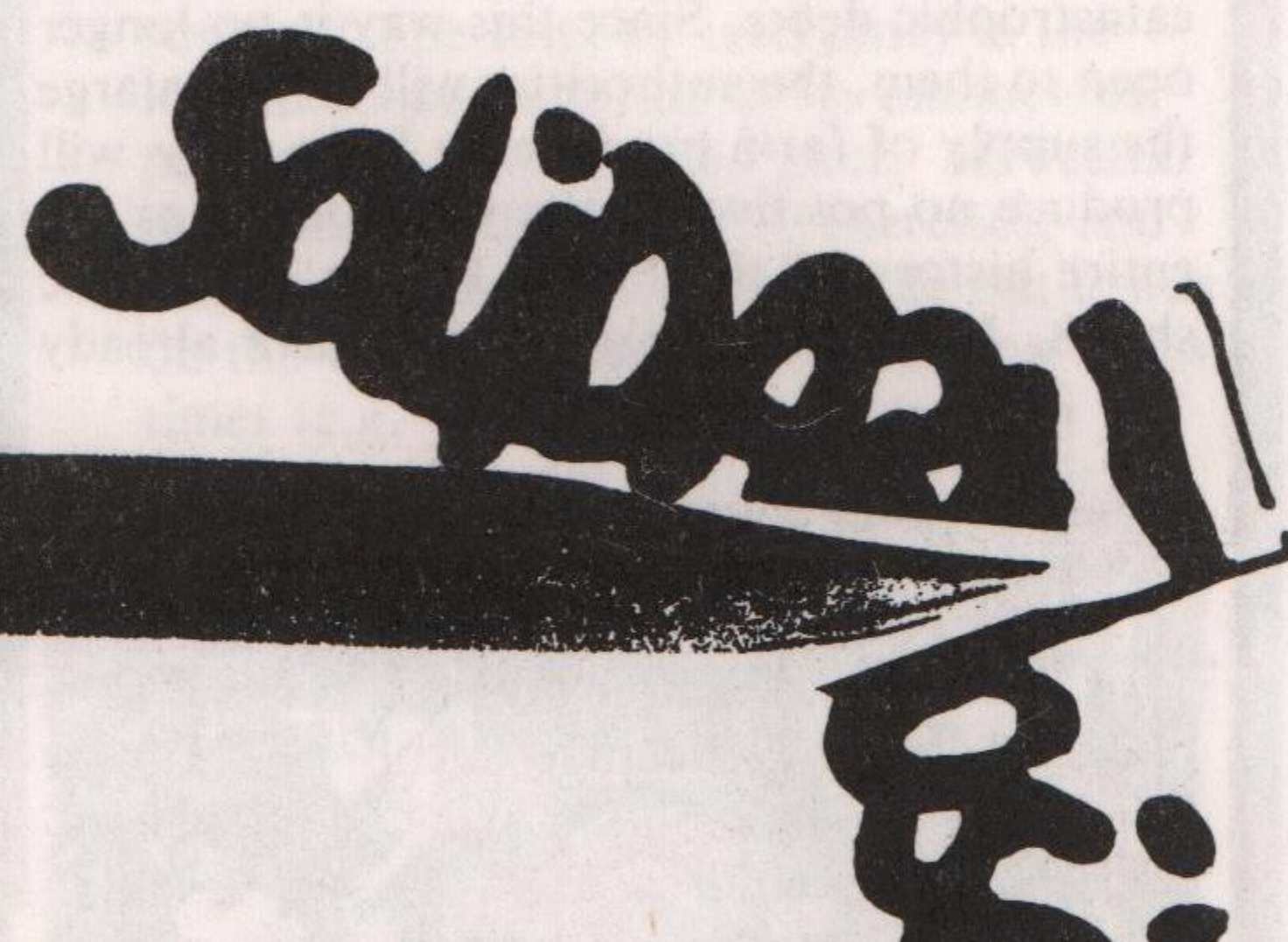
The summary way in which working-class strikers are treated, with the proceedings or 'process' usually lasting no more than a few hours and a government claim to have convicted over 360 of 560 accused (often in secret session) in the first month of martial law, contrasts strangely with the slow pace of the prosecution of the former high Party figures officially held responsible for starting the crisis.

The trial of Maciej Szczepanski, the former boss of the Polish radio and TV committee, charged with corruption on a mind-boggling scale, was granted a two-week recess in January. Szczepanski does not deny acquiring

country villas, cars, houses, 900 pornographic films and videos (that he showed to cronies at TV centre in Warsaw) or the rest. The main plank of Szczepanski's defence is that he was forced to become the head of TV and radio committee 'under duress'.

An Acquittal

Warsaw district court judge LYDIA MAZURKIEWICZ has joined the ranks of the immortals as far as the working class of Poland is concerned. On Wednesday at the Warsaw district court she dismissed the charges against four strikers from a Warsaw car factory on the grounds that their strike was an emotional response to martial law and not criminally premeditated. The future career prospects of judge Mazurkiewicz are not likely to be bright, although the decision brought prolonged applause from the public in the courtroom. Ironically it was in nearby Warsaw court 244 that Solidarity was legally registered in November 1980. So much for the Party's promises.



Solidarity from Eastern Europe

Despite orchestrated propaganda campaigns in Soviet and Eastern Bloc media, particularly by the Czechs, support for Solidarity has been widespread if not well-publicised. Ukrainians in the USSR for instance, were prepared to risk imprisonment or to pay the equivalent of a month's average wages to acquire copies of the movement's weekly paper *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*. The democratic opposition throughout the region welcomed Solidarity's conference call to fellow free trade unionists with appreciation tinged with more than a little justified apprehension. Clearly the Solidarity movement and what it stood for, represented a new and peaceful way out of Eastern Europe political, economic and social impasses.

Following martial law, that support continues. At the beginning of January the East German authorities took steps against known sympathizers, presumably to pre-empt the growth of protest there.

The Hungarians with historically close and friendly links with Poland dating from the time of King Stefan Batory, but with their own political consciousness still traumatized by the bloody crushing of their own revolution in 1956, have watched the development of Solidarity from the sidelines, and channel their undoubted sympathies into material and humanitarian aid. Since 'Black Sunday' the 13th December (when martial law was

declared) a group of intellectuals has called for the sending of food parcels to Poland or for deprived Polish children to be offered free holidays with Hungarian families. The church leader in this predominantly Catholic country, Primate Cardinal Lekkai, earmarked church collections on Silvester's Day (New Year's Eve) for food aid to be sent via the Red Cross for distribution by the Polish Episcopate. As for political protest the doyen of the relatively few open dissidents, Tibor Pakh, sent his own statement of support from Budapest on the 17th of December.

The strongest response has come from relatively 'liberal' Yugoslavia, embarrassing the authorities with the possibility of complications in relations with the orthodox Eastern block. A series of leaflets, signed and distributed mainly by students and intellectuals has been circulated, expressing support for Solidarity's aspirations, protest at the brutality of the repression and concern for the internees. One statement with over 140 signatories is addressed directly to the leaders and membership of Solidarity and pledges the full support of Yugoslavs in its fight for "workers' rights, freedom and democracy", going on to say that "if this struggle should prove to have been in vain that would be a disaster for the kind of civilization that we believe in".

A direct appeal to General Jaruzelski calling

for an immediate end to martial law and the unconditional release of all internees has been signed by professors David and Stoyanovic of the well-known Zagreb marxist journal "praxis" published in Zagreb. In Belgrade meanwhile Tito's former deputy, now turned dissident, Milovan Djilas put his name to a message to the "persecuted but heroic Polish people".

The Yugoslav authorities has attempted to limit the scope of these protests, and hence their possible embarrassments by raiding the homes of the signatories. However, the negative attitude, both of the official and Zagreb radio had already caused the Polish ambassador to issue two official complaints by mid-January. A Yugoslav contributor to a radio programme had flown in the face of statements by Tass and the rest by declaring that an entire working class couldn't be dismissed as counter-revolutionary and that events in Poland were clearly the result of a complete loss of confidence by the people in the Party. Further, the Solidarity national conference in Gdansk had not been on a counter-revolutionary platform. Higher-level Yugoslav organs, however, remain reticent in their comments on the developing situation in Poland.

Allan Gregg 10-1-82

TO ALL MEMBERS OF NSZZ "SOLIDARITY"

21 December 1981

Excerpts

...A short analysis of the situation in Poland based on the most recent information and directives for action of Solidarity links within union groups and their publications. From the accessible press information about the activities of the Militia and the Secret Police, and from the stepping up of propaganda against members of Solidarity one can deduce that the military regime aims to break up the Union and intimidate the people. According to our analysis the authorities will try at all cost to improve the food shortage situation even if it means taking from the farmers by force. After a time this can only lead to a total catastrophe in food supplies, as was proved during the government of Gierek and Jaruzewicz, and the present regime will not call off any absurd decision in order to gain the trust of the people. Gierek did gain this trust for a period of time by creating catastrophic debts. Since this way is no longer open to them, the authorities will try to enlarge the supply of farm produce by force. This will produce no positive results whatsoever, as the entire history of the Polish People's Republic shows. From the decisions that have already



been taken, we can see that the junta is going to attempt to stabilize the market by raising prices, blocking accounts and maybe even the exchange of currency. These decisions must lead to the total poverty of many families that are already living on the breadline. This may lead to spontaneous rebellions which may cause bloodshed, since, as events in Silesia show, the authorities stop at nothing. The feeble reaction from the West to the events in Poland show that the Poles can only count on themselves and they must therefore organise themselves in order to defend their basic human rights, as well as their rights as citizens and members of the unions. The only strength that we can rely on in this difficult time is that of the Catholic Church. It is essential, therefore, to cooperate

fully with the Church, especially in the organising of help for those who have been arrested, laid off work, those in hiding and all those who are being persecuted. I do not foresee any radical change in the attitude of the West when

Zbigniew Janas

no decisive measures have been taken politically or economically. What is the outcome of this short analysis? What action can the members of Solidarity take?

1. We must set up a network of cooperation between the representatives of our Union among individual elements in the factories and also within the Institutions. This is essential for the verification of incoming information, also in the coordination of activities. This will also serve to transmit experience within the Trade Unions. This cooperation must be established at the places of work and also meetings for this purpose should be organised in private houses.
2. Help both material and moral must be organised on a large scale for the families of those arrested and persecuted. This help must be organised thoroughly and continuously. Funds should be set up for this purpose at all levels of union groups. One must remember that this kind of activity arouses solidarity among people and reduces the possibility of depraving them. This action must be taken immediately due to the importance of its influence on the morale of the people.
3. Contact with the underground press must be established in order to propagate the distribution of brochures and all unofficial publications. This is extremely important because of the massive propaganda fed to the people by the mass media which uses lies, public addresses and the twisting of facts to back them up, along the lines of Goebbels propaganda which was based on the idea that a lie repeated a hundred times becomes the truth. This activity however must be carried out in total secrecy because of the great danger and serious consequences. But nevertheless it may not be disregarded because of this danger.
4. It is necessary to take strict union measures against those representatives of the government and Party members who are obliterating truth and encouraging acts of revenge. This must be opposed at all cost and the names of all those who are trying to perpetrate this form of activity must be recorded. For this purpose a record system should be compiled carrying details of all inhuman and unlawful activities of the management and Party members. These records must be decentralised, so that in the event of them falling into the wrong hands the entire system would be at risk. If at all possible document of 'Lawless Activities' should be printed and distributed to workers. In these difficult times we must not forget to act with the future in mind. Thought must

be given to a new collective system and other legal documentation, for instance, for the the proper insurance by the management of the workers. This is very important so that the authorities do not imagine that our powerful organisation can be easily destroyed.

5. Protests must be written, individual as well as collective, condemning the activities of the military junta and also demanding the release of those arrested and that the rights of the people be restored to them. These letters must signed clearly with Christian names and Surnames since only then will they have any value morally and propaganda wise.
6. Since a spontaneous outburst of protest is foreseen we must prepare ourselves for the proclamation of a general strike. These preparations must be carried in total secrecy and a secret strike committees must be formed which must undertake the organisation of these preparation. But no active opposition must take place as this may lead to bloodshed. The government of this country which claims to be for the workers has already spilled enough workers' blood. Remember that they are



murderers. They are totally indifferent to how many people they shoot if it lies within their interest.

Finally I remind all union officials that they were elected democratically for a two year term of office. They agreed to this and no one or nothing can release them from performing their duties towards the people who elected them. Remember we will not be able to defend ourselves with ignorance or fear. Each one of us will have to give an account of what he or she did when things were easier, and of the time when the loss of a job or even freedom was at risk. In these stressful times we must all unite in not permitting Solidarity to be destroyed, which is the only hope for the Polish nation.

And one day the sun will shine for us too.

Chairman of the Factory Council
NSZZ 'Solidarity' in the Factory Ursus,
member of the National Commission



Polish Solidarity Campaign News

'Every single declaration of solidarity, every single condemnation of the coup and all its works, every truck load of food delivered directly to the Polish people, every protest, every sympathy action, every 'blacking of Soviet bloc products and links, will help the people of Poland resist the Kremlin onslaught'

The Polish Solidarity Campaign, since its inception in August 1980, has believed that the cause of Polish freedom in general, and Polish free trade unionism in particular, is best served by telling the truth as we see it. In the past, that has meant upsetting those in the British Labour movement who think that it is possible to sympathise with the victims of repression in Poland and the entire Soviet bloc whilst maintaining cordial relations with the oppressor. Today, in the wake of the Soviet-inspired military coup of General Jaruzelski, we must again speak the truth as we see it. What has, and continues to be inflicted on the workers and people of Poland is not just a temporary set-back for the process of so-called 'reform' imposed on the rulers of Poland in August 1980. It is not just another round of repression, but an attempt to crush the hopes of the Polish people. It is a blow whose magnitude and depth are only gradually becoming visible and appreciable with the passage of time.

What is the balance sheet? On the debit side, we have a military junta slowly but surely enforcing its political will on the Polish nation, despite the heroic and stubborn resistance of its people. Solidarnosc, only a month ago a legal organisation ten million strong, and with support throughout Polish society except at the level of government, has been outlawed and driven underground. The majority of its national leadership, and a substantial proportion of its regional and local leadership, has been interned. Some have already been sentenced by courts martial to long terms of imprisonment. Trials are pending of other figures prominent in the struggle for free trade unionism and political freedom in the pre-coup period. With the weapons of cold, hunger, ignorance, terror and fear, Jaruzelski's Gestapo has broken the back of the strikes and occupations that in the first days of the coup, barred the junta's path to control of the country. With all the means of communication in its hands, together with the means of supplying food and fuel, the junta is taking measures whether it will succeed we cannot be sure — to split up, to divide and thereby weaken the ability of the Polish working class

to regroup its forces, recover from the blow inflicted on December 13, and begin once again the struggle for freedom. Insofar as Solidarity exists and functions, it does so as an underground organisation, faced at every step and turn by the immediate prospect of yet more arrests, denunciations, trials and even deportations.

And that is only the material side of things. Only with the greatest effort of the imagination might it be possible to place oneself in the situation of a Polish worker who perhaps after decades of struggle and sacrifice for liberty — 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980 — now finds himself or herself, after standing on the threshold of victory, thrust back into the most appalling servitude. Slavery must be all the more oppressive and unbearable following so suddenly, as it does in Poland, upon a taste of freedom. Of all the burdens now weighing upon the Polish people — hunger, cold, uncertainty, a feeling of isolation and fear — this must surely be the hardest to endure. And we can be sure that Poland's rulers will exploit its impact to the utmost. Already they are exacting the time-honoured recantations and repudiations from those amongst Solidarnosc's midst who find this cruel turn in its fortunes too much to comprehend or resist. We, from the safety of a land that enjoys liberties denied to the Poles, should not judge them too hastily or too harshly. The real guilt lies with those who by threats and false promises, have extracted the scripted confessions and disavowels upon which all tyrannies rely. We can but marvel that, even with the weapons at its disposal, the junta has such empty triumphs to its credit.

What of the credit side of the post-coup balance sheet? We said that Solidarnosc had been driven underground. But that means that Solidarnosc still lives! In the main industrial regions of Poland, its activists, its most loyal and courageous members (we cannot possibly ascertain either their number or their influence) continue to function, albeit in a totally new fashion, and under conditions hazardous in the extreme. Solidarnosc leaflets still pass from hand to hand, its posters appear in the streets,

messages still find their way to us here in the West, telling of continued resistance to the junta, of Solidarnosc's resolve to fight on. Despite the claim of the junta, industrial production continues to lag. Workers, as suggested by a recent Solidarnosc circular, perform their tasks without enthusiasm. They have no intention of bringing either prosperity or stability to a regime they despise. It is, however, too early to judge whether these survivals of Solidarnosc, and the passive resistance engaged in by the workers, are the prelude to more open acts of defiance, as we would hope, or represent the final gasp of a movement that was been pulverised by brute force. Wishes are a poor guide to political action, and never more so than when the stakes are as high as they are in Poland. We passionately hope that the former is the case, but must brace ourselves for the conclusions that must follow if the latter be true.

The Polish Solidarity Campaign quite frankly declares that at this juncture, it does not know, and it moreover is not able with any degree of accuracy to predict, which of these two basic perspectives will prevail. Perhaps the decisive battles determining that choice remain to be fought out.

Our task is to prepare ourselves for either eventuality. The Polish workers will require solidarity from their brothers and sisters in the West whether they are able to resume successfully the struggle for the gains lost over the last month, or find themselves driven yet further back into the totalitarian cage erected for them by General Jaruzelski and his Soviet masters. In this sense, the degree and effectiveness of Western support that can be mobilised for the Polish people constitutes, at the present moment, the biggest single asset Solidarnosc has at its disposal. Every single declaration of solidarity, every single condemnation of the coup and all its works, every truck load of food delivered directly to the Polish people, every protest, every sympathy action, every 'blacking' of Soviet bloc products and links, will help the people of Poland to resist the Kremlin onslaught.

Inside Poland



Deaths in the birthplace

/W.D. No 6/ 14 miners have died in "Manifest Lipcowy" coal mine after a charge of ZOMO/Armed Police/. It should be remembered that a strike in 1980 in this very mine, located in the Silesian town of Jastrzebie resulted in the "Jastrzebie Agreement" that finally transformed "Solidarity" into a national force.

Union property seized

/W.D. No 7/ The building in Lublin that until recently housed the local branch of "Solidarity" got a new nameplate: "WRZZ". That very name was used until August 1980 by the state-run regional unions' centres. It also officially confirms that government doesn't intend to return to "Solidarity" its property seized at the outset of martial law. This includes not only offices but also several-millions' worth of printing equipment — most of it donated by Trade Unions from all over the world — as well as huge union's funds collected from members' dues.

Enforcing loyalty

/Times, January 8/ Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Polish Primate has publicly attacked the loyalty oaths being demanded of civil servants and industrial workers under threat of losing their jobs. "A statement of will made under pressure is invalid" he told a packed congregation at St. John's Cathedral in Warsaw on Wednesday.

Camp News

/W.D. No 6/ Near Radom 2 thousand workers are kept in unheated tents in the blizzard conditions. With weather in Poland being now as severe as in Britain and temperatures well below zero it is believed that many of internees might have died from exposure.

It is characteristic for the communist regime that intellectuals and political opponents are confined to Bialoleka prison, where at least an adequate shelter is provided. As usual it is the ordinary worker who gets the worst treatment.

/P.R. Warsaw, 8 January, news at 10pm/ It was announced that women and elderly people are placed in better equipped camps. What about just letting them home?

Student union dissolved

/P.R. Warsaw, January 6/ Unlike the Solidarity or Journalists' Union which in official language are only suspended, the Independent Student Union /NZZ/ was declared dissolved. An hour-long broadcast justified this decision claiming: "The Union was an agent of foreign interests and was intended to be the base of political opposition with a clear anti-socialist and anti-communist character". Bearing in mind that Solidarity Congress in Gdansk last year recognised NZZ as an affiliated organisation and guaranteed its free existence the communique gives an impression of equalling "Solidarity" with "foreign interests".

Communique number one of the secret national strike committee

In line with the resolutions adopted on the 14th of December at Radom and by the (Solidarity) National Commission on the 12th of December at Gdansk, we are responding to the violence with a general strike...

In beginning this strike we affirm that it cannot be ended until the following conditions are met: the freeing of all those imprisoned, and the ending of the state of siege.

Not until these conditions have been carried out will it be possible for us to enter negotiations with a view to reaching an agreement...

Support us in our struggle!

At the risk of our lives and our freedom, in defiance of the draconian measures of martial law and despite the attempt to paralyse us with fear, hundreds of thousands of workers and Polish patriots are on strike and demand the lifting of the state of siege, the freeing of all those arrested, the restoration of all trade union and by your moral support. Don't stand aside with folded arms and watch the attempt to crush the beginnings of a democracy in the heart of Europe.

Be with us in these difficult moments! Solidarity with Solidarity! Poland still lives!

Strike Committee of the Warski naval shipyard, Szczecin



Anti-Semitism

The Polish military junta is trying to whip up anti-semitism in an attempt to gain support for its repression of Solidarity, according to Mr J. Swiecicki, the union's representative in Stockholm, and a number of sources quoted by the *Jewish Chronicle*, other newspapers and Jewish organisations. It appears that Nazi conspiracy "theory" is rearing its ugly head once more.

The State controlled press and media has carried a considerable amount of anti-semitic material, for example, a radio interview with a Professor Kossecki in which he spoke of Jews taking over Polish industries, and putting Church and liberal Communist leaders on the "wrong road". He said that through the collaboration of KOR and Gierek, the Jews had misled the Poles. The state media has also made anti-semitic attacks on an adviser of Lech Walesa, Prof. B. Geremek. "There were several similar statements. The radio read statements by 'Defence of Poland' which is a paranoid anti-semitic movement in a tone of endorsement," said Mr Swiecicki.

A common theme of the attacks is their accusation that Jews have caused the economic crisis by hoarding goods. Travellers arriving in Stockholm and refugees arriving in Vienna

confirmed this, the latter bringing with them copies of anti-semitic leaflets distributed in Warsaw. The anti-semitic "Grunwald Patriotic Union" was distributing books just before the coup, and apparently Polish soldiers have been seen handing out anti-semitic leaflets. However, it is also reported "that anti-semitic posters are being torn down by members of the Polish public almost as soon as they are put up on walls in... Polish cities."

Many Jewish organisations in the West are extremely concerned at these developments. After intensive pressure from Jewish bodies in America, the Polish authorities have released Dr M. Edelman, the last surviving leader of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, who was arrested after the coup.

Absurdity is added to the obscenity of this anti-semitic revival for, due to the extermination of millions of Polish Jews during the last war, and the flood of refugees from persecution since as well as before and during the war, there are now a mere 8,000 Jews living in Poland, mostly elderly.

Sources for article: *Jewish Chronicle* Jan 1st, Jan 8th, and *Daily Telegraph*, Dec 21st.

Workers in disguise

/IHT, January 8/ Poland's military rulers said on Thursday that soldiers were working in factories, mines and farms and "protecting" transport. This report suggests that large-scale boycotts by workers are under way.

Terms for union work

/P.R. Warsaw, January 2, news at 8pm/ Today Regional Court in Katowice had sentenced Witold Rubik to 6 years and 6 months in jail, Zbigniew Slomar to 5 years, Wladyslaw Rusiecki to 5 years 6 months and Piotr Goralski to 4 years in addition to 15 thousand zloty fine each. Their crime was described as: "They continued 'Solidarity' activities between 13 and 23 of December 1981". This announcement came sandwiched between news of trials of petty criminals.

Shortages abound

/P.R. Warsaw, January 7/ News broadcasts suggest that food shortages are widespread and by the way of explanation the official PAP press agency blamed blizzards in the north that were to down power lines, shut ports and disrupt service across the country.

Key to symbols: W.D. — *Wiadomości Dnia* /News of the Day/ An underground news bulletin published by "Solidarity" in Warsaw; P.R. — Polish Radio; IHT — *International Herald Tribune*.



Help!
SOLIDARNOSĆ

Andrzej Krauze, celebrated Polish cartoonist, whose cartoons appeared regularly in *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*, has produced 4 satirical postcards. These can be obtained from PSC (Address below) for 30p (plus post and package). Profits to PSC.

PSC 69 Edinburgh Road
London E13

Price hike hits workers most

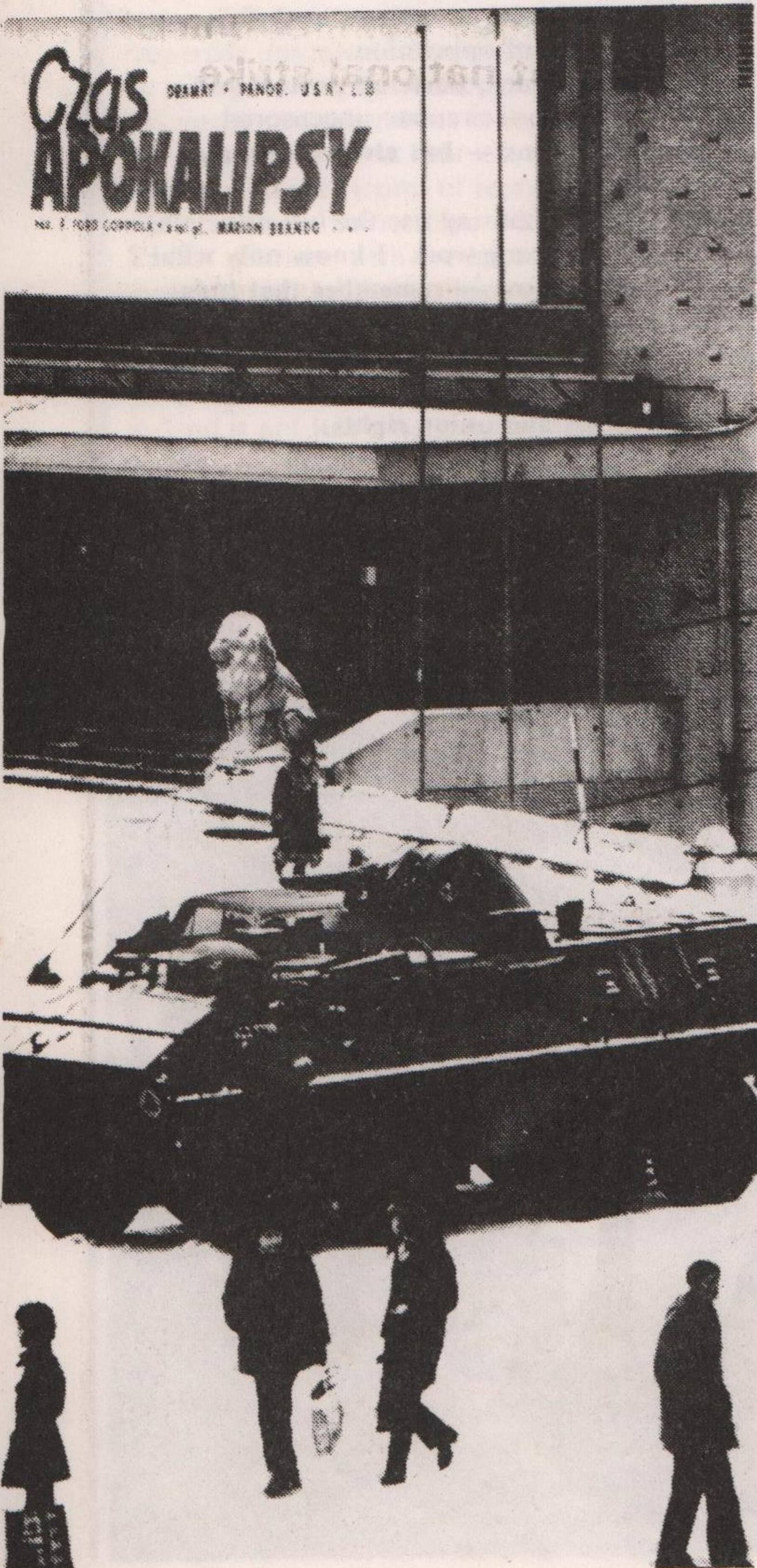
/P.R. January 5/ Warsaw government has announced drastic price increases for almost all commodities. The combined average increase is given as 300% but when broken down into separate items it reveals an obvious slant. Ham, available only to officials now has gone up from 180 zloty a kilo to 450 zloty /150% increase/ while so called "ordinary sausage", the staple of workers' menu goes from 44 zloty to 200 zloty /355% increase/.

We shall never be slaves!

The strike committee of Huta Warszawa, after having consulted the workers who voted 80 per cent in favour of a strike, proclaim an occupation-strike in the steelworks to be started at 9 am. We steelworkers demand the satisfaction of the demands of the national strike committee which has its base in Gdansk.

We declare with all determination that we are workers and will never be slaves if they tie our hands and gag us. We go on strike with the whole of Poland, with the whole nation united...

Strike bulletin number two of the Huta Warszawa steel works.



Lenin Steel Works The Battle for Fear

For two days we have been sitting here, we, the workers, engineers, students, followers and active members of Solidarity from the regional council and many other works committees. We are sitting here because the rulers of our country have perpetrated yet another crime against the people. Crimes committed against each of us. **Yesterday they came for someone else — if you are afraid it could be you tomorrow!** This is the battle for fear that is being waged this very moment. It isn't surprising that we are afraid, we have parents, wives, children, our livelihood. We also know **what they are capable of** because we know the history of our country. But remember, they are more afraid, hidden behind their masks, clubs and tanks. Hidden behind the television screen and the cloak of never-ending, pernicious lies. **They are afraid of us.** That is why they imposed a curfew, martial law, and cut all communication networks, that is why they have interned many of our leaders, those whom we trusted most. Let us think on this: There are many millions of us in our own country. We are shielded by the walls of our factories, we are strong because we are united, united against lawlessness. **Let us remember...** there are not that many of them. The club, the gun and the tank is no weapon against a united people. The only weapon they have is **fear**. Only fear can break us up and render us helpless. This is what they are counting on, that overcome by fear we shall open the gates to them ourselves. Then they will trample us and we shall become slaves. If we want to remain a free people — **we must hold out**, calmly, with dignity we must overcome fear. Because even if they do go all the way, our **calm courage** will be our victory for now and for ever. This is not about lofty, empty words but that we should be, and remain **human beings**.

Printers Union MKS Malopolska in the Lenin Steel Works
15.12.1981

The Basic Principles of Opposition

Rybnik-Katowice 21.12.1981

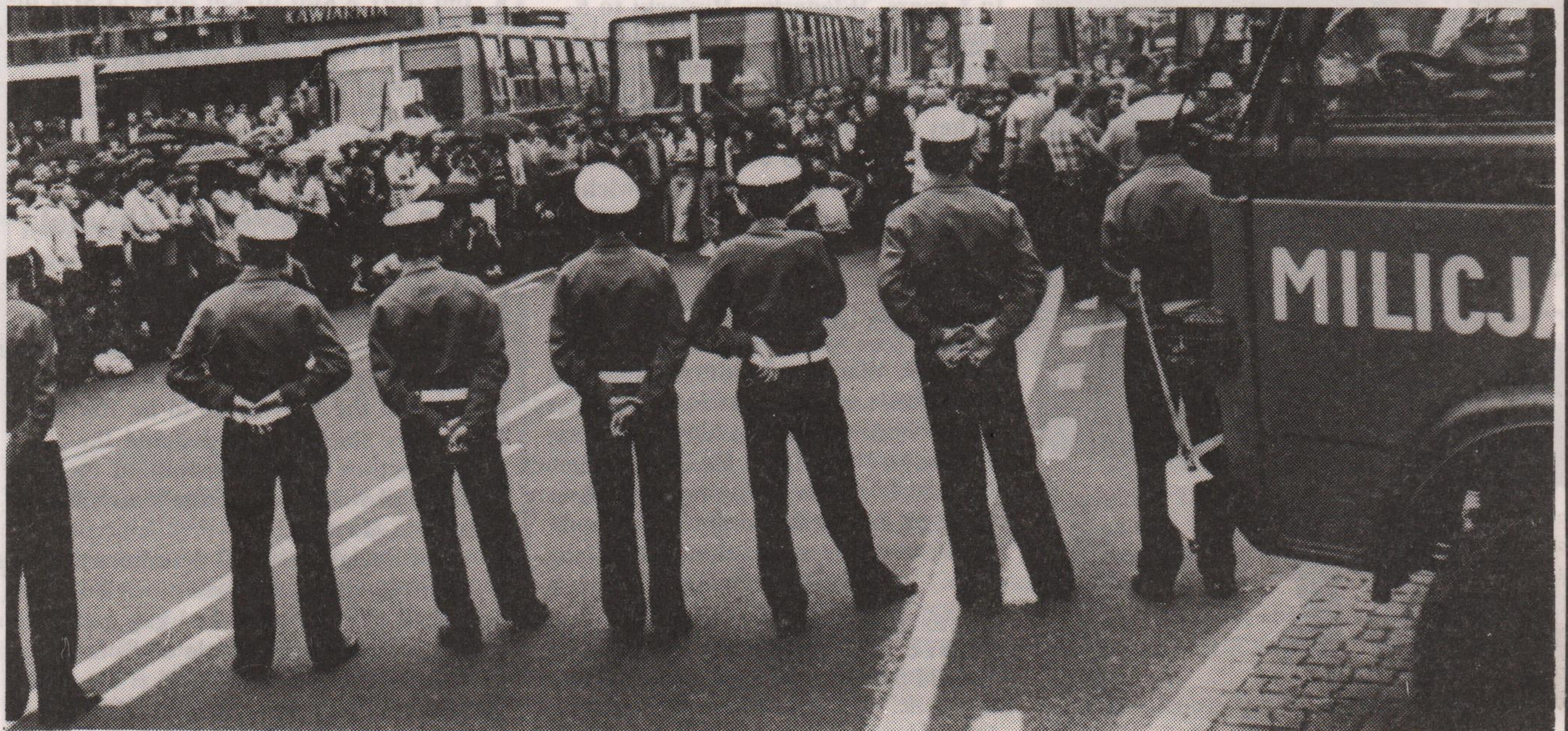
The coup d'etat has forced solidarity members into making a dramatic choice: whether to oppose or to capitulate. Some practical advice for those who choose the courageous road of opposition and who want to be a part of the **Opposition Union Solidarity**. The present reign of terror is a version of the totalitarian Stalinist terror with which our generation has not yet come into contact. The new situation requires new rules which should be learnt as soon as possible. The following are some basic principles of opposition:

1. In the event of a strike or any other form of protest — **You are part of the work force.**
2. Do not form open strike committees. Protect your leaders and organisers. The most basic principle when taking action is — **The whole work force is on strike; there are no leaders.**
3. When coming up against the police or army — **You are aware of nothing; you know nothing; you've heard nothing.**
4. In every place of work Solidarity members must exist *physically* (don't let yourself be stupidly caught out because of ill-considered bravura) and *morally* (the attitude of every Solidarity member should make it clear to the rest of the work-force that, **we are not running away, we are with you.**
5. Don't use those around you to blow off steam your enemy is **the police, the zealous worker, the informer.**
6. Work slowly, complain about the mess which surrounds you and about the inefficiency of your supervisors, leave all decision making to the commissars and informers, overwhelm them with questions, voice your uncertainties, don't think for them, always play ignorant.
7. Don't pre-empt the decisions of commissars and informers by being subservient. All the dirty work must be done by them alone. In this way you are

- creating a void around them, by inundating them with the most trivial matters you will make the army/police machine split at the seams.
8. Stick religiously to the most idiotic instructions, don't solve problems — leave that to the commissars and informers; a senseless rule is your ally. At the same time remember to help fellow workers at all times without looking to the rule book.
 9. If you are told to break any contradictory rules, demand that the order be put in writing, complain about it, prolong the whole process. Sooner or later the commissar will want to be left in peace — **that will be the beginning of the end of the dictatorship.**
 10. Take as much compassionate leave as you can.
 11. Avoid social gatherings, have nothing to do with the zealous worker; the informer; the commissar and all others like them.
 12. Give all the help you can to the families of those who have been arrested, wounded, or murdered.
 13. Collect money for social aid, create funds.
 14. Take part in whispered propaganda, pass on information about what is happening in the country as a whole, quote examples of opposition.
 15. Paint slogans, paste up posters and handbills — circulate uncensored publications — **but always with due care.**
 16. When organising use the old principles of conspiracy work. **I know only what I should know — remember that today there is nothing more important than the fight for the release of internees, the fight to end the state of war; citizens liberties and union rights.**

WE SHALL WIN

The Opposition Union 'Solidarity'





Evidence of Soviet Involvement

1. The style of the operation as carried on at present points to Russian direction — Generals with real knowledge of Polish people would not act like this. For Poland's internal affairs, such action is totally unnecessary.

Even if subversives in Solidarity were planning a coup (as Warsaw Radio claimed after the military coup) this is no justification for the widescale repression of virtually the whole population. Solidarity was certainly not planning a coup, and a few hundred soldiers at strategic points could prevent this.

Neither is there any justification on economic grounds. A primary *raison d'être* of Solidarity was to cure abysmal weaknesses in the system. This progress has been cast aside and Poland's economic future in jeopardy. In the words of Gdansk Party Secretary, Fiszbach, last March: 'Whoever even considers martial law does not take into account his responsibility for the destiny of the nation and the price that would have to be paid.'

This points to a dominant Soviet influence in instigating the present events — events which are reminiscent of Russian oppression before over the last two centuries, and echo a pattern familiar in the Soviet Union.

2. Presence of Marshall Kulikow and Youri Andropov; also 30 high-ranking Russian officers have landed at Warsaw airport in addition to over a hundred who were already there.
3. Presence of Russian troops in Polish Army uniforms. A fair proportion of people who have left Poland since the coup, have reported hearing or speaking to such



Russians. The factory making Polish uniforms was one of the first to be militarised: workers there had gone on strike earlier this year after Solidarity members (looking for evidence that Polish food was being secretly sent to Russia), discovered trainloads of Polish uniforms en route for the Soviet Union.

4. There are probably no more than 100,000 troops completely loyal to the junta (56,000 WOW, 16,000 ZOMO; 20,000 in army). To control strike action likely to occur among the 5½ million industrial solidarity members one would think that

more loyal troops would be used if available.

5. There are two permanent Russian barracks — at Legnica, and Swinoujscie. There are about 500,000 Russian troops (50 divisions) around the Polish border. Russian troops could therefore be deployed rapidly, without conspicuous troop movements.
6. The extensive and prolonged Warsaw pact exercises earlier in 1981, gave opportunity for planning and preparation (association of Jaruzelski and Kulikow during these exercises — Russian submarine stranded on Swedish shore). Some troops could have been kept in Poland secretly since W.P. exercises. An ex-Polish General (who defected last July) said: 'Everything was planned a long time ago. The Polish army is totally integrated in its command structure with the Red Army, and there is no difference between a Polish general and a Russian sitting by his side. Does anyone believe the manoeuvres the Russians carried out in 1981 were for fun? Would the Soviet Union waste billions of roubles? The state of emergency is the logical consequence of those manoeuvres, part of the same ground plan.' Jaruzelski met Kulikow during W.P. exercises, and later in August. Russia has made out it was on the verge of a direct intervention a few times (e.g. when troops on alert 10th August). A special military communications network was set up early in 1981, and switched on about 2 weeks before the military coup. And yet there are still those who warn of a possible *future* Soviet involvement.

News from Labour's National Executive Committee

Readers will, perhaps, be interested to hear the latest disturbing news from the Labour Party National Executive Committee which we have received from reliable sources. In the wake of the military coup, this body showed scant regard for the plight of Polish workers.

On Wednesday, December 16th, Mr Eric Heffer MP, moved that the NEC should call on the Polish authorities to:

- a) lift the ban on meetings and trade union activities and rescind the state of emergency;
- b) release all detainees;
- c) ensure a swift return to civilian rule.

His motion also stated that the NEC should:

1. communicate its views to the Polish Embassy by sending a Labour Party delegation to the Embassy;
2. organise a protest march and rally on the following Sunday (this would presumably have meant sponsorship of the PSC rally);
3. inform the TUC immediately of its stand and seek joint action on the matter;
4. urge all Labour Party organisations to impress upon the Polish Embassy the strength of feeling and concern in the Labour Movement at the grave turn of events.

Mr Heffer's motion was signed by: Ms Joan Lestor, Ms Jo Richardson, Mr Lawrence Coates and by Mr Heffer himself. It received the support but not the signature of Labour's leader, Mr Michael Foot.

Mr Heffer's motion was "vehemently" opposed by Mr Sam Mc. Cluskie of the National Union of Seamen. He has recently returned from a visit to Poland and apparently found solidarity to be unreasonable and disruptive. He seemed to show great understanding of the plight of the Polish authorities. Mr. Mc. Cluskie was backed, albeit in less vociferous terms, by Mr Eric Clarke (National Union of Mineworkers), Ms Joan Maynard and Mr Roy Evans (Iron and Steel Trades Confederation). Mr Evans has also recently visited Poland and appears to have found the atmosphere there to have been more congenial than reports have suggested. It is not known whether Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman, Mr Denis Healey, spoke. It seems that Mr Tony Benn had already left, which does make one wonder at the priorities of the particular defender of the workers.

Mr Heffer and supporters were said to have been "slaughtered"; the motion was not even put to a vote. Instead, a motion expressing concern about the situation in Poland in more general terms was passed.

PSC members will perhaps be comforted to learn that the East European Solidarity Campaign intends to take up the matter strongly with Constituency Labour Parties; it is to be hoped that co-operation with PSC will be possible on this.

Meanwhile we await with baited breath the NEC's response to the strongly-worded statement on Poland issued by the Socialist International to which the British Labour Party belongs. Its key passage states "we appeal to our member parties to consider economic and financial assistance in the light of developments in Poland and to give concrete contribution to lessening the sufferings of the Polish people especially in the fields of food and medicine. We wish Mr Heffer luck when he raises the Polish crisis on the NEC once more this Tuesday Jan 12th.

On the Left

The December 13 coup brought a wide range of reactions from the totalitarian (Leninist) left in Britain, but all reflecting their view that Jaruzelski's Poland (and the Soviet Union) are 'workers' states' and, therefore better for workers than, say, Britain. Though the Leninist organisations are small they have considerable influence in the trade unions and Labour Party, where they seek to draw the teeth of serious support for Solidarity. Their stances therefore merit attention. And the essential common ingredients are those of 'appeasement' in general: the attempt to deflect attention from Soviet responsibility, to treat repression as an internal Polish matter, and to limit responses (if any) to token ones, directed at Jaruzelski alone.

The Communist Party, for months before December 13, had been calling for a negotiated 'compromise' between Solidarity and the regime, wherever possible criticising Solidarity's 'provocations' and 'extremists'. It has continued this line after the coup, though sometimes criticising martial law in strongly demagogic tones — see, for example, the statement by the Communist Mick McGahey, leader of the Scottish NUM. However, the British CP (unlike the Italian) has stopped short of any overall criticism of Leninism or the Soviet Union. And the powerful and well-organised minority within it which wants total support for Soviet policies (two fifths of delegates at the recent CPGB congress backed Kremlin genocide in Afghanistan) began an immediate campaign. The correspondence columns of the *Morning Star* show an even balance: about half the letters on Poland criticising the coup; the other half supporting it ('brilliantly executed move') and blaming Solidarity for the economic crisis.

The most pro-Soviet part of the Communist Party is energetically supported from outside by the minority who left in 1977 to form the New Communist Party. The NCP, which denounced the Polish Solidarity Campaign's rally in Hyde Park as 'neo-fascist', and vigorously plugs the myth of a KOR-CIA conspiracy, is organising a national series of public meetings under the surreally-conjoined slogans: *Support the Military Council of National Salvation! Defend World Peace!*

The NCP have powerful sympathisers in the

Labour Party and the unions. *Straight Left*, the pro-Soviet journal in the Labour Party welcomed martial law (which 'met with understanding' in Poland, and 'offers the only hope' of 'stability and prosperity') and attacked those 'who rush to condemn General Jaruzelski. 'The influence of such pro-Sovietism goes wide. The ambiguities and delays in TUC and Labour Party responses to the coup are illuminated when we notice that *Straight Left's* 'editorial advisory panel' includes three members of the TUC General Council: Ray Buckton of ASLEF, Alan Sapper of ACTT, and Bill Keys of SOGAT; plus Labour MPs, including influential NEC member, Joan Maynard.

The other major form of Leninist is the Trotskyists. The most outspoken of them, the notoriously-racist Spartacist League, flamboyantly welcomed the coup ('Solidarność Counter-revolution Checked'), much as they earlier greeted the Afghanistan invasion ('Hail Red Army!'). But most other Trotskyists, wholly or partly engaged in infiltrating the Labour Party, are embarrassed by such forthright support of the Soviet 'workers' state'. They criticise Polish 'stalinism' and the coup, but seek to limit 'cold war anti-Sovietism' and support for Solidarity within a 'labour movement and socialists only' campaign, as a rival to the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

The proposed platform for this (see *Socialist Organiser*, 7 January), while denouncing 'right wingers' for inaction, *excludes* mention of the Soviet Union, or of trade union action against Poland or the Soviet bloc. It is backed by the International Marxist Group and its Labour Party 'entrists' and by Alan Thornett's Workers' Socialist League (which runs the *Socialist Organiser* grouping in the Labour Party) — both of which discreetly support the Kremlin occupation of Afghanistan — and also by *London Labour Briefing*, organ of Ken Livingstone and his Leninist backers within the London Labour Party.

It is also supported by one Labour MP, Reg Race, and by the IMG's Oliver MacDonald, of the Eastern European Solidarity Campaign, now also acting as *Labour Weekly's* (the Labour Party paper) correspondent on Poland.

This coalition has its contradictions. The Trotskyists denounce Polish Solidarity Campaign as 'reactionary anti-communists', and

blame Solidarity and Lech Walesa for *not* being Leninists, and for facilitating the coup by too much 'compromise' with Jaruzelski. But they simultaneously express confidence in the TUC's 'softly, softly' policy of 'pressure' on Jaruzelski's junta and the Soviet bloc unions to get martial law relaxed.

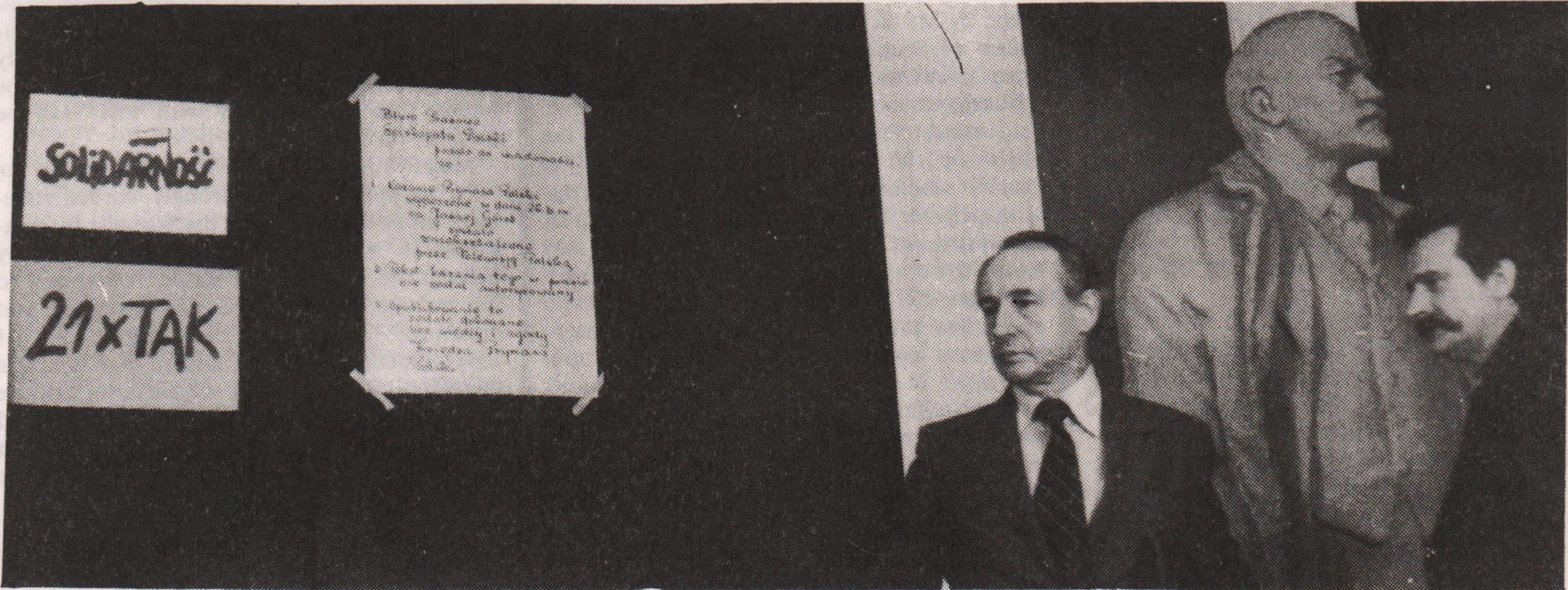
The various Labour Party Trotskyists, pessimistic about getting their own substitute 'campaign' going, have agreed together to try to keep solidarity activities free of 'anti-sovietism' and to curtail action directed against Jaruzelski's Kremlin masters. The Workers Revolutionary Party, their fellows outside the Labour Party, share the same hostility to action against Jaruzelski. Their paper *Newsline* constantly fulminates against PSC.

The attitude that support for Solidarity is dangerous where it entails serious opposition to the Soviet regime is not, of course, confined to the Leninists, or to the Labour Party and the unions. The pressure to appease Brezhnev and acknowledge his right, under Yalta, to enslave eastern Europe, affects all parts of the political spectrum, placing an enormous question mark over 'solidarity' with Solidarity. But PSC's policies for the Labour movement, pointing clearly to the Soviet Union as the main culprit, have won widening support among democratic socialists and trade unionists since the coup. The most important tasks are:

to break all links by the TUC, unions and Labour Party with Soviet bloc 'unions' and parties, which all support the repression in Poland.

industrial action against trade and contracts with Poland and the Soviet Union.

The coup in Poland has produced many clear labour movement statements in support of Solidarity — from Eric Heffer to Frank Chapple. These need to be turned into action. But it has also produced loud silences. There is the resonant silence of Lech Walesa and his fellow internees, echoing angrily down the corridors of Europe's Foreign Ministries. And there are the shameful diplomatic silences of Labour leaders — such as Tony Benn — anxious not to offend the totalitarian left. It is time for all friends of Solidarity — all democrats in the labour movement to stand up and be counted.





Poland and Peace

If any Solidarity supporters doubt the problems created for peace movements such as END (European Nuclear Disarmament) and CND, by recent events in Poland, then E.P. Thompson's article in *The Times* of December 22 — 'Why the West Must Share the Blame' — should help to convince them. One might have supposed that the coup of December 13, and the events that followed it, would have at least

Judy Barker

modified the views of the leading exponent of END, who had previously insisted that the main military aggressor was the United States, and that Soviet military and diplomatic strategy was largely a defensive response to pressures from the West. Yet despite the dramatic developments in Poland, Thompson's views have, if anything, become even more inflexible on this question.

In previous polemics, he had acknowledged the fact that Soviet militarism existed in its own right and acted of its own volition, even though this contrasted with his view of the US being the major determinant in Soviet and East European affairs.

Such contradictions appear for the moment to have vanished. We now learn that the aims of the peace movement within Europe are quite simply to 'relax the military and ideological pressures of the West upon the East', more especially since it is the 'Western governments... (that) have been accomplices in that long and slow descent into martial law'. Such a strategy 'would enlarge the space within which renewal might take place, in its own way, (sic)

END Statement

European Nuclear Disarmament expresses its solidarity with the people of Poland in their struggle for freedom. Peace and democracy are indivisible. We must remove the threat of nuclear war, and overcome the division of Europe into opposing military blocs in order to ensure that each nation is free to pursue its own independent political development. We must work for democracy in political and economic life in every country in order to secure basic human rights — especially peace — for all peoples. We must work to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict and to abolish the instruments of mass destruction once and for all.

Political oppression or the threat of military interference greatly damages the cause of peace and thus endangers our entire continent. We call upon:

- 1. The Polish government to end the state of emergency and to free the leaders of Solidarity.**
- 2. The Soviet government and other members of the Warsaw Treaty Alliance to respect the integrity of Poland.**
- 3. All government to refrain from putting economic and political pressure on Poland. And -**
- 4. On all European peoples, both East and West, to join us in our campaign for nuclear disarmament and human rights throughout Europe.**

14 December 1981



and at its own pace, on the other side'.

The denial of the involvement, let alone responsibility of the Soviet Union in the brutal suppression of Solidarity — 'it appears to be a Polish solution' — forms part of a strategy for peace which could easily be seen as being pro-Soviet. Again we are told that following martial law, it is the 'corpse of Nato's professed concern for human rights that we see on the ground' — not the Warsaw Pact's!

Thompson's strategy for peace has as one of its central assumptions the idea that the process by which human rights will be restored in the East (which disarmament in the West alone will make possible) can be initiated and implemented by the Soviet and now Polish apparatus. 'General Jaruzelski is a Polish patriot: he has pledged himself to avoid bloodshed' (sic) and 'has stated his intention of restoring normal

Campaign For Nuclear Disarmament Expresses Concern Over Situation in Poland

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, deeply concerned about the martial law situation in Poland and its possible international repercussions, calls on other countries both of the East and of the West to take no action by way of military intervention, economic pressure or propaganda which would in any way aggravate this grave crisis.

The people of Poland must find their own road to a democratic solution based on real justice for all in their country. Any conflict which is allowed to draw in the superpowers must bring with it increasing risk of a military confrontation which could be nothing but the gravest calamity.

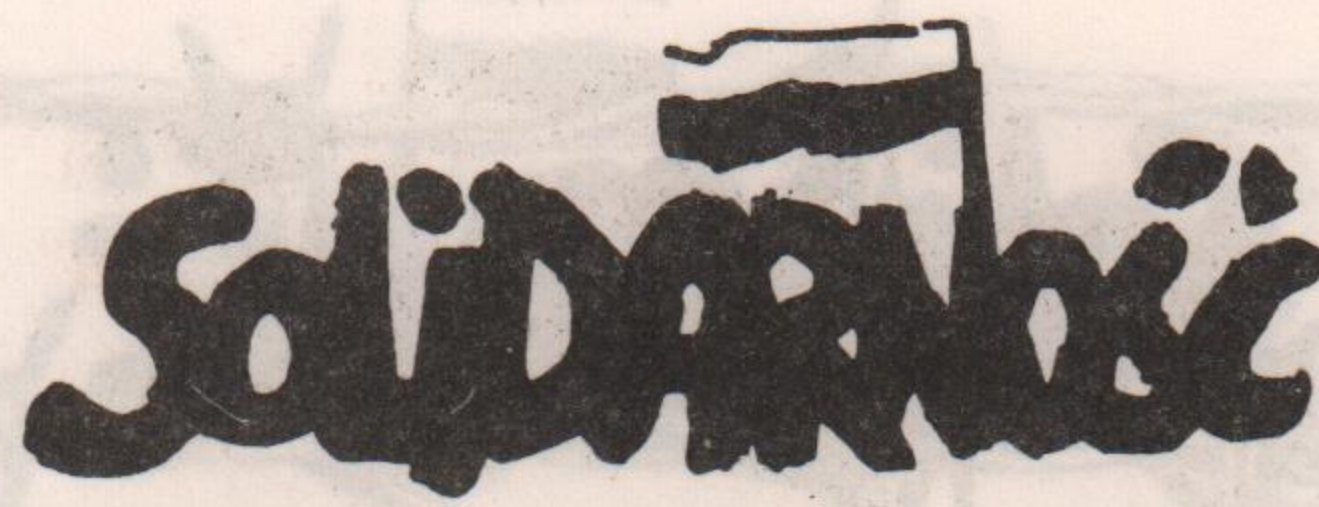
14 December, 1981

political processes... as soon as order is re-established'. From his observations of recent events in Poland, it could be deduced that Thompson sees the unfettered political activity of the people as actually impeding this process: 'The Polish people were becoming ungovernable... Solidarity... was becoming factional and intemperate' and 'too many of its leaders and advisers, and many of its young members looked to the wrong friends in the West' (a statement in itself that strengthened the Soviet propaganda lie that Solidarity is CIA infiltrated).

Thompson shares with many of his East European critics the view that the goals of peace and freedom are interlinked and interdependent. What is in dispute is not the need for a link between these two objectives, but the nature of that relationship. It has been suggested that the propaganda of END merely strengthens the military resolve of the Warsaw Pact which is not necessarily in conflict with the goals of peace. Peace after all can coexist with tyranny. Jaruzelski himself has been portrayed as a man of peace by much of the British media. One of his ministers, Cyrankiewicz, addressed a peace conference in early January, organised by the World Peace Council in Copenhagen which, it should be recorded, the Danish Radical Party refused to attend.

Soviet and East European dissidents have long maintained that a disarmament movement is only meaningful in the sense of the realisation of its objectives as a human rights movement. Thompson has yet to confront these criticisms. Up till now he has attempted to divert an honest exchange by using them only to illustrate what he believes to be the backwardness of Soviet and Eastern European dissident responses to his strategy.

Until END publically dissociates itself from all Soviet linked and inspired peace movements, it will continue to be a target of attack from not only East European and Soviet critics, but those in the West too, who see the peace movement as, at the very least, partial in the struggle between the superpowers.



Parliament debates Poland

The Parliamentary response to the imposition of a martial law in Poland has been instructive. As in other countries where the freedom exists to pass judgement on the extinction of freedom in Poland, the initial reaction by most leading British politicians and media agencies was remarkably similar to the position adopted by the coup's Soviet architects — namely, that it was an 'internal affair' of the Polish people.

Commenting on Jaruzelski's December 13 pledge (in Mr Atkins' own words) to 'preserve the fundamental of the Polish "Renewal"', and his promise 'that reforms would be continued', the Conservative Foreign Office spokesman informed the House that his government regarded 'these two commitments as very important'. Evidently Mr Atkins shared the opinion, already being cultivated by the media east and west, that General Jaruzelski was both a 'Polish patriot' and a 'reformer' of 'moderate' disposition. It is but a small step from such a judgment to the conclusion that his putsch of December 13, however regrettable in its short-term effects, was the only possible alternative to a Soviet invasion. And in the days that followed Jaruzelski's coup, this indeed became one of the main themes of Western media (and governmental) comment on Polish events. This position can perhaps best be summed up in the phrase — 'better that Poles kill Poles than Russians kill even more Poles'.

In order to make this view plausible, it is necessary to sustain the illusion that the new military regime in Poland is a free agent, just as capable of resisting Kremlin pressure as it is of dealing with the 'extremists' in Solidarnosc. Mr Atkins appeared to do just that. He conveyed to the House his 'sincere hope' that the 'Polish Government and people will be able to resolve their problems without bloodshed, by compromise and consensus', as if, there existed a basis for 'compromise and consensus' between Jaruzelski's tanks and an unarmed populace.

Labour's Foreign Affairs spokesman and Deputy Leader, Denis Healey, displayed more concern than his opposite number for the disaster that had just overwhelmed the Polish people, describing it as a 'tragedy that the movement towards greater freedom in Poland had been halted'. But Mr Healey shared with Mr Atkins a concern to depict the coup as a Polish affair, agreeing that 'there must be no intervention by foreign governments in the attempts of the Polish people to solve their own problems peacefully by their own efforts', and expressing the fear that actions in the west might give a 'justification or excuse for intervention by the Soviet Government'. These observations have only one possible interpretation — that 'intervention' by Moscow in Poland's affairs *has not yet begun*, it is a danger to be prevented, but not a reality to be reckoned with and countered.

By December 22, despite the information black-out imposed by the military regime, enough hard facts had come out of Poland to compel a re-appraisal of the two assumptions.

Mr Atkins spoke in far stronger terms than on the 14th. Poland was 'now clearly in the grip of wholesale repression', with news of 'many more arrests and deaths, and of terrible conditions in the interment camps'. Such was the extent and nature of this repression that so

ed from both Labour and Tory backbenchers.

These snipings apart, however, Mr Healey sustained the 'bi-partisan' approach to Poland that characterised the front bench statements of December 14, even to the extent of endorsing Mr Atkins' policy of looking to General Jaruzelski to honour his pledges for reform. 'For us in the West the real test must be whether General Jaruzelski can or will fulfil the promises he made publicly last week to the Polish people to bring martial law to an end as soon as possible and to resume the dialogue with the Solidarity movement and the Church.' And in the meantime...?

There were, however, discordant notes sound-

Robin Blick

Sir Bernard Braine, a Conservative back-bench speaker in the short debate, of December 14, faulted initial responses to the Polish coup, including, by implication, that of his own Front Bench. 'The first reaction was to say loftily that the Poles should be left to solve their own problems without intervention by third parties. That was to completely misunderstand the situation.' As for the western appraisal of General Jaruzelski, Sir Bernard found it nauseating. He spoke with contempt of 'those in the West, some of them in high places, who saw him as a Polish patriot, almost a knight in shining armour, who, by checking growing anarchy, would make it unnecessary for the Soviet tanks to roll.'

Events — tragic events — have proved those childish assumptions false. So the question now was — 'what should be the response of the West?' Protest was 'not enough'. There had to be advanced a definite plan of action to help the Polish people regain their lost liberties. To this end, Sir Bernard proposed that no further economic or financial assistance be given to the Polish authorities until certain conditions had been met, these being the lifting of martial law, the releasing of Lech Walesa and all other arrested leaders of Solidarnosc, an assurance that far as economic assistance for the new regime was concerned, 'while the present policies prevail in Poland, it will clearly not be possible to continue on the basis of business as usual'.

But in one respect, the Government position remained unchanged. Credence (even if only simulated) was placed on Jaruzelski's pledges for a return to the post August 1980 course. Mr Atkins referred to a Junta declaration of December 16 that the new regime would, as the Minister put it, 'return to the path of reform as quickly as possible', and had also promised that there would be 'a place for Solidarity without what they call extremist elements'. 'We note these statements,' continued Atkins, and 'in talks with the authorities in Warsaw and with the new Polish Ambassador in London we have emphasised the importance of implementing these assurances quickly. We wait to see if they will live up to their word.' Which is simply a polite way of saying that there is nothing we can do for the Polish people.

Denis Healey in the main speech for the Opposition, returned again, to the British betrayal of Poland at the end of the last war. He confessed to being afflicted by 'a certain sense of guilt' when speaking of the current events in

Poland.

'none of those now held in detention are transported to the Soviet Union'. Finally, that 'there should be linkage between any aid given by the West and the Geneva disarmament talks'. This package of proposals went, for beyond anything than being proposed by the government.

And how did Labour fare? First the silences should be noted. Nothing was heard from its leaders, Michael Foot. Nor did Mr Benn take the opportunity to reassure his followers, and refute his critics, concerning the charge that his style of socialism would differ from that practised in Eastern Europe. The burden of Labour's case, apart from Healey's opening remarks, fell on Eric Heffer, whose active support for the cause of freedom in the Soviet bloc has never been in question. He, like several other speakers from both sides of the House, touched on the historical background to the events in Poland. He saw in Solidarnosc 'a new type of free and independent trade union movement', the first of its kind since free trade unions 'went out just after the Russian revolution'. He said that so far as he was concerned, the Labour Party could not afford to have 'double standards' on such issues as 'human rights, trade union rights, freedom to publish and express one's opinion, the right of people to organise politically and to create political parties'. The suppression of these rights was always wrong, whatever the political complexion of the regime responsible for their denial. That is why he found fault with certain expressions used by Labour movement colleagues to describe Solidarity and its activities, because they implied that some of the blame lay at its door for the disaster that had overwhelmed the Polish people. Fellow Labour MP David Winnick had claimed earlier in the same debate that 'there were elements within Solidarity which did not help the situation, elements which were more concerned with changing basic matters in Poland than with genuine trade unionism'. Mr Heffer begged to differ. Mr Winnock's views were the same as those expressed in *The Times* of December 16, which declared that 'the radicals in Solidarity overplayed their hands'.

Then there was the extraordinary remark of Arthur Scargill that Solidarity 'got beyond a union, they became political'. 'Such arguments,' said Mr Heffer, 'ignore the reality of what is happening in Poland. There is an attempt to crush an entire labour movement, involving millions of working people.'

PSC agrees. The two debates in the House of Commons on Poland demonstrates that no one party has a monopoly on the right to interpret events in Poland, or to propose measures that might advance the cause of freedom in that country. Each of the two major parties has within its ranks those who advocate appeasement of the oppressors of the Polish people, and those who would wish in their different ways, to come to their aid. PSC exists to speed the development of solidarity action on behalf of the Polish people, and to bring to as wide a public as possible the information that is needed to make this action effective. One thing is certain — the cause of Polish freedom in general, and of the rights of its trade unionist in particular, cannot be left to the British or any other Western government. It is up to you.



Solidarity Trade Union Working Group

Did Solidarity go too far?

I am often asked whether Solidarity didn't go too far. After all, wasn't it foolish to ask for free local government elections and even a referendum on communist rule under communist dictatorship. What people in the West do not realise is that these demands were quite irrelevant to Gen. Jaruzelski's decision to declare a state of war to try to crush our union.

We know from defecting Polish ambassadors and from Gen. Dubicki who defected in August, that the decision to mount the coup was taken many months ago. One of the factories "militarized" by the generals had in fact been closed down on the 14th July of last year. The existence of any independent organisations which represent the interests of the workers is intolerable to a totalitarian regime. An organisation which chooses its leadership through free elections in which the vast majority of working adults can participate, and which decides its policy through open discussion and voting is even worse.

It was clear to me from the end of July that the authorities had no intention of cooperating with Solidarity. Few substantive issues between the two sides were resolved since that time. The tone of official propaganda against Solidarity in the news media became even more strident, particularly on television.

The second question people often ask me is why Solidarity was not ready for the coup.

One reason is that hardly anyone in Poland knew about the preparations. The posters declaring the state of war were printed in the Soviet Union. Soldiers approached in the street by anxious civilians in the first few days, said they also did not know what was going on. A small group of high ranking generals and politicians egged on by the Soviet leadership took the decision.

It was an extremely risky gamble. In the short run it has paid off for them, and the Polish people have to pay the price. What is going to happen next? The first wave of resistance has been brutally crushed. However, there are ever more reports about the growth of Solidarity's underground organisation. A number of Solidarity's most prominent members have avoided capture and gone underground. The underground consists mainly of students and young workers, who are printing and distributing a rapidly growing number of bulletins. At the same time passive resistance in the form of go-slows and sticking to the letter of the regulations so as to jam up the system are widespread. This has resulted in about 10 cars a day being produced at the Fiat works outside Warsaw. In normal times production

Badges for sale

PSC has produced badges, teeshirts and sweat-shirts carrying the Solidarnosc logo. Badges cost £1, teeshirts cost £3 plus 30p post and packing, and are available in all sizes, sweat-shirts are £6.90. They can be ordered from PSC, 69 Edinburgh Road, London E13.

Further copies of PSC News can be obtained at 20p each (plus 14p post and packing up to 5 copies and pro rata) from A. Lubelska, 24, Eatonville Road, London SW17 (01-767 4936).

The Solidarity Trade Union Working Group comprises Solidarity members and members of the Independent Student Association (NZS) temporarily in the UK.

The Working Group was set up on 20th December 1981 in answer to the Appeal made by an Official Solidarity delegation which was in Zurich at the time of the coup.

At its first meeting, the Working Group elected Artur Swiergiel, member of the Warsaw Region Executive Committee as its Chairman, and a 9-man committee was formed.

What the Working Group does:

1. Contacting British Trade Unions in order to get their support for Solidarity. Members of the Group are willing to meet and talk to the British Trade Unionists which they consider to be their partners.
2. Collecting information about our colleagues interned in Poland by the military junta and campaigning for their release. We call on union branches, organisations and institutions to adopt prisoners and to campaign for their release.
3. Collecting and disseminating information from Poland. We wish to publicise the true picture of what is going on in Poland. To this end we are publishing an *INFORMATION BULLETIN* in English and Polish.
4. We wish as far as possible to continue normal union activities which includes practical advice on matters concerning the welfare of members.

was 350 cars, and before the coup 200 per day.

With the economic situation inevitably deteriorating and Solidarity regrouping underground, the likelihood is for a wave of strikes in the spring or early summer unless the junta comes to its senses soon. The Church has tried to head off such a confrontation by mediating between the junta and Solidarity. The Church's hand in this mediation must be strengthened. The junta must not be given the slightest reason to hope for the hopeless, i.e. that it can get out of the economic cul-de-sac into which they have led the nation by obtaining yet more western loans. This is why economic sanctions are essential.

On top of the sanctions already decided on by Western governments, i.e. no financial credits as long as the repression continues — trade union should black economic relations with Poland and with the puppet masters of the Jaruzelski junta in the USSR. Banks should refuse to grant the junta any further loans — this is in their own best interests anyway. Sanctions should not affect medical and food aid to Poland. But this aid must go through the Church to make sure it doesn't end up feeding the army. Some people think that sanctions hurt the people more than they hurt the government. Poles have already shown that they prefer freedom to material welfare. In any case the purpose of sanctions is to make the men in

The Working Group has limited resources and any help will be received gladly.

Statement from the Solidarity Trade Union Working Group

In view of the clear demonstration over the last four weeks by the military junta that it has no intention of re-establishing trade union and civil rights in Poland, we call on all trade unions in Britain to actively consider how they can black economic relations with both Poland and the junta's puppet masters, the USSR, until the following four conditions are met:

1. The freeing of all internees
2. The lifting of the State of War
3. The return of union property confiscated by the junta
4. The possibility for Solidarity to continue its activity in Poland

We also call on British trade unions to vigorously condemn the refusal of the military junta to grant a visa to the General Secretary of the TUC, Len Murray, to visit Poland on a fact finding mission, and to support the international Day of Action called for the 30 January by Solidarity activists, who are temporarily in various European and North American countries, and who met in Brussels on 8 and 9 January. The Day of Action will include demonstrations in many European cities and, we hope, industrial action by trade unionists against economic relations with Poland and the junta's backers in the USSR. Despite the arrest of many of its elected officials Solidarity still exists. It will continue to exist and act in spite of all repression.

Artur Swiergiel, member of the Executive of the Warsaw Region of Solidarity
12 January 1982

uniform draw from the brink of a catastrophic confrontation with the people. What the consequences for peace in Europe will be if widespread strikes occur and the junta tries to suppress them by force is difficult to imagine.

What can private people do to help? If you are a trade unionist press your union to consider blacking Polish and Soviet contracts. As a private individual refuse to buy Polish or Soviet goods, write to your MP supporting sanctions against Poland and the USSR. Join with others to organise boycotts of the sort I have just described and last but not least, donate to the various relief organisations which are trying to help internees and ordinary people in Poland. Finally, if you belong to a trade union or professional association get your organisation to "adopt" an internee who works in the same field as you do. Then get your organisation to send parcels to him and his family and to demand that the junta either release or try him. If you write to the Solidarity Working Group, we will supply you with a list of internees and their jobs.

One thing we learned during our years of struggle in Poland was that ordinary people unite to say no to tyranny that tyranny will finally give way. I believe the future will not prove us wrong.

13 January, 1982

What You Can Do

Solidarity members still at liberty have urgently appealed for massive moral support and practical aid. Many people undoubtedly feel deep sympathy with Solidarity and the Polish people but are uncertain how best to show their support. You can help in the following ways:

Spread information about the repression of Solidarity and publicise the need for support. Invite a speaker from PSC to address your trade union branch or any other organisation. For speakers outside London, contact S. Murray, 114 Shakespeare Walk, London N16. Telephone (01-249 2665). In London contact H. Wizger, 8, Bowen Road, Harrow, Middlesex (01-422 2218)

- Trade union action in solidarity with Solidarity is urgently needed. Raise the issue in your union branch. Call for your union to give full support to Solidarity. The Soviet inspired Military Junta must not go unchallenged. PSC believes that all British Trade Union links with Eastern European fake 'trade unions' — which support the crushing of worker rights in Poland — must be broken off. The Zurich Solidarity Working Group has called for an embargo of trade with Poland and the Soviet Union. PSC believes that British trade unionists should urgently consider blacking trade with Poland and the Soviet Union (except for food and medical aid) as an act of solidarity with Solidarity.

- Join the Polish Solidarity Campaign. The PSC, formed in August 1980, is organising a national campaign of solidarity and has had many affiliations from trade union branches and has supporters throughout the country. Membership is £5/year (£2 unwaged) and should be sent to the Treasurer, PSC., 65 Edinburgh Road, London E13.

- Funds are urgently needed for food and medical aid, to help political prisoners, and to organise a national campaign. Make a collection in your factory or workplace. Monies can be sent to:
'Food for Poland', 1 Courtfield Gardens, London W13.
'Medical aid for Poland', 107 Beaufort Street, London SW3.
Donations to PSC should be sent to 69, Edinburgh Road, London 13.

A fund has been set up to send aid, chiefly of food, to internees and their families in Poland. All reports indicate that conditions in the camps are very harsh and that this type of help is very urgently needed. This fund has not been organised by PSC, but we naturally wish it every success. Donations should be sent to "Friends of Poland", c/o Sisters of Charity, St. Vincents Convent, Carlisle Place, London SW1.

Regional News

Messages of support for Solidarity and news of local activity have flooded in to PSC from all over Britain. Major demonstrations and rallies in support for Solidarity are planned in many areas over the next few weeks. In Cardiff a recently formed committee made up of local trade unionists and representatives of the Polish community have called a demonstration and rally for Saturday 30th January. Speakers at the meeting will include representatives of the Labour Party, Plaid Cymru, the Liberal Party, the Social Democrats. George Wright, secretary of the Welsh TUC, and a member of Solidarity Working Group will also speak.

In Scotland support is growing and a speaking tour by Piotr Koslowski, a shop steward from the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw, covering Edinburgh, Stirling, Falkirk, Grangemouth and Edinburgh, will be followed by a mass protest demonstration in Glasgow on the 23rd of January.

In the Midlands, despite freeking weather conditions, well-attended public meetings have been in Wolverhampton and Kidderminster and a major rally is planned for Saturday, 6th February, in Birmingham, with speakers including Eric Heffer MP, and Paul McKnee, President of the Birmingham Trades Council.

In London a mass vigil outside the Polish Embassy is planned for the 30th January and on the trade union front, resolutions of support, donations to the campaign and affiliations to PSC are steadily growing. The West Midlands region of the miners union at its last meeting passed a strongly worded resolution in support of Solidarity. Many Trades Councils are holding meetings to discuss what support they can give to Solidarity and dozens of union branches have affiliated to the Polish Solidarity Campaign. Over 500 individual members have joined PSC since Christmas.

Further information about PSC activities in your area can be obtained from the addresses listed below or from PSC nationally. Write to PSC, 114, Shakespeare Walk, London N16.

To find out about PSC activities in your area:
London Henry Wizger, 8 Bowen Road, Harrow, Middlesex. Tel. (01) 422 2218
Scotland Ian McCalman, 18 Mosgeil Road, Glasgow. Tel. (041) 632 1839
South Wales Mark Jenkins, 87 Beatty Avenue, Cardiff. Tel. (0222) 764195
West Midlands Joe Quigley, 16 Shelsey Court, Madeley, Telford. Tel. (0952) 584467.
Southampton V. Spaksis, 27 Shanklin Road, Southampton.
Leeds Dave Feickert, 28 Roundhay Mount, Leeds 8. Tel. (0532) 490927
Tyneside M. Renwick, 60 Hartington Street, Gateshead. Tel. (0632) 783692
Coventry John Fisher, c/o ASTMS, 26 Queens Road, Coventry.
Manchester John Taylor, 19 Sidmouth Avenue, Newcastle-under-Lyme. Tel. (0782) 610468
Liverpool Bill Trainer, c/o White Eagle Club, Kathering St., Liverpool 8.

What is the PSC?

The Polish Solidarity Campaign was formed in August 1980, in response to the strike movement then sweeping through Poland. Its aims have been threefold:

- To make available to as large an audience as possible in Britain information and news concerning the struggle of the Polish workers for basic trade union and political rights.
- To secure material and moral support in the Labour movement amongst all democrats, for the Polish trade union organisation 'Solidarnosc'
- To encourage severance of all organisational and other connections between:
 - British trade unions and the state/party controlled 'company unions' of the Soviet

bloc;

b) between the Labour Party and the ruling single parties of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

To further these aims, PSC has:

- Held regular public meetings to draw attention to and debate the significance of the struggle for free trade unionism in Poland.
- Raised funds through a special appeal, for the purchase of printing equipment and its despatch to Solidarnosc in Poland.
- Issued leaflets, and published PSC News, to reach out to a wider audience of trade unionists and democrats sympathetic to the Polish workers' struggle.
- Publicised and popularised the cause of Polish free trade unionism.

Since December 13, we have no longer been in a position, for obvious reasons, to send printing equipment to Poland. But the need to intensify all our other activities has become, by the same token, all therefore pressing. Please support us in our work by joining the PSC (details follow)

I/We _____
of _____
Telephone _____

wish to join the Polish Solidarity Campaign and enclose annual membership fee of £5 (unwaged £2).

Send to PSC, 69 Edinburgh Road, London E13.

Massey Ferguson Workers Black the Polish Junta

News has just reached us of the decision by workers at Massey Ferguson in Coventry to move to black Polish components used in the factory. The shop stewards committee at Massey's, which uses many components made in the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw, had established links with fellow trade unionists there before the coup. Despite the efforts of the Junta, these links have not been entirely severed. On Monday 18th January, the stewards heard an appeal from Piotr Koslowski formerly a solidarity shop steward in Ursus and now in Britain. After he spoke, the stewards decided that moves should be made to end the use of components from Ursus and end shipment of parts to Poland. Mass meetings in the plant the following day endorsed the stewards recommendation to end the use of goods produced at the point of a bayonet. This example surely must be followed by workers in other firms trading with the Junta.