

Regional contacts

In many areas local committees in solidarity with Solidarity are being or already have been formed. We list below addresses to contact for further information in your area. We apologise for any omissions from this list and will attempt to update this in future issues.

- Glasgow** Ian McCalman, 18 Mosgeil Road, Glasgow. 041-632 1839.
- Aberdeen** Alison Duncan, 13 Glenberrie Road, Torry, Aberdeen.
- South Wales** Mark Jenkins, 87 Beatty Avenue, Cardiff. (0222) 764195.
- Brighton** W. Radwanski, 11 Sudley Street, Brighton. (0273) 688942.
- Bristol** Irena Czekierska, 6 Clifton Park Road, Bristol 8. (0272) 734369.
- Cambridge** Martin Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Waldron. (0799) 25115.
- Birmingham** Joe Quigley, 58 Green Ridge Road, Handsworth Wood, B'ham 20. 021-358 3916.
- Bradford** Keith Neerie. (0274) 495166.
- Coventry** John Fisher, c/o ASTMS, 26 Queens Road, Coventry.
- Leicester** S. Pavluczczyk, 37 Highfield Street, Leicester. (0533) 544407.
- Liverpool** Bill Trainer, c/o White Eagle Club, Katherine Street, Liverpool 8. 051-207 4092.
- Manchester** J. Silverman, 51 Montrose House, Crete Street, Oldham. 061-620 2885.
- Leeds** Dave Feickert, 28 Roundhay Mount, Leeds 8. (0532) 490927.
- Nottingham** George Skalski, 9 Owthorpe Gore, Sherwood, Nottingham (0602) 620771.
- Sheffield** J. Steike, 232 Broomhall Street, Sheffield 3. (0742) 26836.
- Southampton** Stan Szczotka, 117 Oakwood Drive, Lordswood, Southampton. (0703) 733014.
- Tyne and Wear** P.R. Downey 7 Fieldside, Pelton, Chester-le-Street. (0385) 700390.
- Wyre Forest** Richard Janecki, 22a Turton Street, Kidderminster. (0562) 3364.
- Macclesfield** John Taylor, The Flower Pot Inn, Congleton Road, Macclesfield, Cheshire.

Requests for speakers or further information about the campaign should be addressed to Steve Murray, 114 Shakespeare Walk, London N16 (outside London) or Henry Wiggier, 8 Bowen Road, Harrow, Middlesex 01-422 2218 (inside London).

Scotland

The Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee was formed in late December of last year after the imposition of martial law. Since then the Committee has organised two speaking tours by Solidarnosc shop stewards, Marek Garztecki and Piotr Kozlowski, who received an enthusiastic reception from shop stewards committees, Labour Party organisations and many other organisations and individuals throughout Scotland. At the conclusion of their first tour a successful demonstration of about 700 people was held through the streets of Glasgow culminating in a rally at Partick Burgh Halls addressed by two Labour MPs, Dennis Canavan and John Maxton,

Ellen Monaghan of the Lee Jeans struggle and Jimmy Reid.

These tours have given further impetus to the Solidarity campaign in Scotland. Planned meetings in March include a gathering addressed by Malgorzata Stelmach, ex-editor of an Independent Student's Association magazine in Poland and a showing of a professionally produced video of Solidarity activity in Scotland, including an interview with Marek and Piotr.

Further proposed activities include a day school in April on the theme of Poland and Solidarnosc. The Polish Solidarity Committee has also initiated a campaign to secure fraternal delegates for Solidarnosc at the annual conference of the Scottish Council of the Labour Party and the STUC. Pressure is mounting in Labour Party and trade union branches to that end.

Glasgow Health Board Branch of NALGO recently passed the following resolution, 'This branch deprecates the decision of the General Council of the STUC not to be represented at the demonstration and rally held in Glasgow on 23rd January, 1982, to protest against the declaration of martial law in Poland and the smashing of the trade union, Solidarity. This branch calls on the General Council of the STUC to campaign against the Polish junta which is oppressing trade unionists in particular and the nation in general. This campaign should involve giving financial and moral support to Solidarity and include inviting a member of Solidarity to address the forthcoming conference of the STUC as a fraternal delegate.'

England

Reports from other parts of the country from public and trade union meetings indicate strong concern and critical discussion of the situation and a widespread determination to arrive at effective and agreed programmes of action in a 'solidarity manner'.

In Leeds, for example, a meeting in support of Solidarnosc was attended by 70-80 people, and from this a 'Polish Solidarity Committee' (a provisional name) was formed. The Committee have been persuading local trade union branches to adopt internees, campaign for their release, and contact their families, aiming first for something practical that can be achieved. (Names of internees can be obtained from the Solidarity Working Group). The group is steadily building up support. In Notting-

ham a rally also took place on the 30th January in response to Solidarity in Brussel's call for a day of action. The rally at Birmingham on 6th February was attended by about 300 people. A Committee has been established there, consisting of PSC and non-PSC members.

Wales

A march of over 800 through central Cardiff on 30th January signified the birth of Solidarity/Cymru (Welsh-Polish Solidarity Campaign). At a public meeting attended by 600 people there were speakers from all parties and from the Catholic and Anglican Churches, as well as Solidarity and the London based PSC. Labour was represented by Wyn Griffiths, M.E.P., the Conservatives by Ian Grist, M.P., the Liberals by their Welsh Vice President, the SDP by a Welsh Council member and Plaid Cymru by Dafydd Elys Thomas, M.P. The Campaign decided not to allow the Welsh Communist Party to speak from the platform, although its Secretary did attend the meeting. The Welsh TUC demonstrably absented themselves on the grounds that they had no fixed policy on Poland and was therefore obliged to follow the British TUC. However, the General Secretary George Wright insisted on having his own personal message of support read out at the rally by Euro-M.P. Ann Clwyd.

The South Wales NUM would not be associated with the rally but NUM cokerworkers' president Alf Williams spoke in passionate support from the platform condemning the S. Wales NUM Secretary Des Dutfield's statement that there was no firm evidence that miners had been killed in Poland, on the grounds that the military government itself had admitted as much. Backing for the rally came from the Welsh GMWU and TGWU Region's. Over £400 was collected towards aid for Poland. A first lorry-load of supplies from Solidarity-Cymru left Cardiff on Friday 26th February driven by Labour Councillor Mike Flynn.

Solidarity/Cymru ties have been produced as well as stickers, posters and badges in Welsh and Polish colours.

The AGM on Tuesday 9th March decided on a constitution and committee structure based on Solidarity principles and separating the political and aid functions. Strong support has been forthcoming from the Polish community in Wales and from members of the Civil Service Unions at the Welsh office.

Join 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:

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

To further these aims, PSC has:

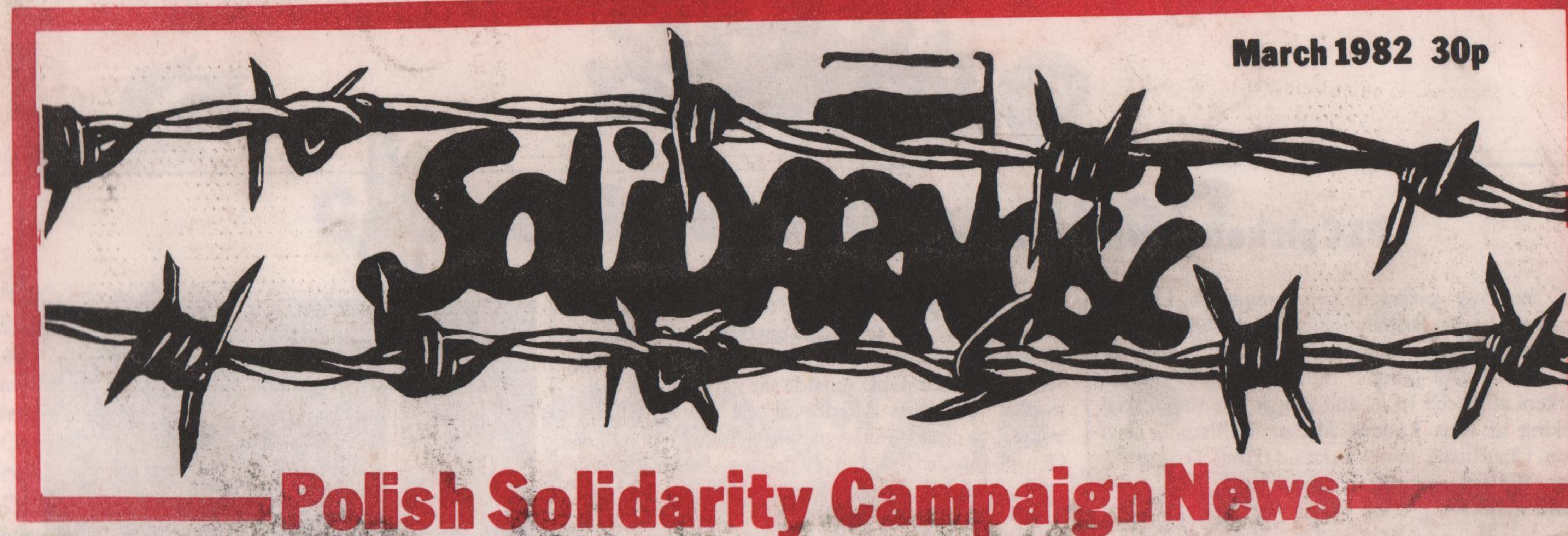
- Held regular public meetings to draw attention to and debate the significance of the struggle for free trade unionism in Poland.
- Raised funds through a special appeal, for the purchase of printing equipment and its despatch to Solidarity in Poland.

- 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 the more 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.



Polish Solidarity Campaign News



The winter is yours, the spring will be ours

PSC pickets Soviet Friendship Society

PSC recently picketed two events in London organised by the British-Soviet Friendship Society. Readers may be interested to learn that this august body has trade-unions representing 5 million workers affiliated to it, and that it has the official backing of four Labour M.P.s: William Wilson (Hon. Chairman), James Lamond (Hon. Treasurer), Allan Roberts and Renee Short (both Hon. vice-presidents).

Letters have been sent to the 21 unions involved in England which have elicited so far a response from 2 and a promise from the T&G that the matter will be discussed by their executive. The Fire Brigades Union reaffirmed their intention to retain their affiliation 'in order to maintain peace and detente'. The Foundry section of the AUEW wrote to say that they had disaffiliated following the invasion of Afghanistan. From this it would seem that the BSFS is claiming a fraudulent membership.

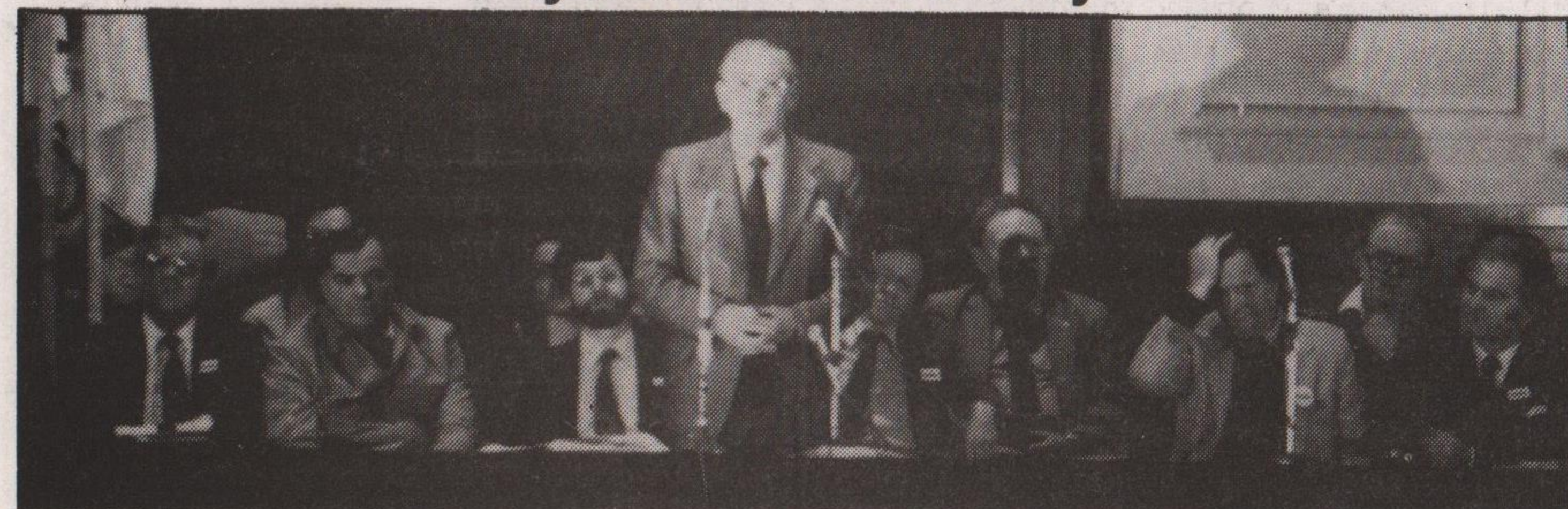
On February 13th. we picketed the 40th birthday party of 'Soviet Weekly'. Campaigners for Soviet Jewry were there to picket the event too. With placards reading 'Boycott the bosses' birthday binge' and 'Boycott the secret policeman's ball', we shouted ourselves hoarse at those who had come to dance on the graves of the Polish workers. With the permis-

sion of the organisers, a group of Spartacists (who've long called for the 'crushing of "Solidarity's Counter-Revolution"', by a Soviet invasion if necessary), sold their paper outside the party. Their salespitch, 'Trotskyist defence of the Soviet Union!' seemed to confuse the -mainly geriatric- revellers. One of the PSC picketers reassured them: 'Don't worry, they're fascists, like you!'

A delegation from the Soviet puppet trade unions had been invited by the BSFS to undertake a ten day lecture tour in February of various cities throughout Britain. The subject of the tour was to be the role of the Soviet trade unions.

The climax to a tour by a delegation from the official Soviet 'trade unions' arranged by the B.S.F.S. was a lecture given in a hotel in the West End - an area well known for its strong and class-conscious proletariat - on February 24th. The delegation had met the PSC pickets in Aberdeen and Manchester and had called off a lecture planned for Nottingham. Those attending the lecture - a motley crew of old fogeys, seedy characters, union bureaucrats and thugs - were heavily outnumbered by PSC picketers. The PSC banner read 'Police Unions Support State Repression'. Amongst the picketers was Phillip Whitehead M.P.

Day of action - 30 January



'PSC responded to the call issued by Solidarity members in the West at their international meeting in Brussels for an international day of solidarity with Solidarity on January 30th by calling a mass rally in London.

Amongst the many speeches, four seemed particularly significant to me.

Piotr Lasota of the Solidarity Trade-Union Working Group in the U.K. brought news that Solidarity was still alive. There was large scale passive resistance in the factories. The Polish workers' revolution was not lost, and they needed as much moral support and financial assistance as possible.

The convenor of the shop stewards committee at the Massey Ferguson plant in Coventry, Jimmy Dunn, told the rally that 3,200 workers there had voted to black Polish components that come, as he put it, 'at the point of a gun'. The decision had been taken after the workers had been addressed by Piotr Kozłowski, a steward from Ursus tractor factory - when, according to Mr. Dunn, 'the roof nearly came off'. The Czech socialist from Palach press, Jan Kavan, read a Charter 77 official statement in support of the Day of Action - issued in spite of the fact that Charter 77 activists had been arrested and warned not to make any more statements against martial law in Poland.

The Shadow Chancellor, Peter Shore, in a fiery speech, spoke of the total failure of 'command socialism', and of the 'ideological dinosaurs' in the Krem-

lin who deny the people's right to choose their own rulers. 'It must be brought home directly to the representatives of totalitarian Poland and totalitarian Russia that we hold them both responsible for what has happened, and that we are not prepared to resume contacts with them until at the very least, Martial Law is repealed, and those arrested released', he said.

Other speakers included Terry Duffy (A.U.E.W.), Ken Baker (G.M.W.U.), Vic Thorpe of the International Confederation of Chemical Workers and the famous Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky, to name but some of the line-up. The rally was chaired for PSC by Wiktor Mszczynski, and the PSC speaker was Robin Blick.

The rally heard the good news that the TUC is to sever 'fraternal' links with the official 'unions' of East Germany and Bulgaria.

The rally was followed by a march to the Polish Embassy, where a vigil was held around the crosses which were first erected at the spot in the wake of the coup, and are modelled on the memorial in Gdansk to the dead of 1970. Mr. Duffy, Mr. Bukovsky and Arthur Rynkiewicz (Chairman of the Federation of Poles in Britain) laid wreaths in memory of the dead of the German and Russian invasions of the last war, the workers killed in 1956, 1970 and 1976, and the workers who have been killed since martial law was declared on December 13th. Later, the flowers were taken to the Katyn memorial.

NAOMI HYAMSON



PSC news

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PSC News is published by the Polish Solidarity Campaign to aid the development of the widest campaign of solidarity with the Polish people.

PSC News is published by the Polish Solidarity Campaign to further the development of solidarity action in support of the struggle of the Polish people for democratic and trade union rights. The newsletter has three specific aims; first, to bring to the attention of a British audience reliable news of developments in Poland and information and documents from the Solidarity resistance movement; secondly, to publicise reactions in Britain to Polish events and encourage actions in support of Solidarity; thirdly to provide a forum for discussion of the significance of Polish events and of the most effective ways in which solidarity in this country can be built. For this reason signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the Editorial Board or of the Polish Solidarity Campaign.

Since the last issue PSC News has been typeset increased to 16 pages and professionally designed. This has, we hope, meant a major improvement in the quality of the magazine. Unfortunately, however, this has meant an increase in production costs which has forced us to increase the cover price to 30p.

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General Jaruzelski - patriot?

'Citizens of the Polish People's Republic. I am addressing you today as a soldier and as the head of the Polish State. I am addressing you on a matter of the highest importance.

Our country is standing on the brink of ruin...'

Thus began the historic speech General Jaruzelski delivered to the Polish nation on 13th December 1981. It was a short speech, one page only of 'Trybuna Ludu'. Unlike the official speeches to which Poles are accustomed (considerably more lengthy) it was intended that people should read it or listen to it. That day the Poles woke up to find troops in the streets, tanks outside their factories and police inside their union offices - and, in some cases, inside their houses. It was thought they might require some explanation.

What had happened? The general explained. 'The Polish state, erected from the ashes, the work of many generations, was facing ruin... Daily the fading Polish economy was dealt new blows. Day by day living conditions became more oppressive... An atmosphere of unending conflicts, discord, hatred - strike alerts, protests, were becoming the norm of the day...

Piotr Iglkowski

The incessant outbreaks of terror, threats, rule by the law of the mob, not to mention the resort to plain violence... The whole country drowning under a wave of insolent crimes, attacks and break-ins. Chaos and demoralisation gripped the nation.'

This to a Pole meant the daily struggle (three to four hours in a queue every day) to buy or try to buy the most basic food commodities. Solidarity had no control or responsibility for the food supply (the Government had refused to allow it the right to oversee food distribution.). The state of the economy was not Solidarity's fault. It was the solid work of the last ten (possibly thirty-six) years. The Polish Junta's 'liberal' spokesman, Vice-Premier Rakowski, admitted it was the fault of the Party: 'it was unable to organise the society, to get the country out of the disaster... in the end you are right: we are the ones to be blamed, not Solidarity' (interview in The Times 23 February 1982). As to rampant crime, I saw no violence in the streets when I was in Warsaw in December last year. The violence only began on the 13th of December when the Security Police were at last freed from their leashes after sixteen months of frustration. Before then, of course, there was Bydgoszcz... But all agreed Poland had entered a new moral climate after the August strikes. Apathy had been replaced by moral purpose. Tolerance, freedom, democracy were no longer empty slogans. So why had Solidarity been 'suspended'?

The General went on:

'Solidarity's speeches at Radom, its debates at Gdansk revealed at last the true aims of its Wrona in Polish means crow. W.R.O.N. are the initials of the Military Council of National Salvation The Gestapo was also known as Wrona in Poland.



leadership. These aims are confirmed beyond all doubt by its day to day activities, the increasing aggressiveness of its extremists, its clear aim to dismantle Poland's socialist state.'

The General did not go on to explain how Solidarity's extremist leadership was preparing for a coup to take power. He left this rather to his aides in the television and the press. They revealed how Solidarity was forming revolutionary committees, how it intended to emulate the I.R.A., and the Red Brigade... The poor Poles were very confused. In Poland, Solidarity was accused of being a latent terrorist organisation. In the West, commentators condemned it for its lack of foresight: it had not been prepared for a military takeover.

'It was not a question of days but of hours before catastrophe hit the nation. In such a crisis inactivity would have been a crime. We had to say: Enough.'

Yet few Poles understood the urgency of the situation. Economic collapse was not hours away but had been with them for the last sixteen months..

What then are the real 'intentions' of General Jaruzelski? Rather than subject his speech to close analysis, it might be simpler to judge his aims on the basis of his conduct. During the first three days of Martial law many thousands of Poles were arrested, or rather 'interned'. The objects of the large scale round-up were not, as one might imagine from Jaruzelski's speech, the 'radical' faction of Solidarity (extremists) but included all the most conciliatory (moderate) elements. Figures like Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Catholic advisor and Editor of Solidarity's Weekly, who had always urged moderation and compromise were taken away in handcuffs to detainee camps. Troops and tanks were deployed not to curb terrorist activities but to break occupational strikes. If the Solidarity 'madmen' were as dangerous as Jaruzelski claimed, would they not have launched at least some form of terrorist activity (factory sabotage, street bombs)? The activities of the Solidarity underground, richly documented in this issue of PSC News, are hardly the same as

guerrilla activities in other martial law states.

All the measures adopted by the military junta have been directed against any form of independent democratic activity. 'Democracy can only develop and flourish in a strong law-abiding state' claimed Jaruzelski in his speech to the nation on the 13th of December. The normalisation policies pursued by the Junta are similar to those already in force in the surrounding 'strong law-abiding' neighbours of the Soviet bloc. Jaruzelski made it clear in his first speech to the Central Committee (February 25) that he would not tolerate any form of opposition movement. The only foreseeable 'reform' movement in the Party is a very thorough purge - 'from the top to the bottom of the stair-case' as stalinist Albin Siwak recently put it 'to make sure all the filth is swept away'

In spite of the gaping ideological void revealed by his policies, General Jaruzelski still enjoys respect in some circles in the West. He is an enigmatic figure, journalists observe, who may yet emerge a patriot. The Poles have always admired their soldiers, they continue, glancing back at Poland's romantic military past. But this cold General, an impersonal political commissar, bears little resemblance to Kosciuszko and other heroes of the Polish past. In Poland few personal details are known about his life. His career background, however, probably is known. Head of political administration of the army (1960), Chief of General Staff (1962, replacing the last Russian), in charge of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968), responsible for the successful purge of the Polish Officer Corps (1970s), Prime Minister and First Secretary of the Party (1981), and, to crown his career, head of the Army Council for National Salvation (since December). An impressive success story: a quiet hardworking soldier who has proved his loyalty to the Kremlin.

'History will show that I was right' claims the General. The official history, currently being rewritten in Poland bears this out. But future historians, when eventually they are released from the internment camps will not be so kind.

Statements from Solidarity underground

Although the military Junta 'suspended' all trade union activities, Solidarity has been continuing its activities underground. Some of its leading activists managed to escape arrest and have formed national committees of resistance. Evidence coming from Poland suggest that these committees enjoy the wide support of workers throughout the country. We print below statements issued by the Warsaw and Wroclaw resistance committees which show the aim and scope of their activities.

Wroclaw Statement of the 'NSZZ Solidarnosc Regional Strike Committee of Lower Silesia'

For more than seven weeks our country has been living under a state of war. But resistance of the people of Lower Silesia goes on in spite of massive arrests of Solidarity activists, writers, students, inteligentia, rigid police street controls, and repression in the factories. Between the 13th and 19th Dec. 1982 sit-in strikes were in force in most large plants in Wroclaw and the Lower Silesia Region. These strikes were brutally crushed by Militarised Police Units and the soldiers. What followed were massive arrests of many workers and even complete shut-down of some plants e.g. the Machine Tool Plant (FAT), Factory of Road Construction Machinery (FADROMA), and RUDNA Mines. Only the workers who agreed to sign 'the loyalty declarations' were allowed to work. Some plants have been militarized i.e. their workers subjected to military regulations. The 'NSZZ Solidarnosc' Regional Strike Committee (RKS) of Lower Silesia was formed on 13th Dec. and has been active ever since under the leadership of Wladyslaw Frasyniak. In spite being 'wanted' he is still at large.

RKS Lower Silesia demands from the Authorities that the state of war be lifted and all arrested, interned or imprisoned for Trade Union activities be released. Thanks to the support of people of Lower Silesia and due to the fact that Trade Union funds of 80 million zlotys were secured against unlawful confiscation by the junta, RKS is able to carry out its current tasks:

1. Giving material support to families of people arrested or imprisoned for trade union activities.
2. Helping the members of NSZZ 'Solidarnosc' who have been sacked.
3. Continuing current activities of the Union under conditions of the State of War.

RKS has appealed for passive resistance by the people against the junta by means of strike action in factories under the slogans 'A slave works as fast as a tortoise'.

A vast majority of the work force has accepted this form of struggle. Collection of union dues has also been organised. The RKS continues to provide information through its bulletin 'From Day To Day' which was in circulation before 13th Dec. Its run is about 20,000 copies and reaches Wroclaw factories and larger towns in the region. On the 13th Jan 1982 at the suggestion of the RKS a mass was held in Wroclaw Cathedral on behalf of members imprisoned. That day at midday there was a period of one minute's silence for those killed by the regime. In protest against price rises RKS called for a half hour strike on 29 Jan. 82. Work has stopped in Wroclaw in most plants and also in some places in the region.

We are aware that the organisation of resistance against oppression is our task, the task of the Polish people. However perseverance in this task also depends on the stand taken by people of the governments in the West. That is why we gratefully acknowledge their support. We call for all the signatories of the Helsinki Accords and UN Human Rights Convention to continue to pressure the military regime in Poland to carry out its obligations as signatory. We appeal to all Trade Unions and working people over the world for solidarity in our struggle for freedom and democracy. Remember. Today in Poland there is a struggle in progress for ideals which are close to your hearts.

For and on behalf of NSZZ Solidarnosc RKS of Lower Silesia.
(Wladyslaw Frasyniak) (Piotr Bednarz) (Jozef Pinior)

On 13th January 1982 a meeting was held of those members of Solidarity National Commission and those linked with the functions of the National Commission who are still at liberty and who continue their trade union activities. After familiarising themselves with the situation obtaining in various regions of Solidarity and after deciding upon the best means and methods of conducting the Union's activity in these necessarily conspiratorial conditions, the members of the meeting have established the All-Poland Resistance Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity. 'Mieszko' became the Chairman of this Committee.



Sit-in strike at Fadroma machinery works, Wroclaw, 14 December 1981

The All-Poland Resistance Committee of Solidarity will perform the function of the supreme body of the Union until:

1. The State of War is rescinded and consequently the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity has restored to it the right to conduct its legal statutory activity.
2. The arrested and detained Union activists, members of the opposition, students and intellectuals are released.
3. The authorities begin a proper dialogue with the Presidium of Solidarity's National Commission, headed by Lech Walesa, the Presidium being there in its entirety.

The All-Poland Resistance Committee continues the activities of the National Strike Committee, established on 13th December 1981 in the Gdansk shipyard. The All-Poland Resistance Committee assumes the responsibility for co-ordinating the activities of the Union throughout the country.

Those members of Solidarity's National Commission who did not participate in the meeting which founded the Resistance Committee have the obligation to establish contact with the All-Poland Resistance Committee. At the same time we wish to warn all members of Solidarity against any attempt to represent the Union in talks with the authorities. In the current dramatic situation of Poland unity and solidarity is of particular importance for us all.

The All-Poland Resistance Committee Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity 'Mieszko'.

Factory wall broken down by tanks a few days later

Inside Poland

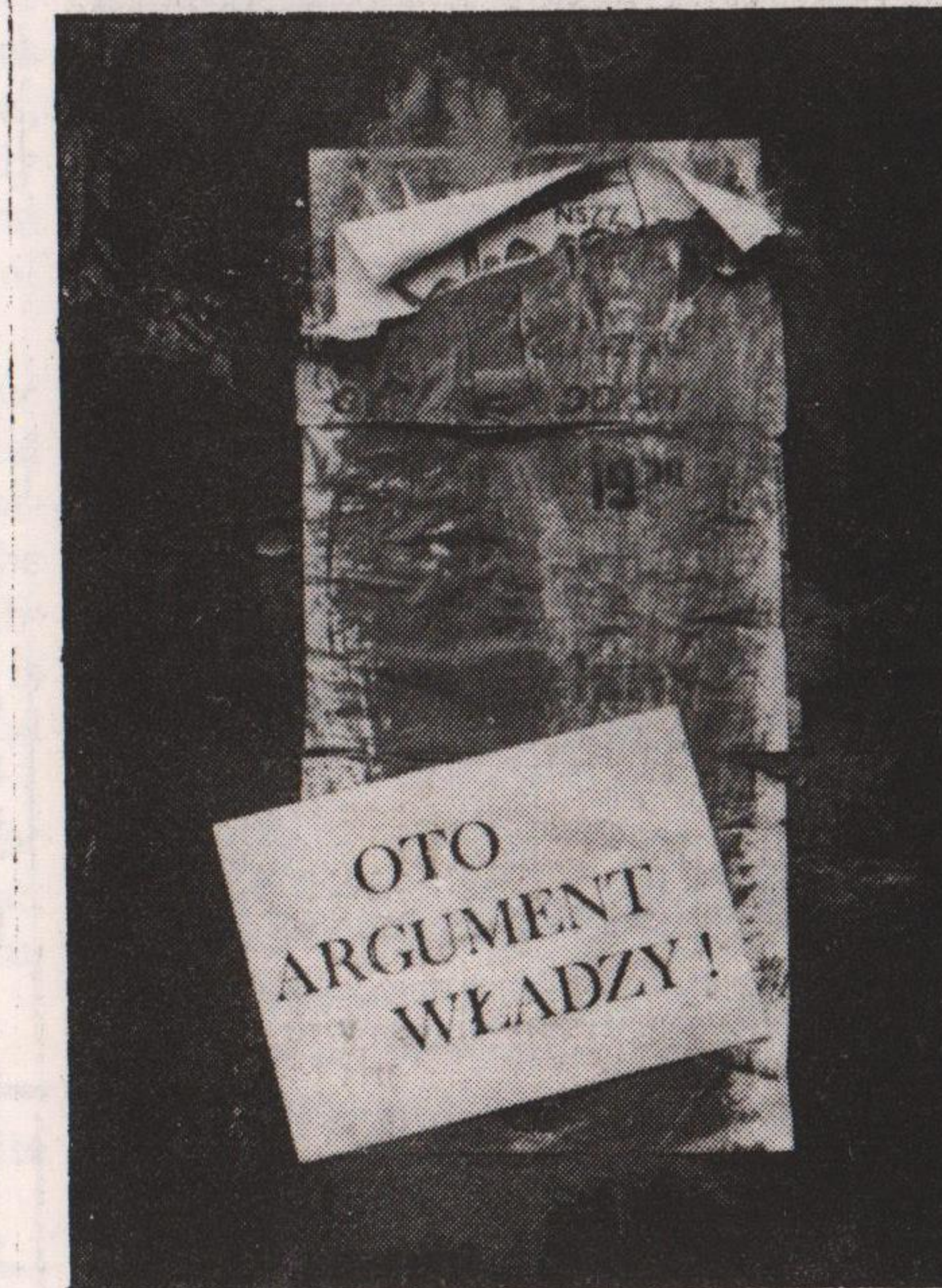
We print below extracts from a document dated 19th January 1982 obtained from a reliable Solidarity source in Warsaw. It gives an accurate description of Poland under martial law and assesses the difficulties facing Solidarity activists who are attempting to reorganise the union.

The wave of arrests in Warsaw itself clearly abated. Some members of Warsaw region Solidarity's authorities who were not arrested on 13th December were detained several days later. By now, however, only individual cases of internment seem to be occurring. A surprisingly numerous group of Solidarity activists is at liberty. The whereabouts of some are known to the authorities - this is, for example, the case with Stanislaw Rusinek, who was conducting talks with the authorities concerning the inventory of Solidarity belongings in Warsaw. Most, however, are in hiding as, for example, Bujak (head of Warsaw region), Romaszewski (member of Warsaw region board, also former member of KOR and head of its intervention bureau), Kulerski (deputy-head of Warsaw region) or Janas (head of Solidarity branch at Ursus Tractor Works). Some activists as, for example, Bugaj (Solidarity's expert) have been released but are watched by the authorities. There are also cases of people who might have been expected to be interned but were not - and furthermore there is no visible police interest in them. Our suspicions are that the authorities are waiting until these people start organising or participating in various activities so that both they and the persons they might lead the police to are then arrested. The official figure of five thousand internees is clearly lower than that the true one. Our own computations are based on a comparison of the number of known internment camps and the average number of people in each. It is difficult to compute a reliable total as some people are constantly moved from one camp to another.

The situation in camps in the first days after the State of War was declared was extremely harsh. In Olszynka Grochowska prison where women were held there was no heating at all during the first two days so that water was turning into ice. The cells were so dark that lights had to be used throughout the day. Books were prohibited. Lack of water meant that the women had to collect snow, while exercising, to wash themselves. Visits were not allowed until after Christmas. According to regulations the prisoners were entitled to: one visit, two food parcels and one clothing parcel per month. Medical care was grossly insufficient as the prison had no permanent doctor. The visiting doctor appeared several times in December but by January disappeared totally. This almost led to a tragedy: Krysia Romaniuk, employed in Warsaw region secretariat, complained for a week but her requests to be moved to a hospital were refused. When, at long last, an ECG was performed and shown to a doctor an ambulance was immediately sent for as the diagnosis was: heart attack. She is now in hospital.

Several girls were released on health grounds, for example Irena Lewandowska (journalist from Solidarity publications) or Krysia Lityn-

ska (wife of Jan Lityski, editor of 'Robotnik' - The Worker). Nevertheless a number of pregnant girls were not released. The women were, most of them, interrogated - some repeatedly, and occasionally for hours on end at night. Some (Grazyna Kuron, for example) were isolated. All were asked to sign declarations of loyalty, and the vast majority refused.



Solidarity poster in Wroclaw painted over. Solidarity sticker explains 'That's the regime's only argument'

Some of the women (Grazyna Kuron, Barbara Malak, Lutka Wujec, Elzbieta Rogulska) were later transferred to Goldap, as were some women from the camp in Drawsko (Halina Mikolajaska, the actress, Anka Kowalska, the poet). Conditions there are apparently much better as the camp has been set up in a holiday home, specially adapted for the purpose (bars in windows, special fence). Their places in Olszynka were filled by women from Lublin, mainly teachers.

Will Solidarity be re-activated?

The military know full well that they can't just dissolve Solidarity. For them a solution would be to set up a union which would be fully controlled. They are looking for people who could do it for them. This proves to be very hard going. There is no way society will believe in the military. They will find some people but not many and with little credibility. Stanislaw Rusinek met the authorities on several occasions but only to discuss purely technical matters as, for example, the inventory of Solidarity property in Warsaw. Those in hiding are in touch with each other and also with Rusinek. Rusinek received a number of propositions from the authorities and turned them down.

Immediately after the 13th December it was extremely difficult to collect information. Most of the people we knew were interned - so new contacts had to be established. Also initially there was no information from outside Warsaw. By now communication has been established and we have got channels of information. However, we did not wish to start publishing information until we could check it - otherwise we would just be repeating unverifiable gossip. Nevertheless broad-sheets or information sheets got going almost immediately. There are several of these now in Warsaw alone, and the plan now is to keep publishing these until we can start publishing our proposed weekly to be called 'Mazowsze' (name for Warsaw region). Some of the broadsheets published now are: 'Informacje Solidarnosci' (Solidarity Information), or 'Wiadomosci' (News), formerly 'Wiadomosci Dnia'. The independent publishing house NOVA puts out 'Oboz', and there are bulletins, for example, in Gdansk, Lodz or Wroclaw. As far as equipment is concerned we are not doing too badly: we've got duplicators and even some printing presses, hidden away. We also have a large stock of paper. We are very short of stencils. Some of our printers are also at liberty.

Two contrasting assessments of Solidarity's chances of reactivating itself in the conditions of martial law.

Wiktor Kulerski: He is on the whole pessimistic. He thinks that the existing situation could last for some years. He can see no sense in organising an underground Union, setting up a national committee or trade union committees. He feels they could have no justification other than their actual existence, they would not actually do anything. In his view the only real course of action is long-term propaganda information action. It is particularly important to work closely with the young generation: the workers, the schools and students. With this aim in mind a wide independent press network should be set up, and information should be smuggled out abroad so that Western radio stations could broadcast it widely back to Poland. These are the only courses of action open to us at the moment, unless we want the authorities to lock up everyone and impose terror on an even wider scale.

Zbigniew Bujak. He thinks that the present situation in Poland is much more favourable than the situation which prevailed after the June strikes of 1976. In 1976 there was only a small handful of activists, now of course there are far more activists, and what is more society has behind it sixteen months of free trade union activity. This is the basis of his proposal to continue underground trade union activities, to form conspiratorial trade union authorities, and his plans to organise a general strike.

Breaking the Silesian strikes

Accurate eye-witness reports have now reached the West from Poland revealing the atrocities committed in the opening days of the 'state of War'. In one instance, ZOMO, the riot police stopped ambulance men carrying wounded miners to hospital and attacked them, beating up doctors, nurses and ambulance men alike. The information bulletin of the Co-ordinating Committee of Solidarity in France has published an account of the strikes in the mines and factories of Silesia in December. It was compiled from the accounts of participants or observers and also from clandestine leaflets. Extracts follow below.



The slogan reads: 'We will move off the walls when we get access to the media'. This is now painted over

As time went on it became more and more difficult to continue the strike, and people abandoned it: of the 2,000 people who began the strike at the KWK Anna mine, only 200 continued until the end, and, of the 8,000 in the Katowice steel works 2,000 continued until the end... The first strike committee resigned. Its members were in despair. They said that it was the end, they had families and they were frightened. A new committee was then elected... A member proclaimed in vain 'Let us sacrifice one more Christmas so that the next forty will be better!' But nobody felt keen; those who split away and fled through the bars were caught by the ZOMO. They took away their passes and they had to pay 5,000 zlotys fine (Katowice steelworks).

In the Piast and Ziemowit mines where work was stopped longest, the situation of the strikers was extreme. They already knew the fate of their comrades of the Wujek mine and were afraid of coming up. They were in despair. An eye witness account: 'We gathered, from the leaflets coming from above, that those who left were allowed to wash, were taken to their homes, and then taken off to an unknown destination by the militia. We didn't know what to make of that. Moreover, one of the comrades who went up received, three days later, at the mine, a package of food from his family. Where was he? Certainly not at his house... We all said to each other: 'Go up above? If I have to be killed up there, better to die down here!' Everything was done before the decisive attack by the forces of order to demoralise the strikers, totally cut off from the rest of the country and

even from the nearby enterprises: the displays of force by the ZOMO (shock brigades of the police) and the soldiers, the fear of the penalties (going as far as the death penalty), the warnings that exceptional methods would be used against them (at Polkowice) or chemical weapons, dangerous for health (Katowice), and other means of psychological pressure. Here are some fragments from the testimony of one of the participants in the strike:

'All night a helicopter flew overhead with sirens going. Towards 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning 20 helicopters flew overhead and leaflets were thrown down. In the leaflets they demanded that we submit, and threatened us. They tried to convince us that our resistance was pointless... Every hour, over the loudspeakers, we heard the voice of a mother 'Felek, come back home, we are all waiting for you', and after that the voice of his father.' (Katowice steelworks I)

The news about the first violence used in 'pacification' arrived very quickly among the strikers in the mines and steelworks. This is what happened on 15 December 1981 at Jastrzebie: 'In the offices, ZOMO broke in and beat the staff pitilessly. One woman had a miscarriage, following the blows she received.'

There were quite a number of women there... When they had all gathered together, and it was certain they were only going to negotiate, the ZOMO broke in through the doors and windows. They surrounded everybody and threw teargas. People panicked and tried to run away. Then the ZOMO began a terrible,

systematic beating. People fled through the windows, wounding themselves on broken glass, and fell beneath the blows of other ZOMO who were waiting for them outside.

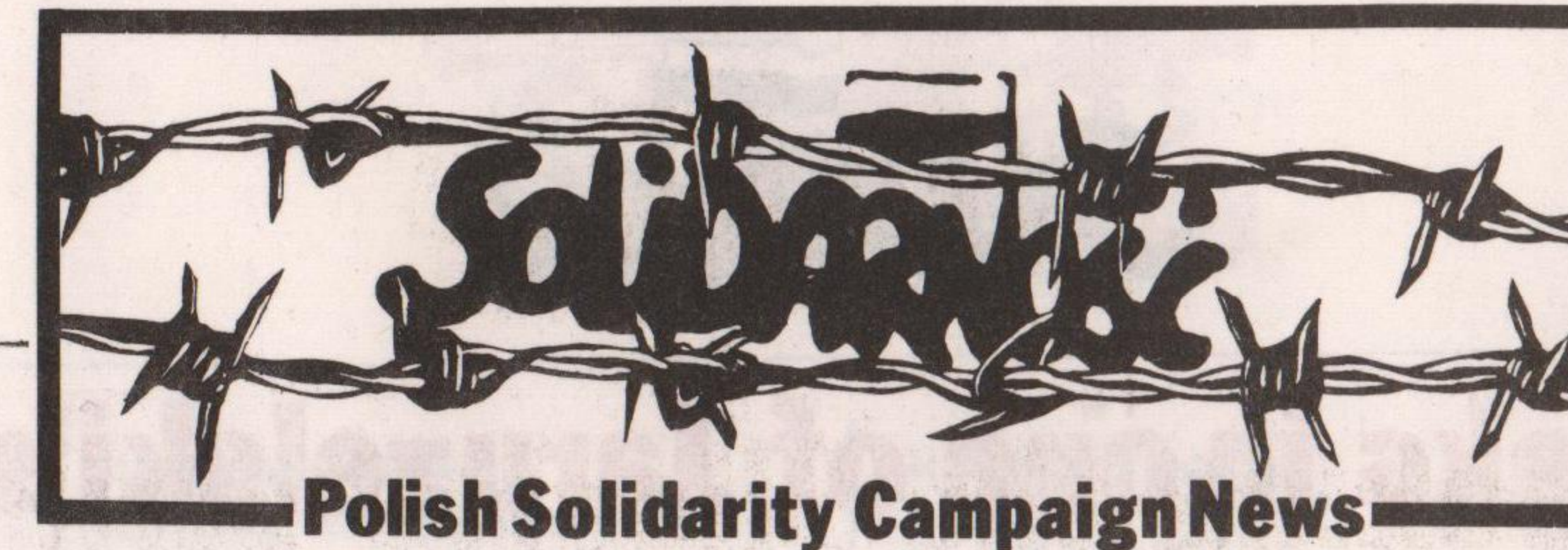
All the testimony points to the behaviour of the ZOMO: 'As they got out of the lorries, one would have thought they were wild animals. Their appearances were short but very effective. They used them to attack places and then they immediately got back in the lorries. I saw one close up and it produced a queer effect on me; he had a black outfit, gloves with points, on his head a helmet-visor, a shield in one hand and a truncheon in the other. He was well built, with a black beard, and a mad look about him; he mumbled. I thought that he wasn't Polish (Polkowice II). I saw their faces without expression, empty, provoking. They watched the miners while playing with their truncheons. The soldiers felt bad; seeing the priests, they lowered their eyes.'

At the Wujek mine, the strikers, like the medical staff, testified that the ZOMO used for the 'pacification' were drugged. The hospital staff knew cases of ZOMOs dying, probably due to drugs or the use of gas. The most brutal action of the ZOMO was seen during the pacification of Wujek: 'After a burst of machine gun fire, the militiamen set about the wounded miners. The ambulances which left from the mine were stopped by the ZOMO; these threw the wounded in the snow if they were miners and forced the ambulances to set off empty'.

The last part of the text, entitled 'Epilogue', includes the following: 'Afterwards, it was impossible to say how many people were missing. Who had been killed? Who was hiding? To the distraught women who went to the militia to get some information, they replied: 'Don't ask questions or something worse will happen to you'. At the Wujek mine, on December 17th, the railings around the mine were completely destroyed at 8.30 in the morning. They cleared the ground with bulldozers. Near the gates a cross. On its arms, seven miners' lamps. There are the first flowers and candles. Despite the stench of tear gas, a crowd of people is around the cross. The men bare-headed, the women holding rosaries. One phrase was repeated like a litany: 'We shan't forget them.' The oldest of those who were killed was 30.

One of those who was speaking - a family of miners for 3 generations - son of a revolutionary of 1921 summed up what he had to say: 'We are waiting for spring. Ask what will happen in the springtime. We shall rise up; we of Silesia, we shan't forget.'

[Source: *Le Monde*, 19 February 1982]



Peter Kennard

The enactment of Operation Calm by the military junta in mid-February, when 4000 Poles were rounded up in 2 days with only minimal reaction from the western world is a sign of how secure General Jaruzelski must feel. He was able to perform his illegal act of declaring 'a state of war' against his own people without a single Western government withdrawing recognition of his regime; he was able to cow and browbeat the arrogant bureaucrats of the Polish United Workers Party without for an instant losing the endorsement of the Soviet authorities; and he was able by fickle promises to prevent outright condemnation of his actions by the Church authorities for over two months, thus neutralizing for that psychologically crucial initial period of his rule the one moral authority left in the country after suspension of Solidarity.

Yet the struggle in Poland is far from over. The General must achieve economic and political stability before he can be assured of consolidating his power. Economic stability must be obtained by economic reform and price stability guaranteeing higher production, but it is only obtainable in conditions of political stability.

Political stability is an equally elusive goal for the Junta. It can be obtained by: permanent terror (risky and bloody); political compro-

Perversely a bark without a bite strengthens the Junta's hold.

mises with other social forces which the Soviet Union and the Polish bureaucratic elite will tolerate (politically risky); or a prolonged stalemate of administrative and military repression mixed with messages of compromise, nationalist propaganda and corruption trials to hold the ring while the economy improves. The Junta and the Soviet leaders at present are aiming for the last option, but they are aware that future economic failure would make this option unworkable.

The clandestine union movement meanwhile also has several options. Acts of violence and terror would be met by the Junta's counter-terror and would in any case be wholly against the spirit of Solidarity hitherto; passivity would amount to surrender and the betrayal of the dreams and hopes that kept the people of Poland alive in the last eighteen months, while it would also take away any incentive for the junta to ease the terror and pursue economic reform and recovery. The third option is passive resistance - but of two kinds. Firstly Solidarity activists wish to keep alive the spirit of reform by underground publications and samizdats. Secondly workers are deliberately slowing down or hampering production in the militarized factories in order to obstruct the chance of increasing industrial output so vital politically and financially to the Junta. Conditions for a full scale return to work would be

government acquiescence to the five basic political demands of Solidarity - suspension of martial law, release of internees and political prisoners, reinstatement of workers sacked for refusing to leave Solidarity, return to Solidarity of property confiscated by the junta, reemergence of Solidarity as an independent legal entity free once more to negotiate with the government.

The task of Solidarity's friends abroad, such as PSC, is to support the Polish workers in their aims and to respond to the tactics and the strategy of their struggle. These aims are ideologically non-controversial and are a useful common denominator acceptable to the wide range of people who have opted to join our organization. On that basis we can maintain and expand a national organization open to all who support the principles of democracy and human and trade union rights, and which would best reflect the aims and universal appeal of an organization like Solidarity. It is on that basis that we were able to mobilize 13,000 people to join our march on the Polish Embassy on December 20th. While many members of PSC would have further aims in mind, it would be sad and a futile waste of precious time and resources to dwell excessively on any differences in outlook and thus divide our organization into warring factions. This would hamper our assistance to Solidarity, and ensure the exodus of active members and helpers not interested in the finer points of ideological differences.

In the previous issue of our newsletter, one such polemic appeared which was motivated by a genuine fear that groups which saw the Bolshevik Revolution as part of their own tradition would seek to defend the self-appointed heirs of that same Revolution by undermining the PSC campaign. This article then sought to tar all members or sympathisers of the Leninist tradition with too simplistic and too broad a brush.

Another article, published in this issue, written partly in reaction to the previous one, which argues for a broad, national and imaginative campaign has made scathing comments about the motives of individuals, such as Frank Chapple and Bernard Braine simply because they are mentioned uncritically in a previous newsletter.

The net effect of such comments divides where it should unite. Leninist groups which genuinely condemn Jaruzelski and give active support to Solidarity are an important embarrassment to the Marxist-Communist military Junta. Frank Chapple was the first major British trade union leader to pin his colours to the mast in support of Solidarity. Bernard Braine was the man most responsible for ensuring that the Home Office would not expel any members of Solidarity back to Poland when their visas run out in Britain. In our sort of campaign we claim that whatever the motives (and who has the right to judge motives?), if the effect of their actions is beneficial to Solidarity, then it is not our task to criticize them for it. Solidarity's primary task was that of a trade

union. We hold that mobilizing the support of trade unions, in so far as it does not compromise our broad democratic outlook and structure, is our most important task in Britain, particularly as it is trade union, non-aligned and general 'progressive' support for Solidarity which damages most the case of Solidarity's 'progressive' oppressors. In such circumstances it would be dishonest and politically inconsistent for PSC, and damaging to Solidarity, were we to offer a platform to a person hostile to free trade unionism in the West or to the supporter of a military junta or foreign oppressor in, say, Chile or Afghanistan. In any case the conditions for PSC membership would normally make such a candidate feel self-excluded.

If PSC is to remain an effective mass national organization which is not rent apart by political divisions or chasing red herrings, then members must unite around simple aims and a straightforward effective programme of action. Ideology divides, action unites. Such principles were the driving force behind Solidarity's own universal non-ideological appeal to over 80% of Poland's urban work force.

A common action programme incorporates the need for letters of protest and demonstration, fund-raising for material aid, whistle-stop information campaigns at public meetings and internal sessions of various organizations throughout Britain, political isolation of Solidarity's totalitarian enemies and Jaruzelski's apologists, support for the Solidarity Trade Union Working Group in the U.K., sponsoring of individuals or specific groups of victimized Solidarity workers, urging the breaking of links with non-democratic unrepresentative

Ideology divides, action unites.

organizations from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and organizing trade union blacking and consumer boycotts of Polish and Soviet goods. That last plank of our public programme of action is a vital ingredient to express solidarity with the oppressed in Poland and to give economic teeth to the underground Solidarity movement's own attempt to reduce productivity in the factories and oblige military commissars to begin meaningful negotiations with Solidarity.

It is vital to give help so that Solidarity can resume its activities, to ensure that the process of peaceful reform and economic recovery continues in Poland. The alternative is uncontrolled violence in Poland and other East European societies desirous of such reform, and the consequent further increase in international tension throughout Europe, further ideological rigidity and the possibility of nuclear war. It is important for us in PSC that we place Solidarity's survival as our top priority and retain our broad mass character. Only in this way can we contribute to creating that spring that is to succeed Jaruzelski's winter.

Three weeks in one of Jaruzelski's prisons

Only few reports of what's happening inside the Polish jails have reached the West. Paul Baudry reports the testimony of a painter, imprisoned on Dec 13th, the night of the military take-over.

How were you arrested?

The militia came to my workshop on Dec 13th, at 1 a.m. and I was placed in an icy cell, alone, without knowing anything about either the take-over or the reason for my arrest.

How could I have guessed what this could be? I had in fact been a militant during the seventies and after 1976 had participated in the activities of KOR (The Committee for defence of the workers). From 1980 on, I was only one of 10 millions Solidarity members; I had no specific responsibilities. Not until Sunday evening, when some other fellows were placed in my cell, was I told what was happening. Two days later I was transferred to prison X, where I remained until my release.

What were the divisions among you?

For all that Solidarity, as a social movement, is unanimous in opposing the Party's dictatorship, it still has different tendencies within it. The majority which aligns itself with Lech Walesa has to rely, on the right, on members of KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland), and on the left, on old leaders of KOR. In the microcosm of our room, KPN was represented by a nucleus of five people with a floating collection of sympathisers. KOR was not represented as such, since its members had all joined Solidarity. We were divided, for example, over Kuron's ideas. The majority, who were unable to conceive of communism without totalitarianism, blamed him for not having broken definitively from the marxism of his youth.

Why do you regard KPN's members as the right wing?

Because of their attachment to the past—to the country's military and insurrectional tradition—and their nationalism.

Nationalism... may be antisemitism?

Well indeed... we sounded them out on that point, but they avoided the

question as if it were a forbidden subject, which gave them a bad conscience. The Communist Party has done at least one thing for Poland: it cultivated antisemitism for its own sake so much that it drove it out of fashion.

In your debates, what divided Solidarity from KPN?

KPN blamed Solidarity for having been timid and ineffectual, for not having tried to take power, for having mobilized the masses in minor struggles. Solidarity countered that it had chosen to change both people and structures slowly and that it preferred steady every day work to heroic feats. It blamed KPN for having provided a pretext for the take-over by revealing its long-term strategy and declaring war on the Party and on Russia. Life in jail brought out two approaches: while the KPN members plotted improbable escapes, the Solidarity officials, by negotiating day after day with the prison administration, gradually improved our living conditions. And this extended their influence.

Did you talk about future?

We did nothing else. We talked, for example, about the Oath of Allegiance that many Polish people have to sign, on pain of losing their job or their freedom. A few were determined not to compromise, even if they were sent to Siberia. But the majority agreed that one must take the realistic perspective and must counter violence with cunning, and that the first priority was to regain one's job, one's place, one's influence within society. I myself, on my release, signed an undertaking to do nothing against the so-called Popular Polish Republic. That doesn't bother me. But there are more compromising ways of putting it and I know some people who can't forgive themselves the statements of repudiation signed under duress. We also evoked spontaneous passive resistance on the part of the population, which consisted essentially of sabotage at work. Some accepted with difficulty that Solidarity would have chosen this form of struggle and I since discovered that, on this point, the Church was in agreement. Must the Communist system's failure lead to total ruin for our country? Is it only by descending to the depths of misery that the Polish people will be delivered of their tyrants?

From *Novel Observateur*, February 6-12, 1982 (translated by PSC)

The list below contain names and details of workers interned or jailed by the Junta. This is a short selection of a much longer list supplied by the Solidarity Trade Union Working Group. We are asking for British trade unionists to adopt these prisoners and take action on their behalf.

The following guidelines have been suggested for the formal adoption of prisoners.

● Adoption should be by trade union organisations: shop stewards committees, factories, union branches or trade councils.

● When you adopt a prisoner write to the Solidarity Trade Union Working Group, 64 Philbeach Gardens, London SW5.

● Write to the camp concerned—addresses below—demanding information about the person you have adopted.

● Write to the Polish Embassy, Portland Place, London W1 demanding information about the person you have adopted.

● Write to your union head office calling on the union to make it official policy for branches to adopt Polish workers.

● Don't give up if you don't see immediate results.

All letters in and out of Poland are read by censors so the authorities will be aware of how much is being done. Camps to write to: Strzebielinek Internment Camp, near Wechorowo, Poland or Bialoleka camp, near Warsaw, Poland. (In the list the town given is where the workplace is located. Information about camps is not available in all cases.)

Printers

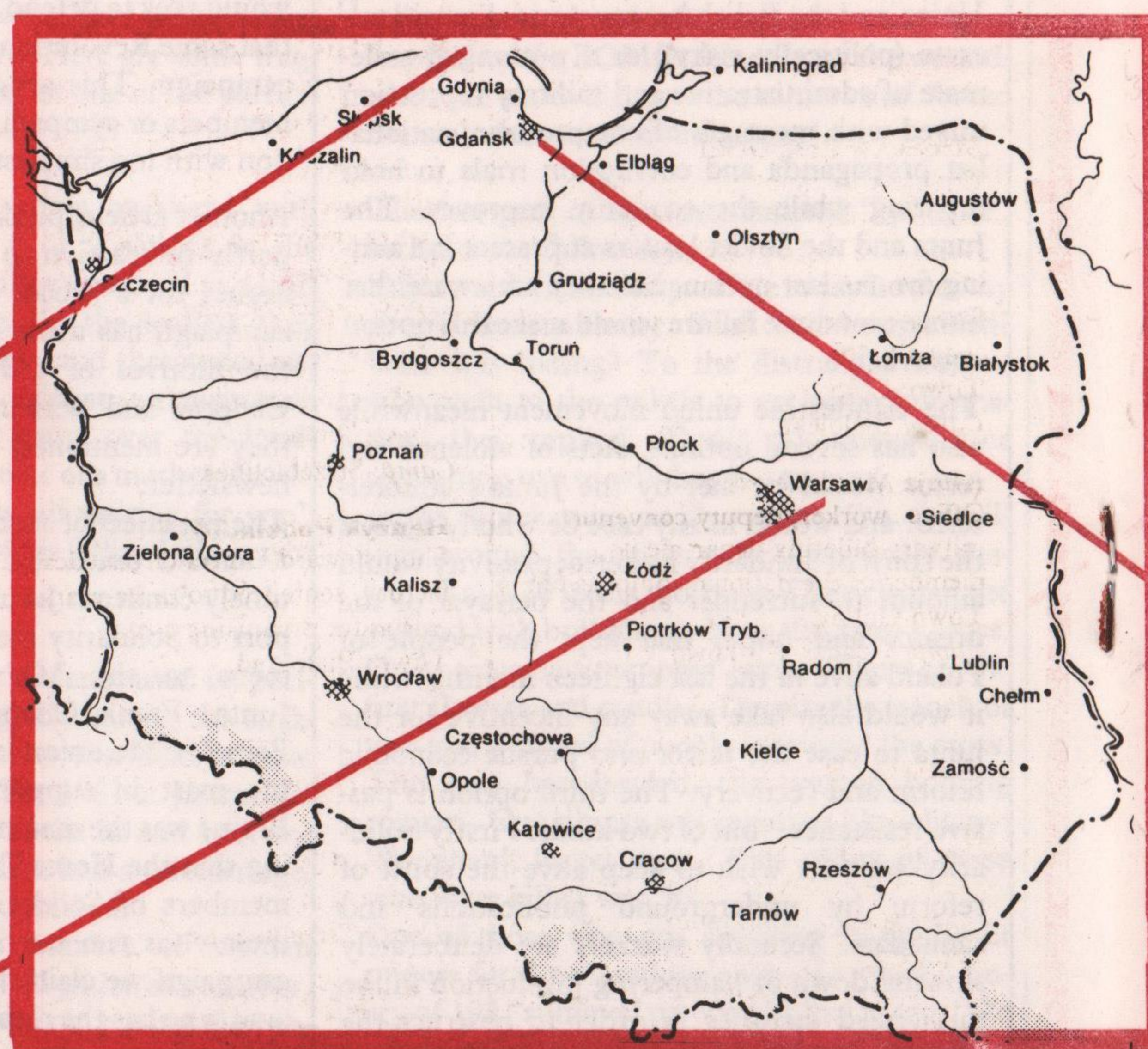
Zygmunt Blazyk
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Bohdan Grzesiak
Nowa Publishing House, member of Solidarity Regional Committee Mazowsze.
Camp: Bialoleka

Stanislaw Kusinski
Member of Solidarity Regional Committee Mazowsze.
Town: Warsaw

Shoe Workers

Janusz Lazdzin
ALKA factory.
Town: Slupsk
Camp: Bialoleka



Edmund Pacynski
ALKA factory.
Town: Slupsk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Steel Workers

Seweryn Jaworski
Huta Warszawa steel works,
Deputy Chairman Warsaw region of Solidarity.
Camp: Strzebielinek

Jan Luzny
CYNK steelworks Deputy convenor, member Silesian regional review committee.
Town: Miasteczko Slaskie
Camp: Strzebielinek

Aleksander Przygodzinski
Turner, convenor Bierut steelworks, member of the national commission, three year sentence for organising strike.
Town: Czestochwa

Herbert Renet
arrested for organising strike.
Town: Katowice

Textile Workers

Janina Juraszowska
Teofilow mill.
Town: Lodz

Ryszard Koztrzewa
Member Lodz Solidarity council, arrested for organising strike.
Town: Lodz

Jadwiga Mienkarska
Teofilow mill.
Town: Lodz

White Collar Workers

Miroslaw Krupinski
Engineer in community planning office, deputy leader Warmia Mazowsze region, spokesman Olsztyn inter-plant committee. Started underground committee after the coup. Now on trial.
Town: Olsztyn
Camp: Bialoleka

Alicja Matuszewska
Office worker, deputy convenor military billeting departments, member of the national commission.
Town: Gdynia
Camp: Gdansk-Kurkowo

Building Workers

Marek Garnicki
Senior steward Wschod pre-fabricated concrete plant, Communist Party member, arrested for organising strike.
Town: Bydgoszcz

Krzysztof Wyszowski
Carpenter
Camp: Strzebielinek

Stanislaw Milewski
Civil engineering worker in the water industry.
Town: Tczew
Camp: Strzebielinek

Shipyard Workers

Stanislaw Debowski
Stocznia Polnocna (northern shipyard)
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Edmund Grzelawski
Repair worker.
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Jan Koziatek
Worker, Lenin Yard
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Henryk Piotrowicz
Trawler building yard
Town: Ustka
Camp: Strzebielinek

Ewaryst Waligorski
Warski Yard, arrested for organising strike.
Town: Szczecin
Camp: Strzebielinek

Engineering Workers

Eugeniusz Garal
Nowotki Diesel Plant, member Mazowsze Regional Committee.
Town: Warsaw
Camp: Bialoleka

Stanislaw Kasinski
Ursus shop steward.
Town: Warsaw

Witold Krol
Metal machanic, Walter ammunition works.
Town: Radom
Camp: Strzebielinek

Anton Parniewski
ZNMR agricultural machine repair.
Town: Slupsk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Henryk Podsiadlo
Shop steward Unitra electronics factory, sentenced to three years prison for organising strike.
Town: Bialograd

Electrician

Andrzej Bulc
Town: Warsaw
Camp: Strzebielinek

Antoni Pietkovicz
Electrical engineer in building combine, deputy chair of regional committee.
Town: Kalisz
Camp: Strzebielinek

Railway Workers

Leon Czapniewski
Town: Zajaczkowo
Camp: Strzebielinek

Josef Hamadyk
Workshops maintenance ZNTK works.
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Chemical and Oil Workers

Zbigniew Przewlocki
Chemical engineer Ozos chemical works.
Town: Olsztyn

Gregorz Ungier
Oil refinery worker
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Miners

Wladyslaw Bomba
Thorez mine, arrested for organising strike
Town: Walbrzyck

Jan Jaworski
Staszic mine, arrested for organising strike.
Town: Katowice
Camp: Strzebielinek

Zbigniew Semkowski
Thorez mine, secretary of stewards committee, arrested for organising strike.
Town: Walbrzyck

Car Component Workers

Tadeusz Kruza
POLMO gearbox factory
Town: Tczew
Camp: Strzebielinek

Jerzy Kujan
Stomil tyre factory, organised strike.
Town: Sanek

Leszek Lamkiewicz
POLMO gearbox factory.
Town: Tczew
Camp: Strzebielinek

Marek Waliszewski
Electronic engineer Tychy car plant, member of the national commission.
Town: Katowice

Portworkers

Jacek Cegielski
Portworker
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

T. Urbaniak
Docker
Town: Gdynia
Camp: Strzebielinek

Mariusz Laskowski
Polish Oceanic Line
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek

Bus and Transport Workers

Andrzej Bunikowski
Driver PKS coach company.
Town: Tczew
Camp: Strzebielinek

Zygmunt Kedzierski
Busworker
Town: Gdynia
Camp: Strzebielinek

Raymond Rudecki
Driver long distance buses.
Town: Gdansk
Camp: Strzebielinek, cell 12

The worst detention centre so far reported in Poland is the Penal Centre at 38-623 Uherce, near Wislok in the voivodship of Krosno. Here, the internees are treated worse than common criminals. The cells, with broken windows, are bitterly cold, while food is inadequate—a bowl of cabbage soup is served on most days. Exercise in the yard is limited to only 30 minutes each day, during which internees are not permitted to communicate with each other. Families may send only two 3 kilo parcels each month, and can only visit their relatives once a month. However, even during this one visit they are often forced to wait many hours in the cold before they are allowed to see the internees. The prison authorities stop both parcels and visits on the flimsiest of pretexts.

The Prison Governor does visit the cells occasionally to find out if any of the prisoners have complaints or wish to make statements. However, as he is accompanied by ten guards armed with truncheons and riot shields, the internees remain silent. Medical aid is almost non-existent. The Governor's daughter is the only nurse. Though the internees include five doctors, they are not allowed to write prescriptions.

Despite attempts by the local Bishop to visit the internees, priests have been denied access. The response to the continued requests by prisoners for visits from priests, has been: 'If you die, then a priest is of no use to you; if you live, you don't need one either.' The prisoners were allowed to hear midnight mass on Christmas Day on the radio, but were forbidden to sing religious songs.

During visits internees do not tell their relatives about prison conditions for fear of suffering still further reprisals; they only describe them in confidence once they have been released.

PSC policy - an opinion

On the Saturday afternoon of January 30 Piotr Kozłowski a departmental convenor from the Ursus tractor plant near Warsaw addressed two meetings at the Digbeth Civic Hall in Birmingham. The first brought together barely a dozen representatives from the Port and Dock shop stewards committee. With icy civility Piotr was listened to but no fraternal hand was extended nor was sympathy expressed for the thousands of trade unionists languishing in concentration camps. From that sullen sparse gathering he went immediately to speak to some forty members of the T&G attending a meeting organised by 'Socialist Organiser'. Prolonged applause and a standing ovation greeted the conclusion of

A.Q. Sinclair

Kozłowski's speech. A resolution in support of 'Solidarity' was unanimously passed while delegates from a strike committee in Sheffield donated their share of a collection to Solidarity.

These two meetings, the first heavily influenced if not dominated by Stalinists, the second composed of readers and supporters of a Trotskyist newspaper provided a dramatic contrast in attitudes towards Solidarity. It is worth dwelling a little on those two contrasting meetings because the last issue of 'PSC News' carried an unsigned article entitled 'On the Left' which clearly sees no such contrast. Stalinist or Trotskyist all are totalitarian Leninists who only differ tactically in the means to be deployed in emasculating support for the first free and independent trade union in post war Eastern Europe. The former by unambiguous support for Jaruzelski the latter by insidious infiltration whereby they can deflect attention away from Soviet responsibility, draw the teeth of serious support for Solidarity and substitute token responses instead. Two other pieces in the journal, 'Poland and Peace' by Judy Barker and 'Parliament debates Poland' by Robin Blick while interesting and though provoking polemic share a common perspective with 'On the Left'. Which seems to be to subject to the most scathing scrutiny the motivation of individuals and organisations of the left while displaying towards well known public figures on the right such as Frank Chapple, Denis Healey and Bernard Braine an uncritical complacency towards their credentials which is truly astonishing. This after all is no small matter. The Polish Solidarity Campaign looks to the labour movement for support and directs its energies into that movement. Now Labour may not be familiar with the name of Bernard Braine but they know his Party. They have met many times and never as friends. Healey and Chapple too are well known to Labour but not as democrats while members of Solidarność would probably recognise in the regime that Chapple runs in his Electricians Union, a pale British version none the less, of the Polish state company unions they have so recently abandoned.

Like all genuinely historically significant events Solidarity breathes life into old and seemingly settled questions. Its signal service to the dull routine of conservative hierarchical British Labour is its emphatic affirmation of the feasibility and sweet reasonableness of working class power. A vision backed up with sweepingly imaginative proposals for the democratic and popular control of organisations by those who compose them. Little surprise that Solidarity has evoked such warm empathy from ordinary trade unionists in Britain. And even less surprising that the would be leaders of those trade unionists, from vanguardists to committee men, from bell tollers to agenda fixers regard such a democratic movement with fear, apprehension and consternation heralding their own superfluity.

For this reason the critical spotlight that has been placed upon the Bennis, the Scargills and the 'Straight Left' sponsors is absolutely correct and necessary. Its force is unfortunately much diminished when the critics holding the spotlight reveal themselves as coy self-indulgent sponsors of such corrupt and discredited anti-democrats as Denis Healey and Frank Chapple.



Piotr Iglowski

One reason for the extreme distrust of the revolutionary left that is entirely understandable is their marked absence from Polish solidarity activity up to Jaruzelski's declaration of war. From August 1980 individuals quite unassisted from the left initiated a campaign which has laid firm foundations in London. Small wonder then that there is more than a little concern at the belated interest some of these left wing organisations now display for Polish solidarity. Since martial law was declared on December 13 the individual membership of PSC has increased from over 200 to over 800. Such a broad response from wide ranging democratic forces must have and has had its effect on left-wing organisations. The meeting referred to at the beginning of this article where members of the Transport Workers Union gave a most enthusiastic reception to Solidarity speakers was organised by a Trotskyist paper. Such meetings organised by such people have since taken place in many towns and cities. Where groups and committees in support of Solidarity have sprung up throughout the country members of left wing organisations have played a part and sometimes a prominent part in their creation. At Massey Ferguson it was a so called 'totalitarian left' who initiated the process that led to the blacking resolution being carried in that factory. It is perhaps predictable that a London based organisation should be unaware of such developments north of Watford. PSC needs to quickly take those organisational measures necessary to ensure its transition from a London based to a national campaign. Emulating Solidarność perhaps a federal type leading body of two delegates from each properly constituted branch would achieve this with some similar degree of representation for 'PSC News'. While 'PSC News' will undoubtedly provide many trade unionists with an analysis of Poland its range is limited and other means also need to be sought to draw thousand of people into support. Perhaps PSC, ideally in co-operation with the Trade Union Working Group could produce a weekly or fortnightly supplement to 'PSC News'. An attractively printed single sided fact

sheet that PSC supporters could put up on notice boards in factories, offices and colleges throughout the land. It could tell of the growing resistance in Poland as well as what the friends and enemies of Solidarity were up to. Again a more flexible policy towards Solidarity badges seems appropriate to the much larger movement PSC is becoming. Every donator to an appeal or collection sheet should be

given some means of public identification with Solidarity and a badge seems a good one. Perhaps the adopting of internees and their families already recommended by PSC could be done in a way that offers a positive alternative to the local bureaucratic twinning of British and European towns. Wolverhampton has already done this with Wrocław. The internees from a certain town or area could perhaps be twinned with a PSC branch.

The PSC should fundamentally be a campaign for Polish Solidarity. Those wishing to help Polish Solidarity should be brought together. The dividing line should be for or against Solidarity, for or against Jaruzelski. It should not be different ways of supporting Solidarity. PSC will not become the big movement the Polish working class needs if it becomes either a narrowly defined Labour-movement-only campaign on the one hand or on the other an ideological crusade and holy war against the so called totalitarian left. Compromise, generosity, forbearance and a little imagination is required on both sides. Surely the true hallmark of the genuine anti-totalitarian?

Due to an editorial oversight the article titled 'On the Left' appeared without the name of its author, Adam Westoby. We apologise for any confusion this may have caused.

Badges for sale

PSC has produced badges, teeshirts and sweatshirts carrying the Solidarność logo. Badges cost £1, teeshirts cost £3 plus 30p post and packing, and are available in all sizes, sweatshirts 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).

Martial law - the response of the church

The first few months of martial law in Poland which the military government calls, perhaps more aptly, 'a state of war', have already revealed both the aim and the anatomy of such control. The overnight suspension of all civil life, together with such draconian measures as the mass arrests of Solidarity activists, dissidents and intellectuals, in short of all the courageous public figures, the severing of means of communication, particularly telephone lines, and drastic restrictions on travel even within Poland, gave the government the immediate advantage of being able to move troops freely among the pockets of resistance in the shocked

Alexander Tomsky

and immobilized population. The overall strategy of the government, however, is to replace these severe measures, which invite world-wide criticism and in addition are rejected by the Church, by controls that are at once less visible but more pervasive. The government's intention is to atomise the community into a collection of lonely, frightened individuals, afraid not only of the police but even of their immediate neighbours, and to build up a new administration of cynical careerists, not necessarily only party members, but preferably made up of young people with no history of opposition to the official line.

In order to frighten the people into submission, the military junta must convince them first that the only hope for change is the eventual relaxation promised by the authorities in return for good behaviour. Official propaganda is a powerful tool for this purpose as it repeats only information which creates the impression that the new regime is stable; in fact nothing happens apart from official meetings and government decrees. So the jamming of foreign broadcasts has been resumed and travel in and out of the country has been reduced to a minimum and then only at an official level. The motto of the day is that half-truths repeated often enough will be half-believed, particularly in the absence of other information. The language of the media is unusually aggressive, reminiscent of the old Bolshevik standards and, as if to emphasise the aim of it all, broadcasters in uniform have been introduced. There are even reports that commissars in uniform sit in some classrooms with young children, to 'persuade' the teachers that Solidarity members are traitors and the government is saving the country from collapse and to ensure that children repeat this after the teacher. The life of pretence has returned.

As the state controls practically all employment, it can use their power to suppress even psychological resistance. Four days after the declaration of Martial Law a decree was issued to purge the entire civil service, beginning with ministries and government agencies, of all persons who had not renounced their membership of the trade union. By now the campaign of dismissals has assumed massive proportions and it is estimated that hundreds of thousands are without work. There is of course



Cardinal Wyszyński and Lech Walesa

no unemployment benefit and, what is worse, ration cards are distributed by the employers. Can the spirit of the Polish people survive such an onslaught? Can there be any resistance to the state when it controls the entire material side of life, together with all means of psychological pressure and misinformation? The simple answer to this question would be no, if it were not for the existence of another force—the Roman Catholic Church.

The Church in Poland is not only a spiritual force but also a national institution, a rallying point in times of crisis. Judging by all historical precedents, it is almost indestructible for it is too deeply interwoven within the fabric of everyday life. It is in the parish church that people can meet and exchange information, even under the conditions of Martial law. It is here that they can give support to each other, collect food and money for their detained relatives or send them letters. The Church gives them moral and spiritual support through prayer and the sacraments. As a national institution, it also speaks on their behalf to the government. Three days after the coup the Church's main council demanded the release of all prisoners and the resumption of talks with Solidarity. A few days later Archbishop Jozef Glemp wrote a letter to the General asking him to suspend the campaign of dismissals against those who value their conscience more than

their livelihood. later, the Polish Pope called the 'loyalty pledges', extracted under threat of dismissal, a violation of conscience which was worse than inflicting physical death, repeating the words of Christ: 'Do not fear those who kill the body!'. The Church can also neutralise government policy by collecting funds for the unemployed and their families. 'We have never seen such an abundance of generosity,' commented one sacristan after one such collection. Although the Church identifies with the sufferings of the Polish people, it also receives its own measure of suffering because of its strong position in society. It is sucked into the political vacuum of this insoluble conflict. The Primate's policy reflects his dilemma. Two of his sermons were broadcast by the media because they seemed to give support to the military, yet they do not. The Church, in rejecting Martial Law, in fact rejects the government; yet it is prepared to talk and negotiate with the government to which it refuses legitimacy. By calling on people to pray more fervently and examine their consciences the Church also strives to resolve the conflict peacefully. 'It is sometimes easier to give up your life for your country than to suffer and endure for years without breaking,' repeated the Primate quoting the late Cardinal Wyszyński. 'The Church believes in dialogue but how do you negotiate with a tank,' remarked a disappointed Polish observer.

There is no doubt that the Church will continue to hope against hope, although it also must take into account the short term political future of the country in order to give people practical guidance. Looking at the recent pronouncements of the episcopate and the Primate, one can, nevertheless, detect a note of political pessimism. The economic situation will continue to deteriorate, there are even reports suggesting that most farmers have slaughtered their livestock for fear of government requisitions. The economic aid provided by Brazil and Libya cannot improve the economy substantially if the Soviet Union is not in a position to bail Poland out, which seems to be the case. Famine could be on the way together with spontaneous sporadic violence: the unarmed against the armed as has happened so often in the past.

Reports have also leaked out suggesting that the hardliners in the Party are preparing for a showdown with the Church and that contingency plans for rounding up the more outspoken priests are being drawn up. The softliners, however, are not very liberal either.

They would like to muzzle the Church and nationalise the private farms by gradual means rather than by abrupt moves which could have unforeseeable consequences.

The bishops have therefore come to the conclusion that the government has only been playing for time and that the two months of informal talks between church and State were a waste of time. The talks were suspended and on 27 February a statement issued by the bishops' plenary conference was read out in the churches. It is the strongest condemnation of 'martial law' to come from the Church so far. The list of demands is long: the release of prisoners, an end to the martial law regulations, the re-establishment of Solidarity and a resumption of dialogue between the government and the people. The bishops also demanded full freedom for the Church: the restoration of the Catholic Intellectuals Clubs and Catholic periodicals, and an end to ideological education in schools. The Church hopes that by forcing the hand of the government the issues at least will be clear and the people will rally round the



Archbishop Glemp

Church. As the Primate put it recently: 'No handcuffs, no regulations, no repressions, no enforced emigration can destroy the ideals of the nation. They exist in its soul.' In the absence of any political hopes, the spirit must survive. As Archbishop Macharski made clear in another context encouraging the weak and the dispirited not to give up hope: 'We are simply living through yet another phase of history; this is the new baptism of Poland.'

Warning - Polish Red Cross

As the Red Cross in Poland does not come under the Ministry of Health but the Ministry of the Interior it is controlled by the Militia, ZOMO and some army forces. Therefore food parcels that are being sent to the Red Cross in Poland do not get to the right people. Those who benefit from the food aid are relations of government officials, members of WRON, ZOMO and the militia. As for the people who are in need, not only do they receive the remnants of what has been supplied but even these 'left-overs' are badly and inefficiently distributed. This happens not always because of unwillingness but due to an insufficient number of people to help as well as the difficulties in obtaining premises. Mothers with small children queue for hours to get, for instance, 2 packets of baby food. They do not try doing it again, though. It is simply not worth it considering the waste of time and energy.

The only institution that organises food distribution for the interned, arrested and others who are in need, very efficiently, is undoubtedly the Church. Therefore it would be advisable to direct any food supplies straight to the Archbishop's Office or different parishes rather than using the Polish Red Cross for this purpose.



Chaplain condemns junta

Until recently the statements coming from the official spokesmen of the Church hierarchy have been fairly moderate in their criticisms of martial law. However sermons delivered by local priests have been very different in tone and character. Many have condemned the policies of the Junta in severe and uncompromising statements from the pulpit.

Following the sentencing of Father Boleslaw Jewulski of Warsaw to 3½ years for 'slandering Poland's Communist system', the Church fears a wave of reprisals, involving the arrest of many priests. We print below a particularly trenchant sermon given by the student chaplain of Wroclaw University on 13th January 1982.

Sermon by student chaplain of Wroclaw University 13 January 1982.

At Wroclaw, where the principal members of the regional executive have managed to escape arrest and have gone into hiding, outbreaks of resistance have led the authorities to keep the region under close surveillance. The impulse has been provided by a sermon given in Wroclaw cathedral on the 13th of January by the student Chaplain, Father Miroslaw Drzewiecki, a professor of theology. He was summoned by the security police and interrogated for six hours, and subsequently taken to hospital suffering a cardiac arrest.

In this sermon (the text was provided by the Coordinating Committee the Union Solidarity in France) Father Drzewiecki describes the imposition of martial law in these terms:

'Terror struck the entire nation and plunged it into horror and despair. A dark night was thrown over our people, cut off from the rest of the world and no longer able to communicate among themselves. The whole Polish countryside was overrun with Herod's mercenaries, armed with pistols and the decrees proclaiming the State of War, to take away, like chicks from their nests, the finest sons of our nation. Those who managed to escape the giant round-up today wander at large and hide, with prices on their heads like bandits, like common criminals.

How great is the ignominy of those who slander their own brothers. You who are in the service of falsehood and injustice, you who have remained silent throughout the whole of the horrendous moral and physical rape of the conscience of the workers of Wroclaw and Poland defending their human rights, you who dare to give rewards to informers, you who affront basic human principles by placing side by side the names of men fighting for the ideas of Solidarity with the workers with those names of common social and economic criminals, are you fully aware of the shame which covers your faces? How will you ever wash it away? Be sure that it will not fall into oblivion, for the nation will always remember. And even if the nation should ever forget, God will remember. And you will come to repent, you you will have to beg pardon from our poor dejected motherland, you will have to kiss our native soil, cowering low your proud heads which you now held high in arrogance ...

Show us your pity, O Lord ... Look first of all at our broken families, our fathers, and mothers, wives, our sisters and our brothers who have suffered for over a month now the humiliation of being deprived of their personal liberty. This enslavement is all the more despicable for having been perpetrated by brothers against brothers, by Poles against Poles. Look, O Lord, upon those who because of their convictions and their work for society have been deprived by the sentences of the 'war' tribunals not only of their liberty but also, as an example, of their civic rights. O Lord, hasten to blot out this horrible red stain on the conscience of the Polish judiciary. These sentences will be condemned by history in the rest of civilised Europe ...' From *Le Monde* (translated by PSC)

Why are the Poles Polish?

In the course of its efforts to win an active support for Solidarity, the Polish Solidarity Campaign meets one objection more frequently than any other. This is that far too many of its ten million members are Catholics, nationalists and anti-communists. It is imperative that, to gain the support that Solidarity needs and deserves, the reasons for the Poles' attitudes to their religion, nation and politics are explained.

On one level, the objection is easily answered. The very same 'defects' are readily overlooked when the target of nationalism is, say, the British military presence in Northern Ireland.

Robin Blick

The PSC is all too familiar with the hypocrisy of those organisations and individuals who pick and choose which tyrannies to oppose or tolerate according to ideological taste. Answering them with a quip, however, is no substitute for a reasoned exploration of these distinctly Polish characteristics.

Most Poles would agree that the roots of the nation's Catholicism and patriotism lie deep in the past. They would point to the three partitions between Protestant Prussia, Orthodox Russia and Austria, which produced over time that same amalgam of religious and national identity that one can, for example, observe in the case of Ireland.

We should attend to doubts felt within broad democratic opinion concerning the true nature and purpose of Solidarity. Cannot nationalism be blind, fanatical to the point of racism? Can the Catholic Church in Poland be fairly called pluralist - what of its attitude towards women? And has not opposition to communism all too frequently served as a banner and screen for fascist movements? Look what Hitler did to Poland! Discussing these doubts constitute an essential part of developing 'Solidarity with Solidarity'.

The anti-communism of the Poles, however, is a creation of more recent history, and must be understood within that context.

In a crucial sense, the problem revolves around Poland's tempestuous relations with Russia in the immediate post-revolutionary period. Millions of Poles first came to fear and hate the rulers of Soviet Russia not under the Stalinist terror, but two decades and more earlier, when Lenin and Trotsky guided the policies of the Bolshevik government.

Having suffered under centuries of Tsarist oppression, the Poles of the Empire needed no encouragement from Russian revolutionaries to fight for their freedom, as they had proved on numerous occasions before 1917. Polish workers were among the most combative in the defeated revolution of 1905, and naturally saw in the collapse of the Russian, and then German and Austrian dynasties their final deliverance from foreign oppression. And had not the Bolsheviks pledged themselves to grant, on their coming to power, the right to national self-determination, up to and including total separation, to all the subject peoples of the former Empire? What could Poland possibly have to fear from foreign revolutionaries?

Answers were not long in coming. When the October Revolution took place in Russia, all Poland was under the joint administration of the Austrians and Germans, the Russian armies having been driven far back into Russia proper. The Treaty of Brest Litovsk (March 1918) between Soviet Russia and Germany maintained the status quo in this respect. When the

to terrorist attacks by the so-called 'Free Corps', rightist ex-army officers who, in January 1919, murdered amongst many others, the famous revolutionaries Karl Leibknecht and the Polish-born Rosa Luxemburg.

Given the Bolsheviks' pre-revolutionary pronouncements on national self-determination, and the special place Poland traditionally occu-



collapse of the Central Powers came in November 1918, Russia's rulers were in no position to directly influence events in Poland. There ensued a year of uneasy peace between the countries' new rulers. Armed hostilities broke out in the spring of 1920.

Bolshevik attitudes towards Poland at this time are, it seems, only partly reflected in official pronouncements of the Soviet leadership. They need to be placed alongside the more covert policy being pursued, often at variance with these official pronouncements, by non-Party agencies such as the Red Army Command and diplomatic representatives. This is nowhere more true than in the case of Soviet Russia's dealings with the German military authorities. The rulers of defeated Germany had been propelled towards an alliance with Bolshevik Russia by a common opposition to the victorious alliance of, principally, France and Britain, the so-called 'Versailles Powers'.

Poland, which sought guarantees from these two countries (especially France, as Germany's most immediate enemy) for its newly-born independence, inevitably became a target for chauvinist feeling in Germany, above all amongst the proto-Nazi radical and racist ultraright, and the more intransigent 'revanchists' of the Army High Command. Territorial adjustments (after a referendum) in Poland's favour in coal-rich eastern Silesia fanned this anti-Polish hatred even more. Those Poles left inside Germany's reduced frontiers felt the lash of this rekindled hostility. Many were subject

pied in the revolutionary movement - Marx and Engels had always been most outspoken in defence of its people's right to freedom - it might have been expected that Russia's communist rulers would have sided with the threatened and persecuted Poles in this conflict or, at the very least, remained neutral. State interests, it seems, determined otherwise. Quite rapidly, the Bolsheviks opted for a policy of supporting and even inciting German 'revanchism' against Poland, even to the extent of pursuing a military alliance to crush and then repartition the common enemy.

The Bolsheviks' public revolutionary stance and commitment to national self-determination (not to speak of their ringing denunciations of 'secret diplomacy') naturally inhibited the Soviet government's negotiations with the German army leaders. These were consequently conducted in some secrecy through intermediaries, one of whom was the Polish-born but Russified Bolshevik Karl Radek. Radek's proposals for an alliance of the two main anti-Versailles powers, principally directed against Poland, fell on receptive ears in the German High Command, as well as amongst leaders of industry.

Most enthusiastic of all was General Hans von Seeckt, by conviction a monarchist, but now, by circumstance, Chief of Staff of the new German Republic. Seeckt spoke for most advocates of the so-called 'eastern orientation' when he declared, at the height of the Russo-Polish

war: 'I refuse to support Poland, even at the risk of being swallowed up by Russia. On the contrary, I am counting on that. Even if we cannot now help Russia to restore its former frontiers we should certainly not obstruct it.'

Lenin looked with favour upon support for the anti-Polish cause amongst German monarchists. 'All Germany began to seethe,' he related in September 1920, 'when our forces approached Warsaw.' He enthused about the emergence in Germany of 'an unnatural bloc between the Black Hundreds (meaning the German monarchist and anti-semitic *ultra*-right R.B.) and the (German R.B.) Bolsheviks.' The basis of this 'bloc' between the German communists and their future executioners was their common opposition to the 'Versailles system'.

The failure of the final Red Army thrust against Warsaw led to many recriminations amongst the Bolshevik and military leaderships as to its causes. In one speech, Lenin admitted that the Polish victory had political causes. 'We have not been able to affect the industrial proletariat of Poland,' he said; Poland had been saved by an 'upsurge of patriotism'.

He related later, however, how a 'Polish worker' had reported to a Bolshevik meeting that 'the Warsaw workers looked to the Red Army as their liberator' and that they were 'waiting for the coming of the Russian army, which they regarded not as their enemy, but as their friend'. Whatever its origins, or reasons for its failure, Russia's march into Poland had ceased to be a defensive action. Its objective, in the final period of the battle for Warsaw, was to Sovietise Poland - 'Had Poland turned Soviet, had the Warsaw workers received from Soviet Russia help they awaited and welcomed, the Peace of Versailles would have been smashed, and the entire international system set up as a result of the victory over Germany would have collapsed.'

Moscow continued to look to Germany as an ally against Poland. 'Everything,' Lenin said, 'teaches us to look upon Germany as our most reliable ally. Germany wants revenge, and we want revolution.' Poland was to be the victim of both, as indeed it became when partitioned between Stalin and Hitler in 1939. But this too had its precedent in the early collusion of the German and Soviet General Staffs. At the climax of the fighting before Warsaw, Trotsky urged his opposite number, von Seeckt, to create an 'incident' in the 'Polish Corridor' separating East Prussia from the remainder of Germany, thereby providing Germany either the pretext to strike at Poland's rear whilst all its forces were engaged against the Red Army. In return, Russia would agree to partition a defeated Poland, restoring the pre-1914 frontier between itself and Germany.

The Chiefs of Staff of the German and Soviet armed forces had already entered into secret arrangements for military-technical collaboration, for the most part carried out on Soviet territory to avoid restrictions placed on German re-militarisation by the Versailles Treaty. German officers, experts and industrial firms (i.e. Krupp) assisted in the mechanisation of the

Red Army, whilst securing licenses to manufacture, on Soviet soil and in the strictest secrecy, military items such as poison gas (in violation of treaties entered into by both the Soviet and German governments).

Despite many oscillations and moments of crisis, the common thread running through Soviet policy towards Poland in the early years of Bolshevik rule was Lenin's readiness (and it seems he had the support of all his colleagues in this) to seek the active assistance of a revived German militarism (and even to help it revive) to break Poland's links with Western Europe; to participate in Poland's extinction as an independent state.

Few would deny that Soviet policy towards Poland, whatever its justifications, has resulted in the political attitudes that we see today. Almost the entire nation despises the Soviet-imposed communism no less than it hated a German-imposed fascism forty years ago.

The roots of Russia's Polish policy are exemplified in the following incident. In August 1920 a note was passed between two Communist Party leaders in Moscow. It concerned measures to be taken against Polish 'class enemies' in the course of the Red Army advance on Warsaw. Someone had suggested offering a bounty for every such Pole executed. One of the two Bolshevik leaders replied that it was 'a beautiful plan'.

'Finish it off together with Dzierzynski. Under the guise of "Greens" (and we will pin it on them later) we shall go forward for 10-20 verst and hang Kulaks, priests and landowners. Bounty: 100,000 roubles for each man hanged.' Dzierzynski, ironically a Pole, was the first chief of the Soviet political police, then called the Cheka, now the KGB. 'Greens' were irregular partisan units favouring neither the Bolsheviks nor the old rulers of Russia. **The author of the note was Lenin.**

This plan was concocted 20 years before the mass murder of more than ten thousand Polish army officers at Katyn in 1940 by Lenin's successors; and Stalin's calculated betrayal of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944, when he ordered the advancing Red Army to halt until the Nazis had exacted their terrible revenge on the city's freedom fighters, followed by the imposition at gunpoint of the same totalitarian system as that inflicted on the peoples of the Soviet Union a quarter of a century before, were also cast in the same Leninist mould. Can we wonder that Poles think as they do?

If any apologies need to be made, it is by those who, even to this day, uphold the policy of the early Soviet government towards Poland as justified. Yes, most Poles are nationalists. They do not look upon Russia as either a friend or a liberator. Neither do they subscribe to communism, whether in its Leninist or any other variant.

They have a right to expect that we should understand why.

Books

The following books about Solidarity and recent events in Poland can be obtained from: Polish Solidarity Campaign, 317 Eversleigh Road, London S.W.11.; please add postage (+); all profits go to PSC funds.

The Book of Lech Walesa, - 'a collective portrait by Solidarity members and critics - a Polish bestseller before the military takeover,' Penguin, £2.50 (+ 30p) *N. Ascherson 'The Polish August'* - Revised Edition, with Postscript on December 1981, Penguin, £2.95 (+ 35p); these two were published in March. *J. Taylor 'Five Months with Solidarity'*, Wildwood Ho., £2.95 (+ 30p) *P. Raina 'Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977'*, Poets & Painters Press, £6.00 (+ £1.00).

These and other publications will be reviewed in the next issue of PSC News.

Labour Party news

In our last issue, we reported, with alarm, the failure of the Labour Party NEC at its December 16th meeting to take a firm line in defence of the Polish workers in the wake of the military coup.

We are now pleased to report that, at its January meeting the International Committee passed a resolution - moved by Eric Heffer and seconded by Joan Lester - endorsing the Socialist International statement on Poland and supporting Solidarity's aim of a self-governing republic, as set out at its Congress. The crucial passage of the resolution reads: 'We further urge that all sections of the British labour movement refrain from any fraternal contact with the Polish United Workers' Party, or the official Polish trade-unions, whilst the military regime continues, whilst trade-unionists and other supporters of Solidarity are imprisoned, and whilst freedom of expression of trade-union organisation is banned.'

PSC hopes that this will be interpreted to mean that no representatives of the P.U.W.P. nor of the Polish state-run 'Unions' will be invited to this year's L.P. Conference, and that this principle will be extended so that neither will there be any invitations to the other ruling Communist parties of the Soviet Bloc nor to the other state-run 'unions' in the East. We have already begun campaigning on this, circulating Constituency Labour Parties with a model resolution to go to the NEC and PLP, and also with a model resolution on Poland to go to annual Conference (see below).

The International Committee also resolved to call a public meeting of the labour movement in London in support of the Polish workers.

The man who led the opposition to Eric Heffer's motion in defence of Solidarity in December, Sam McCluskie was said to be absent from this meeting. Maybe he was busy on the disgraceful article that appeared in 'Labour Weekly' on Jan. 29th in which he took the line of the Polish authorities in blaming the coup largely on 'forces both inside and outside (Poland) which had little to do with the legitimate aspiration for a free trade-union movement.'

The Labour Party rally will take place at 7.30 p.m. on Tuesday March 16th at Central Hall, Storey's Gate, Westminster S.W.1. Chaired by Joan Lester M.P., the speakers will be Eric Heffer M.P., Denis Healey M.P., Clive Jenkins (TUC), Roy Evans (ISTC), and Mr. Kowalewski from Solidarity's Lodz Praesidium and the Solidarity Working Group in Paris. We are surprised, to say the least, that Messrs. Jenkins and Evans should find themselves on this platform. While Mr. Jenkins is known for his equivocal attitude to free trade unions and democratic rights in the East, readers of PSC News (Jan. '82) will recall that Mr. Evans was amongst those who opposed Eric Heffer's motion in defence of Solidarity at December's NEC. PSC members should have no doubts: any opportunities for contributions from the floor will not go unmissed. It is also important that our readers should know that the Labour Party only agreed to invite a speaker from Solidarity after considerable pressure was brought to bear from influential quarters of the Party.

Finally, we are very disturbed at the lack of publicity for the rally. At the time of writing (just over a week before the rally) there has not even been an advertisement in 'Labour Weekly', and apparently interested callers are being referred by the Labour H.Q. to Vladimir Derer, of the Eastern European Solidarity Campaign.

Motion for L. P. Conference

This Conference deplores the declaration of martial law in Poland, and the attempt to crush the free trade union Solidarity. It calls upon the NEC to adopt the following demands:

- 1 The lifting of martial law in Poland.
- 2 The freeing of all internees and political prisoners
- 3 The restoration of all trade union and democratic rights won since August 1980
- 4 The return to Solidarity of all property confiscated by the military junta.
- 5 The re-instatement of all those dismissed for refusing to take the 'oath of loyalty' renouncing membership of Solidarity

This Conference also calls upon the NEC and all other sections of the British labour movement to break fraternal links with the official 'trade unions' and the ruling Communist parties of the Eastern Bloc, all of whom support the Polish military junta.

Motion to go to NEC and PLP

'This branch/C.L.P. (etc.) notes the recent N.E.C. statement in defence of Solidarity, in particular the following passage - 'We urge . . . that all sections of the British Labour movement refrain from any fraternal contact with either the Polish United Workers' Party or the official Polish Trade Unions, whilst the military regime continues, whilst trade unionists and other supporters of Solidarity are imprisoned and whilst freedom of expression of trade union organisation is banned'

We call upon the N.E.C. to adopt the following demands:

- 1) The lifting of martial law and the state of war in Poland
- 2) The freeing of all internees and political prisoners
- 3) The restoration of all trade union and democratic rights won since August 1980
- 4) The restoration to Solidarity of all property confiscated by the junta
- 5) The reinstatement of all those dismissed for refusing to take the oath of loyalty renouncing membership of Solidarity

Furthermore:

A) We note that the official 'unions' of the Soviet Bloc do not represent the workers of those countries, but are controlled by the state and that they all support the Polish military junta. They are not true partners of the British trade unions.

We therefore urge that all sections of the British labour movement break their fraternal links with them.

B) We note that the ruling Communist parties in the Soviet Bloc rule by force, not democratic consensus and that under their rule free trade unions have been suppressed and socialist and human rights activists imprisoned. We also note that these parties actively support the Polish military junta. These parties are not the true partners of a democratic socialist party such as ours.

We therefore urge the N.E.C. and all other sections of the Labour Party to sever all fraternal links with the ruling Communist Parties of the Soviet Bloc and in particular we demand that no representatives of these parties be invited to this year's Labour Party Conference, nor to any future Labour Conference, nor to any other Labour Party functions' (end of model resolution)

Peace Movement

The vast majority of the peace movement has maintained an embarrassed silence over the imposition of martial law in Poland with CND even-handedly opposing interference in Polish internal affairs by either the USA or the USSR. We print below a resolution passed by a meeting of the East-West Peace People and Green CND as it presents a marked contrast to the views of the larger peace groups.

'The imposition of military government and the

declaration of martial law in Poland is a gross invasion of human rights and has made the Cold War worse.

Before December 13th it was reasonable to hope that an independent peace movement might eventually emerge in Poland, making East-West opposition to NATO and the Warsaw Pact possible. This remains essential for the future and in the name of indivisibility of peace and freedom we support the demands of Solidarity for the end of martial law the release of prisoners and the restoration of human rights.'

Future events

A PSC exhibition - 'Solidarity with Poland' - at Lauderdale House, Waterlow Park, Highgate Hill, London, N.6., features photographs and posters illustrating the development of Solidarność in Poland before and after the coup, and other aspects of life in Poland. It is open from 11.00 to 15.00 hrs Tues-Fri; Sun 12.00-17.00; closed Mon + Sat. It continues there until 30th March and it is hoped the exhibition will visit other locations later. PSC demonstrators will be present at two football matches: on 11th March (Moscow Dynamos) and 7th April (Poland v. England under-21s at Upton Park). These matches will provide opportunities to

make our feelings known to the Soviet and Polish press. On 9th May, two runners, wearing Solidarity T-Shirts, will represent PSC at the London Marathon.

Weekly News Bulletin

The Solidarity Trade Union Working Group now publishes a regular weekly information bulletin based on Solidarity bulletins circulating in Poland. This is available on subscription for £5 for three months. Order from 64 Philbeach Gardens, SW15 (01-373 3492)

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