

## RADIO FREE EUROPE *Research*

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1. Plan Fulfillment 1980: A Marked Deterioration in the Polish Economy

The annual report on the fulfillment of the 1980 socio-economic plan, released recently by the Main Statistical Office (GUS -- Główny Urząd Statystyczny), (1) gives a clearer insight into the country's economic performance last year than has been the case in the past.

Because, however, of plan adjustments and corrections not previously announced, some of the data presented in the GUS report still do not lend themselves to easy comparisons with the previous corresponding periods. All the same, several aspects of the national economy, as reported by GUS, are particularly revealing as well as indicative of the problems facing the Polish economy.

a. National Income, Investments, and Industrial Performance. National income, scheduled to go up last year in fixed prices by between 1.4 to 1.8 per cent, was 4 per cent lower than in 1979, compounding the drop of 2 per cent recorded in 1979. The fact that consumption has increased at the same time by 1 per cent, can be accounted for partly by the change in the structure of imports, which favored consumer goods to the detriment of industrial inputs and partly by a reduction in inventories.

New investments were lower by 19 per cent than in 1979, (2) with only 60 per cent of planned investment projects actually commissioned. As a result of nonfulfillment of completion plans, frozen assets approached the figure of some 800,000 million zloty, of which 35,500 million zloty worth of machinery and equipment was stored for over six months, apparently not always in optimal conditions. Apparently, in view of the need for about 1,300,000 million zloty at 1978 prices to complete all the work in progress, further but undefined delays are unavoidable and will lead to a considerable waste of both resources and potential capacity. A typical example is the Katowice Foundry where stored equipment has already been assessed at 8,800 million zloty, (3) with further deliveries arriving as contracted which are not planned to be used.

Shortages of industrial inputs, together with industrial disputes have accounted for a 1.4 per cent drop of total production sold. Particularly felt was the loss of some 3,000 million kWh of

- (1) Trybuna Ludu, 5 February 1981.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Kurier Szczeciński, 26 November 1980.

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12,000,000 tons of hard coal, 716 tons of rolled steel, 651,000 tons of electric copper, 33,000 tons of aluminum, some cement and newsprint as well as many capital and consumer products such as meat, tractors, cars, and textiles.

What has further compounded Poland's problems is the fact that reductions in the quantity of production have been accompanied by an increase about 13 per cent in the total wage fund, and with the average monthly wage in the industrial socialized sector having gone up by as much as 14.4 per cent to 6,167 zloty. Such an addition to the population's purchasing power without a corresponding increase in the availability of consumer goods was bound to increase the already firmly established inflationary tendency, only slightly offset by the increase in the level of "forced savings" put aside in expectation of an improvement in market supply. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact rate of inflation in Poland, the GUS bulletin states that the increases in nominal pay have not always fully covered the jump in the costs of living, resulting in a lowering of living standards for substantial sections of the population.

b. Foreign Trade. Poland's foreign trade turnover in 1980 went up in current prices by 4.8 per cent over 1979 which, considering the price movements and unfavorable terms of trade for Poland, represents a lesser achievement than it appears at first. (4) The value of exports increased by 3.4 per cent over 1979 to 51,900 million exchange zloty, with imports at 57,600 million exchange zloty, an increase of 6.1 per cent. The deficit on the visible balance of payments, however, went up to 5,700 million exchange zloty, or 39 per cent over the 1979 figure of 4,125 million exchange zloty. The trade deficit with the socialist countries amounted to 3,000 million exchange zloty in contrast to a surplus of over 1,000 million exchange zloty in 1979, mainly signifying the increased measure of Soviet aid to Poland. The overall balance of payments deficit with the capitalist countries was reduced to 2,700 million exchange zloty compared to the 1979 deficit of 5,200 million. The decline in the deficit was achieved through increasing exports while holding imports to their 1979 level. Exports were valued at 23,500 million exchange zloty, about 10 per cent below the planned target, and imports at 24,200 million exchange zloty (fob), just equal to the value of 1979. (5)

Because of the country's difficult supply situation, particularly in the second half of the year, the resultant additional purchases in the West of industrial inputs, grain, fodders, and consumer goods, brought the current account deficit with Western countries to 2,200 million exchange zloty, 3 times the initially planned figure of some 700,000,000 exchange zloty.

- (4) Export prices to the capitalist and socialist countries increased by 12.4 and 4.9 per cent, respectively, with the corresponding imports having gone up by 12.7 and 6.8 per cent.
- (5) Rynki Zagraniczne and Trybuna Ludu, 22 January 1981.

Table 1

Plan Fulfillment in 1980

Categories	Index of Change, 1979=100
National Income	ca. 96.0
Value of gross fixed assets	104.0
Consumption, material per capita	ca. 100.0
Personal wage fund	112.6
Nominal wages	112.8
Cost of living	ca. 110.0
Retail sales	100.6
Exports	95.7
Imports	97.2
Capital investment in socialized economy	89.5
Production sold in socialized economy	98.7
Basic production in socialized construction	90.6
Agricultural Production, total	90.4
grain	84.8
animal	96.7
Transportation, socialized economy	99.7
Employment, socialized economy	99.9
Housing, socialized economy	81.0

Table 2

<u>Selected Production Figures for 1980</u>			
Commodity	Unit	1980 Production	Increase over 1979
Hard Coal	1,000,000 tons	193.1	- 3.9 %
Electricity	1,000 million kWh	121.9	+ 3.7 %
Steel	1,000,000 tons	19.5	+ 1.4 %
Copper	1,000 tons	357.3	+ 6.4 %
Cars	1,000	351.4	+ 0.5 %
Trucks	1,000	47.3	- 6.5 %
Buses	1,000	12.8	- 4.7 %
Tractors (twin axled)	1,000	57.5	+ 5.9 %
Ships (over 100-DWT)	1,000 DWT	392.2	- 34.9 %
Fertilizers	1,000 tons	2,239	- 7.4 %
Cement	1,000,000 tons	18.4	- 3.8 %
Raw Meat	1,000 tons	2,457	- 4.0 %
Sugar	1,000 tons	1,067	- 32.7 %



Table 3

Annual Rate of Pay Increases in Corresponding Periods in 1980 (in zloty)				
Sector	Average Wage in 1980	Increase over 1979	Average Wage 4th Quarter 1979	Increase 4th Quarter 1979
Industry	6,174	14.5 %	6,898	20.3 %
Construction	6,330	11.5 %	7,204	21.3 %
Commerce	4,667	12.5 %	5,308	21.9 %
Agriculture (socialized)	5,819	10.0 %	6,400(1)	16.2 %
Local Government	5,876	15.5 %	6,571	23.6 %
Education	4,865	10.0 %	5,872	26.9 %
Health and Social Care	4,716	12.2 %	5,731	35.4 %
State Administration	5,642	7.1 %	6,183(2)	9.5 %
(1) Does not include payments out of the state farms (PGR) premium fund.				
(2) In state administration, as well as in agriculture, pay increases were granted in November and they thus influenced the average pay for the last quarter in 1980 to a lesser extent than in the other sectors where the round of increases had taken place in October.				

Table 4

Market Supply of Meat and Meat Products (in 1,000 tons)		
	1980 Supply	Increase over 1979
Pork	348.1	- 8.1 %
Beef	248.0	+ 11.1 %
Poultry and Poultry Products	331.8	+ 7.2 %
Tinned Meat	84.3	- 9.8 %
Sausages	653.7	- 1.2 %
Sausages produced from Offal	102.7	- 0.1 %
Total	2,028.1	+ 1.1 %
Note: Direct meat supplies to hospitals, rest homes, the army, and to the public catering sector are not included.		

Tables 1 to 5 are based on those published in the GUS report, Trybuna Ludu, 5 February 1981.

Table 5

Production and Yield of Agricultural Produce				
	Production in 1,000 Tons		Yield in Quintals per Ha	
	1980	Increase over 1979	1980	Increase over 1979
Wheat	4.2	+ 0.3 %	26.0	+ 3.7 %
Rye	6.6	+ 26.2 %	21.6	+ 19.3 %
Barley	3.4	- 8.5 %	25.8	+ 1.6 %
Oats	2.2	+ 2.9 %	22.6	+ 13.0 %
Potatoes	26.4	- 46.8 %	113.0	- 44.3 %
Sugar Beets	10.4	- 26.7 %	226.0	- 27.3 %
Total Grains	16.4	+ 107.2 %	23.5	+ 107.3 %

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Poland's total hard currency indebtedness is estimated to have risen to 23,000 million dollars or 70,200 million exchange zloty.

What had a particularly detrimental effect on Poland's foreign trade figures last year was the necessity to reduce exports of many hard currency earners, especially hard coal. Last year's exports at 31,000,000 tons were more than 25 per cent lower than the figure for 1979, causing an income loss of about 1,000 million exchange zloty. Exports of brown coal, coke, cement, aluminum, caustic soda, synthetic rubber, textiles, sugar, and meat and meat products were also cut.

Poland was forced to increase imports of a variety of industrial and consumer products with the main item being grain and fodder: 9,000,000 tons in all at a cost of 5,600 million exchange zloty.

c. Agriculture. It has been assessed that total agricultural production last year went down in fixed prices by some 9.6 per cent, with animal production having declined by 3.3 per cent and crop production by 15.2 per cent, the latter mainly a result of climatic conditions that caused floods on over 1,700,000 ha of agricultural land.

Particularly serious for the economy, and the reason for the increased imports of fodder, was the poor potato and sugar beet harvest, down 23,200,000 tons or 46.8 per cent and 3,800,000 tons or 26.7 per cent, respectively.

The bulletin merely refers to the increased production sold by the socialized sector, an increase of about 5 per cent over 1979. No reference is made to the part played by the private peasant in feeding the nation outside the state procurement channels, which are increasingly less efficient and less profitable.

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## 2. New-Znak Group Gets Its Own Organization and Changes Name

By mid-January a new social organization had entered the Polish sociopolitical scene: the Polish Catholic Social Union (Polski Związek Katolicko-Spoleczny or PZKS). The organization is sponsored by a Catholic group known as neo-Znak. Its activities have been conducted primarily through the Znak parliamentary circle (6) -- at the last Sejm session on February 12 the group's spokesman Zbigniew Zielinski announced it would change its official name to the PZKS parliamentary group -- and the Documentation and Social Studies Center (Polish acronym: ODiSS), both led by Janusz Zablocki. It was launched as a nationwide organization, centrally directed from Warsaw but entitled to set up local chapters. Its formal registration, which took place on January 12 in Warsaw, was first made public 10 days later (7) in a terse PAP communiqué that left most questions about its role and nature unanswered.

a. The PZKS Starts Operations. What then, are the real goals of the new union described as "Catholic Social"? The original PAP dispatch referred to it rather vaguely as a "Catholic organization wishing to work independently, though in connection with the episcopate," in line with the social teachings of the Church. In its founders' view, expounded somewhat later, (8) setting up the organization at this particular moment "bore out the fact that the Polish Catholic forces and the values they represented wished to accelerate the process of normalization of Polish life in its true democratic shape." Was there any need to add a new organization for that purpose to the existing spectrum of Catholic groups that range from Pax on the Left to the independent Znak on the Right? More relevant information was provided soon in the form of a surprisingly frank interview with two leading neo-Znak

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- (6) The five neo-Znak deputies in the present Sejm (elected in March 1980) are Wacław Auleytner (Kalisz constituency), a social activist and member of the Polish Club of Catholic Intelligentsia (Pol-KIK); Rudolf Buchala (Katowice), a scientific worker at the Silesian Scientific Institute in Katowice; Jerzy Ozdowski (Poznań), who is a professor, an economist, and Deputy Chairman of the ODiSS Social Council; Janusz Zablocki (Częstochowa), the Director of the ODiSS and chairman of the neo-Znak groups; and Zbigniew Zielinski (Bydgoszcz), General Manager of Libella Social Industry Association.
- (7) Radio Warsaw II, 22 January 1981, 1930 hours. The message was repeated the next day in a slightly expanded version in Trybuna Ludu and the Pax daily Slowo Powszechne.
- (8) PAP 6 in english, 29 January 1981.



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activists, Doctors Zygmunt Drozdek and Maciej Letowski. (9) In their view, the PZKW was set up as a purely "social and educational" organization, not intent on pursuing any political goals (unlike, for example, the Christian Democratic Party in the GDR). This alleged apolitical character of the new union was made somewhat less credible, however, by the admission that its founders' ambition was to bring about what was termed a viable Polish version of the Italian Eurocommunist "historic compromise." Such a compromise in Poland would be based on the close cooperation of all three essential "forces that count in the country's life," i.e., the PUWP, Solidarity, and the Catholic circles "leaning upon the Church," with the party given the leading part in that strange trio. Queried about their association's relations with the other Catholic groups, the respondents Drozdek and Letowski denied trying to make converts, let alone trying to "engulf" these groups into their organization. What mattered was a more efficient mobilization of the still dormant "reserves of social initiative" within Catholic circles which, in their opinion, lacked "proper organization." There was allegedly "room enough for all."

A more explicit declaration of its programs and the first concrete sample of its style of work were provided early in February at the organization's first plenary meeting in Warsaw. To judge from the scarce press reports available, (10) the statement adopted at that meeting called for a prompt creation of what is termed the "appropriate mechanisms" for a constructive dialogue between the government and the independent trade unions, allowing for reconciliation of differing views through "matter-of-fact negotiations" based on mutual respect rather than open confrontation. To this effect, the PZKS offered its good services as a mediator between the two sides, to help establish "mutual confidence." In its role of self-styled mediator, the PZKS urged the government to be more "consistent, resolute, and immediate" in implementing the agreements concluded with workers last fall and Solidarity to consider strikes only as a "means of last resort." The statement also called on the Sejm to adopt a firm and decisive stance on the matter soon. To stress its allegiance to the Church, the PZKS dispatched telegrams of unspecified content to Pope John Paul II and to the Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński.

The meeting also decided upon the PZKS's organization and personnel. It established a nine-man presidium, which includes practically all those involved to date in neo-Znak and ODiSS work. It is presided over by Zablocki, whose three deputies are Ryszard Bender, Jan Boguszewski, and Zygmunt Drozdek, Deputy Prime Minister Jerzy Ozdowski, and Wiesław Auleytner, another leading activist, remain in the background as simple presidium members. A 33-member Program Council is headed by Professor Czesław Strzeszewski, who

(9) The interview was given in December, but appeared in Kurier Polski only several weeks later (30 January - 1 February 1981).

(10) Głos Pracy, 3 February 1981.



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possibly also acts as the group's contact man with the episcopate (he is reputed to be on good personal terms with the primate). The meeting also decided to set up 20 provincial chapters in various Polish towns. It should be noted that, according to the Drozdek-Letowski interview mentioned above, there were already 10 such chapters in December including branches in the Tricity (Baltic Coast), Katowice (Silesia), Cracow (southern Poland), and Bydgoszcz and Plock (north central Poland).

b. A Challenge for Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs? Setting up an all-Polish Catholic organization has been an idée fixe with Zablocki for nearly a decade. As early as 1973 he called for such a move, but he went unanswered. He made a second try in 1976 after the split within Znak became apparent. According to the Kurier Polski cited above, the authorities again declined his plea, permitting only the formation of what became known as Pol-KIK, a club of Catholic intellectuals in Warsaw, with the qualification "Polish" to distinguish it from the five existing KIK clubs affiliated with Znak since 1967 (in Warsaw, Cracow, Wroclaw, Poznan, and Torun). Zablocki's efforts, however, proved largely futile. His Pol-KIK never really gained ground in Warsaw where it was hardly in a position to challenge the influential, over 2,000-strong "true" KIK. Zablocki's later attempts to set up similar splinter groups in Lublin and in Lodz and to penetrate the Poznan group also produced no lasting results.

Zablocki's long-standing feud with the independent Catholic clubs took on a new dimension later in 1976 when he actively helped the regime to try to suffocate the clubs by cutting off modest private income KIKs derived from Libella, a group of several small chemical factories. (11) Despite nation-wide Catholic protest, Zablocki then succeeded in diverting all of the "Libella" funds to his organization; were it not for the episcopate's help in meeting their financial needs, the clubs would long have had to be disbanded. Far from giving up, KIKs gained new importance last year, when they supplied a number of experts to advise the nascent free union movement, and were instrumental in negotiating the terms of the historic agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie last fall. Later on, practically all local KIK offices were turned for months into improvised union centers, making scores of prospective union founders familiar with the intricacies of legal and organizational provisions involved in setting up new chapters. The prestige enjoyed by the organization by then was so high that Catholic communities in a number of other towns applied to local authorities for registration of new KIKs there. By the last count in mid-January, there were more than a dozen newly founded clubs all over the country, in addition to the old ones; i.e., in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Elblag on the Baltic Coast; Olsztyn in the north;

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(11) Withdrawal of financial support from Libella was part of the regime's retaliatory measures against Znak, following open opposition in the Sejm by Professor Stanislaw Stomma, then a leading Znak representative, to proposed changes in the Polish constitution.

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Bialystok in the northeast, Walbrzych in the west, Krosno, Katowice, Sosnowiec, Tarnow, Czestochowa, Nowy Sacz, in the south; and Kielce in central Poland.

Can Zablocki succeed in his attempt to pass his organization off as legitimately representative of the Catholic community at large, allegedly working hand in hand with the bishops, and open to "initiatives" from below? Despite the official blessing and support given to the new Catholic venture, this appears highly improbable. The bishops, who seldom denounce any Catholic initiative not directly interfering with Church doctrine and organization, apparently also took a tolerant stance this time, pronouncing themselves neither for nor against it. The independent lay groups simply chose to ignore the fact: neither of the Znak-operated periodicals so much as even mentioned it. Meanwhile, various Catholic circles associated with Tygodnik Powszechny, Znak, and Wiesz, as well as the 13 Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs then in existence, sent their representatives to Warsaw on December 6 and 7 (12) to deliberate on possible forms of common action in the future. The meeting's goal to delineate clearly the movement's sphere of influence, was certainly achieved. At the other end of the Catholic spectrum, the organization also seems determined not to recognize the PZKS' role, understandably seeing in it a possible challenge to its own long-time monopoly as a self-appointed mediator between the Church and the state authorities.

Nevertheless, even if ostracized by the Right and the Left, and groping in vain for any semblance of popular support, the PZKS certainly has a good number of points to press its cause effectively. Its status as an all-Polish organization with a regular network of field chapters gives it a certain advantage over KIK, which lacks a strong coordinating and programming sector. What is more, not being limited to intellectual circles as the KIKs are, the PZKS could influence the peasants in the countryside and the workers and artisans in urban areas. An additional point is the official permission for the union to publish its own fortnightly paper available in all newsstands since mid-February. Entitled Lad /Order/, it is the official version of the group's former internal bulletin of the same name and is published by ODiSS (circulation 20,000) with Zablocki as the editor-in-chief. The new pseudo-Znak venture may thus be more of a challenge to KIK than would appear at the first glance. The first ominous signs indicating that are already perceptible; on January 21 two applications by KIK to register new clubs in Tarnow and Krosno in southern Poland were reportedly turned down by the local authorities on the grounds that there already were local PZKS chapters in the area which purportedly presented a more suitable field for Catholic activity. As the goals listed in KIK statutes were "identical" with those of the PZKS, the voivodship offices responsible for registration of new organizations decreed that admitting two organizations of the same kind in a given area would be contrary to established practice. The voivodship offices' ruling can be appealed to the Minister of the Interior within two weeks. A definitive refusal to register the two KIKs could set a gloomy precedent.

E. C. C.

### 3. Renaissance of the Rural Youth Union

In the midst of the many developments toward pluralism in Poland, it is easy to overlook those that at first glance do not seem to come from the mainspring of unrest. This is the case with the rural youth movement whose sense of identity, motivation, and spirit has long been underestimated, not least by the Polish United Workers' Party. Since the summer, young people in villages all over the country have spontaneously come together to form their own societies independent of the official structures imposed from above. Many of them have adopted the name of the Rural Youth Union (RYU), harking back to the traditions and ideology of the movement that bore the name before the Second World War.

a. The Origins of the Movement. The Union of Rural Youth, Wici, was an educational and cultural organization founded in 1928 in the independent Republic of Poland. (13) In cooperation with the Peasant Party, it promoted agrarian policies for the countryside and encouraged the cooperative system and self-government for peasant farmers as a way toward rural development. During the war, Wici organized the Peasant Battalions which, as part of the underground Home Army, earned themselves a glorious place in the annals of Polish history. After the communist takeover Wici was forcibly incorporated into the Stalinist Polish Youth Union and lost its identity. With the thaw of 1956 when Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power the organization was reconstituted as the Rural Youth Union. It was, of course, still subordinated to the so-called "ideological leadership" of the PUPP and its vassal-partner the United Peasants' Party (UPP), but it had at least the merit of representing broader rural aspirations.

During the Giersek years youth policy was oriented toward conformity of outlook and organizational uniformity. A first step in this direction was the addition of the adjective "socialist" to the name of the TYU in February 1973. One month later the SRYU, together with the other existing youth organizations, (14) was incorporated into the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth (FSUPY), ostensibly an umbrella structure but which was, in fact, intended to impose standard policies on all its member unions. In 1976 the SRYU was finally eliminated by its merger with the Socialist Youth Union (SYU) and the Socialist Military Youth Union (SMYU) into the Socialist Polish Youth Union (SPYU). Admittedly, a Council of Rural Youth and a Council of Military Youth were set up within the SPYU leadership, but the former soon lost touch completely with the true interests and

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(13) Wici means a bunch of twigs, the symbol traditionally carried by the official messengers who proclaimed the call to arms throughout the country.

(14) The Socialist Youth Union, the Socialist Military Youth Union, the Socialist Union of Polish Students, and the Polish Scouts Union.



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aspirations of the people it was supposed to represent. Instead, stereotyped and often irrelevant activities and meaningless propaganda campaigns were imposed, and bureaucratic formalism replaced authentic initiative. The results was that young people living in the countryside could find no purpose in life. Caught between the attractions of urban civilization and their rural roots, many of them became social misfits. Their social awareness sank so low that they no longer even felt the need for social or cultural activities. Some 80 per cent of the rural youth did not belong to any organization. (15) They were given no social education on how to be a part of a community, and as a result the quality of country life as a whole has suffered. Professional and social discrimination has led to the gradual withering of the farmer's traditional dignity and self-respect. (16)

b. A Second Change. The great social awakening brought on by the events of last summer was also felt in the countryside. Shaking off their apathy, young villagers were emboldened to take matters into their own hands and simply transformed their old SPYU into new RYU circles, revived their premerger RYU activities (in some villages these circles had unofficially continued as such), or formed completely new RYU circles. The first groups were formed at Warsaw University (RYU Wici); in Cracow, Tarnow, and Nowy Sacz (RYU); and in Belsko-Biala (RYU of the Polish People's Republic Wici). Official policy was to ignore their existence on a national scale while applying pressure on the local scale to discourage such spontaneous developments and cow their instigators into subordination. In the tiny village of Bogumilowice, Tarnow Voivodship, which was significantly the parish of Wincenty Witos, (17) local party and administration officials and SPYU authorities tried to browbeat young activists into submission, trying to scare them with lack of funds and facilities and popular ridicule. The RYU circle succeeded, however, in drawing new members and mobilizing them to new activities. The former local SPYU chairman stepped down in favor of a younger colleague because, in his own words, the new man was "untainted." Instead of the 17 former SPYU members, the group now has 26 full members and numerous supporters. A cultural and sports tournament was organized between Bogumilowice and a neighboring village, and instead of spending time in the discotheques and playing cards in the local club room, plans are being made to speed the completion of the schoolhouse which has been under construction since 1974. Moreover, the older generations of peasants, remembering their former

(15) Iza Wajszczuk, Trybuna Ludu, 19 January 1981.

(16) See Witold Pawlowski's interview with Waldemar Swirgon "The Peasant's Place in the Nation," Zycie Warszawy, 4 February 1981; and Elzbieta Borek, "We Want Them Finally To Treat Us Seriously," Gazeta Krakowska, 5 January 1981.

(17) Leader of the Polish Peasants' Party after World War I and Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland from 1920 to 1921, in 1923, and in 1926.



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ideals, have given their support to the RYU. News that the movement was being revived in other parts of the country finally brought the parish first PUWP secretary around to the side of the youth. (18)

The FSUPY authorities, however, continued to cling to their monopoly over youth activities. On 12 October 1980 the SPYU's Council of Rural Youth produced some belated self-criticism, admitting that the SPYU had not succeeded in looking after the interests of the young rural population and stressing that economic, cultural, and social disparities between town and country must be bridged. (19) On October 22 the UPP daily Dziennik Ludowy published the first mention of a possible revival of the RYU in a report on a meeting held in Cracow of young representatives of the UPP with former RYU and Wici activists. It was stated at that meeting that the rural membership of the SPYU had dropped dramatically since it expropriated the RYU, which proved that it was unsuited to the realities of country life. The UPP daily encouraged youth all over the country to discuss the kind of organization it would like to have. Meanwhile, the SPYU authorities still refused to admit defeat and issued an open letter calling on rural youth to initiate the necessary reforms within the structure and programs of the SPYU. (20)

This appeal went unheeded. The Wici group at Warsaw University grew in number and influence. Its chairman, Waldemar Swirgon, a senior assistant at the Institute of International Relations, claimed that rural youth had also been neglected and discriminated against by SUPS, the official students' union. His organization, which already comprised over 80 members and 300 supporters in November, was dedicated to defending the interests of the rural population and putting an end to discrimination against them. It intended to act as an "early warning system against the development of social inequities." Swirgon rejected the suggestion that by splitting the unity of the youth organization he was further weakening the movement, which was already in serious difficulties, claiming that artificial unity built on foundations that were not homogenous could only result in the collapse of the entire edifice. (21)

On 3 December 1980 a nationwide meeting was convened in Warsaw for representatives of RYU circles. Over 200 delegates attended. The SPYU authorities apparently attempted to sabotage

(18) Borek, op. cit.

(19) Trybuna Ludu, 13 October 1980.

(20) Ibid., 31 October 1980.

(21) In an interview with Zuzanna Csato, Express Wieczorny, 14 November 1980.

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the meeting by bringing in their own agitprop activists to undermine support for the RYU leaders by questioning their motives and connections. (22) After a stormy exchange, the old SPYU guard was thrown out of the meeting, which proceeded to found "an independent, ideological, educational, and political organization of working, learning, and studying rural youth" which is to be called the Rural Youth Union until the first national congress determines its name, aims, and statutes. An interim National Board was set up with Swirgon as chairman and Kazimierz Janik from Zamosc as secretary. The meeting also adopted a resolution stating the principal aims and character of the new organization as continuation of the rural youth movement's 50 years' of ideals and traditions, as well as its determination to act in accordance with the Constitution of the PPR. It acknowledged the party's leading role in the building of socialism and stressed that it did not desire to divide Polish youth but rather to maintain relations with other organizations on a "partnership basis" in the spirit of "generational unity" (as opposed to the organizational unity of the FSUPY). (23) Present at the meeting were two eminent agricultural experts, Franciszek Kolbusz from the Cracow Agriculture Academy and Dyzma Galaj from the Polish Academy of Sciences. Both of them lent their support to the RYU. Professor Kolbusz informed those present that he had sent a telegram to First Secretary Stanislaw Kania asking that the authorities allow rural youth to set up their own organization. (24) Characteristically, officials of the SPYU presented the meeting in a somewhat different light, claiming that it had been called by its own Council of Rural Youth, which had invited RYU activists to Warsaw for consultations," and they accused the RYU guests of uncivil behavior unworthy of social respect. (25)

In retaliation the SPYU expelled six RYU activists who until then had been members of the Main Board of its Council of Rural Youth: Jozef Mokrzycki, Adam Woznica, Kazimierz Janik, Mieczyslaw Lagoda, Czeslaw Wojtera, and Kazimierz Dlugosz. (26) On December 22 the SPYU Main Board drew up a list of guidelines "for the renewal of sociopolitical life and progress in the countryside." Predictably, they included a purge of the ranks ("verification"); efforts to increase industrial production for the needs of the agricultural sector and village communities; support of rural self-government; aid to young people in setting up their own farms; efforts to improve the educational, cultural, and social

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(22) Pawlowski, op. cit.

(23) Sztandar Mlodych and Zycie Warszawy, 5 December 1980.

(24) Mieczyslaw Maciejak, "Market Place or the Credibility of Shouting," Walka Mlodych, 14 December 1980.

(25) Ibid., and j. g., "Viewpoints," ibid.

(26) Walka Mlodych, 21 December 1980.

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facilities in rural areas; and initiation of a national campaign for the benefit of the countryside and its population. (27)

Almost a month passed, however, before the existence of the RYU was officially recognized. On 13 January 1981 the Chairman of the UPP, Stanislaw Gucwa, received a delegation of RYU representatives who informed him that there were already some 1,000 RYU circles in existence in 32 voivodships. Gucwa expressed his appreciation and promised UPP support. (28) Criticism of the UPP's excessive submissiveness to the PUWP and its loss of contact with true rural aspirations, including its neglect of rural youth problems, had already been leveled at UPP voivodship conferences throughout the country. On January 17 a meeting of RYU representatives was held in Warsaw with CC Secretary Stanislaw Gabrielski in attendance. The meeting was described as an "ideological conference" and many former rural and youth activists were also invited. (29) These facts would seem to indicate that the authorities are striving to ensure that the young rural activists keep within certain ideological and administrative limits and remain within both the UPP's and the party's sphere of influence. The joint guidelines on agriculture issued on January 19 by the Politburo and the UPP made reference to the re-emergence of the RYU, thus officially admitting its de facto existence. On January 30 Minister of Agriculture Leon Klonica (30) met with Swirgon and other national RYU leaders who presented the demands of the young rural community. (31)

c. The Future. Voivodship conferences are under way, pending the First National Congress, which is to be held from 27 February to 1 March 1981 in Warsaw. The first such conference was held in Cracow on January 25. (32) In recent interviews Swirgon has come across as an outspoken, determined defender of what might be called rural rights. In the student paper itd (33) he criticized the "ideological fiction" that had been created by the SPYU. "We want to find social ills, not God," he said. He stressed the achievements of the prewar Wici organization, "which had made such a deep impression on the consciousness of Poland's rural population," and said that the new RYU pinned its hopes on the traditions of Wici. He rejected suggestions that the RYU was little more than an adjunct to the UPP and claimed that it would remain independent, keeping its distance from all political organizations while remaining comfortably within the limits of the current political structure. Admitting that the new RYU was

(27) PAP, 23 December 1980.

(28) Dziennik Ludowy, 14 January 1981.

(29) Trybuna Ludu, 19 January 1981.

(30) Now replaced by Jerzy Wojtecki.

(31) Radio Warsaw, 30 January 1981, 1900 hours.

(32) PAP in English, 2 February 1981, and Radio Warsaw, 25 January 1981, 1900 hours.

(33) Witold Pawlowski, ". . . They Say Various Things About Us," itd, 25 January 1981.



being born not without organizational confusion at the grass level, Swirgon noted that there were already 1,500 circles in existence; and he justified his optimism for the future by saying that the rural youth knew best what was good for them and they wanted and that this would be the guarantee of authenticity, even if they were somewhat unskilled in organizational matters. The leaders of the SPYU had been well versed in political realities and expert at politicizing but totally incompetent to look after rural interests.

The same optimistic tone was apparent in a second interview given by Swirgon to Pawlowski 10 days later. (34) He claimed that the RYU had "filled a void" in the countryside where all organizational life had been dead, reduced, as it were, to filling slots for SPYU activists. As for future programs, he believed that the principal task was to work toward raising rural Poland to a level compatible with that of the rest of the country in all spheres of life. It was time to stop treating the countryside as simply "a settlement of producers," for it should be a vital part of the national community. The population should have "the moral and political right to express its opposition to any actions contrary to its interests," including "the organization of a protest for a responsible revolt." In this context, according to Swirgon, the task of the RYU would be to rebuild confidence and a sense of unity among the rural population and to convince urban dwellers that the problems of the countryside are also their problems.

A. S.

#### 4. Highlights of the Labor Negotiations: February 5 to 13

The following four papers were issued between February 5 and 13. They are given here in their original form.

February 5. Negotiations between a government commission headed by Deputy Minister of Administration, Local Economy, and Environment Czeslaw Kotela and an Interfactory Strike Committee in Bielsko-Biala headed by Patrycjusz Kosmowski broke down on February 4, ostensibly over the strikers' demands for the dismissal of a number of regional and local officials on charges of corruption and abuse of office. The immediate cause of the breakdown was not clear. It is known, however, that the governor and three deputy governors of the province had earlier submitted their resignations to Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski in the wake of the accusations against them and that the negotiating partners had been awaiting word of their acceptance by the government. According to Radio Warsaw, (35) the government's position was relayed to the strike committee by Deputy Minister Kotela on February 3 after telephone consultations with Pinkowski in Warsaw. In Kotela's words:

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(34) Zycie Warszawy, op. cit.

(35) 3 February 1981, 2200 hours.



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The Chairman of the Council of Ministers has received resignations from the governor and deputy governors. The resignations will be examined in accordance with the regulations contained in the law on the people's councils. On January 30 of this year the voivodship people's council expressed the view that disciplinary action should be taken against people guilty of improprieties. In some matters, recommendations will be sent to the Prosecutor General's office and to the Supreme Control Chamber. . . .

The prime minister wishes to review such personnel matters but in conditions of calm and order and not excitement and emotion. We therefore address an appeal to the Interfactory Strike Committee in Bielsko to stop the strike and to start production. . . .  
[It is] the prime minister's view that the strike. . . is not justified in terms of the problems created by it and its consequences for the life of the country and region. The government is of the opinion that this strike is contrary to the spirit of the Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie agreements and its consequences are the responsibility of the strike committee in Bielsko-Biala. . . .  
The [government] commission expects a response [to this statement] from the Interfactory Strike Committee.

Following Kotela's presentation, Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa, who has been participating in the negotiations, proposed that the talks be postponed until Wednesday, February 4. Then, early on Wednesday afternoon, Western news agencies reported that the negotiations had broken down. They said that a communiqué had been issued by strike headquarters to all enterprises involved advising them of this fact. The communiqué reportedly told them to increase food supplies and blankets at the enterprises, to strengthen the number of workers now occupying the plants, and in the event of communications failure to "go ahead with a total sit-in strike." The agencies also said that Walesa had sent telexes to Solidarity's offices throughout the country informing them of the impasse and saying that the strikes in Bielsko-Biala would continue. According to these agency reports, Walesa advised the union membership not to make any new demands, but to be alert and "should an attack by force be made on Bielsko and communications broken, to organize Solidarity sit-in strikes" (36) nationwide.

It is not clear why Walesa issued this warning, for information coming from Poland indicates that there are no signs that the use of force is being contemplated (37) by the government at the

(36) The New York Times, 5 February 1981. See also UPI and Reuter of the same date.

(37) Ibid.

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present time. In fact, despite an evident stiffening in the authorities' attitude toward the strikers' demands, the country's top leaders continue to reiterate that they will remain patient and seek a solution through political means. Moreover, negotiations in other areas of the country are continuing although the results to date are very uneven. In Lodz, for example, it was announced that Minister of Higher Education Janusz Gorski had agreed to register an "independent association of students" by February 16 and that the atmosphere of the talks with the striking students had "considerably improved."

On the other hand, the talks in Jelenia Gora have apparently followed the pattern set in Bielsko-Biala. AP and UPI have reported that the talks were broken off on February 5 and that the government commission has returned to Warsaw. (39) Like the strikers in Bielsko-Biala, those in Jelenia Gora are insisting on the dismissal of a number of government officials, although their demands go beyond the regional level and include the ouster of the minister in charge of trade union affairs, Stanislaw Ciosek. The breakdown in negotiations comes one day after a statement by government commission head Jan Jablonski that agreement had been reached on almost all the issues under discussion. (40) Meanwhile, talks continue in Rzeszow, the headquarters of the campaign for the registration of a private peasants' union. Little progress has been reported, but the strikes are still in abeyance, and several members of the government commission there have apparently reached a tentative accord on some issues with a small group of hunger strikers in the village of Ustrzyki Dolne, which is south of Rzeszow. (41)

The breakdown of negotiations in two provinces, whatever the precise cause, seems to demonstrate the government's sensitivity about growing demands for the dismissal of corrupt officials. Western and official sources have provided evidence that charges similar to those made in southwestern Poland could easily be made throughout the country. To avoid this situation, which would be highly embarrassing and politically dangerous for the party, the authorities are apparently digging in their heels in an effort to localize the problem and prevent it from spreading.

There is, however, a somewhat broader context within which these developments may be viewed. Since January 29 the party and government have visibly been taking a tougher stance toward Solidarity and the strikers. On that date, it should be recalled, the government issued a statement threatening unspecified action to ensure law and order and to keep enterprises and factories running should the wave of strikes and the attendant "chaos and anarchy" continue. Since then further warnings have been given,

(38) Radio Warsaw, 4 February 1981, 2200 hours.

(39) 5 February 1981.

(40) Radio Wroclaw, 4 February 1981.

(41) AP, 5 February 1981.

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for example, by PUWP First Secretary Stanislaw Kania and Politburo member Stefan Olszowski, saying in effect that certain limits could not be overstepped, that certain demands could not be accepted, and that official tolerance for inadmissible behavior was stretching thin. Even the public prosecutor's office was called upon in this effort, and it responded with a lengthy statement listing the laws that had been violated by Solidarity strikers and the possible penalties that could be meted out because of it.

In line with this harder policy, the Council of Ministers recently issued a decree, which is to go into effect on February 6, regulating strike pay. According to the decree, under most circumstances striking workers will receive only 50 per cent of their pay for any strike period. Even this, however, will be contingent on three conditions: 1. that the strike be in accordance with national union statutes; 2. that seven days written notice be given enterprise managements before the strike; and 3. that the workers make up for lost time after the strike is over. The first condition is apparently an effort to rule out so-called political strikes, although it is difficult to ascertain how it would be determined that any particular strike is political in nature.

Despite the fact that the government has stated that the decree is a temporary measure, valid only until the Sejm has regulated the matter by law, Solidarity may claim with good reason that it is another example of the government's lack of consultation with the union. Moreover, it would seem that the union will have considerable incentive to challenge the authorities over the issue, since its rank and file members are already reportedly angry over the NCC's agreement last weekend to have the workers make up for the time lost on January 10 and 24, which the Solidarity leadership unilaterally declared work-free Saturdays. In addition, by requiring strikes to be in conformity with national union statutes, the decree could be setting the stage for a series of disagreements between the NCC and its regional chapters. Both these considerations would seem compelling reasons for Solidarity to reject the decree, thus preparing the way for yet further conflicts with the government.

February 7. Further information about a sudden and unexpected agreement concluded in the early morning hours of Friday, February 6 between the Polish government and striking workers in Bielsko-Biala Voivodship has revealed that Poland's Catholic Church played a prominent role in bringing about the settlement. This is the first public disclosure of direct Church participation in the continuing series of labor negotiations that have been taking place throughout the country over the past several months.

Western news agencies reported that a Church delegation headed by Secretary of the Episcopate Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski and including two suffragan bishops from Katowice, Czeslaw Domin and Janusz Zimniak, arrived in Bielsko-Biala at 0100 hours Friday morning. Dabrowski was said to have given two speeches during the course of the talks between the government and the strikers in



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which he stated that he had come at the behest of the Polish Primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, to act as "guarantor" for the fulfillment of the government's obligations. A statement issued by the strike committee said that the bishop had twice assured the negotiating workers that these obligations would be fulfilled and that they would include the dismissal of various voivodship authorities from their posts. Much of the credit for the conclusion of the accord was subsequently ascribed to Dabrowski's efforts.

Later in the day, Radio Warsaw (42) announced that "in accordance with the agreement reached in Bielsko-Biala" Poland's prime minister had accepted the resignation of Bielsko-Biala Governor Jozef Labudek and of Deputy Governors Antoni Kobiela and Antoni Urbaniec. Citing a statement by Minister of Administration, Local Economy, and Environmental Protection Josef Kepa, the chief government negotiator in the last round of talks, the radio said that the government negotiating commission would also present to Prime Minister Pinkowski the question of dismissing the mayor of the town of Bielsko-Biala. The release of the deputy mayor, however, would be handled by the new governor. Kepa then revealed that Franciszek Hernas, a native of the province and Deputy Minister of Light Industry for the past four years, had been proposed to fill this post. According to the radio, the voivodship people's council decided to postpone the vote on his acceptance for 10 days in order to consult the people of the region about his candidature.

In another example of what appears to be increasing Church activism regarding Poland's labor troubles, Cardinal Wyszynski met Friday evening with a delegation representing Rural Solidarity, the private peasants' union. The meeting, according to Bernard Guetta, (43) was a speedy response to a request by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa asking for the primate's support of the peasants. A communiqué issued by the Episcopate's Press Bureau after the session clearly showed that Wyszynski's support was given. The statement said that the primate had "confirmed the right of the farmers freely to found their own associations, corresponding to their own desires and needs, and to do so independently of existing structures." (44) The cardinal was reported to have emphasized that "this right is a natural right and not a gift from the government."

In reply, the leaders of Rural Solidarity assured Wyszynski and others that they were determined to continue their struggle until they had succeeded in achieving their goals. They were said to have stressed that their activities were not aimed against the government but were designed to ensure that the peasants remained the owners and not merely the users of their farms. Rural Solidarity members, they reportedly said, regard their union's existence as a fact and thus would continue to act even if the union were not registered. Their ability to do so, it should be noted, has been

(42) 6 February 1981, 2000 hours.

(43) Le Monde, 6 February 1981.

(44) AFP, 7 February 1981.



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increased recently by the merger of Rural Solidarity with two other peasant unions. Union membership is now roughly estimated at 1,500,000, including an unknown number of state farm workers.

The immediate reasons why the Church decided to become so actively involved in Poland's labor strife during the past 48 hours are unknown, but are undoubtedly related to its repeated expressions of concern over the effect of constant social turmoil on the country's political and economic future. The short-term results of this involvement -- an end to a costly province-wide strike to the satisfaction of the workers and a boost to the morale, determination, and status of the private peasants -- must clearly be regarded a success. It is, however, too early to say whether they represent or will prompt a change in the Church's longer term policy of providing moral and behind-the-scenes support without being an active and open participant in the struggle itself.

Whatever the answer, all available evidence indicates that this struggle will take a protracted course. Despite an impressive list of agreements and settlements that have been reached in the past seven months, new sources of conflict appear almost daily. The latest such source has come in the form of a statement issued by the prosecutor general's office on February 6 outlining the results of an investigation conducted into the affairs of Leszek Moczulski and his organization, the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN). Moczulski and several members of his group were arrested in September 1980 after an interview he gave the West German news magazine, Der Spiegel. During the interview Moczulski said that his organization was in favor of an end to communism in Poland and had doubts about the authorities' intentions to allow the independent trade unions to continue their existence.

According to the prosecutor general's statement, the KPN "aimed at weakening the state by causing social tensions that threaten the country's security and public order." The statement accused KPN of "slandering supreme state organs and urging that the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist states be broken off." It charged that such activities were designed to "weaken the international position of Poland, its defenses, and its socialist system." Claiming that Moczulski's group had "availed itself of the assistance of foreign centers of diversion and psychological warfare," including émigré groups in the US and Great Britain, and that its program coincided with the goals of "subversive and foreign terrorist organizations," the statement accused the KPN of planning to establish an "underground government" and "secret structures of a paramilitary nature."

Solidarity has demanded the release of all political prisoners in Poland since the inception of its negotiations with the government last August. In December 1980 it specifically said that it would work for the release of Moczulski and his group, although it explicitly stated that it did not endorse the KPN or its political views. Its goal, Solidarity said, was to prevent the detention of anyone in Poland simply for expressing his opinions. This goal and the government's agreement to free political dissidents were embodied in the Gdansk Agreement of August 31, although the formulation of the relevant clauses in this regard could give

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rise to some dispute over implementation. It is clear, nevertheless, that the prosecutor general's statement will not be received with equanimity by Solidarity, especially since it comes at a time when the union's Wroclaw chapter is threatening a one-hour transport strike (planned for February 9) in support of its demand for the release of KPN dissident Tadeusz Jandziszak. It cannot be excluded, of course, that the accusations against Moczulski were made public in an effort to counter charges made by Poland's Warsaw Pact neighbors implying that Warsaw has not been firm enough in dealing with the "antisocialist elements" within its borders.

February 12. In a meeting in Gdansk, Solidarity's National Coordinating Commission (NCC) is scheduled to take up three topics: union policy in the wake of government personnel changes, charges of counterrevolutionary and antisocialist activities levied against the union and its advisors by the party, and the Supreme Court's rejection of a bid by Rural Solidarity to register as a private peasants' union. It is the last issue that is currently the focus of attention, not only because of its great importance but also because of the confusion and ambiguity surrounding the matter.

The Supreme Court said in its ruling on February 10 that the peasants did not qualify under the law to register as a union, but could register as an association. The distinction between the two is apparently of significance, since the peasants have reportedly insisted on several previous occasions that they did not want association status and have backed up their insistence with sit-in strikes. Although the legal differences in the rights, duties, and functioning of the two organizational forms are far from clear at this point (not the least because a new law on trade unions is being prepared), it has been reported that an association does not have the right to bargain collectively on behalf of its membership, or to strike, powerful weapons and vital characteristics of a union.

Nevertheless, when the court's decision was handed down the crowds of peasants who had arrived in Warsaw to await the verdict seemed to take the ruling in good stride. Solidarity leader Lech Walesa proclaimed the outcome a "draw" and urged the farmers to take the court at its word and register with the Warsaw administrative authorities as an association. On the day after the decision, however, Western news agencies reported that peasant activists in Rzeszow had threatened to use all the means at their disposal, including strikes, to press for their registration as a union. (45) One dispatch said that it had been announced in Warsaw that the representatives of the three groups now united in Rural Solidarity would create an "independent, autonomous union of private peasants" at a founding congress to be held on March 6 in Szczecin where common statutes would be adopted. (46) To prepare

(45) UPI, 11 February 1981; AP, 12 February 1981.

(46) dpa, 11 February 1981.

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for this occasion, it was said, electoral conferences would be held in all voivodships by February 28. Each provincial conference is reportedly to elect 10 delegates to the Szczecin meeting.

The peasants' apparent determination to press their case is not finding a particularly receptive atmosphere. One indication of the difficulties they may face came in a statement by PUWP First Secretary Stanislaw Kania in his speech to the February 11 Sejm session in which he presented Defense Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski's nomination as the new Polish Prime Minister. Referring to Jaruzelski as a man who would take forceful and decisive measures to "counter-act anarchy" and "antisocialist, almost counterrevolutionary forces," Kania said that

We expect the new government to be a government of democratic consultations with society, listening to [others'] views and criticism but at the same time striking with determination at all actions that are against the law, that endanger the socialist system and are directed against the interests of the state and the nation. (47)

On the previous day, February 10, a spokesman for the Ministry of Justice was reported to have said that any activity aimed at the creation of peasant unions was illegal. His assertion was said to have been contradicted by representatives of the peasants, who reportedly claimed it was a misinterpretation of the Supreme Court decision (the text of which is not yet available in the West). In their view, according to dpa, (48) the court had explicitly established that the initiative of the peasants' founding committee had not violated the laws or the constitution. Their activity was thus legal, they allegedly maintained, and the question to be decided by the authorities was merely one of the juridical form and status that the new peasants' organization would have.

Resistance from the party and government to the idea of a peasants' union is, of course, not a new phenomenon, although what action they will take if the peasants continue to struggle actively against the court's decision is still a question. An even greater question, however, is the direction in which Solidarity and the Church will move in connection with the union issue. It should be said that their support for the peasants is currently very strong indeed over most specific demands and over the plight of the countryside generally. There are, nevertheless, indications that both the episcopate and the NCC are now placing greater priority on social peace than on the immediate achievement of certain goals (the registration of a Rural Solidarity union among them) that would most certainly require further confrontation with the authorities.

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(47) Radio Warsaw, 11 February 1981, 1900 hours.

(48) 11 February 1981.



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A communiqué issued by the episcopate's Supreme Council on February 11 provides some evidence for such a conclusion. The episcopate clearly came down on the side of the peasants in most respects, saying that the party's "defective agrarian policy, pursued over many decades, had led to the danger of hunger arising" in Poland, and that the "process of rectifying the damage . . . would be a lengthy one." The farmers, it said,

must be sure that they own the land they till.  
This must be guaranteed to them. Their right  
to an unencumbered professional affiliation  
/swobodne zrzeszenie zawodowe/ must be recognized.  
The right of farmers to be free to set up their  
own federation, in accordance with their will and  
needs and irrespective of existing federations,  
is a natural right. (49)

It is significant that the communiqué did not use the word "union" at any point in its text. "Federation" and "professional affiliation" were spoken of instead; and given all the participants' knowledge of the legal issues at stake in the matter, it would not seem that the choice of terminology was accidental. This impression is reinforced by the document's lengthy emphasis on the need for "internal peace," whose establishment was said to be a matter of "deep concern" to the Church. "The use of force, pressure, threats, and irritating propaganda," the episcopate said, "does not lead to internal peace." "Nothing can be gained by dictat and persistent propaganda that sometimes seeks to discredit the opposing side." The only method that promised success, the communiqué declared, is a search for truth through "honest and permanent dialogue between the authorities and the citizens, the latter organized in social and vocational groups."

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa (and presumably other NCC members) seemed to share such sentiments. UPI reported, for example, that a national printers' strike threatened for February 13 to protest censorship was called off after he made an appeal that it be canceled. (50) A similar desire for industrial calm can be seen in a statement Walesa reportedly made to the newspaper Kurier Polski. According to AFP, (51) Walesa said that the NCC examine a resolution that would require all local Solidarity chapters to obtain the consent of the national leadership before calling a strike. Adding to this apparent wave of opinion favoring the re-establishment of calm and order in the country was a call by the strike committee representing thousands of protesting students occupying university buildings in Lodz, Poznan, and Warsaw for all students not yet striking to hold off any action "because of the difficult situation" in Poland. (52)

(49) Radio Vatican in Polish, 11 February 1981, 1615 hours.

(50) 12 February 1981.

(51) Ibid.

(52) UPI, 12 February 1981.

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The question now, of course, is how will the peasants respond to this situation? With the government, the party, the Church, the students, and the Solidarity leadership itself seemingly stressing the necessity for social peace, will the peasants still decide to force the issue?

February 13. The appeal launched on February 12 by newly elected Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski for a 90-day moratorium on strikes appears to have struck a responsive chord within the national leadership of the Solidarity trade union movement. A meeting on the same day of the organization's National Coordinating Commission (NCC) issued a resolution condemning wildcat strike action and banning all strikes without the prior approval of the NCC except those that are in reply to "a direct attack by authorities on members, experts, or collaborators" of Solidarity or on union chapters themselves. (53) Union spokesmen said that although the resolution did not represent a response to the Jaruzelski appeal, their attitude was "positive." In addition, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was quoted as saying that he "agreed in principle" with the appeal and that the NCC did not want more strikes at the moment. (54)

This attitude was reflected in Western news agency reports of the text of the NCC resolution, which was said to have criticized the holding of local strikes because they brought about only cosmetic changes and not lasting reform. A breakdown in national union leadership, the resolution also reportedly said, "would lead to the spontaneous eruption of social conflicts." (55) "When national survival is at stake and society looks to Solidarity as a last resort, the union must speak with one voice," NCC spokesman Karol Modzelewski later added. (56) The determination of Walesa and other NCC members to bring the local chapters under control is shown not only by these statements and the decision to ban wildcat strikes but also by Walesa's reported remark that those who disagreed with the ban could leave the union and form their own organizations. (57) Moreover, it was said that the Solidarity leadership was about to set up a committee for the purpose of making certain unspecified yet hard and unpopular decisions in the coming week. (58)

The NCC resolution also reflected Solidarity's desire for a genuine dialogue with the government, as did subsequent statements made by Walesa and other union spokesmen. Walesa said that he wanted to meet with Prime Minister Jaruzelski as soon as possible and it was announced that he and other top Solidarity officials would go to Warsaw on February 14 for talks both with the Sejm commission drafting the new TU law and with the head of the govern-

(53) Ibid.; The New York Times, 13 February 1981.

(54) Ibid.; Reuter and AP, 12 February 1981.

(55) AP, 12 February 1981.

(56) UPI, 12 February 1981.

(57) Ibid.; AP, 12 February 1981.

(58) AP, 12 February 1981.

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ment's newly created committee for trade union affairs. According to Le Monde and Reuter (59) the committee is headed by newly appointed Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, formerly editor-in-chief of the semiofficial weekly Polityka. Rakowski's reputation as a liberal critic of party and government policies and his willingness in past months to open the pages of his former journal to a wide range of views, both orthodox and unorthodox, could augur well for his acceptance by the union leaders as a sincere and effective negotiating partner. His criticism at yesterday's Sejm session of the government's failure to meet an agreed deadline for submitting a new censorship bill could only serve to reinforce that image.

Despite the NCC's obvious desire for calm and dialogue, its resolution made it very clear that Solidarity would keep its options open and that the union leadership would maintain a skeptical attitude toward the government's proffered hand until visible progress had been made. Indeed, Walesa was quoted as saying that the union's "ultimate response to the appeal for a moratorium /on strikes/ will depend on what happens during the negotiations." (60) If the negotiations did not bear fruit, he reportedly said, the union would resort to a strike. A strike would also be in order, according to the NCC, if the authorities moved against the Social Self-Defense Committee (KSS "KOR") or the leaders of Rural Solidarity, the private peasants' union.

On the agenda of Solidarity's talks with the government are a long list of items to be resolved. These include relaxation of censorship, union access to the mass media, release of political prisoners, repeal of a government regulation limiting strike pay to 50 per cent of average earnings, economic reform, and a new trade union bill. It is expected that the NCC will take advantage of the discussion over the last point to find a way in which the private peasants can register as a union, something that the Supreme Court has ruled out under existing legislation. The negotiations thus promise to be difficult. Nevertheless, the chances of reaching a mutually acceptable solution have probably been somewhat increased by the noticeable improvement in the political climate that has surrounded Jaruzelski's appointment as prime minister and the return of at least temporary peace to most of Poland's factories and plants. The reports now coming out of the country create the impression that hopes and expectations are somewhat higher about the possibility of finally coming to grips with the serious problems besetting Polish society.

Part of the credit for this improvement, no matter how ephemeral it might eventually turn out to be, could reasonably be given to the latest session of the Sejm. The entire proceedings were broadcast live by the national television network, and the animated and sometimes sharply worded contributions to the debate

(59) 12 and 13 February 1981, respectively.

(60) Reuter, 12 February 1981; see also Reuter and The Washington Post of 13 February 1981.



must have been a refreshing change for an audience accustomed to the normally docile and pro forma motions of the Polish legislature. The Sejm, as an institution, seems earnest in its desire to live up to its post-August statements that it would create a different profile for itself.

Some of the comments made from the floor must have hit both the parliament and observers like a shot of adrenalin. When, for example, was the last time a new prime minister was instructed by a Sejm deputy in the nature of his office? Yet, one member of parliament felt it necessary to remind Jaruzelski that society could not be organized like the army because "in the army's ranks there is no place for criticism, while in society criticism is the basis of normal life and progress." Still another deputy decided to mount a strong attack on party and government accusations and threats against KSS "KOR," labeling both them and official efforts to blame Poland's problems on foreign circles as ridiculous. Insinuations, intrigues, and attempts to impugn others, he maintained, only antagonize people. Propaganda is a "delicate instrument," he said; it is a "philharmonic orchestra" and not a "brass band."

W. R.

#### 5. Parcel Avalanche Engulfs the Post Office

The Ministry of Communications is at the center of a public scandal over the Post Office's inability to clear a backlog of Christmas food parcels sent to Poles from abroad. The unwanted parcel influx, which began in September of last year and is still disrupting the postal service, has exposed in all its absurdity the full extent of official inertia and bureaucratic inflexibility.

This sudden increase in the number of parcels sent from abroad was a natural response to the government's alarmist statements about the worsening food supply situation in Poland after the August strikes. Poles living abroad began sending basic food-stuffs to their families at home, and various foreign and international charitable institutions organized aid for those in want. Polish émigré organizations in the West, particularly in Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States, organized a world food lift operation for Christmas. (61) Fortunately, some of this was sent by private transport and delivered directly to religious institutions which organized their own distribution network and supplied needy families in time for Christmas.

Poland has four reception centers for parcels sent from abroad. The Main Office of Postal Transport and Exchange on Chmielna Street in Warsaw has a monopoly over air freight and also accepts some shipments coming in by train. The regional office in Gdynia

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(61) Sunday Times, 28 December 1980.

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deals with container traffic from the USA, Canada, the FRG, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Argentina, Brazil, and Syria. A Szczecin depot is usually responsible for sorting parcels from the GDR, Belgium, Holland, France, Sweden, Algeria, and South Africa but now also accepts parcels from West Germany. The Poznan regional office deals mainly with parcels from West Germany.

The Warsaw office is usually able to clear some 2,500 parcels daily. The daily influx in December was about 5,000 parcels, and by the middle of the month over 38,000 parcels were awaiting clearance. (62) In Gdynia the normal daily turnover is 2,800 parcels. In the pre-Christmas peak season this increased to between 3,000 and 3,500. Last year from November to mid-December 130,000 parcels were received, and at the beginning of the year 42,000 were still waiting in the warehouse with another 27,000 still in the container depot. (63) Szczecin, which could usually clear 600 parcels in one day, coped with up to 1,700 parcels at the peak. Nonetheless, by the beginning of December it had a backlog of 40,000. (64) The Poznan office can handle 1,200 to 1,300 parcels a day, but in September it received 22,151 parcels, some 8,000 over the usual volume. At the pre-Christmas peak 10 to 12 trains containing 1,200 to 1,800 packages each were coming in daily. Some 45,000 were received from the FRG alone. (65)

The principal reason for the delay in clearing packages is, of course, the so-called "customs bottleneck." Polish regulations require that every parcel be unpacked, examined, repacked and stamped before it can be passed on to the sorting and distribution offices. Moreover, each parcel has to be weighed before and after examination. The contents of each parcel are entered on a special customs form, and duty is assessed. Two persons, a customs official and a "postal assistant," take part in this procedure which can easily take 15 minutes or more, as in Szczecin, where there are no mechanized packing facilities. When public opinion was alerted to this state of affairs, a great hue and cry was raised. One official admitted that, in practice, food parcels could be exempted from the customs examination, particularly as they have been exempt from duty since last September, but one hinted darkly that literature or items that could be used for subversive and illegal activities might be concealed in food parcels: "The problem is that particularly of late our employees have been finding in parcels supposedly containing food items that had little to do with food." (66) The customs regulations were, however, relaxed. Post Office officials in Gdynia claimed that food parcels had been exempted from examination at their center as early as last November and that other parcels were checked on a random basis. In Poznan this practice was not officially introduced until January.

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(62) Zycie Warszawy, 19 December 1980.

(63) Glos Wybrzeza, 8 and 22 January 1981.

(64) Kurier Szczecinski, 21 January 1981.

(65) Kurier Polski, 30 January-1 February 1981.

(66) Zycie Warszawy, 19 December 1980.

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The problems arising from this state of affairs are manifold. The principal one is where to store the parcels waiting for clearance when they first arrive. The Poznan depot, for example, has a maximum capacity of 26,000. In mid-December it was finally decided to rent one of the Poznan Trade Fair halls, and some of the parcels from all the four centers were sent there. At one time there was a total of 115,000 parcels waiting to be cleared. Of course, some of the food parcels contained items other than canned or dry products, particularly butter, margarine, and fruit. After six or eight weeks of storage their freshness left much to be desired despite the fact that the hall was not heated. At the moment the Poznan center is expediting 5,000 parcels a day and hopes to have the lot cleared by February 15. On February 10 there was still a backlog of 60,000 parcels. Party people have been detailed to work in the center just to tie up damaged packages and stamp the parcels, releasing them without opening and checking the contents. (67)

A second problem is that of personnel. Most of the post office workers are women, who cannot easily do overtime or work at odd hours because they have homes to run and families to care for. Moreover, illness and maternity leave has seriously depleted the work force. Lack of automation results in women struggling with sacks up to 100 kg. No funds have been provided for extra seasonal labor or part-time help to cope with the additional workload. Suggestions were made that pensioners and students be employed on a part-time basis, but even this simple solution was beyond the capability of the cumbersome bureaucracy. In Poznan management officials have joined postal workers on the shop floor in unpacking, sorting, and clearing parcels.

Another problem concerns the inability of the notoriously inefficient transport system to cope with the distribution of packages. A particularly glaring anomaly is the total absence of a clearing and sorting center in Silesia which receives over 50 per cent of parcels from the FRG alone. Parcels coming in via Frankfurt an der Oder and the Rzepin junction, for example, are first sent by train to the clearing center in Szczecin and then back to Silesia where they must still be sorted and distributed to the addresses. To expedite matters drivers from internal mail sorting offices in the voivodship have been dispatched, on an ad hoc basis, to collect truckloads of parcels for their own areas, as there are not enough trains to cope with the load. Another absurdity is that the lack of coordination between the railway, customs, and the post office means that instead of completing all the formalities in one place, all the parcels have to be dragged around to several depots.

The chaos and confusion at the post office has encouraged the development of fraud and an increase in thefts. The police recently uncovered an operation involving 15 postal workers at the Poznan center. (68) Many package have simply been lost

(67) PAP, Zycie Warszawy, 10 February 1981.

(68) Zycie Warszawy, 28 January 1981.



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altogether while others were supposedly "damaged in transit." The delay in deliveries means that many addressess have not been able to forward claims for non-delivery or damage to contents.

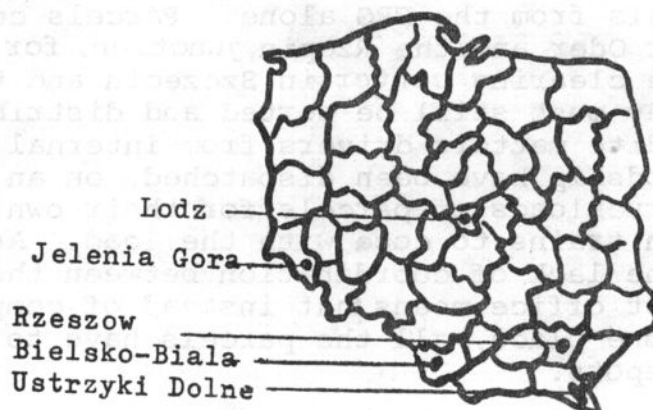
The Ministry of Communications was finally forced in mid-January to take some kind of steps to alleviate the situation. Instructions were issued containing some ad hoc measures including allocation of more employees to parcel clearance, simplification of the customs procedure, increased transport facilities, and shifting sorting and distribution duties onto several local depots. This was done in such a half-hearted fashion, however, that the instructions somehow did not reach all those they were addressed to and confusion still persists. (69) Some journalists are already looking ahead and have warned that inasmuch as no substantial improvement in the food supply situation can be expected in the foreseeable future, the parcel avalanche will continue (70) and a new peak will occur before Easter. In January alone the number of parcels received exceeded previous years' figures by twice the amount. (7) The Ministry would be well advised to heed these warnings and devise a concrete plan of realistic long-term measures to increase the efficiency of the postal service.

A. S.

#### 6. Geographical Locations of the Recent Strike Centers

Events of recent days in Poland have brought several old and new place names into the limelight. It may be useful to provide some background information on their economic and political significance, as well as on their geographical location.

##### Geographical Location



(69) Ibid.

(70) The West German branch of the international Catholic "Pax Christi" organization has recently launched a new food parcel operation. See Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 and 10 February 1981.

(71) PAP and Trybuna Ludu, 12 February 1981.

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Bielsko-Biala. Located in southcentral Poland (south of Katowice) close to the Czechoslovak border, Bielsko-Biala is a rapidly expanding industrial town with 160,000 inhabitants. It has been the seat of voivodship administration since 1975. A twin city, it was formed in 1951 by the merger of the towns Bielsko (founded in the 13th century) and Biala (18th century), situated on the opposite sides of the Biala River, a small tributary of the Vistula. Because of the proximity of the Beskidy Slaskie Mountains, the area is often referred to as "Podbeskidzie." The city is an important textile manufacturing center (second after Lodz) with traditions going back to medieval times; it also boasts the country's largest textile machinery factory, Befama. It owes much of its recent expansion, however, to its car industry, especially to Fabryka Samochodow Malolitrazowych (small-capacity automobile works, founded in 1972), which produces the popular Fiat Polski 126-P. Other important local industries include the Apena and Indukta electrical appliances works and the Delta glider factory; of lesser importance are food and graphics factories.

Jelenia Gora (population 86,000), situated in the west (so-called Recovered Territories), is the voivodship capital of one of Poland's economically best developed areas, which is part of the large Sudetic Industrial Region. Of particular importance are the chemical and pharmaceutical industry (Polfa works), cellulose and synthetic fabric production (Celwiskoza), a construction machinery factory, and a medium sized power plant.

Lodz (central Poland) is the country's second largest city (after Warsaw) with a population of 830,800. Though it had municipal status as early as in the 15th century, it achieved importance only in the late 19th century, largely owing to the rapid expansion of its textile industries which earned it the nickname of "Polish Manchester." The voivodship seat since 1919, it developed into a significant cultural and educational center only after the Second World War. Its six higher learning institutions train more than 32,000 students (about two-thirds of them full-time, and the rest part-time students), and include the University, the Polytechnic, the Medical Academy, and two fine arts schools of great renown: the State Higher School of Music, and, most famous of all, the State Higher School of Film, Theater, and Television (named after Leon Schiller, an outstanding theater producer who died in 1954), the country's only film school.

Rzeszow (population 116,900), a voivodship seat since 1945, is in southeastern Poland. Situated on the Wislok River (a tributary of the San), it has enjoyed municipal rights since the 14th century. It is the capital of a chiefly agricultural region and has experienced industrial development only in recent decades. Its industries include electrical machinery and a large transportation equipment works, along with building materials and food production. Rzeszow commands a strategic position as a transit point in east-west communications (Cracow-Lwow line). The surrounding area has a markedly agricultural character; as much as 67.1 per cent of the

voivodship constitutes arable land, practically all of which is cultivated by individual farmers. The province has been the cradle of nationwide peasant movements in prewar Poland, and remains true to its tradition.

Ustrzyki Dolne is a small town of slightly more than 5,000, situated in Krosno Voivodship in the southeastern tip of the country. It lies only a short distance from both the Soviet and the Czechoslovak borders. As the area is particularly rich in wood (nearly 50 per cent is covered with forests), Ustrzyki developed important timber and lumber industries in nearby Ustianowa. There are also some small oil and natural gas deposits in the area. Ustrzyki seems to be extremely popular with tourists exploring the Bieszczady region.

#### 7. A Review of the Polish Press, January 1981

The outstanding topic in the Polish press in January was the problem of strikes and free Saturdays. Depending on whom one read, Poland was either on its way to disaster and chaos (as usual, the army daily, Zolnierz Wolnosci, blamed everything on antisocialist forces within and without the country), or nothing much had changed, since as much if not more production was lost every week by lack of raw materials, power, fuel, equipment breakdowns, and poor management. More frequently than not, blame was put on the government, as was the case in Gazeta Krakowska [Cracow Daily] of January 10-11.

Why is there, for the time, a row about a problem that could have been settled. . . . There was time enough from August to December 31 for the government to conduct realistic and authentic consultations.

Generally speaking, most writers (both journalists and authors of letters to the editor) kept insisting that the situation was so unclear because there were no reliable figures and no honest statistics. (Incidentally, according to the draft law on censorship to be presented shortly to the Sejm, statistics are excluded from censorship.) One clever journalist from the Katowice party daily, Trybuna Robotnicza, (72) found a way of providing some figures on inflation in Poland. He compared figures on the social minimum, otherwise known as the consumer basket, prepared by a statistical office for the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs: "While last year the social minimum was set at 2,000 zloty per capita a month, it has recently risen to 2,500 zloty. This would mean that the value of the zloty has declined by 25 per cent."

Much attention was devoted to the new role of the Sejm. A reader wrote to the Opole party daily, Trybuna Odrzanska, that the deputies could hardly complain about poor government, since



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it was the same deputies who time and again had unanimously appointed ministers: "Today/ we may praise the courage of a couple of deputies, but is it not pitiable that this highest state body should be given lessons in civil courage by untutored, oppressed workers?" Another aspect of the parliament's helplessness results from the fact that "candidates" are placed on a list and "elected" more or less automatically, frequently without even bothering to visit their constituencies, and remain totally out of touch with their "electorate" by living permanently in Warsaw. Tomasz Migaszewski wrote in "I Do Not Know You, Mr. Deputy":

All five deputies for electoral district 23 have been elected for a second term. . . . In the course of a random sample poll in 30 homes, only one person was able to give the name of a single deputy; all the others said. "We are not interested in such things," "elections were held a long time ago," or "how am I supposed to know who my deputies are?" (75)

Lengthy deliberations were devoted to the power structure and the public. Jacek Maziarski asked, "Do We Want a Strong Central Power?" (74) and explained that authoritative does not mean authoritarian, concluding:

On the part of society, the automatic response of rejecting everything "they" decide must come to an end. . . . But a more important problem seems to be . . . the deadly weight of having tried over the years to form an "administered society." Only the combination of authority with democratic support offers a chance of success.

A regular contributor to the party weekly Polityka, Jerzy Urban, stated very sensibly in "A Global Agreement" on January 31 that

it is not true that democratic must and always do work against the viewpoint of the party leadership, against a pragmatic vision of socialist development, against a lay, industrialized, modern state. The essence of the present stage of conflict is not the lack of legal and political rules of the game but the fact that one side has already discovered its strength, while the other is neither able to build up, nor to appreciate its force.

Urban's opinion was corroborated by Henryk Jerzmanski's remark in the Pax weekly, Kierunki (75): "The old-style mentality cannot be reformed from within. It can only be done from the outside."

(73) Trybuna Robotnicza, 29 January 1981.

(74) Kultura, 25 January 1981.

(75) January 11.

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As the Rural Solidarity movement grew and the shop shelves got emptier, more and more was written on agriculture, and most of that on individual farmers. Stefan Bratkowski, the outspoken chairman of the Polish Journalists' Union, used the subject of agriculture to open his prognoses for the year 1981 in the Silesian weekly Panorama of January 4:

I believe that agriculture is of essential importance for the whole economy. . . . The situation in it can change fast, provided that relations between the authorities and the countryside are straightened out. . . . Notwithstanding all other steps such as supplies of fodder and equipment to individual farmers, . . . the introduction of rural self-management, renewal of the farmers' cooperative movement and a restoration of a feeling of worthiness and equality in relation to large state farms should offer new prospects for the peasants.

Similarly, KTT/Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz7, the regular columnist of Kultura, wrote on January 18:

I follow most carefully all that is happening in the countryside. This is a peasant movement. We have been stunned by the workers' movement. . . . A workers' movement is spectacular, outspoken, eye-catching. A peasant movement is, by its social nature, more modest in expression and by its psychological nature more reflective, less hasty, deeper. I think it would be a grave oversight to importance for the future of Poland.

A highly intelligent farmer, Marian Nieckula, wrote a detailed open letter to the PUWP CC on the miseries and opportunities of agriculture. The text was published on January 22 in the Sunday supplement to the mass circulation Zycie Warszawy. One point from among his 10 complaints and suggestions was that: "There are 5,060 state-owned hectares of arable land in my commune. My farm has 7.2 hectares. . . . The value of production per hectare: on state farms 13,820 zloty on my land 72,000 zloty." And these results were achieved despite untold difficulties and shortages (70 working days were lost in 1979 pleading in various offices).

Maciej Kozlowski had a startling, though sensible, suggestion for improving Polish grain supplies. He wrote in the Cracow Catholic weekly, Tygodnik Powszechny, of January 11:

Today, without wincing, we are paying Americans over 15 dollars per hundredweight of grain, plus charges. A Polish farmer gets 530 zloty. . . . I would never suggest we pay the Polish farmer as much as we pay the American, but if we paid 1,100-1,500 zloty per hundredweight, in a year or two Polish grain production would grow from the current average of 20,000,000 tons easily to 35,000,000, an amount that would make all imports superfluous.

(The black-market /and hence the most realistic/ value of the dollar is over 100 zloty, and this is how people calculate.)

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Notorious among the ills of Polish farming are arbitrary decisions from above. A recent one, since rescinded, provided for the slaughter of suckling pigs to save fodder. In the Gdansk periodical Czas of January 11, Boguslaw Holub wrote in "Charity among Herods":

Four strong men, trained to slaughter, make no bones about it: "We will not turn murderers." There is a certain tenderness in their voices, because the piglets are indeed like little toys. Then they add with concern: "If we kill them now, we shall drop dead ourselves in a couple of months."

Holub then blamed centralized decisions in farming for promoting gigantic projects and destroying enterprises on a human scale, including the habit in the suburbs of keeping a couple of pigs, chickens, or rabbits to be fed on slops. This practice was strictly eliminated, allegedly for the sake of hygiene; but at the same time, industrial pollution was ravaging the land. He closed his indictment with an even more dramatic passage:

I have good reason for the state of my nerves. Quite recently, near our office, a man dropped dead in the meat line. No, not from hunger -- from a heart attack. Nerves, exhaustion, fear that nothing would be delivered? Others covered his face with a newspaper and huddled even closer. . . . It was a ghastly picture. An empty shop, a mob at the door, and the dead man on the sidewalk. Professional slaughterers took pity on piglets. Who shall take pity on man and his land?

Ecology has suddenly ceased to be a dirty word and the press is beginning to write openly about pollution. The most notorious case, though certainly not the only one, was the Skawina Aluminum Foundry near Cracow. When the Polish Ecological Club was created in November 1980, it began to study the effects of fluorine pollution on the inhabitants and monuments of Cracow, not to mention the plant workers. Built in the 1950s, the foundry has no emission filters whatever. The Warsaw weekly Polityka (76) described the meeting of scientists and citizens with the minister in charge. It wrote that

at the present level of its technical development, the electrolytic department emits about 2,300 tons of pure fluorine annually. One ton is enough to poison 1,000,000 people . . . A ton of aluminum produced in Skawina results in 49 kilos of fluorine. With modern filters, the normal emission adds up to 1.5 kilos at most. . . . The



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amount of fluorine in vegetation in the region is several hundred times the admissible level. . . . Work related diseases in Skawina are 250 times the national average.

Faced with this information and with the public wrath, the minister quickly capitulated. Half the foundry has already been closed; the other half will close by the end of April, and this with the approval of the workers who will have to seek other jobs.

Another subject that has now emerged in the Polish press is the disastrous state of the health services, particularly psychiatric care, with antiquated and overcrowded facilities, overworked personnel, and everything compounded by senseless bureaucracy. (If a child has a cold, a mother wrote he must be taken to an overcrowded health center, where he is likely to catch something much worse, just in order to get a doctor's certificate excusing him from school; each such visit takes several hours of time from a mother who usually works. Here, we can let the titles of articles suffice: "A Scandal," "Let Us Save the Clinic"; "Cheap as Blood"; "An Open Letter to the Sejm by the Polish Psychiatric Association," and "Many Dramas and Two Scandals." Conditions described in all those articles are hair-raising.

Another health scandal in alcoholism, which is also finally making headlines now that Poland has the highest rate of alcohol consumption in the world. Aware of this, Solidarity regularly forbids sale of alcohol during strikes and negotiations. Still another alarming problem is the lack of baby food and powdered milk; and what can be found is frequently adulterated. At the same time the planned rationing of meat and butter establish quotes inadequate for feeding children and young people.

N. K.

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