



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

No. 135 (Vol. 3, No. 33) Published weekly

December 18, 1981

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

Poland:

CLAMPDOWN

That May BLOW UP

At least seven are now known to be dead and hundreds injured as Poland approaches its second week of martial law imposed by the revisionist rulers with the glowing approval and backing of Soviet social-imperialism, and the entire Warsaw Pact military bloc. While the so-called Military Council of National Salvation, headed by General Jaruzelski, still swears that it intends to "preserve the basic features of socialist renewal," all the jails and prisons in Warsaw are reported to be completely filled, as thousands—workers, journalists, students and intellectuals—have been arrested and/or detained, including nearly all the national leaders and key sympathizers of the Solidarity union, snatched in the initial sweep by the government. Estimates of the number of arrested vary from 5 to 45,000, as roundups of Poles opposing the government onslaught continue.

The Polish rulers have shamelessly tried to present the iron-fisted imposition of the most draconian measures as a "dignified" attempt to lift Poland "out of the crisis, to save the country from collapsing"—then, honey accompanies the clampdown. Another honeycombed accessory was the arrest of 27 former "old guard" party leaders, including Edward Gierek, as "evidence" to buttress Jaruzelski's dubious assertion that "there is no turning back to the false methods and practices from

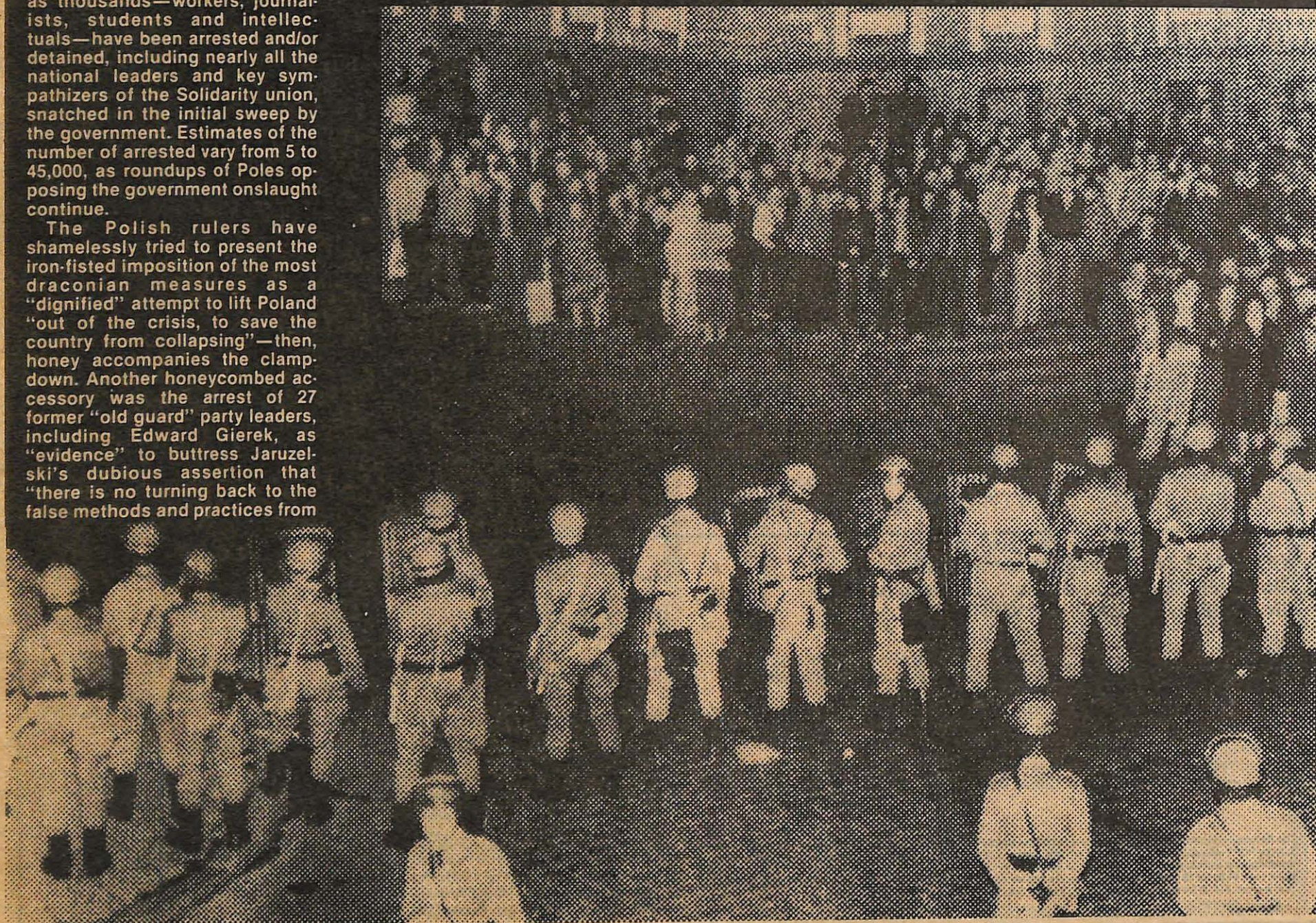
before August 1980". The bottom line, however, was that all gatherings, demonstrations and strikes are forbidden. Hundreds of factories have been placed under military rule, and the six-day work week has been declared restored. Refusal to work, and comply with many other measures, carries a penalty of death. As troops with fixed bayonets patrol the streets, the list of martial law decrees grows, as new ones are added each day. (See the list on page 11)

Lech Walesa, who is under arrest and being held somewhere just outside Warsaw, has yet to be heard from.

Flying in the face of this vicious repression, the righteous resistance of the Polish masses has erupted as workers and students have rebelled. Reports indicate that many workers regrouped, set up clandestine strike committees, elected new leaders to replace those interned, and issued calls for a general

strike. Thousands occupied factories. From the coal mines of Silesia to the steel mills of Warsaw and Katowice to the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, workers barricaded their workplaces, welding the gates shut and, in many cases, arming themselves with tools and steel rods. A bulletin issued from the giant Huta steelworks in Krakow defiantly proclaimed "We are workers, not Slaves!"

Continued on page 4



Saturday night, December 12, crowds gathered in front of Solidarity headquarters as police tried to keep them away.

Poland: Clampdown That May Blow Up

Continued from page 1

The Polish Press Agency (PAP) issued feeble assurances about how everything was "functioning normally," how the army had the "overwhelming support" of the population and praising the "dignified civic attitude of the work force." Polish TV broadcasts showing pictures of "happy Poles" Christmas shopping in well-stocked stores were alternated with film of the Hungarians being crushed by Soviet troops in 1956, a pointed

reminder that things could be worse—and would be—if things didn't settle down.

Meanwhile, the naked truth rumbled through snowbound streets on the grinding treads of Polish armor. Factories were surrounded by tanks, their gates smashed through, as troops firing into the air and laying down blankets of teargas removed occupiers, arresting thousands. Crowds of jeering youth were broken up by military assaults.

Protestors occupying campuses, including the literary section of the prestigious Polish Academy of Sciences, were dragged out and beaten. A protest by Polish women was met by brute repression, heads battered, arms broken—compelling testimony to Jaruzelski's pious insistence, in his appeal to the nation, that "None of Poland's problems can be solved by force."

As of this writing, the army has reportedly broken a number of major strikes and factory occupations, but there is certainly no sign that they have the situation under control. Warsaw Radio reported that seven people were killed and 39 workers injured when striking miners at the Wujek coal mine

in Silesia fought back with stones, crowbars and axes wounding 41 policemen. Clearly the spirit of rebellion has been by no means snuffed out, and the Polish masses remain a powerful force to be reckoned with.

Throughout Europe, there was a rapid reaction to the revisionists' move in Poland. Demonstrations against martial law in Poland, and in support of Solidarity erupted in nearly every major West European city—Paris, Vienna, Rome, Zurich, The Hague, and West Berlin just to name a few.

Interestingly enough, the Associated Press felt obliged to consciously distort reports of at least one demonstration of over a thousand people in downtown West Berlin against the Polish rulers' martial declaration, mentioning only that the protestors broke windows of the Polish LOT Airways and the Soviets' Aeroflot offices, and then "burned flags of western nations apparently in protest of the 'non-interference' policy." In fact, at this demonstration (organized by the squatters' movement that has repeatedly targeted the U.S.) which upheld the resistance of the Polish workers, protestors also broke windows at the offices of British Airways and Pan Am and marched under a banner reading: "Russians and Yankees, Hands Off Poland!" Many could be seen carrying red flags, and as for any Western flags that were burned, it was obviously for reasons other than what the AP would have people believe.

International Implications

As the U.S. and Soviets crossed verbal sabres over the crackdown in Poland, it was readily apparent that these latest events were having far-reaching ramifications for future international developments. What is happening in Poland today is by no means limited to that country's borders, and is in fact very much related to the much larger pre-war political topography internationally.

For sometime, Poland in particular has been a focal point of contention between the Eastern and Western blocs—for the West, a chance to drive some wedges into the Soviet bloc, and for the East, the necessity to prevent this. The ludicrous pretensions of the Soviets that the martial law crackdown is merely "Poland's internal affair" and that they have had nothing whatsoever to do with backing the suppression of the Poles—something they have been quite openly leaning on their revisionist allies to get down to the business of for some time—were belied by one of the sparse TASS commentaries which noted that the Soviet leaders "received with a feeling of satisfaction Jaruzelski's statement that the Polish-Soviet alliance has been and remains the cornerstone of Polish state interests..." This is precisely at the heart of the matter.

Given the press of international events, the necessity of the Soviets and their Eastern allies was clearly no longer a question of simply finding ways to contain the "Polish disease," but rather to seize the first opportunity to knock out the contagion with a powerful dose of revisionist medicine. The threat of Solidarity leaders in Radom to hold a nationwide referendum on whether the Polish party should continue to rule, and whether Poland should continue to give the Soviets "military guarantees" was not so much the immediate spark, as it was an excuse for the Polish government to make its move—conveniently assisted in tactical matters by the Soviet commander of the Warsaw Pact who just happened to arrive in Poland just before the clampdown (and who, according to a British reporter, told Jaruzelski, "If you don't do it, we will").

The swiftness and thoroughness of the military takeover made clear that plans had been "in place" for some time. This was confirmed as Polish diplomatic sources finally admitted that the move had been as much as four months in preparation and that the deployment of four man elite security and army units in 2000 Polish villages last October was, far from being related to "food distribution problems" as

Continued on page 5

"Natural Ally of the Oppressed"

"The Defenders of Democracy"



Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.



U.S. invasion and decade-long war against Vietnam.



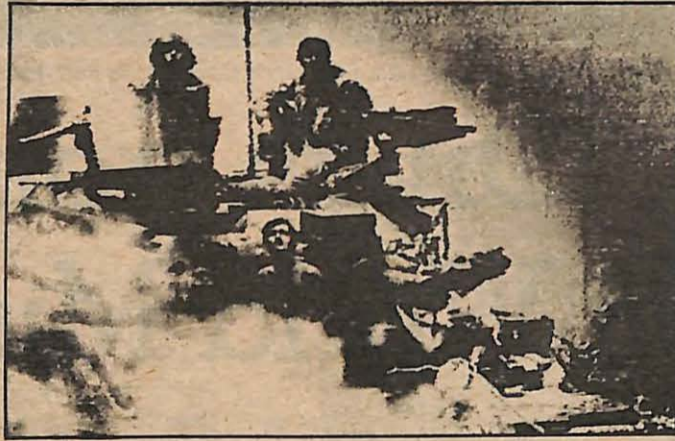
Soviets invade Afghanistan.



U.S.-backed junta troops in El Salvador.



Cambodian refugees flee Soviet-backed Vietnamese army.



U.S. invasion of Cambodia.



Soviet and Cuban advisors in Ethiopia.



U.S. puppet regime suppresses student revolt in South Korea.

U.S.: "Martial Law? Good . . . in Turkey"

The imposition of martial law in Poland this week has uncorked a veritable torrent of outrage and concern about oppression from the U.S. ruling class and assorted mouthpieces of theirs: "We are seriously concerned that large numbers of people have been interned. . . . The iron fist of military rule has descended on Poland. . . . The use of violence against the Polish people by the Government would have extremely grave consequences. . . ." and much, much more. Truly a touching display of sympathy and support for the Polish people. Coming from the mouths of people who hold most of the current world records for internment, iron-fisted military rule and vicious repression (though we don't want to take anything away from their equally-imperialist rivals headquartered in Moscow), this is nothing but the most

cynical and foul hypocrisy. Let's take just one example from the long list of U.S. accomplishments in this field. How about Turkey?

Just over a year ago, in September 1980, martial law was imposed in Turkey by the military. Like Poland, Turkey was (and still is) a political tinderbox, wracked by economic crisis and growing mass upheaval; but unlike Warsaw Pact member Poland, Turkey is a key NATO "ally". Early in the morning of September 12, U.S.-supplied tanks of the Turkish Army rumbled through the streets of Ankara and other major cities, taking up positions at vital intersections and buildings, while paramilitary units conducted massive raids against revolutionaries and progressive forces. Over 30,000 were jailed in the first three months of military rule. Martial law, already in force over part of

the country, was extended to all 67 provinces.

At the time of the coup, tens of thousands of workers in Turkey were on strike and in open rebellion against the government's attempts to tighten the screws of exploitation in response to the demands of Turkey's Western creditors for greater "economic austerity" and productivity. One of the first moves of the junta was to order the strikers back to work at the point of a gun and to announce that all union ac-

tivity and "unauthorized meetings" were illegal and would be broken up forcibly. In the weeks that followed, the U.S. and other Western powers moved quickly to shore up the economy—advancing billions in new loans and rescheduling Turkey's huge foreign debt as an expression of their renewed confidence in Turkey's "business climate." No credit cut-off here!

In the year since the military coup took place, the number of political

Continued from page 18



During this past summer, 1500 demonstrators in Katowice, a mining town in southern Poland, surrounded a police station and overturned a police van to demand the release of several militants arrested for passing out leaflets.

Clampdown That May Blow Up

Continued from page 5

then claimed, little more than a dress rehearsal for the real thing—all under the supervision of Soviet military officials from the Warsaw Pact headquarters at Legnica.

One Solidarity spokesman, in Sweden over the weekend and caught there, revealed how something like this had been expected. In an interview, he said that especially since Jaruzelski had been elevated to the post of premier early this year, there had been increasing signs of militarization. And, especially since former party head Kania was dumped last summer at the party congress, and replaced in this post, too, by Jaruzelski, the government had been increasingly on the offensive. He also said that the workers had been making preparations by stocking various supplies.

U.S. Response

No less cynical than the Soviets' claim that they are not involved in Poland's internal affairs was the U.S. rulers' dual-edged response. On the one hand, there was no dearth of noise about U.S. "concern" for the "plight of the Poles" with the U.S. rulers casting themselves as the champions of "freedom and democracy" for the oppressed. Protest marches in Chicago and at the Polish Consulate in New York were played up big, complete with instant replays of Soviet flags being burned. The media pumped out all sorts of commentary, highlighting the failure of "high-flown communist pro-

mises brayed over loudspeakers at countless May Day parades. . . ." Reagan piously quipped on the phone to the Pope, "Our sympathies are with the masses, not the government"—a touching reminder of the U.S.'s well-known support for the "struggles of the people" not in Chile or El Salvador, mind you, but in countries where they are aimed against governments blocked with their Soviet imperialist rivals!

However, on the other hand, there was a definite aspect of initial, if grudging, acquiescence to the Polish rulers' martial law edict and a certain echoing of the Soviets' claim that the crackdown was purely an "internal affair". Among other things, there was Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy's widely-publicized remark about how Solidarity may have "gone too far" and brought things down on itself.

The West's papal agent in the Vatican urged restraint upon fellow Poles and his words were appropriately mimicked by Archbishop Jozef Glomp, the Roman Catholic primate of Poland: "I shall plead, even if I must plead on my knees: Don't start a fight between Poles. Do not give your lives away, brother workers, because the price of human life will be too low."

Some insight into the dilemma facing Washington was provided by an editorial in the *Chicago Sun-Times* which remarked: "Disheartening as Jaruzelski's re-imposition of central power may be, chances of a general

bloodletting in Poland are reduced as long as there is no direct Soviet intervention. . . . Solidarity's radicals were going for broke when they demanded a national referendum on a non-communist government for Poland. Lech Walesa would not have gone that far. . . . maybe he and likeminded Solidarists still can salvage something of the gains they have won in behalf of a heroic Polish people."

Actually, this kind of thinking—at least for the time being—makes some sense for the U.S. rulers. For one thing, it jives with the strategy they have been pursuing for some time in Poland of counselling avoidance of confrontation and settling for low but steady inroads. And as things stand now, the U.S. probably sees some benefit in any potential short-term stability brought about by martial law in Poland which, among other things, hasn't put the kind of strains on the U.S./Western Europe relationship that a Soviet invasion would have.

Of course, things in Poland can change quickly, the Soviets could in fact invade, and this would demand a different posture from the U.S. There were signs of this toward the end of the week when some top government officials were publicly putting out that the administration had "erred" in its initial reaction. The big question was, "Have the Soviets paid a high enough price?" Reagan called a news conference designed, as one White House source put it, to put things in "a higher key." His ensuing denunciation of "coercion and violation of human rights on a massive scale" in Poland was delivered with all the authority of a government that few will argue is the world's acknowledged expert in such matters. However, beyond reaffirming that the U.S. was cutting off food aid to Poland

as part of its efforts to influence the outcome of events there, Reagan still refused to speculate on any other "initiatives or options" — and one which shows the interaction of international events.

Another complicating matter for the U.S. was the Israeli announcement under headlines about Poland that they were permanently annexing the Golan Heights in open defiance of the Camp David Accords. Coming when it did, this was clearly a source of extreme irritation for the U.S. rulers, giving the Soviets a juicy bit of exposure with which to come back at them. The U.S. was forced to announce that it would vote to condemn the actions of its own Middle East hitman at the UN, and subsequently Reagan fumed that "We deplore this unilateral action by Israel."

Meanwhile, the Soviets screamed in turn that the U.S. was attempting "to impose on Poland its own, in fact, imperialist terms for resolving the conflict" and accused the U.S. rulers of "meddling" and "overt interference" in Poland's affairs. While, of course, they are quite correct, the gall of such rantings was underscored by the fact that in the very same breath a Kremlin source let it be known that the Soviets will not hesitate to send its military forces to Poland if all resistance to the martial-law regime is not crushed soon. (Polish diplomatic sources reluctantly confirmed that military contingencies in case of "prolonged difficulties" include requesting the assistance of Soviet airborne divisions.)

It must be said, however, that the growing volume of Soviet threats and hypocritical charges are being born of desperation as they are facing the prospect of being caught in an even bigger jam than they are already in.

As we go to press, the Polish rulers have still not been able to consolidate their crackdown, raising the prospect of further leaps in the crisis depending on how things develop. Radio Warsaw has reported that in addition to the clash in Silesia, 164 civilians and 160 soldiers were injured in fighting the same day in Gdansk as troops moved to suppress the strike at the Lenin shipyards—the birthplace of the Solidarity movement. There were also reports that the government had to set up two massive internment centers, one outside Warsaw and one near Gdansk, to accommodate the thousands still being arrested. The Soviets and their sweating Polish revisionist understudies are clearly still sitting on a keg of international dynamite, the first explosions of which are only an indication of things to come. □