

CHRONOLOGY OF THE POLISH CRISIS

1980

January 31

A four-hour work stoppage was staged by 100 workers at the Gdansk shipyard. The workers were protesting the transfer of Anna Walentynowicz, an activist in the unofficial Gdansk Free-Trade Union. She had played a leading role in the 1970 strike at the shipyard.

Facts on File 2/15/80

February 10

The Polish United Workers (Communist) Party (PUWP) is opening its eighth Congress tomorrow... The proceedings are unfolding in a mood of sober realism because of Poland's economic difficulties.

N.Y. Times 2/11/80

May 5

Poland's Communist Government has made substantial moves to improve its relations with the country's powerful Roman Catholic Church. Among recent concessions are:

Immunity from military draft of Poles studying for the priesthood.

Lifting a 15 year ban excluding those engaged in church administration from state social security provisions.

A free hand to distribute the Vatican paper L'Observatore Romano.

Christian Science Monitor 5/6/80

June 21

In 1972 the East German and Polish Governments dropped all currency restrictions for travelers between their countries. Now, as a result of spreading black market operations the curbs have been reimposed. The rulings underline the difficulties the two countries have been facing with growing food shortages, cutbacks in gasoline and other products.

N.Y. Times 6/22/80

July 3

Scattered work stoppages occurred at major factories across Poland today and yesterday in response to an unannounced increase in the price of certain meats.

N.Y. Times 7/4/80

August 7

This week the (labor) unrest for the first time spread to the important textile industry...in western Poland where 10,000 workers began striking. In Swidnik in the southeast, 20,000 workers at a big helicopter factory staged their second strike in a month after management failed to fulfill a promise of a 15 percent pay raise.

Washington Post 8/8/80

August 15

Polish Communist Party Leader Edward Gierek ended a vacation in the Soviet Union and flew to Poland where spreading labor unrest appears to be developing into a major crisis for his government.

Washington Post 8/16/80

Polish Premier Edward Babiuch said the high meat prices that have triggered more than 40 days of wildcat strikes would remain frozen until the fall harvest of 1981 and supplies in the markets would not be increased.

More than 50,000 workers were on strike in and around Poland's biggest shipyard in Gdansk today. Streetcar and bus drivers in Gdansk and the neighboring cities of Gdynia and Sopot were also on strike as were four factories supplying the shipyard.

Dissidents in Warsaw marked the anniversary of Poland's victory against the Soviet Union in 1920 and 4,000 marched through the capital to commemorate the victories of the war against the Soviet Union.

Washington Post 8/16/80

8/17/80

An agreement to end a strike in Poland's major shipyards collapsed early today when walkouts spread along the Baltic coast and strikers called for sweeping political reforms as their price for going back to work.

The (strikers) demands were formulated by an integrated strike committee which claims to be empowered to negotiate on behalf of workers in 24 factories in Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot. The 16 point list of grievances go to the heart of the communist system.

Among the political demands are legalization of the right to strike, abolition of censorship, full public disclosure of new economic policies, access for the Catholic Church to news media and the end of Communist party interference in the work of trade unions. The strikers also demanded an end of privileges for security services by granting equal family allowances to all and a liquidation of special shops open only to policy and party officials, publication on radio, television and in newspapers of news

about the strikes and the establishment of the strike committee.

Washington Post 8/18/80

8/18/80 Edward Gierek, in a TV address, promised general pay increases but he said the nation's socialist system could not be changed.

"There are limits that must not be overstepped by anyone. These limits are marked by Poland's reason for being," he said. Gierek also postponed a scheduled trip to West Germany, where he had been expected to ask for economic aid.

N.Y. Times 8/19/80

8/19/80 Defying an appeal by Edward Gierek to abandon their protest, tens of thousands of striking workers continued to occupy factories in northern Poland today.

Members of the strike committee, set up two days ago, said 174 plants and enterprises were now closed in the Baltic seaport areas. Yesterday there were 130 and the day before 21.

The 13 member leadership of the strike called on the authorities to meet their demands which have grown to 23 (from 16), and to start talks.

N.Y. Times 8/20/80

8/19/80 The Soviet Union broke its silence on the seven-week-long labor unrest in Poland by underscoring Gierek's warnings that Poland can "only be an independent country under socialism."

Washington Post 8/20/80

8/20/80

The Polish Government sought today to combat spreading labor unrest by arresting at least 14 leaders of the dissident organization (The Committee for Self-Defense - KOR) that has supported a week long strike by tens of thousands of workers. At the same time, the government sought to try to chip away at the solidarity of the workers when it offered wage settlements on a factory-by-factory basis instead of dealing with the strike committee.

N.Y. Times 8/21/80

8/21/80

The Polish Government replaced its chief negotiator today as striking workers continued to resist attempts to divide them. The government announced a member of the Politburo, M. Jagielski, would head up a commission to settle the strikes.

N.Y. Times 8/22/80

8/24/80

In a sweeping move to end labor unrest, Poland's Communist Party today fired Edward Babiuch and several other high officials involved with labor and industry and promised to allow free elections for new leadership in the official trade unions. In a speech Edward Gierek stressed that while the Communist system could be reformed, its fundamental structure could not be challenged. He said: "only socialist Poland can be an independent state within durable borders and with international prestige."

Washington Post 8/25/80

8/25/80

The government made a further concession and yielded to striker's demands that telephone lines

between the Gdansk-Gdynia region and the rest of the country be restored.

Today for the first time the strike coordinating committee in Gdansk was being advised by a group of seven intellectuals, headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the editor of a Roman Catholic magazine.

N.Y. Times 8/26/80

8/26/80

The crippling strikes spread from the northern coastal region to cities in other parts of Poland today. The number of workers out was estimated at 250,000. Both church and state issued oblique warnings that Poland faced the risk of Soviet intervention.

N.Y. Times 8/27/80

8/27/80

The Soviet Union charged tonight that "anti-socialist forces" were trying to subvert Poland's socialist system.

Washington Post 8/28/80

8/28/80

The government warned that the spreading strikes "cannot go on much longer." A government spokesman reported no decisive progress on negotiations. Lech Waleska, head of the Interfactory Strike Committee, appealed to workers to refrain from further walkouts. The appeal was handed over to the state authorities, who were left to decide whether to make it public.

N.Y. Times 8/29/80

8/29/80

Strikes that have plunged Poland into crisis for 15 days spread for the first time to the vital southern mining region and Warsaw. The party leadership,

which has vacillated since the crisis began, continued its attacks on what it denounced as "anti-socialist elements" and suggested anew the possibility of Soviet intervention.

N.Y. Times 8/30/80

8/30/80

The Polish Government and the strike committee at the Lenin shipyard reached a preliminary agreement that for the first time grants workers in Soviet Bloc countries the right to strike and for an independent, self-governing trade union.

N.Y. Times 8/31/80

8/31/80

The Soviet Union delivered a stinging attack on leadership of Poland's striking workers tonight in an authoritative statement that implicitly rejects the accord reached earlier today with the Polish Government.

Pravda reminded Poland of its obligations to the Warsaw Pact and Comecon, and by implication indicated a lack of confidence in the Polish leadership.

Washington Post 9/1/80

9/2/80

Eastern European Communist Governments effectively rejected yesterday the settlement negotiated by the Polish Government with striking workers and moved to block the spread of the Polish disease to their own workers.

Baltimore Sun 9/3/80

9/3/80

The Polish Government announced today that the Soviet Union has granted a "badly needed" major loan to stabilize the economy.

Washington Post 9/4/80

9/4/80

In an apparent attempt to deflect concern within the Soviet Bloc about Poland's concessions to its workers, the government today reasserted its loyalty to the Soviet Union and its Eastern European neighbors.

In other developments the Polish Economic Ministry refused to provide any details on the newly announced Soviet loan or to say when the loan was made. But a Foreign Ministry official said the credits were actually negotiated in June. The sum was believed to be about \$100 million. Compared to Poland's overall debt of \$20 billion and its estimated payments of principal and interest of about \$7.18 billion this year, the sum appeared relatively unimpressive.

N.Y. Times 9/5/80

9/4/80

The gains scored by workers in recent strikes are sparking a surge of activism that promises to bring even greater political change and possibly greater conflict.

The rights that many workers won to organize and act independently of the party structure are now being demanded by almost everyone--students, sculptors, scientists, professors and even bureaucrats.

Wall Street Journal 9/5/80

9/6/80

Edward Gierek was dismissed early today. He was replaced by Stanislaw Kania, a 53 year old Politburo member who had been in charge of security affairs.

N.Y. Times 9/7/80

Poland's new party chief Stanislaw Kania pledged today to honor commitments made by his predecessor to militant workers while strengthening ties to Moscow.

Washington Post 9/7/80

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev warmly welcomed the selection of Stanislaw Kania as Poland's new leader and called him a "staunch" Communist firmly committed to "the inviolable friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union."

In a message that went beyond routine congratulations, Brezhnev praised Kania as a champion of "the leading role" of the Communist Party and expressed firm conviction that Poland would quickly overcome its current difficulties.

Washington Post 9/8/80

9/7/80

Lech Waleska and Stefan Cardinal Wyseynski met today in what was regarded as an unusual attempt by the church to bring itself closer to the workers.

N.Y. Times 9/8/80

9/10/80

While Poland's new government sought aid in Moscow for its pressing economic problems, workers in cities and towns across the country continued to strike. It appeared likely that the smaller strikes might last for some time. The workers seem to consider the present atmosphere an ideal time to press for dismissal of unpopular factory chiefs, party bosses and the like.

N.Y. Times 9/11/80

9/15/80

The Polish Government published regulations governing the registration of the new independent trade unions, in effect giving them an official green light.

Washington Post 9/16/80

9/16/80

Poland announced today that there will be unspecified cutbacks totaling \$400 million in public spending on industry and administration as part of an austerity move to help finance recent labor settlements. A spokesman for the Catholic Church said broadcasting of Sunday mass over the state radio will begin next Sunday.

Washington Post 9/17/80

9/17/80

The Polish independent union organizers decided to form a national federation and register the entire labor movement as one union.

Facts on File 9/19/80

9/19/80

The U.S. said today that it had noted signs of increased military activity by the Soviet Union along Poland's western and eastern borders.

N.Y. Times 9/20/80

9/22/80

More than three million of Poland's 19 million workers have formed the independent trade union to date.

Facts on File 9/23/80

September 24

Lech Waleska registered the new independent union in a Warsaw court as single nationwide organization called "Solidarity".

Facts on File 9/26/80

September 27

The Soviet leadership issued a strong warning to Poland's Communist Party leadership and new trade union that "enemies of socialism" were trying to subvert Poland.

Facts on File 10/3/80

September 28

The Gdansk free trade union threatened a one-hour warning strike for October 3 to protest the government's failure to fulfill pay increase agreements.

Facts on File 10/3/80

October 3

Solidarity staged a one-hour coordinated strike that involved hundreds of thousands of workers.

October 6

The Polish Communist Party Central Committee ended three days of bitter debate during which eight members were purged.

October 8

GDR head of state Erich Honnecker said that the GDR could not remain indifferent to developments in Poland. He said "anti-Socialist forces financed from abroad were trying to undermine the Party's rule in Poland.

Facts on File 10/10/80

October 9

Czechoslovakia Communist Party Chief Gustav Husak condemned the "Anti-socialist forces" in Poland that he claimed were supported by the West.

Facts on File 10/10/80

October 14

East German Leader Erich Honnecker warned of possible Soviet Bloc action to stop any threat to Communism in Poland.

"One this is clear", he said, "Poland is and will remain a socialist country. It belongs inseparably to the world of socialism and no one can turn back the wheel of history." Earlier he charged the West Germans with abetting the striking Polish workers.

N.Y. Times 10/15/80

The official umbrella organization for Poland's Government-controlled trade unions has collapsed in the wake of rebellious workers' efforts to establish independent trade unions.

The Polish news agency reported that nine government trade unions have decided to withdraw from the organization and that 14 others are expected to pull out by the end of the month.

Facts on File 10/30/80

October 24

Polish authorities conferred legal status on Solidarity but imposed registration qualifications unacceptable to the group. The court attached a provision to the charter that it must acknowledge the "leading role" the Communist Party plays in national affairs.

Facts on File 10/31/80

October 30

Party leader Stanislaw Kania and Prime Minister Josef Pinkowski came to Moscow today for a hurried meeting with Leonid I. Brezhnev.

Tass reported Brezhnev as "expressing the conviction that the Communists and working people of fraternal Poland will be able to resolve the sharp problems of political and economic development that have arisen before them."

Tass also reported: "The Soviet and Polish leaders expressed determination to protect and strengthen the indissoluble fraternal ties linking the two peoples."

The participants, it added also "resolutely condemned attempts by certain imperialist circles to wage subversive activities against Socialist Poland and interfere in its affairs."

N.Y. Times 10/31/80

November 6

Answering a new strike threat, Polish Communist authorities cautioned against rash action but made no promises that would satisfy the workers' demand for restoration of the original wording of their charter.

Washington Post 11/7/80

November 9

The Polish Supreme Court ruled today that the Charter legalizing the independent trade union movement could stand without a reference to the "leading role" of the Communist Party in Polish society.

Leaders of Solidarity promptly called off plans for a nationwide strike called for November 12.

N.Y. Times 11/11/80

The Polish Government will unveil plans next week for implementing food rationing. The plan will cover meats, fats, and sugar all of which are in critically short supply.

Wall Street Journal 11/12/80

November 14 The Government of Poland has asked the United States for a whopping \$3 billion in emergency economic aid.

Washington Post 11/14/80

November 19 The Polish Government announced plans for strengthening the country's failing economy and said that investment cutbacks, decentralization of the decision process and food rationing were likely for the beginning of 1981.

However, the central government retained control of setting the production levels of over 40 important industrial items of 19 agricultural items remained in central government hands.

Facts on File 11/21/80

November 22 At least 18 first secretaries in the 49 provinces of Poland have been ousted in the biggest shakeup of the Communist Party since the de-Stalinization of 1956.

N.Y. Times 11/23/80

November 24 The Soviet Union, in a stern warning, said a threatened rail strike" could touch on Poland's national and defense interests" and it accused the independent trade union movement of attempting to "maintain the tense situation in the country."

Protests at the detention of a Solidarity volunteer coincided with a strike by railway workers angry at the government's failure to fulfill a pay agreement.

The official Polish news agency said today the government had removed four district governors who had come under fire from local chapters of Solidarity.

Washington Post 11/25/80

November 25

Solidarity demanded reforms today of the country's powerful security apparatus and threatened a general strike in Warsaw if six imprisoned activists are not freed.

Among union demands are for the establishment of a mixed commission to investigate the prosecutor's office, the police, and the secret police for alleged abuses of authority. A cut in the budget of the secret police has also been demanded.

Washington Post 11/26/80

November 27

Poland's independent trade union Solidarity today called off a general strike in the Warsaw region following the dramatic, early morning release of two imprisoned workers.

Washington Post 11/27/80

As East Germany and Czechoslovakia issued harsh denunciations of developments in Poland, the government and Solidarity set a date for a series of union demands that have brought the country, once again, to the brink of major disruption.

The events in Warsaw were almost overshadowed by the reaction they have called up beyond the borders. In Czechoslovakia, Rude Pravo, the party newspaper made its strongest attack so far, declaring there were limits to the union's activities. Referring to the dangers posed by the reform movement led by Alexander Dubcek, the article said: "After all possibilities were exhausted there was no other way than to turn to the Soviet Union and the closest Socialist allies with a request for international aid."

The East German official daily Neues Deutschland renewed its attack asserting that the independent labor movement was taking instructions from counter-revolutionaries.

N.Y. Times 11/28/80

November 29

The Communist Central Party Committee will carry out a purge of "anti-socialist elements" the official press said today.

Washington Post 11/30/80

December 2

The Party Central Committee announced it had dismissed four members of the Politburo. The four men who were removed were regarded as members of a conservative faction that had resisted cooperation with the trade union movement.

Party leader Kania told the Central Committee that some locals of Solidarity were engaging in industrial action "of a political character". He claimed the labor movement had been infiltrated by persons with anticommunist connections outside the

country who wanted to "dismantle and unbalance and overthrow the Socialist statehood of Poland".

Facts on File 12/5/80

December 8

The Soviet Union declared today that Poland's independent trade unions have turned to "open confrontation" with the Communist Government in an effort to aggravate "the political struggle" there and to drive the country into the Western camp.

In almost identical language, the official East German news agency condemned "counterrevolutionary groups" acting inside Solidarity. The official Czechoslovak news agency said ominously that each Communist country shares responsibility for the fate of other Communist states, and the Bulgarian news agency accused the United States of attempting to take control of the Polish economy.

Washington Post 12/9/80

December 12

The leadership of the Roman Catholic Church condemned acts by political dissidents and extremists that it claimed "could raise the danger of a threat to freedom and statehood of the fatherland".

Facts on File 12/31/80

December 14

More than 1,000 farmers gathered in Warsaw to attempt to organize their own independent union.

Facts on File 12/31/80

December 16

Government, church and labor union officials joined together in an appeal for national unity at a memorial service to shipyard workers killed by government forces in 1970.

Facts on File 12/31/81

CHRONOLOGY OF THE POLISH CRISIS

1981

January 6 Farmers in southeastern Poland called for a one-hour warning strike to protest government harassment of activists who had pushed for recognition of their union, Rural Solidarity.

January 9 Solidarity affirmed its demand for a 40 hour, five-day workweek and urged its followers to remain off the job the next day. The union call followed a Communist Party spokesman's accusation that the union sought to destabilize the country.

Facts on File 1/9/81

January 10 Millions of Polish workers defied government threats and pleas and heeded the call of Solidarity to take the day off to press their demand for a 40 hour, 5-day week.

Communist party leader Kania warned the nation's private farmers against trying to organize Rural Solidarity. Kania said "antisocialists" and "counterrevolutionaries" were involved in the farmers' effort to have their union recognized by the Polish courts.

January 31 Leaders of Solidarity reached a compromise agreement with the government about a 5-day workweek and access to the news media for the independent labor movement. There was no reported progress on the third dispute -- recognition of an independent union representing Poland's 3 million private farmers. Waleska said unless all three issues are settled "as a package" the union will go ahead with the plans for a nationwide strike.

Washington Post 1/31/81

February 9

Prime Minister Josef Pinkowski was dismissed today and General Jaruzelski, the Minister of Defense, was nominated to replace him at a meeting of the central committee of the Polish Communist Party. General Jaruzelski will be the fourth Prime Minister in Poland in a year.

New York Times 2/10/81

February 12

The new Prime Minister appealed today for three months without strikes to allow his government to deal with the nation's economic problems. General Jaruzelski promised a government of competency, efficiency and democratic style. Despite the pleas of the new government, Poland is still facing labor problems mainly from the Supreme Court's decision February 12 denying them rights to an independent union.

New York Times 2/13/81

February 22

The Reagan Administration has decided to let the Polish government defer repayment of the more than \$80 million owed to the U.S.

Washington Post 2/23/81

March 5

The Reagan Administration said today it was concerned over signs that the Soviet Union and some of its allies were about to begin military maneuvers in and around Poland.

In Warsaw, police reportedly detained Jacob Kuron, a leading dissident and advisor to Solidarity, and informed him that he was suspected of slandering the state.

New York Times 3/6/81

March 6

Poland has asked Western governments and banks for a massive \$10.9 billion rescue package to help solve its severe financial crisis.

In Paris last week, Polish officials asked export credit officials of the 15 creditor nations to reschedule over the next 10 years repayment of \$4.4 billion in export credits due this year. Poland would pay nothing on this debt during a "grace period" covering the first five years under this arrangement. Poland is also said to have asked Western governments for \$3.4 billion in new government guaranteed export credits to cover its current trade deficit and interest it owes on foreign debt.

Washington Post 3/7/81

March 10

An estimated 500,000 Polish workers held a one-hour warning strike today in the province of Lodz.

Associated Press 3/10/81

March 20

Police beat and kicked local Solidarity union officials, ending their sit-in at a government building prompting unions in three cities to call protest strikes later today.

United Press International 3/20/81

March 24

Poland's top labor negotiator warned today of economic chaos and civil war unless Solidarity moderates its demands, but angry union officials scheduled a nationwide warning strike for March 27. Solidarity demands the firing of the Deputy Governor of Bydgoszcz, the local police commander and the regional prosecutor, whom it accuses of responsibility for the police beating

23 union activists who refused to leave a provincial government meeting March 19.

Associated Press 3/24/81

March 26

The Polish government and union leaders failed to resume negotiations today as Premier Jaruzelski met with Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski in a last minute effort to avert a threatened four-hour general warning strike. That strike is scheduled to be followed by an indefinite general strike next week unless the government agrees to union demands.

The Soviet news agency Tass described the situation in Poland as "extremely tense" and the country was virtually flooded with provocative leaflets containing "direct threats against Communists". Tass described the police action in Bydgoszcz as "lawful action".

Washington Post 3/27/81

March 29

The Soviet Union, in the most menacing terms it has used so far, accused the Solidarity trade union federation of launching an open struggle against Poland's internal affairs. It accused Reagan of "hypocrisy" and called on him to "cease interference in whatever form in Poland's internal affairs."

Washington Post 3/30/81

March 30

The Polish Communist Party Politburo, facing a nationwide strike, won a vote of confidence today from the party's central committee in a stormy, 18-hour session. The committee also adopted a resolution calling for an explanation of the March 19 beating of unionists in Bydgoszcz, the incident that sparked the current labor unrest. The Politburo said party

leaders should take decisive action to strengthen the party.

Washington Post 3/30/81

March 30

The Solidarity labor movement suspended a potentially catastrophic general strike today after marathon talks with the Communist government produced tentative agreement on major issues one hour before a union deadline was to expire.

At yesterday's Communist Central Party Committee meeting, the party leadership in the Politburo came under attack from the rank and file after it accused Solidarity of launching a power struggle against the Communists.

Among the most significant developments to emerge from the Committee meeting were a call for elections to be held throughout the party and announcement that a long awaited Party Congress will take place before July 20. The call for elections which would be democratic and by secret ballot at all levels could eventually pose a challenge to career bureaucrats and the Soviet model of communism.

In the agreement with the union announced today the government undertook to:

- Put on trial and punish individuals for Bydyoszcz beatings and immediately withdraw special police units from that city.
- Establish a special commission to study the farmers' case and submit its proposals by April 15.

Washington Post 3/31/81

April 5

Leonid I. Brezhnev flew to Prague today amid intense speculation that a decision to intervene in Poland would come in the next few days. In Washington, officials said that President Reagan had sent a strongly worded message to Brezhnev on April 13 to underscore the seriousness with which the U.S. viewed Soviet military moves in and around Poland.

Pravda demanded for the fourth straight day that Polish Communists crack down on Solidarity and argued in a front-page editorial that "any deviation, even the slightest" from Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy "brings with it grave consequences for socialism".

New York Times 4/6/81

April 6

Defense Secretary Weinberger said today that the Soviet Union has been reenforcing its forces based in Poland and claimed that the buildup is already having the same intimidating effect as an invasion. "I think it's invasion by osmosis," he said.

Associated Press 4/6/81

Pravda accused Defense Secretary Weinberger of fueling international tension by criticizing Warsaw Pact exercises in and around Poland.

Associated Press 4/6/81

The Soviet Union has announced sharp cuts in the number of Polish tourists who may visit their country in what observers said could be an attempt to limit the spread of information on Poland's labor troubles.

Associated Press 4/6/81

Poland's problems are not its alone to solve, Czechoslovakian Communist Party leader Gustav Husak said today in a forceful reaffirmation of the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Washington Post 4/7/81

April 7

Leonid I. Brezhnev said today that he thought Polish Communists would be able to end that country's crisis by themselves. Eight hours later it was announced that Soviet-Bloc military exercises, which had lasted three weeks, had ended.

New York Times 4/8/81

April 23

The Kremlin's chief ideologist Mikhael Suslov arrived in Warsaw unexpectedly for talks with the entire Polish Politburo.

Washington Post 4/24/81

Officially the Suslov trip was called a "working visit" and Polish officials made no effort to disguise the fact that Suslov came to discuss Soviet concerns over the reformist course of the Polish Party in an effort to reassert its battered authority.

Baltimore Sun 4/24/81

May 4

Public criminal trials of Polish Government and Communist Party officials accused of corruption and abuse of power will begin within the next two months, a Polish Party spokesman said today. The proceedings would be timed to precede the Communist Party Congress set for July 14-18 to dramatize the Party's leadership's stated commitment to the process of self-renewal and reform.

Washington Post 5/5/81

May 28

Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski died early today after a lengthy illness. The Cardinal's death removes a principal figure in Polish political crisis: one of the main advocates of democracy but also a moderating influence on Solidarity.

Washington Post 5/29/81

June 7

Poland's leaders announced today an emergency meeting of the Communist Party's Central Committee following persistent reports of a tough letter from the Kremlin demanding firm measures to restore the Party's authority. Contributing to tension here has been the threat of a two-hour warning strike in Bydgoszcz by workers protesting police brutality.

Washington Post 6/8/81

June 10

The Polish Government released the text of the letter from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. In it the Soviets reminded the Poles that the Soviet people had helped them to build a better life. The Soviets declared that "some of the tendencies in the development of the People's Republic of Poland, especially in the areas of ideology and the economic policy of the previous leadership, has aroused our anxiety for some years... we deemed it important that the party decisively resist attempts by the enemies of socialism to take advantage of the difficulties...but this has not been done at all. Constant concessions to anti-socialist forces and their demands have led to a retreat by the Polish Party, step by step, under

pressure of domestic counterrevolution, supported by foreign imperialist centers of subversion."

The Soviets complained that "the enemy has seized control of the mass information media." The Polish Party had allowed attempts "to slander and disorganize the security agencies, the police and the army." This they said amounted to disarming the socialist state to the mercy of its class enemies. As a result "the offensive by the antisocialist enemy forces threatens the interests of our entire commonwealth, "its cohesion, its integrity and the security of its borders."

The Soviets warned that the Polish Party must mobilize all the healthy forces in society to resist the class enemy and combat counterrevolution."

The Kremlin's letter provoked a bitter power struggle in the meeting of the Polish Central Committee.

New York Times 6/11/80

Facts on File 6/12/80

June 12

Premier Jaruzelski today dropped five ministers from his cabinet, including Deputy Premier Kisiel and Justice Minister Bafia, and proposed a major cabinet shuffle aimed at rescuing Poland's crippled economy. Kisiel was planning commission chief. The removal of Bafia appeared to be a concession to Solidarity which criticized him for his role in investigating the beating of three union members in northwestern Bydgoszcz March 19.

Associated Press 6/12/81

Jaruzelski outlined an economic recovery program that would combine greater self-management in individual enterprises with the country's system of central planning. He called on the unions to stop demanding pay increases. He emphasized that during the first five months of 1981 industrial production dropped 12% while the average wage increased 25%.

Facts on File 6/19/81

June 14 Stanislaw Kania was elected by the party organization in Cracow to be a delegate to the National Party Congress scheduled for July.. Kania's election by secret ballot marked a new phenomenon for the country: the nation's leaders had to run for office in elections by secret ballot that offered a true choice of candidates.

June 22 Poland's central bank repaid a \$30 million note to Western banks on the last day before default. Poland is currently negotiating to reschedule \$2.4 billion of its commercial bank debt falling due between March 26 and December 31. Poland's total debt to Western banks was estimated at \$24 billion.

Facts on File 7/17/81

June 23 Pravda warned that any change in Poland's international status would threaten Soviet security interests. The article said that the post World War II division of Europe was "the cornerstone of security" on the continent.

Facts on File 6/26/81

June 24

The position of Poland's Communist Party chief, Stanislaw Kania has been strengthened as a result of the Pole's first free election since World War II.

Analysis of the results of the election for delegates to the Party Congress shows that the major upset has taken place not at the top of the party but at the next rung down. An estimated 80% of the present 250 man Central Committee were not elected to the Congress. An even more remarkable turnover has taken place in the party's regional power structure. Of 49 regional party secretaries elected, only three held office at the time of the last regular Communist Party Congress in February of last year.

Washington Post 6/30/81

July 5

The Soviet Union and Poland issued a communique reaffirming Poland's commitment to the Soviet bloc following a three day visit by Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. The communique, by omission, indicated agreement on foreign policy but little agreement on domestic issues.

In Sofia, Bulgaria, a senior official of the Soviet bloc trading organization COMECON announced that no joint rescue operation would be mounted to help Poland out of its economic crisis.

Washington Post 7/6/81

July 7

The Roman Catholic Church today named a 52-year-old expert in canon law, Archbishop Josef Glemp to succeed Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski as primate of Poland.

Washington Post 7/8/81

July 8

Longshoremen halted work on at least 60 ships in Baltic ports for one hour today. The stoppage by 46,000 workers coincided with warnings that industrial protests could jeopardize next week's National Communist Party Congress. The dockworkers' action protested government failure to keep a pledge to grant a portworkers' charter on conditions and rights. The dockworkers' strike was followed tonight by an announcement from the employees of the state-owned LOT that they planned to go ahead with a four hour strike the next day.

Washington Post 7/9/81

July 9

Employees of the state airline LOT and transportation workers in Bydgoszcz held warning strikes today to press disputes with the government over personnel matters.

The LOT strike was called to protest the government's refusal to accept the airline workers' choice of a new director. The Ministry of Transportation cited "overriding state interests" rejecting the workers' choice.

In Bydgoszcz, the transport workers struck for two hours to press a long-standing demand for the removal of their director, whom they accuse of corruption.

Washington Post 7/10/81

July 14

Poland's unprecedented Communist Party Congress opened today with a politically charged procedural dispute over how to elect the party leader. The dispute overshadowed Kania's opening address in which he defended the democratic reforms of the past year, but reaffirmed Poland's continued allegiance to the Soviet Bloc.

In addition to electing a new leadership, the main tasks of the Congress are to draft a program designed to lead Poland out of its political and economic crisis and strengthen institutional controls over the party bureaucracy.

In another assertion of independence, the delegates voted to expand the agenda to include discussion of an investigation into the responsibility of former leaders for the crisis.

Washington Post 7/15/81

July 15

Poland's Communist Party voted tonight to expel its former leader Edward Gierek together with several other of the country's most powerful politicians during the past decade.

Washington Post 7/16/81

July 19

Poland's Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski told the emergency Communist Party Congress that the price of food, coal, natural gas and housing would have to be increased 110 percent and that wage increases would have to end.

The Prime Minister declared that in the face of new labor unrest and what he called growing anarchy, "we must decisively state, if the situation will require it, authorities will execute their constitutional obligation to save the state from disintegration and the nation from catastrophe."

The Prime Minister cited the threat of a dock-workers' strike set for July 23, another by airline workers July 24 and a Solidarity protest march set for July 27. He cited shortages of raw materials and fuel,

hoarding of food, a foreign debt that will swell by another \$3 billion this year, and falling agriculture and industrial production. Meat supplies will dwindle further in the next two to four months, he said.

New York Times 7/20/81

July 21 Employees of the Polish airline LOT agreed to suspend indefinitely a strike set for July 25. A letter from Prime Minister Jaruzelski promised the LOT workers a greater voice in the airline's management. The government also appointed an official to draft a new law guaranteeing LOT more self-government.

July 24 Solidarity refused to endorse a government announcement that meat rations would be reduced by 20 percent for an unspecified number of months.

July 25 Protests over food shortages and the distribution system for food erupted in Kutno.

July 28 The U.S. government announced that Poland would be granted an additional \$55 million in credits to buy corn to save its poultry industry. Additionally the Catholic Relief Agency would be allowed to purchase surplus American food at low prices for Poland.

July 29 Workers in Lodz conducted their third "march against hunger" since July 25. The demonstration was organized by Solidarity.

July 29 The official Polish news agency announced hunger demonstrations in four cities.

Warning strikes were called in the cities of Czestochowa, Piotrko, Trybunalski and Grundziadz. In the mining center at Katowice 6,000 miners started

negotiations with local authorities aimed at averting a strike over food shortages.

Facts on File 7/31/81

August 2

The Polish Government gave way once more to Solidarity by conceding the union's right to publish bulletins and other information free of censorship.

The government replaced the deputy minister in charge of the economy. New leaders also were named for the interior ministry and two other cabinet posts.

Wall Street Journal 8/3/81

August 3

The government named a special staff of civilians and military officials to distribute food and raw materials. The panel was given broad authority "to ensure the necessary means for the population to survive the supply crisis". The group would also be allowed to reduce investments and transfer workers in redundant jobs.

August 4

Some 115,000 workers struck for an hour in the cities of Czestochawa and Rudomski. Another 30,000 staged a hunger strike in Kalisz.

August 5

A convoy of truck and bus drivers ended a 50 hour blockage of Warsaw's main streets. The demonstration reached an impasse when police denied the convoy permission to parade past Communist Party headquarters. The 50 hour strike concluded after nearly one million workers demanded more food.

Facts on File 8/7/81

August 7

A television news broadcast accused Solidarity of arranging "dangerous demonstrations aimed at disrupting

the country's economic and political life.

Pravda printed one of its harshest articles to date on Solidarity. The paper quoted two Polish communist workers in a telephone exchange plant in Warsaw. The two said that "extremist forces in Solidarity were exploiting" economic difficulties caused "by the strikes they themselves organize." The union, according to the workers, was "pushing the country into an abyss."

August 8

The Soviet Commander of the Warsaw Pact arrived in Poland for talks with Prime Minister Jaruzelski. The talks coincided with stepped up attacks on Solidarity and a Soviet amphibious landing exercise in Lithuania, 15 miles from the Polish border.

August 10

Solidarity leaders accused the government of trying to smash the union through a recent anti-Solidarity campaign. Some suggested that the government had purposely adjourned talks on food shortages to discredit Solidarity.

August 10

Rallies were held in six cities and three regional chapters of Solidarity called strike alerts. The largest demonstration occurred in Lublin where 80,000 to 100,000 workers staged a 15 minute strike against the cut in meat rations.

August 11

Party chief Kania warned that further street demonstrations would result in a national tragedy. However, he made a conciliatory gesture to Solidarity saying "the Party stretches out its hand of agreement to all the forces that are for a Socialist Poland."

August 12

The national leadership of Solidarity appealed to regional chapters and supporters to halt strikes and demonstrations against food shortages. They called for full unity and no protest actions until Solidarity's first national meeting planned for October.

Facts on File 8/14/81

August 14

Poland's Roman Catholic Hierarchy called on the Communist Party and Solidarity to resume negotiations to resolve "an economic and moral crisis."

Wall Street Journal 8/15/81

August 15

Talks between Polish leaders and Brezhnev ended with publication of a conciliatory communique that included a Soviet commitment to increase economic aid. The Soviets pledged to defer repayment of Poland's \$4.5 billion debt to Moscow for five years. The communique also promised the Soviet Union would supply Poland with more raw materials for light industry and also certain consumer goods.

The communique endorsed the Polish Communist Party Congress by saying that the Party now had "the ever wider support of millions of working people." The communique stressed the Party's mandate was linked to its commitment to "Marxist-Leninist principles" and to strengthening the Party's guiding role."

August 19

A strike by as many as two-thirds of the nation's 60,000 printers shut down publication of most of Poland's newspapers for two days. The strike was called to protest the government's anti-solidarity campaign and to press the union demand for more access to time on radio and TV.

Polish authorities attempted to publish skeleton editions of a number of newspapers but most distributors refused to handle the papers.

Facts on File 8/21/81

August 26 Polish Catholic primate Archbishop Josef Glemp appealed for 30 day strike moritorium.

Facts on File 8/28/81

September 3 The Polish Communist Party rejected Solidarity's call for greater worker self-management and control of key personnel appointments. Party Leader Kania said that "The party will not relinquish the right to a personnel policy relating to state agencies". He added that such a right was part of the party's leading role in Polish life. He also warned Solidarity that the government would not be "pushed to the brink" and would use every means to preserve socialism in Poland. Other Central Committee members accused the union of striving for "ultimate political power" through such "anarchic trends" as worker management.

Facts on File 9/11/81

September 8 Solidarity asked the government to hold a national referendum on workers' rights in running factories. A motion approved with only one dissenting vote said that if Parliament did not sponsor a referendum on self-management the union would do so itself.

The union convention also approved a message to workers in other Soviet-Bloc countries to encourage them to establish similar unions. It was the first

time the Polish union had directly addressed workers in other Communist countries.

The convention condemned attempts to hamper union organizers by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Defense.

The delegates made various appeals likely to upset the authorities:

Elections to parliament not stage managed by the Communist Party.

Freedom of travel and emigration.

Rewriting of history books to fill in gaps pertaining to the USSR.

New York Times 9/9/81

September 9

Poland's Communist authority accused Solidarity of interfering in the internal affairs of other Soviet-Bloc countries by sending a message of support to free trade unionists in Eastern Europe. The sharp attack reflected official concern at the breaking of yet another taboo by the independent trade union. Until now, one of the main arguments of Polish officials in defending the emergence of Solidarity was that Poland - with its powerful Roman Catholic church and independent peasantry - should be regarded as a special case within the Soviet-Bloc. This, it is believed, has been a key factor in Soviet restraint.

New York Times 9/11/81

September 10

The Soviet Union accused Solidarity of engaging "an antisocialist and anti-Soviet orgy" at its convention.

A commentary by Tass said that the union's leaders in a conspiracy with "agents of imperialist secret services" were planning to use the union as a vehicle to challenge the Polish Communist Party's leading role, restore private ownership and subvert the country's ties to the Soviet Union.

New York Times 9/11/81

Solidarity called for free elections, challenging the Communist Party's monopoly. A resolution passed by Solidarity's first National Congress said the present electoral system made it impossible for the community to demonstrate its will.

Few Poles doubt that, in genuinely free elections, the Communist Party would be swept from power.

The Congress also voted against altering the union's statutes so as to delete recognition of the Communist Party's leading role in Poland. Instead it said the nature of this role should be defined more closely, an apparent reference to earlier demands for workers' self-management that would free the economy from party control.

Washington Post 9/11/81

September 11

The Soviet Union's campaign against Solidarity added a new dimension as officially organized rallies were called throughout the Soviet Union to denounce the threat of "counterrevolution" in Poland.

Workers were assembled in factories throughout the USSR to approve an official letter that charged

Solidarity with trying to incite workers in the Soviet Bloc to "betray" communism. The Solidarity appeal to Eastern Bloc free trade unionists was characterized as "nothing else but a malice against socialism."

The letter also contended that the Poles owed "their existence" to the Soviet Union because of its role driving the Nazis out of Poland in World War II. This historic link, according to the letter, made Solidarity's recent provocations all the more unacceptable.

September 14 Solidarity members responded to the Soviet anti-union rallies with an invitation to Moscow workers to visit Poland so that they could judge Solidarity's politics independently.

September 16 The Polish Communist Party accused Solidarity of transforming itself into an opposition party that possibly would push Poland toward "a new national tragedy." The ruling Politburo charged that the labor union had unilaterally broken the agreements under which it was formed in August and September 1980.

Facts on File 9/18/81

September 18 The Polish leadership received a letter from the Soviet Union demanding that radical steps be taken to end all anti-Soviet activity within the country. Solidarity's convention was called "a tribune from which slanders and insults sounded against our state." Solidarity's message to East Bloc nations was termed "a revolting provocation."

Facts on File 9/25/81

September 22

A senior member of the Polish Communist Party warned that the Soviet Union might cut back on shipments of strategic raw materials, including oil, unless "anti-Soviet" activity in Poland stopped. The warning delivered by Stefan Olszowski lent substance to increasing speculation that Moscow might now turn to economic sanctions, not military intervention, in an effort to curb the liberalization drive spearheaded by Solidarity.

Reports have circulated that only a portion of the September 18 letter from the Kremlin has been made public and that the part kept secret threatens reductions in Soviet supplies of cotton, oil and natural gas.

Several local branches of Solidarity have passed resolutions condemning the Soviet letter as interference in Poland's affairs.

New York Times 9/23/81

September 23

Leaders of Solidarity modified their position on the issue of workers' self-management. Union leaders resolved at a meeting that the government may keep the exclusive right to appoint managers of state enterprises if workers are allowed a veto.

The Soviet Union criticized Polish Communist leaders for not doing enough to curb anti-Socialist activities and asserted that Communist activists throughout Poland are "demanding that party and government authorities should not back down one more step before counterrevolutionary pressures."

Washington Post 9/24/81

September 24 Polish Prime Minister Jaruzelski told Parliament today that he had instructed the army and police to crack down on lawlessness and anti-Soviet activity, and he also called on Solidarity to isolate itself from "the enemies of socialism," to join the government in carrying out economic changes and to recognize the supreme rationale of an alliance with the Soviet Union.

New York Times 9/25/81

September 25 The Polish Parliament passed legislation giving workers a greater role in running the nation's factories. The law would have workers' councils and the state share the power to name directors in certain industries. The state would have the exclusive right of appointment only in certain strategic industries not yet identified. The workers' councils and the state would, however, have the right to appeal an appointment to a court whose decision would be binding.

Facts on File 10/2/81

September 29 Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarity were reprimanded by the union membership on the ground that they acted undemocratically in reaching a compromise with the government on the worker self-management issue.

New York Times 9/30/81

October 5 The Solidarity Congress called for a public trial of former Communist leaders and threatened a national warning strike to protest recent price increases. The labor union threatened that "unless their investigations of these cases is begun by the end of the year, Solidarity would try them before a people's tribunal."

[Solidarity's policy making National Consultative Committee will set-up a people's tribunal which, following a public investigation, will judge and censure the guilty." The tribunal would be similar to Bertrand Russell's Trials of America for Vietnam War Crimes.]

Washington Post 10/8/81

October 13

The Soviet Union in a signed commentary in Pravda warned Poland's leaders that they bear "special responsibility" for effectively checking Solidarity because it constitutes a threat to "the vital interests" of all socialist countries. The warning came two days before a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Party. The Pravda commentary indirectly criticized Polish Communist Leader Stanislaw Kania by referring scornfully to "the so-called renewal" policy under which "the socialist foundations of the Polish society are being undermined."

The Pravda commentary said that "anti-socialist forces "are using Solidarity to seize state power and they are being supported by "international reaction" and by "reactionary Catholic clerics."

Washington Post 10/14/81

October 15

Poland's Communist authorities and Solidarity held their first negotiations for nearly two months, and the union said the government had agreed to a temporary freeze on all food prices.

Washington Post 10/16/81

October 18

Stanislaw Kania was dismissed by the Central Committee and replaced by his Prime Minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. The Central Committee also issued demands for stronger action to overcome the economic crisis and for a tougher line towards "anti-Socialists" in Solidarity. The Central Committee also called for the imposition of martial law. Also called for was renegotiation of the agreements signed last summer with striking workers, a resumption of the six day workweek and a "temporary suspension" of the right to strike.

New York Times 10/19/81

October 19

Solidarity reacted cautiously today to the change in the country's political leadership, but criticized a temporary ban on strikes as a violation of international law.

Strikes continued in several parts of the country including Zyrardow where about 12,000 textile workers are occupying factories to protest food shortages.

Meanwhile, Brezhnev sent a "Dear Comrade" message to Jaruzelski. The message and other Soviet commentaries reflected guarded satisfaction at the ouster of Kania and the emergence of a harder line by the Polish Central Committee.

Washington Post 10/20/81

October 24

A quarter of a million Polish workers continued wildcat strikes despite an appeal for restraint by the leadership of Solidarity.

The government issued a decree giving army personnel a role in supervising the work of regional administrations. Political analysts said the decree appeared to be intended as much as an attempt to increase central control as a warning to Solidarity.

Washington Post 10/25/81

October 25

The Polish Government announced that it was sending teams of troops throughout the country to resolve unrest.

The action came hours after Solidarity called a one-hour national strike for October 28 to protest food shortages and what it termed "harassment."

New York Times 10/26/81

The government, citing what it called an impending national disaster, demanded that Solidarity call off a one-hour nationwide strike.

The government's statement came as a general strike in western Zielona Gora Province went into a fourth day. About 150,000 workers there are demanding talks with authorities over the dismissal of some Solidarity members.

At the same time, the industrial town of Tarnobrzeg was paralyzed by a strike of about 120,000 workers, while in Zyrardow about 12,000 textile workers, most of them women, were nearing the second week of a strike. The Polish News Agency said that there were strikes going on in 36 of Poland's 49 provinces.

New York Times 10/26/81

October 27 The United States will supply Poland with \$29 million in surplus dairy products. In addition, \$50 million in food aid is being planned for early next year. So far the U.S. has given Poland \$741 million in credits and food aid this year.

New York Times 10/28/81

October 28 Millions of Polish workers staged a one-hour general strike.

New York Times 10/28/81

October 30 General Wojciech Jaruzelski asked Parliament to appeal for an end to strikes. He warned that if the strikes did not cease he was prepared to seek a law forbidding them.

General Jaruzelski also dismissed five ministers in yet another government shake-up.

At the same time the Solidarity leadership issued a call for an immediate end to all strikes which it said had taken on "an uncontrolled character" that "threatens the destruction of the union."

In addition to a strike by textile workers in Zyrardow, there are major strikes in the Southwest where the entire region of Zielona Gora is shut down. There was a two-hour stoppage in the port city of Szezecin. The copper mines in Silesia are also restive.

Each of the strikes has some specific grievance, but one overall factor is a general mood of anger and frustration as daily hardships mount.

New York Times 10/31/81

November 1 More than 300,000 Poles remained on strike, despite urgent appeals for labor peace from both Parliament and Solidarity.

A parliamentary resolution - a watered down version of language proposed by Party Secretary Jaruzelski - stopped short of an official ban on strikes. The second resolution said if the appeal is not heeded Parliament will discuss legal means of action, including a total ban on strikes that could be enforced by use of Polish troops.

Wall Street Journal 11/2/81

November 4 Poland's three most powerful leaders met for more than two hours: General Jaruzelski, Lech Walesa and Archbishop Josef Glemp.

Before the meeting the Communist Party lashed out at what it called "suicide" strikes leading the nation to "economic collapse" and Walesa warned that Poles would govern themselves if their demands were ignored.

Associated Press 11/4/81

November 10 Poland formally applied for membership in the International Monetary Fund.

New York Times 11/11/81

November 15 The Soviet Union looking at what could be large costs it would have to bear if the Polish economy collapsed, acquiesced to Polish membership in the IMF to limit future drains on the Soviet economy and open the door to more Western assistance,

American and European analysts believe.

New York Times 11/16/81

November 17 Poland's Communist authorities and Solidarity opened talks that could pave the way for power-sharing.

The negotiations stem directly from the November 4 meeting with Jaruzelski, Walesa, and Archbishop Glemp. ' '

Washington Post 11/18/81

November 18 Lech Walesa addressed an unusual appeal to "the working people and trade unions of Western Europe," asking them to pressure their governments to provide food and to get Poland through a difficult winter.

New York Times 11/21/81

November 27 Communist authorities moved a step closer to an outright ban on strikes. Communist Party leader Jaruzelski said the Politburo had decided to instruct the government to introduce legislation in Parliament banning strikes.

Washington Post 11/28/81

December 1 Policemen surrounded a firefighters' academy as more than 300 cadets defied demands that they end a sit-in strike begun November 25.

The protesters want the same privileges for which students have been staging sit-ins at universities. Students have been striking 70 of Poland's 104 institutions of higher learning to back demands for more autonomy and a greater share in the school's

activities.

New York Times 12/2/81

December 2 Poland appealed to the U.S. for \$200 million in emergency U.S. food credits.

Washington Post 12/2/81

December 2 Polish policemen backed by army units mounted a helicopter assault on the academy of striking fire cadets and removed 300 students without bloodshed.

New York Times 12/3/81

December 3 The government and Solidarity bombarded the public with a flow of speeches and announcements putting their conflicting views of how to pull their country out of its crisis.

General Jaruzelski renewed his plea that national accord must be reached to save the nation. At the same time, he maintained Poland must retain its Communist system and ordered all arms of government to assure the right of Communist Party organizations to be present in all enterprises.

The leadership of Solidarity issued a statement accusing the regime of destroying chances for a national accord by such actions as the assault by helicopter-borne police, supported by the Army, against the fire academy and by delaying economic and other changes.

Lech Walesa told a factory rally in Radom that Solidarity would call for voting in factories throughout

the nation on a general strike if Parliament approves the Communist Party request for a law granting the government the power to ban strikes and curtail other freedoms that Poles have won since Solidarity came into existence in August 1980.

The party leadership is gravely concerned over the fact that in factories in 21 of Poland's 49 provinces, demands have been made for the removal of Party organizations within the enterprises. Not only are such cells considered vital bases of Communist power, but it is believed that any action against them would be viewed as a provocation by the Soviet leadership, which considers their existence sacrosanct.

New York Times 12/4/81

Lech Walesa questioned the sincerity of the government in offering to create a new national consensus. He said talks with the Communist authorities has proved virtually fruitless.

Washington Post 12/4/81

December 5

The Polish government is postponing a major reform to decentralize Poland's economy and introduce worker control originally scheduled to go into effect Jan. 1.

The delay is officially attributed to lack of preparation and concern that the country's desperately weak economy could not now sustain the shock of adjusting to new system.

Solidarity leaders criticized the action as a step backward toward a more centralized control of the economy

as an attempt by Communist authorities to cancel laws, passed less than three months ago, which conferred more independence on individual factories and provided for workers' self-management.

Washington Post 12/6/81

December 7

There is a document now circulating among Poland's lenders dated November 1981. The report contains the most detailed official economic information yet published by the Communist rulers in Warsaw.

The picture is one of a major nation gone flat broke. The document reveals that a year ago the Central Bank was holding only \$1 million in hard currency reserves. (Poland's overall debt to Western banks and governments is \$25 billion with amortization costing about \$6.7 billion annually.) The statistics show that Poland's state-owned industries are running such enormous losses that they threaten to bankrupt the national government's domestic accounts, while internationally the government faces another five years of red ink.

According to the memo, Poland anticipates that Western countries will finance the bulk of Poland's imbalance. According to the memo, the Polish report shows that no credits in convertible currency from Socialist countries are expected.

This means that Poland expects the West not only to reschedule loans already made, but also to provide significant new financing, even while Warsaw is in

arrears. The scale of such new debt can be seen by scanning the Poles' projection of total foreign debt. This figure rises steeply from what the Poles put at \$25.1 billion today to a peak of \$33.4 billion at the end of 1987.

Wall Street Journal 12/7/81

December 6

The government accused Solidarity of breaking its agreements by refusing to negotiate a national accord and choosing "a road that may bring about confrontation."

The Warsaw regional organization voted to call for a day of protest, Dec. 17, over the assault on the striking fire cadets. The Warsaw union was also considering a plan calling on the National union leadership to establish a force of "permanent worker guards to insure that we are adequately protected in the future."

New York Times 12/7/81

December 7

The Polish authorities said that leaders of Solidarity called last week for the overthrow of the government. Warsaw radio transmitted what it said were tape recordings of remarks made at a closed meeting of union leaders at Radom on Dec. 3.

Lech Walesa, who was identified as having predicted a "confrontation" confirmed that he had made such comments.

In Moscow, Tass said the union leaders' comments demonstrated their refusal to cooperate with the authorities and made clear that they would accept no changes that did not give the union control of key positions in Poland.

Isvestia said that extremists in Poland's labor movement were verging on terrorism in their attempts to undermine the influence of the Communist Party.

New York Times 12/8/81

December 8

Poland's Roman Catholic Church sided with Solidarity in a strong warning to the Polish Parliament not to pass the emergency powers legislation sought by the government.

In a letter addressed to the assembly, Archbishop Jozef Glemp said adoption of the act, which the Communist authorities say is necessary to curb strikes, would itself provoke greater conflict. Considering Poland's dire social and economic situation, the primate said further conflict should be avoided.

Washington Post 12/9/81

In a sign of alarm over developments in Poland, the main Soviet newspapers resumed stinging attacks on Solidarity accusing it of creating "a sharply worsened situation in a majority of regions of the country."

The armed forces daily Krasnaya Zvezda compared the Polish situation to that existing in Chile before the overthrow of Allendé.

Privately Soviet officials have made it clear that they were dissatisfied with party leader Jaruzelski because of his refusal to pursue a more assertive policy toward Solidarity.

Isvestia said Solidarity's leadership has advanced "unacceptable solutions" that would "practically bring under its control the key positions in the country."

The paper said Solidarity is in an open struggle for power and the destruction of Poland's state and Socialist order."

The commentaries said that Solidarity had already managed to cripple industries and agriculture and was now trying to seize control of the mass media.

Washington Post 12/9/81

December 9

Polish news media gave new evidence of the shattered state of the economy. They said children's winter vacations would be extended this year because of hearing problems at schools, and reported a 5,000 (cq) waiting in line for gasoline in Wnoclaw.

The Polish Army news paper Zolniezr Wolnosci asserted that Poles should blame Lesh Walesa and Solidarity for such problems.

Baltimore Sun, 12/10/81

Solidarity chief Lech Walsea and his senior advisors talked today with Archbishop Josef Glemp amid speculation that the Archbishop was arranging a new meeting between communist authorities and the independent trade union.

Washington Post, 12/10/81

December 10

Lech Walesa declared his independent union "cannot retreat anymore" in the face of unrelenting assaults by Poland's Communist regime. Walesa said, "we do not want confrontation, but we cannot retreat anymore. We cannot be passive any longer as this would be detrimental to the union." He stressed that strikes, not violence, were the union's only weapons.

Solidarity officials in Szczecin, the Baltic Port on the East German border, said five policemen began a hunger strike in the Adolf Warski shipyard to demand a trade union for police. The authorities have fought such an idea for months since it was raised by former policemen in Warsaw.

Poland's Army newspaper Zolnierz Wocnosci, quoted an unnamed colonel as saying it was time to halt Solidarity's "March to a national catastrophe, the suicidal march to the gallows." The paper called unionists who paint anti-media graffiti and paste up posters "snots run berserk."

The Communist paper Trybuna Ludu wrote, "Solidarity leaders demonstrate concern over their popularity and this is most easily gained through negation, through a resounding no. But how much longer can this no continue when more and more people in Poland begin to realize that such posture can only head to catastrophe?"

Associated Press, 12/10/81

Tass, in a blistering attack read on Soviet TV, suggested that Solidarity was preparing for an armed insurrection. It said arms and explosives had been stolen from state storehouses and that Polish authorities had had to step up security at state and party buildings.

Soviet security had been threatened, Tass said, by calls "for using the lines of communications passing through Polish territory to preserve Polish allies."

Baltimore Sun, 12/11/81

The Soviet Union charged today that its security was directly threatened by counterrevolutionary elements in Poland, and it condemned the Roman Catholic Church for stirring up what it characterized as anti-Communist sentiment. Tass accused Polish priests of using services to discredit "actions of the government in defense of socialism."

"At the same time, attacks on the allied ties of Poland are being stepped up and demagogical demands are being made for Poland's withdrawal" from the Warsaw Pact and the commercial economic group, Tass said.

Tass accused Solidarity of sending emissaries to Southern Poland to distribute "anti-government, anti-Socialist and "anti-Soviet materials."

The news agency said some "provocative elements" were questioning the "existing Soviet-Polish border" and "maliciously smear" the Soviet liberation of Poland from Nazi occupation during World War II. "All this justly angers the Soviet people."

New York Times, 12/11.81

December 11

Solidarity dug in its heels today, and there was an indication the Polish government might be ready to pull back a little from a showdown with the independent union.

Lech Walesa told reporters in Gdansk that "Society is fed up with all this talk of accord. It wants a genuine accord and there are points on which we are not ready to budge. We want the government to serve the

public and since the government is not doing it, we are going to teach it how," Walesa told reporters.

Piotr Stefanski, the Deputy Marshal of the Parliament was quoted by the official news agency as saying the government might settle for a law setting strict rules for calling strikes rather than an outright ban on them.

Associated Press 12/11/81

December 11

The government indicated tonight that it might press next week for an emergency law to curb advances won by Solidarity.

There was a mood of militancy among the union's members as its leadership met in Gdansk to map strategy.

Jan Rulewski, a leader from Bydgoszcz, called for speedy elections to "all representative institutions" and a national referendum so that "society can say whether it trusts the representative institutions as they are one whole system."

Solidarity approved three resolutions. One raised objections to the amendments to a labor union bill that is before Parliament. One amendment would extend to three months the period during which strikes could be suspended by the government in an emergency.

Another resolution supported the creation of labor unions in the police force and prison guard service. The third backed the Solidarity chapter at the state-run television.

In another development, the government asked Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy of France to postpone a three

day visit to Warsaw that was scheduled to begin December 16.

New York Times 12/12/81

December 12

Solidarity's leaders proposed a nationwide referendum on setting up a non-Communist Government and defining the country's military relationship with the Soviet Union.

The referendum would be held by Solidarity, presumably among non-union people as well as union members, if Prime Minister Janutelski's Government does not agree to a series of union demands by the end of the year.

According to the draft proposal the referendum would declare that "society cannot any longer tolerate the existing situation in the country" and would ask four questions:

- Are you for a vote of confidence in General Jaruzelski?
- Are you for establishing a temporary government and free elections?
- Are you for providing military guarantees to the Soviet Union in Poland?
- Can the Polish United Workers Party be the instrument of such guarantees in the name of one whole society?

World Press 12/13/81

December 13

Tass described the state of affairs in Poland as critical and said "Solidarity leaders are trying to make red hot the already complicated situation in

the country" by rejecting a government call for "national accord" on the meeting of the Solidarity National Commission Tass declared: "Participants at the Gdansk gathering cynically called for turning the difficult food situation in the country to the benefit of counter-revolution."

It said that "patriotic" Polish forces are demanding that "a rebuff be given to the enemies of socialism" for their "criminal action."

Washington Post 12/13/81

Riot police raided Solidarity Headquarters in Warsaw early today, and other police reportedly arrested union activists.

Washington Post 12/13/81

Poland's new military leaders issued a decree of martial law, drastically restricting civic rights and suspending the operations of Solidarity.

A proclamation broadcast by the newly formed Martial Council for National Redemption, now the top authority in the country, also banned all kinds of public gatherings and demonstrations and ordered internment of citizens whose loyalty to the state was under "justified suspicion." (Authorities reportedly interned an estimated 1,000 people around the country, according to wire services.)

Among the detained were those top leaders and advisors of Solidarity who had assembled in Gdansk to work out strategy in the latest confrontation.

Lech Walesa was meeting with government officials at a site outside of Warsaw. Mr. Walesa was flown to Warsaw in a government plane at 4 a.m.

Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman, stressed that Solidarity had been suspended, not banned altogether. He said the Soviet Union was aware that Poland was about to mount a military operation.

The measures announced by the military government were sweeping. The measures grew in numbers as the day wore on. By night-fall, there were 61 separate points. A curfew was imposed from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The country's airspace was closed to international and domestic flights. The sale of gasoline to private motorists was forbidden. Dissemination of any publications without prior approval of the authorities was made a punishable offense. Censorship of mail and other communications was legalized.

In a move to control the vital centers of mass communication, all regional radio and television broadcasts were suspended, so that only programs originating in Warsaw could be aired. Over half a dozen public service sectors, ranging from transport to post offices and electric power stations, were placed directly under the military, apparently rendering the employees to a military command structure. Orders from superiors are equivalent to "military orders during a war," the radio said.

New York Times 12/14/81

December 13

Prospects for the payment on December 14 of more than \$500 million in interest owed by Poland to Western banks have been clouded by the weekend's political crisis,

a government official said today.

The official said that, if Poland failed to make the payment the banks would almost certainly refuse to go ahead to stretch out repayment schedules for \$2.4 billion in Poland's debt that was due by the end of December.

Of the \$500 million of interest due, between 20 and 25 percent is owed to American banks.

New York Times 12/14/81

December 14

Workers at two of Warsaw's biggest factories went on strike, Solidarity sources said but a general strike failed to materialize.

Spokesmen for Solidarity told of work stoppage by thousands in the giant Ursus Tractor Factory and the Warsaw Steel Mill. The reports could not be independently verified.

The United States today suspended government food shipments to Poland in reaction to the Polish Government's declaration of martial law. The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said.

"There has been a suspension of all food assistance except through private channels from the United States until the situation is reassessed," Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill.) said.

Associated Press 12/14/81