

NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, Zurich
31 December 1981

P. Law

WARSAW'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SPASOWSKI AND RURARZ
Attacks Against Washington

It is with satisfaction that the Polish military regime's propaganda is making known the thesis that the United States found no agreement among "any of its NATO allies" for its policy of sanctions against Warsaw. This propaganda is saying that the mission of Washington's emissary Eagleburger ended with a total fiasco in Western Europe. With its "malicious conception," Washinton is more isolated than ever before, it is being said. At the same time the campaign against the ambassadors who fled, Spasowski the ambassador to Washington and Rurarz to Tokyo, who are being portrayed as renegades and traitors, is still being conducted. Both diplomats, it is being said, are to be tried in absentia by a martial law court. Their property is to be confiscated, their houses placed at the disposal of families with a lot of children or to serve as children's homes.

Praise for the Allies

In contrast to the policy of "treacherous" Washington, the "unselfish" aid of the East Bloc states is being praised. What is being mentioned in particular are the deliveries from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Those are deliveries from a triad that from the very beginning had been the most strongly opposed to the reforms and union pluralism in Poland. Observers are pointing out that these deliveries were started immediately after the military coup, which, to be precise, suggests the conclusion that Moscow, Prague and East Berlin had been instructed ahead of time about the events of December 13. An activity like East Bloc aid to Poland cannot be organized on an ad hoc basis, in view of the problems of the economic bureaucracy in communist-ruled countries. The relevant preparations had to have been set in motion some time beforehand. Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria seem not to have been informed ahead of time, because symbolic aid from those countries is only just starting to come about in modest degrees. For that reason Polish planning chief Madej went to Budapest shortly before Christmas. He asked the Hungarian government for additional deliveries of consumer goods.

It is noteworthy that the military government's propaganda is treating the aid from the GDR with a certain amount of discretion. This is in contradiction to East Berlin's loud propaganda. In its statements of gratitude even the military regime in Warsaw is unable to sound as effusive as was apparently expected, because of the deeply rooted, hostile attitude of the Polish population toward Honecker's regime. East Berlin provided aid in other forms, as well. The Polish police forces are equipped, it is understood,

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with gas cartridges, billy clubs, barbed wire and police dogs from the GDR.

Before Christmas the military regime communicated the fact that food exports from East and West had stopped. Solidarity had already made corresponding demands. The Jaruzelski regime, in the meantime, had steadily stressed that something like that could not be acceptable, because, it was argued, Poland's socialist partners could make up for the reneging on agreed deliveries by taking countermeasures. The export of meat, sugar, chocolate and sweets to neighboring countries was stopped only after the move against Solidarity.

"Normalization Stage"

The military regime is still hesitating in its accounts about how long the state of emergency will last. The regime's second press spokesman, Gornicki, said in an interview with Hungarian television that the first phase of martial law was over and that a second stage was now beginning. It was a transition toward a "normalization phase," and it was up to the population as to when that would be completed. The first phase certainly means the army and police action against the nation. It is doubtful whether that brought the sought-for destruction of all of the pluralistic structures which had newly emerged in the course of the last 16 months. The second stage is to consist of a combination of chess moves, including intimidation measures and the introduction of "reforms," in the sense of restoring the Soviet-style model of rule.

A series of secret trials before martial law courts is currently under way. So far more than 30 local leaders of Solidarity have been sentenced to an average of three years in prison. Any appeal is ruled out. The military courts have charged the accused with violating the decree on banning strikes and stopping union activity. Even though the constitution is still in force, anybody can be arrested at any time under the military regime.

The End in the Piast Mine

The situation in Upper Silesia is the worst. That has to do with the fact that Solidarity had a real stronghold there. For decades the Upper Silesian miners have numbered among the resolute proponents of the right to strike. And that incident, played out in the Piast coal mine in the last two weeks -- where more than 1,000 miners held out for days under great privations in the dark -- is part of the tradition of the workers struggle there. It was a familiar incident in the 1930s, during the period of great unemployment, and this sort of resistance was called a "black strike." The communists valued this weapon as being particularly well suited for the proletariat's resistance against exploitation. After the miners broke off their action on late Monday afternoon, they were examined by doctors. Only four have been treated medically. All of the others, after the tunnel was checked out by special commandos, are to report for work again on Wednesday. Twelve strike leaders have been handed over to a martial law court as "terrorists." The way in which the military junta taped the most intimate tele-

phone conversations between family members and the miners during the "black strike" and then replayed them on the radio, with derisive observations, created a feeling of disgust among the population.