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**THE SWEDISH TRADE UNION, SWEDISH SOCIETY  
AND POLISH PRO-INDEPENDENCE EMIGRATION  
IN SWEDEN TOWARD THE INDEPENDENT SELF-GOVERNING  
TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY AND THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION  
IN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC IN THE YEARS 1980–1990**

**Keywords:** Sweden, Polish emigrants, the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity, opposition in Poland in the years 1980–1990

**Summary**

As far as the Polish People's Republic (PRL) and the communist years are concerned, support from professional organizations, society members, authorities and Polish emigration in Sweden to the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity ("Solidarność") and democratic opposition took a number of forms. Before the first independent trade union was established, activists of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party had supported the creation of such structures in the Polish People's Republic (PRL). Furthermore, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (Landsorganisationen and Sverige – LO), whose members were mainly social democrats, already during the 1980 strikes got in touch with the structures organizing public speeches of Polish workers. Consequently, the Swedish party supported striking workers on an international arena. This help was provided among others by Olof Palme, chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party, as well as in the form of financial assistance for organizational purposes and the purchase of printing machines. When martial law was imposed in

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the Polish People's Republic and Solidarity together with other opposition groups were declared illegal, Social Democratic and other Swedish trade unions supported the Polish underground democratic opposition in a number of ways. Money and gifts were collected and sent to PRL, and numerous propaganda and information activities were undertaken in Scandinavia, Europe and all over the world.

Apart from the assistance provided by the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO), support from the Swedish officials and Swedish society was of profound importance to the opposition groups established in the Polish People's Republic. After martial law had been imposed in PRL, minister Ole Ullsten together with Danish and Norwegian ministers of foreign affairs unanimously criticized restricting civil liberties in the Polish People's Republic as well as detaining (arresting) of Solidarity leaders and activists. Strong support for the then illegal structures of Solidarity and Polish people was offered by Swedish non-governmental and charity organizations such as the Swedish Red Cross, organization "Save the Children", Lutheran Help, Free Evangelic Church and Individual Relief. Attention should also be paid to help provided by Swedish people and Swedish educational institutions.

Special emphasis should also be placed on support that the democratic opposition groups in the Polish People's Republic received from their compatriots in Sweden. Two organizations, namely Polish Emigration Council (RUP), consisting of 16 pro-independence organizations, and Polish Emigration Federation (FUP), coordinated aid programmes launched in Sweden to give a hand to Solidarity and the democratic opposition.

Last but not least, one mustn't neglect support from Denmark-based Scandinavian Committee for Independent Poland headed by professor Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski. By the time it was transformed into Polish-Scandinavian Institute in December 1984, the aforementioned Committee had been leading a propaganda campaign, among other things in Sweden, to provide reliable information about political goings-on, the persecuted oppositionists, steps taken by the communist regime and actions taken internationally to help Polish people.

As far as the Polish People's Republic (PRL) and the communist years are concerned, support from professional organizations, society members, authorities and Polish emigration in Sweden to the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity ("Solidarność") and democratic opposition took a number of forms. The representatives of Swedish social democrats were the first to express their interest in the development of pro-independence opposition structures, long before Solidarity was founded. It was Sten Johnson, a professor of sociology, social democrat and editor of "Tiden" magazine, who in December 1977 got in touch with the activists of Worker's Defense Committee (KOR) (established on 23 September 1976). During his stay in Poland he met Adam Michnik and Jan

Lityński, and spoke with Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Jacek Kuroń. Similar interest in the development of pro-independence opposition in the Polish People's Republic was shown by Gunnar Frederiksson – a historian of philosophy who systematically published information about social climate and changing situation in our country in a daily newspaper „Aftonbladet”.<sup>1</sup> Face-to-face meetings with the activists of Polish opposition were reported in the Swedish press, e.g. in a widely-read daily newspaper “Dagens Nyheter”, to make the Swedish society aware of the fact that the democratic opposition existed and suffered from repressions in the Polish People's Republic.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking, the Swedish trade union, and not only social democratic circles, was interested in forming the independent trade union in Poland. Consequently, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (Landsorganisationen and Sverige – LO), whose members were mainly social democrats, already during the 1980 strikes got in touch with the structures involved in organizing public speeches of Polish workers. On 22 August 1980, the board of Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party declared their solidarity with shipyard workers striking in Gdańsk. Furthermore, it was no coincidence that in August 1980 Olof Palme, chairman of the aforementioned party, together with two other social democratic leaders, namely Will Brandt (Germany) and Bruno Kreisky (Austria), signed an appeal to Edward Gierek for the disuse of force against the Polish workers.<sup>3</sup> From the moment the strikes began, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation expressed their direct support for the protest and the protestants. Inter-Company Strike Committee in Gdańsk shipyard received financial assistance from the Swedish union for organizational purposes and the purchase of printing machines. To become familiar with the needs of the newly created independent trade union (first in the Polish People's Republic), in September

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<sup>1</sup> P. Jaworski: *Szwedzka pomoc dla Polski i „Solidarności” 1980–1981* [Swedish Aid for Poland and Solidarity 1980–1981], “Suecia Polonia” 2010, Y. IX, no. 3 (33), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Z. Zak-Stadfors: *Szwecja* [Sweden], in: *Akcja niepodległościowa na terenie międzynarodowym 1945–1990* [International Independence Action 1945–1990], joint publication, ed. T. Piesakowski. *Materiały do dziejów polskiego uchodźstwa 1945–1990* [Materials for the History of the Polish Diaspora 1945–1990], vol. IV, London 1999, pp. 441–442.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 437; B. Hajduk: *Polskie uchodźstwo niepodległościowe w Skandynawii w latach 1945–1989* [Polish Refugees in Scandinavia in Quest for Independence 1945–1990], in: *Zakończenie II wojny światowej. Polityka i dyplomacja międzynarodowa 1945–2005* [Putting an End to WWII. International Politics and Diplomacy 1945–2005], ed. M. Nurek, Gdańsk 2006, p. 204.

1980 Charles Kassman, a special delegate of the Swedish Confederation (LO), arrived in Gdańsk to meet Lech Wałęsa and Jacek Kuroń.<sup>4</sup>

Once the strikes had been over, Solidarity was founded and officially registered on 10 November 1980, and cooperation with the Swedish Trade Union Confederation continued. At the invitation from the Confederation (LO), delegates representing National Coordinating Commission NSZZ Solidarity, and to be more specific Bogdan Lis (vice-chairman) and Alicja Pieńkowska, visited Sweden between 26 and 28 February 1981. During their stay, they discussed issues relating to Solidarity representation in Sweden, though the candidature of Jakub Świącicki was eventually rejected by the Swedes. Moreover, further development and aid were scheduled, namely the delivery of printing machines.<sup>5</sup> A form of support for the Polish trade union and a tribute to its chairman Lech Wałęsa was an award presented in May 1981 by Social Democratic newspaper “Arbetet” for his “courage and action taken in favour of Polish workers in other that, by peaceful measures, independent trade union was founded”.<sup>6</sup> Via Denmark, Lech Wałęsa came to accept the award with his wife Danuta. The programme of stay included a welcome in the city hall by Arne Lundber, mayor of Malmö, meeting with the workers of “Knockum” shipyard, press conference in the office of a daily newspaper “Arbetet”, meeting with Malmö dwellers as well as representatives of Polish emigration organizations (among other things, Polish Emigration Council in Sweden, Central Committee for Independent Poland, and Pro Polonia Society in Denmark). In his speech, Lech Wałęsa expressed his gratitude for the award which, according to his words, would be spent on the then current activities of Solidarity.<sup>7</sup>

The first in the Polish People’s Polish Republic, independent trade union was supported internationally, which was reflected, among other things, in the participation of representatives of Swedish trade union in the 1st Congress of NZSS Solidarity Delegates held in September and October 1981. The Swedish Confederation (LO) was represented by Gunnar Nilsson (leader), Thorbjørn Carlsson

<sup>4</sup> P. Jaworski: *Szwedzka pomoc dla Polski...* [Swedish Aid for Poland...], op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem, pp. 29–30; “Kronika” [The Chronicle], April–May 1981, no. 3/4, pp. 28–29.

<sup>6</sup> The jury consisted of: Lars Engvist – chief editor of “Arbetet”, Einar Eriksson - president of a district trade union in Skaane, Erik Jönsson and Kurt Ward – board members of Social Democratic Party, Gunnar Nilsson - president of LO, and, last but not least, Olof Palme – chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, “Kronika” [The Chronicle], August–September 1981, no. 8/9, p. 31.

<sup>7</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle], August–September 1981, no. 8/9, pp. 29 and 32.

accompanied by his wife, Ture Mattsson and Irena Lundberg. Furthermore, Johansson was an “envoy” of Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation (TCO).<sup>8</sup>

Equipment and financial support was provided to Solidarity by the Swedish trade union as well as International Confederation of Free Trade Union (ICFTU) between 1980 and 1981. It was Lech Wałęsa who asked ICFTU to coordinate actions taken in favour of Solidarity in November 1980. According to the available information, by 13 December 1981 the Polish trade union received over 2 million Swedish crowns (i.e. circa 500 thousand dollars) from the Swedish union. Apart from that, Swedish professional organizations delivered equipment worth about 1.3 million Swedish crowns. The Swedes purchased, among other things, two printing machines and delivered them to Solidarity branches in Gdańsk and Wrocław. Zbigniew Bujak was inclined to believe that the support provided by the Swedish party was essential for Solidarity at that time since it enabled the activists to prepare all the necessary materials for the 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of NZSS Solidarity Delegates.<sup>9</sup>

Support lent by the Swedish Confederation (LO) was of major importance to the continuity of the Polish trade union and its underground activity, especially after martial law was imposed on 13 December 1981 to suspend Solidarity activity and eventually declare it illegal (officially in October 1982). Representatives of the two largest professional organizations, i.e. Gunnar Nilsson, vice-president of the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO), and Lennart Bodstrom, president of the Swedish Trade Union Organization (TCO), lodged a protest in the embassy of the Polish People’s Republic in Stockholm. They opted for setting up an ad hoc international committee to investigate living conditions in internment facilities.<sup>10</sup> It was also the Swedish Confederation that organized all over Sweden a series of protests and manifestations to express their loyal support for the Poles. On 14 December 1981, the Swedish activists in cooperation with Polish emigration organizations held the first in Sweden and in the world street demonstration in favour of Solidarity. Another public manifestation backed up by the Confederation,

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<sup>8</sup> Archiwum Krajowej Komisji NSZZ “Solidarność” w Gdańsku [Archives of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity], Biuro Koordynacyjne NSZZ “Solidarność” w Brukseli [The Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity in Brussels] (further: AKK NSZZ “Solidarność”, BKwB), sign. 433840 Sweden, lack of page number: Przedstawiciele związków zawodowych z zagranicy na I zjeździe “Solidarności” [Representatives of international trade unions in the 1st Congress of NZSS Solidarity], December 1981.

<sup>9</sup> *Szwedzka pomoc dla Polski...* [Swedish Aid for Poland...], op. cit., pp. 29 and 30.

<sup>10</sup> Ibidem, p. 34; “Kronika” [The Chronicle], January–February 1982, no. 1/2, p. 12.

attended by trade unionists and members of the Riksdag (Swedish Parliament), took place to condemn the introduction of martial law and commemorate the anniversary of December 1970 protest of workers in Gdansk. It is also worth mentioning a number of demonstrations inspired and organized by the Confederation, namely in 1982, 1983, 1984 and 1985 to mark the anniversaries of August Agreements and the aforementioned 1970 protest.<sup>11</sup> Wishing to express their strong and solid support for Solidarity underground activity, more than 100,000 Swedes signed a petition addressed to the Polish government and, in this way, demanded annulling martial law, releasing the interned and recognizing the legality of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity.

Using their connections with the Swedish social democrats, the Confederation helped Polish activists in Sweden to open Information Bureau in Stockholm immediately on 13 December 1981. Directors of Bureau, eventually closed in 1989 and before that a unit of the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity headed by Jerzy Milewski in Brussels, were Marek Michalski and Stefan Trzciński. The Bureau in Stockholm launched its propaganda and informational activity to report actions taken by Solidarity and the Polish opposition. It also offered direct help to the Poles and cooperated with aid organizations formed in Sweden. To be more specific, the Bureau organized regular transport of gifts and helped people cross the Polish border.<sup>12</sup>

It is worth emphasizing that the Swedish trade union provided Solidarity with strong and loyal support all the way – when the Polish union and its underground activity were declared illegal, when the Polish activists entered a dialogue with the Polish government and finally when they regained complete freedom. The members of Solidarity requested further back-up for their actions, especially when their activity was banned and they suffered numerous repressions. In their appeal of 2 April 1983 addressed to the chairman of LO, Gunnar Nilsson, members of the board of the Temporary Coordinating Commission NSZZ Solidarity, headed by Bogdan Lis, asked for help. The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) received a framework programme of activities to be undertaken both in Poland and abroad. The programme defined the amount of capital required for

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<sup>11</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle], January–February 1982, no. 1/2, p. 12; March–April 1982, no. 3/4, p. 31; September–October 1982, no. 9/10, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> E. Michalik: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji po drugiej wojnie światowej* [Polish Emigrants in Sweden after WWII], in: *Polacy w Skandynawii* [Poles in Scandinavia], ed. E. Olszewski, Lublin 1997, p. 202.

the accomplishment of objectives.<sup>13</sup> In response, in 1983 the National Secretariat of LO allocated 250,000 Swedish crowns for supporting Solidarity underground activities. Furthermore, for the sake of information campaign and independent education, the Confederation transferred additional 75,000 Swedish crowns. According to information provided to the Swedish Confederation by Zbigniew Bujak (leader of Solidarity in Mazowsze region), to continue its underground activity, the Polish union spent the above sum on buying printing devices and broadcasting equipment for Solidarity radio station, as well as covering the then current expenses.<sup>14</sup> A form of financial assistance for the Polish union was also a prize presented by editorial boards of Swedish “Dagens Nyheter” and Danish “Politiken” on the initiative of the Swedish union (LO), in the amount of 50,000 Swedish crowns (c.a. 7,000 dollars). In the rationale, one may read that „Wałęsa deserved the prize for his struggle for the right to live in freedom and truth”. This time it was the head of Solidarity branch in Brussels, Jerzy Milewski, who accepted the prize.<sup>15</sup>

Financial aid provided by the Swedish trade union throughout the entire period of Solidarity underground activity, was not cut off once the organization regained its full rights. For instance, a training programme, developed by Solidarity leaders to define necessary organizational actions to be taken by the union in (at last) free Poland, was also backed by the Swedes.<sup>16</sup>

Of profound importance were support and actions taken by the Confederation (LO) internationally to intervene directly with the authorities of the Polish People’s Republic and defend the imprisoned Solidarity members. The Swedish

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<sup>13</sup> NSZZ „Solidarność”, BKwB, sign. 433840 Sweden, lack of page number: Pismo Tymczasowej Komisji Koordynacyjnej NSZZ “Solidarność” do przewodniczącego LO Gunnara Nilssona [Letter from the Temporary Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity to Gunnar Nilsson - president of LO], 02.04.1983; ibidem: lack of page number: Biuro Koordynacyjne NSZZ “Solidarność” Zagranicą do Rune Molina z LO [The Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity to Rune Molin representing LO], 13.04.1983.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem: lack of page number: Przewodniczący Regionu Mazowsze NSZZ “Solidarność” do prezydenta Centrali Związkowej LO Stiga Malma [Leader of Solidarity in Mazowsze region to Stig Malm - president of the Swedish Confederation (LO)], 25.01.1984.

<sup>15</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle], March–April, May–June 1983, no. 3/4, p. 8 and no. 5/6, p. 28.

<sup>16</sup> AKK NSZZ “Solidarność”, BKwB, sign. 433840, lack of page number: Pismo szefa Biura Zagranicznego NSZZ “Solidarność” do przewodniczącego Wydziału Zagranicznego LO Ulfa Edströma [Letter from the head of the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity to Ulf Edström – head of LO International Department], 11.10.1980; ibidem, lack of page number: Wydział Zagraniczny Landsorganisation i Sverige do NSZZ “Solidarność” w sprawie programu edukacyjnego [LO International Department to NSZZ Solidarity on education programme], 29.01.1990.

union promoted attempts made by the Poles union to become a member of the World Confederation of Labour and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which ended in success in November 1986.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) protested vigorously against the imprisonment of the Workers' Defence Committee (KOR) and Solidarity activists, among others Bogdan Lis, Władysław Frasyniuk and Adam Michnik. In their appeal of 15 November 1985 to the Polish government, the Confederation members demanded releasing all political prisoners and trade unionists as well as declaring Solidarity legal. Such a protest was filed by the head of the LO international department in the embassy of the Polish People's Republic in Stockholm.<sup>18</sup> A number of appeals were also made by Swedish Social Democratic Youth League (Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Ungdomsförbund), among other things in February 1985 in an open letter to the Polish authorities.<sup>19</sup> Protest campaigns of 1987 and 1988 were aimed at restoring Solidarity's right to take full part in Polish political life and entering a dialogue with its leader Lech Wałęsa.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, special emphasis should be placed on the willingness of the Swedish trade union to provide Lech Wałęsa with legal aid in a lawsuit that the PRL authorities filed against him. Such support was granted in February 1986 by Hans – Goeran Franck law firm that cooperated with the LO.<sup>21</sup>

Activities undertaken by Solidarity were also backed by other trade unions founded in Sweden, e.g. the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees (Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation – TCO). On 13 April 1983, Jerzy Milewski,

<sup>17</sup> "Tydzień Polski" [The Polish Week], 8.06.1985, pp. 14–15.

<sup>18</sup> AKK NSZZ "Solidarność", BKwB, sign. 433840, lack of page number: Apel Centrali Związkowej LO do rządu PRL sygnowany przez przewodniczącego Stiga Malma [Appeal by the Swedish Confederation (LO) to the Polish government signed by Stig Malm, LO president], 22.05.1985; *ibidem*: lack of page number: Pismo sekretarza departamentu zagranicznego Centrali Związkowej LO Erika Karlssona do Światowej Konfederacji Wolnych Związków w Brukseli [Letter from Erik Karlsson, secretary of LO International Department, to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels], 15.11.1985.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*: lack of page number: List otwarty Związku Socjalistycznej Młodzieży Szwedzkiej do rządu PRL [Open letter from the Swedish Socialist Youth League to the Polish government], February 1985.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*: lack of page number: Oświadczenie zarządu Centrali Związkowej LO w sprawie NSZZ "Solidarność" [Statement by the leaders of the Swedish Confederation (LO) on NSZZ Solidarity], March 1988; *ibidem*: lack of page number: Pismo Biura Koordynacyjnego NSZZ "Solidarność" w Brukseli do szefa Stiga Malma w sprawie poparcia ruchu strajkowego w Polsce [Letter from the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity in Brussels to Stig Malm, LO president, on supporting strikes in Poland], 23.08.1988.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*: lack of page number: Telegram sekretarza LO Erika Karlssona do Lecha Wałęsy [Telegram from Erik Karlsson, LO secretary, to Lech Wałęsa], 7.02.1986.



head of Solidarity branch in Brussels, asked TCO for financial and organizational help. In response, TCO sent general Wojciech Jaruzelski a letter in which they defended Janusz Pałubicki, demanded discontinuing proceedings against him and his immediate release. Together with members of other confederations, TCO participated in conference organized by Solidarity in Warsaw between 24 and 28 October 1988. TCO leaders eventually decided to support the reconstruction of the Polish trade union and offered 200,000 Swedish crowns (about 30,000 dollars) for this purpose.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity in Brussels turned for help to the Swedish Metalworkers' Union. It was in Gdansk in September 1980 that Solidarity got in touch with the aforementioned Union and workers of "Knockum" shipyard in Malmö.<sup>23</sup> However, since no documents are available, the actual scope of assistance offered by the former cannot be defined.

On the other hand, support provided by Graphic Workers' Union (Grafiska Fack Förbundet) is richly documented. Direct cooperation began in October 1980 when the representatives of the Union, namely Ture Mattsson and Bertil Frick, arrived in Poland, among other things to identify what Solidarity required in terms of equipment, in other words to organise the supply of printing machines. Afterwards, in February 1982, a delegation of Swedish printers came to Poznan at the invitation of Inter-Company NSZZ Solidarity Committee. Talks were held over bringing the equipment from Sweden. Furthermore, the Swedish delegates met Solidarity activists, Lech Wałęsa and Andrzej Celiński, to discuss other forms of support that could be lend to the Polish trade union. Under the arrangements made, a five-person group of printers travelled to Sweden to participate in vocational training. During the period referred to as martial law, the

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem., lack of page number: Biuro Koordynacyjne NSZZ "Solidarność" w Brukseli do Svena Tockstedta [The Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity in Brussels to Sven Tockstedt], 13.04.1983; J. Milewski do przewodniczącego TCO Borna Rosengrena w Sztokholmie [Jerzy Milewski to Born Rosengren, president of TCO in Stockholm], 13.04.1983; ibidem: lack of page number: List otwarty Centrali Związkowej TCO do gen. Wojciecha Jaruzelskiego [Open letter from the Swedish Confederation (TCO) to general Wojciech Jaruzelski], September 1983; ibidem: lack of page number: Pismo przewodniczącego Szwedzkiego Związku Urzędników Samorządowych Lennarta Sahlstena do Joanny Pilarskiej w Brukseli [Letter from Lennart Sahlsten, president of the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union, to Joanna Pilarska in Brussels], 27.06.1988; ibidem: lack of page number: Centrala TCO do Lecha Wałęsa [The Swedish Confederation (TCO) to Lech Wałęsa], 20.11.1989; "Tydzień Polski" [The Polish Week], 18.08.1984.

<sup>23</sup> AKK NSZZ "Solidarność", BKwB, sign. 433840, lack of page number: Przewodniczący Biura Koordynacyjnego NSZZ "Solidarność" w Brukseli do szefa Związku Szwedzkich Metalowców [Head of the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarity in Brussels to the president of the Swedish Metalworkers' Union], 13.04.1983.

Swedish printers-unionists protested against placing a ban on Solidarity activity, persecuting its members and transferring the tied up capital of the Polish trade union to pro-PRL professional organizations, as well as demanded the return of 840 Swedish crowns taken from the then illegal Solidarity.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from aid granted by the Swedish trade union, support from Swedish authorities and society was also of major importance to Solidarity. After it had been founded, Ola Ullsten, leader of the Liberal People's Party and foreign minister in the coalition government formed by the prime minister Nils Olof Thorbjörn Fälldin, said that due to the threat of the USSR intervention in the Polish People's Republic, attempts made in favour of democratizing eastern Europe should not be hindered by external forces. Subsequently, in September 1981, he stated firmly that countries ought not to interfere with internal affairs of other states since this might be detrimental to international cooperation. When martial law was imposed in the Polish People's Republic, Ola Ullsten together with foreign ministers of Denmark and Norway as well as opposition leaders in Scandinavia unanimously condemned restricting civil liberties in Poland as well as interning (arresting) Solidarity leaders and activists.<sup>25</sup>

Initially reserved toward the goings-on in the Polish People's Republic, Olof Palme, leader of Swedish Social Democratic Party, eventually changed his mind. When civil liberties were restricted as a result of martial law, he came to conclusion that the situation in the PRL was no longer an internal matter, but should be considered an international issue. During demonstration organized in Stockholm on 13 March 1982, Palme demanded releasing all the imprisoned, giving up on repressing the activists and declaring Solidarity legal. He expressed his opinion a few days later while giving a speech in the Riksdag. On 8 October 1982, the Social Democratic Party won the elections and Palme became prime minister. Holding an official function, he still had a negative attitude to the Polish government though, as correctly observed by Jaworski, they hoped that the newly formed Swedish Social Democratic government would be more PRL-friendly.<sup>26</sup>

This negative attitude was also held by Ingvar Carlsson who, after the assassination in February 1986, was appointed a new leader of Social Democratic

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<sup>24</sup> Ibidem: lack of page number: Rezolucja 55 oddziału Związku Zawodowego Pracowników Poligrafii w Jönköping, Motala i Atvidaberg [Resolution by 55th branch of the Paper Workers' Union in Jönköping, Motala and Atvidaberg], dated 12.03.1983; "Kronika" [The Chronicle], March–April 1981, no. 3/4, p. 29.

<sup>25</sup> "Kronika" [The Chronicle], January–February 1982, no. 1/2, p. 12.

<sup>26</sup> P. Jaworski: *Szwedzka pomoc dla Polski...* [Swedish Aid for Poland...], op. cit., pp. 31, 34.

Party and a prime minister (through 1991). A crucial step taken by the Swedish government when martial law was imposed in Poland involved granting the right of political and humanitarian asylum to all Polish emigrants. It is worth adding that such a status was also granted to Polish people who arrived in Sweden in the years 1968–1970, i.e. when anti-Semitic campaign was unleashed by the Polish authorities.<sup>27</sup>

Major support for Solidarity and the Poles was also provided by Swedish charity organizations such as Swedish Red Cross (Röda Korset), organization Save the Children (Rädda Barnen), aid organizations belonging to religious associations, i.e. protestant Lutheran Help (Lutherhjälpen) or Free Evangelic Church (Evangeliska Frikyrkan), catholic organizations attached to parishes, humanitarian organizations such as Individual Relief (Individuell Manniskohjälp), etc. A wide range of humanitarian activities were undertaken by the Swedish Red Cross which by November 1981 allocated 5 million Swedish crowns for helping Poland, owing to which antibiotics, dressing materials, food (fruit and vegetables), detergents and other articles of every-day use were bought. On 9 and 10 January 1982, the Swedish Red Cross together with two other organizations, namely Save the Children and Sverige Lions Club, organized the collection of money. The action was called „Donate 1 crown”, attracted 20,000–40,000 volunteers and collected about 8.4 million Swedish crowns. Altogether, according to information derived from the Swedish Red Cross, about 40 million Swedish crowns were collected in 1982. Charity activities undertaken by the abovementioned organizations enabled to send Polish people gifts, and to be more specific 2.5 tons of children’s clothing, 200,000 pairs of shoes and 50,000 blankets.<sup>28</sup>

On the other hand, in 1981 the organization Save the Children made a generous donation of 4.3 million Swedish crowns to selected groups of Polish citizens. The sum included: 1 million Swedish crowns from the Swedish government, 1 million donated by the radio station, and the rest of the sum collected by Swedish institutions and individual donors. The organization “Save the Children”

<sup>27</sup> Throughout the abovementioned period more than 5,000 Polish Jews and about 2,600 political refugees arrived in Sweden; see A. Chodubski, E. Olszewski: *Stan badań nad zbiorowościami polonijnymi w Skandynawii* [Research on the Polish community in Scandinavia], in: *Polacy w Skandynawii...* [Poles in Scandinavia], op. cit., s. 424; E. Michalik: *Polityka imigracyjna w Szwecji* [Swedish Immigration Policy], in: *Polacy w Skandynawii...* [Poles in Scandinavia...], op. cit., p. 209; eadem: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji...*, op. cit., p. 194;

“Kronika” [The Chronicle] March–April 1982, no. 3/4, p. 31.

<sup>28</sup> *Dzień w którym wszyscy Szwedzi złożyli się po koronie* [The Day when all Swedes Donated a Crown], “Suecia Polonia” 2010, no. 3 (93), p. 3.

spent the funds raised on buying footwear, clothing and food (including milk for the children) which were distributed in cooperation with regional branches of Solidarity. The organization also provided children's homes with food parcels and offered financial assistance to 185,000 children in Cracow, Lublin and other cities. Last but not least, thanks to action taken by Rädde Barnen in cooperation with Swedish scouts, state railways and women's organizations, 170,000 Polish children could wear new shoes.<sup>29</sup>

What also deserves attention is support provided to Solidarity and Polish people by church organizations formed in Sweden. It is worth mentioning charity action organized by Lutheran Help (Lutherhjälpen) thanks to which in November 1982 catholic institutions in Poland received over 1000 tons of canned meat and financial support amounting to 20.5 million Swedish crowns during the said year. Money was collected in protestant parishes, among other things in Värnamo by pastor Klister Fjadervik and in Anderstorp with a major contribution from pastor Börje Finnstedt. Altogether they managed to collect 5 tons of food, 5 tons of clothing and 3 tons of personal hygiene products, a greater part of which were brought to Poland by Wojciech Seliga, parish priest of the catholic church in Jönköping, to the order of the Sisters of the Holy Family and the most needy individuals. Furthermore, 1.5 tons of food were handed over by pastor Krister Fjadervik from Värnamo to organizations attached to Evangelical Church in Poland.<sup>30</sup> Similar charity activities were undertaken by Independent Evangelical Church. However, since no information concerning such initiatives is available, the actual scope of assistance cannot be defined. Likewise, no data has been collected about charity actions taken by Individual Relief organization.

Substantial aid was also offered by the catholic Church. It was the parish in Jönköping, and particularly the aforementioned priest Wojciech Seliga, that was first to provide such help. The parish succeeded in collecting 5.5 tons of food and dental surgery equipment which were brought to the Polish People's Republic at the beginning of May 1981 and handed over to the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart in Warsaw who ran a nursing home for the disabled children. Another transport of aid, i.e. medications, clothing and food, was arranged by the parish

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<sup>29</sup> P. Jaworski: *Szwedzka pomoc dla Polski...* [Swedish Aid for Poland...], op. cit., p. 32; "Kronika" [The Chronicle] November–December 1982, no. 11/12, p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> "Kronika" [The Chronicle] May–June, November–December 1981, no. 5/6, p. 32 and no. 11/12, p. 24; March–April 1982, no. 3/4, p. 31.

in Jönköping to Poznan, Radom and Cracow in January 1982.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, contribution made by Kaj Engelhardt, chief editor of weekly magazine “Katolsk Kyrkotidning”, mustn’t be neglected since the collected 300,000 Swedish crowns were a substantial sum allocated for helping the Poles.<sup>32</sup>

Swedish schools did not ignore problems encountered by Polish citizens either. They got in touch directly with educational institutions in Poland and, having identified their needs, sent them food, cleansing agents, copybooks, pens and writing paper. A well-known example is of Swedish teacher working in a lower-secondary school in Jönköping who collected 7 tons of food and sent it to Poland on 10 December.<sup>33</sup>

The Swedish society had also performed a great number of spontaneous actions. For instance, dwellers of Kungsör, a town situated 160 kilometres from Stockholm, in September 1984 organized help for the Poles, to be more specific 8 tons of clothing, footwear, hygiene products, medications, coffee, and other goods. Funds and necessities were also collected by shop owners, members of local groups such as Musicians’ Union in Eskilstuna or Metalworkers’ Union in Fagerst and Arbog. The townspeople also raised money for arranging the transport. For example, part of gifts were delivered to charity organization attached to the diocese in Gdańsk by Olavi Koljonen, president of trade union in Eskilstuna, and Taisto Fors, a local merchant.<sup>34</sup>

The Swiss media were also actively involved in actions taken to support Solidarity and the democratic opposition in the Polish People’s Republic. A widely-read Swedish daily – “Dagens Nyheter” published interviews with the opposition members who stayed in Sweden at that time, among others Mirosław Chojecki (founder of the Committee for Social Self-Defense “KOR”, publisher and member of the Temporary Coordinating Commission NSZZ Solidarity in the west) and Tadeusz Konwicki, a Polish intellectualist.<sup>35</sup> After the Polish Writers’ Association had been dissolved, representatives of the Swedish PEN club, Architects’ Association and Journalists’ Association defended Polish literates and delivered a protest

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<sup>31</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle] May – June 1981, no. 5/6, p. 32; January–February 1982, no. 1/2, p. 29.

<sup>32</sup> P. Jaworski, *Szwedzka pomoc dla Polski...* [Swedish Aid for Poland...], op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>33</sup> Ibidem, p. 32; “Kronika” [The Chronicle] November–December 1982, no. 11/12, p. 24.

<sup>34</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle] January - February 1985, no. 1/2, p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> AKK NSZZ “Solidarność”, Solidarity Private Archive of Aleksandra Dąbrowska – Pe-tersem (further: PA “Solidarność” AD-P), lack of page number: Note, February 1984; “Dagens Nyheter” 15.11.1983.

letter to the PRL embassy in Stockholm in which they demanded re-establishing the Polish Writers' Association and releasing the imprisoned publicists, among others Tadeusz Bielecki.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Swedish television gave publicity to Solidarity and strongly backed activities undertaken by the Polish workers. On 9 July 1984, it broadcasted a TV programme about the origin of the Committee for Social Self-Defense "KOR" and its leading activists, namely Jacek Kuron, Zbigniew Romaszewski and Adam Michnik, as well as active members of Solidarity, to name some: Zbigniew Bujak, Lech Wałęsa and Anna Walentynowicz.<sup>37</sup>

Special attention should also be paid to involvement of the Swedish artists who supported Solidarity and other opposition groups formed in the Polish People's Republic. A number of performances were given, among other things in the Royal Swedish Opera and theatres in Stockholm, Goteborg and Uppsala, starred by the distinguished Swedish artists who wished to express their wholehearted support for the Polish trade union and the Poles. The funds raised were transferred to the opposition organizations in the Polish People's Republic in cooperation with aid organizations such as the Swedish Red Cross, Save the Children and Sverige Lions Club. On 23 January 1982, the Artists' Association organized in Uppsala a cultural festival known as „Week for Poland” which included 25 musical and theatrical performances, shows and other events. Needless to say, the whole process was streamlined by the Royal Swedish Mail which sent parcels and gifts to the Polish People's Republic free of charge.<sup>38</sup>

It was also in Sweden that organizations offering direct support to Solidarity and the democratic opposition were formed. For instance, the Swedish Solidarity Support Committee (Svenska Stödskommite för Solidaritet) was set up in December 1981 and continued its outreach work by 1989. The Committee organized a wide-ranging campaign in favour of Solidarity and granted temporary aid for the Poles who arrived in Sweden after 1981. Moreover, support committees were established all over Sweden, e.g. Solidarity Support Committee in Södertälje and the Polish Solidarity Committee (Polen Solidaritets Kommite), the members of which were both Poles and Swedes, in Uppsala. It should also be noted that two of the aforementioned organizations, namely the Swedish Solidarity Support Committee and the Polish Solidarity Committee in Uppsala, represented the

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<sup>36</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle] November–December 1983, no. 11/12, p. 6; “Notatki Skandynawskie” [Scandinavian Notes] April 1986, no. 4, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle] July–August 1984, no. 7/8, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, January–February 1982, no. 1/2, p. 29.

Polish trade union during sessions of the Conference of Solidarity Support Organizations (CSSO), among other things in 1983. As far as southern Sweden is concerned, increased activity was the case with the Southern-Swedish Solidarity Support Committee in Malmö, later transformed into Independent Information Agency. Last but not least, organization headed by a Polish emigrant Andrzej Koraszewski published political books and brochures in three languages, i.e. Polish, Swedish and English, and distributed them all over Europe and the Polish People's Republic.<sup>39</sup>

Certainly, some sort of support for the Polish democratic opposition and Solidarity were Nobel Prizes awarded to Czesław Miłosz and Lech Wałęsa for their achievements and as expression of genuine sympathy that the Swedish authorities and society had toward Solidarity attempts to restore democracy and found independent trade union.<sup>40</sup>

Generous support for the Polish trade union and the democratic opposition was also provided by Polish refugees, and particularly pro-independence activists living in Sweden. As a matter of fact, cooperation with and support for the opposition groups formed in the Polish People's Republic had been the case long before Solidarity was established (i.e. before 1980). Polish emigrants firmly backed actions taken by: Workers' Defense Committee ("KOR" – 1976), Committee for Social Self-Defense "KOR" (1977), Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (1977), Society for Academic Courses (1978), Committee of the Free Trade Unions (1978), and independent student movement created as a unit of Student Solidarity Committee (1977).<sup>41</sup> Involvement from emigrants, reflected in a broad

<sup>39</sup> AKK NSZZ "Solidarność", PA "Solidarności" AD-P, lack of page number: Wycinek prasowy czasopisma „Tydzień Polski” [Press clipping from The Polish Week magazine] 8.06.1985; Z. Zak – Stadfors, Szwecja [Sweden], in: Akcja niepodległościowa... [International Independence...], op. cit., pp. 444, 447; E. Michalik: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji...* [Polish Emigrants in Sweden...], op. cit., pp. 202–203.

<sup>40</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, NSZZ "Solidarność" [National Archives in Gdansk, NSZZ Solidarity] (further: APG, NSZZ – "S"), 291, lack of page number: Echa Nobla, [News on the Noble Prize] 1981; "Życie Warszawy" [Warsaw Daily] 31.10.1983; "Berlingske Tidende" 7.10.1983; „Dagens Nyheter" 24.12.1983; "Aftenposten" 10.12.1983; „Kronika" [The Chronicle] November–December 1980, no. 11/12, p. 23; January–February, May–June 1984, no. 1/3, pp. 5, 6, 17 and 24; May–June 1981, no. 5/6, p. 28; May–June 1982, no. 5/6, p. 27; November–December 1983, no. 11/12, pp. 2–3.

<sup>41</sup> On the Polish emigrants in Sweden, democratic opposition in the Polish People's Republic and their cooperation before 1980 see: A. Kłonczyński: *My w Szwecji nie porastamy mchem. Emigranci z Polski w Szwecji w latach 1945–1980* [In Sweden We are not Covered with Moss. Polish Emigrants in Sweden 1945–1980], Gdańsk 2012, pp. 271–281; A. Friszke: *Opozycja polityczna w PRL w latach 1945–1980* [Political opposition in the Polish People's Republic in the years 1945–1980], Londyn 1984, pp. 453, 490, 500, 527, 557, 559; Z. Zak-Stadfors, *Szwecja...* [Sweden],

scope of assistance for the opposition, became particularly intense during the 1980 strikes, when Solidarity was formed and when martial law was introduced – eventually leading to repressions against the opposition members. Needless to say, Polish emigrants played a leading role in supporting Solidarity and anti-regime movement in the Polish People’s Republic.<sup>42</sup>

One more remarkable fact are social actions taken by Polish Combatants’ Association (SKP), the “oldest” organization established by Polish emigrants in Sweden. Local branches of the Association organized support manifestations, meetings with Solidarity activists staying in Sweden and collected funds to provide the Poles with essential goods. Furthermore, they cooperated with a national unit of the Association attached to Solidarity in Gdansk in March 1981.<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, coordination of support actions taken in favour of Solidarity and the opposition rested with Polish Emigration Council (further: FUP) established in August 1946 as a mother institution for 16 pro-independence organizations operating in Sweden. In August, the Council appealed to the Polish emigrants to lend financial support to the shipyard workers on strike. The Council itself provided their compatriots with food aid.<sup>44</sup>

Analogical function, i.e. coordination of assistance provided to the Polish opposition, was performed by FUP in the years 1978–1985. FUP activists arranged meetings with prominent Polish dissidents, among others Czesław Miłosz, Jan Błoński, Ryszard Krynicki, established close cooperation with the opposition in the Polish People’s Republic and kept Swedish media posted about the situation after the August strikes. Owing to Janusz Sławomirski, secretary of

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op. cit., pp. 428–442; E. Michalik: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji...* [Polish Emigrants in Sweden...], op. cit., pp. 201–203; B. Hajduk: *Polskie uchodźstwo niepodległościowe w Skandynawii...* [Polish Refugees in Scandinavia...], op. cit., pp. 199–205.

<sup>42</sup> According to the estimates, throughout the period under discussion, organizations and associations formed by the Polish community in Sweden had about 4,000 members, and the population of Polish emigrants (of Polish descent) in respective years during the analysed decade stood at: in 1981 – 27,466, in 1984 – 30,000, in 1986 – 38,500, in 1994 – 40,000; see J. Och: *Niektóre struktury organizacyjne współczesnej Polonii szwedzkiej. Ich organizacja oraz płaszczyzny aktywności* [Selected organizations formed by the modern Polish community in Sweden and their activity], in: *Polacy w Skandynawii...* [Poles in Scandinavia], op. cit., pp. 237, 245; E. Michalik: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji...* [Polish Emigrants in Sweden...], op. cit., p. 194.

<sup>43</sup> APG, NSZZ – “S”, 201, p. 499: Koło Kombatantów NSZZ “Solidarność” w Gdańsku do Rady Uchodźstwa Polskiego w Szwecji [NSZZ Solidarity Polish Combatants’ Association in Gdansk to Polish Emigration Council], 12.03.1981; “Kronika” [The Chronicle] July–August 1981, no. 7/8, p. 30, July–August 1984, no. 7/8, p. 28.

<sup>44</sup> E. Michalik: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji...* [Polish Emigrants in Sweden...], op. cit., p. 202; “Kronika” [The Chronicle] September–October 1980, no. 9/10, p. 29, May–June 1981, no. 5/6, p. 28.



FUP, materials from the 1st Solidarity Congress were published and distributed in Sweden.<sup>45</sup> In 1982, differences and animosities between the aforementioned organizations created a need among Polish emigrants for establishing a new unit (i.e. the Polish Congress in Sweden), especially in the context of political developments taking place in the Polish People's Republic at that time. At the end of the 1980's, the Congress was a mother institution for twenty-two pro-independence organizations and their representatives in Sweden. The Congress members immediately responded to events occurring in the Polish People's Republic, e.g. they passed a resolution in a general meeting on 17 January 1982 to protest against terror used by the PRL authorities as well as demand releasing all political prisoners and recognizing the legality of Solidarity. Furthermore, the Congress called the governments of the Free World for imposing sanctions against the communist regime, the USSR and other countries belonging to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (RWPG).<sup>46</sup> Apart from that, it was Central Association of the Polish Community Abroad (CZOP) that played a prominent role in bringing together Polish pro-independence and other organizations. It was established in 1977 during the congress in Stockholm as a mother institution for twelve local organizations formed by the Polish community abroad.<sup>47</sup>

By October 1985, both democratic oppositionists and political transformation in Poland were actively supported by the Katyn Committee, established by Tadeusz Głowacki in 1975. As a dedicated activist of exile organizations and an ardent patriot, he deserves special attention.<sup>48</sup> Tadeusz Głowacki was a member of

<sup>45</sup> A. Kłoczyński: op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>46</sup> Ibidem; "Kronika" [The Chronicle] January–February 1982, no. 1/2, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> E. Michalik: *Emigracja polska w Szwecji...* [Polish Emigrants in Sweden...], op. cit., p. 203.

<sup>48</sup> Tadeusz Głowacki was born on 30 September 1917 in Cracow. During the Second World War he was a radio operator in the Naval Command Headquarters in the Hel Peninsula. After the Polish capitulation, he was captured and became a prisoner of war. He escaped from a POW camp in 1944 and managed to reach Sweden. An engineer by profession, he found employment in Sweden enterprises producing paper. Between 1958 and 1985 he managed his own engineering and technical firm in Stockholm where he passed away on 20 August 2001. It is beyond doubt that the Katyn Committee and its head Tadeusz Głowacki have contributed significantly to giving publicity to the Katyn Massacre not only in Europe, but all over the world. Truth about the massacre was revealed in a richly documented book entitled "Katyn 1940" published in 1984. "Kronika" [The Chronicle] September–December 1985, no. 9/12, pp. 59–60; E.S. Kruszewski: *Śp. Tadeusz Andrzej Głowacki 30.09.1917–20.08.2001* [The Late Tadeusz Andrzej Głowacki 30.09.1917–20.08.2001], in: XVI Rocznik Instytutu Polsko-Skandynawskiego [16th Yearbook of Polish-Scandinavian Institute], Kopenhaga 2001, p. 44; *Katyn kronikker om mordet på polske soldater i 1940 i Sovjetunionen. Udvalget foretaget af Eugeniusz S. Kruszewski, Redaktor Tadeusz Głowacki, Kobenhavn-Stockholm 1984*; "Kronika" [The Chronicle] November–December 1983,

the International Federation of the Polish Combatants Association, Coordination Council for Polish Compatriots of the Free World and Polish Emigration Council (chairman between 12 June 1971 and December 1972). He was actively involved in raising funds from the Polish Combatants Associations in Sweden, Norway and Germany as well as other exile organizations, Danish ones inclusively. Despite strong protest from the PRL and the USSR governments, the first in Europe monument commemorating the Katyn massacre was erected in Stockholm in 1957. Chaired by Głowacki, the Katyn Committee had made a major contribution to lending active support for the workers on strike and opposition groups. In January 1980, the Press Office was opened to provide information concerning the developments in Poland and forward it to the world top newspapers and magazines.<sup>49</sup> The Katyn Committee organized financial aid as well, among other things in December 1981. It was Janusz Kon – an activist of Human and Civil Rights Movement – to whom 4831 Swedish crowns (1 thousand dollars) were handed over. Furthermore, financial assistance in the amount of 500 Swedish crowns was provided to the Polish Educational Society to support schools in the PRL, and 250 Swedish crowns were received by Amnesty International. Apart from that, the Katyn Committee financed the purchase of food supplies that were sent to Polish people.<sup>50</sup> Last but not least, it cooperated closely with the Katyn Committee in Cracow established in 1978 by Adam Macedoński. In December 1980, the latter received 400 Swedish crowns from the former.<sup>51</sup>

As far as help provided to Solidarity and the democratic opposition in the Polish People's Republic is concerned, the Katyn Committee collaborated actively with Denmark-based Committee for Independent Poland. The latter was a mother institution for three local units, namely Copenhagen branch, Stockholm branch and Oslo delegacy which laid foundations for establishing in 1975 Central Scandinavian Committee for Independent Poland, eventually transformed into Scandinavian Committee for Independent Poland. The co-founders of the Committee were professor Eugeniusz Kruszewski from Copenhagen and the aforementioned Tadeusz Głowacki (at the same time the head of the Swedish branch). Throughout the period under consideration, i.e. between 1980 and 1990, the primary objective

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no. 11/12, p. 29, January–February, May–June 1984, no. 1/2, p. 28, no. 5/6, p. 32, “Notatki Skandy-nawskie” [Scandinavian Notes] March–April 1980, no. 3/4, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> “Kronika” [The Chronicle] March–April 1980, no. 3/4, p. 29.

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem: May–June 1981, no. 5/6, pp. 28 and 32; January–February, November–December 1982, no. 1/2, p. 29 and no. 11/12, p. 30; May–June 1984, no. 5/6, p. 27.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem: May–June 1981, no. 5/6, pp. 28 and 32.

of the Committee was to supply the public opinion in Europe and in the world with reliable information regarding political developments in the Polish People's Republic, represent Polish emigrants and Poles living in the PRL in an international arena, and coordinate actions taken by the Polish exile organizations in Scandinavia, particularly in terms of rendering assistance to the democratic opposition in the PRL. For this purpose, a department granting aid to Polish people was established as a unit of the Central Committee on 9 October 1981. By the time it was disbanded, i.e. in December 1984, Scandinavian Committee for Independent Poland had been leading a propaganda campaign, among other things in Sweden, to provide reliable information about political goings-on, the persecuted oppositionists and martial law.<sup>52</sup>

One more successful initiative, the main aim of which was to support the Polish oppositionists and promote pro-independence ideas among the Polish emigrants in Sweden, was "Kronika" [The Chronicle] – a magazine produced under the direction of professor Eugeniusz Kruszewski and edited by Tadeusz Głowacki in the years 1973 – 1985. It was issued in three Scandinavian capitals, i.e. Copenhagen, Stockholm and Oslo, on a monthly or bimonthly basis, and sent to major emigration centres and libraries. The magazine provided information on activities undertaken by Polish pro-independence organizations, artistic events attended by the Poles living in Scandinavia, as well as published Scandinavian and Polish press reviews. Throughout the period 1980 – 1990, "Kronika" [The Chronicle] addressed issues relating to Solidarity such as strikes initiated by the workers, actions taken by the PRL authorities, imprisonment of Solidarity activists and delegates, as well as attitudes held by Scandinavian officials and societies toward these events. Furthermore, "Kronika" [The Chronicle] produced leaflets, articles and other materials concerning the underground struggle for independence waged by the democratic opposition or the doings of the PRL authorities.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibidem: September–October 1980, no. 9/10, p. 24; January–February, July–August, November–December 1982, no. 1/2, pp. 7, 29, no. 7/8, pp. 6, 29–30, no. 11/12, pp. 25, 31; July–August, September–October 1983, no. 7/8, pp. 29–30, no. 9/10, pp. 28–29; May–June 1984, no. 5/6, p. 27; January–February 1985, no. 1/2, p. 30; "Noty Skandynawskie" [Scandinavian Notes] January–February 1984, no. 1/2, pp. 28, 31, August 1984, no. 8, p. 27, December 1985, no. 12, p. 1, June 1990, no. 6, p. 1, November 1990, no. 11, pp. 1–2; J. Wasylkowski: *Na rzecz Wolnej Polski. Towarzystwo Polskie w Danii i jego poprzednicy 1973–2001* [For the sake of Free Poland. Pro Polonia Society in Denmark and its predecessors], Kopenhaga 2002, pp. 42–57.

<sup>53</sup> E. Later-Chodyłowa: *Prasa polonijna i emigracyjna w Skandynawii* [The Polish Emigration Press in Scandinavia], in: *XIX Rocznik Instytutu Polsko-Skandynawskiego 2003/2004* [19th Yearbook of the Polish-Scandinavian Institute 2003–2004], Kopenhaga 2004, pp. 69–70; E. Olszewski: *Emigracja polska w Danii 1893–1993* [Polish Emigrants in Denmark 1893–1993],

Last but not least, the Committee for Independent Poland had also made a major contribution and helped Polish people in financial terms, namely by establishing Independent Poland Foundation the main aim of which was to raise money for providing food, clothes and direct financial support for, among others, the aggrieved intellectuals (200 \$).

All things considered, the author of the present article has not, however, discussed the subject matter thoroughly, in particular all actions that the Swedish trade unions, the Swedes and the Polish emigrants who had arrived in Sweden in quest for independence, had taken to support the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity, the democratic opposition and people living in the Polish People's Republic. Therefore, it is beyond any doubt that the issue requires further analysis.

**SZWEDZKIE ZWIĄZKI ZAWODOWE I SPOŁECZEŃSTWO  
ORAZ POLSKIE UCHODŹSTWO NIEPODLEGŁOŚCIOWE W SZWECJI  
WOBEC NIEZALEŻNEGO SAMORZĄDNEGO ZWIĄZKU ZAWODOWEGO  
„SOLIDARNOŚĆ” I OPOZYCJI DEMOKRATYCZNEJ W PRL  
W LATACH 1980–1990**

**Streszczenie**

Wsparcie przez organizacje zawodowe, społeczeństwo i władze oraz polską emigrację niepodległościową w Szwecji udzielane NSZZ „Solidarność” i opozycji demokratycznej w Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej (PRL) miało różne formy. Przed powstaniem pierwszego niezależnego od władz związku zawodowego rozwój struktur opozycji wolnościowej w PRL wspierali działacze Szwedzkiej Socjaldemokratycznej Partii Robotniczej. W okresie fali strajków robotniczych, które nasiliły się w Polsce w sierpniu 1980 roku zdominowana przez socjaldemokratów Centrala Szwedzkich Związków Zawodowych (LO) nawiązała bliskie kontakty z strukturami organizującymi wystąpienia polskich robotników. Efektem ich były wsparcie strajkujących robotników na arenie

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Warszawa–Lublin 1993, pp. 445–449; E.S. Kruszewski: *Polacy w Danii wobec pojaltańskiej Polski (1944–1990)* [Poles in Denmark and Poland after the Yalta Conference (1944–1990)], in: *W służbie Polsce i emigracji. Księga dedykowana Profesorowi Edwardowi Szczepanikowi* [Serving Poland and Polish expatriates. A Tribute to Professor Edward Szczepanik], eds. L. Nowak, M. Szerbiński, Gorzów Wlkp. 2002, p. 168; B. Hajduk: *Polskie uchodźstwo niepodległościowe...* [Polish Refugees in Scandinavia...], op. cit., p. 214.

międzynarodowej, między innymi przez przywódcę socjaldemokratów Olofa Palme-go oraz pomoc finansowa na potrzeby organizacyjne i dostawy urządzeń poligraficznych. Po wprowadzeniu w PRL stanu wojennego oraz delegalizacji NSZZ „Solidarność” i pozostałych grup opozycyjnych zarówno socjaldemokratyczne, jak i inne szwedzkie związki zawodowe rozwinęły różne formy pomocy dla opozycyjnych struktur działających w tzw. podziemiu. Gromadzono i przekazywano środki finansowe, organizowano zbiórki i transport darów oraz rozwijano intensywną działalność propagandowo-informacyjną w Skandynawii, w Europie i w świecie.

Poza pomocą udzielaną przez szwedzkie związki zawodowe ważne znaczenie dla struktur opozycyjnych w PRL miało wsparcie ze strony czynników oficjalnych i społeczeństwa szwedzkiego. Po wprowadzeniu stanu wojennego w Polsce, minister Ole Ullsten wspólnie z ministrami spraw zagranicznych Danii i Norwegii, jednoznacznie potępił ograniczanie swobód obywatelskich w PRL oraz internowania (aresztowania) przywódców i działaczy NSZZ „Solidarność”. Ogromnym wsparciem dla „nielegalnych” struktur „Solidarności” oraz społeczeństwa polskiego była pomoc niesiona przez wyspecjalizowane szwedzkie instytucje pozarządowe i charytatywne takie jak: Szwedzki Czerwony Krzyż, organizację Ratujcie Dzieci, Pomoc Luterska, Wolny Kościół Ewangeliczny i Pomoc Indywidualna. Na odnotowanie zasługuje również aktywność pomocowa społeczeństwa szwedzkiego, w tym placówek oświatowych, w różnych regionach Szwecji.

Poza tym ważną rolę w akcji niesienia pomocy antyreżimowej opozycji demokratycznej w PRL odgrywało uchodźstwo polskie w Szwecji. Koordynacją programu pomocowego w Szwecji na rzecz „Solidarności” i opozycji zajmowała się Rada Uchodźstwa Polskiego, skupiająca 16 organizacji niepodległościowych oraz Federacja Uchodźstwa Polskiego.

W dziedzinie niesienia pomocy NSZZ „Solidarność” i opozycji demokratycznej w PRL wspomnieć również należy o wielostronnym wsparciu kierowanego przez profesora Eugeniusza S. Kruszewskiego Skandynawskiego Komitetu na Rzecz Wolnej Polski z siedzibą w Danii. Do chwili przekształcenia w Instytut Polsko-Skandynawski w grudniu 1984 roku SKnRzWP prowadził aktywną akcję propagandową, m.in. na terenie Szwecji, informującą o wydarzeniach politycznych w PRL, prześladowaniach opozycjonistów, poczynaniach władz reżimowych oraz działaniach wspierających podejmowanych na arenie międzynarodowej.