

Bulletin

Solidarność

No. 2

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ROBOTNICZY!

GDY PRZEMOCĄ, WYRZUCA,
NAS Z ZAKŁADÓW,
— POLIRACAJCIE NA WASZE
MIEJSCA PRACY I PODEJMUJCIE
STRAJK NA NOWO!
NIECH ŻYJE SOLIDARNOŚĆ
LUDZI PRACY!
Gdańsk 17.12.81
MIĘDZYZAKŁADOWY
KOMITET STRAJKOWY Z
SZKOLENIA W PORCIE GDAŃSKIM

WORKERS!

WHEN THEY THROW YOU
OUT OF YOUR FACTORIES
BY FORCE,
RETURN TO YOUR PLACES
OF WORK AND TAKE UP
THE STRIKE ANEW!
LONG LIVE SOLIDARITY OF
WORKING PEOPLE!

Interfactory Strike Committee
Based in the Port of Gdansk
Gdansk, December 17, 1981

Solidarity Underground

Wujek Mine Massacre

Announcement of the State of War

Program of Solidarity's First Congress

Who Blocked the Gdansk Accords?

STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION

The rise of the Solidarity movement in Poland has been the most significant development in the history of resistance against Soviet-imposed totalitarian rule.

For the first time a free trade union challenged the total control of the Communist Party (the Polish United Workers Party) over Polish society. Solidarity, with the overwhelming support of the Polish people, sought to bring about peacefully the fundamental changes necessary for the development of a democratic society and a stable economy.

On December 13, 1981, a "state of war" was imposed on the Polish people—to destroy Solidarity and all the independent association and expression that Solidarity had made possible. After sixteen months of negotiations and agreements, the authorities responded to Solidarity with the only means that totalitarian regimes know of to remain in power: force.

In August 1980, the world was able to witness the amazing rise of Solidarity. But in December 1981 we were forbidden to know how it was being crushed. Although some restrictions on the reports of foreign correspondents have been lifted, an effective news blockade remains in force.

Nevertheless, it has been possible to secure important information from underground Solidarity bulletins, from eyewitnesses, and from the official Polish media. The Committee in Support of Solidarity has gathered from these sources the most complete documentation on the state of war available in the United States.

This information makes clear that Solidarity as a national movement has not been destroyed. Although it has been forced underground, Solidarity continues to organize passive resistance and to function as the legitimate democratic representative of Polish workers. No one can predict the outcome of the present situation. Solidarity's reserves of political strength are too large, and the government's means of destroying them too powerful, to permit any prophecy. But as long as the Polish people themselves continue to struggle, Solidarity provides the hope that peaceful democratic change can take place in communist countries. Western democratic forces must support them in that struggle and help sustain that hope.

The *Solidarnosc Bulletin* is published by the Committee in Support of Solidarity, in cooperation with the League for Industrial Democracy and the Polish Workers Task Force. Its purpose is to publish information about Solidarity as a trade union movement, about the situation leading up to the state of war, the repression of Polish society, and the union's struggle to resist it.

Bulletin

SOLIDARNOSĆ

No. 2—March 1982

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The Committee in Support of Solidarity

The Committee in Support of Solidarity was formed on December 13, 1981, to coordinate support for Solidarity in the United States after the state of war was imposed in Poland. Members of the Committee are Solidarity members and activists now in the U.S., activists from the Polish democratic opposition, and Americans who have been organizing support for Solidarity through the American trade union movement, the Polish Workers Task Force, and ethnic organizations.

The Committee seeks to gather and disseminate information about the Polish situation, organize support for Solidarity, and serve as a resource for assisting the arrested and interned. It has compiled a list of four thousand prisoners and is organizing aid for their families. The Committee also seeks to exert pressure on the American government to take strong actions against the Polish junta.

The League for Industrial Democracy

The League for Industrial Democracy, established in 1905 to advance the ideals of free trade unions, has been active in the support of democratic opposition movements and free trade union movements in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. With the International Labor Program at Georgetown University, the LID publishes a journal, *Workers Under Communism*.

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October 1981 - January 1982:

A Chronicle of the Polish Workers' Struggle

Below is a chronicle of events leading up to the imposition of the state of war and of the following six weeks.

The chronicle attempts to document the military crackdown as fully as possible. The figures used for the number of strikes, the number of people imprisoned, etc., are conservative estimates based on eyewitnesses, underground Solidarity sources, and official Polish government reports.

This chronicle also gives an account of the previous two and a half months, during which Solidarity and the government had resumed the negotiations broken off by the government in August. It details the course of the negotiations, the government's unwillingness to compromise on substantive issues, and the rising tensions developing from the authorities' continual attacks on the union.

It is clear now that the government was prolonging the negotiations in order to prepare for a more violent solution.

OCTOBER 1981

October 1—The new law relaxing censorship takes effect. Among other provisions, censors must now provide the legal basis for their decisions.

The "Solidarity Weekly" publishes a doctors' account of the deaths of twelve new-born babies in the Swiebodzice region due to the lack of clean water and proper hygiene there. Nothing has been done to ease the region's chronic water shortage.

October 6-7—The first national Solidarity Congress elects new leadership to the National Commission; Walesa is re-elected as Chairman. The Congress calls for a price freeze until a policy on pricing can be agreed on. A program is adopted on solutions for the economic crisis and the union's course of action. A protest is sent to the Sejm over the mounting incidents of repression against Solidarity activists.

The program adopted avoids direct involvement in political activity but supports independent social and political action.

October 12—The Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) issues a statement calling for a "mixed commission," which would include representatives of the government and of Solidarity, to carry out the party's "anti-crisis program" for the economy.

In response, Solidarity repeats its own proposal, put forward at its Congress, to form a "Social Commission for the National Economy," which would be outside of party control and made up of independent, union, party, and Church representatives. The "social commission" would assess the government's economic plans and decisions, propose economic reforms, including an end to inefficient distribution, and examine solutions to the economic crisis. Solidarity would seek a form of veto power for the commission, in order to exercise some control over governmental mismanagement.

October 13—"Pravda" attacks the program adopted at Solidarity's Congress and its call for free elections to the Sejm and local and regional government bodies. It also warns the Polish leadership of its responsibility for curbing the union's threat to the "vital interests" of "socialist" countries.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 20)

Solidarity's First Congress

"We must not lose hope that it is possible to overcome the crisis..."

The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity, held its first National Congress in September-October 1981. There were nearly nine hundred elected delegates. The Congress adopted a full program of Solidarity's positions and its strategy for carrying them out. It is the most comprehensive statement of Solidarity's principles and policies.

We reproduce excerpts here from the thirty-five-page document, which is made up of an introductory statement of principles, the union's thirty-seven points, and detailed proposals following each point. (Courtesy of the Information Center on Polish Affairs in London.)

THE INDEPENDENT SELF-GOVERNING TRADE UNION Solidarity emerged from the 1980 strike movement, the greatest mass movement in Poland's history, which was brought to life by workers in factories and work places throughout the country. It reached its historic turning point in August 1980 in the coastal regions. Within a year it had engulfed all groups in the society: workers and peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals.

Our union originated, simply, from the needs of the people, from their sufferings and disappointments, their hopes and yearnings. Our union rose from the rebellion of the Polish nation, which had experienced more than three decades of violations of civil and human rights; from its rebellion against ideological discrimination and economic exploitation. It was a protest against the existing system of exercising power.

What all of us had in mind were not only living conditions, although we lived poorly and worked hard—frequently in vain. What we had in mind were not only bread, butter, and sausage, but also justice, democracy, truth, legality, human dignity, freedom of convictions, and national renewal. All elementary values had been too badly mistreated to believe that without their rebirth anything could improve. Thus, the economic protest had to be also a social protest, and the social protest also a moral protest.

That social and moral protest did not arise overnight. It is the heritage of the blood shed by workers in Poznan in 1956 and on the coast in December of 1970, of the 1968 student rebellion, and the sufferings in Radom and Ursus in 1976. It is the heritage of the independent efforts of workers, intellectuals, and students; of the Church's efforts to preserve basic values; of all the struggles for human dignity in our country. Our union rose from those struggles and will remain true to them.

We are an organization that combines the features of a trade union and a great social movement. This combination determines our strength and our role in the life of the whole nation. Uniting under the slogan of Solidarity, Polish society has recovered its strength and its hopes. Conditions have arisen for an authentic national rebirth. Our union is the broadest representation of the working people in Poland.

Solidarity Congress, continued

We are a force capable not only of protest. We are a force willing to build a just Poland for everyone, a force that invokes common human values.

We regard democracy as a principle that may not be abandoned. Democracy can not be rule exercised by people placing themselves above the society and claiming the right to determine the needs and represent the interests of the people. The nation must be able to speak with its full voice, to express a variety of social and political opinions; it must be able to guarantee everyone a fair share in the material and spiritual achievements of the nation, as well as to free all the nation's creative forces and potential. We aspire to a true socialization of the system of administration and management. For this reason our objective is a self-governing Poland.

We value the idea of freedom and unqualified independence. We will support everything that fosters national and state sovereignty, encourages the free development of the culture, and preserves the heritage of our history. Our national identity must be fully respected.

Ours is a program of struggle for the goals we have set ourselves, a program reflecting the aspirations and aims of our society, a program rooted in those aspirations. It is a program that pursues distant goals through the solution of more immediate problems. It is a program of our work, struggle, and dedication.

The formation of Solidarity, a mass social movement, has radically changed the situation in our country. It has given a variety of independent public institutions a chance to develop: not only those newly created but also those that until recently were dependent on the state authorities and that have now won their independence.

The formation of organizations independent of the state authorities is to be regarded as fundamental to the changes taking place in our country's social and political relations. Because of them, society can strive to realize its aspirations and to defend its rights effectively.

Conditions for exercising power have thus changed. To exercise its power effectively, the government had to take into account the will of the society and to act under its control, in accordance with the principles set forth in the Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie agreements. It had to introduce economic reforms in order to reform the state and its institutions. We had the right to expect the state authorities to carry out such reforms.

The nation must be able to speak with its full voice, to express a variety of social and political opinions...

The existing methods of government, based on the omnipotence of the central party and its state institutions, were leading the country to ruin. And the government's continuing reluctance to change is carrying us further to catastrophe. Nowhere in Europe after World War II did an economy sink so badly as it did in our country.

Notwithstanding the fatigue and disappointment of the past twelve months, the nation has shown enormous patience and, at the same time, determination. However, there is the danger that fatigue and disappointment will eventually turn into a blind destructive force, or submerge us in helplessness. As a society, we must not lose

the hope that it is possible to overcome this crisis.

In view of the national difficulties, Solidarity can no longer restrict itself to waiting and to exerting pressure on the authorities to fulfill the obligations they took on in the agreements. For the nation, we are the only guarantor of those agreements. For this reason, the union considers it its fundamental duty to take every possible step to save the country from downfall, and the people from misery, apathy, and self-destruction. There is no other way to that goal except to reform the state and the economy through democracy and nationwide action.

We are fully aware that Polish society expects us to serve so as to enable people to live in peace.

Responsibility demands that we recognize the system of power that emerged in Europe after the Second World War. We want to continue the great changes we have initiated without violating international alliances. Those may receive more reliable guarantees than before: our nation, inspired by a profound sense of dignity, patriotism, and its own traditions, can be a valuable partner only when it assumes obligations consciously and voluntarily.

The country's present situation confronts us with the need to draw up a program with a wide scope. It must first of all be a program of the swift measures necessary to prepare for the difficult winter season. At the same time it must be a program for economic reform, which cannot be postponed; a program of social and political reform; a program pointing the way towards a self-governing republic.

Solidarity's Program

POINT 1. We demand democratic reform and self-management at every administrative level, and a new socio-economic order that would combine the elements of central planning with those of self-management and the demands of the market.*

The union calls for reform. The purpose of the reform is to abolish the privileges of the bureaucracy and to rule out the possibility of their restoration. The reform must create conditions for productivity and enterprise to flourish. For this reason it must not be superficial. It will demand public sacrifice and will require special protection for some groups of the population.

The system of transmitting orders for the control of economic life, which makes rational management impossible, must be abolished. Under this system, all economic power is concentrated in the hands of the party and the bureaucratic apparatus. The organizational structure of the economy, serving the command system, must be smashed. The economic administrative organs must be separated from political power. The dependence of directors of enterprises on ministers should be broken, and appointments based on party nomenclature abolished. The reform will succeed only when all enterprises participate. The network of factory Solidarity organizations at leading enterprises is an example of such a movement. The activity of the network has initiated a broad movement for self-management.†

*This point refers to the central economic plan, formulated by the PUWP, and its relation to the running of work places and to the balance of supply and demand.

†The network, officially called the Network of Leading Industrial Enterprises in Poland, was an ad hoc committee made up of activists from the country's fourteen thousand largest factories and enterprises. It held meetings and conferences to develop a consensus on a national economic program for Solidarity and to make legislative proposals for workers' self-management.

We should build a new organizational structure for the economy. The basic unit of the economy should be the social enterprise, which would be controlled by the work crew. The work crew would elect a working council, which would choose the enterprise's director.

All national property entrusted to the social enterprise should be used for the good of society and that of its workers. It should act independently on the principles of rational economic planning. The state should influence its activity through regulations and economic means—prices, taxes, interest rates on credit, currency exchange rates, and so forth.

Bureaucratic barriers hampering market activity should be abolished. Central administrative organs must neither restrict enterprises to activity within certain boundaries, nor assign them supplies and customers. Each enterprise must also have direct access to foreign trade. The union duly appreciates the importance of profitable export for employees.

The aspirations of an enterprise to obtain a privileged position on the market should be curbed by the anti-monopoly law and consumer organizations. The prices of most goods should be fixed by supply and demand.

The reform should socialize planning. The central plan must reflect the aspirations of society and must be accepted by the society. For this reason the central plan must be discussed publicly. Social groups and individuals must be given a chance to propose alternative plans. For this reason, access to reliable economic information is necessary. It calls for establishing public control over the Central Office of Statistics.

POINT 2. The coming winter requires energetic emergency measures; the union proclaims an alert for people of good will.

POINT 3. The defense of working people's living standards demands a joint resistance of declines in production.

It is essential today to check the fall in production. For this purpose, it is necessary to improve supplies by using internal reserves and increasing allocations for importing raw materials and spare parts. Their availability depends on the effectiveness of our program for overcoming the crisis, on increased exports, and on the possibilities of obtaining credits both from East and West.

At the same time we must do our best to obtain the maximum production from the means available in the country.

POINT 4. The union recognizes the need to restore the equilibrium of the market, within the framework of a reliable anti-crisis program, which should be in accord with expedient reform and should protect the weakest groups in society.

An increase in production and in the supplies of goods should be the principle means to restore the equilibrium of the market in the shortest possible time. It is also necessary to reduce market demand. This should be done using the following means:

- a) gradual price increases, with the preservation of ration cards for basic consumer goods in a transition period;
- b) a single price increase with the simultaneous abolishment of the rationing system;*
- c) monetary reform accompanied by price reform.

*This refers to the price subsidies that kept prices artificially low.

POINT 5. The struggle to overcome the crisis and to reform the economy must be carried out under public control. The union hopes that control in the future will be exercised by the reform Sejm and people's councils, as well as by workers' self-managing bodies.

However, institution of public control must be set up immediately, because the experience of both the strikes and the seizures and of the last year show that lack of public control results in poor decisions, encourages incompetence, and serves particular interests. For this reason the union proposes forming a Social Council for the National Economy. It should have the right to assess the government's economic policies, to evaluate the economic situation, and to initiate policy. The council should have the right to present draft laws. It should act quite openly, and its members should have the right to communicate with the people through the mass media.

POINT 6. While hearing everyone in mind, the union will be particularly solicitous of the poorest.

In its policy the union will be governed by the principle that compensations must guarantee the preservation of the real income level of the less prosperous part of society.

Our experiences show that the lack of public control encourages incompetence and serves particular interests.

POINT 7. Food supply is now the most important issue facing us; there must be ample supplies of food for ration cards; food distribution must be under public control.

In view of the acute shortage of food and of manufactured goods, the union is forced, as long as the scarcity persists, to adhere to the rationing system to provide each citizen with a minimum level of consumption.

The union demands that the government take energetic steps to guarantee food supplies for existing rations and to provide incentives for farmers to deliver livestock and increase stockbreeding.

We regard the feeding of the nation as a priority issue.

The union will not remain inactive in the face of the poor supply situation. We must set up a nationwide network of union commissions to supervise the market and the food supply. The commissions must cooperate with the organizations of Rural Solidarity.

POINT 8. The union will resist the growing inequality in wages and social benefits among enterprises and regions.

POINT 9. The right to work must be respected, and the system of wages reformed.

We are for the universal right to work and against the introduction of unemployment. Aware of the need for regulating employment, the union considers that it can be regulated in such a way as to prevent unemployment. At enterprises expecting payroll cuts, factory commissions should examine the possibilities of shifting employees within the enterprise in such a way as to enable them to get other jobs or to work at shorter shifts without losses in wages.

The union will resolutely resist all staff reductions unless there are social guarantees for people who are temporarily idlers.

Solidarity Program, continued

It is necessary to reform the system of wages in such a way as to guarantee fair wages and equal pay for equal work. Under the conditions of the economic reform, this should signify that the state, in consultation with trade unions, must fix the level of guaranteed wages. It should be uniform for the entire country in application to individual trades and jobs, irrespective of the enterprise.

POINT 10. Working conditions should be safe.

POINT 11. The labor code must protect workers' rights and the citizens' social interests.

POINT 12. The union seeks to direct social energies to solving the problems of communities.

POINT 13. The union defends the right of the family to fulfill its basic needs in an atmosphere of security.

POINT 14. The union will defend the right of old, handicapped, and chronically ill people.

POINT 15. The union recognizes the serious health problems of the nation, and takes a special interest in them.*

POINT 16. The union will fight to protect the natural environment.

POINT 17. The union demands respect for everyone's basic right to housing.

POINT 18. The union will seek to ensure that every employee has the necessary amount of leisure time and the opportunity to use it for cultural purposes.

POINT 19. Pluralism of views and social, political, and cultural pluralism should be the foundation of democracy in a self-governing republic.

The very language of propaganda is a dangerous tool of lies. . . . We will seek to return the Polish language to the nation.

Public life in Poland requires profound and comprehensive reforms, which should aim at the principles of self-government, democracy, and pluralism. That is why we will seek both to transform the structure of the state and to create and support independent and self-governing institutions in all spheres of social life. Only such changes will ensure that the organization of public life serves to satisfy individuals' needs, the society's ambitions, and Poles' national aspirations. These changes are also necessary to overcome the economic crisis. We regard pluralism, the democratization of the state, and constitutional freedoms as basic guarantees that working people's toil and sacrifices will not again be wasted.

We take the view that the principles of pluralism must be applied in political life. Our union will support initiatives to present various political, economic, and social programs, and to form organizations to carry them out.

On the other hand, we are against the idea of the union's statutory authorities' forming organizations whose character is that of political parties.

POINT 20. The system that combines political and economic power and that is based on unceasing interference by party elements in the functioning of enterprises is the main reason for our economic crisis and for the absence of equal opportunities in vocational and professional life. Party nomenclature[†] makes impossible

any kind of rational personnel policy, and turns millions of non-party members into second-class citizens. Today, the only way to change this situation is to create genuine employee self-management groups, which would give work forces control over enterprises.

POINT 21. Local communities must be represented by elected bodies, and must be legally, organizationally, and financially independent.

POINT 22. Elected bodies should be represented at the level of the highest state authorities.

POINT 23. The system must guarantee fundamental civil rights, and respect the principle of equality before the law for all citizens and all institutions of public life.

This calls for implementing the principles and decisions of the international conventions ratified by Poland in particular, the international conventions of human rights.

It also calls for a clear statement in the Constitution on the principle of the equality of citizens, regardless of their convictions, political views, or organizational affiliation.

Regulations on assembly, association, and passports should be updated. The passport law should include the right to freely choose one's residence abroad and to return to Poland; decisions curbing civic freedoms should be subject to judicial control.

POINT 24. The judicial system should be independent, and the apparatus of prosecution subject to public control.

POINT 25. In a Poland that is governed according to the rule of law, no one must be persecuted for his convictions or forced to act against his conscience.

On the strength of paragraph four of the Gdansk agreement, the union expresses its resolution and readiness to defend people who suffer repression for professing their political convictions. We will demand the implementation of the decisions of the Warsaw accord contained in the section on freeing political prisoners and the writing of a law to terminate the present penal proceedings against people accused of opposition activities.

All available resources will be employed in the defense of union functionaries subjected to repression.

POINT 26. Persons guilty of bringing the country to ruin must bear the full consequences.

We demand that the circumstances in which workers were shot and persecuted in Poznan in 1956 and in the maritime region in 1970 be clarified, and the guilty exposed.

Such consequences should also be borne by those who, through their policies from 1970 to 1980, brought the country to economic ruin. People holding the very highest posts in the party and the state must not be able to avoid such consequences.

If penal proceedings in the aforementioned cases are not begun by December 31, 1981, the National Commission will appoint a social tribunal, which will hold a public trial and brand the guilty.

POINT 27. The young generation of Poles must be guaranteed the necessary conditions for their physical, mental, and moral development.

*Throughout Poland there are serious problems of disease, high infant mortality, and poor health care.

†Party nomenclature is the system of appointing managers and planners on the basis of party privilege rather than on qualifications.

The bringing up of our children must remain in our hands. The union will determinedly oppose efforts to subordinate the system of education and upbringing to the party and state authorities' political, economic, and ideological interests. We will fight to see that children and youngsters have full access to national and world culture, that every child enjoys equal opportunities for development, and that children are educated in truth and in respect for the individuality of man.

POINT 28. Culture and education must not be used to impose uniform ideas and to foster attitudes of submission and passiveness, and education must be available to everyone; this requires the union's assistance.

POINT 29. The union will support and protect all measures aimed at independent culture and education.

POINT 30. The union will support freedom of scientific research and the self-government of scientific communities.

POINT 31. The union will fight against hypocrisy and lies in all areas of life, because our society wants and has the right to live in truth.

We regard censorship in the mass media as an evil we tolerate only for the time being, out of necessity. We reject censorship in science and art; censorship cannot deny the nation's right to know its history and literature. The union will oppose the abuse of censorship.

The very language of propaganda is a dangerous tool of lies; it damages the manner in which we want to express thoughts and feelings. The union will seek to return to the nation the Polish language, which allows people to truly understand each other.

We have suffered particularly grievous losses through lies and omissions in the teaching of history and literature. It is the union's duty to support all measures aimed at teaching the truth about our history and culture.

POINT 32. The means of social communication are social property; they must serve the whole society and be subject to its control.

The union's struggle for access to the mass media is in the interest of all social groups.

The union demands that the constitutional principles of freedom of speech and exchange of views be observed.

POINT 33. The members of our union have the right to express freely their opinions, and to organize themselves to carry out common goals.

POINT 34. The decisions and actions undertaken by union authorities should be based on a knowledge of the will and opinions of union members.

POINT 35. The fundamental way of securing the interests of Solidarity members as citizens and as workers is through compromise and accord—or, if these fail, through protest actions.

POINT 36. Every Solidarity member has the right and duty to control and criticize the Solidarity authorities.

POINT 37. Solidarity demands a new social accord on the anti-crisis program, on economic reform, and on a self-managing republic.

The accord on the self-managing republic must map out the lines and ways of democratizing the institutions of public life: the Sejm; the political, territorial, and economic authorities; the judicial system; education, and so on. The implementation of this accord will settle the proper relations between citizens and the state.

The road to the self-managing republic is the only way for Poland to become credible as an equal partner for other nations.

Who Blocked the Gdansk Accords?

The thirty-seventh and last issue of *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Solidarity Weekly), the union's national newspaper, was published on December 11, 1981, two days before the imposition of the state of war.

In that issue appeared a number of articles about the conflicts between Solidarity and the government, and indications of what Solidarity expected the authorities to do to repress the free trade union movement.

"Who Blocked the Gdansk Accords?" is an account of the breakdown in negotiations.

AGAIN, WE ARE LIVING THROUGH DIFFICULT TIMES. The authorities, exploiting their monopoly on information in the mass media and most of the press, have unleashed a new campaign against Solidarity.

The official press and media distorted the positions taken by our national and regional leadership (when they broadcast and printed selected excerpts of a clandestinely recorded tape of the Radom meeting). The attacks began on a note of holy indignation and objection and ended on a tone of bitterness and disillusionment. The authorities have launched a whole series of accusations at Solidarity, putting all the blame on the union for the breakdown in negotiations and the lack of accord. They continually assure the tired and embittered public that the government desires only mutual understanding and agreement, whereas Solidarity rejects all proposals for solutions.

Our movement arose out of protest and struggle, but also out of the historic social agreements signed in Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie. The program of the First Solidarity Congress ended with an appeal to reach a new understanding in three critical areas: an anti-crisis accord; an accord on economic reform; and an accord on a self-managing republic.

In spite of difficulties, threats, and provocative actions by the authorities, the union has not abandoned its positions.

In spite of their crushing failures, the authorities continue to see all attempts to reform the system as a threat to them.

The Solidarity program and its vision of a self-managing republic were received by party and state authorities with aversion and hostility. In spite of their crushing failures in the crises of 1956, 1970, and especially 1980, the authorities continue to see all genuine attempts to reform the system in the direction of self-management and democracy as a threat to them.

Because the authorities sought to secure their position in a confrontation with the dynamic Solidarity movement, we could expect that reaching a new general agreement would present difficulties, perhaps even greater than those we face now.

Who Blocked the Gdansk Accords? cont'd.

That was in fact what happened. The government, talking all the while about its readiness to reach a national accord, showed no willingness whatsoever to advance or to accept concrete, binding, and constructive solutions. The union wanted to hold talks, in a few working groups, about economic reform, control of food production and distribution, access to mass media, legal governance, and local self-government. But the authorities refused to discuss access to the mass media; they completely avoided talks about elections to local self-governing institutions; and at the start of the talks on economic reform, the Solidarity working group was astonished to discover that the so-called provisional arrangements had

In all the versions of the National Unity Front, the party assigned to its partners the pitiful role of onlookers and yes-men.

been made without consulting the union.* It turned out that the only thing the authorities were willing to discuss was price increases, and this without any guarantees of linking the people's sacrifices with reforms to end the economic crisis.

But here the union is repeatedly faced with one-sided decisions taken by the government without consultation.

Instead of engaging in genuine and difficult negotiations that would aim toward solutions, hence leading to agreement, the authorities try to substitute their formula in the Front of National Accord.† Solidarity's National Commission has described this as building an accord not from the foundations but from the roof. The union's distrust is understandable and historically justified. For thirty-five years, in all the versions of the National Unity Front, the party assigned to its partners the pitiful role of on-lookers and yes-men. Other social powers were forced into the position of enemies that had to be destroyed.

Solidarity, a movement founded on the basis of the August workers' protests and with the support of the whole society, had to struggle for its independence and credibility. It cannot now jeopardize this priceless achievement by entering the old political system merely on the empty promise that somehow the system will be different in the future. Lech Walesa's doubts, the union's justifiable fears, its proposals for giving veto power to the three main social forces in Polish society [i.e., the Church, the Communist Party, and Solidarity]—all expressions of caution were treated by party propaganda organs as proof of the union's unwillingness to reach a social accord. There was no room for discussion. Once again, it seemed that only one side could make proposals.

All dialogue should take into account the particular situation and the fears of each partner. One might have expected that the government would try to dispel the union's fears and doubts, present appropriate proposals and guarantees. But what did the authorities do? Was the announcement of a strike ban supposed to ease the tensions? Were the extraordinary powers the government sought (and not provided for in the Constitution) supposed to induce Solidarity to take part in the Front of

National Accord?

The precondition and basis for the social agreement reached in August 1980 was the principle that the difficult problems facing Poland would not be resolved through force or the threat of force. Behind the phrases, "talking as one Pole to another," is the idea of abstaining from violence and threats. And yet we heard from the party's sixth plenum that the government would be given extraordinary powers by Parliament that would limit civil rights and forbid strikes. These are not simply words. They are preparations.

The atmosphere is intensifying. The authorities acted against the students at the Firemen's Training Academy with force. The students had demanded that the school be placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Higher Education. [The school is controlled by the Ministry of the Interior, which governs security forces.] The authorities answered with violence, including the use of a helicopter equipped with gas canisters thrown down at the students, its crew in helmets and gas masks. This was presented in official television reports as a show of force for everyone to see, not merely as an incident of force against these students. Do such maneuvers in the center of Warsaw lead to social agreement? Taken together with the cutting of telephone and telex lines in the headquarters of Warsaw Solidarity and the *Solidarity Weekly*, do such measures reach out for concord and cooperation? How can a call for extraordinary powers be justified?

Is it possible to overcome the economic crisis with the use of special military units of the Ministry of Internal Affairs?

The servile propaganda mill nonetheless delivers, as usual, the necessary alibi. *Trybuna Ludu* [the party organ] prints entire columns about strikes, protests, and unrest, while radio and TV commentators "shudder" at such revelations. It is a pity that we heard no such reports in June 1976, or in July-August 1980. But in those times there were no directives to do so.

The truth is that there have been far fewer protests and strikes in recent months. The people, depressed and condemned to waiting in lines, have shown a great deal of patience and calm. The appeals of Solidarity's leadership [not to strike] are working. We must remember that in 1970 and 1976, with far fewer problems than there are now, there was no credible social force that could call for temperance. Now the public is disturbed by the threats to implement extraordinary decrees.

The Polish Primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, said not long ago in Bytom that an accord is made by agreement—not with force. The one-sided propaganda will not succeed in putting on Solidarity the whole burden of responsibility for the fact that all roads leading to an accord have been blocked. Yet Solidarity is now being accused of having created all the social unrest and of unwillingness to reach a social agreement.

*That is, the ban on strikes and the special emergency powers that the PUWP proposed to the Parliament (see page 9).

†The government proposed to Solidarity that a Front of National Accord be formed to solve the national crisis; it would include Solidarity and the Church but would be dominated by the party. It was to be something similar to the Front of National Unity, which governs elections to the Sejm and to local and regional governing bodies, and which is controlled by the party.

‡The phrase used by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Jagielski upon concluding the Gdansk Accords.

"The Coup"

Solidarity and the government were engaged in negotiations in November when, without warning, the party decided to pursue actively in the Parliament a ban on strikes and special emergency powers that would, in effect, constitute a "state of emergency." It became clear that the party would not negotiate in good faith over any attempts to solve the grave situation Poland was in.

Anonymous written, "The Coup" appeared in the thirty-seventh and last issue of *Tygodnik Solidarnosc* (Solidarity Weekly), Solidarity's national newspaper. It is a response to the government's extraordinary measures, analyzing in surprising detail what the government intended.

THE SPECIAL POWERS FOR THE GOVERNMENT THAT THE Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee ordered the party's majority in Parliament to vote for include, in addition to the ban on strikes, a wide range of other possible powers. Thus, it is possible that:

- § plants, factories, and other work places would be militarized, and hence a normal executive order would become a military command;
- § the activities of unions and social associations and organizations would be forbidden;
- § public gatherings, except for religious purposes, would be forbidden;
- § the act on censorship would be suspended, meaning unlimited censorship, including the possibility of a ban on independent publications;
- § elections to national councils would not take place as scheduled;
- § international and, more important, inter-provincial traffic would be limited.

This information has made its way to the outside by a roundabout route from the ruling apparatus. If it is false, let the authorities reveal what the preparations for the special powers act really provide for. And let us be told whether members of the Central Committee knew, and kept secret from other party members—and from the whole country—what they were voting for, or whether they voted this project through blindly.

It is a simple matter, knowing our political and legislative practices, to foresee that these possibilities are but some of the variants that are being considered—as usual, in secrecy. Most likely, these are not even complete, for they do not include the possibility of detentions or searches that don't fall within the normal regulations. But the appropriate interpretation of the anti-speculation law would suffice to take care of such matters.

The reasons that are supposed to justify these steps are so-called anarchy, a threat to legal order, and a threat to the constitutional system. But the government's decisions themselves constitute nothing less than a coup against the legal order and the constitutional system. One might wonder whether it will occur to anyone to demand the majority vote necessary in Parliament to enact changes in the Constitution.

The question arises as to why it is precisely now that the government is resorting to such extraordinary means against its own people. It is certainly not justified by the "degree of anarchization in the life of the society";

although it could be that some representatives of the ruling apparatus have themselves begun to believe in the things they order their mass media to announce. More likely, they feel that the moment is drawing near for settling the accounts of the past August period. For they do not want to implement economic reform, which would hurt their own interests, but this is the only solution that would have the support of the population.

The party, which incorporates the word "workers" in its title, and which trumpet the need for an accord, ought to consult with workers about how it operates in plants and factories, instead of threatening them with persecutions and provincial magistracies.

The final bill on extraordinary powers will probably not gain unanimity, or anything close to unanimity; in other words, it will not be passed in the way to which the authorities have become accustomed in their Parliament. Hence, it is not impossible that a compromise will be suggested, similar to the one proposed for the act on self-management. Many members of Parliament will accept such a compromise with relief, as a means of avoiding the worst, and will vote for it, considering themselves absolved from guilt. And here it must be clearly said that a compromise, while it is often useful and something to aim for, is not always a good solution. It is possible to have a compromise on self-management, on government control, on the system of social regulation of food supplies, on prices and salaries; but there can be no compromise at the cost of the freedoms we have achieved. The present state of things is already a compromise between, on the one hand, the aspirations of society and the standards of civilized countries, and on the other, the external circumstances independent of us, conditions that have not changed since the agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie. We cannot tolerate any withdrawal from these agreements, especially in the form of a police state.

Another scenario is possible. Before the extraordinary powers act is passed, a trade union decree may be enacted in a version that would be acceptable to both sides. Such a law would anticipate a temporary strike ban, which might be used to kindle the unquelled anti-strike hysteria, leading to a situation where the union could, without a direct threat, be persuaded to break such a ban. This would provide the necessary pretext for the introduction of an emergency state, which goes here under the name of special powers.

Even if this hypothetical and distant vision is only a possibility, it should be mentioned against in advance. A majority in Parliament, which the National Unity Front gained by winning close to a hundred percent of the votes in elections, may pass any act and thereby sign its own final sentence. It would nevertheless be a mark of extraordinary stupidity to expect that the aggressive minority of the society will be able to enforce its conscious and organized majority, and to change the course of events to its advantage, with the aid of a document thus procured and ratified. One can, of course, threaten and terrify; but this is worth doing only when those threatened are inclined to be afraid. In our situation, threats produce mainly irritation, not fear. It is not possible in this way to force people into obedience; it is, however, possible to bring about a conflict that could be very violent.

The part of the government apparatus that believes that fear alone can be used to its advantage and salvation will be deceived. The other part, on the other hand, knows what it is doing and why.

December 13, 1981:

The Announcement of the State of War

Guided by the increased need to secure the fundamental interests of the state and its citizens:

Aiming to secure conditions for the effective protection of peace and public order and to restore social discipline, which has been violated;

Aiming further to secure the conditions for the efficient functioning of the government, the state administration, and the national economy;

Acting on the basis of Article 33 (2) of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic;

The Council of State has implemented a state of war.*

Accordingly it is brought to public attention that for the duration of the state of war, the following will apply in particular:

1. It is forbidden to call or hold gatherings, marches, or demonstrations of any kind, or to organize public gatherings, sporting, artistic, or entertainment activities without the prior permission of the appropriate regional organs of the state administration, the only exception being religious services performed in the confines of churches, chapels, or other places designated solely for such purposes;

2. It is forbidden to disseminate information or distribute any publications in any manner, or to display publicly works of art, or to use printing equipment of any kind, without the prior consent of the appropriate organs;

3. The right of employees to organize and hold strikes or protest actions of any kind is suspended;

4. All persons in public places must carry with them their identity documents; students 13 years of age or older must carry with them either their school ID or a Temporary Identity Card;

5. A duty has been imposed [on all persons] to obtain prior permission of the competent local organ of the state administration for the [right of] permanent stay in the border zone [i.e., in the territory within several miles of the state border], and [the permission] of the [local] Citizens' Militia for a temporary stay in such a zone;

6. Tourism, yachting, and rowing have been forbidden on internal and territorial waters.

In addition, for the duration of the state of war, as part of every citizen's duty to defend the Polish People's Republic, the following will apply:

1. All those found able for military service, as well as reserve soldiers regardless of their function, may be called up for active military service at any time by the order of the Minister of Defense;

2. Units of the state and economic administration that carry out functions important to the defense and security of the state have been militarized. This imposes special duties upon persons employed at these units, the nature of which duties will be made known through the directors of their work places;

3. Persons directed to serve in certain formations of the civil defense may be obligated to serve actively in civil defense.

*Article 33(2) of the Constitution allows for the Council of State, a three-man body whose functions are similar to those of a president, to declare a "state of war," when the Parliament is not in session, in case of a direct threat to the security of the state. The state of war was imposed while the Parliament was still in session, and the Council of State acknowledged it only after the fact.

4. The appropriate organs of the military administration and the local and state administrations may exercise their right to appropriate items of any citizen's property for the protection of the state.

During the state of war, if the protection of peace, calm, and public order so demands, the authorized organs of the state administration may also:

1. Introduce limitations upon the freedom of movement of citizens at specific times and places by imposing a curfew or banning travel to and from specific provinces, cities, and local communities;

2. Oblige citizens to gain permission from the appropriate regional organs of the state administration before traveling to another locality for a period of more than 48 hours, and to register with the local authorities at the new place of residence immediately upon arrival;

3. Suspend the activities of associations, trade unions, societies, and social, professional, or trade organizations whose activities pose a threat to the interests of the security of the state, with the exception of churches and religious associations;

4. Introduce the censorship of postal correspondence and telecommunications, as well as the control of telephone conversations;

5. Oblige the owners of radio transmitting and receiving equipment to surrender such equipment in places to be designated;

6. Require anyone possessing firearms, hunting and sporting weapons, ammunition, or any explosive materials, to surrender such materials in places to be designated;

7. Forbid the photographing or filming of specific objects or premises in specific places;

8. Forbid the use of particular signs or uniforms;

9. Suspend or limit the functioning of specific communications facilities and postal or telecommunications services;

10. Suspend or limit road, air, and water transport of persons and things, and limit the use of private cars on public roads;

11. Close or limit border traffic of persons and goods.

During the state of war, persons violating the bans, prohibitions, limitations, and duties that have been introduced are subject to harsher penalties for offenses and transgressions in the form of summary proceedings. Persons who have reached the age of 17, for whom there is justified suspicion that they will, if they remain at liberty, engage in activities threatening the security of the state, may be interned in isolation centers for the duration of the state of war, on the basis of the decision of the provincial commandant of the Citizens' Militia.

Persons engaged in military service or service in militarized units and civil defense who commit penal offenses in connection with such service will be subject to proceedings by military courts according to the regulations that apply to soldiers in active service during wartime.

In cases where the life, health, or liberty of citizens is threatened; or where public, individual, or personal property of significant value is collectively or individually endangered; and in cases where state administration buildings, offices of political organizations, [property] of the national economy of significant value, or objects important to the protection and security of the state are threatened, the armed forces, the functionaries of the Citizen's Militia, and other forces of order will be authorized to use means of direct coercion in order to restore calm and public order. [Emphasis added.]

The Decree of the State of War

Militarization of the Economy

The National Defense Committee, in accordance with the introduction of a state of martial law and for considerations of state security, has issued resolutions on militarization, under which specified units of the state administration and the national economy have been militarized. These are: the enterprise of the Polish State Railways (PKP); the Polish Motor Transport (PKS) amalgamation; the Polish Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone state enterprise; the amalgamation of radio and television stations; communications units; Petroleum Products Distribution (CPN) enterprises; port complexes; some power plants; enterprises of industrial motor transport; professional fire brigades; special production departments and plants; radio and TV broadcasting centers; communal transport enterprises; and other organizational units defined in the above-mentioned resolution of the National Defense Committee.

In accordance with provisions of the act of November 21, 1967, concerning the obligation to defend the Polish People's Republic, persons employed in militarized units are legally bound to carry out service therein. Being called up to such service means that, for the duration of the state of war, normal terms of employment decided on the basis of the regulations of the Work Code are suspended, and [military service] introduced in their place. Service in a militarized unit is equivalent to active military service, both with regard to the carrying out of directives and the bearing of responsibility. Persons serving in militarized units are bound to carry out the [work] directives of their superiors. A work directive is understood to be an order to carry out particular functions resulting from the nature of one's post at work or from the nature of the tasks carried out by the institution. A work directive issued to persons carrying out service in a militarized unit is equivalent to a military command in wartime. A person performing such service cannot abrogate his obligation to the militarized unit in which he is serving. Release from service in militarized units is allowed only in the case of a loss of ability to work, or when a man reaches the age of 65, and a woman the age of 60. However, in certain cases, the head of a militarized unit can retain for further service people with special qualifications, who have reached the above-mentioned ages, if their health so permits. Persons performing service may have to live in barracks and be required to wear uniforms. On the basis of the decision of a minister, governor, or city mayor, it is also possible that people may be transported to other work posts in the same unit, and also to other militarized units.

The director of the institution, at the same time the director of the militarized unit, will announce to his crew that the institution has been militarized. Employees will acknowledge with their signatures that they have been informed of this fact. A refusal to sign, however, does not release any person from carrying out his service. The director makes note of the fact that the signature has not been given, which constitutes proof that the given person has been informed of his duties and responsibilities.

People serving in militarized units, or people called up to serve in them, bear penal responsibility for crimes committed during this service, according to regulations that apply to soldiers on active military service during wartime. A person who fails to report for service within the time or place stated is subject to sentences ranging from two years' imprisonment to death. The same penalty applies in cases of failure or refusal to carry out the directives of superiors. Crimes committed in this service are dealt with in military courts.

Active military service has no time limits. For this reason

soldiers are not being released from current military service, military training, military exercises, or periodic military service until martial law is abolished.

Suspension of Civil Liberties

For the duration of the period of martial law, the civil right of association has been suspended on the basis of regulations contained in the order of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers issued on the basis of the Decree on the State of Martial Law. This applies to the activities of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity and the NSZZ Rural Solidarity, and all industrial and autonomous trade unions and student organizations, as well as the Association of Polish Journalists and the Polish Hunting Union.

Trade unions and other public organizations whose activities have been suspended cannot engage in any organizational or economic action that was hitherto within the scope and manner of their functioning. In particular, no meetings of their statutory authorities or members can be held, no publications can be issued or circulated, nor can offices of these organizations continue to function. All property of trade unions and other public organizations whose activities have been suspended is to be taken over by managers of the work places or principals of higher educational establishments on whose territory such property finds itself, for the purpose of management and utilization; the property of units of such unions and organizations situated outside the territory of work places or educational establishments is to be taken over by the appropriate local organs of state administration at the regional level.

During the state of martial law, with regard to duties required by the interests of defense, the regulations binding in the event of the proclamation of mobilization for war will be enforced. The duties required by the interests of defense involve: surrendering, for an indefinite period, means of transport, tools, machines, and installations needed for the defense of the state, to the armed forces, civil defense formations, or state organizational units performing tasks in the defense of the state.

The above-mentioned organs of the state administration may require state institutions, enterprises, cooperatives, and public and professional organizations to perform material duties consisting of surrendering, for an indefinite period, real estate or other property necessary for defense purposes to the armed forces, civil defense formations, or other state organizational units carrying out tasks for the defense of the state.

The Council of Ministers, in connection with the introduction of the state of war and in consideration of state security, has suspended the acceptance by post and telecommunication offices of all parcels and post remittances from citizens, except for parcels containing medicines, food, or clothes.

For the duration of martial law, offenses hitherto falling under the jurisdiction of civil courts will, on the basis of the relevant clauses of the Decree of the Council of State, be handed over to the jurisdiction of military courts. This applies to offenses committed against the fundamental political and economic interests of the state, as well as to more serious offenses against general security, state and official activity, and public order.

The transference of the above-mentioned penal cases to the jurisdiction of the military courts means that the preparatory proceedings on these matters will be conducted by military prosecutors, while on matters of lesser gravity they may also be conducted by organs of the military internal service or the civil militia.

Wujek Mine Massacre—

"The ZOMO Was Shooting to Kill"

Here and on pages 14, 19, and 20 are eyewitness accounts of the violent breaking of strikes by the army and police during the state of war.

One of the most brutal assaults took place at the Wujek coal mine in Silesia, which resulted in at least twelve deaths. The government acknowledged the incident in the media; however, it did not report what actually had occurred. But a number of sources have since been able to provide information about the Wujek assault.

A special detachment of police are generally used to break strikes, called the ZOMO (militarized riot police). ZOMO officers are often recruited from among criminals who are released from prison in exchange for their service. Most ZOMO units are completely isolated from the civilian population.

The eyewitness account given here is from an eyewitness who has since traveled to the West.

The Wujek incident was unusual because of the presence of civilian ambulance personnel, who were not permitted to take the wounded to a city hospital but were directed to the military hospital. We include a medical report on what happened to the ambulance personnel.

THE STRIKE BEGAN ON THE 13TH OR 14TH OF DECEMBER. The mine went on strike not only because of the imposition of the state of war, but also because the chairman of Solidarity in the mine had been arrested the night before. The door to his apartment had been broken down and he had been beaten. His neighbors, who came out in his defense, also landed in the hospital. This treatment of the workers' elected leader was what affected them most.

On Tuesday, December 15, the workers sent a delegation to the Staszic mine to find out what was happening there, in order to know how to defend the Wujek mine. It turned out that when the Staszic strike had been broken, the weapons used there—rubber truncheons and similar devices—had been insufficient to counter the ZOMO, who had large protective shields and helmets, so there was no way to get at them. So throughout the night the Wujek miners fashioned more powerful weapons. [Pneumatic] hammers—automatic drills weighing over twenty pounds and sharpened on both ends—were taken up from below the surface. Large screws and nuts were welded to metal rods, and a barricade was built at the main gate.

On Wednesday, around 11 AM, it started. Access to the mine was blocked, and all traffic around it halted. Tanks surrounded the mine. They didn't even bother with the barricaded gate, but rammed through the brick wall. Dantesque scenes developed. Women threw themselves under the tank treads. Since there is a settlement near the mine, a big crowd gathered. The whole time, until the water cannons arrived, all you could hear was one huge cry of "Gestapo! Gestapo!" All of them, the whole settlement, were shouting.

Several attacks were launched against the barricade near the delivery gate [the gate through which trains enter to be loaded with the coal], and that's where a great many ZOMO officers fell, without casualties among

the miners. The miners had those metal rods and sharpened drills. They were very well organized, some crouching behind the barricade, others hidden from view. At one point, a group of miners pretended to run away from the police ranks, who followed in pursuit. When they reached the barricade, the crouching miners arose and really gave it to the attacking ZOMO. For a moment they even got hold of guns, but immediately they threw them away from the barricade. They did not want to use them. The ZOMO officers were beaten to shreds, and the miners even took three of them hostage. They told the hostages that they would be hanged if the ZOMO entered the mine. The hostages in turn asked where they were. They didn't know. They themselves said they came from Opole [a town in Silesia midway between Katowice and Wrocław].

After this attack had been repulsed, the first shots were fired. The ZOMO did most of the shooting; the army itself fired only one shot, this at a man who ran towards a tank and threw a gasoline bottle inside the gun barrel. A soldier leaned out of the tank and shot him, but without wounding him severely. The man with the bottle even forgot to light the gasoline. But the ZOMO were shooting to kill. A doctor called for civilian ambulances.

This is very important, because at the other mines where casualties occurred, reportedly only police ambulances took the victims away, so nobody knew the number of killed and wounded. (The police ambulances belong to hospitals run by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, whereas the regular hospitals are administered by the Ministry of Health.)

At Wujek the regular ambulances came from Katowice, mainly from the Ochojec and Ligota districts. Maybe that's why the ZOMO attacked the doctors and nurses, beating them severely. Today a woman doctor from the Clinical Hospital is still in the hospital. She has brain contusions from a truncheon's blow, and her kidneys are crushed. The ZOMO was especially vicious in attacking medical personnel while they were gathering and taking care of the wounded.

An ambulance carrying a man with a gunshot wound in the lung was stopped on the way, and the victim thrown out in the snow. There were several dozen wounded miners. Some are still in the Ligota hospital, others in the Miners' Hospital. A few were seized and taken to a police hospital.

The twelfth victim died by the New Year. The youngest of those killed was nineteen years old; the oldest, forty-eight.

In addition, there were many people with frostbite from being drenched by water cannons in the freezing weather. The helicopters launched gas grenades. People say that this was the same gas that was thrown in the Sosnowiec mine [in upper Silesia] in the fall.* After the gas attack, people were vomiting and fainting. There were fourteen ZOMO policemen lying on the ground, but it is not known how many were killed, and how

*A group of unknown assailants had attacked miners and passersby with gas canisters at the Sosnowiec mine on October 27. Sixty people had been taken to the hospital.

many just wounded.

All miners who were not hospitalized were arrested. At Wujek the ZOMO policemen shot plastic bullets. All the gunshot wounds were inflicted with these bullets. The bullets can kill just as well as regular ones, but—what is worse—they cannot be detected by an X-ray. So the wounded must be literally cut up for the surgeons to find the bullet. Two miners died during such surgery.

The next day a cross was erected in front of Wujek. Candles are lighted night and day—hundreds of candles.

And wreaths, with ribbons saying which place they were sent from. There are also six or seven carbide lamps, for the number of miners who were killed. There is also a big "Solidarity" banner. The mine is working now, but really there is, as in other places, an "Italian strike."

The funerals took place a week after the shootings. Quietly. The families weren't told until the last minute. Those killed were only miners, ordinary miners. In Katowice and the surrounding area, people are furious and broken.

Medical Report on Ambulance Personnel:

"The Above-named Were Unable to Continue Their Shift"

This report on what happened to the medical staff at Wujek came from the emergency care unit of a hospital in Katowice.

DECEMBER 16, 1981—Forces of order intervened while the medical staff was trying to administer aid to the wounded at the Wujek mine. Nine ambulance workers were beaten, and an ambulance driver, Koppera, was detained and taken to an unknown destination. Another driver, Alfred Gowor, is in the neurosurgical unit, while the other wounded were treated in the surgical outpatient unit.

The medical staff were forcibly dragged out of their ambulances, still in their hospital uniforms.

Wounded emergency and ambulance staff were: ambulance attendant Lykbo—general beating; ambulance attendant Olga Kabat—general beating; Soja Janusz—general beating; ambulance attendant Adam Zdyb—general beating; driver Janusz Majewski—general beating, head wound; driver Zdzisław Krawczyk—general beating; driver Andrej Koppera—detained; driver Edward

Korwiecki—general beating, driver Andrej Gawor—in serious condition in the neuro-surgical unit.

The above-named were unable to continue their shift. In many cases, medical teams were prevented from helping the wounded. This happened, for example, in the case of the resuscitation unit.

The following note was appended to the report:

Lech Krawach, the doctor from the resuscitation team, was ordered, along with the rest of his staff, to leave his ambulance. At the time the ambulance was transporting two miners with bullet wounds in their rib cages. All the medical teams were showered with abuse such as "bastards" and "sons of bitches," and some of them, including a doctor, Krawczyk, were threatened with the words, "We'll see you yet." Transporting the wounded to city hospitals was forbidden. The ambulances were directed to the hospital of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The hospital in Ochojec had soon filled 60 beds. In the beginning, it needed 20 liters of blood, later 50 liters, and a large amount of blood-substitute liquids.



Strikers carry the body of a fellow worker following the bloody confrontation at the Wujek mine in Katowice.

"Solidarity Is Our Only Hope"

The following are fragments of a letter from Zbigniew Janas, a member of Solidarity's National Commission and Chairman of Solidarity at the Ursus Tractor Factory, outside Warsaw. The letter was published in an underground bulletin in late December.

TO ALL SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS:

The available information about the activities of the uniformed police (MO) and the secret police (SB) leads to the conclusion that the military junta will try to destroy the union and polarize the society. According to our analysis, the authorities will strive to improve supplies of food, possibly imposing obligatory deliveries of agricultural products on farmers. Such a policy must in the long run lead to the catastrophic breakdown of food supplies. The whole history of communist Poland shows that positive results cannot be expected. It is clear from the measures it has taken already that the junta will try to achieve stability by freezing individuals' savings accounts and possibly the change of currency. Such measures will push many families into poverty. They may lead to spontaneous revolts and bloodshed; the Silesian example [the Wujek mine massacre] shows that the authorities will not hesitate to use force.

The weak response of the West to Polish events indicates that the Poles can count only on themselves. We must organize to defend basic human rights, civil liberties, and freedom for the unions. The Catholic Church is the only organization on which we can rely in this critical period. We should therefore begin close cooperation with the Church, especially in organizing help for those arrested, fired, and in hiding, and all who are persecuted in any way. We do not foresee any substantial change in the attitude of the Western countries, which will not engage in any determined political or economic actions.

What follows from the foregoing analysis? What should Solidarity activists do?

1. We should work together with the representatives of our union in various factory groups, along with other factories. This is necessary in order to enhance the flow of information as well as to coordinate other actions. It will also serve to better the exchange of experiences in our union work. This cooperation should be initiated inside the factories, calling meetings at private apartments after work.

2. We should organize extensive financial and moral help for those persecuted and for the families of those arrested. The aid must be continuous and determined. Workers' brigades and union groups should establish aid funds for this purpose. We should remember that this type of activity enhances workers' solidarity and forestalls demoralization. It must be started immediately, considering its importance for raising morale.

"One of the first actions of the Military Council for National Salvation (WNOS) was to freeze all foreign currency deposited in banks and to severely restrict the amount of money that citizens could withdraw from savings accounts.

3. We should establish contacts with underground publications in order to distribute leaflets and other unofficial publications. This is extremely important, because the propaganda carried by the mass media lies and distorts the truth, all in keeping with Goebbels' principle that a lie repeated a hundred times becomes the truth. This activity must be kept in strict secrecy, since the dangers involved are great and it risks serious retribution.

4. Trade union activity should be commenced. The abolition of all rights and the increasing acts of retribution by some representatives of the management and party activists should be opposed with determination. We should collect the names of all who seek revenge against union activists. We should therefore establish files in which the illegal, unjust, and inhumane activities of the party and management will be recorded.

5. We should undertake individual and collective protests condemning the acts of the military junta, demanding the freeing of arrested union activists, and demanding the restoration of civil rights. Such protests should be legibly signed in full, because of their moral and propaganda value.

6. Since an outbreak of spontaneous protest is quite possible, we must prepare to proclaim a general strike. These preparations must be very secret. Clandestine strike committees, once established, should plan the organization of strikes. One must not, however, engage in active resistance that could cause bloodshed. In this country, the so-called "workers' authorities" have already spilled too much of the workers' blood. Remember that those people are murderers. They do not care how many people they kill if their interests are served.

In the end, I remind all activists that they have been democratically elected for two years. They agreed to serve so that nothing could release them from fulfilling their responsibilities to their constituents. Remember that ignorance and fear are no defense. Every one of us will have to account for his actions, not only those taken in easier times, but also those taken when he risked his job or his freedom. In these difficult days we must not let Solidarity be destroyed. Solidarity is our only hope. Even for us, the sun will some day still shine.

Zbigniew Janas
December 29, 1981

"Be With Us in Our Hour of Need"

THIS IS A PROCLAMATION TO ALL PARLIAMENTS, ALL GOVERNMENTS, all nations, and all people of good will who hold democracy, freedom, and workers' rights dear.

At risk of life and personal freedom, despite Draconian measures of martial law, and despite attempts to manipulate with fear, hundreds of thousands of Polish workers and patriots support a strike and demand the renunciation of the state of war, the release of all those arrested, and the restoration of all labor and democratic rights that the nation has won since August 1980.

We appeal: Support us in our fight with a massive protest and moral help. Do not sit idly watching how they try to strangle the germ of a budding democracy in the heart of Europe.

Be with us in our hour of darkness, solidarity with Solidarity. . . .

Solidarity of the Szczecin Shipyard
December 14, 1981

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

"Submission Will Win Us Nothing"

The following appeal from Solidarity was distributed as a leaflet.

TO UNION MEMBERS:

Repressive measures against the union are continuing and widening in scope. In Krakow about one hundred fifty union members have been interned, and several hundred arrested. The exact number of those who were detained and later released is difficult to establish. Union activists are being fired on a massive scale when they refuse to sign declarations renouncing their membership in Solidarity. Massive efforts are being made to force workers to sign loyalty oaths.

The union has declared that it will protect its members through all possible means. Aid has already been organized for those who have been interned and arrested. It includes legal, material, financial, and medical aid for those who have been imprisoned and for their families. Each family will be assigned someone to take care of them.

The military authorities have not yet released a list of prisoners, nor have they officially informed the families of their imprisonment.

In the face of this repression the imprisoned must be helped in the following ways:

1. Any information about the whereabouts of prisoners, and the addresses of their families, should be passed on to the charitable divisions of the Church.

2. Workers should organize, in their own plants, help for their arrested colleagues and their families and, to the extent that it is possible, inform the Church of the scope of this aid.

3. Workers should organize systematic collections of funds to help those who have been arrested or fired from work. If these funds prove to be unnecessary in one plant, they might be useful in others. A monthly contribution equivalent to the union dues will solve all

problems of financial aid. For the time being, these funds should be collected at the plant or passed on to the charitable sections of the Church.

In addition to organizing aid for these people, we must help people who, because of their union activities, have been or will be fired from their jobs. A list of such dispossessed should be kept and communication with these people maintained. When circumstances allow, the union will seek retribution on behalf of all these people, and will demand that they be given compensation and returned to their jobs.

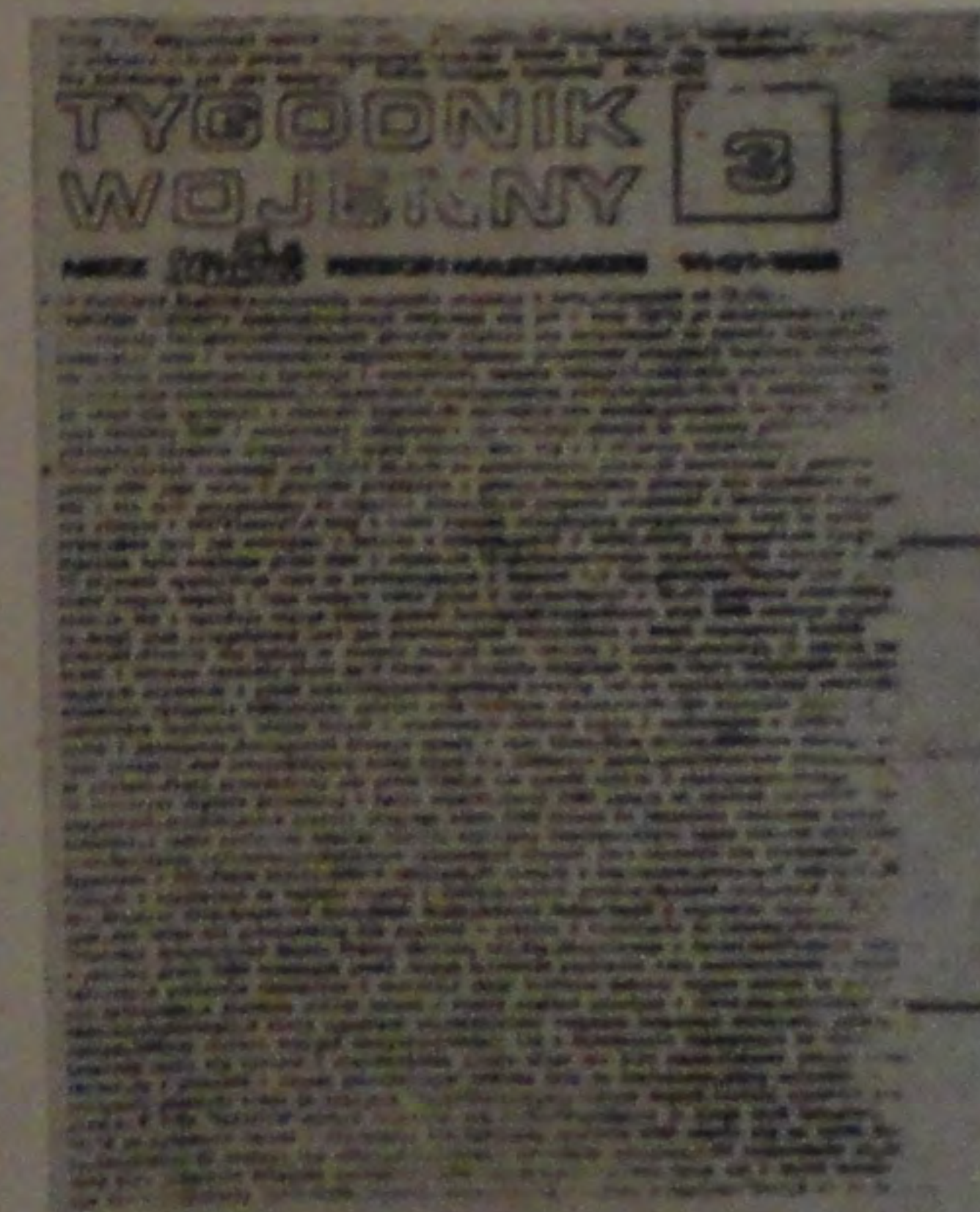
In work places that are not organized strongly enough to refuse to sign declarations renouncing membership in Solidarity, either collectively or as a majority, the regional leadership suggests that the declarations be signed collectively, so as not to isolate the most courageous union members and endanger their jobs. It is not what we sign that is important, what is important is how we will act. From the legal point of view, all declarations signed under coercion are invalid. The aims of such declarations are psychological intimidation: their goal is to frighten people, to pick out and isolate the most courageous, and to break up the unity of the workers.

On the other hand, remember that submission to the authorities will win us nothing. They respect only force. The more we resist pressure, the better and stronger work force and union we will emerge.



An unidentified man holds up an issue of Solidarity's underground newspaper, "Tygodnik Wojenny" ("War Weekly"), being printed in Warsaw.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN



The third issue of "Tygodnik Wojenny," a copy of which reached New York.

Message From Bujak

Zbigniew Bujak, the chairman of Warsaw Solidarity, escaped arrest in the crackdown. His Christmas message to Solidarity members appeared in the Solidarity Information Bulletin No. 9.

As one of the last members of Solidarity's leadership who remain outside concentration camps and beyond prison walls, I want to thank you for everything you have been able to achieve in these moments, for your help and your sacrifices, which we witness now even as you pay dearly for them. I hope that the bonds formed at Solidarity's creation will survive and that their strength will grow. I hope that the consciousness born with Solidarity will survive and will not falter.

I wish you the force of will and the courage that have been ours until now. Despite obstacles, despite opposition, despite oppression, that will and that courage are indispensable if our common work is to go on. I hope that out of the pain and loss, which never can be redressed, the families of murdered workers will see a Poland arise in which a demand of respect for human rights will not cost lives.

I hope that the policemen and soldiers and officers of the Polish army will find the courage to listen to the voice of their conscience when that voice should be obeyed before a command. . . . We must not let ourselves be forced into fratricide, even when defiance demands the highest price.

I hope, for all of us, that our greatest wish for two hundred years will be realized, a hope that has lit our way despite the many roads we have taken to fulfill it: our independence. Solidarity has become yet another expression of that hope.

Declaration of Loyalty

This is a translation of the text of the loyalty oath, referred to as the "declaration of ideology," which imprisoned members of Solidarity are being forced to sign as a condition for their release. Many people are also being forced to sign it as a condition of continued employment.

"I HEREBY DECLARE THAT ON THIS DAY I WAS ACQUAINTED with the circular of the seventeenth of December, 1981, of the head of the office of the Council of Ministers. I fully confirm my awareness of the fact that I bear the responsibility of acting in accordance with the principles of socialist legality. Guided by the social interest and by the principles of socialist construction, I undertake to abide by and guard, in all my actions, the authority of the people's government, and to fulfill strictly the executive directives of my superiors, keeping always in mind the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic and my loyalty to the socialist state. Taking into account the fact that, in the course of recent months, many of the executive organs of the Independent Free Trade Union Solidarity have openly spoken out against the constitutional organs of the government and the administration, attempting from a counterrevolutionary standpoint to overthrow the socialist state, I hereby renounce my membership in that union."

Signature

Appeal From Bialoleka Prison

On the night of December 12 Polish security forces began to round up tens of thousands of Solidarity activists and leaders, intellectuals, and students.

They were placed in what the Ministry of Justice later called "isolation centers." The authorities announced the preparation of at least forty-nine such centers. It is probable that over seventy concentrations camps and prisons were prepared for the crackdown, with up to two thousand people arrested or interned in each.

It is impossible to know how many people are really in prison, but a list has been compiled, by no means an exhaustive one, of prisoners located in areas representing fifteen percent of the population. This list alone has four thousand names, so it is therefore quite clear that the number of prisoners is much higher than the government says.

Two show camps are kept for prominent intellectuals and Solidarity leaders; these have been opened for inspection by Red Cross officials.

The prisoners of Bialoleka Prison are "interned," i.e., held without charges as "security risks." They made this appeal to the international human rights community.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF OUR INTERNMENT THE CONDITIONS of detention in the Center [i.e., Bialoleka Prison] have been getting worse from one day to the next. Despite the announcement by the spokesman of the Polish People's Republic concerning the rules of treatment for interned persons [Jerzy Urban's announcement of the rights of prisoners was broadcast over the radio], here the restrictions are becoming ever more severe.

First of all, we are being treated like common prisoners. Medical care is highly objectionable. There are sick people not being treated. One of the interned is a seventy-two-year-old man. Family visits have been limited to one per month. One should add that the meals we receive have low caloric content and taste terrible. It was also announced that the interned will not be allowed to receive any more goodwill parcels.*

In spite of the announcement to the contrary, the doors to cells are locked during the day. We do not have any cultural or educational activities, either. Meetings with the representatives have also been neglected.

The interned are being held in groups of twelve persons in cells measuring 18 square meters [about 195 square feet]. Despite the announcement that our treatment would be proper, baths are possible only once a week, and the sheets were changed only once since December. We get little exercise. We should have at least one hour of outdoor exercise a day, but it lasts only thirty minutes or less. Lately we cannot even use the so-called "walker."† Instead, dozens of people must restrict their walking to short steps in a very small space, walled on two sides and enclosed by a chicken-wire fence on the other sides. Garbage cans stand nearby.

It has been announced that if the interned do not follow the rules of internment, more severe restrictions will be introduced. In practice, they do not differ from those of pre-trial detention. Recently the access of priests to the isolation center has been made more difficult. We noticed that mice and rats run around in the cells at night, threatening the outbreak of an epidemic.

*Such parcels were allowed to be sent until Christmas.

†Special indoor exercise grounds.

Eyewitness Accounts:

Armed Assaults Break Strikes

PAFAWAG Factory — Wroclaw

WLADISLAW FRASYNIUK, THE CHAIRMAN OF SOLIDARITY in the Wroclaw region, escaped from Gdansk on December 13, at the time when the police were rounding up the members of Solidarity's National Commission. Frasyniuk walked twenty miles, and was smuggled into Wroclaw by railroad workers. From Wroclaw, Frasyniuk was smuggled in a barrel to the PAFAWAG factory.

On December 16 or 17, at three PM, the army began the assault on the PAFAWAG factory. First the tanks crushed the factory gates, which the workers had blockaded with trucks. The police then waited, as usual, for nightfall.

At nightfall the workers were taken out into the factory yard and doused with water cannons in the minus-twenty-five-degree (centigrade) temperature. The police wanted to know where Frasyniuk was hiding, but none revealed where he was. After a few hours, some workers were taken away to an unknown place of detention. The remaining workers, after being soaked by water cannons, stood in the cold until ten AM, when they were dispersed to their homes.

Also, in some factories that undertook strikes, entire workshifts were summarily fired, and the workers were unable to find other jobs. Many workers were taken to a sports stadium, doused with water, and held for many hours. All were forced to sign the loyalty oath.

Academy of Mining — Krakow

I LEARNED FROM AN EYEWITNESS THAT THE STRIKE AT the Academy of Mining and Steel Engineering in Krakow had continued after the imposition of martial law, as a protest in support of the striking miners.* It lasted until the night of Tuesday, December 15-16.

That night, I myself saw, through a window, a column of armored vehicles advancing on the road to Nowa Huta, and someone else, who lives near the police precinct on Liberty Square, saw a column of trucks carrying armed ZOMO police. The Lenin Steelworks (in Nowa Huta) had been stormed that night. At three AM the attack on the Academy followed.

The police tried to knock down the barricaded door to the Academy building. Inside, about five hundred people were striking. The police forced their way into the building through roof hatches and pushed the remaining strikers into one hall. They read about fifteen names from a prepared list and ordered those people to gather on the other side of the hall. Everyone else had to remain where he was.

One person, an older professor who had undergone serious heart surgery a few months earlier, was missing. He had taken a sleeping pill and was asleep on a cot. Officers attacked the factory from behind the military circle. Tear gas grenades were thrown into each yard and hall. Then gassed people were attacked by detach-

*Student strikes had been taking place throughout Poland for over a month, and had ended on December 11.

in a small room near the entrance, unaware of what was happening. When his name was called out the police started a search. Two policemen found him and, blinding him with a flashlight, yelled, "Get up! Get dressed! hurry!" The man, groggy from sleep, attempted to resist and was hit on his chest and back with a truncheon. Despite his resistance he was forced to join the others in the main hall. Persons who witnessed this told me that his demeanor was very impressive: he spoke to the police thugs with courage and dignity.

Those who were called out were thrown into waiting "Black Marias" [police vans] and taken to the police station. But before that they had to stand outside in the freezing weather for an hour and a half. The old professor was even forbidden to put on his coat before being taken away. I learned later that he fainted in the police station and required medical treatment. Others were chased out of the Academy building and ordered to return home, even though the curfew was in effect from 10 PM to 6 AM.

WSK Factory — Swidnik

Swidnik is in southwestern Poland.

ON DECEMBER 16, 1981, BETWEEN 1:00 AND 1:30 AM, the entire factory was surrounded by army detachments. After a loose ring of the military closed [around the factory], the strikers were ordered to leave the factory within ten minutes. After the deadline for this ultimatum had passed, the military fired tank guns and automatic weapons, loaded with blanks. After a while, the tanks crushed the fence, and several hundred ZOMO



ROZDZIOMBIA NAS KRUKI?

WRONY?

This cartoon, which has appeared throughout Poland, depicts General Jaruzelski as a crow—a pun on the acronym WRON (Military Council for National Salvation), wrona meaning "crow" in Polish. The caption reads, "Shall we be picked to bits by crows and crows?"

Eyewitness accounts, continued from p. 19

ments of the police. The police entered every production area, especially where the strike committee and the internal public address system were located. The strike committee sheltered themselves within the crowd of workers. Inside the first hall, a makeshift altar was destroyed. Among those beaten were a priest and others who tried to resist arrest. The gassed and beaten people were led out through the main entrance, where their identification papers were checked. The police tried to detain all the people who had cooperated with the strike committee. This lasted until seven AM.

Lenin Shipyards — Gdansk

The Warsaw Solidarity Information Bulletin No. 7 published these accounts of the breaking of the strike at the Lenin shipyards and of the Gdansk street demonstration on December 16.

ON THE MORNING OF DECEMBER 16, 1981, THE STRIKE IN the Lenin shipyard was broken. The tanks entered, crushing the entrance gate, and destroying a great deal of equipment. There were fatalities. Black flags were hung over the shipyard. The newspapers said that there were four hundred wounded, but the shipyard workers said that there were many, many more than that. The tanks fired blanks and small explosives. Wednesday night I saw such an explosive tear off the arm of a boy, and wound his face so severely that he lost an eye. Another person was struck by such an explosive while standing on a roof and was killed when he fell off the roof. The ZOMO used little rocket launchers to hurl these small explosives.

Near the rail station a crowd gathered, possibly one hundred thousand strong. People were building barricades on the streets and set a police van on fire. The army was withdrawn from around the shipyard, because the soldiers had become too friendly with the workers.

For the actual assault, the ZOMO was used. There were possibly two thousand ZOMO officers, and at one point they were almost crushed by the crowd. It was impossible to get off the train at the Gdansk railroad station because an armored vehicle had driven onto a platform and launched explosives and sprayed some sort of liquid and tear gas.

People said that a procession, led by a priest, entered the shipyard, and the priest was later arrested. The monument to the victims of December 1970 was cut off in all directions by a triple cordon of ZOMO. There was apparently something going on in the city. There was a lot of smoke and gas. There were fires. And shots were heard.

Gdansk: In the Streets

This is an account of the Gdansk street demonstration on Saturday, January 30, 1982.

EVERYTHING BEGAN AS USUAL NEAR THE MONUMENT, where a crowd of youths started to gather. In the beginning there were about two thousand people. Later the crowd grew to about four thousand.

The police got a warning that something was about to happen, and barricaded the narrower streets with police cars. A few streets were left clear, in preparation

for the attack by the ZOMO. When the attack came, six thousand people had gathered.

The police threw tear-gas grenades and small explosives. I saw two people critically wounded. One, a student, was hit in the back by a live explosive, which injured his spine. The other tried to throw an explosive back at the police, and it exploded in his hand. Dispersed, the crowd began to assemble again, trying to reach the monument, but that proved impossible. The crowd then started to walk downtown. There, it turned out, the ZOMO had formed another phalanx, and attacked the people again. This time about eighty people were seriously wounded. Four hundred fifty to five hundred were arrested. This was confirmed by another person in Gdansk who had been detained by the police to take the wounded to the hospital.

At present Gdansk is totally cut off. The curfew starts at eight PM. There are incidents; for example, someone puts up a Solidarity sticker inside an elevator, calling for protest. The ZOMO arrives in fifteen minutes, surrounds the building; and the secret police (in civilian clothes) check everybody's identity documents. They check very thoroughly as to whether there are any strangers.

Chronicle of Events, from p. 3

October 15—The government and Solidarity engage in talks for the first time since August. The government is represented by Finance Minister Marian Kryzak; Solidarity, by Grzegorz Pałka, Vice-Chairman of the Lodz Region Solidarity and a member of the National Commission. They reach an agreement to freeze retail prices until a pricing policy can be worked out between the two sides.

A working group is established to examine the government's proposal for a "mixed commission" and Solidarity's proposal for a "social commission" to resolve the economic crisis.

The PUWP expels from its ranks Bogdan Lis, a member of Solidarity's National Commission and before the Congress the union's foreign affairs spokesman. First Secretary Stanislaw Kania advocates a purge of Solidarity members from the PUWP, saying that they are enemies of the party.

October 16—Jerzy Urban, the government press spokesman, publicly attacks the union's proposal for a "social commission," charging that the union is seeking a "totalitarian dictatorship by Solidarity."

The Council of Ministers extends compulsory military service by two months beyond the usual two years. Soldiers are being employed more frequently than usual to carry out economic decisions.

October 16-18—The PUWP Central Committee plenum meets. The plenum resolves to seek legislation in the Sejm that would prohibit strikes and that would grant the government special "emergency powers." Solidarity says that it opposes the banning of strikes and that it would be preferable to start working on the causes of strikes instead.

The plenum also passes a resolution attacking "anti-socialist" forces in the country. It accuses Solidarity of violating all "social agreements" and acting "counter to the interests of the state."

The plenum goes on to call for a "front of national accord," which would include Solidarity and the Church, but which would be dominated by the party, something similar to the Front of National Unity, which governs the Sejm.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

October 18—At the plenum, Stanislaw Kania, who has been First Secretary of the party since September 6, 1980, resigns. Pressure for him to do so came from the party and reportedly from the Soviet Union. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Prime Minister since February 1980 and Defense Minister since 1968, is now elected to replace Kania as First Secretary. It is the first time that all three posts are held by the same person.

The Soviet Union welcomes the ascension of Jaruzelski.

October 20—In Katowice, in southern Poland, a large number of police surround a van selling Solidarity papers and books published independently, i.e., outside government censorship. The van has sold such materials at the same place for a long time, and as usual, long lines were gathering to buy the papers and publications. The police confiscate the van and all the materials, arrest the "perpetrators," and disperse the crowd.

October 21—A similar incident occurs in Wrocław. The police confiscate a Solidarity car, equipped with a radio and loudspeaker, which for some time has broadcast union statements and songs, since the authorities have prevented access to the local media. Public gatherings are banned in Wrocław following a demonstration protesting the police action.

One hundred fifty thousand workers strike in the province of Zielona Gora over the dismissal of Solidarity members from a factory. The authorities prolong the conflict to avoid negotiations.

Strikes take place in different parts of Poland over food shortages, mismanagement, and the dismissals of Solidarity members and leaders from factories and other institutions.

October 22—The National Commission of Solidarity meets. It urges an end to unauthorized strikes and calls on workers to take part in a one-hour national strike on October 28. It also calls on the government to engage in serious negotiations over the economic crisis.

October 26—The government deploys eight hundred fifty special military units in rural areas to deal with supply disruptions and local disturbances.

The government warns that it sees the upcoming one-hour national strike as a "threat to national security."

October 27—Unknown assailants attack miners and passers-by in Sosnowiec, throwing gas canisters at them. The gas causes vomiting and illness; sixty are admitted to the hospital.

The miners strike, charging that the Ministry of Mining is not trying to find out who attacked them. The National Commission says that since the provincial authorities have done nothing about the attack, they must have approved it.

The strike is later resolved. Solidarity is allowed to state its case in the media.

October 28—Millions of workers take part in the one-hour warning strike over the government's seeking a strike ban and "emergency powers," over its unwillingness to negotiate seriously over the economic crisis, and over its persistent denial of access to the mass media for Solidarity.

"Pravda" publishes a message to Brezhnev from Jaruzelski, affirming the principles of Marxism-Leninism as a foundation for repulsing "counterrevolutionary forces."

October 30—Solidarity's National Commission calls for an end to unauthorized strikes.

October 31—The Sejm calls for an immediate halt to all strikes. It threatens a strike ban if they continue.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

NOVEMBER 1981

November 3—The National Commission meets. It calls for immediate talks with the government on the economic crisis. Solidarity also urges its members to organize assistance for those in need during the winter.

November 4—Lech Walesa, Archbishop Józef Glemp, and Jaruzelski meet to discuss the government's proposal for a Front of National Accord. Jaruzelski is reported to agree to resume negotiations.

A strike ends at a textile factory in Zyrardow. Twelve thousand workers have been on strike for twenty-three days. The principal issues were food shortages and mismanagement.

November 10—Poland applies for admission to the International Monetary Fund.

November 17—The government and Solidarity start negotiations over the Front of National Accord and the Social Commission for the National Economy, among other matters. The Minister of Trade Unions, Stanislaw Ciosek, charges Solidarity with acting in bad faith while—he says—the government was acting to promote national harmony. The Solidarity representative, Stanislaw Wadolowski, instead brings up the issues proposed for negotiation by the National Commission.

The government says that strikes must end as a precondition for national accord. Solidarity restates its position that the causes of strikes should be addressed. The government refuses again to discuss the reform of the legal system or Solidarity's access to the mass media.

November 19—The troops that earlier were dispatched to the provinces to monitor food distribution are recalled.

November 21—Warsaw Solidarity issues a statement expressing support for Andrei Sakharov, who is on a hunger strike over the denial of a visa to his daughter-in-law. The statement protests the Soviet authorities' treatment of Sakharov.

The Solidarity union at the Polish Steamship Company protests to the general manager about the harassment of sailors by Soviet customs officials at Soviet ports.

November 21-22—Rural Solidarity meets to discuss the situation in strikes taking place over the government's violations of agreements previously made.

November 22—Walesa attacks the government's proposal to form a Front for National Accord to solve the problems facing the nation.

November 22—Police raid the apartment of Jacek Kuron, where a meeting of a new political group, "Clubs for a Self-Governing Republic—Freedom, Justice, Independence," was scheduled to take place. The group advocates independent political activity outside of the PUWP and not directly connected with Solidarity. The police search the apartment and those arriving for the meeting; many people who had not planned to attend the meeting, upon hearing of the police search, go to Kuron's apartment to express support; they are also searched. Several are summoned for questioning by the police. Nevertheless, the discussion takes place afterwards at the headquarters of Warsaw Solidarity.

November 23—The government announces that it will be deploying special military units of ten to fifteen members in

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

urban centers to improve services and supplies and to deal with local disturbances and strikes.

November 24—Fourteen resign from Gdansk Solidarity's Regional Commission in protest over what they consider Solidarity's over-conciliatory stand in talks with the government.

November 25—In Chorzow, the police arrest twenty-one people for putting up posters in a campaign to obtain access to the local media.

The government continues to attack Solidarity in the official mass media.

November 25—Student strikes spread throughout Poland, involving two-thirds of the universities and 55,000 students. Students and professors demand the removal of the president of the Radom Engineering School, who was appointed by the Ministry of Higher Education, contrary to agreements that guarantee the universities' right to choose their own officials. They are also demanding greater academic and cultural freedom.

Farmers continue to protest the government's agricultural policies, which favor the inefficient state farms.

Price increases are announced for vodka and other items.

November 27-28—At the PUP's Central Committee plenum, it is reported that of 2.9 million party members, 245,000 have resigned and 180,000 have been expelled since August 1980.

The plenum calls on the Sejm to pass the emergency powers legislation, so that the government will be able to carry out the party's "anti-crisis" program and stop "anti-socialist" initiatives against Leninist principles. The plenum renews its call for a Front of National Accord, and attacks Solidarity for impeding social peace.

November 30—The government proposes that the Sejm repeal the law passed in September that allows limited self-management.

DECEMBER 1981

December 1—Police, using gas cannisters, helicopters, and water cannons, evict students striking the Firemen's Training Academy in Warsaw.

The students were demanding that the Academy be transferred from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, which governs security forces, to that of the Ministry of Higher Education.

December 3—Solidarity warns that it will stage a general strike if the government continues harassing the union and if it pursues the emergency powers legislation. Solidarity also protests the violent assault on the Firemen's Academy.

December 4—The National Commission in Radom issues a statement saying, "The state and party authorities have used the talks with the union and the idea of national accord to mislead the nation. The talks proved to be fruitless." Solidarity attacks the emergency powers bill, since it would mean the continuation of catastrophic economic policies.

December 5—Warsaw Solidarity calls for a day of protest against the assault on the Firemen's Academy on December 17.

December 6—The government accuses Solidarity of reneg-

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

ing on "social agreements" by not joining the Front of National Accord.

Jan Kulaj, the chairman of Rural Solidarity, accuses the government of trying to force the union into a front that would automatically approve the government's disastrous economic policies. He calls for farmers, workers, and students to join together in one union.

December 7—The government publishes selected excerpts of a secretly recorded tape of the National Commission's Radom meeting. On the basis of the "revelations" contained therein, it accuses the union of conspiring to overthrow the regime and of exacerbating tension.

Solidarity says the government distorted what had happened at the meeting. It reaffirms Solidarity's hope for a national accord, and clarifies the positions taken at the meeting, which were mere restatements of previous positions on the economy.

December 8—The army newspaper, "Zolnierz Wolnosci" ("Soldier of Freedom"), calls Walesa a "great liar and provocateur" who wishes to lead "madmen" into civil war.

December 10—Tass accuses "anti-socialist elements" of leading Poland to the brink of insurrection.

December 11—Students and professors, having failed to win their demands, end their strikes at the universities.

December 12—The National Commission, meeting in Gdansk, proposes holding a national referendum on the confidence of the nation in General Jaruzelski and his government. It threatens again a general strike if the government enacts the emergency powers bill.

During the night, security forces round up Solidarity leaders, including most of the union's National Commission, which was meeting in Gdansk, as well as regional leaders and Solidarity advisors. The union headquarters in Gdansk, Warsaw, and elsewhere are raided.

Troop movements take place throughout Poland. Telex and telephone communications are cut.

Sunday, December 13, 1981

At 6:00 A.M. Polish television and radio broadcast General Jaruzelski's speech announcing the imposition of a "state of war" and the creation of the Military Council for National Salvation (WRON).

The decrees of the state of war are broadcast all day and posted in public places throughout Poland. The decrees ban all assemblies and public gatherings, suspend Solidarity and other independent associations, forbid union activity, cut off telex and telephone communications both inside and outside the country, limit travel even within regions, severely curtail gasoline sales for civilian vehicles, suspend air traffic to and from Poland, and institute a 10:00 P.M. curfew.

Violations of the state of war decrees are subject to harsh penalties before military tribunals. Organizing strikes is subject to the death penalty. The decrees "militarize" work places, i.e., most state-owned enterprises are now considered military installations for the security of the state, and workers are considered as soldiers in war time.

All persons over the age of seventeen are subject to intern-

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

ment without charges on mere suspicion that they may engage in activities against the "security of the state."

All universities are shut down. Cultural activities are banned. Theaters are closed. Newspapers are shut down, except for the army paper, "Zolnierz Wolnosci" ("Soldier of Freedom"), and the party organ, "Trybuna Ludu" ("Voice of the People").

The police and army detain tens of thousands of Solidarity representatives and activists, intellectuals, student activists, and even priests. They attempt to detain everyone down to the shop floor leadership, but an estimated thirty percent of Solidarity activists escape arrest.

Prisoners are held in over seventy prisons and concentration camps prepared in advance; they are subjected to sub-freezing weather, often in makeshift tents. Up to forty people are held in cells meant for two or three.

The police raid and ransack union headquarters throughout the day, arresting anyone found there and confiscating or destroying all union property.

Leaflets circulate calling for a general strike. Thousands of workers immediately occupy factories and mines.

December 14-20, 1981

Strikes break out throughout Poland. Workers demand an end to the state of war. Up to seven hundred work places are on strike by the end of the week in large industrial centers such as Gdansk, Warsaw, Radom, Szczecin, Krakow, and Silesia.

Army detachments and special militarized police forces (the ZOMO) are used to break the strikes, armed with tanks, machine guns, water cannons, and gas cannisters. They surround the largest factories. Tanks patrol the streets of cities.

Tanks crush the gates at striking factories. ZOMO officers, often under the influence of drugs or alcohol, assault workers with machine guns, water cannons, and gases, beat people with truncheons, disperse the crowds, and arrest the strikers. Prisoners are often forced to wait in the cold for hours after being drenched with water.

The wounded are often left for hours before being attended to. Most are taken to police and military hospitals, not civilian ones.

In one instance, on December 14, after soldiers refuse to fire on striking workers chained to a gate in a Zawiercia steel mill, tanks crush the workers to death. The bodies are left in the snow. The media do not report the incident. (See story on p. 14.)

Warsaw Radio reports that organizers and leaders of strikes will be brought to trial swiftly.

Lech Walesa is held under arrest in Warsaw, although the authorities do not officially serve notice of internment. He refuses to negotiate without his advisors and the other members of Solidarity's National Commission.

Wednesday, December 16—About forty to fifty thousand people demonstrate in Gdansk on the eleventh anniversary of the 1970 worker revolts. Tanks roll through the crowd. The ZOMO uses machine guns and water cannons to disperse the demonstrators. Helicopters drop tear gas and other kinds of gases. Up to five hundred people are wounded, and are left in the snow until nightfall to be landed. An unknown number are

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Now a familiar scene: a tank patrolling a Warsaw street.

slain. (The government media report that 164 civilians and 160 members of the security forces were injured.)

The ZOMO breaks the strike at the Lenin shipyard, with fourteen thousand workers, for the second or third time.

Demonstrations in Warsaw are brutally dispersed.

The ZOMO attacks the National Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, beating the professors and students and arresting all who took part in the strike.

The ZOMO assaults the Wujek mine in Silesia, where thousands are striking. At least twelve are murdered. Workers use axes, crowbars, stones, and power drills to defend themselves. ZOMO officers beat up civilian doctors and ambulance drivers. Under the influence of drugs, wounded ZOMO officers later die when administered with anaesthesia. The official press reports the massacre, expressing "regret" that the workers initiated violence against the "forces of order." (See story on p. 12.)

The city of Radom is surrounded by the army and police, and is cut off for the next few weeks.

Many striking workers must endure sub-freezing temperatures, since the authorities turn off the heat to weaken resistance.

Troop movements continue. Two Soviet divisions stationed in Poland are relocated, one to the outskirts of Gdansk, the other to the outskirts of Warsaw. Soviet troops in Polish uniforms guard the border and a number of cities.

Czechoslovakian and Hungarian troops are in a state of readiness. East German, Czechoslovakian, and Hungarian governments welcome the imposition of the state of war in official press announcements.

Security forces militarize hospitals in the larger cities and evacuate civilian patients. Doctors and nurses are prohibited from leaving hospitals or from treating civilians.

Food supplies in stores increase suddenly.

Despite the ban on printing equipment and the acquisition

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of paper. Solidarity Bulletins circulate in the large cities, urging resistance and reporting on the brutal actions of the junta. Instructions are circulated on how to resist, how to spread information, how to construct a home-made printing machine, and how to aid prisoners, their families, and those fired from their jobs for union activity.

Signs and graffiti expressing opposition to the junta are seen throughout Poland. Some say: "ZOMO = GESTAPO."

Workers must work six days a week, ten hours a day.

They are forced to sign loyalty oaths, renouncing their membership in Solidarity and forswearing "anti-socialist" activity. Many refuse to sign and are fired from their jobs. Prisoners also must sign loyalty oaths in order to be released. Many who do sign organize resistance and strikes on their release.

DECEMBER 20-27, 1981

In his Sunday sermon on December 20, Archbishop Glemp criticizes the state of war. He says that the junta is terrorizing the nation, and pleads for an end to the bloodshed.

Tass repeatedly warns the United States not to meddle in Poland's internal affairs.

Romuald Spasowski, the Polish ambassador to the United States, defects and is granted political asylum. He expresses support for Lech Walesa and Solidarity, and accuses the junta of brutalizing the Polish people.

"Tybun Ludu" reports sparse food shipments from farmers, whom it accuses of hoarding. The junta appeals to farmers to fulfill their quotas. Large food shipments are reported to arrive from East Germany.

Criminal proceedings before military tribunals are initiated against Solidarity activists charged with organizing strikes in Zakopane, Radom, Slupsk, Olsztyn, Warsaw, and Gdansk, according to official press announcements. In most cases defendants are not allowed legal counsel except for military lawyers appointed by the tribunals.

The authorities start the "ideological verification" process for Polish journalists. Those who do not pass through verification are fired or ordered to "rethink positions." Many refuse and are summarily dismissed.

Up to eighty thousand people are being held in "isolation centers" and prisons.

Strikes continue throughout Poland. Many factories have yet to be taken from the workers, such as the large steelworks in Krakow and Warsaw. Workers retake many factories after the initial assaults by the ZOMO, which continues to use brutal force to break resistance.

Thousands of miners in Silesia, despite the brutal assaults of the previous week, continue to hold up to twelve large mines.

The Polish press service, PAP, reports that the country is "returning to normal." It also reports widespread strikes in Gdansk, Szczecin, Silesia, and elsewhere.

Arrests and military trials continue. Now they are reported in the smaller industrial towns of Bialystok, Koszalin, Plock, and Gorzok.

On Tuesday, December 22, workers occupying a large steelworks in Katowice, on strike since December 13, threaten to blow up the large fire furnaces with acetylene and oxygen tanks

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if the ZOMO use force to break the strike. Both PAP and Tass report the threat.

To prevent further resistance, factories are closed and work is suspended in Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, and other cities, until the Monday after Christmas. Tanks remain at the closed Lenin Shipyards with "Solidarnosc" painted on them and flowers stuck in the gun barrels.

Managers are being ordered by military officers stationed at work places to fire workers who refuse to sign loyalty oaths or who are suspected of union activity. Hundreds of managers who do not cooperate are also fired.

Church sources report that the conditions in prisons are appalling, with prisoners subjected to terrible cold, and given little food or water.

Intellectuals and well-known Solidarity leaders are kept in military resorts, used as show camps. Polish media report that a total of five thousand are interned.

Pope John Paul II says that the Church is "on the side of the workers." He says that "deadly shadows" now darken the prospects for peace.

Restrictions are eased to allow some travel within regions. However, gasoline is not sold to "private car owners."

Prosecutions of "instigators" proceed; sentences of 3-8 years are handed down for strike activity. Those who are caught breaking curfew are fined 5,000 zlotys or imprisoned one month.

Economic production has fallen to 10-12% of capacity.

A Warsaw "Solidarity Bulletin" calls for further resistance despite the government's brutality. "Every action of protest strikes a blow against the junta."

Work slowdowns, or "Italian strikes," are common.

Zbigniew Bujak, Chairman of Warsaw Solidarity, who escaped arrest, issues a Christmas appeal for passive resistance. He also appeals to soldiers and police to "follow their consciences" before following orders to fire on fellow Poles.

Miners hold out at the Piast, Ziemowit, and other mines. Januszowski appears publicly for the first time since December 13, to deliver a Christmas speech. He defends the state of war, and says it will last "not one minute longer" than necessary.

December 26—The authorities announce that meat rations will be reduced.

The Polish government attacks the American economic sanctions and says they will cause hardship during the winter.

As many as ten underground bulletins are printed in Warsaw alone. Such bulletins form the broad underground network of resistance, which spreads information and instructs workers how to organize against the state of war. Widespread assistance is being organized with the Church to aid political prisoners and their families, and those fired from their jobs.

The authorities announce that factories that were closed until the 28th to prevent strikes will be closed until January 3.

According to Solidarity sources, defections in the army are common. Officers are turning in their party cards in large numbers. Some detachments have refused to take part in assaults.

Lech Walesa is still held without formal notice of internment. He still refuses to negotiate without his advisors and the National Commission.

December 28—The strike at the Piast colliery is broken.

The Polish media report the firing of managers who do not cooperate with the state of war decrees.

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The Polish Ambassador to Japan, Zdzislaw Rurars, defects and is granted asylum in the U.S. He reveals that he first knew about the plans for the state of war in March 1981.

Around two hundred fifty Solidarity activists so far have been given sentences of from three to eight years.

JANUARY 1982

The president of Poland, Henryk Jablonski, thanks the police and army for their "selfless and exhausting performance of duty" to "restore order."

The media announce 300-400% food price increases.

The junta announces the removal of ninety provincial and local officials that do not measure up to martial law tasks.

Most universities remain closed.

January 2—The Pope issues an appeal for the survival of Solidarity, which had "secured the real dignity of workers."

The Minister of the Interior, Czeslaw Kiszczak, calls on the security forces to reject Zbigniew Bujak's appeal to resist orders.

Strikers at the Piast colliery are arrested. Radio Warsaw reports that five more workers have been sentenced.

January 3—The media admit two more deaths. The official death toll is now ten. Unofficial estimates are much higher.

General Januszowski tells the ten ambassadors from the European Economic Community that Poland may deport Solidarity "extremists."

Work resumes at some of the factories that have been closed for up to two weeks. Some of them are divided up into sections with barbed wire; workers must be escorted by soldiers into, out of, and within the factories.

The Nowa Huta steelworks in Katowice remains closed. Strikers have shut off the blast furnaces, which take weeks to rekindle.

Work slowdowns continue.

January 5—Archbishop Glemp denounces the use of loyalty oaths. He avers that when they are signed under pressure they are not morally binding.

January 6—Foreign journalists no longer have to submit articles to the authorities for censorship before sending them out, however, the articles must be sent through the bureau of the Government Information Center. Interpress, telephone, tele, and travel restrictions remain in force.

Gasoline for civilian vehicles is severely reduced, preventing extended travel within regions.

January 9—The Ministry of Justice announces proceedings against thirty-eight people. Five are given sentences ranging up to eight years for "continuing union activity from December 13 to December 28" in Katowice.

Universities are reopened, but only for last-year students who are prevented from moving freely within the country.

Archbishop Glemp meets with Januszowski. The Church announces both its opposition to the state of war regime and its aid to prisoners and their families.

Paramilitary police units are put on alert to deal with any protests over the steep price increases about to take effect.

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Jerry Urban, the government press spokesman, says that those who are being held without charges (i.e., interned) will be released only when the state of war is lifted.

The Polish Foreign Minister, Jozef Cyrankiewicz, arrives in Moscow for consultations with Soviet leaders.

January 10—Telephones in Warsaw and elsewhere are switched on, for local use only. Many calls, including to Archbishop Glemp, are interrupted with the recording, "This conversation is monitored. This conversation is monitored."

The Pope issues a strong denunciation of the crackdown in Poland. "I raise my voice to God, together with all men of good will, so that the consciences of my fellow citizens will not be suffocated."

January 11—Radio Warsaw reports widespread supply shortages in factories.

Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski states that the end of the state of war cannot be predicted.

Cyrankiewicz and Gromadzki denounce the "interference" of the United States in the internal affairs of Poland.

January 12—An underground Solidarity bulletin, signed by Zbigniew Bujak and other leaders of Warsaw Solidarity, outlines points of resistance, including passive actions at factories, and a "social boycott" of all "collaboration and eager informers."

Zbigniew Bujak, in an interview with the New York Times, states that the underground resistance movement is prepared for a long struggle through peaceful means.

January 13—After one month of the state of war, up to 50,000 people remain interned, with no indication of when they might be released. Although the active uprisings have been broken, resistance is widespread. Recent forty underground Solidarity bulletins appear in different regions of Poland.

January 14—Warsaw Radio says the broadcast of the Sunday mass, begun after the August 1980 arrests, will resume.

January 15—In his Sunday sermon Archbishop Glemp attacks the regime for the continuing arrests and the loyalty oaths.

January 16—A committee from the NSZZ, the Military Council for National Salvation, states that trade unions will be "strictly controlled" in the future.

January 21—One hundred and one intellectuals send a petition to the Sejm demanding the release of the prisoners and an end to the state of war and the repression of Solidarity.

Thousands of members continue to resign from the PZPR. Many others are expelled.

A pastoral letter sent by Archbishop Glemp is read in churches throughout Poland, supporting the workers' right to organize free trade unions and the people's right to accurate information from their sources.

January 25—In an address to the Sejm, Januszowski says that the state of war will continue as long as it proves necessary, and that the military will continue to control the factories and mines. He denies the "boycott stories" being spread about the situation in Poland. He announces that price increases will be necessary for economic recovery.

January 26—The government accuses the U.S. of espionage.

January 26—Thousands demonstrate in Gdansk and are dispersed by the ZOMO. The resumed air-aid unit nightclubs are arrested, the 6:00 PM curfew is reimposed.

January 27—PAP says that the students in Gdansk were provoked by American propaganda.

Violators of Martial Law Decrees Sentenced to 515 Years

The following is a list of one hundred fifty-five persons who were tried by civil and military tribunals for violations of martial law regulations. This list was compiled mainly from official press sources; it is likely that the number of those sentenced is four to five times higher.

1. Achinger, Ignacy (Bielsko-Biala), advisor to the Solidarity Regional Commission—one year's imprisonment for continuing union activities.
2. Adamski, Tadeusz (Bielsko-Biala), chairman of Solidarity's Meat Processing Factory Commission—four years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
3. Bator, Krzysztof (Lodz)—three years' imprisonment for union activities.
4. Bednarski, Mieczyslaw (Lodz)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike in the textile plant "Wiosny Ludow."
5. Bełkiewicz, Zdzislaw (Koszalin), head of Solidarity's Factory Commission at Unitra-Unitech—three and a half years' imprisonment for leading a strike.
6. Benicki, Zenon (Pulawy)—two years' imprisonment for "hindering the proper functioning of the Ammonia Plant Division II."
7. Bereza, Edward (Warsaw)—acquitted of leading a strike.
8. Bernatowicz, Marek (Bialystok)—three years' imprisonment for attacking militia officers with his fists.
9. Bialo, Krzysztof (Czestochowa)—four and a half years' imprisonment for continuing union activity.
10. Bidzinski, Ryszard—four and a half years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
11. Biedrzycki, Boleslaw (Leszno)—three years' imprisonment for "disseminating in his place of work false rumors about allegedly having been beaten and arrested, whereas in fact he received bodily injuries as a result of family misunderstandings."
12. Bielinski, Ryszard (Katowice)—four and a half years' imprisonment for leading a strike.
13. Bielski, Ryszard—three years' imprisonment for attacking a militia officer.
14. Bobowski, Antoni (Bielsko-Biala), member of the Presidium of Solidarity's Regional Commission—five years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
15. Bocan, Josef—acquitted of leading a strike.
16. Bokowski, Roman (Morgonin)—three and a half years' imprisonment for publicly inciting the hanging of leaflets that said "Death to the Reds."
17. Buler, Wojciech—one year's imprisonment, charge unknown.
18. Burda, Miroslaw (Wroclaw), 17 years of age—placed in a correctional facility by a military tribunal for displaying graffiti suggesting a similarity between the military authorities and the Gestapo.
19. Chrusnowski, Wladzimir (Rudzenow)—three years' imprisonment for attacking a militia officer and a member of the ORMO (a special police detachment).
20. Czerwinski, Arkadiusz (Warsaw)—three years' imprisonment for participating in the strike at the Ursus tractor factory.
21. Ciesewski, Alexander (Gdansk), worker at the Railway Repair Factory—six years' imprisonment for refusing to carry out an order to work and for leading a strike.
22. Dobczyk (Danez), Henryk (Dabrowa Gornicza), Solidarity member at the Katowice Steelworks—six and a half years' imprisonment for organizing the confina-
- tion of a strike and writing in the newspaper *Wolny Zwiastowiec* (Free Unionist).
23. Etela, Robert Leonard (Slupsk)—two years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
24. Filipek, Jan (Jelenia Gora)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
25. Filipek, Zbigniew (Tychy), painter at the Tychy car factory—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike committee and securing material aid for workers involved in the Tychy strike.
26. Fiolda, Benedykt (Warsaw) two years' imprisonment, suspended conditionally, charge unknown.
27. Gajda, Stanislaw (Gorzow Wielkopolski)—three years' imprisonment for organizing an interfactory strike at the Ursus factory.
28. Glowacki, Edward (Warsaw), worker at the FSO car factory—two years' imprisonment for illegal activity and organizing a strike.
29. Golinski, Zygmunt (Slupsk), member of the Solidarity Regional Commission—four and a half years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
30. Goralowski, Piotr (Katowice) four years' imprisonment for continuing union activities and organizing a strike at the steel works, thus "causing serious damage to equipment and production."
31. Grzebieluch, Andrzej (Dabrowa Gornicza)—three years' imprisonment for calling for a strike and publishing in *Wolny Zwiastowiec* (Free Unionist).
32. Gulinski, Zdzislaw (Katowice)—three and a half years' imprisonment for issuing death threats and planning illegal union activities.
33. Honkisz, Zdzislaw (Bielsko-Biala), head of Solidarity's Factory Commission in the Building Cooperative—three years' imprisonment for continuing union activity.
34. Hynchel, Stefan (Trzciana)—three years' imprisonment for illegal possession of firearms.
35. Idzikowski, Bogdan (Lodz)—one year's imprisonment for continuing union activities.
36. Jamrozik, Wojciech (Gdansk)—five years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Gdansk refinery.
37. Jamroz, Marian (Piekary Slaskie)—four years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the "Montomet" metal plant.
38. Jankowski, Edward (Warsaw), employee at the FSO car factory—acquitted of leading a strike.
39. Janowski-Burczyk, Witold (Tychy), worker at the Tychy auto plant—three and a half years' imprisonment for "organizing a strike committee and securing material aid for workers who participated in the strike."
40. Jasicki, Jan (Dabrowa Gornicza)—four years' imprisonment for organizing a strike and writing for *Wolny Zwiastowiec* (Free Unionist).
41. Kadziak, Antoni (Szczecin), head of the Polmosznyt factory Strike Commission—no sentence for organizing a strike.
42. Kalita, Jerzy (Lodz)—one and a half years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
43. Kaniulski, Antoni (Rzeszow), engineer at the communication equipment plant (WSK)—five years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
44. Kaminiski, Zygmunt (Warsaw)—two years' imprisonment for leading illegal strike activities.
45. Karol, Boguslaw, Solidarity member—three years' imprisonment for agitating revolt among soldiers

46. Kasnicki, Marek (Kydgoszcz)—one year's imprisonment for trying to organize a strike.
47. Kasprzak, Zdzislaw (Szczecin)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Warski shipyard.
48. Kaszuba, Witold (Warsaw)—three years' imprisonment for organizing the Ursus factory strike.
49. Kicinski, Wacław (Sopot), employee of the building cooperative—four years' imprisonment for making fun of the government institution.
50. Klepasa, Stefan (Stalowa Wola)—four years' imprisonment for writing false information on the walls of a plant and attempting to steal a typewriter.
51. Klasa, Jan (Bochnia), first secretary of the Communist Party's Factory Committee, Solidarity member—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
52. Klimczuk, Andrzej (Sieradz)—four years' imprisonment for attacking a militia official.
53. Kolasa, Makary, member of Solidarity's Factory Commission at "Unitra-Unitech" in Bialogard—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
54. Kolodziejski, Tadeusz (Gorzow Wielkopolski), chairman of Solidarity's Regional Commission—five years' imprisonment for organizing a sit-in strike at the Ursus factory.
55. Kondracki, Sylwester (Jelenia Gora)—one and a half years' imprisonment for posting leaflets on bus windows.
56. Koniewski, Jerzy (Warsaw), member, Presidium of Solidarity's Warsaw Regional Commission—three and a half years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
57. Kosmala, Ryszard (Lodz)—one year's imprisonment for organizing a strike in the Wiosny Ludow plant.
58. Kostrzewa, Ryszard (Lodz), member of the Regional Commission of Solidarity—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike in the Polanin factory.
59. Kowalczyk, Jerzy (Gdynia)—nine years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
60. Kowalczyk, Jerzy (Slupsk)—three and a half years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
61. Kowalewicz, Renata (Wroclaw)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Spolmet plant.
62. Krasulski, Leonard (Elblag), member of Solidarity's Factory Commission—five years' imprisonment for organizing meetings of workers and distributing leaflets.
63. Kropiwnicki, Jerzy (Lodz), member of Solidarity's National Commission, lecturer at Lodz University—four and a half years' imprisonment for calling a meeting.
64. Kryczmanik, Zygmunt (Kielce)—four years' imprisonment for attempting to break into a railway car containing explosive materials.
65. Krysiak, Remigiusz (Plock)—found guilty but not sentenced for continuing union activities.
66. Krystian, Eugeniusz (Katowice)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Ziegowit mine.
67. Kubasiewicz, Ewa (Gdynia)—ten years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
68. Kucharczyk, Jozef (Bielsko-Biala)—four years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
69. Kucharski, Ireneusz (Lodz)—three years' imprisonment for "audacious theft of an officers' bar hat."
70. Kunda, Zygmunt (Bialystok)—three and a half years' imprisonment for beating up policemen.
71. Kusiakiewicz, Zbigniew (Dabrowa Gornicza)—five and a half years' imprisonment for union activities.
72. Latocka, Radostaw (Gorzow Wielkopolski)—three years' imprisonment for organizing an interfactory strike committee at Ursus.
73. Legut, Jan (Katowice)—three and a half years' imprisonment for organizing the distribution of materials

between strikers at the steel works.

74. Leszczynski, Roman (Pustkow Trybunalski)—four years' imprisonment for attacking a militia officer.
75. Lewcun, Jerzy, head of Solidarity's Commission for a specialist team of youth rehabilitation in Zakopane—six months' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
76. Lis, Norbert (Gorzow Wielkopolski)—three years' imprisonment for organizing an interfactory strike committee at the Ursus factory.
77. Lisowski, Kazimierz (Gdansk), member of the Regional Commission—one and a half years' imprisonment for failing to cease union activities.
78. Lopatka, Jozef (Bielsko-Biala)—five and a half years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
79. Luczak, Jan (Lodz)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Unimet plant.
80. Magiera, Marian (Czestochowa)—three and a half years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
81. Malinowski, Henryk (Bialystok), vice chairman of Solidarity's Commission at the Panarki factory—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
82. Marusinski, Wojciech (Katowice)—seven years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the steel works.
83. Mikolajewski, Ryszard Jan (Legnica)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
84. Mikolajczyk, Witold (Inowroclaw)—three and a half years' imprisonment for attacking the head of an army patrol.
85. Miszkiewicz, Jan (Zielona Gora)—three years' imprisonment for threatening soldiers on duty.
86. Mittelstett, Piotr (Gdansk), student at the Polytechnic—three years' imprisonment for setting up a secret founding committee of the Confederation for an Independent Poland in Chelm and for distributing leaflets.
87. Mroz, Sławomir (Wroclaw)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Spolmet plant.
88. Nowak, Ryszard (Tarnobrzeg)—three years' imprisonment for illegal possession of firearms.
89. Nowak, Zenon (Warsaw)—two years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the Institute for Nuclear Research on December 14, 1981.
90. Nowicka, Ewa, Solidarity leader at the electric plant in Bydgoszcz—sentence unknown, on the charge of calling for the delay in production and making up a leaflet that called for a general strike.
91. Okon, Jan (Pulawy)—three months' imprisonment for participating in a strike at the Aspy plant.
92. Olesinski, Eugeniusz (Bochnia), vice chairman of the Solidarity Committee at the Bochnia steel works—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
93. Oledzki, Andrzej Wincenty (Bialystok)—three years' imprisonment for "with no reason having participated actively in an attack on a militia officer."
94. Olik, Krzysztof (Warsaw)—four years' imprisonment for publicly inciting disobedience.
95. Opuski, Andrzej (Katowice)—three years' imprisonment for union activities.
96. Opila, Piotr (Poznan)—four years' imprisonment for the "audacious theft of a bar hat."
97. Opus, Marek—three years' imprisonment for burning leaflets from a government building.
98. Opola, Adam (Gorzow Wielkopolski)—four years' imprisonment for organizing an interfactory strike committee at Ursus.
99. Opolski, Arthur (Gorzow Wielkopolski)—three years' imprisonment for union activities.
100. Orzel, Jan (Bochnia), Solidarity leader of a Factory Committee at the Bochnia steel works—three years'

- imprisonment for organizing a strike at the steel works.
101. Pacuska, Tadeusz (Warsaw)—two years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the Institute for Nuclear Research.
 102. Paczko, Zdzisław (Katowice)—three and a half years' imprisonment for announcing the murders of three persons.
 103. Patmor, Zbigniew (Katowice or Dąbrowa Górnicza)—five years' imprisonment for organizing and leading a strike at the Katowice steel works.
 104. Pator, Krzysztof (Łódź)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Unibrot factory.
 105. Pawlik, Andrzej, head of transport in Solidarity's Regional Commission of Lower Silesia—five years' imprisonment for transporting leaflets.
 106. Pichur, Julian (Bielsko-Biala)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
 107. Piecki, Andrzej (Gdańsk)—five years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the Gdańsk refinery.
 108. Pienkowski, Janusz (Warsaw [Żeran]), employee at the FSO auto factory—two years' imprisonment for organizing and leading a strike.
 109. Piras, Zbigniew (Gdańsk), member of Solidarity's Regional Commission at the WPMS factory—one year's imprisonment for failing to cease union activities.
 110. Piszczek, Mieczysław (Wrocław)—four years' imprisonment for organizing and leading a strike at the Spolmet plant.
 111. Piwowar, Zbigniew Zdzisław (Ślupsk)—four years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
 112. Podsiadło, Henryk (Białogard), member of Solidarity's Factory Commission in Białogard—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
 113. Potasniczak, Ryszard (Gdańsk), employee at the railroad equipment repair plant—six years' imprisonment for refusing to carry out an order to return to work.
 114. Prymus, Wojciech (Piotrków Trybunalski)—three years' imprisonment for assaulting a soldier on duty.
 115. Przygodzinski, Aleksander (Częstochowa), chairman of Solidarity's Commission at the Bierut steel works—three years' imprisonment for calling for a strike.
 116. Pyzio, Wiesław (Bielsko-Biala)—three years' imprisonment for making "suspicious declarations and refusing to return to work."
 117. Renart, Herbert (Katowice)—five and a half years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the steelworks.
 118. Rosicki, Władysław (Katowice-Dąbrowa Górnicza)—five and a half years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
 119. Rubik, Witold (Dąbrowa Górnicza)—six and a half years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
 120. Sawicki, Ryszard—four years' imprisonment for organizing an Interfactory Strike Committee at Ursus.
 121. Sieminski, Henryk (Warsaw), worker at the auto plant—acquitted of leading and organizing a strike.
 122. Saniewski, Jerzy (Puławy)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Azoty plant.
 123. Sienkiewicz, Krzysztof (Katowice)—four and a half years' imprisonment for organizing and leading a twelve-day strike at the Ziemowit mine.
 124. Sleg, Ryszard (Piekary Śląskie)—four years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the Mantomet factory.
 125. Slowik, Andrzej (Łódź), tram driver, member of Solidarity's National Commission—four and a half years' imprisonment for calling on strike on December 14, 1981.
 126. Słuzalec, Andrzej (Tychy)—three and a half years' imprisonment for calling and undertaking a strike at the Tychy auto plant.

127. Sobolewski, Zbigniew (Katowice)—six or seven years' imprisonment for leading a strike at the steelworks.
128. Staniowska, Teresa (Częstochowa)—three years' imprisonment for undertaking a strike.
129. Staworża, Ignacy (Katowice)—case dropped.
130. Stonk, Witold (Częstochowa)—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
131. Stroczyński, Mirosław (Katowice), miner at the Ziemowit colliery—seven years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
132. Strugała, Jerzy (Inowrocław), leader of Solidarity's Committee at the Igel factory—sentence unknown, for "spreading rumors that provoked public disturbance."
133. Strzelczyk, Zygmunt (Gorzów Wielkopolski)—three years' imprisonment for organizing an Interfactory Strike Committee at the Ursus plant.
134. Sulewski, Roman—three years' imprisonment for distributing leaflets from an official vehicle.
135. Surowiec, Cezary (Ślupsk)—one and a half years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
136. Szablewski, Alojzy (Gdańsk), chairman of the Solidarity Commission at the Lenin shipyards—six years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
137. Szadurski, Karol (Warsaw), Solidarity leader at Warsaw steel works, member of Regional Commission—sentence unknown for organizing a strike.
138. Szleger, Waclaw (Bielsko-Biala)—five years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
139. Sztetka, Stanisław (Bielsko-Biala)—three and a half years' imprisonment for leading a strike.
140. Szmicił, Kazimierz (Bielsko-Biala), member of Solidarity's Commission at the Bielsko-Biala auto plant—five years' imprisonment for continuing union activity.
141. Szumski, Paweł (Białogard), member of Solidarity's Commission at Unita-Unitech—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
142. Trzoska, Aleksandra, worker at Katowice steel works—five years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
143. Trzcinski, Władysław Jerzy (Gdańsk), delegate to Solidarity's First Congress—nine years' imprisonment for participating in an illegal meeting.
144. Ugricic, Marek (Gdańsk), member of Solidarity's Regional Commission at the WPHS plant—two years' imprisonment for refusing to cease union activities.
145. Uszkiewicz, Jerzy (Bochnia)—three years' imprisonment for organizing and leading a strike.
146. Wawrzuka, Adam (Katowice), miner at the Ziemowit mine—five years' imprisonment for leading a strike.
147. Walus, Władysław (Bielsko-Biala)—four years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
148. Wleczorek, Roman (Katowice)—three years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
149. Wielgosz, Bronisław (Gorlice), leader of Solidarity's Commission at the Glinik mining factory—three years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
150. Witaszewski, Wiesław (Sieradz)—three years' imprisonment for assaulting a policeman.
151. Wojtas, Marek (Bielsko-Biala)—three years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
152. Wozniak, Anna (Częstochowa)—one and a half years' imprisonment for continuing union activities.
153. Wycichowski, Waldemar Romuald (Malbork), a worker at the Makop textile plant—two years' imprisonment for organizing a strike.
154. Zacha, Roman (Katowice)—three years' imprisonment, charge unknown.
155. Zietek, Kazimierz Koronowo—three years' imprisonment for assaulting a militia official.

An Interview With Ewa Milewicz

Ewa Milewicz is one of the few members of KOR (Workers Defense Committee) who escaped arrest, in her case due to her disability. She is a lawyer, and was active in the NOWA Independent Publishing House and the Lawyers' Publishing House. Milewicz was the thirty-fourth and last member to join KOR.

KOR was established in 1976 to organize financial and legal help for workers who were persecuted after the protests of that year. Later it changed its name to the Committee for Social Self-Defense (RSS), and organized, with hundreds of others, a broader defense of those persecuted for opposition activities. Members of KOR also set up several independent publishing houses. KOR officially dissolved at the First Congress of Solidarity in September 1981.

This excerpted interview with Ewa Milewicz took place in late December 1981 with a Western correspondent.

Q: SOLIDARITY BEGAN AS A SOCIAL AND MORAL MOVEMENT. Later it became a considerable political force. How would you describe Solidarity as of November 1981?

A: I wonder whether Solidarity was in the beginning a movement of—as you call it—moral protest. In August 1980 I was in the Gdańsk shipyard, and I was present when the famous twenty-one demands were being drafted. Initially there were many more—including the demand for free elections to Parliament, which was withdrawn after a motion by the very activists who were later regarded as radicals.

In order to understand why this happened, we must realize that the feeling of hopelessness and the lack of faith in the possibility of any significant change is typical of societies in communist countries. When the people [who formulated the demands] read their own words, it seemed to them that they were demanding too much. So they excluded some of them. But this does not mean that they did not feel the need to make political demands.

I think the change that took place during Solidarity's year and a half of existence consisted of the fact that the desire for political change, along with Solidarity's rising confidence in its own power, was articulated. People were no longer afraid to speak out. I observed many meetings. I was present in many factories, and at the Solidarity Congress. The demand for far-reaching political changes was commonly expressed everywhere.

Q: So how should one understand the claims of the Polish propaganda organs—that it was the extremists, the radical activists and "experts" who were pushing the union towards confrontation with the authorities?

A: The media have aimed their attacks on individuals: Geremek, Kuron, Modzelewski ["experts," or advisers to Solidarity] and Onyszkiewicz [a member of the National Commission and formerly Solidarity's press spokesman], who, according to the authorities, are prime examples of extremists within Solidarity.

It so happened that the last time I spoke with Jacek, on December 4, he foresaw the present situation. He said that the authorities would impose a state of emergency (one spoke then of a state of emergency, not of a state of war). In response to my

arguments that that would be impossible because the entire country would be brought to a halt, he replied that people were tired, they wanted peace, that it would be easy to terrorize them. He said: "They will strike a little, but then they will back off." For a few months, he had been advocating the idea of a national accord. In other words, he thought a committee of national salvation should be established, with the representatives of the party, Solidarity, and the Church as its members—that the only hope lay in the genuine cooperation of these three social forces.

Jacek was one of the moderates. He was a man who thought that one should not "bring the authorities to their knees." He is a typical example of how official propaganda in Poland functions. They learned to use Kuron's name the way they used to use the word "Jews." Whenever something bad happened, it was always the Jews. Now it's the same with Kuron.

Q: Were you surprised by the military coup of December 13? What was your reaction?

[At close to midnight on Saturday the twelfth, Wiktor Kulski, deputy chairman of Warsaw Solidarity] called to tell me that telex communications had been cut. He told me he was going to the union headquarters. I got up after his call and heard a car stop in the street. Then steps on the stairs. I thought: they are coming for me. But then I heard them pounding on my neighbor's door, one flight below. I thought, I am in the Soviet Union: I am lucky it's him this time, not me. The apartment belonged to Sławek Kretkowski, a "commando" of 1968.* They broke open the door with a crow-bar. From my window I saw them put him in the police car. Then I got in my car. I thought I would go to the headquarters—perhaps I might be of use there.

I drove over with a friend. We thought that maybe we could do something, alert someone. But everywhere we went, we saw marks from the crowbars on the doors. As it later turned out, they broke into all the apartments at the same time. It was evident that the actions had been preceded by large-scale surveillance, since some of the apartments belonged to union activists at the shop level.

The union headquarters were surrounded. Later I talked at random with people on the street. They were astounded. They could not have been more surprised had Martians landed on Earth. Some said: "Solidarity will really stick it to them on Monday." All in all, we did not know what had happened. Nobody realized that what was happening in Warsaw was happening in the entire country.

Q: Did the police come for you too?

A: Yes, four times. . . .

Q: Were they polite?

A: Yes. Usually they are polite. A little impudent, but polite. But the way I was treated is not representative, because prominent activists are usually treated better than others. It's like this now, too. The intellectuals are interned in a militarized vacation resort and treated very well. This is one of the ways the authorities are attempting to create a breach between the workers and the intellectuals. *During the 1968 student protests the official propaganda organs labeled a group of Warsaw student leaders "commandos."

And Really We Didn't Know

By Ryszard Krynicki

The poet Ryszard Krynicki, born in 1944, was an editor of *Zapis*, an unofficial literary quarterly started in 1978. His poetry was banned in 1975 after he signed an open letter protesting the amendments being made to the Polish Constitution, which among other things officially recognized Poland's relationship to the Soviet Union. Krynicki was interned in Poznan on December 13, 1981.

"And Really We Didn't Know" is about a demonstration in Warsaw at the statue of the famous poet, Adam Mickiewicz, during the student protests of 1968. The poem was translated by Valeria Wasilewski with Jakub Karpinski and Irena Lasota.

Perhaps we were children, we didn't have experience,
we only knew that we were forced to believe in lies
and really we didn't know what we wanted
besides respect for human rights and truths
when we gathered in the small square
around the monument of our great poet
who spent his youth in a subjugated country and the rest of his life in exile
we lit cigarettes and deceitful newspapers
we lit cigarettes although they poisoned our bodies,
we lit newspapers because they poisoned our minds,
we read the constitution and the declaration of human rights
and really we didn't know that human rights could be said to
contradict the best interests of citizens,

And really we didn't know
that so many armored trucks could be sent against the defenseless,
against us, who were still children
armed only with ideas which they taught us in schools
and in the same schools untaught us,
armed with the ideas of the poet whose monument we surrounded,
and really we didn't know
that all of these ideas could be discarded
by blackmailing speeches, by provocative articles,
by the pitiless assault of the well fed and arrogant force
by lies multiplied by lies
and really we didn't know that adults would not believe us
but the multiplied lies, that everything can be erased
and everything can be forgotten
and you can pretend that nothing ever happened,
and really we didn't know that what was to come next
would exceed our wildest imagination,
and really we didn't know that memory is the citizen's enemy
and really we didn't know that living here and now
one must pretend to be elsewhere in another time
and at most fight with the dead
through the iron curtain of the clouds.

A Proposal for a Resolution of the Conflict

The Committee in Support of Solidarity submitted this proposal to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, which met in Geneva in February-March of this year.

ONCE AGAIN, THE QUESTION OF POLAND IS AN ISSUE of political and moral urgency in international relations.

Since August 1980 the Solidarity movement established conditions for a democratic, if not fully independent, Poland. Today the Solidarity movement is being crushed. The military authorities have acted to eliminate all independent association and thought, and they have used the most brutal methods to achieve their aims.

European stability, and the stability of the world, requires that the Polish question be solved. It can not be solved as it was in this and previous centuries—through annexation, partition, and subordination.

Solidarity pointed the way to a peaceful resolution of the Polish question: through democratic reform. Through its actions and programs, Solidarity provided the greatest hope for achieving democracy.

The state of war, and its consequences, make the question of Poland even more urgent. The governments of the West should exert pressure on the Polish government to end the state of war, to release all those arrested and interned, to restore civil liberties and the process of reform, and to return to the dialogue with Solidarity and the Church.

The release of those arrested should include the following actions:

1. A list of all persons detained during the state of war should be made public. This list should make known the disposition of their cases and their present whereabouts. The International Committee of the Red Cross should be allowed by the Polish government to perform its customary protective functions for detainees and prisoners.

2. All persons detained without criminal charges during the state of war should be released immediately. This must include Lech Walesa, members of Solidarity's National Commission, and elected representatives and employees of Solidarity.

3. All persons charged with or convicted of breaking martial law decrees (violation of curfew, union activity, etc.), should be released and granted amnesty.

4. Amnesty should be granted, or new trials should be held, for persons convicted of offenses by military court-martial before December 13, 1981.

An end to the state of war must include measures to nullify, in an orderly but thorough fashion, the adverse effects of the martial law period, and must include the following:

5. Curfews should be lifted.

6. All domestic and international telephone and telex communications should be restored, and all monitoring of telephone communications and censorship of correspondence should cease.

7. Special restrictions on domestic and international travel should be lifted.

8. Work places that were "militarized" on or

after December 13, 1981, should be returned to civilian status.

9. Persons who were dismissed from their jobs during the martial law period should be reinstated with no loss of seniority.

10. The special restrictions on assembly, association, and union activity should be lifted. The right to strike should be recognized; the manner of exercising that right should be determined through negotiations between the government and Solidarity.

11. The restrictions and additional censorship imposed on the press and other media during the martial law should be rescinded, and all newspapers and journals in existence before December 13, 1981, should be provided the facilities to resume publication. Printing presses and other equipment and supplies that were confiscated from Solidarity and other independent associations should be returned.

12. Special travel and other restrictions on foreign journalists should be rescinded.

13. The jamming of foreign broadcasts should cease.

14. Polish citizens who are now abroad should be permitted to return to Poland. Amnesty for offenses committed against the martial law decrees should apply to such persons, who should be informed by the Polish government before they return whether or not any criminal charges are pending against them.

The restoration of a dialogue with Solidarity should include the following:

15. The government should reaffirm: the Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie agreements, reached with the independent unions in August and September 1980; the court decisions conferring legal status on Solidarity, Rural Solidarity, and other autonomous unions; and all other agreements between the government and Solidarity and other autonomous unions and associations since August 1980.

16. The national, regional, and local offices and all other property of Solidarity should be restored to its elected representatives, and compensation should be paid to Solidarity for any damages done to such property during the state of war.

17. The government should negotiate with Lech Walesa and the National Commission of Solidarity elected at the September Congress, to formulate concrete measures to carry out the Gdansk agreements and a program for the revival of the Polish economy.

In order to re-establish and safeguard civil liberties, the government should undertake the following:

18. It should inform the parties to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, of the nature and extent of its departure from the Covenant's provisions, and its reasons for imposing the state of war.

19. The Sejm should be allowed to function normally, according to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

20. The Catholic Church and other religious bodies should be allowed to function freely.

21. Universities should be allowed to function freely.

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