A demonstration of 50,000 gathers on May 3 in Warsaw to mark the anniversary of Polish independence and protest the state of war. Cordon of ZOMO with water cannons are in the background.

Prepare for the Ultimate Weapon

Is Another August Possible?

Why You Are Not Signing

Nothing to Crow About
STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION

As the third issue of Solidarnosc Bulletin leaves the press, the Solidarity underground is preparing for new demonstrations and protests, to culminate in a planned national strike with partial action on August 27, marking the second anniversary of the birth of Solidarity.

On that date, twenty years ago, the world was shocked by the signing of the Glagow Accord, whereby the government agreed to the twenty-one demands of the Independent Strike Committee led by Lech Walesa. Since then, the Solidarity movement has fought for freedom, the right of assembly, the right to strike, and the rights of workers to form free trade unions. The Solidarity movement has made significant advances, but the fight for full political and economic freedom continues.

The Solidarity movement has fought bravely, but the government has not given up. The Solidarity movement has faced many challenges, including arrests, beatings, and harassment. The Solidarity movement has had to be careful, but they have not been afraid to stand up for their rights.

The Solidarity movement has not given up. They continue to fight for their rights, and they continue to demand democracy and freedom. The Solidarity movement has shown the world that they are not afraid to stand up for what they believe in. The Solidarity movement has shown the world that they will not be silenced.

So, on August 27, the Solidarity movement will continue to fight for their rights. They will continue to demand democracy and freedom. They will continue to stand up for what they believe in. They will not be silenced.

Methods of Resistance

The only way to end this crisis is by the workers' own determination. The workers are the only ones who can end this crisis.

Workers must continue to strike. The workers must continue to demand democracy and freedom. The workers must continue to stand up for what they believe in. The workers must not be silenced.

Workers must continue to fight. The workers must continue to demand democracy and freedom. The workers must continue to stand up for what they believe in. The workers must not be silenced.

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Prepare for the Ultimate Weapon

Władysław Franygin, the chairman of the Wroclaw region of Solidarity, has issued a letter since December 22. It is a call to the Strike Committee of Wroclaw Solidarity and all union members. It was received in the form of a letter.

All forms of action are subordinate to the goal that determines tactics. Our goal is to build a self-managing society. The main method for realizing this goal is the free trade union Solidarity. An attempt was made to destroy the union, in order to completely deprive Polish society of its own will. This was not achieved, but we have rejected violence as a way of fighting for our goals. It is inconsistent with our values, with our ethical code. For no matter how well the goal for which we struggle, that goal ceases to be just if we try to realize it by indiscriminate means. By employing violence we become like those who persecute us. For this reason we cannot allow uncontrolled or provoked outbursts.

Various and pluralist forms of social self-defense are valuable, but they must be used in proportion and, especially street demonstrations on a nationwide scale, which are uncoordinated and scattered, are ineffective and hence pointless. On the other hand, a struggle led by a strong, energetic, and consolidated social organization is capable of the course of events. Only this kind of organization could force the authorities into a compromise with society.

On the surface, our tactics take the form of slow and effective rebuilding of the working world into an organization supported by union structures; an organization capable of protecting our social interests. The situation in its ultimate sense is such that this ultimate weapon may even prove to be necessary. Therefore all our actions must be coordinated to prepare for such a strike.

In order to call a general strike, we must organize on the factory level. We must study the protection of factory interests and the means of communication between them. All the necessary steps must be taken in order to ensure that this strike has the highest chances of success.

We wish to protect our country's future through peaceful means. On April 22, Solidarity's Temporary Coordinating Committee proposed that a dialogue be undertaken with the government. We accepted this basis for negotiations on the principle of national accord. They were formulated by the Prime Minister's Council; the only initial condition was from which we will not withdraw is the release of all the interned and interned for all arrested and sentenced political prisoners. This expression of our good will, however, unfortunately received no reply. And it is precisely in order to induce the authorities to initiate talks with the leaders of the independent and self-governing trade unions, Solidarity, headed by Lech Walesa, that we asked to prepare for a new general strike. Wroclaw, June 1, 1980

Władysław Franygin

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Principles of Conspiracy

The following appeared in Pamięt's underground publication, the Współczesna Observer in May or June.

1. Keep quiet. Do not boast to friends and family about what is being done. Pretending brings us to ruin.
2. Do not try to find out more than you have to know. Make your friends believe likewise. ONLY THE ONE WHO DOES NOT KNOW WON'T SAY ANYTHING. Imagine that you are the person being interrogated by the secret police.
3. Avoid liquor. A tipsy person talks more than he should. Not a single anniversary for step, word, or contact. Be concrete and to the point when you take care of things.
4. Avoid social occasions in which members of the conspiracy and outsiders meet together. Members of the conspiracy should meet only in their official capacity.
5. Act in some organization, but carefully and conscientiously.
6. You are permitted to know only your direct superior and member of your group. Organizational contacts should be narrowed to the minimum.
7. RELIABILITY and PUNCTUALITY are the basis for successful conspiracy.
8. RULES OF PERSONAL PROTECTION:
   a. avoid meeting, keep your cover; practice, arrange supporting evidence for it.
   b. keep your cover.
   c. do not have illegal meetings.
   d. do not have meetings.
9. ARREST. DETENTION:
   a. keep your cover during arrest. During arrest, a natural warned you to keep your cover, a natural warned you to keep your cover, a natural warned you to keep your cover.
   b. have a story in reserve that will explain the situation in your favor.
   c. do not give badges.
   d. do not have meetings.
   e. do not have meetings.

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Solidarity Bulletin

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Six interned in a Białystok Police cell. From left to right: Wiktor Nagoniński, Jarosław Duda, Marek Nowicki, J., Jan Łukasz, J.

Solidarity Bulletin
How to Survive Police Interrogation

From the June issue of Fugawi's underground publication, Bierny Opor.

The secret police call us in for informal interrogations and—under the threat of arrest or information they force us to give depositions, and solicit signatures. Even schoolchildren are spared. ATTENTION: do not appear if called in by telephone. Do not accept offers of meetings with police agents in private apartments, cafes, or parks—this path leads to becoming an informer. If a number of family members are summoned you may also ignore it. The family could have forgotten, or did not give it to you by mistake. You are not personally responsible for this. However, if the summons was given to you personally, i.e. you confirmed the receipt of the summons with your signature, check:

—whether or not letter and number symbols signalizing the department, reference number and date, are written on it;

—in what capacity you are being called in. According to the code of criminal procedure you may be called in only if you are accused, or only as a witness, expert, or an interpreter. A summons in connection with "official matters" or a summons naming you as an "interested party" can be safely ignored.

If, as a result of detention or receiving a properly filled out and delivered summons, you are going to be interrogated, remember:

—the interrogator must announce: 1. what the investigation is concerning; 2. what your depositions are supposed to be about. He must also instruct you about your right to refuse to talk. (A suspect or the accused always has the right to refuse to answer questions.)

—if you are accused, or only as a witness, expert, or an interpreter, do not explain yourself and don't try to convince them. You have a right to refuse to sign the record of the interrogation if anything you did not say is written there. REMEMBER! Refusal to sign the record without justification is not punishable, you can always wash your hands of this right;

—remember never to put guilt to the accusation, in any situation, even if, according to the interrogator, the evidence is ironclad. Such evidence may be successfully impeached by your attorney. The promise of lenient punishment, usually quoted as a reason nothing compared to the chance of acquittal during the trial, itself means nothing in court. Always have an attorney. Pleading guilty does not gain anything, it only worsens your chances in court for your defense;

—READ the statement, and only then the interrogator (whether you decide to sign it or not). It contains a lot of important information: what was written down and what was cautioned. Note the circumstances, whether your witnesses were considered a witness or in another role; what were the official and official documents of the interrogator and other persons present, who were present during the interrogation (punishable according to the criminal code) you will learn the names of your torturers, Society, or later they will answer for this injustice in court;

—YOU ARE INNOCENT! It is not the secret police or the prosecutor who decide that what you have said is the guilt or innocence of the court. Any guilt is to be seen for the first time by you. The police are called only to confirm what you know. They are called only to confirm your statements, to confirm that the facts are true. You are the source of information. You are the one who may be wrong. In every situation where you remain free will fight for your release. YOU ARE NOT ALONE!

Is Another August Possible?

Monwazi Weekly conducted a series of interviews with leading Solidarity leaders underground during April and May of this year.

Since December 12, 1981 those who escaped arrest have been systematically harassed and intimidated under the state of war. Four of five leaders have joined the Monitoring and Coordinating Commission. Together with other Solidarity leaders they form a de facto alternative government in the Eastern Regional Executive or Regional Strike Committee. These leaders are responsible to the national and regional resistance to the state of war and to recommend forms of resistance to industry and factory strike committees.

The three interviewed here, Wawelina Fominyoh, Bopoto Lina, and Chupinga Makweta, are leaders in the Regional Executive Commissions of Wawelina, Dzimba, and Wawelina respectively. They discuss the strategy and tactics of Solidarity’s resistance to martial law, the successful functioning of Solidarity’s underground structure, the prospects for an accord with the communist-military junta, and the preparations being made for a general strike.

Begin Preparations for a General Strike

Hlengani Ramovhoko is a member of the Wawelina Regional Executive Commission that was formed last spring to coordinate activities during the state of war. He is an elected member of the Wawelina National Commission and of the Presidency of Wawelina Solidarity. His wife, Zefa Ramovhoko, has been arrested for participation in Radio Solidarity. The interview appeared in the 16th issue of Monwazi Weekly, June 2, 1982.

Editor: Do you see any possibility that “Solidarity” will be reactivated?

ZE: Yes. And I think that some officials also understand that this is necessary. Otherwise no stabilization is possible. The conflict will grow. Consequences of terror will not solve anything. At most it will result in an earlier explosion.

I would describe the situation as a stalemate. December changed the disposition of forces, but it’s still a stalemate. On one side are the authorities, who have no basis for rule in the country and they are unable to pacify it. On the other side is Polish society, which resists the authorities. If it were not for the external factors, for the threat of intervention, it would overthrow the authorities. Ultimately such a stalemate can be solved only on the international level.

However, the present situation is like standing with pistols drawn—but remaining frozen. The long twilit period will be established. Either some kind of accord is reached, or someone starts shooting. Society’s basic stability is threatened, and this is a fundamental issue.

The economy is falling into ruin. It may come to a [real] famine.
acceptor to the major part of society. If the support for it is not general, new forces will emerge quickly, especially since the authorities are not able to keep their promises.

The accord should satisfy three conditions:
1. Releasing the interminable, senseless, and cruel harassment, and the creation of the factual line of martial law—is the basic condition.
2. Reconstruction of the free trade union (Solidarity) movement—this is the condition of solidarity and self-governing. One can argue about its program, even about its statutes, but they can be changed only by Solidarity's National Congress. However, I think that a Congress would demonstrate a realistic attitude in this respect.
3. Meeting the specificสมบัติ demands; this must be included among the conditions of the accord. First of all—a program for combating unemployment. Here I have in mind a package of laws that would permit the establishment of wage-earners' cooperatives in the trade, services, industry, and small industry.

Ed. What should be done to force the authorities to come to an agreement?

We should begin preparations for a general strike.

Ed. We don't have much time. The strike should start in the fall, before a Brezhnev-Kissinger summit. Its prospects will deter the USRR from taking drastic steps. The strike will place the Polish problem at the center of International attention.

It should be a nationwide general strike coupled with disorder in the large and medium enterprises. In Warsaw twenty or thirty large enterprises would go on strike, and there would be a supportive, “absentee” strike in the rest of the country.叛乱

In addition, demonstration strikes against martial law, which were originally called “Absence,” should start in the early weeks. In this way, the government, the authorities, and the police would be forced to lift martial law.

Ed. How should one prepare for the strike?

Ed. The creation of the Manosewicz Regional Executive Committee was the first step in the strike preparations. We must now put into effect agreements in the following order: Solidarity is to return to the Regional Committees and enterprise organizations. If the agreements overlap in some places, not knowing about each other, and for some reason can't be put into effect, they will make up for it by putting them into effect selectively. Then they will gather the most active members of the Solidarity movement from all places and form a centralized committee, to be known as the Regional Committee. Four people are to coordinate or undertake a general strike. Inter-

Ed. Is August another possibility?

Ed. In August, the situation might be different. If not, the situation might be even more critical. It might be that the authorities will refuse, and they will prepare negotiations and decide to strike.

Ed. And what is your role?

WF: People had organized strikes before my return from Gdańsk [from the meeting of Solidarity's National Congress]. Telephone workers were on strike. They had some success. They had some success.

WF: When we arrived in Wroclaw, we told the workers that if they wanted to continue the strike, they should call it the “strike of the free trade unionists.” We asked them to continue the strike, and they refused. We did not want to do it. We wanted to continue the strike. We wanted to do it.

Ed. Aren’t you afraid of the responsibility for such a decision?

WF: I have taken the responsibility. Heicel and the regional and National Committees have a responsibility as well. I am not responsible for the strike, but also for not making a decision. It is the responsibility of the whole Solidarity movement, and for consolidating the strike.

Ed. The new conditions. If all of Wroclaw, including some of the residents, and re-establishing the Solidarity movement. The authorities did not come to a halt in December 1980. They have taken much more.

The authorities have taken much more. The authorities have taken much more. The authorities have taken much more.
The Mood in Gdansk

By Jan Ciechanowicz

Gdansk is a city of about 600,000 people. It is located on the Baltic Sea, about 100 miles north of Warsaw. The city has a long history, dating back to the 13th century. It was once a center of trade and culture, and it played an important role in the history of Poland.

In the late 1970s, Gdansk was the site of a massive strike and demonstrations by workers opposed to the policies of the communist government. The strike lasted for several months and eventually led to the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a new democracy in Poland.

The Gdansk Solidarity movement was formed in the late 1970s by a group of workers who were opposed to the policies of the communist government. The movement quickly gained popularity and support throughout Poland, and it eventually led to the overthrow of the government.

Gdansk is now a center of economic growth and cultural activity. It is home to several universities, museums, and theaters, and it is a popular tourist destination.

In summary, Gdansk is a city with a rich history and a bright future. It is a place where people have come together to create a better society, and it is a testament to the power of the human spirit to overcome adversity.
Why You Are Not Signing

“Why are you not signing?” written under the pseudonym Andrzej Zegoda was smuggled out of Białołęka Prison, Warsaw, under the cover of an envelope used to deliver the mail without charges. It appeared in the seventh issue of Mazowsze Weekly, introduced by the following editorial note:

[Many internees are being approached by secret services on the pretext of signing a so-called “declaration of loyalty,” in which they pledge that they will refrain from engaging in activities “harmful to the security of people’s Republic.”] We know of many cases where the families of the Internees have been similarly approached. In these instances the functionaries attempted to convince them that they should persuade the internees of their families to sign the declaration, under the threat of harsh sentences and long prison terms. The declarations serve as a psychological weapon to break people’s will to resist, depriving them of their dignity, divide them and create conflicts between them. This article contains an analysis of what in the eyes of the government the purpose of such declarations is supposed to be, and how one should behave when asked to sign them...—Ed., Mazowsze Weekly—

GENERAL JARZEBSKI TOLD US THAT THOSE INTERNEES who pledged to refrain from activities “contrary to the interests of the Republic”...—Ed., Mazowsze Weekly—

So freedom is a hand’s reach away. A few strokes of a pen and the prisoners would have signed away their rights. The number of prisoners’ walks you will see the streets of your native city, patrolled by police and tanks. You will see police cars with the lights flashing, dog teams patrolling the streets. You will see the vigilance of the police, your eyes watching you. They may be watching you, but you know it is only your kind who will hear words that you had known only from history books: “truth,” “solidarity.” The declaration of loyalty is a single sheet of paper, a sign of solidarity, a sign of the times we live and for which we had to fight. The Solidarity movement has been growing strong and people are being hit, people are being beaten, people are being locked up, people are being hurt, people are being ill-treated, people are being deprived of their rights, people are being deprived of their freedom.

And now, you hear only of small-minded individuals who have no reason for not signing: they aren’t worth it. Here no one can detain you for “exercising the rights” of your freedom, so you fail to understand. And when the authorities tell you that your rights have been violated, you will hear words that you had known only from history books: “truth,” “solidarity.” You will hear words that you had known only from the enemies of the people, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of the people who have been fighting for freedom for a long time.

As yet, you know little. Only in a few hours’ time will they take you to Białołęka, where, in your prison cell, you will be told that you have signed the declaration of loyalty, that you have signed away your rights, your freedom, your life, and your future. You will hear words that you had known only from history books: “truth,” “solidarity.” You will hear words that you had known only from the enemies of the people, the enemies of freedom, the enemies of the people who have been fighting for freedom for a long time.

The Polish Prime Minister condemned the coercion of people into signing declarations of loyalty. The Pope openly endorsed this violent and illegal repression as a crime. All condemnation must fall on those who coerce these declarations out of people, those who employ that kind of violence against people in the name of the state. The declaration is not a sign of solidarity, but a sign of the times we live and for which we had to fight. The Solidarity movement has been growing strong and people are being hit, people are being beaten, people are being locked up, people are being deprived of their rights, people are being deprived of their freedom.
Nothing to Crow About

The underground "Solidarity" press occasionally publishes short reports and commentaries on the activities of Solidarity members and other civil rights activists. The recent article is titled "Nothing to Crow About," and it highlights the refusal of a soldier to obey an order to shoot a colleague.

Solidarity Bulletin

Is There a Way Out of the Impasse?

From his prison cell in Bielsk, where he has been held since December 19, Joseph Kuran, a leader in the Solidarity National Committee, wrote a letter to the editor of this magazine, expressing his hope for a peaceful resolution to the current crisis.

One Way Out

1. The state of the economy stands in need of description. If one is to believe the authors of the "Solidarity" newspaper, the government has been forced to act in order to save the economy, one may say that the operation was successful, but the patient died.

According to an officially published report from the Central Office of Statistics, the first month of the year showed a 15 percent decline in production from the January figures of last year. The 25-30 percent drop in the first month of the war makes it obvious that the situation has not improved.

The problem is that the state is unable to produce enough goods to meet the needs of the population. The government has been forced to implement strict rationing measures, and even then, many goods are in short supply.

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In the current situation, the government is unable to produce enough goods to meet the needs of the population. The government has been forced to implement strict rationing measures, and even then, many goods are in short supply.
We know that the war was introduced in Poland under pressure from the U.S.S.R. The authorities in Poland have reason to fear that the Polish example will be extensively followed in other Soviet satellite states in their calculations. The restrictions limited the possible degree of self-government, without which the economy of the bloc cannot function. This is why, and it is why we have to bear the burden of additional and costly adjustments to itself.

The empire has begun to crumble, although it is still capable of a bloody settling of accounts with Poland.

4. Can Polish society wait for the death throes of imperialism?

No appeals will stop the young and eager who would fight. If such appeals are effective enough to prevent other forms of struggle, they can only lead to the blind alley of terror. No appeals can dismiss hatred and despair—an explosive mixture, liable with one spark to be set off.

Poverty is the fruit of the state, as is violence. To violence—and to the poverty imposed by violence—a healthy society responds with struggle. While the struggle may be waged on different fronts, today there is only one front. This is Poland, and history teaches that the oppressor can achieve calm for the period of a generation—but only at the cost of blood and destruction.

Appeals, even from the highest authorities, to refrain from certain activities can be effective only if they provide other avenues for the struggle. The occupation has made all peaceful activities impossible. It has not even left the possibility open for effective work. For Poland, the only means to survive is to remain calm in Poland as long as the occupation lasts. It can be expected that the Poles will have to come to a compromise with society. It can be achieved by Polish society, if it overthrows the authorities in this second instance, we would come face to face with Soviet military power.

5. A national accord is a necessary condition for peace. To achieve it, all citizens must agree to at least some fundamental values and goals.

The situation was united as never before. The difficulties arose from the fact that, in that instance, there was no one to protect us. The government, though it was itself suppressed, was forced to renounce a significant part of its aspirations. We argued over what and how much should be given up. We did not have the government that had represented the interests of the U.S.S.R. in Poland.

The people representing the U.S.S.R. wanted no compromise in the matter of building a state—a state of even the most limited democracy—at the head of the nation, they destroyed the Christian Church. The compromise with the Polish authorities, the government of good will on the part of a Polish national accord would not—ever. It was no participation of the current government of the U.S.S.R. in the Polish People’s Republic—harms its military interests, and would be extremely favorable to its economic ones. Armed intervention—that is the back of the last action taken by the U.S.S.R.

I am not claiming that an organized demonstration is the best way to achieve a government of good will. The U.S.S.R. will guarantee our safety from that power. I maintain only that, if the occupation continues, such an organization and an organized group that would be the only legal and effective way to fight against the forces and the occupation.

Throughout the many years of my opposition activity I have been, first, the organization of a collective action to overthrow the communist government. This includes not only the utmost all of us.

Trench Warfare

I find that the main point of Jack Kuron’s people is contained in the following: “If you don’t want a war, then it’s yours.”

Kurian’s piece represents an important view in the discussion of the role of the occupation in Poland. Jack Kurian is a distinguished intellectual with a keen sensitivity to social, political, and the ability to provide concrete goals of the methods of functioning must be widely understood.

6. The activities of the movement, with the exception of publications, are currently confined to demonstrations. These can take various forms, from leafletting and graffiti to longer or shorter strikes, passing through various kinds of collective demonstrations. All these forms are extremely significant for sustaining the spirit of the nation. They are also a means of pressure on those in the government camp who might be in favor of a compromise.

The ultimate means of exercising such pressure, and currently the last chance for a compromise, would be a general strike. Nevertheless, we must realize that the movement’s activities cited so far have meant the will of the nation to those who have, in a premeditated action, stood up against the nation. If we define ourselves to the group, and if the pressure is to be one in the government camp willing to initiate a compromise, we cannot avoid appealing to people independent local incidents may be transformed into national ones, spreading throughout the country. The occupiers are thoroughly in the government camp, and the people at the greatest possible costs to society and with the greatest

Hence, the leadership of the resistance movement must prepare Polish society for even the most far-reaching decision, an appeal to all parties and organizations in the state, at the greatest possible costs to society and with the greatest

Furthermore, we are surrounded by states with similar systems.

The state of social life that are independent of the government have been beyond the Social Care. To organize aid for the people being freed from their jobs to which the country’s extremists have been blackmailed. Often such elements are independent organizations (very large employers to the extent of about 400 active independent publishing houses). Council of Education and Culture, the Association of Students’ Unions, the Association of Workers’ Unions, whose goal could turn into a group of unions—laborers—laborers, and their activities are fully, and will work only in demanding groups.

This read is not one of rapid and effective agreements one of the long hard work demanding activity from a single independent party. But Solidarity, a movement of the profession of workers, is alive and winning its struggle. The state of the people is now in the state of the society that will be the final action in a battle to realize the aims of the people.

Zbigniew Rajchel

Solidarity Bulletin

Solidarity Bulletin

Solidarity Bulletin
A Third Alternative

What will happen if the government decides that economic crisis and the current anxiety are less costly to the state than civil disorder? If it does not lead to a nationwide revolt that overthrow the government? If the occupation assumes a more spectacular form, but continues for years?

History supplies numerous examples that governments, whether democratic or totalitarian, have the long-lasting endurance of societies, even—or even especially—when they are faced with conditions of extreme poverty and political liberties. Should we not, then, prepare ourselves for just such a possibility: not revolution, but evolution?

In what direction? This also depends on society. So it is not, as Jack Katz would have it, an alternative to either revolution or compromise. A third alternative: a lengthy White paper of the system, and gradual changes leading to society respecting influence over its fate.

In order for the changes to proceed in just that direction, it is essential not so much to create an Underground State, but to organize ourselves into an Underground Society. Not a center, then, requiring total discipline, but a multi-center movement—informal, decentralized, comprised of mutually independent and loosely linked groups, committees, etc. with a large amount of independence and freedom of decision. Those would have to secure continuous and effective aid for all those suppressed by the authorities to expand the scope of their underground activities and begin to create a network of social communication and to secure the possibility of self-education, in a private and personal way.

Such a movement ought to lead to a situation, where the possibility of a “movement crisis” would not be a market, but employment—but not the means of livelihood; the state prints—but not the publisher’s printing press—but not the police but the telephone service—but not the communication; schooling—but not the market; education, but not the instruction book.

In such a situation, there would be no third way out. That is the direction of a fight for the movement. It is a struggle, not a spectacular compromise but rather the gradual toppling of barriers that divide the society into two, and the gradual fall of society in which, in time, lead to the government retaining its control only the police and a handful of employees.

In a situation like this, there would be no third way out. The movement—free from the alienation of the movement—least of all, as a centralized organization, and per se, produce the economic life of the country as a whole as its social and cultural life.

It may be that the solution will be such as to outweigh the risks involved in living an Underground State. Only then will the dangers of revolution and meeting the radical party, which utilizes a basis for the growth of more general and political implications, provide a new context. But in the image, the movement that will go against them, and ultimately be undermined. From that moment, the movement will be itself undermined.

Acts of aggression and danger to the movement’s underground basis, and the provision that it can communicate with the underground movements and branches of the movement. The question is whether the movement can set up a framework that will turn this out that it lacks a program for finding a way out of the situation.

You now have the Golden Horn

The title of Kurek’s response essay is a symbolic representation of the play, “The Wedding.” Written in the early 1960s, the play is set during a peasant wedding, which serves as an allegory for the Polish society of the time.

A new letter to Erazem Bialek, Wieslaw Kulinski, and other activists in the resistance movement:

1. As I understand it, you propose to build a kind of a “social self-defense” that is, organizing people in various circles for the purpose of solving urgent social problems. This utilizes a basis for the growth of more general and political implications. But in the context of the present situation, this will lead to such a side effect that the movement suffers such a wide following that it will have to rely on proven experience. However, the close connection between these two areas, as long as the movement is seen as a side effect of another, is a condition entirely different from those that existed before August.

2. What are the necessary conditions for the development of a movement of social self-defense? Let me mention three:
   - Individuals must have the opportunity to act;
   - Their actions must have some chance of success;
   - The social system must be capable of some minimal degree of yielding under pressure.

Under Giercz, the system met the first two conditions. His regime wanted to open the basis of social acceptance. Hence it instructed the party apparatus to give way to social pressure.

Today, the generals and the party secretaries have decided to rule not only without the acceptance of society, but on the contrary, against it. The basis of their rule lies in their ability to dispense demonstrations, breaks strikes, and arrest, intern, beat up, and shoot people. As long as the generals and secretaries possess this capability, they will not yield to any pressure.

Under the conditions of a “state of war,” no movement of social self-defense, or any other social movement that, through its sheer existence would lead to the gradual change of the system, is at all possible.

3. A more underground movement is being created. Publishing activities are being pursued. It is possible to organize self-education, and, above all, various forms of demonstrating the will of the people, like the anti-war demonstrations, the march of students, the strike of workers, the community of elements of the state, etc. If you are only to make sure that the movement is not seen, and that it is not effective.

4. You claim that people can live for a long time, and your history ends with the 13th of August. And yet it is more than 13 years since then.

5. By organizing Solidarity we, its activists, took upon ourselves an enormous responsibility. We shall not escape it by avoiding the search for fundamental solutions, in order to avoid the catastrophe that the state of war has brought down on Poland. I am inclined to raise the necessity of even the most far-reaching concessions on the part of the society.

6. Is it possible to build a program on the basis that the state and secretaries will agree to a compromise of their own free will? It is necessary to accept the fact that some time has to pass, and that it is necessary to the movement will not shrink from using force.

I believe that the solution of the type of the state is not a question of time—e.g., “in the fall,” or “in the summer.” This would be the most essential way to maintain the possibility of resistance. In the light of the publication of such an announcement, every demonstration of social will throughout the country—e.g., strikes, demonstrations, strike, common elements of the state, etc., would make the movement more effective.

The shortest action may cause the form of a peaceful strike, continuing indefinitely until its success. But this would lead to the strengthening the majority of society’s political power and to exploit their superiority in personnel and equipment.

We do not propose a decisive major opposition of the workers and policemen, the strike must be coupled with an attack on the churches, and with pressure on the state with didluum or policemen to decide to stand with us.

The action of the stage of four of 1970 will often be different. The generals and secretaries would be justified if one could then expect the other to be required to follow. If you declare that the movement will not be seen, you are misleading them. Confident in their security, they won’t yield to any.
Scenes of War

Weronico, "The Call," is a new underground publication. It is a large (over 130 single-sheet typewritten pages) collection of essays, poems, stories, political articles, and artistic reports. The first issue, published in Spring 1982 in Warsaw, begins with eyewitness accounts from the first days of the state of war.

"The ZOMO Looked Like Beasts"
KATOWICE, COAL MINING, DECEMBER 16TH
(Account of a soldier from a special assault unit.)

When we arrived we turned out that we were scared worse than the miners. At "Wu- jek" they marched to meet us, directly toward the tanks and armored cars. They carried axes, crow bars, iron chains. They were absolutely determined. My God, what was going on there? The tanks blocking each other trying to maneuver, the ZOMO riot police running out from behind the tanks—they looked like beasts, dressed in black outfits with spikes on their gloves and shields.

They ran directly toward the miners who threw themselves against the police with such force that initially they even gained an advantage. I myself saw a miner who struck a policeman with such force that a piece of metal he held cut off a policeman's whole arm. My friends who stayed behind told tales of a regular battle between the ZOMO and the crowd that gathered by the mine. The wounded were kicked and beaten. Medical attendants who arrived with the ambulances defended the wounded miners and were also beaten. In the dressing room the first aid was not taken too seriously and couldn’t be withdrawn. It was surrounded by a group of miners who started to pour gasoline on it. Fortunately, our commander noticed and ordered to tear them apart.

You Now Have the Golden Horn (Cont.)
danger of provocation, and actions that have not been well thought out. Because certain types of action must be taken and be understood by the mass. So the authorities do not listen to the will of society, expressing various views; if they do not undertake the right to save the country from catastrophe; if they do not try to reach a compromise with society, then the movement will be forced to resort to violence.

I urge you finally to undertake propaganda among the soldiers in the police. You will find a good reception among them, and this in itself will constitute a potent threat to the authorities.

Above all, we also recommend, agreed to by all leading activists in the resistance movement, is absolutely necessary.

Ferocious for me playing the philosopher. I know how weak and great the accents you've achieved. But you've found yourselves in a situation with no escape. Even if you rely on the public support, the movement is not yet ready. Or who must show the solution to a problem that seems insoluble.

You didn't understand the losses being a heavy burden, yet you cannot evade it. You now have the golden horn.

A Soldier's Communion
LUBLIN, DECEMBER

One of the first things I was taken in the middle of the night and driven to an army base. He said he didn't know how long it took to get there, but it seemed the car took ten minutes. After the interrogation, the car drove off and obscured the distance. He was handcuffed on arrival and blindfolded, then led along for quite a while. It turned out that he had to be the first to reach the church of a soldier of a condemned soldier to be shot for refusing to obey an order. The blindfold was never taken off until he had to raise it a bit to listen to the confession. Thus he saw four other soldiers standing against the wall. They were also condemned. He had to sign an confession and was not able to give Communion because he wasn't allowed to take the Holy Sacrament along with wine. He was then blindfolded and confined to a room. After the confession he was taken back to his parish.

"I Saw What They Did to a 16 Year Old"
LOCZ, DECEMBER 17TH

All streets leading to the cathedral were blocked by the police who formed a circle and prevented the people from getting through by jumping over some fences around a construction site. It quickly turned out that we were trapped between two circles of police. The other was right next to the Cathedral, making it impossible to get in. Suddenly, with the aid of a car, the police jumped out of the cars and began to catch the people. We started to run and got to the entrance of an apartment building. We were running down, but when it appeared to be defense, we were knocked on the head. A frightened voice yelled: "What's there?" Please let us in, the police are shooting people. And inside it was dark and there was silence. We heard the sounds of At the dawn there were five of them. Two stopped on one floor, two others approached on one with a rifle, one turned around and said: "Put your hands up!" and ran away. Suddenly we saw a police car, with two men inside, who were spreading out, hands up...

We must take everything from our pockets and throw it down even our shoes and socks. We hung on and the police didn’t seem to want us to gather our things from the floor. Then they just shot us. The first shot was taken by a man who was standing in the corner of the room and was hitting us with a club. He then shot another time. Three flights of stairs, traveled under the constant blows of the truncheons seemed like eternity. I didn’t know how to get的认识. I knew that I was going to be shot by someone. I got to the window and I couldn’t see. In the dark and the sense of time.

"The Positivists Ride in Tanks on the Street"

FEBRUARY 1982

January 30—Thousands of people demonstrate in Gdansk. They are violently dispersed by state forces, and 600 are arrested. The 8.00 P.M. curfew is reinstated and the private use of cars is banned.

February 1—The authorities announce new price increases, some food prices go up 400 percent.

February 3—General Cysyk is appointed governor of the Gdansk Region. Later, General Dobicki is appointed the Mayor of Warsaw.

February 4—In Gdansk 101 youths are sentenced to one to three months for participating in the demonstrations of January 30. In Katowice, nine miners were given three to seven years for participating in the strike at the Zielonka mine. Ewa Kubeleszewsic receives ten years and Krzysztof Trzeciakowski receives nine years for minor incursions of the state of war. People are routinely being sentenced for three to five years for passing out leaflets or bulletins.

February 9—Pope John Paul II says that the full restoration of rights to Solidarity is the only hope for Poland.

February 10—Upon the sentencing of a Solidarity activist to three years’ imprisonment for organizing a strike at the Ursus factory, two hundred spectators at the trial sing the Polish national anthem in protest.

February 11—The first issue of "Mazowieck Weeky" is published in Warsaw. Before the state of war, the publication was to be founded by the group of the Warsaw Region of Solidarity. Its editor-in-chief, Jerzy Zieliński, died on the night of December 12 from a fall from a hospital window.

"Mazowieck Weeky" joins a growing list of publications which are printed underground, numbers over a thousand since the imposition of martial law. It is estimated that there are 100 underground newspapers and magazines in Poland.

March 1—General Jaruzelski meets in Moscow with Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet officials.

Internal travel restrictions are eased. It is announced that direct telephone communication between Warsaw and other provinces will be restored; however, the restrictions are not lifted until May 10.

March 3—The Ministry of the Interior announces that interesting people who have been detained without charges, in whom the government numbers at four thousand, will be allowed to apply for emigration. Only a handful choose to do so.

March 10—The U.N. Commission on Human Rights condemns Poland for human rights violations and directs the Polish government to undertake immediate steps to secure the freedom of its prisoners. The U.N. Secretary General to investigate continued violations of international agreements signed by the Polish government.

March 20—"Solidarnosc" publishes a newsletter called "Solidarity" which appears in 20,000 copies. Over fifty publications exist in Warsaw. Almost everyone keeps a personal notebook, and many are published by enterprises and factories.

The authorities often arrest the editors of underground publications and confiscate their paper and equipment. However, new editors take their places and resume publishing with different equipment and supplies.

April 19—Demonstration in Poznan, site of the 1956 worker revolt, marks two months of the state of war. According to an official report, one hundred people are arrested and strict controls are imposed on travel, communications, and assembly.

April 28—A law of forced labor, the authorities carry out "Operation Calm." Over 145,000 people are detained, arrested, fined, or warned for committing violations of the martial law decrees.

May 1—A government minister, Stanislaw Gosk, says that the government will not conduct negotiations with the "illegal" Lado Group, which private addresses or Solidarity's National Commission.

May 24—The authorities draft guidelines for future strikes calling for a "political" and not a "economic" character.

May 24—The Polish press attacks Lach Walesa as a "flagellant for an anti-communist crusade."

APRIL 1982

April—Vicious attacks on Solidarity continue in the press. In what the Polish government calls a "smear campaign" of the future of Solidarity is controlled by the government.

April 10—Zbigniew Bujak, in a letter, warns of the impending dissolution of Solidarity, insisting that the authorities are using the Solidarity members to "unify" the country against a war.

April 11—The president of Warsaw University, Jerzy Kaczyński, resigns his post and is transferred to Kielce University. He is accused of involvement in illegal activities.

April 12—A strike is called at the company of thickness of all the interventions of the Polish government. The strike is called against the "absurd" and "unjust" policies of the authorities.

April 14—Protests take place at Warsaw University against the government's decision to fire professor. Petitions by university faculty and students are sent to the Minister of Higher Education.

April 21—The Polish United Workers Party annouces the election of 44,500 members in March.

April 22—Four Solidarity leaders have been arrested and detained under temporary detention.

May 1—"Charging the 'West with Freedom,'" a fifty-thousand person demonstration in Warsaw and the same number in Lódz. The main goal is to support Solidarity and protest against the war.

June 2—"Solidarity" publishes its first issue. The paper is published in 20,000 copies.

June 3—Police crack down on demonstrations in Warsaw, Warsaw, and other cities marking the anniversary of the 1956 protests.

June 12—The Minister of Higher Education announces that a process of unionization will be conducted in all educational facilities and universities.

June 28—Police disperse a peaceful demonstration in Poznan with tear gas and water cannons. At least twenty-five people are arrested.

July 13—"Solidarity" broadcasts for the first time in Poland. It broadcasts news, reports from Solidarity, and music.

July 14—Tens of thousands of people demonstrate in Warsaw for the first time in Solidarity's history. The demonstration is marked by the presence of thousands of workers and students.
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