

Bulletin

Solidarność

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A demonstration of 50,000 gathers on May 3 in Warsaw to mark the anniversary of Polish independence and protest the state of war. Cordons 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

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The SOLIDARNOSC BULLETIN is published by the Committee in Support of Solidarity, which has compiled the most complete documentation available in the United States on the situation in Poland under martial law from the underground Solidarity press, from eyewitnesses, and from the official Polish media. The BULLETIN is published in cooperation with the League for Industrial Democracy and the Polish Workers Task Force.

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.

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. 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*.

Bulletin

SOLIDARNOSC

No. 3—August 1982

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STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION

As the third issue of SOLIDARNOSC BULLETIN goes to press, the Solidarity movement is preparing for mass demonstrations and protests, to culminate in a nation-wide protest action August 31, marking the second anniversary of the birth of Solidarity.

On that date two years ago, the world witnessed the signing of the Gdansk Accords, whereby the communist party agreed to the twenty-one demands of the Inter-factory Strike Committee led by Lech Walesa—among them the right to form free trade unions, the right to strike, freedom of the press, and other freedoms denied by totalitarian regimes. After the Polish workers had brought the country to a halt in the largest industrial work stoppage in modern history, begun with the sit-down strike at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, the authorities for the first time signed an agreement allowing the formation of free trade unions.

With the signing of the Gdansk Accords, the Solidarity movement, overwhelmingly supported by the Polish people, challenged the total control of the Polish United Workers Party over the country and peacefully sought to bring about the fundamental changes necessary for the development of a democratic society and a viable economy.

The communist authorities never lived up to the agreements signed August 31 and thereafter. Instead, on December 13, 1981, they resorted to the only means open to totalitarian regimes to remain in power: force.

However, eight months after the state of war, in the face of the harshest oppression in Poland under communist rule, the Solidarity movement has not been crushed. Since the state of war, the Solidarity movement, forced underground, has organized resistance against the communist-military junta; rebuilt trade union structures on a local, regional, and national level; organized aid for those interned, or fired from work; recreated networks of communication and published over 1,000 underground bulletins; and organized massive demonstrations and work stoppages. This resistance continues despite the use of armed force, mass arrests, severe sentences of up to ten years for even the mere possession of a leaflet, and the total control of everyday life by the regime.

As the reader can see from the articles, accounts and discussions printed in the SOLIDARNOSC BULLETIN from the underground Solidarity press—information not generally available in the Western media—the Solidarity movement remains a powerful force opposing the communist regime and holds the allegiance of all possible segments of Polish society. These articles and accounts describe the life of the resistance movement, its strategy and tactics, and the discussions of how best to pressure the regime and to achieve the aims of Solidarity.

No one can force what will happen in the near future and what the results of Solidarity's resistance will be. What is clear, however, is that the Polish people are prepared to continue their struggle for freedom. As long as the Polish people continue to resist, Solidarity, the first sustained mass movement for freedom in a totalitarian regime, provides the hope that democratic change can take place in communist countries. Western democratic forces must support them in that struggle and help maintain that hope with whatever means it can.

Solidarity Underground

Underground Solidarity Leaders Form Temporary Coordinating Commission

On April 22 four Solidarity leaders who have escaped the police dragnet and have functioned underground since December 13, met to form a Temporary Coordinating Commission (T.K.K.) and to discuss strategy and problems facing Solidarity under martial law. The founding T.K.K. members are Zbigniew Brzezinski, the chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw Region; Wladyslaw Pracejowski, the chairman of the Wroclaw Region; Wladyslaw Hurdok, a member of the Presidium of the Krakow Region; and Bogdan Lis, a member of the Presidium of the Gdansk Region and, until Solidarity's Congress last October, the union's foreign affairs spokesman. All four are members of Solidarity's National Commission, most of whose members are interned. The T.K.K. issued the following statements.

ON APRIL 22, 1982, SOLIDARITY REPRESENTATIVES FROM the Gdansk, Warsaw, Krakow, and Wroclaw regions met to discuss the current situation in the country and to formulate a common stand on a program of action and the methods used to achieve the goals we agreed upon.

The representatives of the four regions agreed to coordinate activities with the aim of revoking the state of war, releasing those interned, arrested, and sentenced, and restoring civil rights—that is, to coordinate the struggle for Solidarity's right to exist.

We shall function as a Temporary Coordinating Commission until such time as the functions of Solidarity's National Commission—with Lech Walesa at its head—are restored. We ask other regions and centers for as much of their cooperation as their organizational and technical abilities allow.

MAY 13 PROTEST STRIKE

FIVE MONTHS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE STATE OF WAR WAS imposed. Contrary to the expectations of the authorities, society's resistance is not weakening. The whole nation condemns the collaborators and refuses to cooperate with the WRON (the Military Council for National Salvation). The stand taken by the thousands of interned and arrested, who courageously voice the idea of Solidarity in the camps, in the prisons, and in the courtrons, deserves the highest regard. Until they are freed, the thirteenth day of each month will be the day of protest against force and lawlessness, the day of commemoration and tribute to those who in December 1981 gave their lives for freedom.

We call upon workers at factories and industrial enterprises nationwide to halt work for fifteen minutes, starting at noon, May 13. Let us demand freedom for factory activists, for the elected union officials, and for Lech Walesa. We appeal for all city traffic to cease for one minute at noon, May 13. Let the streetcars and buses,

cars and pedestrians stop. Let the horns sound.

Coordinating these actions nationwide will test our solidarity and our strength. We call on other regions to join our protest without foregoing any other locally planned protest actions for May 13.

METHODS OF RESISTANCE

THE COUP D'ETAT OF DECEMBER 13TH INTRODUCED THE rule of lawlessness. It is destroying education and culture and is destroying any chance for improving the economic situation, resulting in poverty and unemployment. If society fails to stand up against the authorities, it faces the danger of disintegration and total enslavement. This does not just mean a return to the era before August 1980. This would mean a retreat to the Stalinist system, including attempts to collectivize agriculture and to liquidate the independence of the Catholic Church.

How can we defend ourselves against coercion and terror? How should we fight for our human and civil rights? How can we fight for the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity?

First of all, we must rebuild union structures and organize common actions. During these few months the society already has carried out widespread forms of resistance. Those who were subject to repression, and their families, have been given help and care. The basis of a new network of communications has been set up. In all segments of the society, unions and collaborators are ostracized. People are protesting against the rule of the WRON (Military Council for National Salvation) in various ways.

If the continuation of union activity is to be something more than an expression of our moral protest, we must endow it with a shape that, on the one hand, will insure its functioning, and, on the other, will provide the possibility of undertaking successful mass actions. We will support all initiatives attempting to achieve this goal.

Most important, it is necessary to focus on organizing, in every enterprise:

- 1. the Committee for Social Aid, which will financially support employees and union activists deprived of their jobs;
- 2. the Solidarity Committee composed of representatives of various segments of the workplace, which will work out the tactics of union activity;
- 3. workshops enabling the efficient circulation of information and publications in the larger enterprises.

Realizing these objectives is a condition for the success of coordinated regional and nationwide actions, including—if it turns out to be necessary—a general strike.

Prepare for the Ultimate Weapon

Wladyslaw Fraszyniuk, the chairman of the Wroclaw region of Solidarity, has evaded arrest since December 13. He wrote this open letter to the Regional Strike Committee of Wroclaw Solidarity and to all union members. It was received in the form of a leaflet.

ALL FORMS OF ACTION ARE SUBORDINATE TO A GOAL THAT determines our choice of tactics. Our goal is to build a self-managing society. The main method for realizing this goal is to promote 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 attempted through violence, 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 just the goal for which we struggle, that goal ceases to be just if we try to realize it by discreditable 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 I think that protest actions, 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 "changing 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 social interests by using as its ultimate weapon the general strike. The situation in our country is such that this ultimate weapon may soon prove to be necessary. Thus, all our actions are and must be subordinated to preparing for such a strike.

In order to call a general strike, we must organize on the factory level. We must ensure the protection of factories 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 for success.

We want to build our country's future through peaceful means. On April 22, Solidarity's Temporary Coordinating Commission proposed that a dialogue be undertaken with the government camp. We accepted as the basis for negotiations the principles of a national accord as they were formulated by the Primate's Social Council; the only initial condition from which we will not withdraw is the release of all the interned and amnesty 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 Union, Solidarity, headed by Lech Walesa, that we are prepared to reach for the greatest weapon that our union possesses: the general strike.

Wroclaw, June 1, 1982
Wladyslaw Fraszyniuk

Assessing the Situation

The Regional Executive Committee for the Mazowsze—otherwise known as Warsaw—region analyzed the success of the protest actions of May 1st, 3rd and 13th in the June 1st issue of Mazowsze Weekly.

1. The march of May 1st was an expression of the determination of the working people of Warsaw—and of their will to fight for the revocation of the state of war, for the restoration of union liberties, and for the release of the interned and arrested.

2. The demonstrations of May 3rd were spontaneous. We would like to thank all those who manifested their ties to our national tradition by taking part in them. We think that they had every right to do so.

Those who used drugged, savage riot police to attack a peaceful demonstration, those who sent out special police and security service groups to provoke the people and damage the city—there is proof to this effect: it takes the form of taped police conversations, films and photographs—bear the full responsibility for the fact that this demonstration was transformed into street riots.

3. The strike of May 13th encompassed, despite threats and repressions, 70 to 80% of the working people of Warsaw. We want to express our sincere thanks to those who responded to the appeal from the Regional Executive Committee and the Temporary Coordinating Committee of Solidarity by taking part in this protest.

In view of the repressions which took place after the strike, the problem of caring for the interned, the arrested, those who have been fired from work, and their families, has become more acute. We appeal to Solidarity factory commissions to activate committees of social

help. Although the experiences of the last five months testify to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the population is opposed to the introduction of the state of war and the politics of WRON, the methods of action employed so far have been insufficient to force the authorities to withdraw from repressions and to come forth with a plan for national accord.

The lack of any show of good will on the part of the authorities—disregard for the wishes of the population, heightened repression, the threat that Solidarity will have its legal status revoked and will be dissolved, unemployment and the continually worsening material and financial problems of the population—all this is leading unavoidably to a radicalization of workers' views and to a general strike. Several dozen large plants and factories of the Mazowsze region have asked the Regional Executive Committee to set its date.

The fact that a spontaneous eruption is on the one hand less effective, on the other more dangerous, leads us to the conclusion that preparation for organizing a general strike should be undertaken on all union levels.

We appeal to Temporary Factory Commissions to call up organizational structures for the general strike. Their functions in the near future will be:

- to take a poll in their place of work in order to determine when it will be ready to call a strike, and what forms this strike should take;
- to establish communication with neighboring factories in order to better cooperate during the strike;
- to work out a plan ensuring the safety of the workplace and necessary provisions for the strike's duration.

Principles of Conspiracy

The following appeared in Poznan's underground publication, the Wielkopolska Observer in May or June.

1. Keep quiet. Do not boast to friends and family about what is being done. Frattling brings us to ruin.
2. Do not try to find out more than you have to know. Make your friends behave likewise. ONLY THE ONE WHO DOESN'T 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 unnecessary 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 only one organization, but carefully and consistently.
6. You are permitted to know only your one direct superior and members 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:
 - looks: strike for the ideal of looking average, don't call attention to yourself;
 - eradicate mysterious expressions and whispers; the more natural you are, the better;
 - empty your pockets: do not thoughtlessly carry unnecessary things;
 - use pseudonyms only when talking with members of your group;
 - do not talk about your private life;
 - do not let yourself be seen publicly with other members of the organization;

- if you must use the telephone, remember that it might be bugged;
- establish a hiding place for things—outside your home is best;
- destroy your note and address books; code the names and addresses in important notes; make up your own code and use a small notebook, changing it often.
- 8. PREMISES (distribution points, meeting places, and lodging for people sought by the police):
 - use them only for one, designated, specific purpose; places that are used for everything create danger of mass setbacks and arrests;
 - from time to time change the premises, also changing the times of meetings;
 - avoid places with children and sublets;
 - when you are looking for a place don't ask the superintendent; avoid places that are difficult to find;
 - devise a signal which will let people know whether the place is "clean";
 - use a password for people coming in;
 - invite only people about whom you are absolutely certain;
- 10. MEETINGS:
 - should not involve more than five persons;
 - work out an alibi carefully, practice it, arrange supporting evidence for it;
 - do not leave together.
- 11. ARREST DETENTION:
 - keep your nerve during arrest, speaking with a natural voice and making yourself look innocent;
 - have a story in reserve that would explain the situation in your favor;
 - do not ignore "alarm signals";
 - an arrested person should not talk much; do not denounce anyone to anybody;
 - boldly and obstinately deny everything.



Six internees in a Bialoleka Prison cell. From left to right: Wiktor Nagorski, Jaroslaw Guzy, Marek Nowicki, ?, Jan Litwinski, ?.

How to Survive Police Interrogation

From the June issue of Poznan's underground publication, the Wielkopolska Observer.

The secret police call us in for informal interrogations and—under the threat of arrest or internment they force us to give depositions, and solicit names. Not 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 member of your family receives the summons you may also ignore it. The family could have forgotten, or did not give it to you (they are not criminally 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 signifying 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 concerns; 2. what your deposition is supposed to be about. He must also instruct you about your right of refusal to talk. (A suspect or the accused always has such a right; a witness has such a right only if his testimony would be detrimental to himself or a close family member);
- don't mention any names, even if it seems that they know everything anyway. Even if they do, they may need a witness who will confirm it;
- do not explain yourself and don't try to convince them; they called you in not to be persuaded, but to use your words against yourself or others. Do not be afraid that your attitude will cause internment or arrest. A decision concerning you has already been made before you show up. If you provide explanations or give testimony under such threats, you are helping them to collect the evidence which, after internment, will give the authorities an opportunity to issue an arrest warrant;



**BIERNY
OPÓR**

The slogan reads "Passive resistance."

—don't let yourself be drawn into a conversation or discussion. Don't listen to "friendly" advice; don't be taken in by psychological tricks, like waving a gun or cleaning it, dropping a truncheon on the table, switching from persuasion to threats, being led through the precinct labyrinths, and so on. You have a right not to know something, or not to remember;

- don't try to outsmart them, they are professionals;
- don't be taken in by offers of a cigarette, beer, coffee or cognac. Those are the simplest methods of "softening you up." Do not permit any injections, don't take any tranquilizers—they serve you with narcotics. Don't drink any liquids at the place of interrogation;
- don't sign anything, even "innocent" declarations. Writing down what you say is the duty of the interrogator, and he must record every question being asked as well as your answers. (The best ones are: "I don't know," "I don't remember"—they don't implicate anyone and free you from the accusations of perjury or prevarication);

—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 avail yourself of this right;

—remember never to plead guilty to the accusations, in any situation, even if, according to the interrogator, the evidence is ironclad. Such evidence may be successfully impugned before the court by your attorney. The promise of lenient punishment (usually not kept) means nothing compared to the chance of acquittal during a trial in court, when you have an attorney. Pleading guilty does not gain anything, it only worsens your chances in court for your defense;

—READ the record of the investigation (whether you decide to sign it or not). It contains a lot of important information: what was written down and what was omitted; what the matter concerned; whether you were considered a witness or in another role; what were the names and official functions of the interrogators and others present. If you were beaten or pressured during the interrogation (punishable according to the criminal code) you will learn the names of your torturers. Sooner or later they will answer for this injustice in court.

—**YOU ARE INNOCENT!** It is not the secret police or the prosecutor who decides your guilt or innocence, but the court. Anyway, the cases in which you were called will probably never find its way to court: you were called to be subjected to intimidation, to break you down, to find out as many facts and names as possible—which may be used now or in the future—to impress upon you that a mere conversation with a friend is a crime.

Arrested or interned—don't let yourselves be broken! Preserve dignity and calm. Watch what you say in your cell, to whom you give your letters to be smuggled out. There are a lot of informers. In every situation remember: **IT IS THEY WHO BREAK THE LAW! Those who remain free will fight for your release. YOU ARE NOT ALONE.**

Is Another August Possible?

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

Since December 13, 1981 those who escaped arrest have been organizing and rebuilding union structures under the state of war. Four of these leaders have formed a Temporary Coordinating Commission. Together with other Solidarity activists they have also established provisional Regional Executive or Regional Strike Commissions. These bodies serve to coordinate nationwide and regional resistance to the state of war and to recommend forms of resistance to enterprise and factory strike committees.

The three interviewed here, Władysław Frasyniuk, Bogdan Lis, and Zbigniew Romaszewski are leaders in the Regional Executive Commissions of Wrocław, Gdańsk, and Warsaw 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

Zbigniew Romaszewski is a member of the Warsaw Regional Executive Commission that was formed last spring to coordinate activities during the state of war. He is an elected member of Solidarity's National Commission and of the Presidium of Warsaw Solidarity. His wife, Zofia Romaszewska, has been arrested for her participation in Radio Solidarity. The interview appeared in the 16th issue of Mazowsze Weekly, June 2, 1982.

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

ZR: Yes. And I think that some officials also understand that this is necessary. Otherwise no stabilization is possible. The conflict will grow. Continuous escalation 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 thus are unable to pacify it. On the other side is Polish society, which rejects the authorities. If it were not for 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 refraining from shooting them off. In the long run this is impossible. Either some kind of accord is reached, or someone starts shooting. Society's hostility toward the authorities inevitably leads toward apathy. The economy is falling into ruins. It may come to a [real] famine.

Ed: Aren't you afraid that the USSR will decide to strengthen the Polish authorities by intervening?

ZR: This would surely be a difficult and risky step for Moscow. Intervention would entail serious international consequences. It would mean a westward movement of large military forces, directly threatening NATO. It would force the West to speed up its armament programs. Due to technological inferiority and economic difficulties the USSR is not able to compete in such a race. Knowing that its position would quickly deteriorate, the Soviet Union would be forced to opt either for a full-scale confrontation, or to forego intervention and to adopt a policy of peace.

Ed: Aren't such calculations as unrealistic as those made before December?

ZR: Lack of realism then followed from the disproportion between the demands put forth by the Solidarity movement, and the means it was prepared to use. One cannot, at the same time, demand full independence and state that casualties and deaths may (not) be suffered. We must realize that only a full determination on the part of the society, and limited demands for reform may force the authorities to incline towards a compromise. They will permit only such concessions that do not threaten them directly, but which, at the same time, will not solve all of the social and political problems in the country.

Ed: So you believe that nothing will change until the Polish question is settled internationally?

ZR: Yes, I believe so. However, in the meantime something like a "work accord" is possible. It will allow a kind of makeshift co-existence of society with the authorities. The accord must be such that it would be



photo credit: Jan Lohse

acceptable to the major part of society. If the support for it is not general new tensions will emerge quickly, especially since the authorities are not able to keep their promises.

The accord should satisfy three conditions:

1. Releasing the internees, amnesty for the convicted, an act of abolition covering the infractions of martial law—this is the basic condition.
2. Reconstruction of the free trade Union [Solidarity]—it must remain independent 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. The fulfillment of certain economic demands; this must be included among the conditions of the accord. First of all—a program for combatting unemployment. Here I have in mind a package of laws that would permit the establishment of wage-earners' cooperatives in the trades, service industries and small industry.

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

ZR: We should begin preparations for a general strike. We don't have much time. The strike should start in the fall, before a Brezhnev-Reagan summit. Its prospects will deter the USSR 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 the active defense of workplaces and enterprises. In Warsaw twenty or thirty large enterprises would go on a sit-in strike, the rest on a supportive, "absentee" strike. In addition, demonstrations and marches would divert part of the [regime's] forces. If the situation becomes grave the authorities will not, in my opinion, be able to count even on the police units' support, never mind the army's. If [just] one battalion refuses to shoot... It happened in February 1917 when a small squad of Cossacks crossed over to the protesters' side, and after one month the Tsar was out.

At the present moment it is difficult to organize brief strikes. People say that they risk dismissal for a 15 minute [walk-out] which achieves nothing. But they are ready to take a much greater risk if they know that "this will be their last battle." This also held true before December 13th.

"Lack of realism (in December) followed from the disproportion between the demands put forward by Solidarity and the means it was prepared to use."

When during the Rydzynski crisis [in March 1981] I was in Wroclaw [a coal-mining city in Lower Silesia] the miners were saying: stop jockeying us around for half an hour at a time. We are ready to go down into the mines for two weeks if as a result we win the peace. If we succeed in keeping society's attitudes as in March 1981 then either the authorities will yield to the strike threat, or we shall win the strike.

Ed: How would the accord come about?

ZR: There are two possibilities. Either realizing a catastrophe is impending, the authorities decide to make an agreement with us before it comes to the strike. Or the strike breaks out, the authorities' attempts to break it in two or three days fail, there is a palace coup, the new team declares that its predecessors lost contact with the masses, and they agree to make concessions.

Ed: And what if the general strike does not take place in the fall?

ZR: If the state of war is prolonged, paramilitary organizations will start to emerge in the underground. Spontaneous activity can exist only in the short run. If we say to ourselves: the strike will take place in three years, the Underground State must be created. On the pattern of the [German] occupation, with a Directorate of Diversion, supervisory departments, etc. Besides, putting off the general strike ties in with the risk of terror. If a mass movement on Solidarity's scale is subject to repression, if people are spied on, a tendency to liquidate the informers, to create terrorist groups, will emerge. To my mind this route leads nowhere.

Ed: How should one prepare for the strike?

ZR: The creation of the Mazowsze Regional Executive Commission was the first step in the strike preparations. We must now put interfactory agreements "in order," i.e. [to organize] the intermediary structures between the Regional Commission and individual enterprises. At present these agreements overlap in some places, not knowing about each other, and conflicts erupt between them. Yet, they gather the most active union members together, and all are ready to subject themselves to the Regional Commission. Four people cannot coordinate or undertake a general strike. Interfactory agreements should find a place in the emerging hierarchical organizational structure.

Strike cells must be created in all enterprises. They will draw up plans for defending the workplaces. They will inform the Regional Commission when they are ready. Several technical difficulties must be solved: for example, communications and the creation of a radio-telephone network. The transmitters and receivers must be built to enable communication among enterprises. Short-wave radios are needed for communication between regions. We have to take into account the possibility that communications will be blocked entirely, and build a transmitter capable of broadcasting information about the course of the strike. Appearances to the contrary, this will not be a big problem. If the Gdansk Shipyard barricades itself, any kind of antenna can be built there. At this time—utilizing the experience of Radio Solidarity—we are working on a comprehensive plan to secure communications for the general strike.

Ed: Aren't you afraid of the responsibility for such a decision?

ZR: I have taken the responsibility together with my mandate from the National and Regional [elected union] structures. I am responsible not only for this or that decision, but also for not making a decision at all—for condemning the Solidarity movement to a standstill, and for condemning our country to normalization as in Czechoslovakia. For not making a stand, even if it might be crushed, and might end unsuccessfully.

Wroclaw Solidarity Underground

Wladyslaw Frasnyniak is the elected chairman of Solidarity's Lower Silesia Region (Wroclaw), a member of Solidarity's National Commission, and chairman of the Lower Silesia Regional Strike Committee set up to coordinate actions during the state of war. He is also one of the four members of the Temporary Coordinating Commission formed April 22. His interview appeared in the Mazowsze Weekly dated May 12.

Editor: After December 13 Solidarity in Wroclaw was rebuilt very quickly, and from the beginning has been functioning exceptionally well, particularly in industrial enterprises. How is Wroclaw Solidarity organized under the conditions of the state of war?

Wladyslaw Frasnyniak: Immediately upon the departure of the last ZOMO policeman from the workplace, workers began spontaneously to recreate union structures. Strike committees went underground, and their members went underground, and their members appointed "doubles" [their successors in case of arrest]. I know of places where not only the entire strike committees were arrested, but also the second and third tiers of the enterprise committees, created during the war, were arrested. So it is not surprising then that establishing contact between the Regional Strike Committee and enterprise committees has been difficult, and often took several weeks.

I do not know a single workplace where the pre-December enterprise committee survived intact—in the majority of factories and offices whole committees are in the camps and prisons. The rank-and-file members of Solidarity came to take the place of the arrested leaders. Maybe they are not the best organizers, but everybody knows what our goals are today. As in August, new people emerge.

Ed: And what is your role?

WF: People had organized strikes before my return from Gdansk [from the meeting of Solidarity's National Commission on December 12, at which time most of those members were interned]. When we arrived in Wroclaw [the railroad workers warned us that the police were waiting at the station and stopped the train a few miles before the city], we saw flags and banners waving over the factories even though it was Sunday. They said: "General Strike." We went to the bus depot on Grabinska Street, where the strike center was located in August [1980]. There we established the Regional Strike Committee, which moved the same day—after the pacification of the depot—to the merged DOMEL-PAFAWAG plant.

When the strike there was crushed the night of December 13-14, those who managed to escape—Piotr Bednarczyk, Josef Piskor, and myself—hid at various striking enterprises. My presence was psychologically important. I was with the people when DOMEL, PAFARAG, Hutment, Fadrana, and FAT were being pacified. It was important that I behaved in the way expected of me, that I did not hesitate, that the elected representatives of Solidarity did not fail them. Later on, after the strikes were crushed, I succeeded in getting into some factories, to meet Solidarity activists, work out before

the new conditions. If all of Wroclaw, including areas of resistance with them, and re-establish contacts under small unknown enterprises did not come to a halt in December, building Solidarity underground would have taken much longer.

People from the universities, who in August were observing and describing the workers' protests, in December '81 took part in them. They were in the factories with us. Today, they do not merely supply us with expertise and political analyses, they do not merely serve us with their knowledge—many a professor or doctor work at mimeograph machines, and even teach workers how to run them.

From the beginning we have been experimenting with the students. They are devoted printers, deliverers, liaisons. Together with the workers, they are creating Solidarity Discussion Clubs. They organized the Academic Resistance Movement, which publishes a paper.

"I am afraid that if a sensible compromise is not reached, one has to take into account the possibility of a violent explosion of society."

Ed: Is another August possible today?

WF: In August, manifesting our unity was enough. Today we must fight. Resistance in December was enormous. In some factories pacification was necessary before [for example at FAT and PAFARAG] people wanted to combat the ZOMO. I was calling them for non-violent resistance. Today, I think that the situation would look different if not only the Silesian miners decided to actively defend their workplaces. It might mobilize other regions to strike. It is possible that the authorities will retreat, that they will propose negotiations and decide to make concessions.

I am afraid however that if a sensible compromise is not reached, one has to take into account the possibility of a more or less violent explosion of society. One can allow a situation in which one region or one enterprise is provoked to protest so that it might be easily crushed.

The creation of the Temporary Coordinating Commission is of enormous importance here. It will enable us to prepare organized resistance. A nationwide action that will sustain morale and integrate society, that will constitute the necessary preparation for a general strike, ought to be undertaken at least by the summer.

Ed: Aren't you afraid that December was just a beginning, that the worst is still before us, that society will become even more exhausted and demoralized?

WF: No. Wroclaw is among the cities most repressed [by the authorities]. The number of people interned and arrested here is the highest in the entire country. [But] people showed down people from each of the largest, best organized enterprises, were detained before that. Despite this, one can say that the morale of opposition was exactly the opposite of its intention. The social basis for the authorities' [rule] is constantly shrinking, while the number of people willing to go [against] is almost infinite. I am not afraid that we will fail to maintain the high level of social mobilization of

the long run. People are conscious that the struggle is being carried out not just in the name of ideals, but also for such a fundamental issue as the environmental well-being of the country and the health of its citizens. They have nothing to lose but their lives. And the belief that in this system this is a price for which one can win a better tomorrow, at least for our children, is becoming widespread.

Ed: How did the union reconstruct itself during the war?

WF: In the beginning the distribution [of the underground press] was most important. Today we also have other channels of information, and clandestine committees that direct the enterprises. The enterprise committees are comprised of representatives of various departments. There are also people responsible for the preparation of the future strike. Enterprise committees maintain channels of communication and make sure that all divisions of the enterprise, even those less well organized, are contacted. This is difficult because the management dutifully enforces the blockade between different departments (for example, if you leave your hall, you must sign a special register). Secret police try to infiltrate the factories. One can say that next to departments engaged in production there are whole "police" units in the factories, which interrogate and intimidate the workers. Nevertheless, the communication network is functioning.

Inter-factory contacts are also being maintained, often established without the help of the Regional Strike Committee. People from nearby factories simply come to those enterprises that distinguished themselves during the strike.

"The results of repression are exactly the opposite of its intentions. . . . The number of people willing to get involved in direct actions is increasing."

Ed: What does Solidarity do within enterprises?

WF: People started by organizing aid for those targeted for repression and their families. Actions commemorating the date of the imposition of martial law [the thirteenth of each month], protests, and distribution of leaflets are being organized. The union press is being circulated. Large factories have their own printshops. The Regional Strike Committee newspaper, "From Day To Day," published twice a week, is mimeographed there. Some factories publish their own papers and bulletins (for example, DOLMEL publishes *Odrodzenie* and PAFWAG *Jutrzenka*). There are places where Solidarity is so strong that nobody dares to tear down a union leaflet from a bulletin board. If someone surreptitiously does, new ones are immediately put up. There are places where the crews stood up and did not permit any dismissals. In one factory the workers had a great fight for keeping a cross up—which in the end was not taken down. In another, the director is unable to have a Solidarity Congress poster removed.

Ed: Why has the resistance in Wrocław been—and why does it continue to be—stronger than elsewhere?

WF: Sixteen months of hard work is now paying its

dividends. Wrocław was probably better organized than other regions. Already in March 1981, following the Bydgoszcz crisis [when Solidarity threatened a general strike and the authorities prepared for a state of emergency], our Regional Commission issued instructions for enterprise committees in case of a state of emergency. They were also, in a slightly modified form, issued in the fall. We trained printers at individual enterprises, suspecting that we might have to print the union press in God knows what conditions. And, by the end of the year, we withdrew money from the bank—the famous 80 million zlotys. Thanks to the Workers' University, discussion clubs, training, and union publications, we have raised political consciousness to a high level. Besides, the Presidium of the Regional Commission had good contacts with factory areas, and there were good contacts between individual enterprises, and among various groups.

The Mood in Gdansk

Bogdan Lis is one of four members of the Temporary Coordinating Commission established on April 22. He is an elected member of Solidarity's National Commission and of Gdansk's Solidarity's Presidium. Up to Solidarity's National Congress he was the foreign affairs spokesman for Solidarity. His interview appeared in Mazowsze Weekly, issue no. 14, May 19, 1982.

Editor: In your opinion, is another August possible?

Bogdan Lis: Perhaps, if the authorities are genuinely willing to come to an agreement. . . . But the situation today is completely different. Today the society knows that a strike means an immediate danger. If it comes to negotiations, their objectives would not include concrete, detailed demands, but rather regulating the solution of conflicts, working out guarantees that agreements will not be broken.

August may be repeated in the sense that the Shipyard [i.e. the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk] if necessary, would give the signal, would appeal to the rest of the country. The workers are conscious that the Gdansk Shipyard is a symbol of freedom.

Ed: But hasn't the fact that the December strikes were successfully crushed demoralized the workers?

Lis: That is true — those strikes were crushed; the ZOMO won the first battle. Although the workers could have defended themselves. Passages were blockaded with railroad cars, the gates were welded together. The port, for example, was surrounded with a barricade of railroad cars. The tugboats armed with water cannons were moored in the canal and ready to shoot [at the police]. Printing equipment had been loaded onto the barges so that in case of an attack it could be shipped away. Even when the ZOMO overran the barges they did not seize the machines—we had carried them away and they are being used now. That strike ended not with pacification, but with an agreement between the strikers and the surrounding security forces.

In general, the resistance in the Tri-city [Gdansk, Sopot, and Gdynia] wasn't the kind that necessitated the use of firearms to crush it. Due to the outlook of the strikers, there was no horror of death. Because of

that—in spite of the psychological shock [of the war]—Polish society continues to live. It was possible to strike again as was done at the Gdansk Shipyard in December. But it was known that the authorities were prepared to murder the workers. We didn't want to waste people's lives. If there is no other way out, if the society senses that there is no way out, then we shall go for it. If necessary, we shall risk our lives.

Ed: What is the mood in Gdansk like today?

Lis: The resistance keeps growing. This is visible everywhere. People wear resistors [electronic parts that are popular replacements of Solidarity badges]. Wearing union badges is punishable by misdemeanor courts, so "Solidarity" stickers are being displayed on briefcases. Leaflets are constantly thrown onto the streets. The walls are painted with slogans; the secret police paint them over. Official announcements are being stamped over with a silhouette of a crow, and the agents are forced to tear them down. On the thirteenth day of each month, at 9:00 P.M., many lights go off in people's houses, especially in newly constructed neighborhoods.

People take part in short strikes called by the activists in the region. There are also strikes of a few minutes duration initiated at individual enterprises. For example, when the trials of the Shipyard's Solidarity Commission took place, the crews stopped work for fifteen minutes. Even the administration employees went out "for a cigarette."

Solidarity members go to watch the trial proceedings of their leaders. The names of the judges and prosecutors and of prosecution witnesses from the workplace are being written down and published. In many cases we caused them to withdraw their evidence, and then the public prosecutors demanded that they be punished for false testimony. Committees of Social Resistance [KOS] are being created, especially in large enterprises. Of course, there is the press: two regional weeklies and over twenty others, including factory newsletters.

You ask about the mood in Gdansk: the whole society is so pent up that people want to go out in the streets, to do something every day.

Ed: How is the union in the Gdansk region organized?

Lis: Solidarity resistance cells arose spontaneously at the enterprises. They act and they have contact with those who coordinate the resistance in the whole region, among them: Bogdan Borusewicz, Aleksander Hall, Jarosz, and myself. Our task is not to substitute for those who are locked up, but to press for negotiations in which they would take part.

We do not issue orders; we formulate recommendations, coordinating and inspiring others. We work out a common stand and depend on the force of our arguments. We feel that people trust us, that our voice counts. Otherwise I would not be undertaking this. I am a member of the Regional Executive Commission and the National Commission. I would not be in order if I did not show initiative.

People not in hiding, who work normally, also cooperate with us. We receive information from them about what the union members want. The workers expect concrete guidance from those activists able to direct Solidarity underground. I think that we shall fulfill their expectations.

Ed: What is your program of action?

Lis: The problem is that the explosion should not come too soon. We can have a situation in which the people will not have any alternative but to go all the

way. The activists should direct this in such a way that society benefits from the casualties that it will suffer.

We are concerned that the tension which exists now will be defused before a nationwide action takes place. Attempting to think politically we sometimes appear to act too cautiously. But we should conserve our strength for that moment when the general strike becomes necessary in order to prove to the authorities that we are ready for anything.

Our goal is to bring about a dialogue. But to start negotiations the authorities need a counterpart, not a Judas. If they decide to delegitimize Solidarity then they must know that no agreement is possible. The only chance to have an accord is to escalate the pressure. If social resistance is not effective it will diminish, leaving behind hatred and impotence. It may come to that in a year and a half. Therefore our chance is to do this quickly, to direct the resistance in such a way that it brings concrete results—even if we don't succeed in freeing people from the camps, at least we should demonstrate that the society is united, that our struggle is wisely organized, that a person dismissed from his job, and his family, will be taken care of. This is very important: the knowledge that if I am arrested, somebody will fight for me. Those who are now in prison fought for the freedom of the internees. Now we must fight for their freedom.

How should we fight? We should use surprise, by not letting the authorities know when and where the strike is to start. Members of Solidarity will learn the date immediately beforehand—this will prevent preparations for a counterattack. Or the other alternative is that the ZOMO will have to be in a state of readiness at all times. We can also proclaim a two-day strike, so that it wouldn't pay to crush it.

We must prepare for a general attack. But we must also prepare for a long struggle. We must shape the consciousness of our youth, organize study groups. . . . We even have to take into account the possibility that this struggle will last twenty years.

We thought in December that the state of war had been introduced for only two or three months. However, it is still with us. I don't think, in spite of everything, that it will last many years. I think that the society will be victorious much earlier. It has moral force on its side.



Why You Are Not Signing

"Why you are not signing," written under the pseudonym Andrzej Zagoroda, was smuggled out of Bialoleka Prison, near Warsaw, where people interned indefinitely without charges are being held. It appeared in the seventh issue of Mazowsze Weekly, introduced by the following editorial note.

[Many internees are being approached by secret service functionaries and asked to sign the so-called "declaration of loyalty," in which they pledge that they will refrain from engaging in activities "harmful to the state and the government of the Polish People's Republic." We know of many cases where the families of the interned have been similarly approached. In these instances the functionaries attempted to convince them that they should persuade the interned members of their families to sign the declaration, under the threat of harsh sentences and long prison terms. The declarations serve in these cases as a psychological weapon to break people's will to resist, deprive 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.—Eds., Mazowsze Weekly]

GENERAL JARUZELSKI TOLD YOU THAT THOSE INTERNED who pledged to refrain from activities "contrary to the law" will be released.

So freedom is a hand's reach away. A few strokes of the pen on the declaration of loyalty will suffice. . . . It is so easy to exchange your barred window, with its sharp outline of barbed wire, for freedom. The iron gates of Bialoleka will open before you, and instead of prisoners' walks you will see the streets of your native city, patrolled by police and tanks. You will see people being checked, cars being stopped and their trunks searched. You will see the vigilant eye of the informer fishing out from the crowd people suspected of "violating the regulations of the state of war." You will hear words that you had known only from history books: "raid," "Volkliste" [the declaration of loyalty used by the Nazis during the occupation]—words torn out from beneath the stately pattern of time, words pulsating with today's ominous rhythm. You will hear about further arrests, about people being sought, people hiding, about draconian sentences.

And even if you are capable only of small-minded calculation, you have your first reason for not signing: it isn't worth it. Here no one can detain you "for explanations," here you have nothing to fear. It is paradoxical, I know, but if in the morning you are woken up by someone banging on the door, you are not afraid of unfriendly guests: you know it is only your kindly jailer bringing you your morning coffee. Here you feel no fear when you see an informer with restless eyes: here the spy is harmless. Bialoleka is a moral luxury and an oasis of freedom.

Sometimes they will try to scare you. My friend, a worker from a Warsaw factory, was promised 15 years of prison. Another was threatened with a trial for espionage. A third was interrogated in Russian. Still another was ordered out of his cell and told that he was going into the heart of Russia (they took him for an X-ray).

But all this is bearable. Indeed, I think it is easier to bear than the morally and politically complicated situation on the other side of the barbed wire.

The Polish Primate condemned the coercion of people into signing declarations of loyalty. The Pope openly called this violation of human conscience a crime. All condemnation must fall on those who coerce these declarations out of people, those who employ that cruel form of debasing human dignity.

A young woman, the wife of a Solidarity activist, was arrested and taken away from her sick baby—which, she had been told beforehand, they had decided to place in a children's home. She signed the declaration. My friend was torn away from his mother, on her own and dying of cancer, and told that "there will not even be a lame dog to make your mother tea." He signed the declaration.

There is no point in multiplying the examples of the cruelty of some, the helplessness of others, of tragic dilemmas and base blackmail. The decision lies always with the individual's voice of reason and conscience.

It is difficult to condemn either choice here. Ostracism would achieve the government's aims: for it is precisely their aim to break social resistance and human solidarity by creating divisions and conflicts. However, if one takes a position of tolerance and understanding, one cannot thereby assume that the very act of signing the declaration of loyalty is in itself "morally indifferent." It is not. Every declaration of loyalty is an evil, and a declaration coerced from you is an evil into which you have been coerced. The only difference is that sometimes it is a lesser evil. The act of signing deserves understanding, always sympathy, but never praise.

"Every slip you make, every fall, gives meaning to the functionaries' life."

As yet, you know little. Only in a few hours' time will they take you to Bialoleka, where, in your prison cell, your teeth chattering with cold, you listen to the radio telling you that a war has been declared against your nation. It was declared by people who govern in the name of that nation, who in the name of that nation make declarations and sign international agreements, by people who publicly reach out towards reconciliation, while in secret they instruct the secret police to hunt and arrest us by night.

And then you are certain that you will not declare your loyalty to these people, for they themselves are incapable of loyalty.

You do not know yet what this war means. You do not know yet how the factories and steelworks, the shipyards and mines, will be stormed. You do not know yet of the bloody Wednesday at the "Wojek" mine. But one thing you do know: such a declaration would be a denial of your own self. It would wipe out your life's meaning. It would be the betrayal of people who trusted you; the betrayal of your friends who are scattered in prisons, sentenced and interned; the betrayal of all those who will defend you—in Krakow with a leaflet, in New York and Paris with a public statement. Nothing is defensible yet. Your mind is still open to you. You yourself

can still choose, but you know instinctively that to abandon your dignity is not a price that should be paid for opening the prison gates—it is not a price worth paying.

It goes against common sense to make agreements of any kind with people who interpret the very concept of an agreement very loosely indeed, and who violate their daily bread. You have surely never met anyone who had anything to do with the secret police and did not feel cheated by them. For those people, whose gaze is dead—yet restless; whose mind is blunted—yet skilled in the art of harassment; whose soul is defiled—yet greedy for social acceptance; for those people you are nothing but stuff to work over. They have their own particular anthropology: they believe that anyone can be convinced—that is, bribed or frightened. For them there is only the problem of the price and the pain inflicted. Although they work mechanically, every slip you make, every fall, gives meaning to their life. Your capitulation is not only their professional success, it is their *raison d'être*.

You are therefore arguing with them about the meaning of your own life, about how there is no meaning to theirs, about endowing every human life with meaning. You are continuing the argument of Giordano Bruno with the Inquisitioner, of the Decembrist with the Tsarist police superintendent, of Lukaszewski with the Tsarist exterminating angel, of Ossietzki with the blond man in the gestapo uniform, of Mandelstam with a Bolshevik party member dressed in a uniform with the blue NKVD lapel. You are taking part in an argument that will never end—the argument of which Elzenberg says that the value of your involvement is not measured by the victory of your idea, but by the value of the idea itself. In other words: you win not when you gain power, but when you remain faithful to yourself.

Common sense also tells you that if you sign the declaration of loyalty, you put the whip into the hand of the functionaries. They will wave this whip around and they will threaten you with it in order to force you into making another declaration that you will cooperate. The declaration of loyalty transforms itself into a pact with the devil: You cannot give even half a finger to those police inquisitioners without their immediately grasping at your entire arm. You know people whose entire lives have been broken by one moment of weakness or moral injudiciousness: people hunted down by telephone calls, approached in their homes and offices, blackmailed whenever the opportunity arises for them to go abroad. They have paid for their moment of weakness with a lifetime of fear and debasement. If you don't want to be afraid, do not make any agreements with the functionaries.

You feel no hate for the functionaries, only pity. You know how often they suffer from mental illness. You know they will feel shame in front of their own children. You know that the sentence of national oblivion will be passed on them.

You remember the history of your nation. You remember that within that history a declaration of loyalty made in prison was always a disgrace. Remaining faithful to yourself and to the national tradition was a virtue. You remember people tortured and imprisoned for years who did not sign such a declaration. And there are others who wonder among your memories: those who lost the battle of dignity in prison. You are with the eyes of your soul Andrzej M., an excellent literary critic,

your friend, who while in prison wrote a brilliant informer's essay, testimony to a moral death. You remember Zygmunt D., a charming friend, an intelligent boy, who broke down once and for years thereafter continued to inform on his colleagues. So you think with horror of those human shreds, of those people broken to bits by the police machine, and you see your future is still an open state. The choice is yours. But your memory commands you to repeat: you can become like that, no one is born an informer; every day you forge out your fate at the cost of your own life.

"By refusing to cooperate, by rejecting the status of collaborator and informer, you are preserving hope."

You have not yet heard the declaration of loyalty on the radio, nor the vile interrogations, nor the shameful statements. You do not yet know how Marian R. from Nowa Huta was tricked. He was a brave and intelligent Solidarity activist; in his statement he wanted to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's, and he rendered everything unto the police, for he did not stop to think that there are situations where ambiguity ceases to be ambiguous, and where the half-truth becomes a lie.

But you know that all this is nothing new, that you will not want to explain to these functionaries waving the order of release in front of your nose that it is they who are slaves, and no order of release will free them from that bondage.

You will not talk to them at all.

Today, if you shout at the functionaries, their pupils will reveal a gleam of fear. This fear and uncertainty you will notice under their helmets, through their uniforms, from behind the police shields imported from Japan. And you will easily realize that this fear of the functionary is for you a certificate of hope—of your hope.

It is over this that the battle is being waged: functionaries want to squeeze out of us a declaration that we have abandoned hope. The functionaries realize that he who declares his loyalty to the system of lies and coercion rejects hope for a Poland in which lies and coercion would be condemned. These declarations are supposed to transform us into servile, base creatures who will moult in the name of freedom and dignity. But by refusing to engage in conversation with the functionary, by refusing to cooperate, by rejecting the status of a collaborator and informer, by choosing the human condition of a political prisoner, you are preserving hope. You throw this—your declaration of hope—like a molotov bottle into the sea—from your prison into the world, among people. If you tell at least one person, you have won.

You know how heavy is the feeling of doubt. You think that you are helpless in the face of this policy—a military machine that was set in motion on a December's night. But you know, as you stand alone, bound in handcuffs, with tear gas in your eyes, facing functionaries waving their guns, you know—and you are this clearly against the dark, starless night—you know, thanks to your levelling post, that "the wind will change its course according to the shore over which it flows." And you want to be that shore that will change the course of events.

Nothing to Crow About

The underground "Solidarity" press occasionally publishes brief items reporting and commenting on the often bizarre actions of military commissars and government officials. These are published under the title of "The Crow: Its Brainstorms, Behavior, and Habits." [The acronym for the Military Council for National Salvation, established by General Jaruzelski December 13, WRON also means "crow" in Polish.]

The following items have been selected from issues of Solidarity Information Bulletin and Mazowsze Weekly, both published in Warsaw.

■ The CROW and the ingrates—A poster in Poznan states: "In thanks for: Kosciuszko and Pulaski, the priceless toil of Polish hands in the mines of Pennsylvania, the steelworks of Indiana, the slaughterhouses of Chicago, and the heroism of American soldiers of Polish extraction on the battlefields of two World Wars—AMERICAN ECONOMIC AGGRESSION AGAINST THE POLISH NATION: the halting of food shipments, blockade of credit, destruction of the poultry industry, exclusion of LOT Polish Airline from the American market, the banning of our fishing fleet from the North American fisheries, breaking the transfer of technology."

Hear! Hear! America's insolence exceeds all bounds. Ask boldly, dear CROW: "Why won't Reagan feed our chickens?"

■ Security police in Plock are busy studying the handwriting of school students. The police demanded that the schools submit student essays. It seems that some police Sherlock Holmes deduced from the style and syntax of certain handwritten leaflets that their authors were of tender age.

■ CROW the pollster—the management of the Planning Institute in Warsaw distributed questionnaires to all employees, asking: "What were you doing between 12 o'clock and 12:15 [on May 13 during a fifteen minute protest strike called by Solidarity]?" When everybody sent in the answer "I don't remember," the management sent out another questionnaire with the following questions: "Were you in the office corridor between 12 o'clock and 12:15?" and "If yes, did your presence there have the character of a protest?"

We too have a question to the management: "What were you doing when the Lord was giving out brains?"

■ A newly printed children's book, *The Adventures of Habel, the Dwarf*, barely avoided being put on the CROW's index of forbidden publications because it bore on the back of the title page the now unprintable text: "Printed at the initiative of the Workers' Council. . . ." Ultimately, the CROW was satisfied with having a special team tear out the offending page from all 200,000 copies of the book.

■ We have received CROW's leaflets, distributed to the soldiers. One reads: "Anyone who asks you where you are from, what you are armed with, what kind of food you receive, whether your commanding officer is OK, what your orders are—anyone asking such questions is suspect. He should be stopped, and the matter referred to your superior. Remember, the enemy is ruthless. He will take advantage of your weakness. He is

cunning and smart. He hides behind the back of the working class so it is hard to recognize him. Therefore avoid all conversations with civilians."

■ We have received the next helping of leaflets distributed to soldiers. The drawings show people with hideous faces, armed with truncheons and knives—members of "Solidarity," the Independent Student Union, and the Confederation for Independent Poland. In one drawing they are shown running into a foreign embassy, carrying a sack. In another they check a sewer hole before "going underground." The next drawing shows a figure reaching for a knife, its hand being crushed by a smiling riot policeman. Inside a prison cell: one inmate says: "We wanted to get a new parliament, but instead they 'got' us."

The graphics are matched by the captions. A sample of the style: "For fifteen months we were living in an atmosphere of anxiety created by adventurers and provocateurs who came out against people's authority and fanned tensions. Everything was falling down then: the economy, food supplies, social order. We were pressed to the ground, deprived of our sense of security, of our hope for tomorrow. . . . The adventurers do not cease in their efforts. They call on us to participate in marches and demonstrations . . . in the name of their own, dirty interests, in the name of their furious race for power. Be vigilant. Do not let yourself be provoked."



The WRONA, or Crow, picture cutout. The directions read, "Cut along the line and fold flaps." And below: "Here are some examples of how to dress your crow"—in a Nazi police helmet, a ZOMO riot police helmet, and a Soviet military hat.

Is There a Way Out of the Impasse?

From his prison cell in Bialoleka, where he has been interned since December 13, Jacek Kuron, a leader in the democratic opposition of the '60s and '70s and an adviser to Solidarity's National Commission, wrote a challenging article (smuggled out of prison), in which he proposes solutions to the seemingly insoluble crisis facing the Solidarity movement under the state of war. General Jaruzelski's employment of military force and the introduction of harsh decrees in order to break Solidarity, in Kuron's view, leaves few alternatives for the movement but to prepare to use force in a confrontation with the authorities. Although he leaves open the possibility of an agreement with the regime based on a wide-ranging compromise, Kuron considers it a remote possibility, and believes that the resistance movement, with a centralized leadership coordinating all activity, must be ready to strike at the centers of totalitarian rule.

Kuron's article sparked a debate among the leaders and activists of Solidarity who have escaped arrest and who are organizing and coordinating the movement's underground resistance in different regions. Zbigniew Bujak, the elected Chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw Region, and Wiktor Kulerski, a member of the Warsaw Solidarity's Presidium, or Executive Commission, took issue with Kuron's arguments, offering different strategies that Solidarity should pursue in its struggle for freedom. All three articles were printed in the eighth issue of Mazowsze Weekly, dated March 30th. Kuron's rejoinder to Bujak and Kulerski appeared in the thirteenth issue of the same publication, May 13.

One Way Out

1. THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY STANDS IN NO NEED OF description. If one is to believe the authors of the military coup when they claim that they acted 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, January—the first calm month of our war—saw a 13.6 percent decline in production from the strike-racked January of last year (five free Saturdays were extorted), and a 17.5 percent decline from December 1981, the first month of the war. If this process continues, in five months' time we shall have reached a production level of zero.

Future statistics can easily be improved; but will it be equally simple to improve production and prevent the death throes of the economy?

The disintegration of the economy began neither in December 1981 nor in August 1980. Those who had the courage to speak have predicted it since 1976. After August 1980, everyone who knew or cared about the matter at all agreed that our public and economic life was fatally ill. The illness was centralized management, the sole way of organizing social initiative and activity. Hence the participants in the social process had no

influence in its aims or development. . . .

This state of things was supposed to have been radically changed by reforming the state and the economy. Instead, whatever the declared and even undeclared intentions of the authors of the coup, December 13th saw the introduction of military methods of rule. This means that social and economic life in its every aspect must be subordinated to the orders of the central military authorities. The entire population, the middle and lower classes included, must carry out orders and report back on the situation. While this is certainly a good method of waging a war, it is also the worst way to manage the public life of a country. The causes of the fatal illness have thus been blown up to proportions bordering on caricature. . . .

2. Our society lives a life of war. Those who proclaimed that war are making no special attempt to hide the fact that they are waging it against the Polish people. Thanks to the extraordinary self-discipline of the people, so far we have been able to avoid massive bloody conflicts. On the other hand, we live under a classic occupation: with censorship of correspondence, curfews, mass raids, searches, arrests, military court sentences, collective responsibility, and so on.

Violence, threats, and desperate appeals for calm make up the only language with which the regime is capable of carrying on a dialogue with the society. What does it achieve by this, and what can it achieve? Only despair and hatred from everyone; fear and submission from some; determination and the will to fight from others. The authorities cannot count on those who are afraid; their fear and submission will last only as long as violence reigns. The determined will fight; and they will fight with more determination the more severe the methods used against them. The economy, in ruins, will produce hunger and poverty; the determined will increase in numbers. The occupying forces should not delude themselves: partitions of Poland never lasted long. Nor do partitions destroy the web and tissue of social and economic life; occupation does.

Violence breeds violence. The not so patient, and the not so thoughtful, will tend towards terror, the double-edged weapon. Terror breeds terror, and the spiral of terror cannot be broken by terror. He who sows the wind reaps the tempest.

3. The entire Soviet bloc has been profoundly shaken by the events in Poland. The fatal (economic) illness I described above is most advanced in Poland, but all the countries of the bloc suffer from it.

As an economy becomes modernized, the aspirations of the society increase, as does participation in the international division of labor. Modernization is essential in the Soviet bloc because of the demands of the military. When the illness sets in, modernization leads to a violent increase in investments coupled with an unchanged—and thus diminishing—output.

We know that the war was introduced in Poland under pressure from the U.S.S.R. The authorities in that country have reason to fear that the Polish example will be contagious. But evidently they went astray in their calculations. The restrictions limited the possibility of cooperation with the West, without which the economy of the bloc cannot function normally; and it is unable to bear the burden of additional and costly armaments by 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 terrorism. No appeals can diminish hatred and despair—an explosive mixture, liable with one spark to be set afire.

Poverty is the fruit of the state of war, 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 ways of resolving problems. But the occupation has made all peaceful activities impossible: it has not even left the possibility open for effective work. For this reason it is not within anyone's power to assure calm in Poland as long as the occupation lasts. It can be achieved by the authorities, if they come to a compromise with society; or it can be achieved by Polish society, if it overthrows the authorities. In this second case, 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.

Since August 1980, the Polish nation was united as never before. The difficulties arose from the fact that, in the face of the Soviet threat, the society was forced to renounce a significant part of its aspirations. We argued over what and how much should be given up. We sought a compromise with the people who represented the interests of the U.S.S.R. in Poland. . . .

The people representing the U.S.S.R. wanted no such compromise. Instead of building a state—a state of even the most limited democracy—at the head of the nation, they destroyed the economy and the administration.

A compromise between Polish society and those in power is much less possible now than it was before December 13. But the occupation, if it continues, will inevitably lead the government camp to catastrophe. If in the government camp there are people aware of this, they will ask themselves whether or not initiating such a compromise would lead to an equally disastrous end for them.

A well-organized mass resistance movement is, for Poles, the only chance. Only such a movement can initiate one side of the compromise. Only such a movement can stem the tide of terrorism, and, if no one can be found within the government camp to compromise with,

only such a movement can lessen the risk of Soviet intervention in the face of the inevitable social explosion.

The strength of the occupying forces lies in the disorganization of society and the ability to transfer rapidly from one place to another a small number of pacification teams. For this reason, we must at present organize ourselves—differently than before August 1980—around a main center and display absolute discipline before it. We must organize an efficient system of information. We must, however, take into account the possibility that, at the decisive moment, it will be blocked. Hence the concrete goals of the movement and its 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 leaflets 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 exerting 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 manifest the will of the nation to those who have, in a premeditated action, stood up against the nation. If we confine ourselves to them, and if there proves to be no one in the government camp willing to initiate a compromise, we cannot avoid catastrophe.

Independent local incidents may be transformed into national ones, spreading throughout the country. The occupying forces will probably be overthrown, but at the greatest possible costs to society and with the greatest risk of armed intervention.

Hence, the leadership of the resistance movement must prepare Polish society for even the most far-reaching concessions in a compromise with the authorities, and, at the same time, for liquidating the occupation in a collective, organized demonstration. I think that such a demonstration can take the form of a simultaneous offensive against all the centers of power and information throughout the country. People from the government camp must know that the time left for them to initiate a compromise is strictly limited.

In expecting the worst, we must now do everything in our power to make the authorities of the U.S.S.R. realize that, with a small amount of good will on their part, a Polish national agreement would not—even if it were without the participation of the current government of the Polish Peoples' Republic—harm its military interests, and would be extremely favorable to its economic ones. Armed intervention, on the other hand, will be the last action taken by the U.S.S.R.

I am not claiming that an organized demonstration, combined with a declaration of good will toward the U.S.S.R., will guarantee our safety from that power. I maintain only that, if the occupation continues, such an action will carry with it the fewest risks.

Throughout the many years of my opposition activity I propagated the principle of avoiding all forms of violence. I therefore feel obliged to speak out, to say that at present, preparing ourselves for overthrowing the occupation in a collective action seems to me to be the least of all evils.

Jacek Kuron
Białolcha Prison

Trench Warfare

I FIND THAT THE MAIN POINT OF JACEK KURON'S ARTICLE is contained in the saying, "If you don't want a war, prepare yourself for it."

Kuron's piece represents an important voice in the discussion about our program of action. Jacek Kuron is a distinguished intellectual with a keen understanding of social phenomena, and the valuable ability to predict their results. However, I disagree with his fundamental assumptions and with the conclusions he draws from them.

Kuron bases his argument on the premise that, because of poverty, coercion, and the lack of possibilities for effective action other than open battle, a social explosion is inevitable. I think people generally realize that this kind of explosion, while failing to solve any of the problems currently facing us, would, on the contrary, create a great threat—both of outside intervention and of the most brutal use of internal forces. The society's high level of self-awareness, discipline, and organization provide the chance for avoiding such an explosion.

The authorities' use of terror is countered by the society's organizing non-violent forms of resistance. It is precisely in this direction that work on our program of action should tend. We must cross all the battle fronts before we take a stand on the last one that remains.

It follows from what I have said that I do not believe that the creation of a resistance movement "capable of destroying the occupation in an organized, collective action" is our goal. I believe, moreover, that such an undertaking is unrealistic. Unrealistic in the first place because of the police-army structure of the state, well-adapted to breaking and destroying such organizations. The fact that the occupying forces speak the same language, that they also are "on their own turf," facilitates infiltration enormously. Furthermore, we are surrounded by states with the same systems.

I would also raise doubts about the view that only a centrally organized resistance movement is capable of stemming the tide of terrorism. I think quite the contrary could be the case: a movement, once centralized, must receive and execute instruction; if at any point these fail to appear, if they prove to be inadequate or unattractive, the organization might be pushed in the direction of terrorism. The spiral of terror, once set in motion, will, with this type of structure, rapidly expand.

I favor a strong decentralized movement, a movement with a variety of techniques of action. Only such a movement—multifarious and undefined—will be elusive and difficult to overcome. Its unity is assured by the unity of its goals: the revocation of the state of war, the release of the arrested and interned, the restoration of rights to unions and associations.

I disagree with the claim that a centralized underground organization can, through the threat of a general strike or of attacking government centers, exert on those in the government camp who favor a compromise, pressure strong enough to force them to move effectively towards a compromise. I think, on the contrary, that a threat as strong as that will unite the government camp in undertaking action aimed at the total destruction of the movement. At worst, it will better the chances for that part of the apparatus to whom outside inter-

vention would prove convenient. And Moscow could profit from intervening. If it could thereby succeed in eliminating all the "troublemakers" and "enemies of socialism," this chance would be enhanced by the existence of a centralized movement of resistance in Poland.

One final argument against the centrally organized underground is that the destruction of such an organization would be difficult to safeguard and at the same time would deal another heavy blow to Solidarity and to the hopes of the people. This we cannot allow to happen.

In summary, building a Solidarity movement as a monolithic organization prepared for decisive and final action creates the danger of another attempt by the authorities to pacify the nation with internal forces. Even if it were possible for us to avoid this, outside intervention would still await us. I therefore believe that we should assume the principle of avoiding head-on conflicts with the government. The danger to which they leave the country open is too great, and our chances in them are, as I have tried to show, slim.

I think that both an effective and a safe form of battle is, to use military parlance, "trench warfare." This is the type of resistance I should like to propose here.

Individual groups and social circles must build a mechanism of resistance against the monopolistic activities of the government in various spheres of life. Through the existence of a mass organization the size of Solidarity and through the activities of independent peasants', craftsmen's, and students' unions, this resistance could be so widespread as to create the possibility of building a structure for the life of the society that would be independent of the authorities.

In the workplace, this primarily means fighting for the right to continue union activities. The only method of doing this is, precisely, to confine them: that is, to defend the rights of working people by all possible means—strikes (without leaders) included.

Important elements in the structures of social life that are independent of the government have been the Social Self-Help Committees formed around parishes. They are able to bring aid to those who were repressed by being fired from their jobs (this detracts from the government's attempts at economic blackmail). Other such elements are independent publications (every large plant should put out its own publication, every large city should have an active independent publishing house); Councils of National Education and Culture formed by literary, artistic, scholarly, and scientific groups to create conditions for the acquisition of independent knowledge and experience; a network of centers of the Association of Workers' Universities, whose graduates could form a group of union activists—founders of and activists in local and workers' self-managing groups.

This road is not one of rapid and effective success, but one of long, hard work, demanding activity from a significant part of the society. But Solidarity, a movement that is ten million strong, with nearly a million activists, is alive and is functioning, despite the state of war. This allows it to believe that the prospects outlined here are realistic. An uprising, if it proves necessary, will be the final action in a battle to realize the national program of rebuilding our economy, our culture, our science, our education, and our independence.

Zbigniew Szpak

A Third Alternative

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF THE GOVERNMENT DECIDES THAT economic crisis and the current anxiety are less costly to them than a compromise? If local incidents do not lead to a nationwide revolt that overthrows the government? If the occupation assumes a less spectacular form, but continues to last for a long time?

History supplies numerous examples that governmental rotting can be a lengthy process, and of the long, lasting endurance of societies, even—or even perhaps especially—when they are faced with hunger and poverty. 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 Jacek Kuron would have it, an alternative of either revolution or compromise. A third alternative: a lengthy rotting of the system, and gradual changes leading to society regaining influence over its fate.

In order for the changes to proceed in just this 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. These would have to secure continuous and effective aid for all those repressed by the authorities to expand the scope of independent information and free thought; to create a network of social communication and to secure the possibility of self-education; to provide moral and psychological support.

Such a movement ought to lead to a situation where the government will control empty shops—but not the market; employment—but not the means of livelihood; the state presses—but not information; printing houses—but not the publishing movement; postal and telephone service—but not communication; schooling—but not education. Such independence on the part of society could, in time, lead to the government retaining in its control only the police and a handful of collaborators.

In such a situation, there would be no third way out. There would come either the downfall of the government or, not a spectacular compromise but rather the gradual yielding of barriers that divide the government from the society, and the gradual shuffling off by society of the bonds imposed upon it: the restoration of civil rights; self-management; and, finally, participation in decisions bearing on the economic life of the country—as well as on its social and cultural life.

The scope of the restored liberties must be such as to outweigh the risks involved in living in an Underground Society. Only then will the downward trajectory of the government decrease sufficiently to allow it to regain some kind of control over the life of society in general. The cost of regaining such influence would be, then, gradual liberalization and democratization.

In conditions of a modern police state surrounded by similar systems and, like them, supervised by a neighboring power, it is not possible for a mass underground organization encompassing the entire country to be active on a long-term basis. Creating one risks a premature explosion, or the premature destruction of the organization,

a tragedy that we cannot allow. It is only a relatively narrow group of people who can risk organizing the framework of a "center" and, at most, of regional centers. The germ of an Underground State would be just another potential threat to the authorities. Its influences would spread in the Underground Society, offering the possibility of rapid organization around a center core, should this become necessary.

It is therefore only in the ultimate situation that an Underground State would find its continuation and support in an Underground Society. Until that time, the Underground Society should be independent, and should avoid broader contacts with the central structure. This would both increase its strength in defending itself from premature destruction and defend it from a tragedy. In such a situation, even the destruction of the Underground State would be merely one blow dealt to the Underground Society—which would live on, able to recreate what had been lost.

This third alternative becomes more worthy of attention as yet another danger comes more clearly into sight. Empires torn asunder by internal conflict, wracked by crisis and threatened by outside forces, have frequently taken refuge in aggression. Aggression allows them, quickly and irrespective of cost, to increase their military potential, to consolidate the masses around the government, and to divert people's attention from their own tragic internal situation. This is a possibility we cannot overlook. In our position, the comforting thought that "armed intervention in Poland will be the last action taken by the U.S.S.R." is—to say the least—problematic.

Wiktor Kulski

You Now Have the Golden Horn

The title of Kuron's response alludes to a symbolic prop in the Polish play, "The Wedding." Written in the early 1900s the play is set during a peasant wedding which serves as an allegory for the struggle to regain Polish independence, lost in 1792. A supernatural character called Chochol gives one of the peasants a golden horn with magical properties which will mobilize the Polish people for a national uprising. The peasant falls asleep and loses the magic horn. He is left only with a piece of rope, symbol of the last chance for freedom.

(AN OPEN LETTER TO ZBIGNIEW BUDAK, WIKTOR KULSKI AND OTHER ACTIVISTS IN THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT)

1. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, YOU PROPOSE TO BUILD A KIND of social movement that, before August 1980, we used to call "social self-defense"—that is, organizing people in various circles for the purpose of solving together their troublesome problems. Such self-organization constitutes a basis for the growth of more general initiatives: publishing, cooperative education, formulation of programs. (This idea passed the test after 1976), bringing about the already irreversible August victory. Therefore I am not surprised that this particular concept of the movement enjoys such a wide following today. We all want to rely on proven experience. However, the current debate concerns methods of action that depend, first of all, on conditions entirely different from those that existed before August.

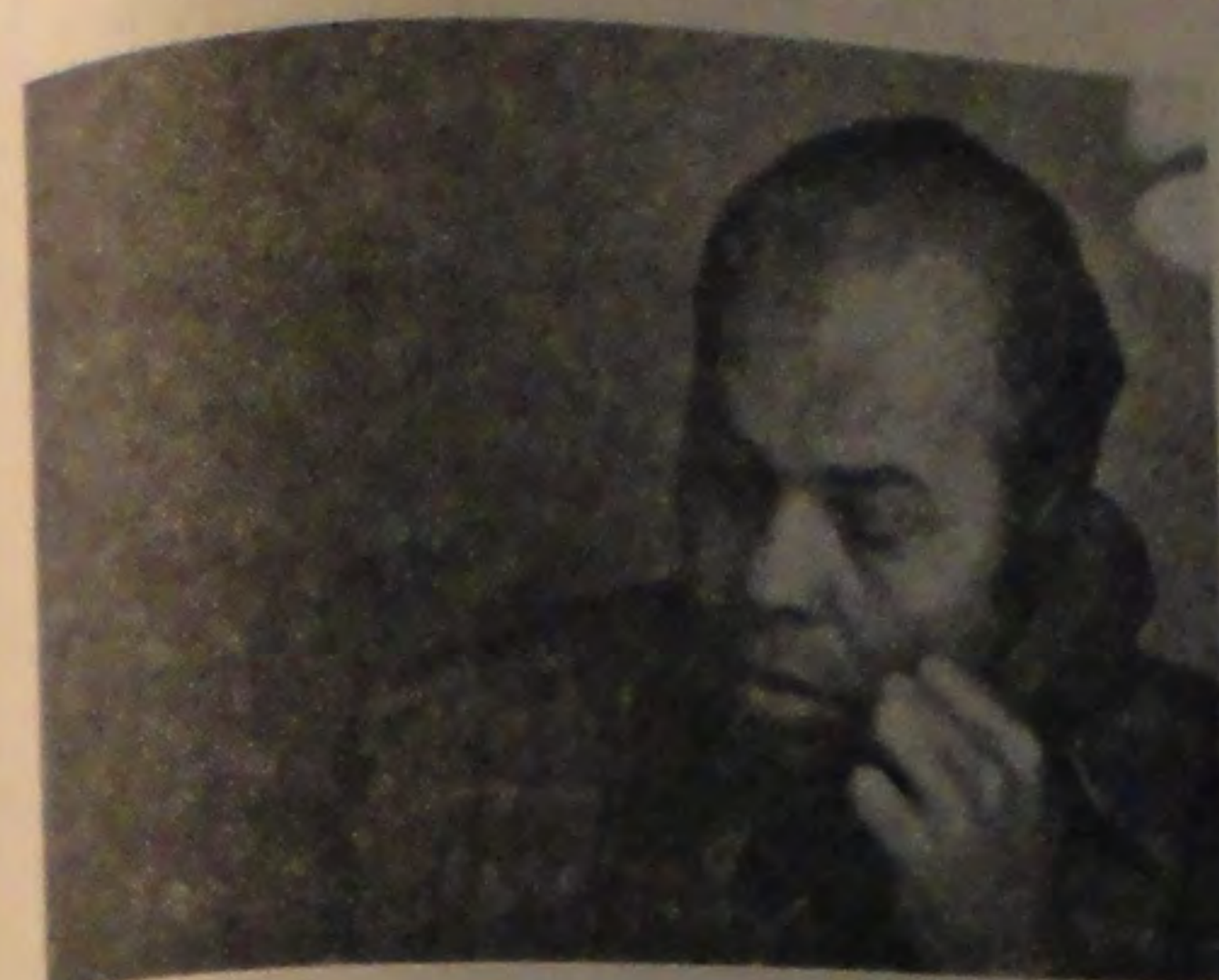


photo credit: Jeri Leber

2. What are the necessary conditions for the development of a movement of social self-defense? Let me mention three:

- 1. individuals must have the opportunity to act;
- 2. their actions must have some chance of success;
- 3. the social system must be capable to some minimal degree of yielding under pressure.

Under Giermek, the system met the first two conditions. His regime wanted to govern on 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 disperse demonstrations, break strikes, and arrest, intern, beat up, and shoot people. So long as the generals and secretaries possess this capability, they will not yield one millimeter 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 mass underground movement is being created. Publishing activities are being pursued. It is possible to organize self-education, and, above all, various ways of demonstrating the will of the society. Are these the goals for which people, despite the risks, join the movement? I contend that they are not. A mass social movement is always a means to important ends, which may be reached through organized action, and only through organized action.

If you do not specify what the movement is supposed to be preparing for, then only the organization will remain. Along with disappointment, anger, and hatred. From that hatred, terror will ultimately be born.

Acts of aggression and despair can, with certain limits, be restrained by a central coordinating body—provided it exists and can communicate with all the regions and branches of the movement. But this command center will lose all influence on the movement if it turns out that it lacks a program for finding a way out of the situation.

4. You claim that people can hold out for a long time, and you cite history. Here we differ with regard to facts. Last year the national income fell 13 percent. This year—if we receive considerable aid from the East

and some credits from the West—according to the officially published expert forecasts, the national income will fall from 17 to 22 percent further. . . . This is a catastrophe unknown in the history of modern societies. Nobody can conceive of its economic, social, and moral consequences.

On what are you basing your faith that the Poles will bear such a calamity with patience—in a situation, moreover, where the authorities continually provoke us with arrogance and terror? Are you basing it on the fact that people showed patience from January until today? Let us take into account that the restraint on the part of Polish society—about which we agree—is nothing but faith in Solidarity.

People restrain their despair, anger, and fury because they undertake activities to which you call them—or to which they believe you are calling them. They believe that you know the way, that you are leading them to victory. They will quickly come to the conclusion that the call to keep on going in the underground is the most costly road to defeat. What 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 voice the necessity of even the most far-reaching concessions on the part of the society.

It is impossible to build a program on a hope that the generals and secretaries will agree to a compromise of their own free will. It is necessary to accept the fact that force yields only to force, and to announce clearly that the movement will not shrink from using force.

I conceived that such an announcement would specify the approximate time limit—for example, "in the fall," or "in the summer." This would be the most effective way to restrain acts of despair and aggression. In light of the publication of such announcements, every demonstration of social will throughout the country (lighted candles, minutes of silence, group hunger strikes, common elements of dress, short strikes, etc.) make the threat more real and show the movement's readiness.

The proclaimed action may of course take the form of a general strike, continuing indefinitely until its success. But this would hand the generals and secretaries the opportunity to attack chosen points and to exploit their superiority in personnel and equipment. If we do not secure the cooperation of a decisive majority of soldiers and policemen, the strike must be coupled with an attack on the chosen centers of authority and communications, in concert with that minority of soldiers and policemen who decide to stand with us.

The assumption that the fear of attack will stiffen the generals and secretaries would be justified if one could believe that anything other than fear would make them prone to make concessions. If you declare that the movement will not use force, you are misleading them. Confident in their security, they won't yield one millimeter.

6. I do not urge you to declare an attack. However, I do urge you to organize a center for the movement, and an efficient information network. It must be emphasized that this will not limit the independence of individual regions or branches. But it will limit the

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Scenes of War

Wezwanie (The Call) is a new underground publication. It is a large (over 130 single-spaced typewritten pages) collection of essays, poems, stories, political articles and news 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 MINE, DECEMBER 16TH
(Account of a soldier from the special assault unit.)

We are afraid just like other people. It even turned out that we were scared worse than the miners. At "Wujek" 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 the piece of metal he held cut off a policeman's whole arm. My friends who stayed behind told me of a regular battle between the ZOMO and the crowd that gathered by the coalmine. The wounded were kicked and beaten. Medical attendants who arrived with the ambulances defended the wounded miners and were also beaten. In the dreadful chaos one tank got stuck near the shaft and couldn't withdraw. It was surrounded by a group of miners who started to pour gasoline on it. Fortunately, our commander noticed and started to scream that there

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 just as emphatically reserved for the center.

I urge you further to announce that if the authorities do not listen to the will of society, expressed in various ways; if they do not undertake the effort 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 and police. You will find a good reception among them, and this in itself will constitute a potent threat to the authorities.

Above all, a common program, agreed to by all leading activists in the resistance movement, is absolutely necessary.

Forgive me for playing the philosopher. I know how hard you work, and how great are the successes you've achieved. But you've found yourselves in a situation with no escape. Even if we are not equal to the task, we must rise to it. It is we who must show the solution to a problem that seems insoluble.

You did not volunteer for so heavy a burden, yet you cannot evade it. You now have the golden horn. . . .
Jacek Kuron

were soldiers inside. The miners hesitated, someone said that if there were indeed soldiers inside, he would even help them get out. But if it was the ZOMO, they would be torn apart with bare hands. . . .

"Aim Your Guns at the ZOMO!"

WROCLAW, FADROMA FACTORY, DECEMBER 15TH

The crowd gathered in front of the building. The entrance gate had been barricaded by a machine, and other machines were parked by the wall inside. People on the street talked with the strikers, cheering them on, passing food to them, some were crying. On a street nearby a column of tanks was parked. Another crowd gathered there, about 1000 people. Streetcars and buses were stopped, the passengers getting out and joining the crowd. More and more people approached the tanks, surrounding them. They began to talk with the soldiers. The young boys in the tanks were embarrassed, disconcerted and frightened. People were asking: "Will you shoot at us?" The soldiers replied that they didn't want to, but were under orders to stay there. Women gave them cigarettes and bread. They pleaded with the soldiers to go away. Somebody shouted: "You should aim your guns at the ZOMO!"

A Soldier's Communion

LUBLIN, DECEMBER

One priest I know 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 many turns to confuse his sense of direction and obscure the distance. He was handcuffed on arrival and blindfolded, then led along for quite a while. It turned out that he was to hear the confession of a soldier condemned to be shot for refusing to obey an order. The blindfold was never taken off, but 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 to death. He heard the confession but was not able to give Communion because he wasn't allowed to take the Holy Sacrament along with him. He was not present when the sentence was carried out. Immediately after the confession he was taken back to his parish.

"I Saw What They Did to a 16 Year Old"

LODZ, DECEMBER 17TH

All streets leading to the Cathedral were blocked by the cordons of police which formed a circle around it and prevented all access. We finally got through by jumping over some fences around a construction site. . . . It quickly turned out that we were trapped between two cordons of police. The other one was right next to the Cathedral, making it impossible to get in. Suddenly, with surprising speed, the riot 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 knocked on the doors. Finally, a frightened voice replied: "Who's there?" "Please let us in, the police are chasing after us!" The person behind the door turns his light out and there is silence. We heard the sounds of

steps downstairs. There are five of them. Three stopped one flight below, two others approached us, one with a gun pulled out. "Identification!" Then "Turn around and face the wall!" We stand about a yard away from the wall with raised hands. Suddenly we feel a push behind. We must put our hands against the wall, our legs are being spread out, hands too.

We must take everything from our pockets and throw it down on the floor. One of them assures us constantly: "Don't be afraid, we won't beat you." Finally they tell us to gather our things from the floor. Then they start to hit us with the truncheons. The one who was beating me stood right at the top of the stairs. My first reflex was to catch him by his legs and throw him down, but I restrained myself—there were three more down there. Finally I succeeded in embracing him in a way so that he couldn't beat me, and the other was afraid he'd hit the first one. They led us downstairs, hitting us all the time. Three flights of stairs, travelled under the constant blows of the truncheons seemed like an eternity. I didn't know how to get into the van; I knew that those inside were getting ready to beat us again. One has to bend to get inside, but then I would be hit with a fist in the face.

"The Positivists Ride in Tanks on the Street"

One of the best wartime jokes is that on December 13th hoodlums attacked an insane asylum. The joke is only superficially funny—I am reminded of the tragic scenes from the prophetic vision of Zebrowski's film *Hospital of the Transfiguration*. In the last part of the film the patients and staff of the insane asylum are exterminated—what a triumph of health, vigor, and "normal" life. We know this from elsewhere: Sparta, the Third Reich. . . . However, true life is never "normal," it never submits to homogenizing pressures. It is full of contradictions, restlessness, often "screams and fury"; in different moments it fills the air with whispers and singing. Richness versus impoverishment, movement versus stagnation, multitude versus uniformity—this is the law of nature. We are now being deprived of this right.

Voices, familiar from history, are sounding again: "To the British propaganda, I declare that our state organs are neutralizing only those elements which desire to reap a bloody harvest with foreign money, against the interest of their nation, and in the very place where, at the present moment, the principle of common effort in the service of common interests should guide everyone." This is not a quote from Jerzy Urban [Polish government press spokesman]. It's from Hans Frank [Nazi governor of occupied Poland], almost 40 years ago.

The bloody harvest was gathered on December 16th [the date of the "Wujek" mine killings]. I am afraid. Not without reason, that this was just the beginning. A weapon, when it appears in a drama, must be used sooner or later: only a person devoid of a minimum of imagination may believe that it would not be used in the end. A professional soldier or a myopic journalist may believe that. Possibly also a sorcerer's apprentice, albeit a bad one. Poland is at present ruled by professional soldiers and column writers. Both have a tendency to make primitive simplifications. But social life is impossible to simplify. It is not an exercise ground—it's a true battlefield.

Since the beginning of this "war" I have been con-

I protected my head with my hands, bent and got in. I received a powerful kick and fell down on my face. They started to hit me on the back but soon stopped for there wasn't enough space. Finally we arrived at the police precinct. I got out of the van to face a "path of health," a terribly long, double line of police. I was scared I wouldn't survive this. I covered my head with my hands and ran. I barely felt the blows, they did not enter into my consciousness. I reached the building thinking it was the end, but the "path" continued inside, twisting somewhat. . . .

I saw what they did to a sixteen year old boy. They found a homemade whip on him, with a leather handle and some pieces of metal attached to the end. A huge policeman grabbed him by the wrists and pressed them down to the table so that the hands stuck out from the edge while the other beat him with that whip until the hands turned into a bloody pulp. The boy screamed terribly all the time. When they let him go he couldn't bend his hands. We got off with just a few truncheon blows. One policeman, the same one who was holding down the boy, said something about his mother while beating me, something about how much he loved her. . . .

dent that we shall win it. We, meaning the society. Meaning, also, "Solidarity." I cannot justify this certainty. I know only that I react to this "war" as a show of stupidity and lack of imagination, like something so completely unreal that even the real troubles seem untrue. I know that many people were killed, thousands arrested, that their fate means real pain, tears and despair. It is difficult to write about this, because the horrifying reality is woven into a grotesque scenery. It is difficult, because the authorities, which resort to such utterly nonsensical arguments as "the state of war is, in essence, anti-war," provoke only pity. In this country, under this system, anything can be anything indeed, for the words have lost their meaning. Here, terror is in essence the realization of human rights; slavery is in essence the full realization of freedom. In essence: work makes one free (Arbeit macht frei)—this is why compulsory work has been introduced in Poland.

For more than one hundred years we have helplessly kicked and screamed against the romantic tradition, against our fate having been forced into a schema that could not be transcended. Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of this state of affairs is provided by Stefan Bratkowski's fate. [A Polish journalist, president of the Association of Polish Journalists, dissolved in March 1981. He was expelled from the Communist party in October 1981.] He once fought determined battles with the advocates of romantic exaltations, trying to direct us to the positivist tradition that had made efforts to break the vicious circle of national uprisings (e.g. in *Where We Come From* and in *The Experience and the Future* group report).

In the end Bratkowski himself got delegatized, pushed into the underground, where, willy-nilly, he must repeat romantic gestures, and "measure his strength by his aims." It's that simple: there is a line that cannot be crossed if one wants to preserve one's dignity.

In the meantime, the positivists ride in tanks on the streets.

Chronicle of Resistance: February 1982-July 1982

FEBRUARY 1982

January 30—Thousands of people demonstrate in Gdansk. They are violently dispersed by ZOMO police units; the wounded are left until nightfall; hundreds are arrested or detained. 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 Cygan is appointed governor of the Gdansk Region. Later, General Debicki 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 are given three to seven years for participating in the strike at the Ziemowit mine.

Ewa Kubeszewicz receives ten years and Krzysztof Trzcinski receives nine years for minor infractions of the state of war. People are routinely being sentenced for three to five years for passing out leaflets or bulletins.

February 8—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 "Mazowsze Weekly" is published in Warsaw. Before the state of war, the publication was to be the weekly paper of the Warsaw Region of Solidarity. Its editor-in-chief, Jerzy Zielinski, died on the night of December 12 from a fall from a hospital window.

"Mazowsze Weekly" joins a growing list of publications which are printed underground, numbering over a thousand since the imposition of martial law. Twenty alone appear in Gdansk, including the *Solidarity Information Bulletin*, which appears in 60,000 copies. Over fifty publications exist in Warsaw. Almost every region has at least one bulletin and many large factories and enterprises publish their own.

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

February 13—A demonstration in Poznan, the site of the 1956 worker revolt, marks two months of the state of war. According to an official report, one hundred ninety-four people are arrested and strict controls are imposed on travel, communications, and assembly.

February 14—In a show of force, the authorities carry out "Operation Calm." Over 145,000 people are detained, arrested, fined, or warned for committing violations of the martial law decrees.

February 15—A government Minister, Stanislaw Ciosek, says that the government will not conduct negotiations with Lech Walesa that include his advisers or Solidarity's National Commission.

February 22—The authorities draft guidelines for future trade union activity, prohibiting strikes.

February 24—The Polish press attacks Lech Walesa as a figurehead for an "anti-communist crusade."

A session of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee meets for the first time since December 13th. Jaruzelski says that social tensions prolong martial law and that acts of opposition will be punished severely. He accuses the United States of inciting opposition and waging a "propaganda war."

February 25—General Kiszczak, the Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, which governs security forces, is named to the Politburo.

February 27—Poland's Roman Catholic Episcopate issues a strong statement calling for an end to martial law.

MARCH 1982

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 internees (people who have been detained without charges), whom the government numbers at four thousand, will be allowed to apply for emigration. Only a handful choose to do so.

March 8—The Minister of Justice, Sylwester Zawadzki, announces that some internees who have been held since December 13th will be put on trial, despite an "amnesty" for acts committed before that date.

Patrydusz Kosmowski, chairman of Solidarity's Podbeskidzie Region, is sentenced to six years for "not ceasing union activities."

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

March 16—The army newspaper, *Soldier of Freedom*, says that "new information" shows Solidarity to have been "infiltrated by spies."

The press also accuses opponents of martial law of organizing "armed resistance."

March 19—The Polish Journalists' Association, formed in 1951, is dissolved because "it undertook actions conducive to the dismantling of state and social institutions of public information." The association and its chairman, Stefan Bratkowski, who was elected as its chairman in 1980, had adopted a program "to restore public confidence" in the press. The actions followed a campaign of "ideological verification," which resulted in the dismissal and resignation of thousands of journalists.

A new party-controlled organization is set up in its stead, the Journalists' Association of the Polish People's Republic.

March 21—Lech Walesa's daughter, born in January, is baptized Maria Victoria. The ceremony takes place without her father who, interned outside Warsaw, is not permitted to attend.

March 25—Around fifty guards break into the cells of internees in a prison outside of Ilawa, beating seventy prisoners; four of them require hospitalization. Letters appealing for help are thrown from cell windows and reach passersby. There are other reports of the beating of prisoners, especially in provinces removed from Warsaw.

APRIL 1982

April—Vicious attacks on Solidarity continue in the press, in what the Polish government calls a "public discussion" on the future of trade unions.

April 10—Zbigniew Bujak, in a leaflet, warns of the impending dissolution of Solidarity, ostensibly only suspended under the state of war. He calls on Solidarity members to "fight without compromise for our union."

April 11—The president of Warsaw University, Henryk Samsonowicz, who was elected in October 1980 and July 1981 and was a leading proponent of democratizing universities, is forced to resign amid conflicts with the authorities over increased party control over universities, compliance with new university regulations under martial law, and ideological verification of faculty. A zoologist, Kazimierz Dobrowolski, is appointed to succeed him by the Ministry of Higher Education. Six other university presidents have either been dismissed or forced to resign.

Archbishop Glemp, in his Easter sermon, both criticizes the authorities for the state of war and expresses hope for a reconciliation. He outlines proposals for a social accord drawn up by the Council of Bishops, which include the release of internees, the reactivation of Solidarity, and the renewal of dialogue.

April 12—In a daring display of resistance, an underground radio station, called Radio Solidarnosc, broadcasts its eight minute program without interruption. Leaflets announcing the broadcast and its frequency were distributed throughout the day. To test its success, listeners flashed their lights on and off three times at the request of the radio's announcer.

April 15—Protests take place at Warsaw University over the resignation of President Henryk Samsonowicz. Petitions by university faculty and deans are sent to the Minister of Higher Education.

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

April 22—Four Solidarity leaders who have escaped arrest form a Temporary Coordinating Commission for Solidarity under martial law. The four, Zbigniew Bujak (Warsaw), Wladyslaw Frasyniuk (Wroclaw), Wladyslaw Hardek (Krakow), and Bodan Lis (Gdansk), issue a call for a fifteen-minute general strike on May 13 and urge Solidarity members to rebuild union structures underground.

April 28—The government announces that it is releasing one thousand internees and that it will remove the nationwide curfew May 2.

MAY 1982

May 1—Chanting "We Want Freedom," fifty thousand people demonstrate in Warsaw and the same number in Gdansk to support Solidarity and protest martial law. Other large demonstrations take place in over a dozen cities. This impressive show of strength is in contrast to the sparse May Day celebrations organized by the party. The police do not attempt to disperse the protests.

May 3—On the traditional holiday marking Polish independence, observance of which has been banned since World War II, thirty thousand march in Warsaw and are initially attacked by ZOMO police units. In over a dozen cities, the police violently disperse large demonstrations. Disturbances are reported to last until May 11 in Gdansk and Szczecin. Tear gas hangs over Warsaw for a full day and thousands are arrested. An undetermined number are killed and wounded. The military

legion reintroduces curfews, cuts telephone and telex communication, and restricts travel.

May 9—In its third broadcast, Radio Solidarnosc urges participation in the fifteen-minute general strike on May 13. The transmission is jammed by rock music.

The scientist Dr. Ryszard Herczynski is arrested for meeting with two Americans from the U.S. Embassy and giving them papers. The two are expelled from the country for receiving material "hitting out at the interests" of Poland. The papers include a leaflet, a letter to Herczynski's son studying in America, and a copy of regulations for scientists on how to act under the state of war. Herczynski is later sentenced to two years for passing on "subversive documents to foreign agents."

May 13—Fifteen-minute general strikes and other forms of resistance occur nationwide. At noon, cars and buses stop traffic and honk their horns for one minute. Many motorists who stopped their cars are denied driving privileges. In Warsaw alone 80 percent of the workforce is reported to participate by the Warsaw Region of Solidarity. Participation is reported as high or higher in other regions.

Demonstrations take place at several universities. At Warsaw University, five to six thousand hold a silent demonstration. Three deans are arrested.

May 25—A Solidarity activist, Jan Nazemniak, who had escaped arrest since December 13 despite a warrant for his arrest, is stopped on the street by two policemen. While they examine his papers, Nazemniak attempts to escape and is shot in the hand and hip.

May 27—Lech Walesa is transferred from his place of internment outside Warsaw to a location near the eastern border of Poland close to the Soviet Union.

JUNE 1982

June 7—Jan Nazemniak disappears from the hospital where he is being treated for gunshot wounds. After searching the hospital and interrogating its employees, the police report that he has been "stolen."

June 11—At the trial of Solidarity leaders charged with organizing a strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Jan Wazkiewicz is acquitted and committed to a mental institution. Krzysztof Dowgiallo receives four years' imprisonment, others receive sentences of from one to three years. Unofficial sources report up to thirty thousand people sentenced since the state of war was imposed.

June 13—Police crush demonstrations in Wroclaw, Nowa Huta, Gdansk, and other cities marking six months of the state of war.

June 22—The Minister of Higher Education announces that a process of "ideological verification," used in other professions, will be instituted to purge unfit faculty and deans at universities.

June 26—Thousands demonstrate in Radom and Ursus to mark the anniversary of clashes between workers and police there in 1976.

June 28—Police disperse a peaceful demonstration in Poznan with tear gas and water cannons. The demonstrators were commemorating the deaths of at least seventy-five workers killed in the 1956 protests—one day after the authorities had staged a similar demonstration.

July 6—Polish TV announces the arrest of six people involved in the broadcasts of Radio Solidarity and declares that the station has been silenced.

July 13—Radio Solidarity broadcasts for three minutes. It reports an appeal from the Temporary Coordinating Commission to delay further protest actions for the month of July.

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