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POLAND'S UNDERGROUND PRESS

by Anna Sabbat-Swidlicka

Summary: The period of martial law in Poland has witnessed an unprecedented growth of underground publishing. The authorities have failed in their efforts to impose rigid control over the flow of information. The independent press in martial law Poland is an important factor in keeping open the channels of communication between various enterprises, regions, and professional groups. A gradual improvement in technical quality and journalistic standards has made a number of independent publications equal, and some of them superior, to the official, censored publications. The discussion on Solidarity's strategy is the single most important and hotly debated subject in the underground press. This report analyzes Solidarity's underground publishing in martial law Poland, its origins, goals, the issues discussed, the means of distribution, and the authorities' response.

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Underground publishing is not a new phenomenon in Polish history and today's "wartime press," as it is known in Poland, is part of a tradition that can be traced back almost 200 years to the time when Poland lost its independent statehood as a result of being partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Its immediate antecedents, however, date from 1976, when the Workers' Defense Committee (later: Social Self-Defense Committee) "KOR" began to publish information about the victimization of workers who had protested against food price increases. Such information sheets later spawned a regular Information Bulletin, an unofficial workers' paper Robotnik, several sociopolitical and literary periodicals, and even independent publishers, the most important being the NOWA Publishing House. These unofficial publications were, in the main, accessible only to the initiated intelligentsia through democratic opposition activists and to a small group of workers in contact with the Free Trade Unions on the Baltic coast and in the Silesian coal basin, where miners had their own name for the free press, calling it simply "the truth."

The existence of an established, however limited, independent network of information challenging the official monopoly on information was an important factor contributing to the success of the August 1980 strikes. The daily bulletin that appeared during the strike in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk gave its name, Solidarity, to the independent labor movement, and it was only natural that the fledgling union should take advantage of the opportunities to develop its own information and communications network, independent of the official one controlled by the state and party apparatus, and to draw, on the experience of the democratic opposition press. The ensuing boom in publications was such that virtually every factory, enterprise, and institute had at least a Solidarity newsletter of its own, while the regional union chapters often had sophisticated weekly publications, produced on modern printing equipment, much of it donated by Western labor organizations.

Such publications, since they were intended "for internal circulation only," were officially exempt from censorship. The authorities, however, found in them much to disapprove of and soon branded many of the publications "antisocialist." There were repeated cases of harassment and even the beating up of Solidarity members involved in the publication or distribution of the union press. (1) In the autumn of 1981 several union publishers were put on trial on such charges as "undermining confidence in the socialist system and economy, and presenting Polish-Soviet relations in a false light," or "inciting to actions directed against the PPR's unity with allied countries." (2)

The First Martial Law Publications. The declaration of martial law struck first and foremost at union communications. Telephones and telex lines were cut, much of the printing, duplicating, and recording equipment was destroyed or impounded, and Solidarity offices were sealed. Many union publishers and journalists were among those interned. Even these shock tactics, however, proved incapable of silencing the free press, principally because it had become an established part of life and a mass phenomenon. Fliers with patriotic slogans, appeals, and calls to resistance appeared on the very first day of martial law. They were shortly followed by information bulletins, lists of those interned, protest songs, and verse. They appeared spontaneously throughout the country and, with a few rare exceptions, were manifestly the work of amateurs whose primary concern was to pass on information and to bear witness to the facts. Most of the early publications were single-page, typed, and even handwritten bulletins with carbon copies. They often carried the words: "Read, Copy, Pass On." This was a period of flux: many titles appeared and disappeared, largely as a result of people's lack of experience of the rules of clandestine work and their resultant exposure.

The underground editors remained anonymous, the only known exception being Bogdan Borusewicz, a democratic opposition activist before August 1980 who signed the Gdansk Independent Information Service

- (1) See the "Resolution on the Defense of the Labor and Independent Press and Publications Against Repression," voted by the First National Congress of Solidarity Delegates; Tygodnik Solidarnosc, 23 October 1981.
- (2) Charges against Marian Zembrzuski, an employee of the Czestochowa regional Solidarity branch printing department, and Kornel Morawiecki of the Wroclaw Biuletyn Dolnoslaski, respectively.

with his own name. Usually, the masthead that would normally give the names and address of the editorial staff carries resistance slogans such as "The eagle (the Polish national symbol) shall not be vanquished by the crow (a pun on the Polish acronym for the military regime)" or "Edited by the team, printed by the team, and distributed by the team. As a team we shall prevail . . . " or humorous captions, such as "Editorial address known only to the editorial team." In fact, the address was very often a mobile one, switching from one place to another: a room in a workers' hostel, a friend's cellar, a garage, a craftsman's workshop, or a farmer's shed.

As life under martial law began to fall into a pattern, as mail, telephone, and travel restrictions were gradually eased and people became more familiar with the new conditions, the underground press became increasingly "institutionalized," a permanent feature of the martial law scene. By the beginning of April 1982, one of the underground weeklies appearing in Warsaw was able to offer its readers a review of the clandestine press in different parts of the country, describing individual characteristics, defining common problems, identifying trends and interests. (3) Shortly afterward, a first list of 149 separate titles was published in the West. Two more lists were compiled in Poland in August and December 1982, giving a total figure of 535. The compilers made it clear that this list was far from complete, and estimated that at least 700 titles had appeared in 1982. Some 80 titles, with a total of 800 issues, had appeared in the Malopolska region (southern Poland) alone. (4)

The main problem was the purely technical one of finding ink, paper, and printing equipment. The declaration of martial law had brought with it stringent control over the distribution and use of these potentially "dangerous" items. The military commissars detailed to each factory, enterprise, and institution took a keen interest in company printing supplies and machinery. At the Synthetics and Paints Industry Institute in Gliwice even the typewriters were kept under lock and key, and a record of all those using them was kept. (5) Such stringent regulations could not, however, be kept up indefinitely, if only because the bulk of the workers refused to be intimidated and there were too few people willing to act as informers. Ingenuity and invention came in where technology failed. People began to construct primitive printing machinery, using plastic bags, methylated spirit, kitchen tables, and pastry cooks' rolling pins. (6) A somewhat more sophisticated method involved the use of ordinary colloid stencils, a technique used earlier for uncensored publications by the pre-Solidarity democratic opposition.

Paper and ink are available -- though at a price -- on the black market which, under martial law, is thriving better than ever. This presented a separate problem, for most underground publications are

(3) Tygodnik Mazowsze, no. 9, 6 April 1982.

(4) Ibid., no. 44, 10 March 1983; and Kultura (Paris), June and December 1982, and May 1983.

(5) Tygodnik Mazowsze, no. 17, 9 June 1982.

(6) Serwis Informacyjny RKW Malopolska, no. 23.

distributed free of charge. It was only when individual publications became established, won regular readers, and set up reliable distribution channels that it proved possible to start up publishing funds and to collect contributions from readers. The appeals for contributions were often accompanied by reminders that the funds were "under social control and would be accounted for after the war by people enjoying popular confidence." Readers send their contributions via the carriers who distribute the underground press. Readers have their own pseudonyms, and each paper has a special column listing contributions and expressing thanks, which also serves as confirmation of receipt. Sometimes the contribution is in kind, in the form of paper or ink. The pseudonyms range from symbolic and historic names from Polish tradition through acronyms, initials, and numbers, right down to puns and jokes, and even include, sarcastically, names of prominent regime officials or local "collaborators."

A uniquely Polish phenomenon was the appearance of clandestine newsletters and papers in the internment camps. Many of these were handwritten and drawn on scraps of paper. They helped to keep up the internees' spirits and, when smuggled outside, contributed to maintaining a solid front of resistance "across the walls." At least 20 titles have reached the West, including Zona, Skrot (Abbreviation), Kipisz Codzienny (Daily Inspection), Kurier Wiezienny (Prison Courier), and Nasza Krata (Our Bars).

One Year Later. The first months in the underground were marked, above all, by chaos and improvisation. It was only when time and distance had cooled emotions and flash-in-the-pan enthusiasts and hapless amateurs had been eliminated by a process of natural selection that organization and consolidation could begin. The first step was to establish a regular and permanent service to satisfy the huge readers' market which, its thirst for true information once awakened, was obviously not receptive to the pap served up by the official media. This demand was, however, subject to ordinary market mechanisms, and it began to slump as the first euphoria subsided and the daily grind brought the dispirited masses back to the television set, too weary to go in search of independent information or give the often barely legible sheets more than a cursory glance. (7) The free press responded by improving both the technical quality and the journalistic standards of its publications. Although the colloid stencil technique is still widely used, ordinary Xerox and screen process printing are also popular, while the offset method is providing well-produced papers and even books on art quality paper.

The improvement in the standard of contents was a direct result of the re-establishment of regional Solidarity structures and communications. This required time and a certain "apprenticeship" under the conditions of martial law. The formation on 22 April 1982 of the Interim Coordinating Commission (ICC) as a national underground leadership signaled the first step toward institutionalization in the underground. By August 1982 the ICC had established contact with official Solidarity organizations in 14 regions. These regional Solidarity authorities not only fulfill a representative

(7) "Letter From A Copier [Of Independent Literature]," Opornik, no. 19, 28 June 1982.

and coordinating function but also support and help to organize local resistance. (8) One of their most important spheres of interest is the clandestine publishing movement. They not only produce their own publications but also support independent local initiatives. The reappearance of the Solidarity press at a regional level proved important in terms of restoring morale and removing people's feeling of isolation.

The production of high quality publications and the establishment of an efficient distribution system proved to be impossible without a vast increase in the funds available for publishing. Since aid for the victims of repression had absolute priority, the creation of regional funds permitted better management of resources and at least some support for the weaker publications, as well as help in covering losses caused by confiscation. To give some idea of the sums involved, the Gdansk Regional Coordinating Commission spent 2,252,150 zloty (out of a total budget of 6,104,800 zloty, equivalent to some \$70,000 at the official exchange rate) on publishing and broadcasting from 13 December 1981 to 31 December 1982, while the factory commission at the Ursus Tractor Factory devoted 49,300 zloty of its 132,600 zloty budget to publishing. (9)

The sums obtained from random contributions are, obviously, no longer sufficient, and a fund-raising campaign has been launched. Various fund-raising ideas have appeared. A popular new way was the production of Solidarity calendars for 1983. Five different models were available in the Cracow region alone, including a twelve-page version illustrating a series of postage stamps and seals clandestinely produced by the inmates of internment camps.

Another important aspect of the institutionalization of the underground press is the establishment of several publishing houses. Between them they produce not only bulletins and periodicals but also reports, speeches, collections of documents, research papers, political pamphlets, historical, religious, economic, philosophical, and sociological essays, a wide range of books, and even photograph albums (May 3 in Warsaw, Pictures from the Bialoleka Internment Center).

The publishing companies are, as a rule, independent of the underground Solidarity authorities. In addition to NOWA, Glos (The Voice) and the May 3 Constitution Press, which were all well established as independent publishers even before August 1980, and Krag (The Circle) founded during the Solidarity heyday, all of which survived the martial law clamp-down, several new independent publishers have emerged. To name but a few, the CDN (Polish acronym for "to be continued") group is particularly prolific, the Warsaw Tygodnik Wojenny is producing its own "Library" series, Malopolska has its Biblioteka Obserwatora Wojennego, as well as five other book

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- (8) See Anna Sabbat-Swidlicka, "Solidarity Underground: Structures and Activities," RAD Background Report/88 (Poland) Radio Free Europe Research, 21 April 1983.
- (9) Biuletyn Informacyjny (Paris), no. 59, 13 April 1983; and Wolny Glos Ursusa, no. 31, 10 February 1983.

publishers; there is the Syzyf Press in Poznan, the Wydawnictwo Spoleczne-KOS in Warsaw, and several others throughout the country. Their output is represented by some 100 titles, including such important publications as Wladyslaw Pobog-Malinowski's History of Modern Poland 1864-1945; Czechoslovakia, August 1968 (Documents and commentaries Volume II [Volume I was seized in its entirety shortly after December 13]; Marek Tarniewski's Political Dictionary; Wojciech Karpinski's Sketches On Freedom, etc. Several publishers have specialized in volumes of poetry. One such volume, entitled Raptularz Wojenny (Wartime Notebook) was produced by a group of union activists from one of the large Warsaw factories as a collector's volume (hardback, clothbound, illustrated) and the entire profit, 150,000 zloty, was used to help the families of internees and political prisoners. (10) Some of these publications were in preparation before December 13 and evidently managed to escape the police dragnet in the days immediately following the imposition of martial law. Others, such as Marek Nowakowski's collection of short stories, Report on Marial Law, or Adam Michnik's Letter From Bialoleka, have been written since martial was imposed.

The passage in the Sejm on 8 October 1982 of the new trade union law, which carried with it the so-called "delegalization" of Solidarity, the failure of the general strike called for 10 November 1982, and the "suspension" of martial law as of 31 December 1982, accompanied by legislation that, in effect, made martial law restrictions a permanent feature, proved to be a "make or break" turning point for the underground movement. A fundamental evolution in thinking reoriented Solidarity toward a long-term strategy of resistance that took shape in a program document, "Solidarity Today," and gave a much needed boost, after a period of doubt and despondency. Clandestine Factory Commissions (CPCs) began to be formed throughout the country. (11) An important aspect of their work is publishing and a whole new generation of what might be called "shop-floor bulletins" has emerged.

This reorientation has also affected the regional underground press. The total number of different publications has obviously decreased over the past few months, but this decrease has been accompanied by a certain improvement in professional standards, and there is a definite trend toward professionalism in the new publications that continue to appear. The once emotional tone of many publications, born in the heat of the moment as a gesture of defiance, has given way to a cooler, more considered, and matter-of-fact attitude. A marked distinction among formats, concepts, and profiles is also becoming evident, with different papers catering to different groups, interests, and even political orientations. At the same time, a better organization of distribution among the various regions of the country has led to a decrease in the number of reprints, less duplication, and more original material.

(10) Tygodnik Wojenny, no. 51, 24 February 1983.

(11) For details, see Anna Sabbat-Swidlicka, op. cit.

The "Shop-Floor Press." Most of the major industrial plants and countless smaller factories, enterprises, and institutions produce their own clandestine information newsletters and/or weeklies, intended primarily for internal circulation. In some of the larger factories individual departments have their own bulletins. This "shop-floor press," as it may be called, forms the broad basis of the underground press as a mass phenomenon. The Gdansk shipyard produces Rozwaga i Solidarnosc (Discretion and Solidarity); the FSO automobile factory in Warsaw has its Monter (The Fitter); Kablowiec (the Cable Layer) appears in the Cracow cable factory; Montinowiec in the Montin plant in Nowa Huta has a circulation of 4,000; while factories in the Grzegorzki district of Cracow have gotten together to produce Solidarnosc Grzegorzek.

Another significant development is the establishment of interfactory and interdistrict publications. One of the most influential is the weekly CDN -- Glos Wolnego Robotnika (To Be Continued -- the Voice of the Free Worker) which is produced by the Solidarity Interfactory Workers' Committee (Polish acronym: MRKS) composed of representatives of 63 factories in the Mazowsze region (the Warsaw area). The activities of the MRKS also include such spectacular feats as the release of Jan Narozniak, a Solidarity printer, from the hospital in which he was recovering after being shot by a police patrol, and the laying in Warsaw's Victory Square of a plaque commemorating the fallen Wujek miners. Their paper began as the Glos Wolnego Hutnika (the Voice of the Free Steelworker), which was first published by a group of Warsaw steelworkers even before the end of 1981. In March 1982 they were joined by workers from other factories. Together they pledged to fight for freedom, dignity, equality, and justice. In May they joined forces with the CDN group. Henceforth the weekly, with the motto "God will give strength to his people," was published in A and B editions, one using offset and the other the stencil technique. Since nine members of the MRKS were caught in December 1982 the A (offset) edition seems to have disappeared at least temporarily.

Clandestine Interfactory Commissions also exist in Gdansk and produce their own paper Lacznik (Link). In the Malopolska region, the Cracow Interdistrict Strike Committee, which was set up in anticipation of the 10 November 1982 strike and then continued, has taken over the fortnightly Kronika Malopolska, which first appeared in February 1982, while the Nowa Huta Interdistrict Strike Committee, which is based in the Lenin Steelworks, is responsible for two weekly publications: Hutnik (The Steelworker), which has appeared almost since the beginning of martial law and has a circulation of "5,000 + 3," and Obserwator Wojenny (War Observer), which has been appearing since 22 October 1982 and which draws its inspiration from Obserwator Robotniczy (Workers' Observer), which was published before December 13 by the information section of the Lenin Steelworks' Solidarity branch and edited by Stanislaw Handzlik (now serving a four-year sentence for continuing labor activity under martial law).

Most of the "shop-floor" publications are two- or four-page newsletters. Perhaps their most important feature is news about the fate of fellow workers; first about those interned, then about those arrested and sentenced to prison terms for union activity, and those harrassed, beaten, or dismissed from work on political grounds. Regular news about those already serving sentences is provided, "lest they be forgotten." Hutnik started a campaign, for example, of writing letters to imprisoned local activists. (12)

Of course, the primary focus of factory bulletins is on labor problems and matters directly affecting the local labor work force. Short editorials deal with the burning issues of the day: protests against the suspension of union rights and the internment and imprisonment of labor activists; rejection of the 8 October 1982 union law, coupled with emphasis on the continuing validity of Solidarity ideals, statutes, and mandates; calls for a boycott of the new government-sponsored unions; revival of the free Saturdays issue; protests against the transfer of Solidarity funds to the new unions; and discussions on whether to become involved with the reactivated self-government structures, in the hope of being able to work for the good of the labor force, or whether to keep away from them in fear that they are manipulated by the authorities. Some of the factory bulletins publish details of opinion polls carried out among the local workers.

Another regular feature is shop-floor news: revelations about hushed up irregularities and abuses, undisclosed production results and export figures, personnel decisions, and infringement of health and safety regulations. Hutnik unmasked the head of a Nowa Huta proregime union as a member of the secret police. CDN -- Glos Wolnego Robotnika called attention to the fact that workers at the Ursus plant had to have special permits in order to enter other departments than their own. (13)

Publicity is given to various independent or grassroots labor actions and the shop-floor press serves as a real chronicle of resistance to martial law and fidelity to the ideals of August 1980, attesting to the thousands of seemingly unimportant local actions that together give an idea of the mass nature of the opposition to the Jaruzelski regime and help to explain why, 18 months after the clamp-down of December 14, martial law, albeit officially "suspended," is still in force. Hutnik describes the reception that Jaruzelski got in one of the Lenin Steelworks' divisions when he made his "surprise visit" after one of the plant's employees was shot by a secret police officer. The workers first banged on the metal sheets and then maintained a stony silence. Montinowiec describes how many of the local employees who were handed warning notices after participating in protests

(12) No. 26, 26 September 1982.

(13) 30 September-10 October 1982, and 21 June 1982, respectively.

against the new labor law refused to be intimidated and began sticking these notices up on the factory notice board for all to see. Someone wrote "Only Solidarity" right across them. (14)

At the same time, the shop-floor bulletins show that the government-sponsored unions have little initiative, meagre support, and enjoy no authority. They reveal the underhanded methods with which the authorities are trying to set up their unions and to infuse some life into them, infringing upon regulations of their own making and recruiting people of weak character, with a guilty past, and even those with a criminal record by bribery and blackmail. They show up the new unions' total incapability of defending the workers' interests and, at the same time, testify to the extent of the determination, maturity, and solidarity of the bulk of the labor force in refusing to betray Solidarity. Particular venom is reserved for "collaborators" of all sorts: organizers and members of the new unions, boot-lickers, provocateurs, and informers. Rozwaga i Solidarnosc, for example, prints the names of management officials who have helped the police identify demonstration participants from photographs taken by the police.

The shop-floor publications also publicize the actions initiated by the regional and central Solidarity authorities, although they have recently stopped reprinting in full all their resolutions and documents, which are available in other publications. They are increasingly a platform for local CFCs. U Nas, for example, has published communiqués signed by the Polar CFC, confirming that it was subordinated to the Lower Silesia Regional Strike Committee, and that its financial activities were being properly accounted for; it also dissociated itself from alleged acts of sabotage at the plant, stressing that such methods were alien to Solidarity and could only be the work of provocateurs trying to discredit the independent union. (15)

Special attention is reserved for the pronouncements of Pope John Paul II, whose support for Solidarity has obviously been a great source of succor and strength, particularly at the grassroots level. Popular leaders, in particular Lech Walesa, are also followed and quoted. Anniversaries of important national and religious events are commemorated.

Regional Publications. Most of the regional underground Solidarity structures have their own underground publications, often entitled "Solidarity" with the name of the region, or simply "Information Bulletin," and intended both to keep their own members informed and to instruct them. The four major regions of Solidarity that are represented in the ICC -- Mazowsze, Gdansk, Malopolska, and Lower Silesia -- issue separate straightforward information bulletins devoid of comment, appearing roughly twice a week, and serving as a kind of news agency

(14) Hutnik, no.35, 20 November 1982; and Montinowiec, no.23,

(15) 10 January 1983 and 21 October 1982.

for other publications, as well as their own weeklies and other periodicals or special publications. In addition to the official union publications, there is a host of independent underground publications produced by individuals or organizations, most of which are directly inspired by the Solidarity ideals.

The Mazowsze region has been publishing Informacja Solidarnosci more or less regularly since the beginning of martial law. The Lower Silesia RSC has its own Serwis Informacyjny in addition to the established Z Dnia Na Dzień (From Day To Day), which has a circulation of 25,000 and is a continuation of the premartial law service of the same name. The Serwis Informacyjny RKW Malopolska is a weekly publication of some 10 to 20 pages. The Malopolska Solidarity authorities also produce a separate Review of the Labor and Independent Press.

The most important weekly in the Mazowsze region is, without doubt, Tygodnik Mazowsze, the official weekly of the regional Solidarity authorities. Its editors, who remain anonymous, are independent in that they have a free hand in the selection of material and may voice their own opinions, but they are also bound to present the official views of the regional authorities. Tygodnik Mazowsze is not so much a continuation as a realization of plans made before martial law for a Mazowsze region weekly, which was due to appear under this title in early 1982. On 5 November 1981 the Mazowsze Regional Board appointed as editor-in-chief Jerzy Zielenski, who fought in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising and was a member of the underground World War II Home Army, as well as being a respected journalist with experience in both the official and the democratic opposition presses before August 1980. Zielenski, who was under observation in a Warsaw hospital on the night of December 12-13, took his own life by jumping from the hospital window in the early morning hours after learning of the military clamp-down. His endeavours were, however, brought to fruition by a group of his friends and colleagues. The first issue appeared on 11 February 1982.

Tygodnik Mazowsze is printed by the NOWA Publishing House. It aims to provide its readers with as "normal" and as comprehensive a weekly as possible in an abnormal situation and is, indeed, regular reading for thousands of Solidarity members. It publishes statements, resolutions, and reports issued by the Mazowsze REC, news digests, reports, interviews with leading underground personalities, letters to the editor, morale-building slogans and appeals, leaks from official party and government sources, and discussion articles on a variety of topics ranging from underground union strategy through economic problems to international affairs.

The Mazowsze region has also produced several issues of an impressive monthly magazine called Fakty. This is a bulky publication stretching to over 100 pages and, as its name suggests, its aim is to compile a record of what its editors call "social facts," i.e., those events and activities that, testifying to popular expectations and moods, are significant in the history of the nation, albeit intentionally ignored by all official agencies. Fakty is a

valuable collection of documents, including personal depositions about the circumstances in which the first roundup of internees was conducted on the night of December 12-13 and completely unknown union records from the first week of martial law. Fakty also contains chronological and eye-witness accounts of strikes, street demonstrations, and other events in different parts of the country. It presents a selection of views in the great political discussion that has been taking place in the underground since December 13, as one of the "social facts" that require to be preserved. Fakty organized opinion polls among intellectuals who had been involved at different levels of the post-August 1980 reform movement.

Warsaw boasts many other publications, more or less independent of the Mazowsze REC. The first to appear was Tygodnik Wojenny, whose first issue (a double number, 1/2) was dated 7 January 1982, and has continued to appear regularly since then. It pursues its own editorial policy and does not appear to be directly subordinated to any union authorities nor to any other underground group.

The most important publication in the Gdansk region is, without doubt, Solidarnosc, the continuation of the official weekly of the Gdansk Regional Board which itself began as the strike bulletin that first appeared under the same name in the Lenin Shipyard on 23 August 1980 and gave its name to the entire independent union movement. Solidarnosc is continuing its tradition as a versatile union publication supplying information of general interest to all its members (e.g., concerning workers' self-government, etc.), practical advice, and suggestions for labor activists (e.g., a blueprint for CFCs) as well as participating in the clandestine debate on the future of the opposition movement. It has not avoided painful and controversial subjects, such as the tactical errors of the ICC (in particular with regard to the failure of the strike called for 10 November 1982), or the moral dilemma of whether elected Solidarity officials should remain in the country despite security police threats and repression, or accept the offer of a one-way passport to exile. Articles signed by Aleksander Hall deserve special attention.

The Malopolska regional press is also very lively. The REC produces two publications under its own auspices: the weekly Aktualnosci, which serves primarily as a newspaper with the full texts of REC communiqués and its official reports, and Biuletyn Malopolski, a more ambitious social, political, and literary weekly (it was a biweekly until mid-1982), with the large circulation of 10,000 copies. It has even produced two special issues: one entirely devoted to the subject of internment and the other to martial law poetry. It is produced on good quality paper using the offset technique.

Of the four main regions of underground Solidarity, Lower Silesia seems to be the least prolific in clandestine publications. The RSC, in contrast to the Malopolska REC's tendency to centralize, appears to favor the principle of a completely independent press. The most important regional publications are Replika, a social and

political monthly, and Biuletyn Dolnoslaski, a regional monthly that was founded as early as June 1979 and remained independent of the regional Solidarity authorities after August 1980, although it was in close contact with the union. Its motto today is: "Solidarity is our reason and shall be our victory." It has a circulation of 2,000 copies. The latest issues available are double numbers of 32 pages, priced at 50 zloty. Biuletyn Dolnoslaski publishes a variety of social, political, and general interest articles of a high standard, as well as numerous reprints from foreign journals and books published abroad, including by such authors as Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Leszek Kolakowski. Another influential regional paper is Solidarnosc Walczaca (Fighting Solidarity), published by a group that has in the past opposed what it saw as the ICC's "soft" approach to the military regime. One of its leaders is Kornel Morawiecki, a former editor of the Biuletyn Dolnoslaski who was put on trial on 30 September 1981 for having published an appeal by a group of Russian émigré anticommunist activists.

The Discussion on Strategy. The single most important and most hotly debated subject in the underground press is, without doubt, the strategy that the independent social movement should pursue in its struggle to help realize the people's aspirations. Indeed, it is only through the pages of the underground press that a nationwide discussion on such a subject can be conducted. What is most significant is that in the course of this discussion the people's aspirations have been redefined or, rather, openly stated for the first time. Martial law led, paradoxically, to a social awakening to the fact that before lasting social, economic, and political reforms could take place the system as a whole would have to be changed and that this could be guaranteed only by Poland's independence (understood as political sovereignty).

Three main orientations, labeled for the sake of convenience "negotiators," "militants," and "pragmatists," can be distinguished. The "negotiators," representing the most conservative approach, refused at first to see the December 13 military clamp-down as irreversible and were united in calling for negotiations with the government on the following conditions: the release of all those interned (to which an amnesty for all political prisoners was later added), the lifting of martial law, the reactivation of trade unions, and the renegotiation of the social agreements of August 1980. They believed that this was only a matter of time and that the authorities could not govern against the will of the people forever, and that their work in the underground was limited to a relatively short transition period. Their program was, accordingly, geared to the short-term goal of forcing the authorities to the negotiating table. Its adepts were mainly people associated with Zbigniew Bujak and the Mazowsze Region Solidarity leaders. Bujak was convinced that the best guarantee for the survival of Solidarity was a strongly decentralized movement conducting a variety of activities based on local autonomy and with a broad social basis. He believed that a national uprising could only be contemplated as the very last stage of a struggle for independence. (16)

(16) "Positional Warfare," Tygodnik Mazowsze, no.8, 31 March 1982.

This orientation was reflected in the decisions of the ICC which, as a continuation of the highest national authorities of the ISTU Solidarity, felt bound by its statutes and the resolutions passed during its legal life. The ICC believed, moreover, that once negotiations were begun, the same pre-December 13 rules would apply and they have been careful not to overstep the bounds of what has become known as the self-limiting revolution, *i.e.*, acceptance of the system, in exchange for independent unions. It was only when they realized that the suspension of martial law meant, in fact, the institutionalization of the repressive regime that they adapted their policy to the "long march" strategy described by Adam Michnik. (17) There was a heated debate over whether and, if so, when to prepare for a general strike.

The "militants" believed right from the start that the present regime was incapable of compromise and advocated preparations for a mass protest that would hasten the downfall of the regime. At the same time, the foundations of a new political leadership that would take over the reins of government would need to be prepared. The proponents of this solution include the veteran democratic opposition activist, leading member of KOR, and Solidarity adviser Jacek Kuron, whose thinking was influenced by the radical mood among the younger generation of Solidarity's working class labor activists. Kuron warned the ICC that popular frustration could well turn into an explosion of anger that, if it were not well organized and directed, might end in tragedy, stressing that he was not so much advocating action against the authorities as recommending measures to win control of a situation that would otherwise evolve into terrorism, and prepare a program of national reconstruction that would be supported by an organized society, independent of the present party-state apparatus. (18) This concept presupposed a powerful underground decision and command center with cadres, a hierarchical structure, and unquestioning discipline.

This thinking is also represented by the Porozumienie Solidarnosci Walczacej (Fighting Solidarity Compact) in Lower Silesia, which publishes a weekly Solidarnosc Walczaca, a reference to "Fighting Poland," the name of the underground state that existed in Poland during the German occupation in World War II, and by a group of people who publish the monthly Niepodleglosc (Independence) datelined Warsaw-Katowice.

Fighting Solidarity has stated outright that it does not seek agreement with the regime but wants to overthrow it. Its

- (17) See interviews with Bujak, *ibid.*, nos. 31 and 36, 27 October and 1 December 1982, respectively; and Adam Michnik, "Letter From Bialoleka," Aneks, no. 28.
- (18) Jacek Kuron, "Proposals For Solving An Insoluble Situation," "The Golden Horn Is In Your Hands Now," and "What Next?" *ibid.*, nos. 8, 13, and 21, 31 March, 12 May, and 14 July 1982.

aim is to build a "Polish Solidarity Republic," a system that perceives the interests of individuals and strives to realize them insofar as they are concurrent with the common good, and promotes solidarity among people and nations. The means with which it intends to fight for this goal are the free flow of information, self-education groups, street demonstrations, and strikes. Here Fighting Solidarity came into conflict with the ICC, whom it accused of lack of purpose. It also propagated "active defense of persecuted people and downtrodden ideals." Although it expects its members to be ready to risk even their lives in the struggle, it has repeatedly declared that it is opposed to using armed force to achieve its ends.

Niepodleglosc thought that the official reactivation of Solidarity as a union should not be treated as a goal in itself but simply as part of a broader program aimed at full independence. It accused the Solidarity leadership, both before and after December 13, of having swallowed its own line that the people were not out to overthrow the authorities, although the authorities had no such illusions. It has published a draft of the constitution principles on which an independent Republic of Poland might be based: a representative democracy with a strong central executive and a presidency, coupled with active local and workers' self-government, and with priority for personal freedom over equality. In foreign policy it would support a Polish-German agreement.

The third group, that of the "pragmatists," rejects both the compromise and the "big strike at the authorities" versions, believing that both are unrealistic under the present circumstances. They opt for a strategy of isolating the regime and its agencies by simply developing all spheres of social activity independently of official public life. The most important representatives of this trend of thinking are Adam Michnik and the Committee of Social Resistance (Polish acronym: KOS) and its affiliated groups; the Circles of Social Resistance (also KOS), which are clandestine, five-man cells based on family and friendly circles and involved in local resistance activities, completely independent of the official Solidarity underground structures, though most of their members are members or sympathizers of the independent union. KOS has its own publishing company, Wydawnictwo Spoleczne -- KOS (KOS Social Press), which produces four periodicals, including the KOS weekly with its distinctive blackbird motif; the monthly Mysl Niezalezna (Independent Thought), a journal of political thought; Tu, Teraz (Here, Now) for the teaching profession; and the Biuletyn Spoleczny (Social Bulletin), a publication of the Freedom, Justice, Independence, Social Movement (Polish acronym: RS WSN), a political offshoot of KOS which considers its own role to be to organize and inspire a nationwide social movement but not to establish a political party. Its name is reminiscent of a discussion movement called Clubs for a Self-governing Republic: Freedom, Justice, Independence that was founded shortly before martial law was declared by a group of people that included Jacek Kuron.

The top political analyst for KOS, who writes under the name of Dawid Warszawski, has consistently presented a pragmatic, reasoned line of argument, stressing in particular that periodical street demonstrations and symbolic protests cannot replace day-to-day involvement in social self-organization in the fields of information, communications, education, welfare, etc. The KOS

group regards resistance activities not simply as a means to an end but as an end in itself, seeing each manifestation of independent activity as a realization, here and now, of the people's right to self-determination and their refusal to be subjugated. It believes in mobilizing the spiritual and intellectual reserves of the nation, not for a more or less distant, somewhat hazy liberation from "external threat," but for the present, so that when such a moment arrives, Independent Poland will already exist de facto.

A similar position was represented by a contributor to Tygodnik Mazowsze, Maciej Poleski. Rejecting naive expectations that the regime cannot, in the long run, continue without at least a modicum of support from the people, he said that such a regime "might not rule a country but could certainly administer a labor camp that existed not for the good of its inmates but for the convenience of the warders." Building on the premise that the state is a "terrorist" that has attacked the people and takes hostages from among them, he said there could be no question of dialogue and that the "self-limiting revolution" was killed the day the state stopped limiting itself. Poleski, too, believes that the most important task for the present is the organization of a broad grassroots movement, going beyond the restrictive formula of a labor union, and not secreted in the underground but leading a kind of double life. In his opinion, the role of the Solidarity leadership is not so much an executive one as a conceptual and inspirational one, i.e., not to devise programs -- which should be the task of independent local groups -- but to point out the objectives and to work out tactical solutions. Poleski opposes the general strike, which he believes could only, in the present circumstances, escalate into a national uprising in which the people would have no chance, and he stresses that the liberation of the Polish people should be seen as a process that had begun even before the existence of Solidarity and was not a single action. For this reason, he favors the development of autonomous local initiatives tending not to destroy the existing system but to create, independently of it, the elements of a future order. (19)

Finally, it is worth mentioning two strong workers' groups: the MRKS group with its CDN publications and the Wola group organized around the Interfactory Coordinating Committee (Polish acronym: MKK) based in Warsaw's predominantly working class district of the same name. This group produces a weekly also called Wola and the monthly Idee (Ideas). It propagates a strong underground grassroots labor movement organizing clandestine activities and demonstrations of resistance, self-education, independent publications, and fund collecting. It cannot be classed among the militants, because it has rejected what it calls "the myth of the great strike [at centers of authority]" and opposes the general strike as a way of overthrowing the system, because it believes that the people are totally unprepared for such a task. On the other hand, it has rejected the present

(19) "Remarks About A Dialogue With A Terrorist," and "Between Defeat and Victory," Tygodnik Mazowsze, nos. 23 and 35, 1 August and 24 November 1982.

regime as fundamentally illegal and, like the "militants," favors the foundation of an underground state with a centralized headquarters command that would transmit orders to the regional resistance organizations. The Wola strategists reserve this executive role for the underground Solidarity leadership and suggest that a Council of National Solidarity be founded to coordinate the development of an independent social movement and to act as a temporary parliament until such time as free elections could be held.

In contrast, the MRKS, a group that is close to Bujak, has not ventured out onto the broader waters of politics but has largely restricted its suggestions to the union formula. It has evinced particular interest in the Spanish comisiones obreras (workers' commissions), which it considers a kind of underground national front that can also defend labor interests. It advocates the creation of underground structures with which the bulk of society could identify and which would influence the official, regime-sponsored structures, as well as "active resistance" to the authorities, ranging from the so-called "small sabotage" (nonviolent actions intended to harass the regime but not aimed at industrial objects) to a general strike.

It is important to note that none of these resistance groups has advocated recourse to violence. On the contrary, they have all repudiated armed combat and terrorism. Secondly, in spite of their undeniable tactical differences, all the groups recognize the legitimacy of the ICC as the underground Solidarity leadership as a matter of fact, even if they have been sharply critical of it and despite differences of opinion as to the ICC's character and role. The course of events has, moreover, blunted some of the differences and brought both "negotiators" and "militants" closer to the "pragmatists" by disqualifying some of their tenets and making their tactics obsolete. The main bone of contention remains the tactical issue of the general strike, for which provision is made in the ICC's latest program document "Solidarity Today," as the underground's ultimate weapon. This document is, in fact, an admission of the failure of the "negotiators'" strategy and it holds out the prospect of overthrowing the present (Jaruzelski) regime. It remains, however, within the premartial law Solidarity formula, stating its determination to build a "self-governing republic" as voted by the First National Congress of Solidarity Delegates and stopping short of calling for an Independent Poland. The "pragmatists" and "militants," on the other hand, who also opt for a system based on local and workers' self-government, have no such inhibitions. On 12 December 1982 15 underground groups, most of them representing independent publications, got together and signed a "Declaration of Solidarity" setting out their common aims and objectives, including independence. Since then scores of other publications have added their signatures to the list.

Other Important Themes. The second subject of interest in the underground press is that of the economy. The all-pervading theme is that of the current regime's distortion of the

principles of the economic reform and the resultant worsening of the crisis. Shop-floor bulletins are naturally most concerned over what this meant in terms of real income and its buying power, as well as the situation on the food market. The various weeklies, on the other hand, provide a real platform for disenchanted or dismissed economists, professionals who have contributed analyses, proposals, and forecasts. Most are agreed that a further fall in production is unavoidable and that the price increases in 1982 would only unleash the inflationary spiral still more. Poland's economic relations with the USSR are a subject of particular interest. The lack of development prospects in agriculture is another cause for concern. A recent article examined the government proposals for cuts in social and welfare spending. The clandestine news services provide economic data and information that cannot appear in the official press, including plan fulfillment quotas and information on unfavorable trade deals with the CMEA countries.

Interest in international politics is also lively, but largely restricted to issues having a bearing on the Polish situation and on the potential destabilization of the Soviet bloc. Tygodnik Mazowsze published the second chapter of the DiP report "Poland Under Martial Law," which analyzes the situation in Poland in the light of international developments. One author discusses the Polish situation as a test case for the Soviet Union, showing whether martial law might serve to salvage the system in times of peace. A Wola contributor wonders whether it is possible to count on the West to support the people in their struggle. The Soviet Union after Brezhnev is another subject of interest: underground analysts had no illusions as to his successor Andropov's policies. The situation in Chile, which suddenly disappeared from the pages of the official press after December 13, has also cropped up several times. Particular attention has been given to post-December 13 official Western statements on the Polish situation; certain speeches and articles have been reprinted in translation from the Western press. Toward the end of last year KOS began a regular column feature entitled "From our correspondent in the West." Dissent in the other East bloc countries and instances of support for Solidarity were eagerly quoted. A new publication called Oboz, wholly devoted to developments in the countries of the East bloc, has recently appeared.

A related theme involves military matters. Mysl Niezalezna has published a highly interesting article written in December 1982 by someone close to the command center of the Polish Army. The editors of Mysl Niezalezna admit that they found the contents of the article "highly debatable," but feel it gives valuable insight into military strategic thought in the socialist camp. The gist of the articles is that the USSR has opted for the "first strike" strategy, but is, on the one hand, trying to catch up in the arms race at all costs; while, on the other hand, the gap in the Western defense system might tempt the Soviets to aggression at any time. (20)

The role of the Church in Poland is a subject of much controversy. An article signed "Christian" and entitled "Will We Be Able To Overcome Hatred?" expresses concern that the political policy adopted by Poland's primate is ambiguous in that it fails to distinguish with sufficient clarity between the persecutors and their victims, and warn that if the discrepancy between the pronouncements of the Church and the aspirations of the people continue to grow, the people might not heed the voice of the Church at a decisive moment. (21) This provoked a broad discussion throughout the underground press, with both critics and supporters of Church policy, including members of the priesthood, presenting their views. "Father Joseph" warned that "divide and conquer" tactics were being used to weaken the solidarity between the Church and the people. Mysl Niezalezna reminded readers that the total identification of Solidarity or the social resistance movement with the Church was a mistake, for the Church has its own, autonomous aims. Maciej Poleski said that the Church had always refused to mix politics with religion and described it as "a third force" on the Polish political landscape. It had taken upon itself the task of finding a solution to the stalemate between the authorities and the people, he said; it was not replacing the people, nor freeing them of the responsibility to strive toward the realization of their ideals, and it was up to society to turn to its own account the opportunities created as a result of the Church's mediation. (22)

Another important sphere of interest is justice and the rule of law. In addition to publishing reports from the courts and denouncing individual acts of repression and lawlessness on the part of the Interior Ministry's agencies, the underground press devotes much space to analysis of the developments in legislation and to legal advice. The most important is practical advice on how to behave when being searched or apprehended by the police, in the course of investigation, and during the actual court case. Publicity has been given to the rules and regulations governing police searches of private premises, detention and questioning, and to the suspect's and witness's rights. The methods used by police interrogators were described and documented with real life histories, so that underground activists would know what to expect and could be more resilient to psychological pressure. Above all, the underground press propagates the principle that the activities of the security police -- in particular those aimed at winning informers by blackmail -- should not be kept secret but must be brought to full public knowledge as the only effective safeguard against the mass-scale lawlessness of the security forces. The principle that testimony or signatures given under duress are lawfully invalid was also given publicity.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the extraordinarily large number of leaks from official sources to the underground press.

(21) Tygodnik Mazowsze, no. 9, 6 June 1982.

(22) KOS, No.21/22, 1 January 1983: Mysl Niezalezna, no.13, November 1982; and Tygodnik Mazowsze, no.35, 24 November 1982.

Tygodnik Mazowsze has even started a special column entitled "From Party Sources." These leaks, coming as they do from party, government, legal, and even one from army circles, show just how deep are the inroads made by the independent social movement into all spheres of public life, not least in what are traditionally the bastions of the establishment. They include such items as copies of the PUWP's internal information service "The Day's Facts" and "Actualities," and reports on various party and government teach-ins, where official policy is set out without any pretense of "social consultation." Tygodnik Mazowsze, for example, has published documentary material from a meeting of judges at which the Minister of Justice demanded outright that more severe sentences be passed against martial law offenders and a speech made by the Wroclaw Voivodship First Party Secretary Tadeusz Porebski to the local *aktyw* which contains undisguised hostility toward the Church and the Pope. (23) KOS revealed a police document containing instructions on how to recruit informers, including the unlawful recommendation that files be kept on potential candidates for blackmail. (24) Tygodnik Mazowsze has published details about the new censorship black lists that exist not in writing but *de facto*. (25)

Professional Publications. A characteristic phenomenon of the martial law underground press is the development of specialized publications serving different professional and social groups. These publications help to maintain the spirit of solidarity within the profession, formulate the common aims and principles of the profession with regard to the regime's policies, propagate certain norms of behavior ("codes of professional ethics") and discuss professional problems as well as defending joint interests. The teaching profession is among the best organized. An Independent Education (IE) Movement has been in existence since the spring of 1982 with a Council of National Education at its head. The IE Movement produces Tu, Teraz (Here, Now, published by the KOS group) a high standard monthly -- not to be confused with Tu i Teraz (Here and Now), an official social and political weekly -- as well as a regular textbook series entitled Zeszyty Edukacji Narodowej (National Education Notebooks). Several local and regional teachers' groups produce their own publications, including Solidarnosc Nauczycielska or Solidarnosc Nauczycieli (Teachers' Solidarity) appearing in Czestochowa, Katowice, Opole, Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lublin, and Cracow.

The teachers' press promotes the principle that the education of children must remain in the hands of the people and not be subjected to the ideologists' diktat. It publishes the statements, appeals, and proposals of the IE Movement; serves as a forum for views and materials of interest to the profession and with a

(23) Nos. 34 and 37, 17 November and 16 December 1982.

(24) No. 26, 27 February 1983.

(25) No. 38, 16 January 1983.

bearing on education, analyzes the situation in the schools, points out the failings of the present education system, and organizes discussions on the future of Polish education. Tu, Teraz ran a series entitled "Truth in the Mathematics/Physics, etc., Lesson," in which it was shown how even apparently neutral, scientific subjects were used by the system to manipulate knowledge and to mold the children's mentality in conformity with the regime's ideological requirements and suggested how to counter this tendency and make sure that each lesson served to train children to think for themselves and develop their personalities to the full.

The medical profession is another well-organized group with its own publications. A Health Service Discussion and Information Bulletin appears in Malopolska and Health Service Information appears under the aegis of KOS in Warsaw and in other regions. Among the more important documents published clandestinely by the profession are statistics on Western medical aid to Poland, official instructions to hospital doctors to provide details of all casualty admissions on days of street demonstrations, and the Cracow doctor's report entitled "A Preliminary Evaluation of the Severe Traumatic Injuries Inflicted upon the Population of Cracow on 13 May 1982."

Opposition to the regime was widespread in the higher education sphere. Individual universities, colleges, and institutes throughout the country have published their own bulletins; and intercollegiate publications exist in several of the larger cities, such as Kontrapunkt in Lublin and Biuletyn Wojenny (War Bulletin) in Poznan. One of the most frequently recurring themes has been the issue of "verification" and collaboration, which is particularly acute in a profession in which lecturing and research possibilities are entirely in the hands of the state authorities. Another important theme has been the struggle to salvage whatever possible of the autonomy of the universities, which had been so hard won in 1981, and the need to protect the student population from the consequences of their sometimes rash actions, ensuring that as many students as possible complete their studies, so that they, not ideological opportunists and second-rate intellectuals, may one day form Poland's intellectual elite.

The underground student publications appear to have no consistent program or even a set of objectives around which the student population might rally. Those that do appear seem to lack vision and tend to be stuck in the rut of denouncing the moves and policies of the regime. The authorities have evidently succeeded in breaking up the independent student movement, whose scattered activists, unable to re-establish contacts on the national scale, have been swallowed up by the broader social resistance movement.

There are, on the other hand, several good youth publications including Gnom (Gnome), the paper of the Independent Youth Organization in Warsaw; Topolowka, published by pupils of one of Gdansk's secondary schools; and Promienisci (Radiant) described as a

"fathers' and grandfathers' publication for sons and grandsons," which is published in Lublin.

Poland's private farmers also have their own underground publications, though one can only speak of scattered initiatives. The Polish Farmers' Resistance Committee (Polish acronym: OKOR), the underground resistance coordination center, publishes Solidarnosc Rolnikow Indywidualnych (Private Farmers' Solidarity); and an independent Polish Peasants' Party called Roch has a regular column in the KOS weekly. Members of Rural Solidarity in the Bialystok region have their own paper called Goniec Wojenny (War Courier). Warsaw's Tygodnik Wojenny also devotes much attention to the problems and resistance efforts of private farmers.

Finally, it is worth mentioning two bastions of the totalitarian regime: the police force and the army. Godnosc (Dignity) is an independent paper for policemen. It aims to change the image of the Polish police force by encouraging policemen to perform their duties in cognizance of the social need for law and order and not to let themselves be used as an instrument of repression in the hands of a totalitarian regime.

There is also a monthly publication for soldiers, which first appeared in the underground in September 1982. Entitled Reduta (Redoubt), it is intended to counteract the ideological indoctrination to which soldiers are subjected and to lay the foundations of an independent social movement in the army, so that when the decisive moment comes, social aspirations to freedom and democracy may find a response among at least a part of the military, both officers and enlisted men. Articles in Reduta try to demonstrate how the activities of the Polish Army are a travesty of what it is, in fact, called upon to do: to protect the citizens of the country against external aggression. Its contents include information on underground activities and an introduction to the ideas and programs being discussed in independent social and underground circles, as well as material of direct interest to the military, for example: denouncing what the generals and martial law commissioners are doing in the civilian administrative apparatus in the name of the army; revealing the ties between the cadres of the Polish People's Army and the Soviet Army; denying and ridiculing the propaganda of the military press. It provides information on the military activities of the Soviet Union that are concealed from the average East bloc citizen.

Morale and thinking in the Polish Army have also evoked much interest and speculation in other underground publications. Tygodnik Wojenny described the growing gulf between the officers' corps, the noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men. Martial law had presented a great opportunity for the officers, who otherwise faced the prospect of a mediocre career, to exercise power in the civilian apparatus, while the mood among the enlisted men was one of weariness and apathy. (26) Several

underground groups believed in the importance of agitation within the army, and appeals and exhortations addressed to soldiers were reprinted in many underground publications. These did not urge insubordination per se but tried to make soldiers think, stressing, for example: "Remember, the politruks [political officers] are feeding you lies. Seek the truth!" and "Do not let yourself be used for the dirty work of the secret police!" In July 1982 KOS introduced a regular column entitled "Through Soldiers' Eyes."

Literary Periodicals. It is a truism that times of hardship and suffering are propitious to creative writing. The underground press under martial law bears witness to this, producing in particular, a blossoming of poetry of widely differing standards. Throughout the first year of martial law short stories, diaries, and poems appeared in most of the free publications, as well as in the purely literary quarterly Wezwanie (The Call), three numbers of which have so far appeared. The magazine's contents include literary criticism and essays, as well as original creative writing, and graphic art. Now, the tendency is toward specialization. Many of the underground social and political publications have narrowed their scope, leaving literature to the specialists. The first postmartial law volume of Zapis, continuing the tradition of the independent literary publication of the same name that first appeared in January 1977, has reached the West. A new literary magazine entitled Obecnosc has appeared recently in Wroclaw.

An unsigned essay entitled "The Poetry of Borderline Situations," published in the August 1982 issues of Mysl Niezalezna, gives a good insight into martial law poetry. It is, above all, a poetry of the people; and the traditional folk ballad is much in evidence. There is a tremendous need for the bard to confirm for posterity that right is on the people's side. The tone is one of mourning: lamentation for the murdered, the beaten, the oppressed, and the vanquished, but not one of despair: it is "a specific kind of Gloria Victis," as the unknown literary critic put it, in which the poet's mission is to demarcate the moral world, passing judgment over good and evil and reaffirming the indomitability of the spirit. This poetry is in the romantic tradition with its "messianic" images of the suffering Christ triumphing over his savage executioners and the forces of evil and darkness. The "brand of Cain" is a recurring image.

Unlike the poetry of August 1980 and the months that followed, with its idealistic tone and plebeian humor, the poetry of December 1981 is not monumental but intimate, intended not for mass audiences but for a small circle of listeners "permeated by a community of views," to the accompaniment of a guitar. There is also a marked renaissance of the satirical vein (see below). As a whole, the underground literary creativity of the martial law period is not only "an invaluable document of popular awareness," but perhaps even more a literary achievement in that it has been able to give poetic expression to "the borderline situation" of the present moment in Polish history.

Humor and Satire. Humor and, in particular, satire are permanent characteristic features of the underground press. They have played, and still continue to play, an important part in

boosting morale by reducing martial law, its leaders, and institutions to human proportions and deflating the myths that might otherwise have created an atmosphere of fear and submissiveness. Songs, poems, short stories, skits proliferate in the pages of the underground press. There is even a special "Elevator Graffiti" column in Tygodnik Wojenny. There was a boom in the political jokes for which Poles are famous: What is good luck? -- To live under socialism. What is bad luck? -- To have that good luck! Or, What will we get after martial law? -- Freedom . . . in rations. Or again: A short television vocabulary: 3 Poles constitute an illegal gathering: 5 Poles an illegal rally: 10,000,000 Poles a handful of extremists. . . . Black glasses and big ears (the hallmarks of the military dictator and his press spokesman) were a popular subject for jokes and, especially, cartoons. The new government-sponsored trade unions have also come in for much derision: numerous underground publications reprinted a skit of the model trade union statutes for "The Regime-Sponsored, Facade Trade Union 'Humbug'" whose main clause was that it made the union independent of its members.

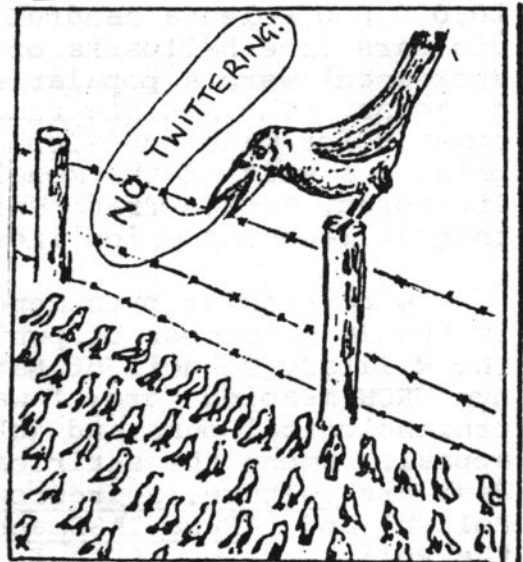
A particular phenomenon of the free press under martial law is the large number of publications devoted entirely to satire. The Military Council of National Salvation, with its Polish acronym WRON meaning "crow," was an obvious target for ridicule; and ornithological puns and jokes had, predictably, the greatest appeal. Among the satirical publications that have reached the West are Vulture, Scarecrow, Rook, Night Heron ("blind crow" in Polish), and PAPuga TASSmanska ("tasmanian parrot," a reference to the Polish agency PAP's "parroting" of its Soviet mentor). Insects, rodents, and other creepy creatures were other favorites: Hornet, Wasp, Mole, and Earthworm. Other titles mocked the official propaganda: Extremists' Voice or Zomogovernment (a pun on self-government). Most of these satirical publications were based on cartoons. Here are two of them:

(cont'd.



We had everything ready for talks, only Bujak didn't turn up...

NATIONAL AGREEMENT



The Authorities' Response. The authorities were convinced that the December 13 swoop would effectively silence the free press by depriving it of both its leading spirits and the technical means of production. The first martial law publications were seen as last, desperate, and amateurish attempts to cling to a fading dream; and official policy was to ignore their existence while, at the same time, penalizing anyone caught with even one or two handbills, in the belief that they would soon dry up. It was only gradually that it dawned upon the authorities that the free press was continuing underground and that it was a mass phenomenon. Police efforts were intensified, informants were mobilized, and raids on suspected printing houses became more systematic.

While the national press at first maintained a stony silence, local papers were allowed to ridicule certain aspects of the underground press, in order to discredit it as being irresponsible or downright harmful to the public interest. The official Wroclaw party daily, Gazeta Robotnicza, seems to have espoused this crusade with a particular vengeance. It portrayed the Dolny Slask regional Solidarity organization as having from the outset had the Machiavellian plan of taking over power by building up a vast political propaganda machine out of all proportion to the real

needs of a labor union. It made a sensational three-part serial out of the seizure by police of a homemade printing press producing copies of Z Dnia Na Dzień, revealing how a university assistant lecturer had recruited several bus drivers and mechanics, what passwords they used, and how they used innocent acquaintances for their "shady business." (27)

Of course, this was not the only, nor even an important printing facility for Z Dnia Na Dzień. It was discovered when the caretaker of the workers' hostel in which one of the bus drivers lived became suspicious of ink stains on the table. News about the alleged success of police raids was published by the official local press, more often than not -- unlike the case cited above -- with little concrete information to go on, but with much propaganda invective. Often the publications that those caught were accused of having produced were unknown. Most of those caught red-handed were charged with violating Article 48 of the martial law decree, *i.e.*, of spreading "false information" liable to "incite public unrest or cause disturbances" or "weaken the state's military preparedness," or "whose substance was insulting to the supreme PPR authorities." (28)

Despite the high penalties -- up to five years' imprisonment for disseminating "false" information entailing "a particularly high degree of social danger" and up to eight years where state security was alleged to have been endangered -- ever more people volunteer for clandestine publishing activities. The national press was more reticent than the local press in giving details of convictions on this score, content simply to list a selection of the sentences meted out, without going into particulars. It was only shortly before the "suspension" of martial law at the end of last year that the government released, for the first time, figures on how many printing presses had been seized. By mid-March 1983, 1,310 pieces of equipment had been confiscated, including 368 large capacity printing presses. (29) The security police campaign against underground printers and publishers was sharply stepped up at the time of the "suspension" of martial law; and a great many of the printing houses were discovered and seized within a short space of time, causing loss of material already printed, interruptions in the appearance of certain publications such as Tygodnik Mazowsze, and the closure of certain others. The police were helped by the introduction of an operation code-named "Possession," involving a systematic combing of all buildings in certain areas under the official pretext of checking on the use of available space and conformance with safety provisions.

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- (27) Rafal Kwiecinski, "The Propaganda Machine of Wroclaw's Solidarity," Gazeta Robotnicza, 26 August 1982; see also Gazeta Robotnicza, 11 March, 22 and 26 April 1982.
- (28) For details of trials and sentences of people involved in independent publishing, see Anna Sabbat-Swidlicka, "General Jaruzelski's Political Prisoners," RAD BR/2 (Poland), RFER, 5 January 1983.
- (29) Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak in a 23 March 1983 report to the Sejm.

In the meantime, the authorities also tried other methods of stamping out the free press. Undercover agents were sent to infiltrate the underground. In one such case, one of those allegedly involved with the Wroclaw weekly Wiadomosci Biezace was later presented to the official press as a "disillusioned conspirator" who had recanted after being caught and given evidence discrediting the publication on which he had supposedly worked. Wiadomosci Biezace later denied any knowledge of the man. (30) Many enthusiastic, but naive youngsters were lured into underground publishing by unknown individuals, who later disappeared without a trace. Two Warsaw schoolboys, 19-year-old Tomasz Sokolewicz and 17-year-old Emil Barchanski, were approached about helping out with underground publishing and set up by a man identified, without doubt, as Andrzej Omasta, an agent of the security police. They were both beaten during interrogation. Barchanski received a suspended sentence. Some time later, on 6 June 1982, his body was found in the Vistula River. (31)

Another method used by the security police was that of fakes. This not only served to sow confusion in the underground; it also aimed at discrediting the underground press in the eyes of both the public and Western journalists, inducing them to doubt the validity of all unofficial publications. In August, a publication resembling Tygodnik Mazowsze and containing a bogus interview with underground leader Bujak and a call for a three-month moratorium on protests was actually delivered to the building housing several Western news agencies, a fact that in itself aroused their suspicions. (32) Last December 12 a fake issue of a paper entitled Wolny Zwiazkowiec (formerly the local Solidarity bulletin at Huta Katowice) was distributed at the Cegielski rolling stock plant in Poznan. One of those distributing it was caught by workers and reported to the management. The culprit was promptly and quietly transferred -- to a better paid job in a different department. (33) Similar attempts were feared in the Cracow region and special instructions on security precautions were issued to all those involved in underground publishing. (34)

Intimidation has also been tried as a means of discouraging people from cooperating with the independent press. In January, security police raided the houses of six authors whose works had been published underground and in the West. (35)

(30) Maciej Rybczynski, "We Had No Political Ambitions," Gazeta Robotnicza, 13 January 1983.

(31) Biuletyn Informacyjny, no. 65, 27 August 1982.

(32) AP, 6 August 1982.

(33) Obserwator Wielkopolski, nos. 54-59.

(34) "The Second Five Months Of Martial Law in Malopolska," Cracow, November 1983.

(35) AP, 26 February 1983.

An Independent National Culture. In spite of their determination to quash the underground publishing movement and all the means at its disposal, the authorities have been unable to stop the free flow of information or even seriously to deter its development. It has been rightly remarked that the circuit could not function without mass public response, without the "silent conspiracy" of the entire nation, (36) which serves both as a breeding ground and a market for the clandestine writers, editors, publishers, and printers. The Solidarity movement introduced the masses to the free press by awakening broad public interest in all spheres of social and political life and thereby helped to transform the free Polish press into a system that goes beyond simple information, providing a whole spectrum of knowledge that had hitherto been restricted and generating an open and unlimited exchange of information and ideas entirely independent of the censors and ideologues. Such a system, based as it is on the ideals of democracy and the principle of pluralism, is a weapon in the struggle to maintain spiritual and intellectual resistance to a system based on force and falsehood. It serves as the focal point around which other activities develop and forms the basis of an independent national culture, (37) alienated from the hollow official structures.

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(36) See Jan Nowak, "Poland's Resilient Underground Press," The Washington Journalism Review, April 1983.

(37) See Tomasz Mianowicz, "Samizdat or Independent Culture?" Tydzien Polski, 12 March 1983.