

universally shared by their democratically minded countrymen. In the statement in which he described the Church as the only reliable ally of the people, Zbigniew Janas specifically excluded the West. "The weak

response of the West to Polish events indicates that the Poles can count only on themselves," he said. "We do not foresee any substantial change in the attitude of the Western countries, which will not en-

gage in any determined political or economic actions." Let us hope that, in charting the future direction of American policy, we do not bear out these pessimistic conclusions. □

Adrian Karatnycky

## SOLIDARITY IN EXILE: AN INTERVIEW WITH JERZY MILEWSKI

Next year in Jaruzalem.

*Jerzy Milewski, 47, is the highest-ranking Solidarity official outside Poland today. An electrical engineer and specialist in laser technology, Mr. Milewski was chairman of the Solidarity section of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He likewise served as a member of the Executive Committee of the union's Gdansk Region and was a delegate to Solidarity's First National Congress, where he was elected chairman of the Program Committee.*

*Mr. Milewski's most significant role within the trade union involved his organizing of the siec—the Network of Leading Enterprises. The Siec, an ad hoc association of the 17 largest workplaces in Poland, played a central role in developing a socio-economic program for Solidarity and spearheaded the movement for decentralized worker self-management. In recent months, support for the Siec program had grown rapidly and hundreds of factories and workplaces were participating in its conferences and activities.*

*I met with Mr. Milewski in a ground-floor tenement apartment on New York's Lower East Side—a community with a substantial Polish population. Until recently, the apartment had served as a studio for an expatriate Polish artist. Now it is a makeshift headquarters for Solidarity International, which Mr. Milewski has helped found in an effort to build support for Solidarity's cause.*

*Outside, the snow blanketed the quiet street. It was one month to the day that General Jaruzelski had proclaimed a "state of war" and imprisoned Jerzy*

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*Milewski's friends and colleagues. It was also a month to the day that Jerzy Milewski, in the United States to attend a conference on lasers, had become an exile.*

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*Q: The military junta's crackdown against the Polish people, and against Solidarity in particular, has been remarkably effective. At the moment there appears to be no significant degree of overt protest or resistance. Are you not surprised at how quickly resistance has vanished?*

*Milewski: None of us expected so total an attack against society by the entire Army and security apparatus. It is the first such instance in Poland's history. I believe that General Jaruzelski can now be regarded as one of the greatest criminals in our history.*



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Of course, the initial battle has been won by the authorities. Jaruzelski has indeed been successful in pacifying the entire nation. However, I believe that the resistance is far from crushed. After the arrest of tens of thousands and the deaths of scores of others, any reasonable person would have concluded that there is no sense in pursuing an open form of resistance. The real struggle is over the beliefs of people, over their hearts and minds, if you will. This is a struggle the authorities cannot win.

Although we did anticipate various possible attacks against us, attacks launched by the ZOMO [the elite militarized secret police] and militia, we never expected such a widescale offensive. But more important, even had we envisioned such a development, ours was not an organization capable of conducting a struggle against an armed adversary. Solidarity was a mass social movement which functioned as a trade union. In effect, it was the principal outlet for society's democratic tendencies and as such it was a regionally based, highly decentralized organization. Solidarity was not an organization created to do battle. It was a peaceful manifestation of the desire to be free.

Because of the imposition of martial law, however, preconditions have been set for an organized movement of action directed against the existing system. Until now, this would have been impossible: Had Solidarity been perceived as something akin to a paramilitary group it would have lost the support of most of its members.

*Q: Why, if as you indicated, Solidarity anticipated some form of confrontation, were no contingency plans made for widescale passive resistance?*

*Milewski: Even if we had been absolutely certain that such a frontal attack was imminent, no resistance could have been properly organized. Any such attempt would have been labeled a preparation for*

the seizing of power. It would not have been seen as a defensive maneuver. Besides, Solidarity stood firmly for the peaceful transformation of the system. We were all quite aware that violent revolution is the worst means for changing the social structure of any society, as the Russian Revolution so well shows.

*Q: Are you then not suggesting, perhaps rather pessimistically, that there is no possibility of peaceful change?*

*Milewski:* On the contrary, I believe that what has occurred is a confirmation of the view that change is possible only through peaceful means. It is inconceivable that Solidarity could organize a widespread partisan resistance. This is not the Nazi Occupation. Had we been attacked by Soviet tanks, such resistance would be possible. Now we can only maintain and continue passive resistance. It is passive resistance which will lead to the dissolution of this military-police structure. In the final analysis, after all, the Army and police are composed of Poles. The moral and psychological pressures exerted on them will lead to the rupture of this system.

*Q: What forms of opposition and resistance do you then foresee evolving in the near future and in the longer term?*

*Milewski:* To begin with, we shall witness the disappearance of fear. The prisons are now filled to capacity. The government is virtually incapable of imprisoning the next level of opposition. So many are now in detention that younger Poles have come to regard incarceration as an expression of patriotism. The system cannot absorb such high numbers of detainees; therefore, some form of political amnesty will more than likely be announced in the near future. Jaruzelski's position, you see, is worse than it was one month ago.

*Q: Yet, while Jaruzelski's position may be worse than one month ago it is certainly better than it was before the introduction of the "state of war."*

*Milewski:* Your observation is correct only from a practical point of view. But the situation in which we find ourselves is immeasurably better than it was in 1957 or 1971, when social resistance was reduced to zero. A great deal of time was required for resistance to revive and lead to the next explosion. But the cycles of unrest and repression have been occurring with increasing frequency—between 1956 and 1970, 14 years; between 1970 and 1976, 6 years; between 1976 and 1980, 4 years. Still, after the strikes in Radom and Ursus in 1976 we had to start from scratch. Today our situation is 100 percent better. As the increasing flow of underground literature indicates, society has not been silenced. The will to resist has not been broken. Rather, resistance has been reinforced by the government's attempt at physical pacification. The situation which now obtains cannot last for long. I believe that within the next year, two at the most, we will witness the next uprising. Perhaps this time it will not be confined to Poland.

*Q: You do not, then, believe that General Jaruzelski is capable of introducing certain reforms which might lead to rapprochement with the Polish people and improve Poland's economic situation?*

*Milewski:* I don't believe rapprochement is possible. I also don't believe Jaruzelski is capable of implementing any genuine economic reforms. Certainly, within Solidarity there are no signs that rapprochement is possible. At this moment, not a single member of Solidarity's National Commission has signed a loyalty oath. Even the chairman of the Poznan region has publicly renounced his "recantation." If Walesa himself were pressured into making a conciliatory statement, all Poles would believe he had been drugged or forced to do so under extreme duress.

With regard to economic reform, in Solidarity's view there were three conditions for resolving the economic crisis. The first was finding the means to motivate Poles to work; not through economic incentives (given the state of the Polish economy there are none), but through increased freedoms and free economic initiative, through a sense that a better future is possible. Solidarity alone was the guarantor of such a course. And it was with this in mind that we developed our initiatives for worker self-management. We knew that productivity could be increased significantly merely by changing people's attitudes, by once again making work a positive activity.

The second condition for economic progress was the reform of trade with the USSR. This could only be accomplished through an opening up of the now-secret terms of trade with the Soviets. Even



though it may have no basis in fact, the perception is widespread that Poland is exploited by the USSR in its trade relations.

The final condition for economic recovery was an infusion of new Western economic aid to break the economic deadlock. Solidarity's economic advisers calculated that we needed an additional four billion dollars in such Western aid.

In light of these three conditions, I do not see any way Jaruzelski can succeed. The standard of living is extremely low. The queues are lengthening. It will be impossible to prevent a future explosion.

*Q: Was Jaruzelski, then, unaware of the consequences of his action? Didn't he anticipate these difficulties?*

*Milewski:* I believe he miscalculated. He is, don't forget, a soldier. He has been programmed like a computer: action, divisions, officers, maneuvers, chains of command. In a military operation you do not calculate sociological or economic effects. You merely seek to occupy and control a territory. Only then do you try to figure out what comes next.

*Q: When I was in Poland last April and September, I was struck by what might be characterized as the high regard in which General Jaruzelski was held by many Solidarity leaders and advisers. He was perceived as a patriot with whom it would be possible to strike a bargain. What was the basis for this grand illusion?*

*Milewski:* Well, this illusion persisted at least until October when Jaruzelski was named Party Secretary. I believe you can explain it in part as the product of a certain degree of wishful thinking. Society wanted to believe that there was someone in a position of authority who wasn't an S.O.B. and Jaruzelski had always been rather quiet, untainted by corruption. He had always lived rather ascetically. Moreover, he was a soldier and Poles like to believe in their soldiers. The Army had heretofore never betrayed the people.

*Q: Did Walesa share in this assessment of Jaruzelski?*

*Milewski:* Yes. I remember quite well how he acted in March, after the Bydgoszcz affair in which Solidarity leader Jan Rulewski was horribly beaten. Walesa was deeply unnerved by the whole thing. But he was convinced that it was a provocation by certain elements within the leadership against Jaruzelski.

This view was quite widespread in Solidarity. I confess that I, too, wanted to believe that the general was a Pole and not an instrument of the Soviet Empire.

*Q: In September, most Solidarity officials with whom I spoke asserted that the state was incapable of exercising power. Why was this illusion so widespread?*

*Milewski:* This was no illusion. The state was falling apart. It was incapable of exercising power. And this is still the case. The government cannot do anything that is positive or constructive. Of course, it does retain its destructive

capabilities. We did not wish to acknowledge this destructive power. We knew that we were engaged in a game of poker.

But we also knew that there was only one way out and that the path we had to take meant walking on ice.

*Q: Is there any merit to the view that Solidarity became an arena for a struggle between "moderates" and "radicals"; that Walesa, a "moderate," had lost control of the union to the "radicals," who provoked the government into declaring a state of war?*

*Milewski:* The government's military action had been in the works for a long time. Moreover, it was the authorities who consciously sought to radicalize the union and force it into a more political direction. It is clear that Poles, like all people, want bread and freedom. If they are given lots of bread they need less freedom. But if they have little bread they want more freedom. The government artificially denied us bread. It did everything possible to show that the union was powerless, that its decrees would not be realized. It tried to frustrate us, and in doing so it radicalized the membership below. After all, it was our rank-and-file who had to stand in line for

food. It was the government's actions which radicalized and polarized our movement.

*Q: In one of his last public statements Solidarity leader Karol Modzelewski asserted that the membership was losing faith in the union and its leadership. Do you agree with this assessment?*

*Milewski:* The membership was frustrated and was beginning to believe that there was no way out of our crisis; that even Solidarity, "our Solidarity," couldn't do anything about it. This sense of despair was reflected in the decline in union participation. The number of union activists was steadily diminishing. In the months after August 1980, there were huge numbers of union volunteers. Everyone came to general meetings. In recent months, however, it was impossible to hold such meetings for lack of a quorum. People simply weren't interested. They were spending more and more time in queues. They were losing their desire to participate. They had lost hope in the possibility for change, in the possibility that the authorities would take steps to break the economic deadlock. It was a case of despair, not anger. Paradoxically, Jaruzel-

ski's crackdown has revived resistance and anger.

*Q: What in your view can the West do to exert pressure on the Jaruzelski regime?*

*Milewski:* I believe that the West should block off the entire system and not only Poland. I believe that a total embargo of the Soviet bloc—grain, technology, capital, everything—would be a most useful measure. It is generally known that the Soviet system is not economically self-sufficient. It spends most of its energy increasing its front of attack. It does not have enough energy left for satisfying the needs of its population.

If you cut off all trade, this system will collapse. Not everyone in the West believes this. But not everyone is aware of how high the stakes are. What is needed is a far-sighted policy. If you cut off all trade, the Soviet system will fall apart on its own. Of course, you can help things along by increasing the capacity of Western broadcasts to break through Soviet jamming.

*Q: One final question. When do you expect to return to Poland?*

*Milewski:* I believe, without exaggeration, that developments will enable me to return to Poland within one to two years. □

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Benno Weiser Varon

## WINTER IN SOUTH AFRICA: A DIARY

On the whole, I'd rather be in Philadelphia.

*In flight, August 6, 1981:* The flight by South African Airlines from New York to Johannesburg provides a lesson both about South Africa's isolation and its innate strength. The one refueling stop in the long journey is Ihla de Sal in Cabo Verde. Why this godforsaken island? Because no other African country grants the airline landing rights. Studying the timetables aboard the plane, I discover that on my return flight the stretch from Johannesburg to Zurich will take 15 hours. Any other airline makes it in 12. Why, again? Because South African Airlines cannot fly over African airspace. It has to follow the Atlantic coastline and stop over in Madrid.

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How can a country resist so much hostility? But then I pick up the in-flight magazine, the *Vlieende Springbok*, and read:

The Republic of South Africa . . . is almost as large in area as the entire European Economic Community. South Africa is a geological freak. By a quirk of nature . . . [it] control[s] the greater portion of the world's most strategic minerals. . . . [It] is by far the world's most important source of manganese, with 78 percent of global reserves and 93 percent of Free World resources. South Africa has also 81 percent of global reserves of chrome, 75 percent of platinum, 51 percent of gold, 49 percent of vanadium, 35 percent of fluorospar, plus substantial [!] resources of diamonds, uranium, vermiculite, phosphate, zinc, titanium, antimony and lead.

One need not be a political scientist to understand why in a two-power world America cannot do without South Africa's minerals and what a boon it would be for

the Soviet Union to shut out the United States from the main source of these minerals. Without platinum, manganese, chrome, and vanadium, all those billions Caspar Weinberger has asked for and received may be of no avail.

*Johannesburg, August 7:* Had to think today of a South American joke: When the Lord created the earth, he dictated to an archangel the distribution of minerals. The angel stood by with a notebook and asked: "To whom, oh Lord, will you give Tin?"

"To Bolivia and Indonesia."

"And Silver?"

"To Peru and Bolivia."

"And Iron?"

"To Germany, France, America, and Bolivia."

The angel protested: "Aren't you going overboard with Bolivia, oh Lord? Aren't you laying yourself open to the charge of favoritism?"