



Arch Puddington

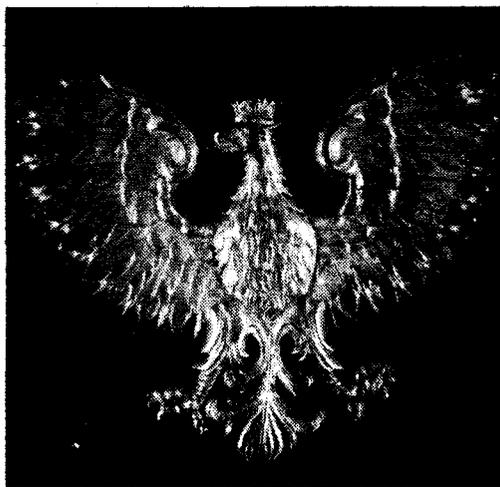
## THE POLISH EXAMPLE

Communism's ongoing war against humanity.

"Communism," Leszek Kolakowski has written, "would be such a splendid idea if only there were no people." This bitter observation is particularly appropriate in the case of Kolakowski's native Poland, a Communist country where, a 1980 poll informs us, about two percent of the population would vote Communist in a free election. Since somewhere between five and ten percent of adult Poles are Communist Party members, these figures suggest that even most Communists would prefer some other form of political arrangement. And no wonder. Communism has been a more thoroughgoing failure in Poland than in any other East European country, and the human costs of maintaining a system in which few prosper and no one believes have been awesome. A brief survey of Communism's Polish victims would include the following: (a) those killed by the Red Army during and immediately after World War II (in the hundreds of thousands, mainly veterans of the anti-Nazi underground); (b) those shipped off to Soviet labor camps during and after the war (again estimated in the hundreds of thousands); (c) those killed by Poland's own Communist-controlled security forces in the immediate postwar period; (d) those jailed on political charges during the 37 years of Communist rule; (e) those workers killed during the protests of 1956 and 1970; (f) the thousands upon thousands who have been denied jobs, promotions, university admissions, the right to publish, exhibit paintings, perform on stage—in other words, all those whose

aspirations have been thwarted for no reason other than their political "unreliability"; and, finally, (g) the parents, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, and children of the above.\*

To this already substantial list we must now add all those who have been killed, interned, imprisoned, or who have lost jobs on political grounds since the imposition of martial law on December 13. The victims of



what one Solidarity member has described as "an occupation by our own army" number upwards of 50,000, with the most recent developments suggesting that there are many more to come. This is because, appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, General Jaruzelski has fallen well short of his primary initial objectives: the total destruction of Solidarity and the "normalization" of Polish society through resigned acceptance of the martial law government.

Over the long term, of course, the economy poses the greatest challenge to the new regime (which will probably turn out to be not that much different from the

\*Not every relative of Communism's victims qualifies as a victim himself. To take the most prominent current example, the father of General Jaruzelski is reported to have been executed by the Soviets during World War II; the son's career seems not to have suffered.

old one), and here Jaruzelski's initial moves point to the truth of a Solidarity leader's comment that "Communism is unreformable." Indeed, the regime has reached back into the Stalinist past in a crude effort to wring more productivity out of the work force. One of the first decrees issued by the ruling military council called for compulsory labor conscription for all unemployed males aged 18 to 45. Thousands of workers, and not merely a handful of shirkers, may be caught up in what can be called, with only slight exaggeration, a form of slave labor.

One reason for labor conscription's potentially widespread application is that the regime has decided to close down many of the most unprofitable enterprises, in the process casting aside the fiction of full employment as a basic right under Communism. More to the point, labor conscription is a useful weapon to wield against Solidarity sympathizers. Throughout Polish society, a procedure known as "ideological verification" is currently underway, meaning that pro-Solidarity workers are being fired or forced to sign humiliating statements of loyalty to the regime as a condition of employment. † Journalistic and academic institutions have been especially hard hit by the ideological minesweep; the staffs of some newspapers have been decimated by the dismissal of the politically "unreliable." Industrial workers are also subject to the verification process. In some cases, entire factories have been shut down to give military and party officials an opportunity to conduct a thorough investigation of workers' backgrounds. The entire work force is then rehired on the basis of perceived political loyalty.

†One such declaration of loyalty reads: "Taking into account the fact that, in the course of recent months, many of the executive organs of the free trade union Solidarity have openly spoken out against the constitutional organs of the government and the administration, attempting from a counter-revolutionary standpoint to overthrow the socialist state, I hereby declare my renouncement of my membership in that union."

Arch Puddington is Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy and editor of *Workers Under Communism*, a new journal. This article is based in part on material provided by the Committee in Support of Solidarity, an organization established to disseminate information about developments in Poland and organize support for political prisoners there. Interested readers can reach the Committee at 275 Seventh Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.

The introduction of labor conscription should be kept in mind the next time we hear Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski or some other putative party "liberal" pledge that Poland will not be returned to the bad old days of Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy. In fact, Poland in the pre-Solidarity days under Edward Gierek enjoyed rather substantial freedom for a Soviet satellite. Although workers had no free trade union, their collective influence over economic decisions was considerable. An uncensored underground press published everything from labor bulletins to the works of Orwell, Solzhenitsyn, and Milosz. Communist Party influence in the universities was substantially diminished and, of course, the Catholic Church functioned with a degree of independence unprecedented in a Communist society.

All the evidence suggests that the Gierek years may be remembered as a golden era of liberalism compared with what lies ahead under General Jaruzelski. To this regime, normalization means bringing all segments of society under state/party control, with the possible exception of the Catholic Church. Above all else, it requires the resubjugation of the working class, and an end to any vestige of trade union autonomy. Already, a special commission headed by Rakowski has recommended that trade unions be re-established "on the basis of the constitutional principle of the socialist political order" in the Soviet bloc, meaning a return to their previous status as Communist Party fronts.

Other developments reinforce the conclusion that it is the regime's intention to transform Poland along the lines of Husak's Czechoslovakia rather than Kadar's Hungary. A number of prominent party moderates, most notably Tadeusz Fiszbach, party chief in Gdansk, have been purged since December 13, and thousands sympathetic to the Solidarity experiment have turned in their party cards. In Torun, party leaders who last summer launched an abortive campaign for party reform were reportedly among those interned during the coup's first weeks.

Another practice dredged up from the Stalinist era is the use of schoolchildren as informers. Nursery school directors have been asked to inquire discreetly of their students whether, for example, their parents made regular use of a typewriter. The educational system in general has been a prominent object of the regime's attention. The leadership of the Independent Students Association has been jailed, and the organization itself abolished. Military commissars have been assigned to oversee the administration of schools, and the regime, as part of its educational "policy," has called for "ensurance of staffing to guarantee a proper realization of the didactic and educational process," by which they mean the removal of Solidarity sympathizers. University and school curriculum is being readjusted; one certain

casualty will be the Polish people's hopes of recapturing their history. Under the new order, there will be no reassessments of who was responsible for the Katyn massacre or reevaluations of the non-Communist Home Army's role in the struggle against Hitler.

**T**he regime's initial success in abolishing Poland's independent culture does not extend to actually convincing people that a better future lies ahead. While the regime presents its most sophisticated face to the West in the person of such functionaries as Rakowski and Wieslaw Gornicki (both of whom have worked in the West), its explanations to its own people of why martial law is necessary are couched in a language that, in Czeslaw Milosz's words, is "subject to the derision of the entire nation." With the party maintaining a low profile, military officers have been dispatched to explain the coup's rationale before schools and other institutions. According to an account smuggled out of Poland, the colonel assigned to a high school in Poznan explained events thus: Solidarity had been plotting a violent seizure of power; tapes had been discovered with messages prepared for broadcast when the overthrow occurred; gallows had already been set up, and lists of party, military, and police officials slated for execution had been drawn up; Lech Walesa "is a leader of below average standard, incapable of making decisions by himself. . . . When he calms down a bit, he will be given a trial and will sit in prison for a while." And when a student posed the obvious question of how the party could continue to lay claim to the "leading role" in society after having kept the facts about the economic crisis from the people for so many years, the colonel responded: "Not everyone has to know everything if he is not a party member."

That the Communists are returning to their bungling ways should in no sense detract from their one signal achievement of the entire postwar era: the coup itself. Even before Solidarity, veterans of the Polish democratic movement held the security forces in disdain. "The Communists can't run anything else so why should they be able to run a police force," was the usual response. As matters have unfolded, it appears that everyone underestimated the capacity of even the most inept totalitarian apparatus to revive the ma-

chinery of repression when challenged by its own people. Those who dismissed the point about the distinction between totalitarian and authoritarian systems should take a careful look at what has happened in Poland. No Latin American dictatorship, no matter how ruthless, could have subdued a mass, highly popular workers' movement with the rapidity and thoroughness that marked the Polish military's actions. The reason is simple enough: No one takes the business of social control as seriously as do totalitarians. The challenge of subjugation and regimentation is a full-time, ongoing enterprise for all Communist regimes, and even the most destitute regime devotes an immense amount of scarce resources, creative thinking, and long-range planning to organizing the mechanisms of control. So it was that Poland, with its morally bankrupt and seemingly impotent political leadership, could still mobilize one of the most efficiently executed military operations of recent times. Practically overnight, a modern industrial society was cut off from the outside world and, in a sense, from itself as well; its telecommunications shut down; shortwave radios confiscated; the sale of writing paper and rucksacks prohibited; private automobile travel banned; all but a few reliable newspapers shut down. If the Polish crisis proves anything, it is that for Communists control of the means of production comes second to controlling the levers of social domination.

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**F**or much of the Western Left, crises in the Communist world have seldom been welcome events. There are, however, indications that the attempt to destroy Solidarity is provoking a long overdue re-evaluation of the Soviet Union's global role and even of the fundamental nature of Communism. The most hopeful signs are in France, where the entire non-Communist Left has adopted a forthright position against both the Polish and Soviet regimes, where the "spheres of influence" mentality has come under attack, and where the Mitterrand government's decision to proceed on a business-as-usual course in its commercial dealings with the Soviets has been criticized from within Mitterrand's own Socialist Party. Poland has also provoked the first public rift within the Socialist International since Willy Brandt began positioning the organization as a neutral mediator between the "two superpowers." A number of socialist parties, the French and Italian being the most prominent, publicly rejected a statement issued in the SI's name by Brandt which declared that "strongly worded declarations will not help the people of Poland" and urged "continued cooperation with and assistance for Poland"; a stronger statement, but one which avoided direct reference to the Soviet Union, was eventually adopted.



But neither these developments nor the prospect of a final break with the Soviet Union by the Italian and Spanish Communist parties can obscure the reality that the response from most of the Left has been weak, evasive, and occasionally scandalous.‡ The most conspicuous offender has been the European "peace movement," whose organizers have made clear that whatever happens in Poland will have no effect on its direction, goals, or strategy. In other words, the United States will continue to be treated as the world's greatest threat to peace and human rights. As a consequence of this attitude, protests against the martial law in the peace movement's strongholds have drawn pathetically small crowds—10,000 people being considered a success—especially when compared with the huge throngs mobilized for disarmament rallies last fall, including a massive turnout of up to 500,000 in Amsterdam.

It should be noted that the leaders of the peace movement are by and large neither pro-Communist nor unmoved by the repressive nature of Soviet society. Many, in fact, are only too well aware of the Soviet Union's role in discrediting the name of socialism in the West. There are exceptions, of course. For some, the Soviet Union's military might and its demonstrated willingness to employ brute force in the pursuit of its global ambitions represent "the one insurance of [Third World] revolution," in the words of Saul Landau, a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies' Transnational Institute. Repellent as such views are, they at least have the advantage of intellectual consistency. By contrast, we have the following statement by E.P. Thompson, much revered as the father figure of the Euroneutralist movement,

‡Although not as scandalous as the response of the business community: The ink was hardly dry on the martial law decrees when Thomas Theobald, senior vice-president of Citibank's international division, commented: "Who knows which political system works. The only test we care about is: can they pay their bills?" More recently, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has denounced the Reagan Administration's efforts to delay or prevent construction of the Soviet natural gas pipeline. Referring to Administration pressure on our allies to cooperate with a trade cutback, Donald Kendall, chairman of the business group, said: "I certainly question whether the U.S. government should put its long arm into another sovereign country and force it to accept these sanctions." Such remarks do not go unnoticed in the Communist world. Polish radio broadcasts have praised the "restrained" attitudes and "calmness" with which Western financial circles have accepted martial law. As Tom Kahn, an AFL-CIO official, has observed: The attitude of business "conveys to the Soviet Union that important elements of what they would call the American ruling class are indifferent to human rights, or to the system of political democracy required to sustain them. Further, it confirms their view that the democratic capitalist societies are incapable of sustaining sacrifice, inconvenience, or profit losses in the services of principles we proclaim. That perception of us can only embolden them."

made just prior to the imposition of martial law: "The logic of our movement was moving to a more political phase—challenging the hegemony of the United States in Western Europe and that of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe. In the east, a movement for freedom, in the west, a movement for peace; let Poland be Poland, let Greece be Greek." We can only assume that the terrible irony in this inane formulation has eluded Professor Thompson and his fellow promoters of peace; the idea of Greece as some sort of American vassal state is as absurd as the notion of the Soviet Union's acceding to Poland's independence.

On the American Left, similar attitudes prevail. After Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Cambodia, the boat people, Afghanistan, the Cuban freedom flotilla, the assorted horrors of Stalinism, and now Poland, the Left clings tenaciously and against all evidence to the view of a world menaced in equal degrees by the Soviet Union and the United States. While there is considerable sympathy for Solidarity, many Leftists are reluctant to take the logical step and embrace an anti-Communist position out of fear of giving nourishment to the forces of reaction, by which they mean the United States. Leftist positions are guided by an unspoken rule: Criticizing the sins of individual Communist regimes is permissible; criticizing Communism as a system is not.

The one prominent radical to have broken ranks with the prevailing wisdom is Susan Sontag. To her everlasting credit, she chose to denounce the Left's refusal to acknowledge Communism's failure *as a system* at a forum where her views were guaranteed to meet with considerable hostility. The occasion was a New York rally in early February sponsored by American Workers and Artists for Solidarity; despite the title, the tone of the evening was reflected by Gore Vidal's assertion that America, too, was an "occupied" country, occupied by a "military-industrial-political complex."

Sontag, on the other hand, said that the principal lesson of Poland was "the failure of Communism," and accused "the people of the Left [of having] willingly and unwillingly told a lot of lies" about

conditions in Communist countries in order "not to give comfort to reactionary forces." A more accurate understanding of the reality of life in the Soviet Union, she said, could have been gleaned from the pages of *Reader's Digest* than from the *Nation* or the *New Statesman*. Treading on even more dangerous terrain, she said: "We tried to distinguish among Communism. We thought of Stalinist tyranny as if it were an aberration, and we praised other regimes—other regimes outside Europe in particular—which had essentially the same character." It was her concluding remarks, however, which have drawn the most subsequent attention:

I would contend that what the recent Polish events illustrate is a truth that we should have learned a long time ago—that Communism is fascism, "successful" fascism if you will. What we have called fascism is rather the form of tyranny that can be overthrown and that has largely failed. Not only is fascism and overt military rule probably the future destiny of all Communist countries, especially when their populations are moved to revolt, but Communism itself is a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism. Fascism with a human face.

Predictably, the broad liberal-left audience to whom Sontag's words were addressed has responded with wounded indignation. Writing in the *Village Voice*, Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway denied that Communism and Stalinism were identical, implying that there were good Communisms (presumably Cuba and Vietnam) and bad Communisms (the Soviets). They also observed that failure to develop "a vision of socialist revolution distinct from the realities of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe leads to an embrace of American imperialism itself." Thus the perennial dilemma for the Left: Only committed radicals are conceded the right to criticize Communist regimes, but only so long as they do not provide ammunition to the forces of imperialism. If, miraculously, a non-Communist Poland somehow succeeded in freeing itself from the Soviet Empire, Cockburn and Ridgeway would probably see the enhancement of American imperialism as a more important and dangerous consequence than the resulting gain for human freedom.

Susan Sontag was one of the few Americans of any political stripe to have actually visited Poland in recent times. That more did not take the opportunity to witness Poland's revolution firsthand probably has something to do with lingering feelings of guilt over American conduct during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. But the fact is that while statements issued by U.S. officials and one or two broadcasts on Radio Free Europe may have played a minor role in encouraging Hungarian resistance, it was a burning hatred for Communism and the Soviets which caused the revolution, and no amount of American prudence could have prevented it. Nonetheless, the



persisting myth that American irresponsibility was largely to blame for needless bloodshed has produced an extreme, and in the case of Poland, unwarranted, cautiousness in relations with democratic movements in Eastern Europe.

This is unfortunate, since it is now evident that contacts between Solidarity and the West have acted as a restraint on the Polish regime's treatment of the interned union leaders. Lech Walesa's visits to France and Japan, his audience with the Pope, his speech before the International Labor Organization, the numerous Solidarity delegations dispatched to various Western countries—all helped create a global Solidarity constituency whose opinions must be taken into account by General Jaruzelski as he decides on the fate of the detainees. Here, for once, is an example of East-West people-to-people contact paying important dividends.

Solidarity's conduct under the extreme pressures of martial law indicates why it was so successful at capturing the loyalty of the Polish people during its sixteen months of legal activity. Almost without exception, its leaders have refused to cooperate with the authorities (in one notable case, a regional union leader recanted his earlier criticism of Solidarity before a group of astonished Western reporters). The dignity and commitment of the imprisoned trade unionists is largely a tribute to Solidarity's democratic character. By contrast, in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where there was little popular participation in the reform movements, high level officials of the party-led reform regimes collaborated with the Soviets almost immediately upon invasion.

Some apologists for the regime have pointed to the relatively few casualties as evidence that the authorities are patriots first, and functionaries of the Warsaw Pact second ("a Pole, surrounded by Poles" is how George Kennan described General Jaruzelski). That there have been fewer deaths in Poland than in, say, Argentina or El Salvador is due largely to Solidarity's conscious decision to counsel against violence and terrorism. Instead, the union has urged its followers to engage in various forms of passive resistance, especially at the workplace. The following excerpt from the union's Basic Principles of Resistance points to the union's stress on seeking a disruption in the normal routine of economic life:

Work slowly; complain about the mess and incompetence of your supervisors. Shove all decisions, even the most minor, into the laps of commissars and informers. Flood them with questions and doubts. Don't do their thinking for them. Pretend you are a moron. . . . if you are instructed to carry out mutually contradictory rules, demand written orders. Try to prolong such games as long as possible. Sooner or later the commissar will want to be left in peace.

One can certainly conceive of situations

where Solidarity might abandon its non-violent course, particularly in the event of a Soviet invasion. Clearly, however, the preferred tactics are a form of passive resistance bearing a number of similarities to those of the American civil rights movement. Here an important factor is the influence of Roman Catholicism. Many of the union's better-known figures, Lech Walesa among them, take quite seriously the Church's teachings on such questions as nonviolence. The bond between the union and the Church is genuine and organic, in striking contrast to the transparently contrived relationship between religion and the various Marxist guerrilla groupings so beloved by the World Council of Churches.

There are some indications that the regime was counting on at least nominal cooperation from the Church when the coup was launched. In this hope Jaruzelski has been sorely disappointed. As Zbigniew Janas, one of the most important Solidarity leaders to have eluded the government dragnet, has declared: "The Catholic Church is the only organization on which we can rely in this critical period." Given the Church's immense authority, its opposition to the martial law—often expressed, to be sure, in language as oblique and elliptical as that employed by the Communists—must be a source of considerable worry for the regime. By its statements and actions—clerics, for example, have passed messages from imprisoned Solidarity members to the West, have organized relief efforts, and protested conditions in the detention camps—the Church has in a sense endorsed Solidarity's passive resistance course. Perhaps even more importantly, the Church has held out the possibility of a more open

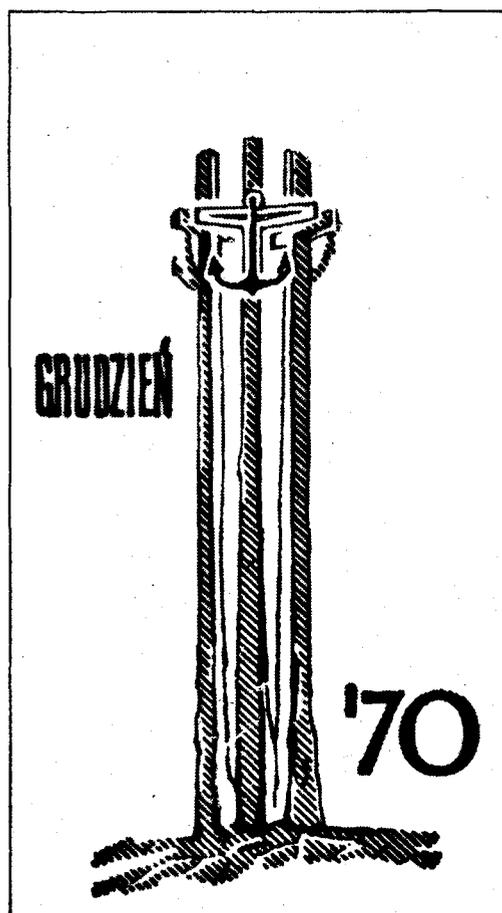
break with the regime should the repression be stepped up.

This presents a real dilemma for the regime, since a further clampdown, and possibly even outright terror, might be required to maintain control over Polish society. Although Solidarity appeared thoroughly unprepared for the initial blow, its broad, democratic structure—with second, third, and fourth line officials capable of providing direction in times of crisis—has enabled the union to mount an increasingly effective underground opposition. Special bulletins are published throughout the country: They provide advice on resistance tactics, pass along declarations from interned union officials, and offer accounts of the strikes, riots, and government repression which are increasingly the order of the day. Organized resistance, however, may be less a factor in Poland's immediate future than overt rebellion, reflecting a people's fury at being handed an indefinite sentence to a system which provides neither bread nor freedom.

What should the American response be to all this? Rather than propose an answer to this much-debated question, I would urge that we step back a bit from the issues of the Polish debt, the Reagan Administration's waffling, and the discouraging reactions of our allies, and take a long look at exactly what's happening inside Poland itself. There, the reality is "a regime at war with its own people," in a Solidarity supporter's words. Although the similarities between Poland under Jaruzelski and traditional Latin American juntas have been overdrawn somewhat (as an elderly Polish woman commented, "You can't have Communism without tanks"), the fact is that Poland today, and particularly that part off-limits to the prying eyes of Westerners, resembles an armed camp, where sections of factories are separated by barbed wire, workers are escorted in and out of workplaces by armed members of the security forces, the unemployed are "drafted" into work brigades, those refusing to work are treated as "deserters," and colonels run the schools.

The regime has no constituency, save party careerists and the dregs of society who see a bright future in police work. When the Polish ambassadors to the United States and Japan defected to the West, many were startled at their impassioned embrace of our democratic values and the urgency with which they appealed for a firm position against the Polish government and the Soviets. These men had devoted their lives to the loyal service of People's Poland; ultimately they came to despise its government and political system. One can only assume that many, many more among the Polish ruling class share similar sentiments.

The faith that Ambassadors Spasowski and Rurarz expressed in the West's commitment to the values of freedom is not



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*

*Adrian Karatnycky is Research Director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and a member of the editorial board of a new quarterly journal, Workers Under Communism. He has written on Soviet and East European affairs for the New Republic, National Review, the New Leader, Commonweal, and other journals.*

*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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