

MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD: POLISH INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING, 1976-1989

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Georgetown University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in History.

By

Siobhan K. Doucette, M.A.

Washington, DC
April 11, 2013

Copyright 2013 by Siobhan K. Doucette
All Rights Reserved

MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD: POLISH INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING, 1976-1989

Siobhan K. Doucette, M.A.

Thesis Advisor: Andrzej S. Kamiński, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the rapid growth of Polish independent publishing between 1976 and 1989, examining the ways in which publications were produced as well as their content. Widespread, long-lasting independent publishing efforts were first produced by individuals connected to the democratic opposition; particularly those associated with KOR and ROPCiO. Independent publishing expanded dramatically during the Solidarity-era when most publications were linked to Solidarity, Rural Solidarity or NZS. By the mid-1980s, independent publishing obtained new levels of pluralism and diversity as publications were produced through a bevy of independent social milieus across every segment of society.

Between 1976 and 1989, thousands of independent titles were produced in Poland. Rather than employing samizdat printing techniques, independent publishers relied on printing machines which allowed for independent publication print-runs in the thousands and even tens of thousands, placing Polish independent publishing on an incomparably greater scale than in any other country in the Communist bloc. By breaking through social atomization and linking up individuals and milieus across class, geographic and political divides, independent publications became the backbone of the opposition; distribution networks provided the organizational structure for the Polish underground. With time, independent publishing also provided Polish society with experience with a proto-market. Independent publications therefore became one of the most important mechanisms accelerating the growth of Polish civil society.

This dissertation demonstrates that the success of Polish independent publishing was predicated on the unique nature of Polish civil society in which a mythologized national history and tradition played a vital role in encouraging opposition. Independent publications bore testament not only to the ways in which these traditions were reinterpreted and reinvented thereby encouraging the growth of Polish civil society, but also to Polish civil society's pluralism, diversity and activism. This dissertation therefore proves not only the decisive role of independent publishing in the creation of Poland's vibrant civil society, but also its role in the achievements of Solidarity in 1980-1981 and the overthrow of the Communist regime in 1989.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Independent Publishing, 1976 to the Summer of 1980.....	36
Chapter 2: Independent Publishing and the Democratic Opposition, 1976-1980	114
Chapter 3: Solidarity and Independent Publishing.....	162
Chapter 4: Solidarity's First National Congress and the Union Press.....	245
Chapter 5: Independent Publishing, Martial Law to the Summer of 1989.....	298
Conclusion.....	403
Bibliography.....	417

Introduction

Polish civil society was born anew between 1976 and 1989, making possible Solidarity's initial successes from August 1980 to December 1981 and ultimate victory in June 1989; independent publications bore testament to the growth of Polish civil society and were one of the most important mechanisms accelerating its development. Between 1976 and 1980, independent publishing steadily gathered and connected various social groups: intellectuals, students, workers, and peasants. This web was joined by millions between August 1980 and December 1981 as Polish civil society emerged to act publicly in producing thousands of independent publications through Solidarity, Rural Solidarity and the Independent Students' Union. The imposition of martial law brought radical changes not only to Polish civil society but also to independent publishing which dramatically decentralized with the destruction of Solidarity's legal organizational structure. The continuing existence of independent publishing helped to prevent the eradication of Polish independent life while distribution chains provided the underground with a structure. Although the number of independent publications produced between 1982 and 1986 steadily decreased, an increased diversification and vitality occurred as society became progressively exacting in reference to independent culture and a new generation and new social segments began to embark on a variety of innovative publications in response to society's demands. Accordingly, when the quantity of independent publications began to rise again, a proto-market had developed so that independent publishing progressively became the authentic voice of a truly pluralistic and increasingly politicized civil society rather than that of

the democratic opposition or Solidarity. It was this newly energized civil society which made Poland unique in the bloc and made possible the overthrow of Communist dictatorship.¹

Hannah Arendt's presentation of civil society is most pertinent in discussing the growth of Polish civil society. Arendt derives her presentation of civil society from her understanding of the ancient *polis*. She argued that "the *raison d'être* of politics is freedom and its field of experience is in action." She rejected freedom as being tied to inner, non-political ideals or to free-will; she insisted that free action with political guarantees is the only authentic freedom. For Arendt, politics is about creation and the establishment of something new. Arendt's civil society therefore is based on a form of modern communitarianism in which direct participation and federalism are emphasized over representation and unity and where a plurality of free, spontaneous, dynamic *actions* are carried out. This dissertation will illustrate that this is precisely the type of civil society which arose in Poland between 1976 and 1989, creating something radically new.²

Arendt argued that in the nineteenth century, the distinction between the private and public spheres blurred as man as a laborer and organism came to dominate what was once the political, public sphere leading to a diminishment of the public and private division. She argued that this situation became more dire in the twentieth century as mass society and totalitarianism closed avenues to individual political action, destroying freedom based civil society. Arendt

¹ Between 1976 and 1989, thousands of newspapers, journals and books were produced by Polish independent publishers. The majority of these efforts were small scale and ephemeral but some were extremely widespread with print-runs in the tens of thousands and publications lasting throughout the period, making independent publishing in Poland entirely unique in the Communist bloc. Certain independent publishing houses were represented at international book expos, had salaried full-time staffs and paid authors royalties on their works. This is why the term 'independent publishing' is more appropriate than *samizdat* in reference to Polish 'underground publishing' in this era. Authors were not self published; they were published by independent publishing houses which were not entirely 'underground' since their editors and authors often signed their works.

² Hannah Arendt, "Freedom and Politics: A Lecture", *Chicago Review* vol. 14, no. 1 (Spring 1960) 68, Hannah Arendt, "Society and Culture", *Daedalus*, vol. 89, no. 2 (Spring 1960); Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future* (New York: Viking Press, 1968) 146, 154; Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) 30-31.

therefore rejected Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's focus on civil society as a structure of economic partnerships and corporations which regulate and are enclosed by the state as she saw state bureaucracy and a focus on corporal man and economic interests as the negation of freedom.³ The Polish opposition also emphasized economic issues to a lesser degree than political freedom and evinced serious suspicion toward state bureaucracy making Hegel's definition inappropriate for the Polish context.

In spite of Arendt's reservations about economic foci and her acknowledgement that the lines between political and economic/social emphases in the European workers' movement blurred, she also argued that the workers' movement, between 1848 and 1956, had "written one of the most glorious and probably the most prominent chapter in recent history." However, underlining her emphasis on the importance of creation in politics, she also argued that "[t]he trades unions were never revolutionary in the sense that they desired a transformation of society together with a transformation of the political institutions in which this society was represented..."⁴ But Arendt did not live to see Solidarity which indeed demanded political transformation. While economic disaffection was a focal part of dissention, the demands made between 1976 and 1989 in independent publications were not primarily economic; they were about individual freedom of action.

Jürgen Habermas' emphasis on culture and the non-political public sphere is, like Hegel's presentation of civil society, a poor fit for Polish civil society between 1976 and 1989. While arguing that Poland in 1980 embodied Arendt's ideal of the New England town hall meeting, Elżbieta Matynia, in writing on the emergence of Polish civil society in this period, used Habermas' ideas about the civic sphere. However, Matynia's assessment all but ceases in 1981

³ Hannah Arendt, "Society and Culture"; Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁴ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 215.

(when she left Poland); it is precisely in this time that overt politicization grew, making Arendt's formula more appropriate.⁵ By 1989 Solidarity had become a political movement.

Arendt insisted that "action, to be free, must be free from motive on one side, from its intended goal as a predictable effect on the other."⁶ Indeed, those who produced independent publications could not possibly have envisioned the outcome of their efforts to have been the overthrow of the Communist regime. Their actions were the kinds of actions which Arendt heralded. Elsewhere Arendt argued that it is the historian or storyteller who "makes" the story which is why the actor can not hope to control the outcome. Yet, the tellers of the past and their products are portrayed by Arendt as being part of the private (non-political) rather than the public sphere.⁷ However, I would contend that Polish independent publications and their producers were part of the public sphere (even if their work was done covertly) making them part of Arendt's described civil society.

J.G.A. Pocock argued that we should see "verbalization itself as a political act."⁸ Referring specifically to East European Communist regimes, Pocock contended that liberation from a bureaucracy who "maintain their power by varying the entire language structure" can be achieved through the "performance of speech acts" which deprive the regime of control of the language.⁹ In the context of the Polish Communist regime, the production of independent publications, both the writing of texts and their concrete production were political acts which contested the states' control of the language and intellectual commerce. Furthermore, in their content, independent publications were calls to action. The first independent serials frequently

⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991); Elżbieta Matynia, "The Lost Treasure of Solidarity", *Social Research* 68 no. 4 (Winter 2001) 924.

⁶ Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future*, 151.

⁷ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 192.

⁸ J.G.A. Pocock, "Verbalizing a Political Act: Towards a Politics of Speech", *Political Theory*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Feb., 1973) 37.

⁹ J.G.A. Pocock, "Verbalizing a Political Act: Towards a Politics of Speech", 44.

called for the creation of new independent social initiatives while flyers called for participation in boycotts and marches. The popularity of historical texts served to tacitly encourage contemporaries to follow in the footsteps of their ancestors who had embarked on numerous uprisings and independent social initiatives.

Between the second partition of Poland and its reemergence on the European map after World War I, Polish uprisings occurred in 1795, 1830, 1846, 1863 and 1905; each ended not only in defeat but also in the creation of independent social initiatives. After the 1830 uprising, the ‘Great Emigration’ left Poland. Many moved to Paris where significant Polish-language publishing ventures were created; these works were then smuggled into Poland. In the wake of the 1863 uprising, many elites turned to Positivism, stressing equality and progress through education, industry and trade. They helped to establish underground schools as well as farming and medical self-help organizations. In 1882, an underground “flying university” was founded in the Russian-partition. In 1905, the protests for liberalization which spread across the Russian Empire, took on a national character in the Polish lands. At the forefront of the 1905 protests was Józef Piłsudski, one of the founders of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and editor of the underground paper, *Robotnik* which appeared from 1894. After suffering defeat in the Russian-controlled partition in 1907, Piłsudski moved to the Austrian-partition and formed the Legions, a paramilitary organization which fought alongside the Austrians during World War I and played a significant role in the achievement of Polish independence in 1918.¹⁰

Accordingly, a tradition of pursuing armed struggle (particularly against Russian domination) and creating independent educational, cultural and medical initiatives existed in

¹⁰ Norman Davies, *God's Playground, A History of Poland*, vol. II. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 98, 310-311, 314; R.F. Leslie, *Polish Politics and the Revolution of November 1830* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Pub., 1969) 30; Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) 200-201; Robert E. Blobaum, *Rewolucja: Russian Poland, 1904-1907* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1995); Andrzej Garlicki, *Josef Pilsudski: 1867-1935* (London: Scholar Press, 1995).

Poland by the time that independence was won in 1914. Suspicion towards Poland's neighbor to the East also survived and was only enhanced by the unsuccessful Soviet invasion of 1920.

When Grażyna Kuroń took her son, Maciej Kuroń, to visit his father, Jacek Kuroń, in prison during martial law, he relayed a story which his father or grandfather had told him about "a friend who went to visit her son in the Tenth Pavilion [a political prison in the Russian-partition] and took her grandson with her. The child was scared and began to cry. She told her grandson, 'This is the Tenth Pavilion. Your grandpa was kept here. Your dad is kept here, and so will you be.'"¹¹ That Kuroń relayed this story while in a Communist prison in the 1980s indicates not only the degree to which opposition to Russian-rule was, at least in some families, treated as a norm during the nineteenth century but that for many, opposition to the Communist authorities was a continuation of this tradition. While the eighteenth and nineteenth century struggles for Polish independence were a part of national memory, it was the unprecedented opposition and repressions of the Second World War and the early Communist era which were within living memory. These therefore had the greatest resonance with the populace in 1976 at the outset of independent publishing on a wide scale.

Soviet and Nazi occupation and repression in Poland as well as Polish resistance during the Second World War were on a scale which meant that every member of society was effected. A full underground state which answered to the government-in-exile in London was created; its military branch, the Home Army (AK), became the largest underground military organization in Europe. An extensive underground cultural life was established with schools, theaters, and art exhibits; over 1,500 books and 1,094 serials were published (17 serials appeared regularly). The AK Information and Propaganda Bureau established a *Biuletyn Informacyjny*; by 1944 it had a

¹¹ Jacek Kuroń interview with Janina Jankowska, "In Every Situation I Look for a Way Out". Originally published in *Krytyka* 26 (1987), reprinted and translated in: Michael H. Bernard, *From the Polish Underground: Selections from Krytyka, 1978-1993* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995) 297.

print-run of 44,000.¹² These activities flourished despite punishments including death and deportation to a concentration camp as well as concerted efforts by both the Nazis and Soviets to decapitate Polish society.¹³ A number of popular uprisings also occurred. In 1943, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising started. Several uprisings occurred in 1944 as the Soviets moved across the country. Most notably, on August 1, 1944, with the Germans on the defensive and the Russians on the outskirts of Warsaw, the Warsaw Uprising began. Although Soviet radio encouraged the uprising, for the two long months it lasted, the Soviets did nothing to help and even stymied aid from the West. When in January 1945 the Soviets finally moved into Warsaw, the capital was a moonscape. The city had been flattened, half of the pre-War population of 1.3 million was dead and the other half were in German camps. As the Red Army moved across the Polish lands in 1944-1945, they rounded up, disarmed, arrested and sometimes tortured and murdered the AK fighters they found.¹⁴

When the appointed Provisional Government of National Unity (which derived from the Yalta Conference) took control of the Polish state in 1945, it was confronted with a populace who not only had a long tradition of physical resistance to foreign rule but had just participated in a plurality of actions which were not only independent of, but in opposition to, any institutional support. This was also a populace which had already experienced Russian (which is how Soviet-rule was perceived by much of the populace) domination and was unique in the future Soviet satellite-system in having experienced Soviet invasion in 1920 and Soviet occupation (and Soviet war crimes) in 1939-1941. It was also exceptional in having individuals

¹² Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom*; trans. Jane Cave (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003) 100-101.

¹³ Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010) 126; Jan Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Cyryl Iwański [Krzysztof Hoffman], "Wrocławska bibuła", *Obecność* 6 (1984) 66.

¹⁴ Jan T. Gross "A Tangled Web: Confronting Stereotypes Concerning Relations between Poles, Germans, Jews and Communists" in *The Politics of Retribution in Europe*, eds. István Deák, Jan T. Gross & Tony Judt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000) 74; Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 310.

who pursued concerted physical struggle against the new authorities; Freedom and Independence (WiN) was founded in 1945 from disbanded AK members to carry on the struggle for independence. WiN attacked the authorities and individuals who supported the new regime and established underground publishing efforts.¹⁵

The Soviets sought to destroy the Polish tradition of independent action and social solidarity as they attempted to establish a Stalinist state. In 1947, after the holding of sham elections and the defeat of WiN, the economy was fully nationalized. In 1948, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was forced to unite with the Polish Communist Party (PPR); this new Communist party, the PZPR, was the only real political party. Concurrently, collectivization was announced, Władysław Gomułka (a pre-War Communist leader) was arrested for “nationalist deviation”, the Polish People’s Republic (PRL) was declared and the Catholic Church came under increased harassment with the creation of pseudo-religious groups such as PAX.¹⁶ In 1948 the Catholic primate, Cardinal Wyszyński, was placed under house arrest.¹⁷

The Soviets sought not only political, but ideological control as well. In 1946 the Censorship Office was established (GUKPPiW). A new history was created as teachers went through a ‘re-education’ and textbooks were re-written. Russia was portrayed as Poland’s traditional ally while the inter-war state became an imperialist state of treachery; Piłsudski disappeared from history. The Molotov-Ribbentrop alliance and the Gulag became taboo. The outcome of the Warsaw Uprising was blamed on the ‘irresponsible’ government-in-exile and the AK was smeared as a fascist organization. There was to be virtually no mention of the on-going

¹⁵ Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz* (New York: Random house, 2006) 28, Padraic Kenney, *Rebuilding Poland: Workers and Communists, 1945-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997) 41; Davies, 559, 561.

¹⁶ PAX was founded in 1947 under the leadership of Bolesław Piasecki, a former Fascist leader.

¹⁷ Timothy Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003) 187; Norman Davies, *God’s Playground*, vol. II., 569, 580-581.

arrest, torture and murder of AK fighters or the Soviet camps for the AK and those Poles who had fought in the West. When such repressions were noted, they were justified as examples of the state making society secure from the “terrorist, fascist” AK and WiN. Perhaps most galling, the Soviet execution of over 15,000 Polish POW reserve officers in fields by Katyń was not to be acknowledged; if it was, it was blamed on the Nazis.¹⁸

This egregious falsification of the nation’s recent past proved to be a major motor in encouraging not only the creation of independent publications in 1976 but also in the more general opposition to the authorities which manifested itself in continued church attendance, peasant intransigence toward collectivization and popular uprisings in 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1976. Mirroring the Great Emigration after the 1830 Uprising, Polish publishing efforts were made abroad after World War II to provide a free voice to Poland. Most notably, Jerzy Giedroyc founded the journal, *Kultura* in 1947 in Rome. It was soon after moved to Paris where the Literary Institute was established. Paris *Kultura* sought reconciliation with Poland’s neighbors and followed a roughly Social Democratic political line.¹⁹

During the 1956 thaw which followed Stalin’s death and Khrushchev’s ‘Secret Speech’, demands were made for more acknowledgement of historic wrong doing; specifically in relation to Soviet crimes toward Poland during World War II. In June, workers protests occurred in Poznan; fifty-seven to seventy-eight people were killed and hundreds were wounded. Further protests spread throughout the country including a strike by censors. In October 1956, Władysław Gomułka was, after re-habilitation, elected First Secretary. Collectivization, which was less advanced in Poland than in neighboring countries, ceased. Although Poland escaped Hungary’s fate in 1956, Gomułka, in spite of the hopes of the populace, maintained dictatorial

¹⁸ *The Black Book of Polish Censorship*, ed. Jane Curry (New York: Vintage Books, 1984) 14; Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours*, 161, 257; Norman Davies, *God’s Playground*, vol. II, 471.

¹⁹ Timothy Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations*, 218, 223, 227.

rule in Poland and slowly rescinded the freedoms won in 1956 as censorship reemerged, contacts with abroad were curtailed and repression of the Church increased although Cardinal Wyszyński was now at liberty.²⁰

By the 1960s, the state authorities' were confronted with the growing visibility of small groups of Revisionist Communist intellectuals as well as continuing pressure from the Catholic Church; both of which were vital to the development of independent publishing from 1976. In 1964, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski were expelled from the party due to their dissertation which used Marxist analysis to critique the regime; they were then imprisoned when the Paris Literary Institute published their open letter of explanation. Soon after, Leszek Kołakowski, the leading Marxist theorist in the country, was expelled from the PZPR for his interpretation of the PRL's failures; twenty-two intellectuals wrote a letter in protest. 1966 marked the millennium of the Polish Catholic Church. Although its celebrations were curtailed and resulted in state-sponsored harassment, the Church remained a force in society. The constant pressure of Catholic believers and Poland's Primate, Cardinal Wyszyński, won the Church a degree of tolerated independence which made possible the existence of the only semi-independent university in the bloc, the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL), as well as the Catholic publications *Więź* (edited by Tadeusz Mazowiecki) and *Tygodnik Powszechny* (edited by Jerzy Turowicz), the Club of Catholic Intellectuals (KIK) and the small Catholic political party, *Znak*, which had joined the Sejm after 1956. Those with experience in Catholic publications proved to be especially important for independent publishing during the Solidarity era.²¹

In 1968, intraparty disagreements entwined with popular protests during which independent publications were produced and new demands were made for intellectual freedom.

²⁰ Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours*, 273-286.

²¹ Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977* (London: Poet and Painters Press, 1978) 82-99; Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, ed. & trans. David Ost (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 90-93.

The response was state-sponsored anti-Semitism amid conflicts within the party elite between Gomułka with his supporters and Mieczysław Moczar and his “Partisans” who espoused anti-Russian and anti-Semitic views.²² Student protests had started after the closure of a play by Adam Mickiewicz at the National Theater. Following the expulsion of student leaders, Adam Michnik and Henryk Szlajfer (both of Jewish heritage) from Warsaw University, larger protests erupted in Warsaw as students typed up complaints and pamphlets for distribution. At the Congress of Polish Writers’, the students were defended as was freedom of speech; the preeminent historian, Stefan Kisielewski stated plainly that Polish history books were full of lies. Cardinal Wyszyński also spoke out in their defense. Despite their support, as security battalions were sent to beat up the students, some popular elements took part in the anti-Semitic verbal and physical attacks on the students indicating both the degree to which society had fractured and the growing isolation of those who actively sought change. In the crackdown that followed the events of 1968, thousands emigrated, hundreds were drafted to garrisons far from Warsaw and about 40 people were sentenced to prison terms. Students who tried to pass out information on the repressions were also imprisoned. Many of those who initiated the independent press in 1976/1977 actively participated in the 1968 protests which strongly colored the ways in which they assessed Polish society and the state; it was at this point that many Revisionists saw that there was no place for them in the PZPR and so turned away from Communism.²³

Simultaneously, *Ruch* emerged (primarily in Łódź and Warsaw) as an oppositional milieu whose main ideological impetus was a drive for state independence. In 1969 some members stole duplicating machines from government institutions to mimeograph their own publication,

²² Some Jewish students actually elected to take less visible roles in the protests so as not to “seemingly confirm government propaganda.” [Jacek Kuroń, *Opozycja: Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytki Politycznej, 2010) 137; *Black Book of Polish Censorship*, 17; Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland*, 113-115.]

²³ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 103-107; Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland*, 123, 169-170, 174; Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands*, 375.

Biuletyn Nieocenzurowany, making *Ruch* the first group since 1947 to attempt a broad-based underground publishing effort. They printed several issues which were 20 pages long and were openly anti-Soviet and anti-Communist before the arrest, in June 1970, of about 30 individuals. Prison sentences varying from four to seven years were passed on the leaders including Andrzej Czuma, Benedykt Czuma, Emil Morgiewicz, Stefan Niesiołowski and Marian Gołębiewski.²⁴

While it had been primarily students and intellectuals who took to the streets in 1968 and participated in *Ruch*, on December 14, 1970, worker protests erupted as a result of price hikes on a variety of food stuffs. The strikes were centered on the coast (notably in Gdansk and Szczecin) which had a distinct atmosphere due to a significant portion of its populace having experienced deportation from what was once Poland's eastern marches and its massive shipyards which employed, and therefore concentrated, large numbers of the working-class. The authorities responded with brutality; at least forty-five people were killed and thousands were injured. In the aftermath, Gomulka resigned and Edward Gierek, the Secretary of Lower Silesia, was elected First Secretary.²⁵

By 1970, Polish society had proven itself unique in the bloc in having a number of individuals who were willing to partake in *repeated and on-going* struggles against the authorities; these included not only those who participated in active opposition and popular protests but also the millions who continued to support the Catholic Church. To break these traditions, Gierek set about attempting to buy the population off with 'consumer Communism'. He rescinded the price increases and began taking significant foreign loans which artificially

²⁴ Andrzej Czuma in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, ed. Jerzy Eisler (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2003) 43; *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989, materiały konferencyjne*, Koszalin, 12 Maja 2006, ed. Leszek Łakowski (Koszalin: Koszalińska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Joachima Lelewela, 2006) 5; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja; Z dziejów drugiego obiegu wydawniczego w Polsce 1976-1989/90*. (Warsaw: IPN, 2010) 37.

²⁵ Norman Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. II., 590-191.

bolstered the economy. By 1975, a debt of \$8.4 million was collected (\$5.5 million of which came from capitalist countries). As a result, the press lied more which only advanced disaffection (especially among intellectuals), thereby encouraging the development of the “dissident” movement and ultimately, independent publishing.²⁶

By the 1970s, groups of “dissident” intellectuals who opposed the regime were participating in small, urban discussion groups.²⁷ They often discussed émigré publications such as Paris *Kultura* and the quarterly journal *Aneks* which began publication in London in 1973. Sprinkled throughout the country, these groups tended to gather individuals through personal connections. In Warsaw, Anna and Tadeusz Walendowski's “salon” and Zosia and Zbigniew Romaszewski's “open house” where Jan Józef Lipski, Jacek Kuroń, and Adam Michnik often led discussions were important.²⁸ Adam Michnik contended that at this time, the “lay left,” with which he self-identified, emerged. He described the “lay left” as “those who opposed the regime in the name of leftist and secular values and did not identify with the Catholic Church.”²⁹ Also in Warsaw, Wojciech Ziemiński hosted talks at his home; Leszek Moczulski often led these and other discussions. The scouting group, Czarna Jedyńka, organized discussions for young people; instructors included Antoni Macierewicz, Piotr Naimski, Andrzej Celiński and Wojciech Onyszkiewicz.³⁰ Lech Dymarski and Stanisław Barańczak presented their poetry at meetings in Poznań.³¹

²⁶ *Black Book of Polish Censorship*, 19; Grzegorz Ekiert, *The State Against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996) 222; *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce, 1976-1980: Wybór dokumentów*, ed. Zygmunt Hemmerling and Marek Nadolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994) 15.

²⁷ The term dissident did not find support in many ‘dissident circles.’ See Stanisław Barańczak, *Breathing Under Water and Other East European Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) 2-3.

²⁸ Grzegorz Boguta in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 46.

²⁹ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, xiii.

³⁰ Henryk Wujec in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 171.

³¹ Lech Dymarski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 103.

Student groups, often connected to the Catholic Church, also formed discussion groups. In 1971, in Gdansk, Dominican Father Ludwik Wiśniewski began holding meetings with students. These meetings were attended by young people including Alesksander Hall, Arkadiusz Rybicki, Maciej Grzywaczewski, Piotr Dyk, and Grzegorz Grzelak. They printed materials for discussion. After a police search of the presbytery in April 1972, Father Wiśniewski was transferred to Lublin. Jesuit Father Władysław Sroka then began ministering to those students who went on to attend university in Gdansk.³² At the Catholic University of Lublin, Father Wiśniewski, from 1972, gathered students, including Bogdan Borusewicz and Janusz Krupski, for independent discussions. Father Wiśniewski also held summer camps where students from Lublin and Gdansk met and made connections with those from *Znak* and *Więź*. *Więź* had a branch in Lublin which was led by Janusz Bazydło who was editor of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and who organized student meetings with individuals including Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Leszek Moczulski and Antoni Macierewicz. In 1972, KUL students from the history department organized discussions with participants in the 1944 uprising in Lublin. In 1974, Professor Władysław Bartoszewski held special seminars on the World War II underground. The Dominican University Ministry was important in Krakow's independent discussion groups; in particular, Karol Wojtyła supported students there. Such discussion groups not only served to connect young people who had reservations about the regime but also often emphasized Poland's history of active opposition.³³

³² *Gdański sierpień '80*, ed. Arkadiusz Kazański (Gdansk: IPN, 2010), 6; Wojciech Samoliński "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 70-71; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski* (Gdansk: Wydawnictwo Arche, 2000) 27.

³³ Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Lublinie w latach 1977-1980", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 36; Aleksander Hall in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, ed. Michael Szporer (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012) 86-88; Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980* (Warsaw-Lublin: IPN, 2009) 47, 62.

When, in 1975, the authorities revealed that the Constitution would be altered to confirm the “leading role” of the PZPR in society and close foreign relations with the USSR, individuals from these discussion groups were provoked to action. On December 5, 1975, a “Memorandum of 59” intellectuals, with Edward Lipinski at the forefront, challenged these changes; they referred to the Helsinki Agreement (which Poland had recently signed) to justify their opposition.³⁴ Cardinal Wyszyński criticized the proposed amendments when they were published in 1976 as did student groups. A letter of protest written by the novelist, Jerzy Andrzejewski, and signed by 100 intellectuals followed soon after.³⁵

The campaigns against the Constitutional changes helped to connect individuals from disparate discussion groups. In 1974/1975 Leszek Moczulski met Maciej Grzywaczewski and through him met participants from the Gdansk student discussion groups. *Ruch* activist, Andrzej Czuma, who was released from prison in September 1974, later made contact with this group as well as Leszek Moczulski. Together, they in 1976/1977 created the underground organization, *Nurt Niepodległości* (NN), to strive for national independence.³⁶ In 1975, Antoni Macierewicz who was at the forefront of the Czarna Jedyńka discussion groups, met Jacek Kuroń. In early 1976, Macierewicz proposed the founding of a committee for the defense of man and citizens as had Andrei Sakharov in Moscow. Kuroń was apprehensive. Although equally envious of the

³⁴ The Helsinki Agreements were signed by the US and most European states as part of détente. They guaranteed Europe’s post-World War II borders, which the Soviet leadership took as a victory since the borders of various nations in the Soviet bloc (notably Poland and the USSR) had not been recognized by various Western states. However, these agreements thereby diminished the threat of German *revanchism* which had been a constant part of the ruling elite’s rhetoric for justifying Poland’s need for the Soviet alliance. More important, however, were the human rights clauses which guaranteed respect for human dignity and individual rights such as freedom of thought and conscience. The emerging democratic opposition in Poland regularly referred to this accord to legally justify their actions. The same was true of the dissident movement in the USSR and Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia.

³⁵ Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland*, 215.

³⁶ Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 53-54.

Russian dissidents' *samizdat* efforts, he opposed founding an organization which he feared would potentially make broad declarations without concrete action.³⁷

In May 1976, the existence of Polish Agreement on Independence (PPN) was announced. It was founded by a group of intellectuals at home and abroad and was led by Zdzisław Najder, (who was in London). Like *Ruch* and NN, PPN was a clandestine organization which stressed the need for independence. PPN was more concerned with shaping public opinion by filling in the blank spots in Polish history than in creating a movement. Its program was printed in Paris *Kultura* and in the London-based *Tygodnik Polski*; it was also copied and distributed in typescript in Poland. It is considered the first document to enunciate the ideals of the emerging 'democratic opposition' which included participants from various discussion groups as well as diverse societal elements who actively espoused democracy and opposed the regime.³⁸ It was the democratic opposition who created independent publishing in 1976.

In June 1976 another round of worker strikes and protests broke out in response to the government's announcement of price hikes on basic food stuffs. They were most notable in Ursus near Warsaw and in Radom where the PZPR building and the official residence of the PZPR Secretary were set on fire. The state harshly cracked down on the workers involved; several thousand were fired or had their wages severely reduced while physical abuse was used to break the strikes and in interrogations. Approximately 2,500 workers were detained and over 350 were sentenced in summary hearings to jail and had heavy fines imposed; 500 additional cases were later brought.³⁹

³⁷ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, (Warsaw: Krytyka, 2009) 415.

³⁸ Zdzisław Najder in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 208; "Polskie porozumienie niepodległościowe, program polskiego porozumienia niepodległościowego, May 1976" in *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976, 1980: Wybór dokumentów*, ed. Zygmunt Hemmerling & Marek Nadolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994).

³⁹ Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours*, 379.

It was the events of June 1976 which fired the democratic opposition to action and led to the creation of the first long-lasting, widespread independent publications. While the protests in 1968 had been primarily carried out by students and those in 1970 by workers, in 1976 intellectuals, in a demonstration of social solidarity came to the aid of those workers who had protested in 1976. Immediately, open letters of protest were sent to the government. Jacek Kuroń and Antoni Macierewicz agreed that concrete help had to be given to the effected workers. Soon thereafter, Kuroń was drafted into the army. Macierewicz's colleagues from Czarna Jedyńka made contact with workers' families from Ursus in the Warsaw court house. Money was collected for them.⁴⁰

On September 23, 1976, fourteen intellectuals created the Committee for the Defense of Workers (KOR) to provide legal, financial and medical aid to those workers being punished by the state.⁴¹ Jacek Kuroń, Jan Józef Lipski, Antoni Macierewicz and Piotr Naimski were at the forefront; Adam Michnik who joined soon after also became important in KOR's development. A Social Self-Defense Fund was quickly set up as financial support began pouring in from at home and abroad. KOR signatories and supporters including Mirosław Chojecki and students from Lublin and Gdansk such as Bogdan Borusewicz made contact with workers in Radom and Ursus and also collected funds for them and KOR. An editorial board to deal with KOR statements and documents was created under Zosia and Zbigniew Romaszewski who directed KOR's Intervention Bureau which was created to register every instance of illegal state repression and violence toward the populace and to provide financial, legal and medical succor

⁴⁰ Peter Raina, *The Political Opposition in Poland*, 286-289, Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 406-408.

⁴¹ KOR was initially signed by Jerzy Andrzejewski, Stanisław Barańczak, Ludwik Cohn, Jacek Kuroń, Edward Lipiński, Jan Józef Lipski, Antoni Macierewicz, Piotr Naimski, Antoni Pajdak, Józef Rybicki, Aniela Steinsbergowa, Adam Szczypiorski, Rev. Jan Zieja, and Wojciech Ziemiński. In the next several months, Bogdan Borusewicz, Mirosław Chojecki, Stefan Kaczorowski, Leszek Kołakowski, Anna Kowalska, Adam Michnik, Jalina Miołajska, Emil Morgiewicz, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, Zbigniew Romaszewski, Józef Śreniowski and Wacław Zawadzki also signed.

to those repressed by the state. Jacek Kuroń's apartment became the Information Center which meant that he and his wife, Grażyna, not only gathered information phoned in from around the country about repressions, they were also the contact people with Radio Free Europe which gave KOR access to a form of mass communication. KOR also created its own independent publications.⁴²

KOR broke with previous oppositional efforts in a variety of ways. It was not clandestine; it published the names of all of the signatories. This method of "openness" was a turning point. Although only a limited number of individuals were actual KOR signatories, a larger number of individuals collaborated and cooperated with these signatories making KOR a broad, unstructured, pluralistic milieu rather than a closed organization. Ultimately, this allowed for a blurring of the lines between those in the opposition and those not and permitted those who were afraid to actively oppose the regime to contribute in smaller ways such as making financial donations or reading independent publications. KOR's ability to build a bridge between workers and intellectuals was perceived as equally innovative as thirty years of Communist rule had left Polish society extremely atomized. KOR was also unique in legally justifying their actions; specifically in reference to the Helsinki Agreements.

Given Gierek's dependence on Western credits, initially the state attempted to isolate KOR and 'harass' its adherents with short detentions, apartment searches, dismissal from work, and beatings by 'unknown perpetrators' so as not to arouse Western ire. However, as KOR grew, more extreme measures followed. Stanisław Pyjas, a 23 year old KOR student activist who helped with the creation of independent publications in Krakow, was found dead under

⁴²Jan Jozef Lipski, *KOR: A History of the Worker's Defense Committee in Poland, 1976-1980*; trans. Olga Amsterdamska and Gene M. Moore (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) 172; Zbigniew Romaszewski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 153; Grzegorz Boguta in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 224.

suspicious circumstances in May 1977; the populace held the government responsible. Soon after, the leaders of KOR were imprisoned.⁴³

State repression served to activate opposition. Following Pyjas' death, masses were held across the country while in Krakow, student protests led to the birth of Student Solidarity Committee (SKS). SKS was an independent student organization which ultimately created its own independent publishing ventures as it spread from Krakow to Warsaw, Gdansk, Poznan, Lublin, Wrocław, and Szczecin. The arrest of KOR's leaders prompted a hunger strike as well as an international outcry. On July 23, 1977, the government backed down, declared an amnesty, and freed all KOR activists as well as the workers from the 1976 protests; the price hikes had already been rescinded.⁴⁴

In the meantime, on March 25, 1977, the Movement for the Defense of the Rights of Man and Citizens (ROPCiO) was announced. Its leaders were Andrzej Czuma and Leszek Moczulski. ROPCiO derived from the *Nurt Niepodległości* (NN) milieu and was initially meant to be the open branch of NN. Like KOR, ROPCiO was an open, unstructured, pluralistic social movement. It called on the "patriotic power of the nation" to create a mass social movement to popularize information on the rights of man and "infringements on human and civil rights, to help those oppressed, and propose legal changes to assure that rights be observed." ROPCiO made reference to the Helsinki Agreement and the Polish Constitution as the legal basis for its actions. It established an Intervention Bureau, Fund for Social Self-Help, Informational Consulting points and discussion groups as well as independent publishing ventures.⁴⁵

⁴³ Norman Davies, *God's Playground*, vol. II, 629.

⁴⁴ Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours*, 381-383.

⁴⁵ ROPCiO's initial signatories were Mieczysław Boruta-Spiechowicz, Andrzej Czuma, Karol Głogowski, Kazimierz Janusz, Stefan Kaczorowski, Leszek Moczulski, Marek Myszkiewicz-Niesiołowski, Antoni Pajdak, Father Bohdan Papiernik, Zbigniew Sekulski, Zbigniew Siemiński, Bogumił Studziński, Piotr Stypiak, Father Ludwik Wiśniewski, Adam Wojciechowski, Andrzej Woźnicki, Rev. Jan Zieja, and Wojciech Ziemiński. The majority lived in either Łódź or Warsaw. Aleksander Hall, Arkadiusz Rybicki, Grzegorz Grzelak and Maciej

By releasing the workers and KOR activists in July 1977, the government brought about the fulfillment of KOR's mandate; the question arose of if KOR should cease to exist or transform into a more general democratic movement. Some members (especially those who were in both ROPCiO and KOR⁴⁶) felt that it should be disbanded as they believed that ROPCiO fulfilled the role of an umbrella democratic movement. Disagreements occurred as KOR was decidedly stronger, more recognized at home and abroad and had a growing treasury. The signatories did not necessarily want to hand these over to ROPCiO which derived from relatively different discussion groups so that different ideological as well as personal bonds played a role in the unity and dissimilarities of each group. Those who opposed submergence in ROPCiO won.⁴⁷

On September 29, 1977 KOR transformed into the Committee for the Self-Defense of Society-KOR (KSS-KOR). It sought to provide information and aid to society. To these ends, KSS-KOR maintained its Intervention Bureau (under Zbigniew and Zofia Romaszewski), editorial board and Social Self-Defense Fund. Concurrently, KSS-KOR produced a Declaration of the Democratic Movement which, like ROPCiO documents, stressed the power of society, through concerted pressure in independent, non-violent social institutions to exact change. Both groups also emphasized the need for truth and re-education (particularly in history).⁴⁸

To aid in the pursuit of honest learning, Doświadczenie i Przyszłość (DiP) was established in 1978 while the Flying University (TKN) was created in 1977. DiP, which was

Grzywaczewski from Gdansk signed soon after. With the founding of ROPCiO, NN diminished and in 1978 ceased to exist. [Back Material *Opinia* 2 (May 31, 1977) 20; "Apel z marca 25 1977" & "Oświadczenia z 15 kwietnia 1977" *Opinia* 1 (April 30, 1977) 13, 15; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981* (IPN:Warsaw, 2006) 54; Grzegorz Waligóra, ed. *Dokumenty uczestników Ruchu Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela w Polsce, 1977-1981* (Krakow: Księgarnia Akademicka Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Niepodległościowego, 2005) xi.]

⁴⁶ Stefan Kaczorowski, Wojciech Ziemiński and Emil Morgiewicz.

⁴⁷ KSS-KOR, despite the diversity of its milieu, had a large number of individuals with social-democratic inclinations. In contrast, Moczulski insisted that NN's focus was independence; social democracy was only to be referenced tactically. This stance was also visible in ROPCiO. [Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO*, 54; Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 198; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 60.]

⁴⁸ "KSS-KOR", *Głos* 1, October 1977; "Deklaracja ruchu demokratycznego", *Głos* 1 (October 1977) 7-13; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 449.

founded by Stefan Bratkowski, was an independent social research center.⁴⁹ TKN provided independent lectures on Polish history, society, economics, and politics; it was modeled on the Flying University which had been created in the Russian partition in 1882. Independent publishing was focal to the activities of KOR/KSS-KOR, ROPCiO, TKN and DiP.

Andrzej Braun asserted in 1978 that “[t]he fate of the father decides the uprising of the son, the experience, tragedies, errors...[he makes] depend on a spiritual chain.”⁵⁰ Indeed, those who joined in independent publishing between 1976 and 1989 felt conscious of joining a historical chain of Polish opposition which dated from the nineteenth century uprisings through the World War II underground and the Communist era protests. While the success of Polish independent publishing was indeed connected to these traditions, in considering their impact, it is important to return to Hannah Arendt’s work on civil society, in which she described the human condition as historical and therefore changing, interactive and dependent.⁵¹ While Polish history and the tradition of opposition played a decisive role in activating Polish civil society, serving as a motor and even, at times, as a blue-print for independent activities and opposition, Polish historical traditions were mythologized, reinvented and reinterpreted in a variety of new ways as civil society emerged. By analyzing the content of independent publications in tandem with the actions of Polish civil society between 1976 and 1989, it is possible to appreciate how these traditions were reinvented as well as the decisive and real role which they played in keeping civil society alive and encouraging the creation of oppositional activities; independent publishing specifically.

⁴⁹ Members included Jerzy Szacki, Kazimierz Dziwanowski, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Jan Strzelecki, Andrzej Zakrzewski, Leopold Gluck and Adam Uziembło.

⁵⁰ Andrzej Braun, “O stanie Związku Literatów i stanie kultury polskiej”, *Zapis* 7 (July 1978) 6-10.

⁵¹ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*.

Although a number of the historical works dealing with Solidarity and the democratic opposition between 1976 and 1989 have touched on independent publishing, it has not proven to be a popular research topic for historians. A notable exception are the works of Justyna Błażejowska who has written several articles as well as a book, *Papierowa Rewolucja; Z Dziejów Drugiego Obiegu Wydawniczego w Polsce 1976-1989/90*, on independent publishing.⁵² *Papierem w System. Prasa Drugiego Obiegu w PRL* which was edited by Marta Marcinkiewicz and Sebastian Ligarski, provides brief articles on a number of independent publishing ventures and is useful in considering the development of independent publishing.⁵³ Several works have also been written on individual publishing houses and independent publishing in specific cities or regions.⁵⁴ In addition, a few academic conferences have been held on independent publishing which have published conference papers.⁵⁵ Independent publishing activists have also participated in a number of conferences, discussions and interviews where they reminisced about their times in independent publishing; many also wrote memoirs and diaries.⁵⁶ Several

⁵² Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*.

⁵³ *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, ed. Marta Marcinkiewicz & Sebastian Ligarski (Szczecin: IPN, 2010).

⁵⁴ Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"* (Gdańsk-Torun-Bydgoszcz: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Finna", 2009); *Ludzie nowej, 1977-2007* (Warsaw: NOWA, 2007); Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławską prasą bezdebitową* (Poznań: PWN, 2001); Maria de Hernandez-Paluch, *Sztandar sprzeciwu: Podziemne pismo Hutnik, 1982-1989* (Biały Kruk, 2007); *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia "Secesja", 1993).

⁵⁵ *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989, Materiały Konferencyjne, Koszalin, 12 Maja 2006 r.* ed. Leszek Łakowski (Koszalin: Koszalińska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Joachima Lelewela, 2006) and *Česká a Polská samizdatová literatura/Czeska i Polska literatura drugiego obiegu*, Ed. Libor Martinek & Martin Tichý, International Conference in Opava, November 13-14, 2002.

⁵⁶ The most important conference was *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, ed. Jerzy Eisler (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2003). Published interviews include: Wiesława Grochola, "Słowo jak dynamit," *KARTA* 29 (2006); Kornel Morawiecki with Artur Adamski, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej* (Wrocław: Kontra, 2007); Grzegorz Nawrocki, *Polak z polakiem* (Warsaw: Słowo, 1990); Grzegorz Nawrocki, *Struktury nadziei* (Warsaw: Pokolenie, 1988); Michael Szporer, *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980* (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012); Barbara Toruńczyk, ed. *Gdańsk 1980: Oczyma świadków* (London: Polonia Book Fund, Ltd, 1980); Maciej Łominski, Marcin Moskit (Zbigniew Gach), Mariusz Wilk, *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, trans. Jane Cave (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990). Important memoirs include: Dariusz Fikus, *Foksal '81* (Poznań: SAWW, 1989); Anna Rudzińska, prepared by Teresa Bochwic, *O moją Polskę*. (Warsaw:

bibliographic works on independent publishing also exist; notable are those by Władysław Chojnacki and Agnieszka Iwaszkiewicz.⁵⁷ Adam Mielczarek has done sociological and statistical research on the readership of independent publications.⁵⁸

A comprehensive history of independent publishing has still not been written; this dissertation seeks to fill this void. Independent publishing was the primary form of activity in the Polish opposition while distribution networks provided the structure for the Polish underground. A comprehensive treatment of independent publishing is therefore vital for understanding the growth of the Polish opposition and civil society between 1976 and 1989.

Moreover, the works which have been written on independent publishing have notable shortcomings. Most focus on independent publishing by the democratic opposition and Solidarity; little has been written on the period between 1982 and 1989. This has placed undue emphasis on the leaders of the democratic opposition and Solidarity in independent publishing and created the impression that there was a linear development from the democratic opposition in the 1970s to Solidarity in 1980-81 and the victory of Solidarity in the 1989 elections. However, by placing greater focus on independent publications between 1982 and 1989, it is possible to appreciate how wrong this view is, as by the mid 1980s, independent publishing had become truly pluralistic so that publishing was no longer dominated by the democratic opposition or Solidarity. Instead, independent publications were produced by the kind of active, pluralistic civil society which Hannah Arendt described.

Wydawnictwo Poltext, 2011); Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdyńscy Komunardzi. Sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia* (Gdynia: Verbicause.pl, 2008); Jacek Kuron, *Autobiografia*.

⁵⁷ Agnieszka Iwaszkiewicz and Agnieszka Rudzińska, *Katalog czasopism niezależnych wydanych w latach 1976-1990 z Zbiorach Archiwum Peereleu* (Warsaw: Ośrodek KARTA, 1996); Józef Kamiński [pseudo. Władysław Chojnacki], *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce: 13 XII 1981 - VI 1986* (Paris: Spotkania, 1988).

⁵⁸ Adam Mielczarek, *Śpiący rycerze* (Stworzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2006).

By analyzing Polish independent publishing in the framework of Arendt's theory of civil society, this dissertation contributes to the broader understanding of civil society as a construct and the nature of Polish society within that construct. Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato in their *Civil Society and Political Theory* argued that the "constantly predicted pluralization of civil society never really developed beyond its beginnings" in Poland after Solidarity. It is partially within this context which they rejected Arendt's concept as applying to the Polish situation. However, by showing that a massive pluralization and active politicization did occur in the late 1980s, this dissertation demonstrates why Arendt's theory is so suited to the Polish context.⁵⁹

Hannah Arendt's political writings, including her works on freedom and civic space, have been used by a variety of authors for a number of foci. Murray Bookchin has employed Arendt's works on democratic participation while Gene Sharp had used Arendt's writings in the context of civic activism. A number of works have also been written focusing on her message for feminists. Morris Kaplan has pointed to the ways in which Arendt's image of the democracy, citizenship and the public sphere are useful to gay liberation movements.⁶⁰ Her concept of civil society has been applied to the Spanish Civil War, American Revolution and French Revolutionary contexts.⁶¹ This dissertation, by exploring the Polish situation in detail, allows for an exposition of how Arendt's idea of civil society are applicable in yet another context providing for a further discussion of her concept of civil society. Arendt's presentation of civil society has been critiqued for being narrowly applicable to societies in flux and those

⁵⁹ Jean L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Boston: MIT Press 1994) 625.

⁶⁰ Murray Bookchin, *The Rise of Urbanization and Decline of Citizenship* (New York: Sierra Club Books, 1987); Gene Sharp, *Social Power and Political Freedom* (New York: Sargent, 1978); Morris Kaplan, "Refiguring the Jewish Question: Arendt, Proust, and the Politics of Sexuality" in Bonnie Honig, ed.; *Feminist Interpretations of Hannah Arendt* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania state University, 1995); Ann M Lane, "Hanna Arendt: Theorist of Distinction(s)", *Political Theory* vol. 25, no. 1 (1997).

⁶¹ Robert Nisbet, "Hannah Arendt and the American Revolution", *Social Research* vol. 44, no. 1 (1977); Joel Olsen, "The Revolutionary Spirit: Hannah Arendt and the Anarchists of the Spanish Civil War", *Polity*, vol. 29, no. 4 (1997); Linda M.G. Zerilli, "'We Feel Our Freedom': Imagination and Judgment in the Thought of Hannah Arendt", *Political Theory*, vol. 33, no. 2 (April 2005).

experiencing revolutionary change; Poland between 1976-1989 was such a society.

Accordingly, while this dissertation does not point to the long-term viability of her model, it does suggest its usefulness in analyzing the awakening of a civil society.

By emphasizing the mid- to late-1980s, this dissertation also makes the original argument that a proto-capitalist market in independent publishing arose, providing Polish civil society with experiences which were radically different than in any other country in the bloc. When independent publications were first produced between 1976 and 1980, distribution was limited to narrow groups of confidants who were primarily urban intellectuals. While publications were made for and by workers, these too were regularly handed to confidants. At that time, production never met demand. Furthermore, just as in the Communist system, where intellectual commerce was produced independently of the market, editors printed works which they found edifying, placing secondary emphasis on the demands of their readers. During the Solidarity era, likewise funds for printing often came from union dues so that no thought was needed for market demands. However, by the mid 1980s, a shift occurred. Distributors found that readers wouldn't pay for certain works. As the cost of independent publishing shot up due to inflation and state repression, publishing houses began competing with each other for readers and texts. Efforts were made to create more visually stimulating works as well as new kinds of products such as stamps, calendars, cassette tapes etc. This development was extremely important in demonstrating the dramatic degree to which society had moved to functioning truly independently of the state as well as the massive shift in the mindsets of the individuals who composed Polish civil society.

The recognition of the growth of a proto-market makes it possible to better ascertain the interests and wants of readers. Editors, in response to market demands, ceased publishing non-

political literary works (especially poetry) and instead focused on historical texts which dealt primarily with the recent past (World War II through Solidarity) and politically charged works. Given this shift, it is impossible not to appreciate the growing politicization in civil society as well as the importance of historical traditions in spurring on action since this was the content which the populace craved.

Indeed, one of the gaps in the current scholarship on independent publishing is a lack of emphasis on content. This is problematic because the creation and consumption of independent publications were not only political acts which helped to cement civil society, but the ideas and plans of action carried therein were those which civil society pursued. By exploring the content of independent publications it is possible to appreciate their dramatic influence on the development and forms of action taken by Polish civil society in its struggle for freedom, democracy and independence and the actual, concrete linkages between the democratic opposition, Solidarity and the events of 1989. Quentin Skinner has argued for the need to “establish the connection between the world of ideology and the world of political action” to properly develop intellectual history and understand the traditions to which various discourses refer.⁶² This is precisely what I will do by analyzing the production of independent publishing as well as the ideas conveyed establishing that they were absolutely intertwined. Independent publishing activities were therefore multi-layered actions. Not only was the production, distribution, purchase and reading of independent publications political acts, but their content was as well; that content encouraged further action.

Given that independent publishing was the focal form of action for the Polish opposition, this dissertation allows for a reconsideration of how we think about the defeat of Communism in

⁶² Quentin Skinner, “Problems in the Analysis of Political Thought and Action”, *Political Theory*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Aug. 1974) 280, 288.

Poland and the role of the democratic opposition and Solidarity. The rise of the democratic opposition and even more so of Solidarity in August 1980 attracted worldwide attention which lead to the publication of a number of works on Polish opposition between 1976 and 1981. Written so soon after the events in question, long-term analysis was impossible and any consideration of the collapse of Communism unthinkable.⁶³

In recent years, Solidarity and the democratic opposition have again become quite popular research topics. Monographic works have been written on various oppositional milieus and groups including KOR, ROPCiO, SKS and Ruch Młodej Polski as well as Solidarity.⁶⁴ Andrzej Friszke has provided extensive information on the KOR milieu and Solidarity and chaired several discussions with former KOR and Solidarity activists.⁶⁵ Indeed, many recent publications dealing with Solidarity and the democratic opposition have been transcripts of discussions and interviews with participants, memoirs, autobiographies and collections of documents rather than analytical works.⁶⁶ Of the analytical works which have been written, a number were produced by former Solidarity activists, such as Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej

⁶³ Noteworthy were Jerzy Holzer, *Solidarity, 1980-1981, Genesis and History* which was first published independently in Poland in 1983 and Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR: A History of the Worker's Defense Committee in Poland, 1976-1980*; trans. Olga Amsterdamska and Gene M. Moore (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) as well as Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985) and Neal Ascherson, *The Polish August* (New York: Viking Press, 1982).

⁶⁴ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981* (IPN: Warsaw, 2006); Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski* (Gdansk: Wydawnictwo Arche, 2000).

⁶⁵ Andrzej Friszke, *"Solidarnosc" Mazowsze 1980-1981. Spotkanie z członkami Prezydium Regionu* (Warsaw: Muzeum Historyczne, 2008); Andrzej Friszke, *Przystosowanie i opór; Studia z dziejów PRL* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2007); Andrzej Friszke, *Opozycja polityczna w PRL 1945-1980* (London: Aneks, 1994); *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*; eds. Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej Paczkowski, (Krakow: Znak, 2008).

⁶⁶ Anna Walentynowicz, *Cień przyszłości* (Krakow, Arkana, 2005); Lech Wałęsa, *Droga nadziei* (Krakow: Znak, 1989); Janusz Rolicki, *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za 'Soldiarnosc'* (Warsaw: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza 'BGW', 1991); Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą. Dziennik 1980-81*. (Warsaw: Iskra, 2002); Ed. Grzegorz Grzelak & Mirosław Rybicki, *Korzenie Solidarności 30-lecie Ruch Młodej Polski*, Gdansk, September 26-27, 2009 (Gdansk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2010); *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976, 1980: Wybór dokumentów*, ed. Zygmunt Hemmerling & Marek Nadolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994).

Paczkowski who have since become professors of history.⁶⁷ A *Solidarity Encyclopedia* as well as multi-volume collections of articles on the Solidarity union and movement have been produced as well as a number of biographies and biographic dictionaries.⁶⁸ Studies have been written focusing on specific social groups within the opposition, including women and students.⁶⁹ In addition, a large number of regional studies have been published; most focus on Solidarity.⁷⁰ Wonderful though many of these works are, the predominant emphasis on the Solidarity movement and the period between August 1980 and 1981 has created the false impression that it was this movement which brought about the 1989 Round Table Talks. This dissertation will demonstrate, using independent publications, that while the leadership of Solidarity and the democratic opposition certainly played a major role in the Round Table talks, it was the plurality of actions by millions of often nameless individuals who together, as a civil society, brought about the events of 1989.

This dissertation also contributes to the growing body of literature dealing with the Polish Communist security services. Monographs based on documents gathered by the secret police and currently housed at the Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (IPN) have grown dramatically. Issues related to collaboration with the secret police and verification processes after 1989 are politically charged and have been treated not only in historical works but also in popular

⁶⁷ Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom*; trans. Jane Cave (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003).

⁶⁸ *Encyklopedia Solidarność*, <http://www.encyklopedia-solidarnosci.pl>; *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*, ed. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010); *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989*, ed. Jan Skórzyński, Paweł Sowiński, Małgorzata Strasz (Ośrodek KARTA: Warsaw, 2006).

⁶⁹ Ewa Kondratowicz, *Szminka na sztandarze* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 2001); Shana Penn, *Solidarity's Secret: The Women who Defeated Communism in Poland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); Anusz Andrzej, *Niezależne Zrzeszenie Studentów w latach 1980-1989* (Warsaw: Akcez, 1991).

⁷⁰ Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska ppozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980* (Warsaw-Lublin: IPN, 2009); *Miedzy sierpniem a grudniem: "Solidarność w Krakowie i Małopolsce w latach 1980-1981*, eds. Tomasz Gąsiorowski with Barbara Klich-Kluczevska and Janusz Mierzwe (Krakow: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006); Marek Ziemia, *Solidarność w Stalowej Woli w latach 1980-2000* (Tarnobrzeg: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Prof. Stanisława Tarnowskiego, 2009).

newspapers and news programs. While outside of Poland many of Solidarity's leaders are still perceived as national heroes, in Poland, political and economic developments after 1989 and revelations from IPN have tarnished the reputations of a number of Solidarity's leaders and led to suspicions and recriminations about the trajectory of the movement after 1981. Some independent publishing houses were certainly infiltrated by the state while others were little more than fronts for the security services. The state also, through repression certainly impacted independent publishing and therefore the form of opposition. However, this dissertation by demonstrating the diversity and plurality of independent publishing and Polish opposition to the regime shows that it was impossible for the regime to control or even direct publishing or the opposition.⁷¹

By far the most important sources on independent publishing, and the primary source base for this dissertation, are independent publications themselves. A vast number are available at the KARTA Archiwum Opozycji in Warsaw. Independent publications often reveal what kind of printer they were produced on, the binding process, the name of their publishing house, their cost as well as information about the editorial board, distribution and print-run size. Many also carried interviews with independent publishers as well as information on the establishment of new independent publishing ventures and the independent publishing milieu as a whole. Independent publications include a surprising amount of information about their production, often keeping only the most specific information secret which help in verifying later sources.

⁷¹ Sławomir Cenckiewicz, *Oczami Bezpieki: Szkice i materiały z dziejów aparatu bezpieczeństwa PRL* (Wydawnictwo Arcana, 2004); Sławomir Cenckiewicz and Piotr Gontarczyk, *SB a Lech Wałęsa: Przyczynek do biografii* (Gdańsk: IPN, 2009); Ewa Zając and Henry Głębocki, "Ketman" i "Monika" –Żywotny Równoległe" (Warsaw: IPN), Ryszard Terlecki, "Monika", *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 50, March 2005; "The Controversy over Lech Wałęsa" in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, ed. Michael Szporer (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012).

The numerous memoirs, interviews and conferences in which independent publishers participated were quite important in reconstructing the logistics of independent publishing. However, these sources needed to be handled carefully; particularly those which were produced after a significant passage of time. Not only do memories fade, but quite stark political divisions have, with time, developed between those who were active in independent publishing between 1976 and 1989; these can cloud and even alter memories of the past. Accordingly, whenever possible, an effort was made to use contemporary sources which could be corroborated by more than one source.

This dissertation also uses the statistical and bibliographic works which have been produced on independent publications. While these have been quite helpful generally, caution was necessary in using them. Comprehensive statistics were not taken contemporaneously and publications were not registered with libraries. Some serials changed names which means that some cataloguers count them twice. In addition, some cataloguers have treated special editions of certain serials as distinct publications. As for monographs, if two publishing houses both produced the same monograph, most cataloguers count them as two distinct “publications.” There also are disagreements over if something was a flyer of a brochure, the latter of which is counted as a monograph. The trend had been to overestimate the number of independent publications.⁷²

The first chapter of this dissertation focuses on the period between 1976 and 1980 when activists in the Polish democratic opposition created the first broad-based, long-lasting independent publishing efforts as both a manifestation of, and a means of creating further

⁷² This trend is fascinating given that one of the arguments in this dissertation is that the historical tradition of Polish opposition and its mythologization (whereby the actions of minorities has been presented as more general, if not universal) was one of the major contributors to the development of independent publishing and emerging civil society in the 1970s and 1980s. Independent publishing, which was indeed incomparably more widespread than in any other country in the bloc, is still presented in inflated numbers by Polish librarians.

independent social institutions. Rejecting the *samizdat* printing techniques employed in neighboring countries, the democratic opposition elected to use duplicating machines. Konrad Bocheński argued that the very “idea of using duplicating machines was a revolution in scale within the entire bloc.”⁷³ Independent publishing houses were established which printed original serials as well as monographs which were primarily re-prints from the Polish emigration. Authors and editors signed their names and even provided contact information thereby broadcasting the existence of opposition and enabling intellectual contacts beyond personal networks. Distribution chains allowed not only for contacts between intellectuals but also for contacts with rural populations and workers as serials were produced specifically for these groups. Independent publishing also encouraged international bonds with sympathizers in the West through the procurement of supplies and in the East through the printing of dissident works. As disagreements over editorial policy erupted at the first independent publishing houses and publications, new publications and publishing houses emerged allowing for a growing plurality of social and political foci. Between 1976 and 1980, independent publications therefore helped to break through social atomization and enabled on-going contacts across political, geographic and class divides. This was a learning period when individuals first developed methods for procuring supplies, producing materials and creating distribution networks. This chapter explores this progression as well as the first independent publications and key publishing houses; the major actors and their motivations are briefly considered as well as the other independent social actions which indicated the re-emergence of civil society. State repression is also treated.

Between 1976 and 1980, independent publishing was created and remained largely dominated by a small, urban, intellectual minority; chapter two therefore focuses on the writings of five of the most influential activists in independent publishing in this period: Jacek Kuroń,

⁷³Jacek Bocheński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 118.

Adam Michnik, Antoni Macierewicz, Leszek Moczulski, and Aleksander Hall. It analyzes the ways in which they presented the status quo, their goals for the future and the tactics for achieving these goals. This chapter demonstrates that in this period, prior to the existence of any means of gauging the general mood in Polish society, historical interpretation informed nascent political disagreements and ideas about contemporary society and that the reinvention of Polish history was a vital part of political discourse. It also shows that the democratic opposition was united in its desire for freedom, democracy and independence (although variously defined) and belief that despite Poland's history of uprisings, non-violent, independent social initiatives were the best means of awakening Polish civil society and achieving their aims.

Chapter three analyzes independent publishing and union publishing in the Solidarity-era (summer of 1980 to December 1981). With the rise of Solidarity, Polish civil society was electrified; independent publishing efforts flourished as independent serial titles expanded from dozens to thousands. Once Solidarity gained the right to produce works for "internal union use", most independent publications became brief, union related bulletins which were more moderate and self-limiting than the pre-August opposition press. Independent publishing ceased to be dominated by an intellectual minority as millions gained contact with independent publishing; new issues arose over editorial decision-making and the distribution of funds. This chapter will explore which publishing houses, publications and individuals dominated in 1980-1981 as well as how publishing supplies were procured and publications produced and distributed with moderated legality. Major political events, government repression and developments in the Solidarity union will be described for contextualization.

The Solidarity-era saw Polish civil society seemingly reemerge to engage in independent publishing and political debate on a vast scale. Solidarity's First National Congress was the one

opportunity for Polish society to voice its plurality of views in a national forum. Chapter four therefore analyzes the ideas expressed by Congress delegates as conveyed in union publications. Building upon the plans of action prescribed in independent publications between 1976 and August 1980, delegates focused on concrete steps for the democratization of the Solidarity union and Polish society. Clearly demonstrating the move toward a vibrant civil society, plans for establishing self-governance over the economy and society were debated at length.

The fifth chapter will deal with the period from December 13, 1981 to the June 1989 elections. Despite the strictures of martial law, independent publishing began to flourish in new ways, demonstrating that the methods of opposition supported between 1976 and 1981, predicated on the creation of a vibrant civil society through independent social initiatives and self-governance, and bolstered through independent publishing, were effective. Indeed, between 1982 and 1989, independent publishing became increasingly pluralistic with independent publishing initiatives being directed by and for a variety of different groups with connections to Solidarity as well as students, farmers, doctors, teachers, intellectuals, punks, environmentalists, surrealists etc. Publishing also became more political and less self-limiting; overtly political publications were geared toward liberals, socialists and nationalists. In addition, independent publishers began to produce new kinds of media as a proto-market developed. Therefore, rather than attempting to present the focal ideas in independent publishing (which would be impossible) separately from the history of independent publishing, the period from 1982-1989 will be handled in one comprehensive chapter. This chapter will look at the major publishing houses and publications, presenting their ideological foci as well as state repression and logistical developments to demonstrate the incredible diversity and pluralism of this period.

This dissertation demonstrates that independent publishing was the primary form of action for the opposition to the Polish Communist regime between 1976 and 1989. The production of independent publications gathered groups of likeminded individuals who sought to effect change. It is the story of intellectuals acting and workers writing. The procurement of supplies helped to link these groups and even formed international bonds. Distribution chains created the network of opposition which broke through social atomization, enabling broad based social cooperation and solidarity. The pages of independent publications encouraged the development of further independent social initiatives, including new independent publications. When strikes or any other protest manifestation erupted (most of which after 1976 were sparked or at least encouraged by independent publications), it was independent publishers who prevented these from being isolated or ignored by helping to produce strike bulletins, flyers and independent papers as well as reporting to Radio Free Europe and other Western news sources to enable other regions to not only know what was happening but also to have the opportunity to show solidarity. Publishing also provided Polish society with its first tastes of a market economy. The history of independent publishing therefore is in many ways the concrete history of the Polish opposition.

The success of independent publishing was only possible because Polish society was open to the demands made by independent publishers. By the 1970s, Poland had a unique historical tradition which emphasized the need to fight for independence. This meant that Polish society included millions of individuals who had personal experience in underground struggle and acting independently of any state structure while almost every individual had heard first-hand tales of these activities. Independent publishing activists re-interpreted these historical traditions to emphasize non-violent, social struggle in a way to which society proved responsive.

This dissertation establishes that independent publications, in their proliferation and plurality between 1976 and 1989, were vital to the development of Polish civil society and that once awakened, Polish civil society was the proverbial giant which was able to defeat the Communist Leviathan.

CHAPTER 1

Independent Publishing, 1976 to the Summer of 1980

In 1976, the first widespread, long-lasting independent publishing activities began. Although these were initially produced in typescript, independent publishers quickly began to use printing machines which allowed for the rapid and unprecedented growth of print-runs. Like the democratic opposition, independent publishing was initially the purview of a small, urban intellectual minority; most of these individuals were left-leaning or had at some point had an affiliation with the Communist party as those who had not were likely to have had their educations and careers sidelined.⁷⁴ Through cooperation in independent publishing, various intellectual milieus linked up, breaking through social atomization; by 1977/1978 independent publications were also produced by and for workers and peasants helping to bridge class-based divisions and suspicions. During this period, therefore independent publications played the decisive role in making connections across political, geographic and class divides thereby enabling the development of a nascent civil society. Independent publications were also the concrete proof that Polish opposition existed.

The Birth of Independent Publishing, 1976-1977

In the early 1970s, Janusz Krupski, Piotr Jegliński and Bogdan Borusewicz, students at the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL), decided to embark on an underground publishing venture. These three students, who spent so much time together that they were jokingly referred to as the “holy trinity,” had been raised steeped in Polish national traditions related to the

⁷⁴ David Ost, Introduction to Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 11.

struggle for independence.⁷⁵ Krupski had long been passionate about Polish history, especially military history. When he realized that the Polish People's army was not tied to the Polish military traditions he admired, he decided on a career in history rather than in the military.⁷⁶ Similarly, Jegliński noted that “already as a child I was infected with history, as a “4th or 5th generation revolutionary” he pasted crowns on Polish eagles as a youth. “I heard from my family that they conspired, that they were printers in the time of the war, after the war, etc.”; Jegliński followed in these footsteps.⁷⁷ Borusewicz, whose father had fought in the AK, had a long standing interest in history. In particular, he remembered listening to a series about the Gulag on Radio Free Europe. However, Borusewicz insisted that moral issues were his primary motivator as he was raised with the conviction that the ruling system was not only foreign imposed, but also immoral. In high school, Borusewicz had created a conspiratorial group with his friends and had been arrested in 1968 for passing out leaflets about a May 3rd demonstration; he was imprisoned until the 1969 amnesty.⁷⁸

Lectures by Professor Władysław Bartoszewski (a onetime member of *Ruch* and PPN) at KUL on underground publishing in World War II steeled these students in their resolve to create underground publications. After working in East Germany, collecting cherries, in 1972, Jegliński bought a camera in order to copy a book. Borusewicz and Jegliński had both completed photography classes, and with that expertise, copied *Katyń: Massacre dans la Forêt* by Janusz

⁷⁵ Piotr Jegliński, “Placówka w Paryżu”, *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 56.

⁷⁶ Janusz Krupski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, ed. Jerzy Eisler (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2003) 32.

⁷⁷ Piotr Jegliński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 51.

⁷⁸ Bogdan Borusewicz in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 128-129; Bogdan Bousewicz in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, ed. Michael Szporer (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012) 40-41.

Zawodny. The expense involved in this process was too high for it to become a wide-scale method of reproduction.⁷⁹

In 1974, Borusewicz read “Political Opposition in Poland” in Paris *Kultura* by Jacek Kuroń; it had a major impact on his thinking. Originally attracted to the tradition of clandestine organizations and violent uprisings, he became convinced by Kuroń’s call for the creation of a wide-scale oppositional milieu which stressed education rather than a secret organization which Kuroń argued, based on previous historical experiences, fostered non-democratic tendencies.⁸⁰ Borusewicz, Jegliński, and Krupski, hoped to create a broad student group within the context of the KUL History Department and Dominican University Ministry as well as a tiny clandestine publishing effort. They considered stealing printing supplies from the official, Communist student organization. They ultimately thought better of it and instead decided to procure a duplicator from the emigration. Borusewicz and Krupski couldn’t get passports so in August 1974, Jegliński (after winning a scholarship) went first to Munich to Radio Free Europe with microfilmed documents about recent political trials and the debates over the changes to the constitution and then to Paris.⁸¹

The students found the emigration unsupportive of their plans. Jerzy Giedroyc and Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, from the Literary Institute in Paris, thought that since the government insisted on a monopoly of information, that these young people would end up directly in prison. Nowak-Jeziorański argued that publishing should be left to the emigration and that Positivist

⁷⁹Piotr Jegliński, in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 51; Piotr Jegliński “Placówka w Paryżu”, *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin: 2001) 56.

⁸⁰Bogdan Borusewicz, in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 175; Jacek Kuroń, “Polityczna opozycja w Polsce” in *Opozycja: Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2010) 41, 52.

⁸¹ Janusz Krupski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 35, 67, Piotr Jegliński, “Placówka w Paryżu”, 62; Janusz Krupski, “Od początku do końca”, *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 104.

work should be done at home. Jegliński therefore took a job as a waiter in order to save money and buy a printer. With his savings, he was able, in the spring of 1976, to buy a Rally spirit duplicator (or ditto machine). He brought it to London where Wit Wójtowicz, a fellow student from KUL, was participating in an international theater week with the KUL academic theater. After a quick lesson in using the machine, (which was dubbed 'Francuska') Wójtowicz smuggled it to Krupski in Lublin in May 1976 with the theater's luggage. It was small and could only produce about 100 copies at a time. In June, this group, with friends from KUL, produced flyers in English about political prisoners in Poland which they distributed at an international student conference in Warsaw.⁸²

Krupski contacted Kuroń about using a printer (not explaining that they already had one). However, Kuroń, like Nowak-Jeziorański, argued that a duplicating machine was clearly breaking the law and so would be perceived as a provocation. He believed that if something needed to be communicated more broadly to the nation, it could be done through Radio Free Europe.⁸³ Undeterred, the students in Lublin printed a couple copies of George Orwell's *Animal Farm*. Although it was largely illegible, it provided the students with practice in using their machine.⁸⁴

The June protests and the creation of KOR in 1976 led to a reevaluation of the merits of, and need for, independent publishing and duplicating machines. Antoni Macierewicz insisted on the need for a KOR "press organ." On July 25, 1976 he had a couple dozen copies of a report on the repression in Ursus typed up. On September 29, 1976, the first KOR serial, KOR *Komunikat*

⁸² Piotr Jegliński & Janusz Krupski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy* 52-53, 68; Wit Wójtowicz, http://www.tnn.pl/himow_relacja.php?idhm=391; Janusz Krupski in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* nr 36 (2009) 63; Piotr Jegliński, "Placówka w Paryżu", 63.

⁸³ Janusz Krupski and Andrzej Czuma in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 68; Janusz Krupski, "Od początku do końca", 107.

⁸⁴ Janusz Krupski in "Słowo jak dynamit", ed. Wiesława Grochola, *KARTA* 29 (2006) 86.

appeared. It was edited by Antoni Macierewicz (who dictated most of the articles) and Anna Kowalska who typed them. Shortly after, KOR also began producing *Biuletyn Informacyjny*. It was edited by Seweryn Blumsztajn, Jan Lityński, Antoni Libera (for a brief time) and Adam Wojciechowski. Joanna Szczęsna joined shortly after because she believed that the first issue was at an unacceptably low level.⁸⁵

KOR *Komunikat* and *Biuletyn Informacyjny* developed in different directions. KOR *Komunikat* provided brief factual information on state repression as well as KOR's activities, announcements, and the list of KOR signatories including addresses and phone numbers. It also carried concise information on the independent social movement as it developed. The articles were unsigned and were intended to present the unbiased voice of KOR. *Biuletyn Informacyjny* had slightly longer articles with more extensive information on the independent social movement and Polish society as a whole as well as more polemical pieces; by February 1977 it had a "Polemics" section. Also, at that time, it added a section dealing with the international scene and independent activities in the Communist bloc. *Biuletyn Informacyjny* was ground breaking in the openness of its contributors: the October issue included one signed article, by February 1977 most articles were signed, and in March 1977 the editors were named.

Initially, *Komunikat* and *Biuletyn Informacyjny* were published using *samizdat* techniques. This meant that several copies were typed on light-weight carbon paper (mostly by women including Barbara Toruńczyk and Joanna Szczęsna). Anna Rudzińska, who typed the first KOR announcement as well as many of KOR's future publications could type ten copies at a time. She reminisced that Jan Lityński would dictate to her and she would type while Wojciech Ziemiński arranged the paper. These copies were then distributed to friends and colleagues who

⁸⁵ Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 112; Joanna Szczęsna in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, ed. Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej Paczkowski (Krakow: Znak, 2008) 412.

were, in turn, obliged to make at least two copies to pass on. This process was repeated with each new recipient. After a few months, this method of production and distribution was functioning effectively.⁸⁶

There were disagreements within KOR about the decision not to use duplicating machines, notably between Antoni Macierewicz, Seweryn Blumsztajn, Piotr Naimski, Mirosław Chojecki and Jacek Kuroń. They met on September 7, 1976, at the home of Antoni Libera to discuss duplicating. Kuroń favored typing as he believed that it helped with distribution, was practically simpler (since the central collection of supplies and printers was seemingly impossible), and would not provoke immediate state repression. He initially won the debate which Chojecki (who at the time disagreed with Kuroń) later argued had a positive long-term impact on the publishing movement as the initial distributors were accustomed to the work of re-typing and so were already a committed cadre of distributors when the decision was reached to switch to duplicators. Antoni Macierewicz endorsed using duplicators from the first, arguing that workers did not have typewriters and so re-typing was elitist.⁸⁷

Borusewicz, who had graduated from KUL in 1976 and moved back to the coast, became a KOR signatory and provided the important link between his friends in Lublin and Macierewicz. In November 1976, Macierewicz began sending issues of KOR *Komunikat* to Krupski; about 100-200 copies were printed in Lublin then returned to Warsaw for distribution. In December 1976, the students smuggled in a second, better duplicator, 'Zuzia' for which, Giedroyc had provided them with money. They then also began producing KOR *Biuletyn*

⁸⁶ Barbara Toruńczyk and Mirosław Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit", 82; Anna Rudzińska, *O Moją Polskę*, prepared by Teresa Bochwic (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Poltext, 2011) 189, 198.

⁸⁷ It is also worth noting that the process of printing often required the typing of a matrice which these professional typists did. [Mirosław Chojecki in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 66; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia* (Warsaw: Krytyka, 2009) 415; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007* (Warsaw: NOWa, 2007) 15; Anna Rudzińska, *O Moją Polskę*, 204.

Informacyjna. With their new printer, they were able to significantly increase the print-runs of both KOR publications. They sent their original spirit duplicator to Warsaw and contacted Macierewicz to let him know that they could do something on a larger scale; they considered attempting *Gulag Archipelago*.⁸⁸

In Warsaw, Macierewicz and Chojecki practiced using the machine they received from Lublin. In the spring, they produced two KOR brochures with the publishing house insignia, “Wydawnictwo KOR”, as well as copies of KOR *Komunikat* and *Biuletyn Informacyjny* with the help of Bogusława Blajfer, Ryszard Knauff, Sonia Pięłowska and Bogdan Pięłowski at whose apartment they stored the printer. They were soon joined in their publishing activities by Antoni Roszak and Zenon Pałka from Wrocław. These were the first KOR publications published fully within the KOR milieu. They were produced in print-runs of 200 to 500 copies. The work was done at night because house searches started from 6 a.m. When in May 1977 Stanisław Pyjas was found dead, this group printed 800-900 flyers about him which were taken to Krakow where KOR publishing efforts were just beginning.⁸⁹

In the meantime, the idea of developing an independent literary journal had come under serious consideration within the democratic opposition. Adam Michnik and Wiktor Woroszyński strongly supported this idea in the summer of 1976. Yet, there were serious concerns, especially among older, more established authors, about the risks involved in such an undertaking, specifically their losing the ability to publish in state publishing houses and travel abroad.⁹⁰

Despite these worries, the first issue of the independent literary journal, *Zapis*, which was over

⁸⁸ Exact dates are difficult to confirm, the students in Lublin suggested November while Chojecki suggested December. [Janusz Krupski in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 86; Janusz Krupski in “Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie”, *Scriptores* nr 36 (Lublin, 2009) 64; Wit Wojtowicz, “Francuska w Lublinie”, *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 230-231; Krzysztof Żórawski, “Powielacze i formacja”, *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011), 247; Mirosław Chojecki, “Jestem w ogóle apolityczny”, *Więź* 5/6 (May–June 1990) 148.]

⁸⁹ Mirosław Chojecki, Sonia Pięłowska and Ryszard Kanuff in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 87-89; Mirosław Chojecki, “Jestem w ogóle apolityczny”, 151.

⁹⁰ Barbara Toruńczyk in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 83.

200 pages, and was dated January 1977, included signed works by well-known authors such as Jerzy Andrzejewski and Kazimierz Brandys as well as younger authors including Stanisław Barańczak and Marek Nowokowski. It included poems, prose pieces and literary reviews; several of these dealt with Soviet wartime and post-War violence, especially rape in Poland. Most authors and editors signed their names in *Zapis*. Leszek Szaruga remembered a friend who upon receiving the first issue asserted, “if they [the state authorities] don’t muzzle this thing, then in several years they’ll be completely helpless.” Indeed, at this point, no one knew how the state would react and Jacek Bocheński recalled the feeling that the first issue of *Zapis* may well have been the last.⁹¹

Instead, the production of *Zapis* followed a similar pattern to KOR’s *Komunikat* and *Biuletyn Informacyjny*. The first issue of *Zapis* was typed on carbon paper which yielded about five to six legible copies at a time. It was typed by Barbara Toruńczyk and a female veteran of the AK who when asked if she would be willing to type *Zapis* (given the risk involved due to the uncertainty of the state’s reaction) responded that “I swore to serve the struggle for Polish freedom in the AK and nothing has released me from this service.” In May 1977, the editorial board agreed to Macierewicz and Ludwik Dorn’s proposal that it be sent to Lublin to be duplicated.⁹²

The students in Lublin had developed their printing capabilities rapidly. Jegliński had stayed abroad collecting funds and supplies, while Krupski was joined by several peers from the KUL academic milieu who helped in smuggling printing equipment from abroad and printing

⁹¹ Leszek Szaruga, “*Zapis*, Wstęp to opisu” in *Piśmiennictwo—Systemy kontroli—Obieg alternatywny*; eds. Janusz Kostecki, Alina Brodzka, vol. II (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1992) 298; Jacek Bocheński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 118.

⁹² Janusz Krupski in “Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 64-65; Jan Bocheński and Barbara Toruńczyk in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 84-85.

KOR's *Komunikat*, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, and other KOR documents.⁹³ Mazciewicz supplied them with *Zapis* 1 (which, at over 200 pages, was of an unprecedented size). They produced 340-400 copies in three weeks and sent them to Warsaw for distribution in the summer of 1977 by which time the KOR leadership was in prison.⁹⁴

With the KOR leadership, including Mirosław Chojecki and Anotni Macierewicz in prison from May to July 1977, Grzegorz Boguta stepped up to organize printing from the KOR milieu in Warsaw. He was helped by Ryszard Knauff and Maria Federecka. They produced three brochures by Adam Michnik at that time.⁹⁵

The NN milieu had already begun publishing *U Progu* in October 1976. In contrast to *Zapis*, KOR *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and KOR *Komunikat*, *U Progu* was published with a duplicating machine from its inception. It was therefore the first independent serial produced with a duplicator. Piotr Dyk, a medical student connected to the Gdansk student discussion groups which had ties to NN, was in Paris on vacation in the summer of 1976. He had been given credentials from Andrzej Czuma (of *Ruch* and then NN) to obtain a printer. Giedroyc gave him several dozen books by *Kultura* and a duplicator. In September 1976, Dyk put these gifts into two backpacks and went to Czechoslovakia where he handed them over to Marian Piłka and Tomasz Lewandowski who then took them to cross the Czechoslovak-Polish border in the mountains. However, the next day, bad weather forced them to hide the backpacks in the mountains and miss their meeting with Maciej Grzywaczewski and Paweł Miłkasz who were to come from the Polish side. Accordingly, Piłka and Lewandowski crossed the border legally and

⁹³ Wojciech Butkiewicz, Tadeusz Hofmański, Paweł Nowacki, Bogumił Pietrasiewicz, Jan Stępek, Wit Wojtkowicz, Hania Żórawska, Krzysztof Żórawski, and Michał Zulauf all helped.

⁹⁴ Janusz Krupski and Paweł Nowacki in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 64-65; Janusz Krupski in "Słowo jak dynamit", 85.

⁹⁵ Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 152; Grzegorz Boguta, "Jak zostać wydawcą", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 20 (August 14, 1981) 8.

went to Zakopane where they phoned Aleksander Hall and Piotr Dyk (who had since gone to Gdansk). They rushed to Zakopane and together found the backpacks and brought them to Poland. They handed the duplicator over to their friends from NN who began publishing *U Progu* in October 1976.⁹⁶

U Progu was edited by Krystian Brodacki, Emil Morgiewicz, Jacek Wegner, and Adam Wojciechowski; neither editors nor authors signed their names. It was a monthly publication which included brief articles on politics, society and history and was in comparison to KOR's initial publications, much more polemic and anti-state. Twelve editions were printed which numbered between four and thirteen pages with print-runs of a couple hundred copies. When Czuma took a copy of the first issue to Kuroń, he responded that their efforts would be treated as a provocation by the authorities. In the fall of 1977 the printer broke and *U Progu* ceased publication.⁹⁷ By this time, the taboo on the use of duplicating machines had been breached, ROPCiO had been founded from within this milieu and new publishing efforts were being pursued.

The Growth of Independent Publishing: 1977-1980

The release of the KOR activists from prison in July 1977 led to a dramatic increase in publishing efforts from that milieu and the establishment of the preeminent independent publishing house, NOWa. When in July 1977 KOR transformed into KSS-KOR, the signatories decided to create a publishing house without political affiliation but under KSS-KOR's umbrella as well as a socio-political, magazine-type serial. Macierewicz and Chojecki contacted Krupski about creating a common publishing house with a wing in Lublin and a wing in Warsaw. The

⁹⁶ Grzegorz Waligóra, "U Progu—Pierwsze pismo powielaczowe", *Gazeta Polska* (July 16, 2008); Grzegorz Waligóra, "U Progu" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność* (Warsaw: IPN, 2010); Marian Piłka in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, ed. Marta Marcinkiewicz & Sebastian Ligarski (Szczecin: IPN, 2010) 63.

⁹⁷ Andrzej Czuma in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 74; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981* (IPN:Warsaw, 2006) 50-51.

Lublin group was already using the name Nieocenzurowana Oficyna Wydawnicza (Uncensored Publishing House) which they had printed on *Zapis* 1. Chojecki suggested changing the name to Niezależna Oficyna Wydawnicza (Independent Publishing House). Krupski agreed. The NOWa insignia was developed at this time. Editorial disagreements quickly arose between Krupski in Lublin and Chojecki in Warsaw; they fairly amicably parted ways.⁹⁸

NOWa was based in Warsaw under Chojecki's editorship and became the most significant independent publishing house in Poland. Chojecki's involvement in the opposition was tied to moral concerns as well as family tradition: his grandfather had been one of Piłsudski's Legionnaires, his grandfather's brother had died at Katyń, his parents had been in the AK and his father had been in a Stalinist prison. Professor Władysław Bartoszewski's lectures in 1972-73 were also decisive. Chojecki reminisced that for Bartoszewski "it was obvious...that Poland was not an independent country which for me, a 23 year old man was- I don't hide it—a real shock, but at the same time evident."⁹⁹

KSS-KOR (of which Chojecki was a signatory) provided the start-up capital for NOWa. NOWa was an independent institution, yet it remained closely linked to KSS-KOR, promising that KSS-KOR publications would be published without a wait and at cost.¹⁰⁰ In keeping with the KSS-KOR ideal of transparency, NOWa had an open editorial board, initially made up of Mirosław Chojecki and Grzegorz Boguta (both of whom had helped workers in Radom in 1976). Ryszard Knauff and Maria Feddecka (until early 1978) were also on the editorial board, however, they served as silent members as NOWa functioned on two planes with most of its workers remaining anonymous or 'underground' to prevent the confiscation of publishing materials. Adam

⁹⁸ Mirosław Chojecki and Janusz Krupski in "Słowo jak dynamit", 87, 89; Piotr Jegliński and Janusz Krupski, *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 53, 69; Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 152-153.

⁹⁹ Mirosław Chojecki, *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 45.

¹⁰⁰ Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 319.

Michnik and Konrad Bieliński joined the open editorial board soon after while Ewa Milewicz joined the silent editorial board. At first, Chojecki took care of the preparation of texts, Chojecki and Boguta together headed up printing, Bieliński led distribution, and Knauff took responsibility for supply. By 1978, about 200 to 250 people were working with NOWa; its most active printers included Mieczysław Grudziński, Anatol Lawina, Jan Narożniak, Jan Walc, Zenon Pałka, and Seweryn Blumsztajn. Bogdan Grzesiak was a professional printer and became important in decision-making in NOWa in 1979 when he joined.¹⁰¹ NOWa took over from the Lublin group, the production of KSS-KOR's *Komunikat* and *Biuletyn Informacyjny* which came to average about 3,000-5,000 copies between 1977 and 1980 as well as *Zapis* which had an average print run of 2,000 copies, but reached as high as 3,000 copies.¹⁰²

Zapis was quickly able to attract the reigning luminaries of Polish letters, making it an important literary journal; the fact that it was reproduced abroad by the *Index on Censorship* certainly helped.¹⁰³ *Zapis'* editors, as the founders of the first independent literary journal, dealt with complex editorial decisions. *Zapis* was created as a means of freely expressing contemporary Polish literature; not as a means of pushing any program. Its founders asserted that their only connection was an attachment to truth.¹⁰⁴ They called for literature to serve people rather than the state and attempted to break free not only from the state's censors but from self-censorship as well.¹⁰⁵ Still, Jacek Bocheński (who was on the editorial board) contended

¹⁰¹ "Miroslaw Chojecki" in *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989* ed. Jan Skórzyński, Paweł Sowiński, Małgorzata Strasz (Ośrodek KARTA: Warsaw, 2000) 55; Konrad Bieliński and Grzegorz Boguta, *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 63, 73; Miroslaw Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 154.

¹⁰² *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 21; Miroslaw Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit", 106; Grzegorz Boguta, "Jak zostać wydawcą", 8.

¹⁰³ Lech Dymarski argued that for younger authors like himself, publishing in *Zapis* actually boosted their reputation more than legal publishing could have done due to his name being connected with famed literati. [Lech Dymarski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 93].

¹⁰⁴ Stanisław Barańczak, "Dlaczego *Zapis*", *Zapis* 1 (January 1977) 8.

¹⁰⁵ Stanisław Barańczak, "List otwarty do pisarza Romana Bratnego," *Zapis* 2 (April 1977) 138.

that *Zapis*' editors incessantly dealt with the issue of literature as propaganda, meaning if the works they published were to be used instrumentally in the struggle against the regime or if they were simply to be independent literary creations. Although he supported the latter stance, he knew that many printers would not be happy making the publication, given the implicit risk, if it had no political resonance. It is his opinion that the reading public generally shared the printers' view.¹⁰⁶ These were some of the obvious challenges and contradictions in attempting to create non-political independent publications in Poland since their mere production like the goal of 'speaking in truth,' was, in the context of the Polish authoritarian regime, political. This also underlines the potential disparity between the desires of the populace and the creators of culture. This was a non-issue under Soviet rule given that the creation of culture was distinct from the market. With the creation of independent publishing, this was becoming an issue already in 1977.

NOWa also published the literary quarterly *Puls* which was produced in Łódź by a younger group of intellectuals (including Jacek Bierezin, Tomasz Filipiczak and Witold Sułkowski) in collaboration with Tadeusz Walendowski in Warsaw. The first issue (October 1977) did, in fact, attack *Zapis* for being too political. However, the *Puls* editors developed close relations with *Zapis* editors, Stanisław Barańczak and Lech Dymarski (both of whom were from Poznań). *Puls* called for cultural pluralism and the integration of Polish culture (versus divisions between émigrés, socialists, and non-socialists). It was the first journal to include graphics and stressed a more post-modernist stance, often dealing with the threat to society posed by mass consumerism; it reached a print-run of about 1,500.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Jacek Bocheński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 118.

¹⁰⁷ "Pierwsze numer *Pulsu*", *Zapis* 5 (January 1978) 243; "Puls", *Opinia* 8 (December 1977) 18; Leszek Próczniak, *Encyklopedia Solidarności*, "Puls"; Konrad Bieliński in "Słowo jak dynamit", 101.

In addition to these serials, NOWa published monographs; these became its production focus. NOWa primarily re-printed works which had been published in the West, especially by Paris *Kultura* and *Aneks*. Jerzy Giedroyc gave Chojecki permission to reprint anything from the Literary Institute in Paris and in September 1977 provided NOWa with its first monographic publication: Jakub Karpiński's *Pochodzenie Systemu*. It was 40 pages long and was produced in a print-run of 150 copies.¹⁰⁸ Despite the popular impression that 'desk drawers' were full of works which had been censored and so were ready for independent publication, these were actually exhausted almost immediately. The only new work which was fully ready for publication at NOWa's founding, was Kazimierz Brandys' *Nierzeczywistość*, which became NOWa's first book.¹⁰⁹

Chojecki asserted that NOWa had been founded because he and his friends could no longer sit in silence as the history of the fatherland was falsified.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, history texts were a focus for NOWa. Bohdan Cywiński's *Rowody Niepokorynych*, on the history of the Polish left was one of NOWa's most important publications. Cywiński was close to Church circles (NOWa also published his history of the Catholic Church in the inter-War era) so his work was perceived as key in bridging societal suspicions and recriminations from Catholic circles toward those on the left. Piłsudski's underground publications were also published by NOWa as was Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's *Courier from Warsaw*. Still, Chojecki noted in 1979, that there was a continuing need from society for historical information about the recent past (especially Katyn and the Russian invasion in 1939) which NOWa struggled to meet.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ "NOWa", *Opinia* 6 (October 1, 1977) 31; Jan Skórzynski, "Wolne słowo z powielacza", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009), 21; Wojciech Fałkowski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 58; Konrad Bieliński in "Słowo jak dynamit", 97.

¹⁰⁹ Grzegorz Bogucka and Mirosław Chojecki in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 86, 103.

¹¹⁰ Mirosław Chojecki, "Wystąpienie Mirosława Chojeckiego", *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 38 (June 1980) 16.

¹¹¹ "NOWa" (Interview with Chojecki), *Głos* 15 (April 1979) 23-29.

NOWa dominated the independent publishing market in the production of high literature. NOWa, in this period, published a variety of authors, including Jozif Brosip, Witold Gombrowicz, Günther Grass (translated into Polish by Stanisław Barańczak), Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, Bohumil Hrabal, Czesław Miłosz, and George Orwell. Adam Michnik was key in determining NOWa's choice of literature to publish; he consistently endorsed Czesław Miłosz for publication. NOWa's first purely literary monograph (published in 1978) was a book of poetry by Miłosz which had a print-run of 2,500.¹¹²

Many of NOWa's literary publications had strong historical/political connotations. This was certainly true of the few original literary works which were produced by NOWa and which became the "hits" of the independent press. Kazimierz Brandys' *Nierzeczywistość* was the first book published by NOWa (and the independent press for that matter). It had initially been excerpted in *Zapis* 1. It was then published in its entirety in 1977 with a print-run of 300 and reprinted in 1978 and again in 1981 with larger print-runs. It was ground breaking in that it was a signed work by an author living in Poland. Tadeusz Konwicki's *Polish Complex* (*Zapis* 3-July 1977) was perceived by many as a turning point for NOWa (and by extension the entire independent publishing movement) as it made clear that NOWa was able to compete with official publishers in terms of quality of production (it was produced in a high-quality print-run of 3,000) and ability to attract famous authors. NOWa's publication of Konwicki's *Minor Apocalypse* (*Zapis* 10, April 1979) was the smash hit of independent publishing in this period.¹¹³

¹¹² Mirosław Chojecki and Konrad Bieliński in "Słowo jak dynamit", 96, 105; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 19; "NOWa" (Interview with Chojecki) 23-29.

¹¹³ Chojecki explained the decision of authors (such as Konwicki) to have their original works published in *Zapis* rather than as independent monographs by NOWa, as having been due to the fact that all editions of *Zapis* were automatically reproduced in the West. [Kazimierz Brandys, "Nierzeczywistość", *Zapis* 1 (January 1977) 24-46; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 18; "NOWa" (Interview with Chojecki), 24; Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 154, 162.]

Strikingly, all three of these literary works were very much concerned with Polish national history and mythology. *Nierzeczywistość* is more of a memoir of a literary figure than literature per se. In it, Brandys writes about his relationship with his father as a personification of the Romantic/Piłsudskite tradition, his own wartime experiences, and his post-War attraction to Communism. A major theme is Polishness and its ‘unreality’ due to the confrontation of Romantic, heroic traditions and real life. Konwicki’s works are more fictional, but no less historical. *Polish Complex* concentrates on a group of people waiting in line on Christmas Eve in the 1970s in Warsaw in front of a shop for Russian jewelry; it includes flashes to a meeting between Romuald Traugutt and his wife in the midst of the 1863 uprising. *Minor Apocalypse* centers on a moderately well-known Polish author who has been asked by opposition leaders to self-immolate as a means of awakening national and international attention to the Polish plight. It occurs in an undisclosed time (in the near future) when dissimulation has led to a point when individuals no longer know the actual year (let alone the day), when the red and white Polish flag has become almost entirely red and when the Polish-language has been increasingly perverted by Russian; the opposition is portrayed as a sad and empty group of old men. In both works, Konwicki depicts a Poland in which society is moving toward increased atomization, consumerism and spiritual depravity. De-nationalization is presented in the context of intellectual slavery. All three works suggest the need for truth and honesty about the past and present and the rebirth of civil bonds. As such, they are products of independent publishing as well as advertisements for it.¹¹⁴

In 1978, NOWA published the *Black Book of Polish Censorship* which caused a sensation. Although censorship was an everyday part of life in Poland, the state never made

¹¹⁴ Kazimierz Brandys, *Nierzeczywistość* (Warsaw: Bellona Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 2009); Tadeusz Konwicki, *A Minor Apocalypse*, trans. Richard Lourie (Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1999); Tadeusz Konwicki, *The Polish Complex*, trans. Richard Lourie (Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1998).

public the criteria for censorship. Tomasz Strzyżewski, an employee at the censorship office, after learning that it was required that Katyń be ignored, that mention of the names of the officers killed there (including his grandfather) be passed over in silence, and that if Katyń was ever acknowledged, it was to be treated as a Nazi crime, began secretly collecting the documents outlining Polish censorship rules.¹¹⁵ He brought them to the West. In 1977, Aneks reproduced the documents in Great Britain. Prior to these revelations, censorship had seemed haphazard and inconsistent; for readers to actually see specifically and concretely which authors and topics had been banned was shocking. In 1978, NOWa published these in the *Black Book of Polish Censorship* in a print run of 1,500. In addition to NOWa's usual methods of distribution, it was also delivered to individuals who were considered to be important in the formation of public opinion including elected officials, leaders of cultural and academic institutions, journalists and teachers; this meant that it was delivered to PZPR members.¹¹⁶

By August 1980, NOWa had published KOR documents, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, and *Komunikat* as well as six issues of the journal *Krytyka* (discussed below) and 69 books and booklets, including collections of documents and materials for TKN and DiP, fifteen issues of *Zapis*, and seven issues of *Puls*. NOWa also had produced hundreds of thousands of flyers including 200,000 to 250,000 flyers calling for a boycott of the Sejm election in the spring of 1980 and about 150,000 flyers after the arrest of Chojecki in the spring of 1980. *Obywatel i Służba Bezpieczeństwa*, a pamphlet by Jan Olszweski (a lawyer) which explained how to react when arrested by the security forces had a print-run of 40,000, making it NOWa's most numerous publication in this period. In December 1977, NOWa's publishing efforts had grown

¹¹⁵ *Black Book of Polish Censorship* ed. Jane Curry (New York: Vintage Books, 1984) 1, 6.

¹¹⁶ "Cenzura" *Głos* 4 (January-February 1978) 23-27; Mirosław Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit", 100; *Black Book of Polish Censorship*, 8-9; Jakub Karpiński, "Dwa szkice o cenzurze" & "Spotkania z ikonami i spotkania z cenzurą", *Zapis* 5 (January 1978) 138-152; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 18; "NOWa", *Opinia* 9 (January 1978) 14.

to the extent that they held their own exhibit at the Biennale in Venice. NOWa representatives also attended a publishing fair in Frankfurt in 1979; they brought publications from across the independent publishing milieu for display. In December 1979, NOWa presented the American Ambassador with a selection of their works to be donated to the Library of Congress.¹¹⁷

Although NOWa grew to be the largest publishing house, it was not the only publishing house deriving from the KSS-KOR milieu. KSS-KOR was a diverse milieu and with time divisions became increasingly visible and effected publishing efforts. Kuroń wrote of a division between the “young” personified by Macierewicz and the “old” by himself (although he acknowledged that these divisions frequently did not follow strictly generational lines).¹¹⁸ Henryk Wujec noted that when KOR and KSS-KOR would meet at Professor Edward Lipiński’s apartment there were always free discussions which he compared to a small parliament with Jacek Kuroń leading the ‘majority’ and Antoni Macierewicz the ‘minority.’ He saw their differences as based in personal rivalries as well as ideology.¹¹⁹ Zbigniew Romaszewski noted the while everyone supported democracy, he saw the divide in KSS-KOR as based in arguments over whether to build a social movement or an elite movement; Macierewicz avowedly favored a broad social movement.¹²⁰ Bogdan Borusewicz described Macierewicz as suspicious of the left

¹¹⁷ “Biennale 77”, *Zapis* 5 (January 1978) 276; KOR *Komunikat* 17 (January 23, 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, ed. Andrzej Jastrzębski (Warsaw: Ameks, 1994) 216; Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 406; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 21; Henryk Wujec and Ryszard Terlecki in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 77-78; Mirosław Chojecki in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 109; Mirosław Chojecki, “Jestem w ogóle apolityczny”, 159.

¹¹⁸ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 420.

¹¹⁹ Wujec perceived this division as more important than that between KSS-KOR and ROPCiO, which he described as rather to the side. [Henryk Wujec in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 172.]

¹²⁰ It will be remembered that Kuroń had initially opposed duplicators, in contrast to Macierewicz. Likewise, Kuroń later proved much more tentative about the creation of worker’s publications, free trade unions and public manifestations as will be discussed below. [Zbigniew Romaszewski, in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 210.]

leanings of Kuroń and Michnik but insisted that debates were not so acrimonious that he couldn't spend the night at Macierewicz's apartment then dine with Kuroń.¹²¹

With the release of the leaders of KOR from prison in the summer of 1977, it had been agreed that a new socio-political magazine, *Głos*, should be created to allow for the free expression of the diverse views within KSS-KOR. Jan Lityński remembered Michnik being proposed as the most qualified editor. Ultimately, Macierewicz and Michnik were made co-editors. For the first issue, Michnik submitted an article which asked if Gierek could become a "Polish Suarez."¹²² Macierewicz opposed the article and so demanded an editorial response to it. Although Macierewicz was pressured to let it be printed without a response, he remained firm; Seweryn Blumsztajn and Adam Michnik left the *Głos* editorial board. Reflecting the suspicions in KSS-KOR, Zbigniew Romaszewski claimed that while Macierewicz perceived these disagreements as a plot emanating from Kuroń, in actuality he, Jan Lityński and Kuroń were angry with Michnik for his intransigence. In contrast, Chojecki threatened not to print *Głos*.¹²³

The first issue of *Głos* was published in October 1977; it announced that it was created on the idea "that sovereignty and democracy are attainable and that the clearest road to this is in creating independent self-governing institutions."¹²⁴ It was 72 pages and carried KSS-KOR's Declaration of the Democratic Opposition as well as signed theoretical articles on the independent social movements and the international situation. Although Kuroń remained on the

¹²¹ Kuroń believed that from the first meeting, Macierewicz was critical and suspicious of him. For instance, when Kuroń suggested that Macierewicz give up the editorship of *Komunikat* to concentrate on other activities, he was rebuffed for allegedly trying to take power from Macierewicz. [Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 415, 420, 493; Bogdan Borusewicz in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy* 128].

¹²² Adolfo Suarez in 1976 led Spain into a more democratic system. In 1977, he became the first democratically elected prime-minister after Francisco Franco's reign.

¹²³ Bieliński noted that the idea of combining *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and *Głos* had been floated, but he believed that those at *Głos* saw *Biuletyn Informacyjny* as competition. [Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 444; Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 201; Konrad Bieliński in "Słowo jak dynamit", 100; Zbigniew Romaszewski in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, 522-523].

¹²⁴ Editors, "Głos", *Głos* 1 (October 1977) 3.

editorial board for a time, Macierewicz's supporters quickly dominated *Głos* and came to be referred to as the 'Głos group' in KSS-KOR. The 'Głos group' was led by Antoni Macierewicz, Piotr Naimski, and Urszula Doroszevska whose grandmother had helped to produce Piłsudski's *Robotnik* and who became an editor of *Głos*; both Naimski and Doroszevska had been in Czarna Jedyńska.¹²⁵ *Głos* frequently published articles from those KSS-KOR signatories who had also signed ROPCiO, Church figures and those with traditionalist/independence-centered views. It remained one of the most high-quality magazines in independent publishing, both in terms of production and content. It had a print-run of 3-5,000.¹²⁶

Although *Głos* was initially published by NOWa, in November 1977, 'the Głos group,' founded their own publishing house, Wydawnictwo Głos, to produce their magazine after NOWa transferred a printer to them. Macierewicz was Wydawnictwo Głos's open representative while Marek Barański, Wojciech Fałkowski and Andrzej Rosner directed the conspiratorial, technical work. They also printed several monographs including *Kontra* by Józef Mackiewicz which Adam Michnik had rejected for publication by NOWa. Mackiewicz was a staunchly anti-Communist and politically conservative author who had emigrated in 1945; he had been a witness at the uncovering of the mass graves at Katyn. Macierewicz believed that the decision not

¹²⁵ Doroszevska's grandfather died in Katyn. She noted that her choice to join the opposition was tied to personal honor and family traditions. She evinced serious suspicions toward Kuroń. When he, in a discussion with her, expressed remorse for his Communist past she responded that she could never make such intellectual and moral mistakes. [Urszula Doroszevska in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 31; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 493-494, 496.]

¹²⁶ Other members of the 'Głos group' included: Ludwik Dorn, Andrzej Celiński, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, and Jan Józef Lipski all of whom frequently published in *Głos* as did Jan Walc, Bohdan Cywiński, Adam Wojciechowski, and Marek Tarniewski (Jakub Karpinski). As with Doroszevska and Kuroń, personal differences were visible between these groups. Celiński was the grandson of Jan Józef Lipski and in 1966 attended his names day celebration after participating in a march for the Catholic millennium. When he mentioned it to Michnik at the party, he remembered Michnik mocking him. [*Ludzie Nowej*, 1977-2007, 21; Andrzej Celiński in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 236.]

to print Mackiewicz's works at NOWa was politically motivated. Approximately fifty people worked with Wydawnictwo Głos by the end of this period.¹²⁷

The 'majority KSS-KOR group' remained dominant in the editorial board of *Biuletyn Infomacyjny* which dramatically increased in size after the release of the KOR signatories from prison. In November 1977, it was 20 pages, the next issue (December-January 1977) was 52 pages, the following issue (March 1978) *Biuletyn Infomacyjny* and *Komunikat* (which remained under the editorship of Naimski and Macierewicz from the 'Głos group') were bound together in a joint publication; a new larger format was soon embraced (leading to a corresponding drop in pagination). While at first *Biuletyn Infomacyjny* almost exclusively carried brief, factual newspaper-styled articles, lengthier magazine-style articles began to be included so that it became more similar to *Głos*; it also began having a section on the Catholic Church and community. Its print-run grew to about 5,000-6,000 making it NOWa's most numerous publication. It was distributed to Krakow, Łódź, Poznan, and Lublin as well as in Warsaw and in smaller locales.¹²⁸

In the summer of 1978, the 'majority group' in KSS-KOR founded the socio-political quarterly *Krytyka*. *Krytyka* was, from its inception, a high-quality journal in terms of content and production and a testament to the rapidly developing abilities of Polish independent publishing. In comparison to *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and *Głos*, it carried lengthier, more journal-length political and theoretical articles as well as book reviews. The first issue dealt with the events of 1968 at length. It aimed at an educated, social-democratic leaning readership and published not only Polish intellectuals, but also Russian dissidents (Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Alexander

¹²⁷ "Andrzej Czuma" in *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989*, 78; Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 154; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 90; Andrzej Rosner in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, 539.

¹²⁸ Seweryn Blumsztajn in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, 429.

Zinovyev) Czech dissidents and other intellectuals from the Communist bloc and Western Europe.¹²⁹ *Krytyka* was edited by Stanisław Barańczak, Konrad Bieliński, Miklos Haraszti (a Hungarian dissident), Vaclav Havel (a Czech dissident), Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik and Barbra Toruńczyk, among others. It was published by NOWa with a print-run of 1,500-3,000.¹³⁰

Divisions in KSS-KOR deepened with time. An article in April 1979 by Kuroń calling for the moderation of independent actions aroused Macierewicz's ire. In addition, disagreements over KSS-KOR support for popular manifestations erupted. The ROPCiO milieu endorsed popular commemorations for the May 3rd Constitution, independence day on November 11 and the anniversary of the events of December 1970. Kuroń opposed popular manifestations as being easily turned into violent provocations. Although KSS-KOR had never called or supported public manifestations as an organization, on November 11, 1979, Jan Józef Lipski, Adam Michnik, Konrad Bieliński and other KSS-KOR activists were among the 5,000 individuals who joined in the ROPCiO organized protests at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Warsaw. However, in December 1979, Macierewicz, Naimski and Doroszevska not only wanted to join in the ROPCiO organized protests, but they wanted KSS-KOR to endorse them and printed materials in support of them. These disagreements not only impacted differences within KSS-KOR, but ultimately helped to split the Głos group as will be discussed in the next chapter. On December 12, 1979 a KSS-KOR announcement stated that *Komunikat* and *Biuletyn Informacyjny* would no longer be sewn together to underline the point that only *Komunikat* was an organ of

¹²⁹ Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "Inteligentwo" *Krytyka* 1 (Summer 1978) 44; Alexander Zinoviev, "Przepastny wyzyny" *Krytyka* 3 (Winter 1978) 46-78.

¹³⁰ Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 302, 359; *Ludzie Nowej*, 1977-2007, 21.

KSS-KOR and was fully under the editorship of Macierewicz and Naimski. It, however, continued to be reprinted by *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and distributed with it.¹³¹

In the fall of 1979, a new quarterly began to be produced from some with ties to the KSS-KOR milieu: *Res Publica*. Amid the growing disagreements within the democratic opposition, it was conceived of as a means of underlining that which connected people rather than that which divided them, by attempting to connect Polish values with those of the emigration as well as broader European values, particularly Christianity. It sought to “think about politics which is principally differed from acting to fix politics.” Although the editorial board (Barbara Toruńczyk, Marcin Król and Wojciech Karpiński) claimed this it was apolitical, it followed a roughly liberal-democratic bent. Strikingly, in the first issue, all articles excepting one by Stefan Kisielewski were unsigned as many were writers for *Tygodnik Powszechny* and *Więź*. It was published irregularly by NOWa with a limited print-run.¹³²

The young people from Lublin who had first brought duplicating machines to Poland, maintained relations with the KSS-KOR and NOWa milieus although they were fully independent. They created their own, independent publishing venture, *Spotkania*. They began publishing the journal, *Pismo Młodej Katolików*, *Spotkania* in October 1977. The primary editorial work was done by Janusz Krupski and Zdzisław Bradel with the support of Janusz Bazydło (who was older) from the *Encyklopedia Katolickie* and *Więź*; Bogdan Borusewicz, who had returned to the coast, consulted at first. Articles were provided from the editors of *Więź*, the émigré community, and from the Lublin university community. *Spotkania* catered to young Catholics and included lengthier articles on social, political and religious issues; it was conceived

¹³¹ “Ogłoszenia”, December 12, 1979, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 34 (November- December 1979); Konrad Bieliński in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, 639, 641; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Arche, 2000) 146.

¹³² “Od redakcji” *Res Publica* 1 (1979) cover material; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 21; Michał Paziewski, “NOWa i inne”, *Jedność* 38 (May 22, 1981) 6.

of as a kind of uncensored *Więź*. Although the editors had used pseudonyms in the first issue, a house search in January 1978, which led to the seizure of various editorial documents, meant that the authorities knew who was on the editorial board; the editors thereafter printed their names in *Spotkania*. In this period, the open editorial board included Krupski, Bradel, Bazydło, Janusz Ruszar (from Krakow) and Stefan Szaciłowski. *Spotkania* had an initial print-run of 400-500 copies and was distributed in Lublin. It quickly grew to a print-run of 1,000 to 2,000 and was also distributed in Warsaw, Krakow and Wrocław.¹³³

The students created their own publishing house: Wydawnictwo Biblioteka Spotkań which published *Spotkania* as well as several books and pamphlets, including Father Władysław Bukowski's *Memories of Kazakhstan* which was provided by Cardinal Karol Wojtyła and produced in a print-run of 3,000 in 1979. In addition to those who were working above ground, the *Spotkania* publishing house, like NOWa and Głos, had a network of individuals who remained "underground" doing the printing. In Paris, Piotr Jegliński founded the publishing house, Editions Spotkania in collaboration with his friends in Lublin which, between 1979 and 1980, re-printed two monographs which had been published in Lublin.¹³⁴

The founders of the Wydawnictwo Biblioteka Spotkań represented a leftist Catholic viewpoint. They insisted that they were non-political and identified more with the independence movement than with Christian Democracy or any specific political stance. Despite financial help from Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk and the support of Father Ludwik Wiśniewski and Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, they remained not only independent of the censors, but also of Church

¹³³ Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Lublinie w latach 1977-1980", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 39; Lech Dymarski, "*Spotkania*", *Zapis* 5 (January 1978) 248; Antoni Macierewicz, "Wydarzenia miesiąca", *Głos* 2 (November 1977) 2-4; "Nowe pisma niezależne (*Puls, Spotkania*)" *Opinia* 8 (December 1977) 18; Stefan Szaciłowski, Janusz Krupski and Wojciech Samoliński in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 68-70, 74.

¹³⁴ Wojciech Samoliński "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 71, 74; Janusz Bazydło, "Biuro redakcji na dziedzińcu KUL," *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011), 33-34.

institutions. They sought in their publications to combat totalitarianism, present a vision of the Catholic Church which was free of xenophobia and anti-Semitism, and improve relations with Poland's neighbors, especially Ukrainians.¹³⁵

The desire for harmony with Poland's neighbors (notably Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Czechoslovakia), was a regular focus in publications from the NOWa, *Głos* and *Spotkania* milieus (as it had long been in Paris *Kultura*).¹³⁶ Their serials included apologies for past wrongdoing, a commitment to the contemporary borders and endorsement of mutual aid in the struggle against Soviet dominance. Monographs of works on neighboring nations and by authors from neighboring nations were not infrequent. Cooperation with Charter 77 was particularly notable. In the summer of 1978 a meeting between the leaders of KSS-KOR and Charter 77 occurred in the Slovak mountains during which apologies were proffered for the Polish role in the crushing of the Prague Spring. Soon after, *Krytyka* was founded with Havel on the editorial board; Adam Michnik asserted that his role was more than titular.¹³⁷ *Krytyka* published numerous works by Havel including his "Power of the Powerless" and other Charter 77 signatories.¹³⁸ *Głos*, *Zapis*, and *Spotkania* also re-produced works by Charter 77 signatories.¹³⁹ The *Spotkania* group translated Pope John Paul II's *Redemptor Hominis* into Czech, published it, and smuggled it into Czechoslovakia. Moreover, when a hunger strike was held in solidarity

¹³⁵ Janusz Krupski and Janusz Bazydło in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 70, 214.

¹³⁶ Jerzy Giedroyc, "Wywiad z Jerzym Giedroycem", *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 25 (December 1978) 32.

¹³⁷ Adam Michnik, "Uwięzienie Vaclava Havla", *Krytyka* 4 (1979) 69.

¹³⁸ Vaclav Havel, "Siła bezsilnych", *Krytyka* 5 (1979).

¹³⁹ *Głos* 9, August-September 1978 had an entire section dealing with Polish-Czech issues including apologies for Poland's involvement in the crushing of the Prague Spring. See also: "Listy Jana Patocki do Ireny Krońskiej" *Zapis* 2 (April 1977) 86-92; Vaclav Havel, "Ostatnia rozmowa", *Zapis* 5 (January 1978); Ludwik Vaculik, "Proszę przekazać", Zdeněk Mlynář, "O donosicielstwie", Ludwik Vaculik, "Śmiertelna choroba", Jiří Boreš, "Niemy pogrzeb", and Ludwik Vaculik, "Pogrzeb rzeźnika", *Zapis* 6 (April 1978); Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 280-281.

with Czech political prisoners, in addition to KSS-KOR signatories, ROPCiO signatories, including Aleksander Hall and Andrzej Czuma participated.¹⁴⁰

Although publishing efforts from within the ROPCiO milieu were not able to compete with the scale of those from the KSS-KOR milieu, they did expand dramatically in this period. After the closing of *U Progu*, those in ROPCiO created Wydawnictwo Polskie, which was the umbrella name given to their diverse publishing efforts; they sometimes also used the name Wydawnictwo Polskie im Józefa Piłsudskiego. Leszek Moczulski was editor-in-chief. Wydawnictwo Polskie published ROPCiO's appeal to society, documents from ROPCiO's Press Bureau (which was created in November 1977 under Kazimierz Janusz) and the serial *Opinia*.

Opinia began publication in April 1977 and became the foremost publication from the ROPCiO milieu. The first issue carried ROPCiO's founding declaration. Generally, it included informational material on the democratic opposition, ROPCiO documents, and articles on economics, politics and history. It's original editorial board included Kazimierz Janusz, Leszek Moczulski, and Wojciech Ziemiński. Emil Morgiewicz and Adam Wojciechowski joined soon after. Jan Dworak, Andrzej Czuma and Andrzej Szomański played silent roles in the behind-the-scenes production of the magazine. The editors noted that "[t]he free press is one of the most important foundations of the rights of citizens" and that *Opinia* was founded as a manifestation of the free press so that diverse opinions, including those outside of ROPCiO, were to be included. KOR/KSS-KOR documents were published and sympathy for KOR/KSS-KOR members and goals was regularly express. However, *Opinia* tended only to include articles from ROPCiO signatories or sympathizers who stressed independence as the focal goal and not infrequently criticized publications from within the KSS-KOR milieu. *Opinia* had a print-run of

¹⁴⁰ Zygmunt Kozicki, "Kolportażowe kontakty *Spotkań*", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 89; Wojciech Samoliński & Zygmunt Kozicki in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 72.

2,500 issues; it was produced and distributed with the help of about 100 people. It called on its readers to pass on each copy so that each reached at least ten people. By the end of this period it averaged 29-43 pages. An 'Opinia Library' was also founded to publish books; the first was a history of the PRL by Moczulski.¹⁴¹

While by 1978 the KSS-KOR milieu was producing four serial publications (KOR *Komunikat*, KOR *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Głos* and *Krytyka*) *Opinia* remained the only serial from the ROPCiO leadership milieu. As disagreements grew between Moczulski and Czuma about the direction of ROPCiO, a struggle for control of *Opinia* emerged. Andrzej Czuma argued that the goal of ROPCiO publications was to assemble a set of values as a "motor to action." He eschewed ideological debates as he perceived these as degrading the priority of independence.¹⁴² Leszek Moczulski, who quickly came to dominate *Opinia*, began to consistently engaged in and initiate ideological polemics with increasing stridency toward those in KSS-KOR as will be discussed in the next chapter.¹⁴³ Personal and theoretical disagreements between Moczulski and Czuma about the direction of ROPCiO reached the point that in the spring of 1978 they was paralyzing *Opinia*. In April, Czuma joined the editorial board. In May, Moczulski was charged with authoritarian behavior and defrauding ROPCiO; he was removed from *Opinia*. In June, the editorial board was altered to include Andrzej Czuma, Kazimierz Janusz, Emil Morgiewicz, Adam Wojciechowski, and Wojciech Ziemiński. Morgiewicz took over the directing role at *Opinia* and a board of about 15 "consultants" was added. *Opinia* began calling for financial support. By the summer of 1978 financial problems at *Opinia* had

¹⁴¹ Back material, *Opinia* 1 (April, 1977) 17; Front material, *Opinia* 4 (August 1977) 1; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 75, 252.

¹⁴² Andrzej Czuma in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 61.

¹⁴³ Leszek Moczulski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 188, 193.

reached the point that it would have had to cease publication had KSS-KOR not provided it with a loan. However, Czuma's solitary decision to take a loan from KSS-KOR drew attacks not only from Moczulski's supporters but also from Wojciech Ziemiński (who maintained his distance from Moczulski.) Disagreements between Ziemiński and Czuma continued as each tried to drive the other off of the editorial board of *Opinia*. The animosity within ROPCiO led its members to divide in December 1978.¹⁴⁴

Andrzej Czuma, who had initiated the publishing house Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-go Maja in September 1978 became the de facto head of ROPCiO. His new publishing house took over the publication of *Opinia* and also helped with *Bratniak* and *Gospodarz* (which are discussed below). Marian Gołębiewski and Paweł Miłkasz (who proved to be an SB informant) played major roles in technical production. In 1979, there were editorial disagreements (amid suspicions about an informant) and Maciej Grzywaczewski and Wiesław Parchimowicz (who also was an informant) became more important, limiting Gołębiewski's role; Miłkasz stayed. Czuma's group, which included all of the individuals who has signed both KOR and ROPCiO, maintained closer ties to KSS-KOR (particularly with the *Głos* group) than did Moczulski's group and received help from NOWa. Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-go Maja also published several brief monographs including a historical work on the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact.¹⁴⁵

Czuma's supporters helped to found Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka in 1979. Their first publication was Khrushchev's Secret Speech which was produced for self-education groups in high schools; they also published a book by Stefan Żeromski. Adam Chajewski, Jan Dworak,

¹⁴⁴ Anna Rudzińska relayed that Ziemiński charged Czuma with buying a car with funds which were earmarked for social self-help. [Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 126-128, 157, 254; Anna Rudzińska, *O Moją Polskę*, 207; Front material, *Opina* 12 (April 1978) 4; Back material, *Opinia* 14 (June 1978) 32.]

¹⁴⁵ Jan Skórzynski, "Wolne słowo z powielacza", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 21-22; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 149, 258-259; Sebastian Ligarski, "Działania Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa i Służby Bezpieczeństwa wobec prasy niezależnej w latach, 1945-1990" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, ed. Marta Marcinkiewicz & Sebastian Ligarski (Szczecin: IPN, 2010) 151

Bronisław Komorowski, Piotr Krawczyk and Marian Piłka were on the editorial board. They, like NOWa, concentrated on the publication of books. Jan Dworak therefore remembered envying NOWa's connection to major contemporary Polish literary figures.¹⁴⁶

Moczulski remained in charge of Wydawnictwo Polskie. He and his supporters (notably Andrzej Szomański, Stanisław Poznański and Romuald Szeremietiew who had formerly been a leader of PAX) began publishing the socio-political magazine *Droga* in August 1978 which had a print run of about 1,000. It was shorter and more polemic than *Opinia*. Three issues were produced in 1978. In 1979, the seventh issue of *Droga* carried Moczulski's "Rewolucja bez Rewolucji," which was distributed during Pope John Paul II's pilgrimage.¹⁴⁷ It was something of a manifesto for the Confederation of Polish Independence (KPN) which Moczulski and his supporters announced on September 1, 1979 as the first independent political party in the PRL. They then established the paper *Gazeta Polska* as KPN's mouthpiece. Moczulski played a directing role from its inception in February 1979; thirteen issues were produced by July 1980. It was published by Wydawnictwo Polskie and carried brief, newspaper length articles.¹⁴⁸

On November 4, 1977 Ruch Wolnych Demokratów (RWD) declared itself as a distinct grouping within ROPCiO. It was led by Karol Głogowski (of Łódź) who was an original ROPCiO signatory and who had been active in the 1956 student movement. Indeed, the genesis of RWD was the Union of Young Democrats which had been proclaimed in Warsaw in

¹⁴⁶ Jan Dworak in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 66-67; "Bronisław Komorowski" in *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989*, 173; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 201.

¹⁴⁷ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 158, 219.

¹⁴⁸ The KPN Program noted that it was founded by representatives of different groups: independence minded, democratic, popular/peasant, socialist, and national. It stated that their common aim was independence and that the road to it was based on the power of the Polish nation. It argued that solidarity, tolerance and universal democracy are indispensable conditions for founding an independent republic. It connected its actions to those of the Confederacy of Bar and national traditions related to freedom and honor. [KPN Program in *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976-1980: Wybór dokumentów*, ed. Zygmunt Hemmerling & Marek Nadolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994); Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 256.]

November 1956. The fundamental issue in the founding of RWD was Głogowski's argument that Poland was independent but not sovereign. Głogowski's May 1978 polemic with the editors of *Opinia* in which he protested against automatically denying the democratic aspirations of all members of the PZPR sheds further light on differences he had with ROPCiO's leaders who often evinced deep suspicion toward anyone who had ever been a member of the PZPR. With the split in ROPCiO, Głogowski initially stayed closer to Moczulski, but then distanced himself after the founding of KPN which Głogowski thought to be dangerously radical. In 1979, this group began to produce the socio-political journal *Aspekt*. It was edited by Adam Wojciechowski, Andrzej Ostoja-Owsiany and Andrzej Mazur. Adam Pleśnar was also important in this group. It was printed by Wydawnictwo im Konstytucji 3-ego Maja in print-runs of 200 to 300 copies.¹⁴⁹

The group of young people from Gdansk who had joined NN and ROPCiO began publishing *Bratniak* in October 1977. *Bratniak's* initial editorial board included Aleksander Hall (Gdansk), Arkadiusz Rybicki (Sopot), Jacek Bartyzel (Łódź), Marian Piłka (Lublin), Wiesław Parchimowicz (Szczecin), Maciej Grzywaczewski (Warsaw) and Tomasz Mróz (Lublin); it was produced on the coast.¹⁵⁰ It began as a monthly publication but became bi-monthly in 1978; it had an initial print run of 200 to 500 copies. In a letter from the editors in the first issue, it was asserted that *Bratniak* was intended to inform young people about the student movement and other youth-related issues and to engage in ideological debates to help develop democracy and

¹⁴⁹ Karol Głogowski and Adam Wojciechowski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 177-178, 200; Karol Głogowski, "Od 'młodej demokracji' do ruchu wolnych demokratów", *Opinia* 8 (December 1, 1977) 27; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 257; *Ruch Wolnych Demokratów, 1976-1980, Wybór Dokumentów*, ed. Grzegorz Waligóra (Krakow: Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego, 2003) ix-x.

¹⁵⁰ Marian Piłka later left the editorial board due to the inconvenience of making it to editorial meetings. [Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980* (Warsaw-Lublin: IPN, 2009) 214.]

pluralism.¹⁵¹ However, it fairly rapidly moved away from the student movement as such and concentrated on younger people generally. Aleksander Hall, who insisted that Polish history was a major motivator in his opposition activities, was central to this group and stated that “the national problem in *Bratniak* took central place.”¹⁵² Grzegorz Grzelak contended that they “sought to decode new values from [Roman] Dmowski” and the National Democratic tradition.¹⁵³

In the wake of the disagreements between Czuma and Moczulski, the “*Bratniak* group” split from ROPCiO, to form the Movement of Young Poland (RMP) in July 1979. In their August 1979 declaration, they stated that they were younger people who were from a generation who had not experienced independent Poland and so had different experiences than the older opposition.¹⁵⁴ When RMP split from ROPCiO, the subtitle “Pismo Ruch Młodej Polski” was added to *Bratniak* and they began using the name Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska for their publishing efforts. After obtaining an offset printer, *Bratniak* began to be produced with a print run of a few thousand copies. RMP also published several books as well as well tens of thousands of flyers which dealt with a number of issues including the call for an election boycott in the spring of 1980, information on the founding of RMP and demands for the release of political prisoners. Although RMP supported Moczulski in his disagreements with Czuma, they

¹⁵¹ “Od redakcji”, *Bratniak* 1 (October 1, 1977) 1.

¹⁵² Aleksander Hall in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 181; Aleksander Hall in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 86.

¹⁵³ Grzegorz Grzelak in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 142-143.

¹⁵⁴ “Deklaracja ideowa Młodej Polski,” August 18, 1979, in *Opozycja Demokratyczna w Polsce 1976, 1980: Wybór Dokumentów*, 611-626.

maintained ties to both as well as to Bogdan Borusewicz (who was the KSS-KOR contact on the coast) and workers' groups on the coast.¹⁵⁵

In February 1979, Wojciech Ziemiński and his supporters founded the Komitet Porozumienia na rzecz Samostanowienia Narodu (KPSN) which included a number of veterans including the last surviving general from pre-War Poland, Mieczysław Boruta-Spiechowicz. Although Ziemiński remained on the editorial board of *Opinia*, he and KPSN founded the magazine *Rzeczpospolita* in February 1979 which was produced irregularly at about 4-23 pages in printings of about 500 with informal help from NOWa. Ziemiński (who continued to regularly contribute to *Głos* and *Opinia*) was the main editor. The editorial board also included Edward Staniewski, Marian Piłka, Wanda Pawlik, Władysław Liniarski and Jerzy Narbutt. This group's primary focus was the need for free elections.¹⁵⁶ It therefore, like KPN, had a clearly political emphasis, including much historical information as well as information on the democratic opposition and its activities; in particular public manifestations.

With time, an increasing number of publications outside of Warsaw emerged while some Warsaw-based publications created 'local branches' which included addendums with local information. In Łódź, in March 1977, a *Łódzkie Biuletyn Informacyjny* was produced in typescript with information about the June 1976 events in Łódź. The following month, *Trzy Tygodnie w Łódzie* was produced again in typescript dealing with reactions in Łódź to the death of Stanisław Pyjas. Then, in December 1977, *Kronika Łódzka* was founded under the editorship of Elżbieta Lewińska and Mirosław Michalik. It was connected to the KSS-KOR milieu; it's four issues had a print-run of a few hundred copies. From 1979, *Kronika Lubelska* was

¹⁵⁵ Grzelak in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 144; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 255; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 96, 152.

¹⁵⁶ "Deklaracja o powołaniu Komitetu Porozumienia na rzecz Samostanowienia Narodu" *Rzeczpospolita* 1 (February 1979) 2-3; "Oświadczenie KPSN w związku z 40 rocznica wojny" and Back material, *Rzeczpospolita* 3 (August 1979) 1, 24; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 157, 254.

published from the ROPCiO environment in the Lublin region; four issues were produced with 5-14 pages and a print-run of 200-300 copies. In Krakow, in April 1978, *Opinia Krakowska* began publication. It was conceived of as a Cracovian version of *Opinia*. It was published irregularly in print runs of about a couple dozen to a couple hundred copies and was edited by Krzysztof Gąsiorowski (who reported to the SB) then Stanisław Tor; in 1979 most of its editors moved to KPN. Krzysztof Bzdyl was responsible for printing. *Wolne Słowo* was published in Kalisz and Wrocław from late 1979, carrying local and national news; it was produced irregularly in limited numbers with 4-14 pages; it was produced from the ROPCiO milieu. *Wiadomości Tarnowskie* began publication in late 1979 and was published irregularly in Tarnów.¹⁵⁷ In Lublin, the idea of a publication for the blind was floated by Wojciech Onyszkiewicz. However, the first issue was seized before distribution began and a second issue never arose.¹⁵⁸ In Wrocław, Leszek Skonka from ROPCiO edited a communiqué for Grupy Antyberufsverbot which he founded. Its focus was on reporting discrimination toward the political opposition; specifically work discrimination. It appeared irregularly from 1979 and had a print-run of 200.¹⁵⁹

In Wrocław, a Social Self-Defense Club (KSS) was founded in May 1979; it had programmatic and personal links to those in KSS-KOR. In June, Piotr Starzyński and Jan Waszkiewicz began publishing *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* monthly for KSS with Andrzej Rosner and Janusz Łojek. In late 1979, Kornel Morawiecki joined and with Waszkiewicz became editor-in-

¹⁵⁷ “Łódzkie Biuletyn Informacyjna”, “Kronika Łódzka Kronika Lubelska”, “Opinia Krakowska”, “Wolne Słowo”, and “Wiadomości Tarnowskie” in *Encyklopedia Solidarności*; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 114, 253; Jerzy Cezar Malinowski in “Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 79; Ryszard Terlecki, “Wydawnictwa niezależne w Krakowie w latach 1976-1980” in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia “Secesja”, 1993) 26; “Monika” Report, September 2, 1980 in “*Ketman*” i “*Monika*” – *Żywytny równoległy*”, eds. Ewa Zając and Henryk Głębocki, (Warsaw: IPN) 242.

¹⁵⁸ Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980*, 219.

¹⁵⁹ *Prasa zakładowa NSZZ Solidarność w latach 1980-1981*, ed. Tomasz Truskawa (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2010) 4.

chief. Around that time, KSS also established Kooperatywa Wydawnicze Wyzwolenie to publish *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk*. By 1980, it averaged about 40 pages with a print-run of as high as 2,500 copies. It was a high-quality publication which dealt with political, social and historical issues and included articles from those in both the ROPCiO and KSS-KOR milieus. *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* also re-printed the Charter of Workers' Rights from *Robotnik* which was decisive to the birth of the free trade union movement and will be discussed below. In the spring of 1980, it started including irregular 20 page addendums on historical subjects.¹⁶⁰

Smaller publishing houses were also established. The publishing house Archiwum was created in 1978 under the direction of Jadwiga Żelechowska and Jacek Arcet. It used various printing methods and printed issues of *Opinia*, *Zapis*, and *Bratniak* (when their duplicator was confiscated) as well as declarations by Moczulski, literature book and history books. Niezależna Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza (Independent Cooperative Publishing House) was created in late 1977/early 1978 within NOWa's framework. It was led by Marek Borowik, Przemysław Cieślak, and Waclaw Holewiński. NOWa2 was also created within NOWa and was led by Adam Kersten from 1979. Wydawnictwo Narodowe was founded in Poznan in 1978 and reprinted a book by Wojciech Wasiutynski.¹⁶¹ Witryna Literatów i Krytyków in Poznan published literary works, including illustrated works by EE Cummings and a translation of Bertolt Brecht by Stanisław Barańczak.¹⁶² Oficyna Liberalów was founded in 1978 in Warsaw. It was directed by Janusz Kowin-Mikke. It published works of history, literature and economics.

¹⁶⁰ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza Cenzurą*, 184-189; Kornel Morawiecki with Artur Adamski, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej* (Wrocław: Kontra, 2007) 67, 70.

¹⁶¹ "Nowe wydawnictwo w Poznaniu..." *Zapis* 8 (October 1978) 150.

¹⁶² "Nowe wydawnictwo literackie", *Zapis* 13 (January 1980) 127-128.

This group in 1978-79 held seminars which provided a politically liberal alternative to TKN. They produced books for these meetings.¹⁶³

Two notable publishing houses were founded on the coast with connections to emerging workers' groups. Klin was founded in Gdansk by Krzysztof Wyszowski (who was also a founder of the Free Trade Union of the Coast) in 1978. Its main aim was to publish works by Witold Gombrowicz, including his diaries and *Kosmos*. In early 1980, Maciej and Piotr Kapczyński, Zbigniew Nowek and Marek Wachniak founded Wydawnictwo Alternatywy in Gdansk. Maciej and his cousin, Piotr Kapczyński, had considered working in independent publishing for years and had helped Wyszowski at Klin. In 1980, they were provided with a printer by Chojewski via Borusewicz. In June, they published 3,000 copies of *The Black Book of Polish Censorship*.¹⁶⁴

In the spring of 1978 Adam Macedoński, Andrzej Kostrzewski and Stanisław Tor founded a secret Katyń Institute in Krakow with ties to ROPCiO. In May, they came into the open and began publishing *Biuletyn Katyński* monthly in limited numbers.¹⁶⁵ In it they published materials about Katyń as well as information on other Soviet and Nazi war crimes.

The Polish Committee for the Defense of Polish Families, Nation, and Life (PKOZiR) was created in 1977 and founded the serial *Samoobrona Polska* in April 1978. It was printed irregularly in small print runs. PKOZiR's leaders, Marian Barański and Jerzy Zieliński, in their

¹⁶³ Bogusław Chrabota, "Czym byłaby demokracja dla małych grup", *Brulion* 10 (Spring 1989) 185-186.

¹⁶⁴ Piotr Kapczyński in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980* 105-106; Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny. ed. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010) 269, 280; Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo Alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"* (Gdansk-Torun-Bydgoszcz: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Finna", 2009) 7, 10-11, 14, 16.

¹⁶⁵ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 114-115; Adam Macedoński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 218.

publications, pushed an exclusionary nationalist program which some even took to be a provocation. They called for spontaneous action rather than forming an actual organization.¹⁶⁶

Independent Publishing and the Workers' Movement

Many in the democratic opposition believed that the key to effecting change in Poland was gaining the support of the working class. This emphasis may have derived from the Marxist education/upbringing with which many had been raised. However, even those who rejected Marxism in toto would have realized that support by workers, or at least the appearance of their support, was vital to the legitimization of the Polish People's Republic which, in state propaganda, described itself as a workers' state; breaking the facade of workers' support would therefore have been a true blow to the state. State propaganda had long sought to prevent cooperation between workers and the intellectual and student opposition by depicting it as an extremist, Stalinist, Zionist bastion of CIA-sponsored traitors. When intellectuals and students showed up at the courthouse in Radom and Ursus to speak with workers and even more so at their homes, they were often met with icy stares and slammed doors. However, as legal, medical and financial aid was provided for workers suffering state repression, bonds of trust began to develop. Independent publications played the vital role in expanding cooperation between intellectuals and workers and bringing workers into opposition.

In 1977, Wojciech Onyszkiewicz proposed that KOR begin producing a paper specifically for workers. *Postęp* began publication in July as a quarterly aimed at workers. The need for something more regular came under serious discussion in the wake of the release of the KOR leadership. In September 1977, *Robotnik* began publication as a bi-weekly, four page

¹⁶⁶ They wrote that Poland was founded in the 13th century as the first nation in Europe, complained of Jewish treachery in the 17th century wars, described women's rights as a Marxist ploy, and outlined an international conspiracy of the left. Despite a seeming attraction to Catholicism, they also attacked the Vatican. [Tadeusz Taski, "Samoobrona Polska" *Głos* 7 (May 1978) 42-43; "PKOZiR", *Opinia* 4 (August 1977) 13.]

paper. Jan Józef Lipski argued that “the creators of the KOR press felt strongly that they were heir to a historical tradition.” He contended that this tradition dated not only to World War II but also to Piłsudski’s underground publishing movement which is why they named the paper, *Robotnik*, after Piłsudski’s underground paper.¹⁶⁷

Robotnik’s editorial board included Bogdan Borusewicz (Sopot), Leopold Gierek (Radom, who proved to be a SB informant), Jan Lityński (Warsaw), Wojciech Onyszkiewicz (Warsaw), Józef Ruszar (Krakow), Władysław Sulecki (Gliwice), and Józef Śreniowski (Łódź). Helena Łuczywo, Irena Wójcicka, Ludwika Wujec, and Jan Litynski did the editorial work related to production. Additional behind-the-scenes workers included: Henryk Wujec, Dariusz Kupiecki, Witold Łuczywo, and Henryk Wójcicki. Helena Łuczywo was arguably most important in *Robotnik*’s production while Henryk Wujec was key to the movement which grew around it. Wujec was fairly unique in this milieu in that he did not derive from an intellectual background. Although he earned a PhD in electronics, he came from a rural family and noted that while most of his peers were driven by national and family traditions, he was spurred on by the “general climate of Polish history” and the Millennium of the Church.¹⁶⁸

The first issue of *Robotnik* was printed in a 400-1,000 copy print-run in Warsaw. It was four pages and carried brief informational articles. By December, 1,500 copies were able to be printed per issue. In 1978, *Robotnik*’s technical and editorial quality improved markedly. The 20th issue in August 1978 (by which time it was produced monthly usually with two pages) dealt

¹⁶⁷ Henryk Wujec explained the decision to name *Robotnik* as “a conscious reference to a certain Polish tradition connected to the PPS of Piłsudski, which then we continued in *Robotnik*.” [Henryk Wujec in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 172.] Jan Lityński similarly noted that Piłsudski’s *Robotnik* was their “source of tradition.” [Jan Lityński, “O *Robotniku*”, *Goniec Małopolski* 17 (February 18, 1981) 8; Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 112; Henryk Wujec, Jan Lityński, and Wojciech Onyszkiewicz, *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 133, 139-140, 146.]

¹⁶⁸ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 438; Henryk Wujec in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 286; Henryk Wujec and Wojciech Onyszkiewicz in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 76, 147.

with Polish-Czech relations and had a print run of 20,000. By the summer of 1980, *Robotnik* had an average print run of about 30,000-40,000 with a (conservatively) estimated readership of 100,000 since every paper was likely read by more than one individual.¹⁶⁹ Bogdan Felski, a worker and distributor in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, noted that there was a real thirst for information so that *Robotnik* would be passed to as many as ten people.¹⁷⁰ By 1980, *Robotnik* was distributed to about 50 places around the country. The major distribution points were in Silesia, Łódź, Warsaw (10% of publications) and on the coast (15-25% of publications) which had their own distribution wings. It was also distributed in Krakow, Szczecin, Gryfin, Grudziądz, Walbrzych, Szczecin, Radom, Poznan, Torun, Siedlec, Przemyśl, Słupsk, and Sidnik; it became the focus of worker discussion groups in these places.¹⁷¹

Robotnik grew to include short newspaper-length articles on the legal rights of workers, the independent social movement, working conditions, advice on forming independent trade unions and strike committees as well as information on John Paul II, history (particularly about World War II and the massacres at Katyń as well as the immediate post-War era) society and the economy. It's main focus remained the self-organization of workers. While it carried arguments for various methods, it stressed the importance of occupation strikes. *Robotnik* also included information on how to produce independent publications and produced three printings of a

¹⁶⁹ The figure of 400 is what is used in most contemporary sources and was noted in *Robotnik* in 1980. However, Zenon Pałka in 1981, claimed that he printed the first issue of *Robotnik* on the commission of Mirosław Chojecki and that it had a print-run of 1,000. Jan Lityński in an interview in 1981, also noted a print-run of 1,000. [Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 228; *Ludzie Nowej*, 1977-2007, 20; "Robotnik: Początki niezależnego ruchu robotniczego", *Robotnik* 63/63 (October 12, 1980) 3; Zenon Pałka, "Jak powstał Robotnik", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 39 (June 17, 1981) 9; Jan Lityński, "O Robotniku", *Goniec Małopolski* 17 (February 18, 1981) 8.]

¹⁷⁰ Bogdan Felski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 160.

¹⁷¹ Andrzej Friszke, *Przystosowanie i opór; Studia z dziejów PRL* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2007) 292; "Robotnik: Początki niezależnego ruchu robotniczego", *Robotnik* 63/63 (October 12, 1980) 3; Dariusz Kupiecki in "Robotnik", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 2 (April 10, 1978) 16.

Charter of Workers' Rights between July and December 1979 outlining the demands which workers could legitimately make.¹⁷²

Jan Lityński, whose uncle had edited pre-War *Robotnik*, spoke of the “school of *Robotnik*”, meaning that workers met to discuss the paper and thereby learned how to organize. He noted, however, that in most places, direct contacts between those producing *Robotnik* and those reading it was usually limited to either a couple people or a local leader who collected the paper then distributed it and organized meetings (such individuals included Czesław Niezgoda in Lublin and Zbigniew Bujak in Ursus who distributed on average 160 copies an issue).¹⁷³ Zbigniew Romaszewski contended that the workers who joined in these discussion groups and distributed publications became the backbone of the free trade union movement.¹⁷⁴

Indeed, the overlap in activists in the free trade unions with editors of papers aimed at workers proved their symbiotic relationship. On February 23, 1978, Władysław Sulecki (a co-editor of *Robotnik* and *Postęp*), Kazimierz Świtoń (a co-editor of *Robotnik* and then *Ruch Związkowy*) and Roman Kściuczek (a co-editor of *Ruch Związkowy*) founded, in Katowice, the first authentic free trade union; this group had close ties to ROPCiO. Free trade unions were the brainchild of Leszek Moczulski who was close to the Free Trade Union in Katowice.¹⁷⁵

In the summer of 1978, *Ruch Związkowy*, which was aimed at workers, began publication from within the ROPCiO milieu. It was eight pages and was intended to be published monthly by Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja in Lublin. The chief editor was Andrzej

¹⁷² “Jak drukować”, *Robotnik* 55/56 (July 10, 1980) 2; Jan Lityński, “O *Robotniku*”, *Goniec Małopolski* 17 (February 18, 1981) 10.

¹⁷³ Jan Lityński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 140-141; Zbigniew Bujak in *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za ‘Soldiarnosc’*, ed. Janusz Rolicki (Warsaw: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza ‘BGW’, 1991) 36.

¹⁷⁴ Zbigniew Romaszewski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 155.

¹⁷⁵ In November 1977 Leopold Gierk (a co-editor of *Robotnik*) had founded a free trade union in Radom. However, he was a SB informant and this group was largely a SB ruse. [Henryk Wujec, *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 136-137.]

Woźnicki; the editorial board included Roman Kściuczek, Kazimierz Świton and Jan Zapolnik. It was printed at the apartment of Wojciech Szóstak and Henryk Tomaczak. It carried information related to free trade unions as well as historical information; it stressed independence as the ultimate goal. Only eight issues were produced prior to August 1980 due to financial problems, the confiscation of materials and the difficulty of holding editorial meetings due to SB surveillance. When it was produced, its print-run was 1,000 to a couple thousand copies.¹⁷⁶

Labor activism was most advanced on the coast where workers' protests had erupted in 1970. Bogdan Borusewicz, became active in workers circles there as he believed that "without breaking through to workers we were only isolated intellectuals." An editor of *Robotnik*, from the fall of 1977, Borusewicz monthly had a couple hundred copies of *Robotnik* distributed in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. He worked closely with Andrzej and Joanna Gwiazda as well as Krzysztof Wyszowski who worked in the shipyard. By 1979, about 1,000-1,500 copies of *Robotnik* were being distributed in the shipyard.¹⁷⁷ *Robotnik* carried information on the founding of the Free Trade Union of the Coast (WZZW) on April 29, 1978.¹⁷⁸ The group who founded the WZZW had ties to the KSS-KOR milieu. While some in KSS-KOR tended to favor the Spanish model of workers' councils, Krzysztof Wyszowski embraced Moczulski's idea of free trade unions and convinced Jacek Kuroń and Bogdan Borusewicz to support the founding of the WZZW. Ultimately, Kuroń with Jan Lityński helped Wyszowski to draft the WZZW declaration and program.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Leszek Próchniak, "Ruch Związkowy" *IPN Biuletyn* nr 4/87 (April 2008) 48-50; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPiO, 1977-1981*, 150-151.

¹⁷⁷ Bogdan Borusewicz in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 129-130.

¹⁷⁸ Deklaracja Komitetu Założycielskiego Wolnych Związków Zawodowych Wybrzeża" Addendum to *Robotnik* 12 (April 29, 1978).

¹⁷⁹ Krzysztof Wyszowski & Jacek Kuroń in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 204, 210, 256; Bogdan Borusewicz in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 176; Krzysztof Wyszowski in *Polak z polakiem*, ed. Grzegorz Nawrocki (Warsaw: Słowo, 1990) 26-27.

In August 1978, WZZW began printing *Robotnik Wybrzeża* under the direction of Bogdan Boruszewicz, Joanna Gwiazda-Duda, Andrzej Gwiazda, Lech Wałęsa, Anna Walentynowicz, and Alina Pieńkowska. It, like *Robotnik*, had ties to KSS-KOR. By August 1980, this group had produced seven issues of *Robotnik Wybrzeża* as well as several flyers including one calling for a boycott of the 1980 election which was printed in cooperation with the Gdansk SKS. They re-printed materials from other independent publications (notably *Robotnik*) as well as original articles which the editorial board agreed upon; Joanna Gwiazda-Duda served as editor-in-chief. Their publication had a print-run of 1,500.¹⁸⁰

In addition to their connection to KSS-KOR, WZZW also had close contacts with RMP circles. Indeed, in Gdansk, Lublin and Wrocław, a greater level of cooperation was visible between different milieus than in Warsaw where political divisions were fiercer. On the coast, KOR collaborators Bogdan Borsiewicz and Lech Kaczyński along with SKS leader Donald Tusk cooperated with RMP founders Aleksander Hall, Grzegorz Grzelak etc. as well as those in WZZW. On December 18, 1979, RMP helped WZZW to organize a street protest which attracted 5-10,000 people. They also cooperated in the organization of protests on May 3, 1980 which attracted as many as 15,000 participants.¹⁸¹

On October 11, 1979, a free trade union was created in Szczecin with support from Henryk Wujec and Witold Łuczywo. The founders began publishing *Robotnik Szczeciński* in the spring of 1979; the editors included Włodzimierz Głowacki, Mirosław and Jan Witkowski, Stefan Kozłowski, and Zbigniew and Andrzej Jakubcewicz. They produced six issues with a

¹⁸⁰ *Prasa zakładowa NSZZ Solidarność w latach 1980-1981*, 4.

¹⁸¹ Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 231; *Gdański Sierpień '80*, ed. Arkadiusz Kazański (Gdansk: IPN, 2010) 7, 9; Joanna and Andrzej Gwiazda in *Gwiazdozbiór w "Solidarnosci"*, ed. Remigiusz Okrasa (Łódź: Obywatel, 2009) 98; Jerzy Borowczak in *Polak z polakiem*, 77; Bogdan Borusewicz in *Portrety niedokończone*, ed. Janina Jankowska (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2004) 61; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 58, 144, 148.

print-run of 500-1,500 and received financial support and help with distribution from KSS-KOR.¹⁸²

Independent Publishing and the Rural Movement

Just as the growth of free trade unions proved symbiotic with independent publications for and by workers, the same was true of independent social institutions for peasants and peasant independent publications. Logistically, workers had clear advantages over rural populations in their being geographically consolidated, more urban and more favored by the state. However, publishing efforts for the rural population did develop from 1977.

In December 1977 *Gospodarz* began publication in cooperation with ROPCiO. It was openly edited by ROPCiO signatories, Piotr Typiak and Bogumił Studziński (of KIK) and clandestinely by Stanisław Michalkiewicz and Tadeusz Szodza who also helped in production. After a falling out among the editors, Michalkiewicz and Szodza quit and *Gospodarz* was produced by Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja. It was four to twelve pages and had a print run of 2,000 copies. Six issues were produced.¹⁸³ Janusz Rożek was a distributor for *Gospodarz*. Rożek, a rural farmer who had fought in peasant AK battalions, found a unique path to the democratic opposition. He learned of KOR on Radio Free Europe and that Father Ludwik Wiśniewski in Lublin was a KOR signatory. He was attracted to the movement for independence and Piłsudski's legacy, and so contacted Father Wiśniewski who gave him an issue of *Opinia* and made contacts in Warsaw on his behalf. In response, Moczulski, Studziński, Lityński, Dorn, Wujec and Lipski went to meet with Rożek and a group of peasants. After meeting with Wiesław Kęcik, on July 30, 1978, Rożek was at the forefront of the founding of the Provisional

¹⁸² "Robotnik Szczeciński", *Robotnik* 51/52 (June 11, 1980) 4; Mirosław Witkowski, "List do Pana St Wądowski," *Jedność* 54 (September 11, 1981) 7; Michał Siedziako, "Prasa niezależna w Szczecinie, 1976-1989" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 118; *Prasa zakładowa NSZZ Solidarność w latach 1980-1981*, ed. Tomasz Truskawa (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2010) 5.

¹⁸³ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 155-156.

Committee for the Self-Defense of Peasants from Lublin (TKSch ZL) which had ties to both KSS-KOR and ROPCiO.¹⁸⁴

Rural activists in Zbrosza Duża began publishing the bulletin, *Niezależna Ruch Chłopski* in July 1978. On September 9, 1978, the Committee for the Self-Defense of Peasants in the Grojecki Region (KSCh ZG) (which is about 50 km. south of Warsaw) was founded. They also organized self-education lectures through a peasant variant of the Flying University. From the spring on 1979, they replaced *Niezależna Ruch Chłopski*, with the monthly magazine *Placówka*. It provided information on farming techniques, organizing rural self-defense committees, independent peasant activities, politics and history. Both publications were produced monthly by NOWa in a print run of a few thousand. *Placówka* was directed by Wiesław and Marzena Kęcik who were supported by Barbra Felicka, Elżbieta Regusa and Alina Cała.¹⁸⁵

On September 10, 1978, peasants in Lisów (by Częstochowa) organized a Provisional Committee for an Independent Union of Farmers (TK NZZR) to help in bringing these movements together. They had links to ROPCiO and *Gospodarz*. In December 1978 they started publishing *Rolnik Niezależny*.

In November 1978, a Committee for the Self-Defense of Peasants in Rzeszow (KSCh ZRz) was founded and began publishing *Wieś Rzeszowska*.¹⁸⁶ Senior activists in the rural movement created the Center for Peasant Thought which began publishing its own journal, *Przebudowy*, from 1980. Retirement issues were often at the forefront of the rural movement and its publications.

¹⁸⁴ Janusz Rożek and Wujec in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 159, 173.

¹⁸⁵ *Ludziej Nowej, 1977-2007*, 21; Katarzyna Karpinska, "Chłopskie potyczki", *Niezależność* 16 (February 18, 1981) 3; Alina Cała in Ewa Kondratowicz, *Szminka na Sztandarze* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 2001) 344-345.

¹⁸⁶ "Chłopskie potyczki", *Niezależność* 16 (February 18, 1981) 3.

Independent Publishing and Students

Publications were also made for and by students and the student movement. In addition to *Spotkania* and *Bratniak* which were aimed at young people, several publications were created specifically for students. University Student Ministries were often important in the development of independent student publications.

After Stanisław Pyjas' death and the founding of the SKS in 1977 in Krakow, Łódź, then Warsaw, it was decided to create a SKS publication. *Indeks* first appeared in October in Warsaw. Jan Ajzner, Ludwik Dorn, Urszula Doroszevska and Sergiusz Kowalski from Warsaw; Lesław Maleszka, Tomasz Schoen, Bogusław Sonik and Bronisław Wildstein from Krakow and Paweł Spodenkiewicz from Łódź joined the editorial board. When SKS Wrocław was founded, Jerzy Filiak, Marek Zybura and Leszek Budrewicz also joined. In 1979, Ewa Kulik joined in Krakow. Lesław Maleszka had been informing to the SB on his peers from the spring of 1976 which makes it unsurprising that *Indeks* appeared very irregularly. It's several issues had a print-run of about 1,000-1,500 copies.¹⁸⁷

In Poznan, from 1978, *Przystań* was published from students connectd with the Poznan Dominican Student Ministry. It dealt with moral issues, the Church and John Paul II's trip to Poland. It was initially typed then duplicated.

In Wrocław, the student movement became particularly strong. In January 1978, Wrocław SKS began publishing *Podaj Dalej* as the "Informational Bulletin of SKS Wrocław." Its editorial board included Leszek Budrewicz, Stanisław Huskowski, and Jacek Malec. Its dozen issues (which appeared irregularly) had brief articles on sudent life as well as the broader

¹⁸⁷ Urszula Doroszevska in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 60-61; Henryk Głębocki in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" – *Żywozny równoległe*", 106; "Return" Report, August 31, 1977 in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" – *Żywozny równoległe*" 174; "Ben" Report, May 24, 1980 in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" – *Żywozny równoległe*", 211.

independent social movement and Polish history. From February 1979, it was bound to *Akademickie Pismo Informacyjne* which carried longer articles. In May 1978, *Zgrzyt* was published from the Wydawnictwo Studentów Wrocławskich as a “magazine for students.” The first issue proved to be the last. *Listy Spod 4-ki* was produced by the Wrocław Student Ministry under Father Aleksander Zienkiewicz from 1978 to deal with religious issues. In the summer of 1979, *Tematy* began publication as a socio-cultural quarterly with ties to SKS Wrocław and a print-run of 200-500.¹⁸⁸

SKS Krakow was also strong and enjoyed the support of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła and “Beczka”, the Dominican University Ministry in Krakow.¹⁸⁹ Bronisław Wildstein thought that its strength may have been due to the fact that the adult opposition (meaning KSS-KOR and ROPCiO) wasn’t as strong in Krakow as in Warsaw.¹⁹⁰ The SKS Krakow milieu, from the fall of 1978, published several issues of *Sygnal* (Bronisław Wildstein was on its editorial board) as well as several monographs including Michnik’s “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors” for his TKN lecture. *Merkuryusz Krakowski i Światowy* began publication in January 1979 (about bi-monthly) as a socio-political magazine with an avowedly liberal stance; it was one of the first serials to reprint works by authors such as Friedrich Hayek. It was edited by Robert Kaczmarek and was initially close to the SKS Krakow milieu. Nine issues were published; it reached a print-run of about 500 in this period. In the summer of 1978, the Krakowska Oficyna Studentów was founded. It was led by Andrzej Miętkowski and then Henryk Karkosza. Karkosza was an SB informant who was able to sideline Miętkowski by breeding distrust towards him. In 1979, the

¹⁸⁸ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza Cenzurą*, 177-180, 182

¹⁸⁹ Still, Kuroń estimated that in this period only about 70 people were active in SKS-Krakow. [Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 467; Liliana Batko-Sonik and Jozef Ruszar in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 162, 151.]

¹⁹⁰ Likewise, SKS-Gdansk was relatively weak, likely because students worked within RMP rather than SKS. [Bogdan Borusewicz and Bronisław Wildstein in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 131, 165.]

publishing house became independent of SKS and in early 1980 changed its name to Wydawnictwo KOS. By 1980, it had produced about ten monographs including works by Leszek Moczulski, Stanisław Barańczak, and Adam Zagajewski.¹⁹¹

In Warsaw, from June 1979, *Uczeń Polski* was published from the ROPCiO milieu for high school students. It was eight to twelve pages. A Warsaw SKS bulletin was also produced. However, as Wildstein suggested, student activists in Warsaw often worked within the adult independent publishing movement rather than on their own.¹⁹²

Independent Publishing and the Catholic Church

While the emerging opposition pushed for the creation of new, independent social initiatives such as trade unions, rural cooperatives, SKS, TKN and complimentary publishing efforts, the Catholic Church was the one independent social institution which remained in existence throughout the history of the PRL. Despite constant challenges and pressure, Cardinal Wyszyński's long walk along the tightrope of compromise with the regime had won the continued semi-independent existence of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, *Więź*, the Club of Catholic Intellectuals (KIK) and the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). Although the Church did not produce its own independent publishing house, certain publications, notably *Spotkania*, regularly published church documents and texts by members of the Church hierarchy and those from KIK.

Members of the independent publishing movement often found support in their local parishes; this was particularly true of those in rural communities and students. For instance, the first independent publication in Szczecin, *Bomysły*, was created by Father Hubert Czuma from

¹⁹¹ Ryszard Terlecki, "Wydawnictwa niezależne w Krakowie w latach 1976-1980", 27; Bogusław Chrabota, "Czym byłyby demokracja dla małych grup", *Brulion* 10 (Spring 1989) 186; Henryk Głębocki in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" – *Żywnoty równoległe*", 92 & "Monika" Report, July 11, 1980 in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" – *Żywnoty równoległe*", 215; Ryszard Terlecki, "Monika", *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 50, (March 2005) 58.

¹⁹² Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 253.

within the Student Ministry.¹⁹³ In addition, the democratic opposition held its hunger strikes in Catholic churches thereby enjoying Church protection. Joanna Szczęsna, a participant in the initial hunger strike to free KOR's leadership, enunciated clearly the connection between the opposition, Polish history and the Church when she noted that at a point of particular weakness in her hunger strike in St. Marcin's Church, the kindness of a nun and the sight of tablets in the church in commemoration of those killed at Katyn' steeled her resolve.¹⁹⁴

In Gdansk, young women who were connected to ROPCiO/RMP (Bożena Rybicka and Magda Modzelewska) led prayers for the opposition in the Maria Basilica. They prayed:

Mother of God we rely on Your particular protection for people working in independent publishing and printing. Thanks to their sacrificial, often anonymous work, we can become acquainted with the true history and culture of our nation. Our Lady of Ostrobramska surround us with your grace and protection from danger.

Prayer services became a regular activity for the Gdansk opposition; it was at such a meeting that Anna Walentyńowicz made contact with the Gdansk free trade unionists. However, when a group tied to RMP in Poznan went to the Dominicans for permission to hold prayer services, they were turned down.¹⁹⁵

The greatest impact of the Catholic Church on the democratic opposition and independent publishing came in the person of Karol Wojtyła. As bishop of Krakow, he supported SKS in Krakow as well as Spotkania in Lublin. As Pope John Paul II, he electrified the nation. News of his election in 1978 was carried in every independent publication. Equally important was his pastoral visit to Poland in June 1979. The government did not want to do anything to attract negative international press while the democratic opposition did not want to seem to be provocateurs so both kept a low profile. The Pope's visit brought more than a temporary

¹⁹³ Michał Siedziako, "Prasa niezależna w Szczecinie, 1976-1989" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 116.

¹⁹⁴ Joanna Szczęsna, "W kościele Świętego Marcina", *Zapis* 4 (October 1977) 55.

¹⁹⁵ Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 63, 154; Anna Walentyńowicz in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 166.

opening of the public sphere and reprieve from police repression, it brought spiritual solace and dispelled fear to the millions who gathered to hear their Holy Father speak of human dignity and universal, Christian rights and values. For several short days the whole nation seemed to breathe the air of freedom as they occupied public spaces, participating in public manifestations in which they actually believed. Many individuals later noted how empowered they felt at these gatherings as they realized what a powerful majority they were in comparison to the minority security apparatus.¹⁹⁶ The impact of his election and visit on the emerging opposition is impossible to over estimate; the entire opposition (from practicing Catholics to atheists) wrote of his visit as decisive.

Numerous publications were produced in reference to the Pope's trip.¹⁹⁷ Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-maja published a photo album in commemoration. Many other publications carried excerpts or full transcripts of his sermons. *Reduta* which was briefly produced in Krakow in 1979 by Janusz Pierzchała and RMP distributed a first, special two-page edition during the papal visit.¹⁹⁸

In May 1979 *Krzyż Nowohuckie* (Cross of Nowa Huta) began publication from the Christian Community of Working People in Nowa Huta (which had been founded in April 1979 with ties to the founders of the Katyń Institute). The title referenced the successful struggle which had been led by Karol Wojtyła to have a church built in Nowa Huta. It was produced more or less bi-monthly in typescript until January 1980 when it began to be printed on a copier from Jesuits in Krakow which made it possible to publish about 2,000 copies an issue. The main editor was Jan Franczyk; the editorial board included Adam Macedoński and Franciszek

¹⁹⁶ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 500.

¹⁹⁷ The entire issue of *Głos* 16 dealt with his visit. They even produced an English-language translation of the entire issue.

¹⁹⁸ "Monika" Report, August 6, 1979, in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" –*Żywotny równoległe*", 200.

Grabczyk. The focus of the publication was on the religious struggle for freedom and national history. They also produces a couple monographs.¹⁹⁹

The Logistics of Independent Publishing

The number of independent publishing houses and publications created between 1976 and 1980 is hard to verify. Jan Brzeski and Adam Roliński, after research at Jagiellonian University Library, noted that 82 serials were produced prior to August 1980 and continued that less than half of these had four or more issues while about one quarter appeared only once.²⁰⁰

Joanna Bachtin from Biblioteka Narodowa suggested that about 100 serials and 300 monographs were published in this era; she asserted that of the serials produced, about 43 were produced in Warsaw. The lower numbers seem more credible. A high number of flyers were also produced; hundreds of thousands were dropped during this period. Zdzisław Jagodziński put the number of publishing houses at about 30 in this era.²⁰¹ However, it bears underlining that most were little more than a name given to an individual or group of individuals who had access to some form of copying machine. Indeed, despite the shift to duplicators, many publishers continued to rely on typing; some of the initial issues of *Opinia* were typed as well as some books and KOR and ROPCiO announcements.²⁰² Gauging readership is also a challenge; Przemysław Czapliński estimated that about 100,000 people had regular contact with the

¹⁹⁹ *Między sierpniem a grudniem: Solidarność w Krakowie i Małopolsce w latach 1980-1981*, eds. Tomasz Gąsowski with Barbara Klich-Kluczevska and Janusz Mierzwe (Krakow: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006) 14; Ryszard Terlecki, "Wydawnictwa niezależne w Krakowie w latach 1976-1980", 28.

²⁰⁰ Jan Brzeski and Adam Roliński, "Wydawnictwa drugiego obiegu w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej; Katalog wydawnictwa ciągle 1976-1980," *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* nr 1/2 (Krakow, 1995) 221.

²⁰¹ Marek Jastrzębie also put the number of monographs from this period at 300. However, he only referred to 60 serials. [Marek Jastrzębie, "Underground Prints of the Martial Law Period", *Polish Libraries Today*. vol. 3 (1993) 104; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 88; Justyna Błażejowska, "'Chciałem mieć w ręku broń'..." 238.]

²⁰² Anna Rudzińska, *O Moją Polskę*, 189, 198-199, 204.

independent press while about 200,00-250,000 had irregular contact.²⁰³ Despite these questions over statistics, it is certain that independent publishing grew rapidly during this period, breaking down the sense of isolation which the regime sought to engender in Polish civil society; this growth caused significant logistical challenges. Wojciech Fałkowski argued that that there were different stages between 1976 and 1980. He contended that the fall of 1977 was a truly different epoch than the fall of 1978 and that the same was true between 1978 and 1979 as well as 1979 and 1980.²⁰⁴

Despite the non-clandestine nature of both KOR/KSS-KOR and ROPCiO, publishing efforts remained secret. The location of publishing equipment was never disclosed and the names and addresses of those who actually did the printing as well as those who were responsible for distribution were kept as secret as possible. Jacek Kuroń noted that publishing was the one part of the democratic opposition with a conspiratorial “romantic climate” which reminded him of stories from his grandfather about Fighting PPS.²⁰⁵ Joanna Gwiazda-Duda, remembered that Borusewicz kept the whereabouts of printing supplies secret from even she and Andrzej Gwiazda.²⁰⁶

The editors of the first independently duplicated serial, *U Progu*, certainly made conspiracy a priority. They usually met at Jacek Wegner’s Fiat for editorial discussions due to concern over potential police bugging. Although Emil Morgiewicz was responsible for the technical side of publishing, he never knew where the printer was or who was doing the printing (Andrzej Czuma and Janusz Krzyżewski). The printer was moved three times from a basement

²⁰³ Przemysław Czapliński, “Dziedzictwo niezależności. Krotka historia komunikacyjnego podziemia” in *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989, Materiały konferencyjne, Koszalin, 12 Maja 2006 r.* ed. Leszek Lakowski (Koszalin: Koszalińska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Joachima Lelewela, 2006) 13

²⁰⁴ Wojciech Fałkowski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 72.

²⁰⁵ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 439.

²⁰⁶ Joanna and Andrzej Gwiazda in *Gwiazdozbiór w “Solidarnosci”*, 89.

on the outskirts of Warsaw to Komorów and finally to the monastery of the Dominicans on Freta Street in Warsaw to prevent possible confiscation.²⁰⁷

The students in Lublin, as the first individuals to smuggle a duplicator into the country, had to feel their way through the logistics of independent publishing. Although Wit Wójtowicz was quickly shown how to use their first spirit printer in London before transporting it to Lublin in May 1976, his peers relied on trial and error to learn how to use the machine. Another issue was financing. Because the students were afraid to extend the number of people who knew what they were doing, they paid for paper, ink and other supplies from their own pockets.²⁰⁸ The fact that there were only three to four paper shops in Lublin made them nervous since they feared that the purchase of paper could easily arouse suspicion.²⁰⁹ With the arrival in December 1976 of their second duplicator, 'Zuzia,' they could produce greater print-runs which only increased the challenges related to finance and supply.²¹⁰ The production of *Zapis* 1 (spring/summer 1977), due to its length, demanded the creation of new production techniques. The students established that first, someone needed to type a matrice on wax board; Bożena Balicka did this for *Zapis* 1. These were then wiped with methyl alcohol since the spirits which were suggested for the machines, were not readily available. This matrice then was pressed on to paper through the duplicator to make copies. For *Zapis* 1, the students determined that three person teams were best for printing, with one person laying the paper, one cranking the machine and one preparing the paper.²¹¹ Still, there were challenges, such as when Tadeusz Hofmański got alcohol poisoning from printing with methyl alcohol in a closed space. The students initially worked in their

²⁰⁷ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981* (IPN:Warsaw, 2006) 51.

²⁰⁸ Janusz Krupski "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 65; Krupski, *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 68-69.

²⁰⁹ Paweł Nowacki, "Niezwykła przygoda", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 154.

²¹⁰ Wit Wójtowicz, "Francuska w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 231

²¹¹ Janusz Krupski, "Od początku do końca", 106; Krzysztof Żórawski, "Powielacze i formacja," 247.

dormitory with blankets on the windows and doors, but then moved to friends' apartments around the city as the use of methyl alcohol in the printing process left a strong smell of alcohol, which they were afraid would get them caught since alcohol was not allowed in the dormitory.²¹² They did not fasten *Zapis* 1 as they had no mechanism to do so.²¹³

In the fall of 1977, the students in Lublin received their first outside grant, \$600 from Chojecki, when they agreed on their joint publishing venture. They sent \$500 to Jegliński in Paris so that he could procure more printers and kept \$100 for the purchase of paper, ink, methyl alcohol and other supplies in Poland.²¹⁴ They also agreed to produce *Zapis* 2 in Lublin with a photographic form which had been prepared in Warsaw. By this time, the editors of *Zapis* had found a professional bookbinder who was willing to fasten their work for them. A fiasco with the production of *Zapis* 3 and the decision to create *Spotkania* 1, which appeared in November 1977, ended their cooperation with NOWa.²¹⁵ After a house search in January 1978 in the apartment in Lublin in which *Spotkania* 1 had been produced, the next issue of *Spotkania* was produced in Zagańska, at the family home of Maciej Sobieraj. By this time, Jegliński had sent his friends staples from abroad so they thereafter set up teams to print (which now were just two people) and teams to fasten; fastening was sometimes done at the same location as printing and sometimes not. Paper was supplied from a variety of places including Kielce where Sobieraj's aunt worked in a shop.²¹⁶

²¹² Paweł Nowacki in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 65.

²¹³ Nowacki, "Niezwyczajna przygoda," 154.

²¹⁴ \$100 was about 1,200 zł or about three to four times an average monthly wage at this time. [Krupski in "Słowo jak dynamit", 89.]

²¹⁵ Krupski in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie," 68-69; Barbara Toruńczyk in "Słowo jak dynamit", 85.

²¹⁶ Jegliński, "Placówka w Paryżu", 67; Maciej Sobieraj, "Okres romantyczny *Spotkań*" *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 192; Stefan Szacilowski, "Pieluchy, soczek i dom dla 'Zuzi,'" *Scriptores* 39, (Lublin, 2011) 203; Wit Wojtowicz, "'Franczuzka' w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 237.

Early on, the Spotkania group set up two smuggling supply paths, one through Dresden/Lipsk (which became compromised) and one through Weimar/Erfurt. In the opposite direction, they sent microfilm in book bindings to Paris, making them one of the key informants for Radio Free Europe.²¹⁷ They used code to communicate by telephone with Jegliński about what supplies they needed him to send to Poland.²¹⁸ He would then organize the delivery of matrices, staples, books and additional printers through East Germany. They met in East Germany because Polish citizens could go there with a stamp in their papers rather than a passport while Jegliński could also go without having his passport withdrawn (as would have happened had he returned to Poland.)²¹⁹

With time, the students developed new methods of production, procurement and distribution. Wojciech Samoliński came to run the technical apparatus at Spotkania. In 1978/1979 he made contact with Janusz Rożek from the peasant self-defence movement, who helped to provide the Spotkania group with various places to print in the countryside; these were mostly at the homes of rural veterans of AK and WiN. Because these locations were more secluded, they were considered to be better printing locations than city apartments.²²⁰ New methods of paper procurement were also developed. For instance, in Lublin, students would pass themselves off as SZSP (the Communist student organization) representatives from Lublin's Marie Curie-Sadowska University in paper shops. In addition, Samoliński, made contact with someone in Warsaw who would steal paper for them. Samoliński's Trabant became vital as

²¹⁷ Janusz Krupski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 69; Zenon Mazurczak in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie," 67; Paweł Nowacki, "Niezwyczajna przygoda", 156; Wit Wojtowicz, "'Franczuzka' w Lublinie" 235.

²¹⁸ Piotr Jegliński, "Placówka w Paryżu", 64.

²¹⁹ Paweł Nowacki, "Zapis, Spotkania i potyczki z Kuroniem", *IPN Biuletyn* 7-8/54-55 (July-August 2005).

²²⁰ Jan Magierski in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 75; Wojciech Samoliński, "Techniczne zapieczętowanie dla idea", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 175; Krzysztof Żórawski, "Powielacze i formacja", 250.

distribution quickly extended to Wrocław, Warsaw and Krakow as well as Lublin.²²¹ Jan Magierski became key with the technical side of printing and transport. Jegliński remained important in the procurement of supplies for the entire independent publishing movement by making connections with people on holiday in places such as France, Belgium, Italy, England and West Germany as well as a sailor friend, Janusz Wronikowski.²²²

The selection of works for independent publications raised difficult editorial questions as independent publishing grew. Those is the democratic opposition endorsed pluralism, but did this mean that every publication and publishing house had to produce a plurality of views? Rather than market control, the production of independent publications was regulated by both the choice of individuals to take risks and their ability to procure monies, supplies and evade repression. Questions arose over if all supplies should have been equally divided by those in the democratic opposition regardless of skill at procuring supplies and evasion of repression. But then, what was an equal division? Those in publishing debated if publications should be forming and directing social views or voicing those of the majority. How were they to determine what views were popular? Moreover, questions were raised about whether views should be given a forum if they did not serve the development of civil society and were opposed by those who were taking the risks implicit with independent publishing.

Editorial disagreements were central to the split between *Spotkania* and NOWa. The Lublin group were not thrilled about printing Jacek Kuroń's *Zasady ideowe* (which Chojecki wanted to print) as Kuroń's socialism did not appeal to them. In turn, the Warsaw group was not excited about the Catholic nature of the Lublin group's proposed journal, *Spotkania*. Chojecki insisted that NOWa ought not self-produce a serial (meaning *Spotkania*) as he argued that would

²²¹ Zygmunt Kózicki, Jan Magierski and Roman Gorski in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 73-74, 76, 79.

²²² Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980*, 153, 160.

be embracing a political line. However, the fact that Michnik was later on the editorial board of both *Krytyka* and NOWa suggests that it was the Catholic focus which was at the heart of the rejection of NOWa publishing *Spotkania*; not politicization as such.²²³

At NOWa, for a work to be chosen for publication, it had to be proposed to NOWa's editorial board; Adam Michnik proposed the majority of works. It would then be read and discussed by the rest of the editorial board, sometimes in consultation with NOWa's printers as issues related to length could be quite important. Chojecki remembered printers being unhappy to produce works on "birds and flowers" given the implicit risks.²²⁴ Although Chojecki has contended that Michnik was decisive to NOWa's success thanks to his contacts with the Paris Literary Institute and the Polish Writers' Union, Macierewicz believed that his favoritism toward certain authors (Miłosz specifically) amounted to, or even masked, censorship of others (such as Józef Mackiewicz). However, given that decisions were made by the editorial board as a whole, allegations of individual control seem misplaced.²²⁵

If it was agreed to publish a work, Chojecki would take it either to a typist or a photographer (depending on the method of production to be used) to make the matrice. This matrice was then taken to a printing locale. NOWa's printing locations were primarily on the outskirts of Warsaw, often in small summer houses or in the homes of rural sympathizers which afforded more privacy than city apartments. Printing locations were moved constantly so that only a few people (specifically Chojecki and the one or two people delivering supplies knew the

²²³ Mirosław Chojecki and Janusz Krupski in "Słowo jak dynamit", 87, 89; Piotr Jegliński and Janusz Krupski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 53, 69; Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 152-153.

²²⁴ Mirosław Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit", 96, 105.

²²⁵ Mirosław Chojecki and Konrad Bieliński in "Słowo jak dynamit", 96, 105; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 19; "NOWa" (Interview with Chojecki) 23-29; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 73.

address). As with the Lublin group, homes of veterans of the struggle for independence were often used.²²⁶

Paper needed to be brought to the designated printing location; Konrad Bieliński estimated that NOWa was soon using between two and three tons of paper monthly. Paper and ink were generally bought in shops; sometimes bribes had to be paid. Paper delivery was mostly done with tiny Polski Fiats. By the end of this period, with *Biuletyn Informacyjny* reaching a print-run of 6,000, about 500 reams (or one ton) of paper was needed for each issue; this required three trips with a Polski Fiat. Ryszard Knauff who was in charge of the procurement of supplies for NOWa, in 1979 bought an old Škoda Spartak to help with paper delivery. Paper was usually stored in basements or garages outside of the city which were separate from printing locales.²²⁷

Once the paper and matrices were at the location, the printer was brought. The procurement of duplicators proved to be a serious challenge since they were illegal to possess and the authorities constantly sought to confiscate them. Initially, like Spotkania, NOWa relied on small printing machines which were smuggled into the country. Duplicators were also bought on the black market. Later, a couple offset printers were obtained. Most important in NOWa's publishing efforts was an AB-Dick offset printer which had been bought, through Zbigniew Romaszewski, from the American Embassy in Warsaw in 1977. For the next four years, it produced nearly all of NOWa's publications. It was built in 1944/45 and was intended for the use of high quality paper, which simply was not available. To learn to use it, a new round of trial

²²⁶ Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 155

²²⁷ Konrad Bieliński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 62-63; Mirosław Chojecki, Konrad Bieliński and Ryszard Knauff in "Słowo jak dynamit", 89, 100, 103-104.

and error occurred. Ultimately, Chojecki and his team modified it so that it could produce 6,000 pages an hour (double what it had done before).²²⁸

With the supplies at the printing location, the printing team (usually two or three people; Jan Walc, Seweryn Blumsztajn, Zenek Pałka, and Kornad Bieliński all helped at the outset) would meet with Chojecki to find out, in writing in case of bugging, the address. They would then go to the address (often after having to evade a police tail) with food and clothes for the duration of their work as they were not allowed to leave the printing locale until their work was done. They would work in eight hour shifts: one shift for sleeping, one for cranking the printer and one for laying the paper. They would often work for three weeks straight. When the job was done, the matrice would be burnt and the machine would then be picked up and brought to a new location where paper would be waiting for it; a new printing team was then sent.²²⁹

By 1978, a binding apparatus had been set up within NOWa so that publications were taken from the printing location to binders. Each binder received no more than 500 copies of a publication (to prevent the confiscation of an entire issue) which meant that if *Zapis* was done with a print run of 3,000, it would be divided between six individuals or teams of individuals. NOWa usually used a method with a large staple and hammer which could be noisy. Binders were generally young married couples who worked at night in basements.²³⁰

After publications had been bound they were then collected and taken to various distribution points; each distribution point received no more than 100 copies. In the case of

²²⁸ Bieliński noted that NOWa obtained three similar machines in this period. [Konrad Bieliński in “Słowo jak dynamit,” 99; Konrad Bieliński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 64; Adam Grzesiak, “Opowieści wolnego drukarza” . Prepared for publication by Wiesława Grochola, *Karta Kwartalanik Historyczny* 33 (Warsaw: Fundacja Ośrodka Karta, 2001) 86; Jan Skórzynski, “Wolne słowo z powielacza”, *Scriptores* 36 (2009) 21.]

²²⁹ Mirosław Chojecki, Jerzy Wociał and Ewa Milewicz in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 105, 91; Adam Grzesiak, “Opowieści Wolnego Drukarza”, 87, Jan Walc, “My Wolna Walkowa”, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 38 (June 1980) 1-12.

²³⁰ Jerzy Wociał and Grzegorz Boguta in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 92, 90; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 36-37; Mirosław Chojecki, “Jestem w ogóle apolityczny”, 155.

Zapis this meant that it was distributed to at least 30 locations. NOWa distribution points were found in Wrocław, Krakow, Poznan, Łódź, Lublin, Szczecin, Kielce, Gdansk, and Białystok as well as Warsaw. Distributors would either collect works from these points or meet individuals from them at a designated locale. There were also a few small NOWa shops (Mieczysław Grudziński and Ewa Milewicz had them in their apartments). By this point in the distribution network, bikes rather than cars were the most popular form of transport. Wholesalers generally paid for the publications after they collected the monies from retail. Students were often important in the distribution of NOWa publications and in Wrocław, the SKS openly sold and loaned independent publications at the universities as the SB and MO generally stayed off of their campuses.²³¹

Sometimes, rather than relying on their own equipment, NOWa, through bribes, was able to print in state-owned publishing houses. Mirosław Chojecki explained that Jehovah's Witnesses (who were not allowed legally to publish in Poland) had led the way in paying bribes to get publications produced by state printers. Chojecki explained that through Jurek Staszczyk's ties to Jehovah's Witness circles, Zenon Pałka was able to get *Zapis 3/Polish Complex* produced in a state publishing house in Wrocław thus hastening the split with the group in Lublin who were already laboring on its production. Thanks to the use of professional equipment, NOWa was able to publish *Zapis 3/Polish Complex* in a print-run of 3,500 copies at an unprecedentedly high technical level suggesting that independent publishers were a viable alternative to state publishing houses. State printers would not, however, make the book cover for *Polish Complex*, so these were produced separately by NOWa.²³² Although most future editions of *Zapis* were

²³¹ Mirosław Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit", 107; *Ludziej Nowej, 1977-2007*, 36-37; Szczepan Rudka, *Poza Cenzurą*, 79; Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 159.

²³² The students then had to destroy what they had already done. [Janusz Krupski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 69; Paweł Nowacki, http://tnn.plhimow_relacja

produced by NOWa with their own equipment, special editions of *Zapis* including Tadeusz Konwicki's *Minor Apocalypse* (*Zapis* 10, April 1979) and Julian Strykowski's *Wielki Strach* (*Zapis* 14, April 1980), were again produced on state printers. In the fall of 1979, Bogdan Grzeisiak who had finished printing school and had worked at the Dom Słowa Polskiego began cooperating with NOWa. Although he had recently lost his job, he still had close contacts with professional printers who were willing to "moonlight" and print Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's *Courier from Warsaw* and other NOWa publications.²³³

While the majority of Spotkania's and NOWa's publications were produced on their own printing equipment, this was not the case with the publishing efforts from the ROPCiO milieu. Although Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-go Maja and Wydawnictwo Polskie had a few printers in "conspiratorial locations," most of their works were produced by other independent publishing houses for a fee, at state printers for a fee or covertly on offset printers and Xerox machines in various offices and factories. For instance, they produced works at Zakłady Graficzne "Tamka", Zakład Techniki Obliczeniowej Budownictwa, Państwowe Wydawnictwa Ekonomiczne, Centrum Informacji Naukowo-Technicznej, as well as at a state printing house in Lublin.²³⁴

The production of *Bratniak* which nicely illustrates the development of independent printing in this period, was done both on private and state printers. When *Bratniak* began publication in October 1977, it had a print run of 200-300 copies which was produced on a Rex-Rotary spirit duplicator in various apartments in Gdansk; no publishing house insignia was used.

.php?idhm=421; Mirosław Chojecki and Grzegorz Boguta in "Słowo jak dynamit", 89-90; *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989*, 12; "NOWa" (Interview with Chojecki), *Głos* 15, April 1979.]

²³³ Mirosław Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit", 106 (print run info); Piotr Opozda and Marek Gorlinski in "Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 76; Małgorzata Choma-Jusinska, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Lublinie..." *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2001) 42; Adam Grzeisiak....

²³⁴ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 158, 259.

Mirosław Rybicki coordinated their publishing efforts while Sławomir Sobol organized supply and production. To maintain security, Sobol did not partake in any public activities and was known only by the inner circle of the group. Despite these precautions, the duplicator used to produce *Bratniak* was found and confiscated by the security apparatus in December 1977.

Bratniak 4/5 (January-February 1978) was screen-printed by the RMP group. For the rest of the year, *Bratniak* was produced in Gdansk with a print-run of 800-2,000. The March-April 1978 issue noted Wydawnictwo Polskie as the publisher and the following month the symbol for the Warsaw Uprising (also initialled PW in Polish) began to be included on the masthead. From January/February 1979 it was published “in cooperation” with the Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja (likely by Archiwum) and printed in Warsaw with a print-run of 2,000-3,000. In August 1979, this group created their own publishing house, Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska after Sobol made contact with someone who allowed them to print on a state offset printer. *Bratniak* then reached a print-run as high as 6,000.²³⁵

Also important on the coast were the publishing houses Klin and Alternatywy. Klin publications were produced in Olsztyn at the Olsztyński Zakład Graficzny but were then compiled in Sopot. In contrast, the Alternatywy publishing house worked on their own spirit printer, in an apartment in Gdansk, the windows and doors of which they covered with blankets. Similar to other, smaller publishing houses, they did not move their printer around.²³⁶

²³⁵ Jan Strękowski, “Warszawa podziemnych wydawców” in *Śpiący Rycerze*, ed. Adam Mielczarek (Stworzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2006) 181; KOR *Komunikat* 17 (January 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej “KOR”*, 212-214; Grzegorz Waligóła, “Bratniak”, *Encyklopedia Solidarności*; Grzegorz Grzelak in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy* 114; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 96; Mirosław Rybicki in *Korzenie Solidarności 30-lecie Ruch Młodej Polski*, Gdansk, September 26-27, 2009, eds. Grzegorz Grzelak & Mirosław Rybicki (Gdansk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2010) 51.

²³⁶ Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo Alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej “A”*, 11.

Wojciech Fałkowski of the Głos publishing house noted that, as at NOWa, in early editorial discussions over what to print, issues related to the supply of paper, size of cars and their ability to fasten only 30 pages were important. He also noted that his group constructed a printer thanks to Witold Wierzyński. Indeed, in addition to smuggling printing equipment into Poland and purchasing it on the blackmarket, methods were devised to build equipment.²³⁷

In December 1977, *Robotnik* began to be published using a printing method which was developed by Witold Łuczywo and Andrzej Zieliński: screen print with photo reduction. After doing research, Łuczywo realized that by mixing the Polish cleaning detergent, Komfort, with typographic dye, he could create a perfect ink for screen printing. They imported the initial material for frames into the country by saying that they were for curtains. Łuczywo then, with Basia Felicka, figured out how to use a screen-print frame with two (rather than three people) in such a way that 3,000 copies of a page could be made in one night. This discovery allowed for the radical growth of *Robotnik* and for the de-centralization of its production.²³⁸

Questions about how to finance independent publishing quickly arose. Just as there had been debates about if publications should be typed or duplicated, disagreements surfaced over charging for publications. Some in NOWa, like Henryk Wujec, believed that publishing was a service to society so that publications should be free. Helena Łuczywo, in contrast, felt it was necessary to charge for publications since as NOWa grew it had to pay not only for supplies but also bribes as well as salaries for those who spent their days printing, compiling and stitching the publications.²³⁹ Indeed, by 1979, printing for NOWa could prove quite lucrative. Adam

²³⁷ Wojciech Fałkowski, *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 58-59, 71.

²³⁸ Tadeusz Ruzikowski, "Bezpieka przeciwko 'Robotnikowi'" *IPN Biuletyn*, nr 8-9/91-92 (August-September 2008); Henryk Wujec in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 286; Henryk Wujec in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 133; Zbigniew Łuczywo in "Słowo jak dynamit", 98.

²³⁹ Helena Łuczywo in *Co znam zostało z tych lat...Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 74-75.

Grzesiak claimed that he earned triple the average monthly wage through his activities as a NOWa printer. He also remembered Chojecki handing him wads of money to pay bribes to workers in state publishing houses who were ‘moonlighting’ for NOWa. Chojecki noted the wage as 7,000-10,000 zł for printers. Seweryn Blumsztajn claimed that these wages changed the movement. At the same time, he acknowledged that he too was paid to print.²⁴⁰ The decision was reached to charge 1 zł per page retail for NOWa publications.²⁴¹

The Spotkania group charged about 150-200 zł per book (which meant about 1 zł a page). If distributors went to a different city they could take a 20% commission while those who distributed in Lublin earned 10%. This meant that if, for instance, a distributor took a backpack with ten copies of a book, each of which cost 200 zł, they had 2,000 zł worth of merchandise with them and stood to earn 400 zł if they distributed to Warsaw, Krakow or Wrocław from Lublin.²⁴² Likewise, NOWa distributors took about 10-20% as payment; these monies were quite important in providing funding for the democratic opposition outside of Warsaw.²⁴³

The collection of fees remained difficult for independent publishing houses; especially NOWa where distribution extended far afield. Jerzy Borowczak, a WZZW member and distributor of *Robotnik Wybrzeże* recalled that when he distributed *Robotnik Wybrzeże*, he collected union fees for WZZW which came in sporadically but which went directly to the production of their serial.²⁴⁴ While Borowczak worked closely with the editors of *Robotnik Wybrzeże*, at NOWa, distributors had little to no connection to those making publications due to security. When things worked well, the money they collected for publications would be returned

²⁴⁰ Adam Grzesiak, “Opowieści wolnego drukarza”, 84; Mirosław Chojecki and Blumsztajn in “Słowo jak dynamit,” 105, 107.

²⁴¹ Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will Be Ours*, 177; Mirosław Chojecki in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 107.

²⁴² Zygmunt Kozicki, “Kolportażowe kontakty *Spotkań*”, 91.

²⁴³ Konrad Bieliński in “Słowo jak dynamit”, 107.

²⁴⁴ Jerzy Borowczak in *Polak z polakiem*, 18.

to NOWa a couple months later. However, sometimes monies never returned and were instead used to pay fines or for some other, less legitimate purpose. There were also wastage costs, meaning those publications which passed into the hands of the security apparatus.²⁴⁵ Between 1976 and 1979 the police confiscated 440,000 independent flyers, serials, books, pamphlets etc.²⁴⁶

Despite most independent publishing houses ultimately deciding to charge for monographs and serials they produced, flyers, of course, remained free. Flyers held a unique place in the independent publishing movement. While most independent publications sought to contest the state's information monopoly and engender further independent social activities, flyers contested the public sphere and usually encouraged immediate, concrete actions since they tended to carry information on public manifestations, the 1980 election boycott and political prisoners. Furthermore, flyers were intended for a readership beyond those connected to existing independent publishing networks. Anna Walentynowicz noted that her first contact with the opposition was a flyer about Pyjas.²⁴⁷ Flyers were handed out indiscriminately or dropped from high places. Methods were developed to drop them without anyone being present. The RMP group would set a fuse using a Marlborough cigarette. Although Marlboroughs were exceptionally expensive, they were found to be most dependable.²⁴⁸

Although NOWa's editors claimed that it became self-sufficient in this period, the financial support provided from sympathizers, including those from abroad was vital to independent publishing in overcoming the financial hardships caused by police seizures. Indeed, it is estimated that prior to August 1980, about 30% of the printing costs for independent

²⁴⁵ Konrad Bieliński, *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 63.

²⁴⁶ Andrzej Paczkowski, *The Spring Will Be Ours* 385; Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 68.

²⁴⁷ Anna Walentynowicz in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 166.

²⁴⁸ Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 152.

publications were covered by sales while the rest of the money came from donations and the pockets of publishing activists. If true, this meant that publishers were truly independent of readers.²⁴⁹ This situation led to allegations that KSS-KOR, as the primary recipient of Western funds, was able to shape, if not control, the direction of independent publishing. Leszek Moczulski claimed that KSS-KOR ruled all channels to the West and complained that it refused to provide funding for ROPCiO's *Ruch Związkowy*. The control of funds also impacted the differences between the 'majority group' and the 'Głos group' which, according to a police bug, Kuroń did not want to fund. Despite these allegations, it is worth noting that KSS-KOR did provide funding for publications from both ROPCiO and the 'Głos group' as well as NOWa. KSS-KOR supplied 50,000 zł as start-up capital for NOWa which quickly repaid it. They made a second loan of 250,000 zł for the production of *Zapis 3/The Polish Complex* which was re-paid as NOWa became self-sufficient. KSS-KOR made loans to Klin and KOS as well as Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-mego Maja, which received two loans and was not able to repay either. KSS-KOR also provided regular funding for the production of *KOR Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Głos*, *Indeks*, *Krytyka*, *KOR Komunikat*, *Opinia*, *Placówka*, *Puls*, *Robotnik* (as well as its subsidiaries), *Spotkania*, and *Zapis*.²⁵⁰ However, it is also necessary to note that when a loan of 150,000 zł was provided, in 1979 (the same amount was given in 1978), to Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-mego Maja, it was on the condition that it not be shared with Moczulski.²⁵¹

Justyna Błażejowska has detected a form of censorship in KSS-KOR's and NOWa's allocation of funds and selection of materials to print. However, it is hard to agree that the

²⁴⁹ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza Cenzurą*, 184-189, 89.

²⁵⁰ *KOR Komunikat* 23 (October 1978) and *KOR Komunikat* 35 (December 1979) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 306-307, 464; Jan Józef Lipski, *KOR*, 317.

²⁵¹ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 157, 259; Mirosław Chojecki, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 153; "Monika" relation on July 11, 1980 in *"Ketman" i "Monika" –Żywotny równoległe*, 216.

decision not to share limited funds with individuals with whom one disagrees is censorship. Her references to Paweł Bądkowski's recommendation to Western investors that they transfer all printers through NOWa even if they were destined for other groups (specifically SKS), because NOWa had the ability to train personnel and was skilled in hiding equipment and Jerzy Talagarski's report that Adam Michnik refused to allow a NOWa duplicator to be lent without a request to him explaining why it was sought, are not convincing proof of censorship.²⁵² Indeed, NOWa was better at hiding printing supplies than most independent publishing groups (particularly SKS which had been infiltrated at a high level) and did have professional printers working for it. The desire to keep track of printing equipment is a reasonable request for any editor; particularly one who was dealing with the regular confiscation of supplies. Moreover, these charges, like references to NOWa's editorial policy and Michnik in particular as censoring certain authors through the choice of whom to publish, ring of later political animosities rather than contemporary issues. They do, however, point to some of the challenges in independent publishing given that it was not regulated by the market and underline the difficulties in answering questions about how funds and supplies ought to be divided in an independent social movement; particularly one based in a country in which the market did not regulate the economy. Were funds sent to KSS-KOR intended for the entire opposition or for those with ideological affinities with KSS-KOR? Jerzy Wocial recently asserted that the democratic opposition was not always very democratic and claimed that it was even hierarchical; he insisted further that each group printed their own views only. In contrast, Waldemar Kuczyński contemporaneously claimed that independent publishing in this era was quite open.²⁵³

²⁵² Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 80-81.

²⁵³ Jerzy Wociak in "Słowo jak dynamit", 95; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 163, 182.

Indeed, a plurality of views were presented in most major independent publications. Moreover, the majority of independent publishing activists remember this period as a time of cooperation and camaraderie. Despite the rapid growth of independent publishing, it remained numerically, a small, close knit community.²⁵⁴ Piotr Jegliński not only sent printers to the Spotkania group, but also to Borusewicz for the WZZW as well as other publishing ventures.²⁵⁵ This is not to say that no problems occurred; the Spotkania publishing house twice had to deal with other publishing houses (RMP and Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja) obtaining one of their printers and not readily passing it on. However, both did, ultimately, hand them over.²⁵⁶

Those connected to NOWa were quite active in cooperation across publishing ventures. In the spring of 1977, Antoni Macierewicz met with a group of student activists in Krakow and explained to them how to print. The following spring, Chojewski taught Andrzej Miętkowski and Ziemowit Pochitonow of KOS to print.²⁵⁷ Publishing houses borrowed and lent equipment and organizational structures especially from NOWa; NOWa sent equipment to independent publishers in Krakow, Wrocław and Gdansk. NOWa also made financial loans to smaller publishing houses and printed materials from various milieus.²⁵⁸ For instance, they published *Głos*, *Spotkania*, *Indeks* and *Postęp* at different times when their normal publishing apparatus had been disrupted as well as *Krytyka*, *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Zapis* and *Puls* on a regular basis. NOWa demanded that the editors of these publications provide paper, prepared matrices and money for the printers.²⁵⁹ When Emil Morgiewicz approached Konrad Bieliński about having NOWa print *Opinia*, Bieliński explained that they couldn't take on the production of another

²⁵⁴ Jan Strękowski, "Warszawa podziemnych wydawców", 182.

²⁵⁵ Piotr Jegliński, "Placówka w Paryżu", 64.

²⁵⁶ Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980*, 160.

²⁵⁷ "Ketman" Report, May 1 1977 in "Ketman" i "Monika" – *Żywnoty równoległe*, 164; "Ketman" Report, April 22, 1978, in "Ketman" i "Monika" – *Żywnoty równoległe*, 191.

²⁵⁸ Mirosław Chojewski and Grzegorz Boguta *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 66, 74; Mirosław Chojewski, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", 157.

²⁵⁹ Mirosław Chojewski in "Słowo jak dynamit", 100.

serial but offered to provide them with screen-printing equipment and teach them how to use it.²⁶⁰ Similarly, the Klin publishing house was provided with a printer from Chojecki and then sent their texts to NOWa for distribution. Distributors often worked for various publishing houses and NOWa frequently shared its distribution network with other publishing houses. As a result of this cooperation, when the police confiscated one printer, another could be borrowed or another publishing house would offer to publish the prepared publication giving credence to the call for an amorphous, de-centralized opposition.

Repression

As independent publishing grew, so did regime repression. It was popularly believed that, based on Polish traditions, foreign invasion would trigger a violent national uprising and war which impeded Warsaw Pact invasion.²⁶¹ Still, the Citizen's Militia (MO), Security Force (SB) and Voluntary Reserve Militia (ORMO) continued to harass and repress the democratic opposition. In this period, the MO and ORMO forces were estimated at about 400,000 people (a much greater number than those then active in the democratic opposition).²⁶²

The threat of Russian invasion was constantly felt; the ruling powers regularly used that threat as a justification for their actions. Leszek Kołakowski noted that "[f]ear of the fraternal guns from the East is, of course, not unjustified, but it is consciously exaggerated as a 'patriotic device' for stifling the smallest demands and as a means of convincing the nation of the absolute hopelessness of all its efforts."²⁶³ Through this perverse logic, the Communist elite presented

²⁶⁰ Konrad Bieliński in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, 641.

²⁶¹ The reasons why Poland did not, and had not, experienced foreign invasion (as had East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia) during the Communist-era are complex. It was generally believed in Poland that the Polish Army would not stand by passively if a foreign army invaded, that the Russians were aware of this which is why the Polish Army was limited to 275,000 members and why Soviet invasion was inhibited. Such beliefs were bolstered by the signals of the Polish Army in 1956 that it would move against the Russian Army if it invaded. [Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland*, 234-235]

²⁶² Peter Raina, *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977*, 234-235.

²⁶³ Leszek Kołakowski, "Hope and Hopelessness", *Survey* (Summer 1971) 48.

their repressive actions as protecting society from foreign invasion while the opposition was portrayed as dangerously and treacherously threatening society.²⁶⁴

The state's policy of repression was particularly aggressive toward workers connected with independent publishing. Unlike intellectuals, workers could not be ignored or dismissed as free trade unions and independent worker publications struck at the legitimization of the regime. Workers were also more isolated from international contacts than intellectuals. Władysław Sulecki who was co-editor of *Robotnik* and *Postęp* (in Gliwice) and a co-founder of the first free trade union in Katowice (Silesia) repeatedly underwent interrogations, house searches and beatings of he and his family. He finally left the country after his daughter was arrested on false charges. Józef Ruszar remembered going to a discussion group in Silesia with Sulecki where the SB left him alone but beat a girl.²⁶⁵ Kazimierz Świtoń, a co-editor of *Robotnik* and *Ruch Związkowy* as well as a co-founder of the first free trade union in Katowice was arrested and beaten on numerous occasions as was his family; he was even grabbed leaving church and beaten in front of a crowd of on-lookers by uniformed members of the security forces.²⁶⁶ In October 1978 he was arrested and in 1979 he was sentenced to a year in prison on the absurd allegation that he beat up four police officers. Although he was released the following day due to protests from international trade unionists, Amnesty International and the democratic opposition he had already served several months in prison awaiting trial. Edward Zadrożyński was less fortunate. A metal worker and inhabitant of Grudziądz, he was on the editorial board of *Robotnik*, and a trade union activist. He was arrested in July 1979 on false criminal charges. Despite protests, he

²⁶⁴ Halina Mikołajska, "Ciennik, listy", *Zapis* 2 (April 1977) 67.

²⁶⁵ KOR *Komunikat* 18 (March 7, 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 229; Henryk Wujec, Józef Ruszar in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 136, 152.

²⁶⁶ "Appeal to Amnesty International", KOR *Komunikat* 24 (November 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 315.

was sentenced to three years in prison and 70,000 zł in fines in March 1980.²⁶⁷ Józef Ruszar remembered that the initial attempt at creating groups around *Robotnik* in Nowa Huta was a failure as all of the young workers were immediately drafted into the army.²⁶⁸ Indeed, all men under 50 years old could be called up for three month reservist duty. The state authorities therefore called up various members of the democratic opposition, including Jacek Kuroń, Karol Glogowski, and Adam Zagajewski, for military duty as a means of keeping them from oppositional actions.

Repression could prove counter-productive. While government repression came close to breaking the free trade union in Katowice, on the coast where worker activism was further advanced, the arrest in May 1978 of Błażej Wyszowski (a WZZW activist) at a *Robotnik* editorial meeting, gave the union strength. In protest, Borusewicz had flyers produced and passed out. In addition, a hunger strike was started and daily prayers were held. This is when Lech Wałęsa joined the WZZW.²⁶⁹

Worker distributors were also especially vulnerable to repression. In the fall of 1978, Wojciech Jeśman was arrested for distributing *Robotnik* in a factory in Łódź.²⁷⁰ Andrzej Kołodziej who worked as a distributor of *Robotnik Wybrzeża* recalled that when he wouldn't inform on his friends, the security forces brought his father to him in prison and told him that his

²⁶⁷ KOR Komunikat 38 (March 31, 1980) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 501.

²⁶⁸ Józef Ruszar and Franciszek Grabczyk in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 151-152; KOR Komunikat 24 (November 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 320.

²⁶⁹ Krzysztof Wyszowski, and Błażej Wyszowski in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980* (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012) 206, 217-18; Joanna Gwiazda in *Gwiazdozbiór w "Solidarnosci"*, 89.

²⁷⁰ KOR Komunikat 22 (September 11, 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 284.

father would be fired from his job (which would leave Kołodziej's seven sisters without a provider) if Kołodziej did not inform. He refused.²⁷¹

Those involved with independent publishing in rural communities were also especially vulnerable; beatings were frequent. Jan Kozłowski, the editor of *Placówka* was sentenced to two years in prison on the false charge of beating someone. When his neighbor, Tadeusz Kolana, came forward as an alibi, he was charged with the same beating and sentenced to one and a half years in prison.²⁷²

Intellectuals from the democratic opposition and students suffered police repression in a generally less physically brutal fashion. Just as it had during the 1968 protests, the regime attempted to segregate them from society at large by smearing them as foreign imperialists or Zionist provocateurs and arguing that independent publishing was supported by the enemies of the country in Israel, Western Europe and the USA so that publishing activists were traitors.²⁷³ Jewish members of the democratic opposition were particularly singled out in this light. The former membership of some members in the Communist party was also negatively highlighted to suggest a Stalinist link, especially with KOR.²⁷⁴ Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik were frequently smeared in the press as Zionist, anti-Socialist, Stalinist radicals. Still, punishments were usually limited to refusal of employment and passports, short-term arrests, house searches,

²⁷¹ Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdyńscy Komunardzi, Sierpień 1980 w Stoczni i Gdynia* (Gdynia: Verbicause.pl, 2008) 51.

²⁷² KOR Komunikat (February 29, 1980) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 485-486.

²⁷³ KOR Komunikat 23 (October 16, 1978) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 314.

²⁷⁴ The official Communist press' smearing of individuals for formerly being Party members, underlines the degree to which they appreciated the general societal loathing for the Party and its members. Still, the irony of someone suggesting that someone else is a traitor for formerly belonging to an organization to which that individual still belongs is one of the absurdist gems of the regime propaganda.

and military call-up. However, beatings were not unheard of and repression remained sporadic and unpredictable.²⁷⁵

The security apparatus also used infiltration to silence independent publishers. During this period, independent society's underground structure was largely created by independent publishing distribution networks; infiltrating and controlling them was therefore a priority. Moreover, infiltration was used to breed suspicion and distrust which worked against social solidarity. Leopold Gierek, who founded a free trade union in Radom, was, throughout this period, a police informant who reported on publishing in *Zbroszy Dużej* and made particular efforts to find and betray the whereabouts of printing equipment. This meant that the entire publishing network in Radom was compromised. Several people connected to NOWa informed to the SB. However, these were primarily involved in distribution and so were not terribly compromising. Moreover, when in December 1977 both a spirit printer and then mimeograph were seized from NOWa along with a number of publications, Chojewski assumed, correctly, that one of his printers was an informant. After a shake-up in personnel, the seizures ceased.²⁷⁶

Henryk Karkosza (codenamed Monika) and Lesław Maleszka (codenamed Ketman, Return, Tomek) seriously compromised publishing efforts in Krakow. Maleszka, Bronisław Wildstein and Stanisław Pyjas had been best friends and at the forefront of independent publishing in Krakow. The death of Pyjas in May 1977, Maleszka's role in the founding of the SKS, and then the death of Stanisław Pietraszki (a friend of Pyjas who may have been a witness to his death) in August 1977, left Maleszka in a privileged position in Krakow's independent

²⁷⁵ KOR *Komunikat* 24 (November 1978) and KOR *Komunikat* 28 (March 16, 1979) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 325, 365.

²⁷⁶ Justyna Błazejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 82, 92-99.; *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007*, 18; Henryk Głębocki in *"Ketman" i "Monika" –Żywy równoległy*, 94.

publishing milieu.²⁷⁷ Still, Maleszka attempted to gain a position of total dominance by passing on information to besmirch Wildstein's and Liliana Batko's reputations. Malezka fully de-conspired SKS printing efforts in Krakow by passing on information about supplies and meetings. He blocked the development of SKS Łódź and helped to get informants in place prior to the founding of SKS Wrocław. Maleszka also worked to compromise SKS Szczecin and Poznan. In addition, he cooperated with *Wiadomość Tarnowski* and thereby helped to compromise it. Playing a game of divide and conquer, Maleszka had a role in creating divisions between Józef Ruszar, Janusz Pierzchała, Andrzej Miętkowski and others in Krakow's oppositional youth milieu. Karkosza worked in the MO from 1976 to 1978 and from the spring of 1979 became an active informant in SKS Krakow. He then went on to help found, then lead KOS which became all but a SB front. He helped to organize seizures to make Miętkowski look responsible in order to gain a position of control. When Janusz Pierzchała tried to initiate an RMP wing in Krakow, Karkosza got close to him and prevented it. Karkosza also limited the printing capabilities of Krzysztof Bzydła from KPN in Krakow.²⁷⁸

The state did not therefore always shut down publishing houses when they were compromised but instead, at times, used surveillance so that they could wrap up the entire network whenever seemed desirable. Paweł Miłłasz worked his way into a leadership position at the Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja which was, through him "to a large degree controlled by the SB." As a result, the two 'secret' printing locales of the Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja were both bugged. Moreover, in 1979, the SB inspired him to cooperate with *Bratniak*. His actions led not only to seizures in *Bratniak* but also caused RMP to resign

²⁷⁷ While his closeness with Pyjas had meant that he was more or less above suspicion at the time, since revelations of his activities with the SB have surfaced, questions have been raised about their deaths and his possible role.

²⁷⁸ Henryk Głębocki in "Ketman" i "Monika" – *Żywotny równoległe*, 94, 96-97, 107-108, 110-112, 114-115; Ryszard Terlecki, "Monika", *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 50 (March 2005) 58.

from publishing in Warsaw. Kazimierz Charzewski, the Spotkania group's contact in Dresden, turned out to be an informant so that from 1977-1978 the SB had traced Jegliński's packages from Paris to Lublin and his couriers from that route. When it was revealed that Charzewski had turned on his friends and been spying and informing for the state, the state upped the harassment of Spotkania in November 1978 and charged Jegliński with being a spy.²⁷⁹

However, the opposition turned out to have its informants too. From late 1978, Adam Hodysz, a SB agent, made contact with Aleksander Hall. He thereafter informed independent publishers and activists about SB activities on the coast. For instance, through him, Rybicki learned that his apartment was bugged while others were warned of SB neighbors. Perhaps most importantly, he warned the WZZW that Edwin Myszk (who had moved into a position of prominence in the WZZW) was a SB informant.²⁸⁰

The spring of 1979 saw a peak in police repression. On April 18, 1979, Tomasz Michalak, a NOWa printer, was arrested for allegedly counterfeiting bus tickets and money; these charges were based on his possession of printing supplies. After a major press effort which included dropping 10,000 flyers in Warsaw and printing common announcements in a number of independent publications, he was freed on July 17.²⁸¹ Jacek Kuroń and his family were physically assaulted in their home after a build-up in the press of attacks on him as a "traitor."²⁸² Attacks on those connected with the Flying University were so severe (government sponsored thugs would attend, use tear gas and beat up the lecturer and students) that its activities had to be

²⁷⁹ Chrzaszewski was even sent to France to spy on Jegliński, where he himself was arrested as a spy. [KOR *Komunikat*, 328; Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Lublinie w latach 1977-1980", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 43; Piotr Jegliński, "Placówka w Paryżu", 78.]

²⁸⁰ Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy*, 129-130; Adam Hodysz in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 93-103.

²⁸¹ KOR *Komunikat* 28 (March 16, 1979) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 399-401

²⁸² Andrzej Friszke in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 114; KOR *Komunikat* 26/27 (December 1978-January 1979) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 350.

suspended. Repression halted briefly around the time of the Pope's visit as international media turned to Poland, yet this was only a brief reprieve. The demonstrations held in Warsaw on November 11, 1979 for independence day and then in December 1979 on the anniversary of the 1970 strikes on the coast, led to mass arrests and beatings.

As independent publishing grew so did state repression. On December 11, 1979 Bjorn Gunnar Laqvist, a Swedish national was arrested for taking printing goods into Poland and held for 49 days.²⁸³ On February 6, 1980 Bogdan Grzesiak, of NOWa, had a house search during which independent publications were confiscated. He was falsely charged with stealing a duplicator. He was freed on February 29.²⁸⁴ On March 22, 1980 Anatol Lawina, of NOWa, was sentenced to three months in prison.

The open letter of complaint which Chojecki wrote in March 1980 about the various 'minor harassments' he had undergone, illustrates well the effect of state repression. He wrote that since the fall of 1976 when he joined KOR he had lost his job and been unable to find employment for which he was qualified, he had been imprisoned for a total of approximately five months primarily due to numerous 24 hour and 48 hour arrests (averaging one day a week in prison during this period), he had undergone 15 house searches and 80 body searches (only three of which were by legal order). In the midst of the house searches, food (especially meat), money (about 6,000 zł), typewriters, music tapes and a variety of other legal possessions were taken and not returned. He had been fined about 19,500 zł. He regularly received threats of bodily harm and death.²⁸⁵ He was also seriously beaten on several occasions by unknown perpetrators.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ KOR *Komunikat* 30 (June 12, 1979) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 407.

²⁸⁴ KOR *Komunikat* 37 (February 29, 1980) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 484-485.

²⁸⁵ KOR *Komunikat* 38 (March 31, 1980) in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 499-501.

²⁸⁶ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 430.

Though the regime did not kill or usually sentence its opponents to extended prison terms, Chojecki's case makes clear, that its constant and unceasing harassment of the citizenry who demanded respect for their legal rights, was potentially physically and mentally debilitating (as was the intention). Indeed, house searches which normally started at 6 a.m. and lasted about six hours with four to five people rifling through people's possessions and taking what they wanted, were a clear stress on families.²⁸⁷

The refusal of Chojecki and the independent publishing movement to be crushed led, in the spring of 1980, to a radical increase in the number of short term arrests and house searches (almost always accompanied by confiscations). On March 26, 1980, Mirosław Chojecki was arrested on the false charge of stealing a printer (he had bought one on the black market). He went on hunger strike on April 15.²⁸⁸ On May 10, he was freed after protests from abroad and at home.²⁸⁹ On May 14, new charges were brought against him. On May 16, charges were brought against Bogdan Grzesiak who had bought the allegedly stolen printer with Chojecki. This led to hunger strikes and massive press campaigns including the printing of 100,000 flyers. On June 12, both men were sentenced to one and a half years in prison, three years of probation and 15,000 zł fines.²⁹⁰ They were, however, then released due to protests.

The independent publishing milieu attempted to answer repression with increased production to impress upon the authorities that their repressions were ineffective. When the KOR leadership was arrested in May-August 1977, it was made a priority to continue printing to demonstrate that not only that they were not defeated, but that arrests would not even slow their

²⁸⁷ Wojciech Samoliński, "Techniczne zapieczęcie dla idea," 179.

²⁸⁸ KOR Komunikat in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 513.

²⁸⁹ Questions have been raised if the machine which was sold to Chojecki was part of a SB plot to create this charge. [KOR Komunikat 40, May 31, 1980 in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 526.]

²⁹⁰ KOR Komunikat 40, May 31, 1980 in *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"*, 538.

activities; the students in Lublin produced *Zapis* 1 while printers in Warsaw produced works by Adam Michnik. Similarly, when the government seized equipment from the *Spotkania* group while they were preparing the second issue, they doubled their efforts in having *Spotkania* 2 & 3 produced quickly.²⁹¹ When Chojecki and Bogdan Grzesiak were arrested, Konrad Bieliński approached Adam Grzesiak with a tome of poems by Czesław Miłosz, insisting that its publication was a matter of prestige for NOWa. Grzesiak went to an acquaintance in state printing who took money to produce them on state printers.²⁹²

Conclusion

Between 1976 and 1980 the democratic opposition, particularly individuals connected to KOR/KSS-KOR and ROPCiO, produced significant independent publishing efforts which aimed at awakening Polish civil society. These two groups struggled to make connections with workers and peasants in order to extend their influence beyond intellectual circles and to encourage independent social institutions in these segments of society.²⁹³ Despite divisions within and between various groups in the democratic opposition, cooperation was an overriding characteristic of the publishing movement with writers, activists and distributors often working with several publications and publishing houses.²⁹⁴ Polish historical traditions of opposition and engagement with that past were decisive in the growth of the democratic opposition and the independent publishing movement. Kazimierz Wojcicki argued that Polish traditions based on the pre-War PPS and wartime activities were the deciding factor in the development of the independent social movement at this time.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ Janusz Bazydło, "Biuro redakcji na dziedzińcu KUL," 31.

²⁹² Adam Grzesiak, "Opowieści wolnego drukarza", 83-84; Bieliński in "Słowo jak dynamit", 109.

²⁹³ Henryk Wujec in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 173.

²⁹⁴ Adam Mielczarek, *Spiący rycerze*, 56-67.

²⁹⁵ Kazimierz Wojcicki, "Od drugiego obiegu do niepodległości" in Leszek Łakowski, *Ogólnopolska konferencja "Literatura II obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989": materiały konferencyjne* (Koszalińska Biblioteka Publiczna, 2006).

Through independent publishing it is possible to trace the story of Poland's changing, and increasingly independent civil society, in this period. At the outset, in 1976, isolated "dissidents" met in small groups to furtively discuss émigré publications in typescript. By 1979, individuals could be seen openly reading duplicated independent publications on trams in Warsaw. Independent publications served to broadcast the existence of those in the independent social movement and connect various milieus (KSS-KOR, ROPCiO, DiP, TKN, SKS as well as the free trade union movement and independent peasant movement); they also engendered further independent social activism.²⁹⁶

Although the democratic opposition and publishing activists remained a minority in the population, popular sympathy, if not support for their activities was decisive in combatting state repression and furthering the development of independent publishing. For instance, one of Chojecki's neighbors (who he had never met before) went to him and told him that the SB wanted to rent a room in his apartment as it looked on to Chojecki's entryway. He asked Chojecki what he should do. Chojecki told him to let them rent it but asked that he always place a flowerpot in his window when they were there. This helped Chojecki in evading police tails since he knew when he was being watched. Chojecki has also suggested that NOWa had people who faked cooperation with the SB in order to mislead the security apparatus.²⁹⁷ In 1977, Bogdan Borusewicz was being chased by militiamen while carrying a backpack full of independent publications. He jumped on a bus and turned to the young man next to him and explained that he was in KOR and was being chased by the militia; he asked the man to take the backpack. The man took it and Borusewicz retrieved it the next day. Borusewicz's willingness

²⁹⁶ Mirosław Chojecki, "NOWa" (Interview with Chojecki), *Głos* 15 (April 1979) 23-29.

²⁹⁷ Mirosław Chojecki in "Słowo jak dynamit," 116.

to ask a stranger for help and that individual's willingness to proffer aid signaled that Polish civil society, trust and solidarity were not dead.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁸ Bogan Borusewicz in *Portrety Niedokończone*, 45.

Chapter 2

Independent Publishing and the Democratic Opposition, 1976-1980

Between 1976 and 1980, those in the democratic opposition were united in the desire for freedom, democracy and independence for Poland; the leaders of this movement also agreed that the creation of independent social initiatives was the best means of awakening Polish civil society and combating the regime. However, no consensus was reached on the temperament of Polish society, the specific types of social initiatives to be founded, the timeframe for their creation, or the just nature of a future Poland. To analyze how debates on these topics developed within Poland's independent publishing milieu, this chapter will analyze the independent publications of five individuals who were at the forefront of the democratic opposition and independent publishing: Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, Antoni Macierewicz, Leszek Moczulski, and Aleksander Hall.

In 1976, Leszek Moczulski described three trends in the democratic opposition. He called the first the liberal trend and explained that its main emphasis was on strengthening the sovereignty of the nation, understood as the superiority of society over the state. Second, he described an independence trend which he argued placed as primary the establishment of a nation-state which self-organized the aims of society. Third, Moczulski referenced a nationalist group which highlighted the nation above the state.²⁹⁹ Although Moczulski did not mention a social-democratic trend, one did exist. It, like the liberal trend he described, emphasized the sovereignty of society over the state. The five selected individuals broadly represent these trends (Kuroń and Michnik as social-democratic, Macierewicz as liberal, Moczulski as independence-focused and Hall as nationalist). Although differences of opinion were fluid and disagreements within this group and the democratic opposition as a whole developed in different directions with

²⁹⁹ Leszek Moczulski, *Memorial*, <http://www.polonus.mojeforum.net/viewtopic.php?t=305>, 4.

time, these five individuals remained decisive in independent publishing, continued to represent major trends in independent publishing and engaged in direct polemic exchanges which aided in the development of Polish civil society.

This chapter will open with a brief consideration of how each author presented the status quo, their goals for the future, and their proposed plans of action for the opposition. Their writings will then be analyzed together, in comparison, to flush out ideological, personal and programmatic differences. Specifically, this section will look at debates over international relations, Catholicism and the Catholic Church, socialism, nationalism, and Polish insurrectionary traditions to ascertain how each author presented contemporary Polish society. Consideration will also be given to the ways in which personal differences played a role in debates as well as methods of debate. Polish historical traditions and their interpretation will regularly be raised in exploring the exchanges of these five authors. Adam Michnik noted that Poland is “a country where history has often served as a pretext for disputes about the present. Uncovering lies about the past frequently allows us to discover our own identity. A key to the past can unlock many of the myths being created today.”³⁰⁰ While Polish history did serve as an impetus to action, it was deciphered by those in the democratic opposition in specific ways which bolstered their contemporary plans of action. This chapter will therefore conclude with a consideration of how historical debates between these authors reflected their different proposed opposition tactics. This chapter will demonstrate that the content of independent publications were more than “speech acts”, they were calls to action; the proposed plans of action in independent publications were those which were undertaken as Polish civil society emerged.

³⁰⁰ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors,” *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, trans. Maya Latynski (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987) 202.

Jacek Kuroń³⁰¹

Jacek Kuroń wrote succinctly that “the primary value for me is the good, sovereignty and creative power of each man.”³⁰² He tied these values to the Gospels as a “universal code of ethics” which underlines the transcendental values of good, love, truth and beauty.³⁰³ Acknowledging that there is an inherent conflict between the individual and the collective, Kuroń asserted that individuals most fully achieve their desires in common society so that it is necessary when assessing the good of the individual to place him/her in the communal context.³⁰⁴ Kuroń stressed self-governance at the local level through unions, cultural initiatives etc. as the best means for the citizenry to protect and maintain their autonomy within society.³⁰⁵ At the state level, Kuroń contended that while it may be no utopia, parliamentary democracy (which he defined as being based on representative governance and the division of power between executive, legislative and judiciary) is the form of government which best creates the conditions for individual autonomy. Kuroń insisted that political pluralism is “unbreakably

³⁰¹ Jacek Kuroń was raised in a socialist family. His grandfather who raised him had been a member of the PPS fighting squads which had abandoned parts of Socialism but not its demand for social justice. However, Kuroń, as a young man, became a Communist. He joined the ZMS, was active in the Communist scout movement, and then joined the PZPR. In 1964 he ran afoul of the authorities because of his doctoral dissertation which called for authentic workers’ councils; he was expelled from the PZPR and university. He and his co-author Karol Modzelewski published an open letter in Paris *Kultura* defending their work, which led to Kuroń’s imprisonment (1965 to 1967). Thereafter, Kuroń became an increasingly active opponent of the regime: he took part in the 1968 protests for which he was re-imprisoned from 1968-1971, participated and led independent discussion groups in the 1970s by which time he had intellectually abandoned Marxism, published in exile publications and was at the forefront of the protests against the constitutional changes in 1975. By the time he helped to found KOR at the age of 42, he was one of the most recognized members of the democratic opposition. During this period, Kuroń was on the editorial board of *Głos* (until April 1978), KOR’s *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and *Krytyka*. He was a founding member of TKN and was the contact person with Radio Free Europe.

³⁰² Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 113.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 128.

³⁰⁵ Jacek Kuroń, “Notatki o samorządzie” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 98; Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 117-118.

attached” to parliamentary democracy. A former member of the PZPR, Kuroń denounced his former Communism and instead embraced social-democracy.³⁰⁶

Kuroń argued that the nation (which he defined “in reference to culture” rather than ethnicity or social group) and the free development of national culture are key to individual, sovereign identity. He therefore insisted that “a social movement in which the good and sovereignty of the individual is a principle value...must be a movement for the good and sovereignty of the nation.” Kuroń continued that the right to one’s sovereign nation is a transcendental and universal right; he argued that in Poland, independence was “an indispensable condition for democracy.”³⁰⁷

Kuroń characterized the PRL as non-sovereign and totalitarian and argued that totalitarian rule had radically divorced power from society, negated individual and national sovereignty, and brought about the atomization and disintegration of society through the breaking of social bonds and their replacement with the state structure. He explained that the state monopolized all information, organization, and decision-making and abstracted society, presenting itself as spokesman for the populace.³⁰⁸ Kuroń argued that although “a program of democracy and independence is undoubtedly in agreement with Polish aspirations...it cannot be realized directly” due to the Soviet Army.³⁰⁹

Kuroń called for a moral revolt and stressed the need for truth as a means of combating the regime.³¹⁰ He insisted that the best means of regenerating society and challenging and

³⁰⁶ Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 109-110, 115-116, 118, 131; Jacek Kuroń, “Myśli o programie działania” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 83.

³⁰⁷ Jacek Kuroń, “W stronę demokracji” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 155; Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 128, 135.

³⁰⁸ Jacek Kuroń, “W stronę demokracji”, 144; Jacek Kuroń, “Myśli o programie działania”, 80.

³⁰⁹ Jacek Kuroń, “W stronę demokracji”, 149.

³¹⁰ Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe” 111; Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010)

transforming the state was through the creation of a variety of open, independent, grassroots-level, self-governing social formations with concrete goals as well as social movements within state-run institutions which were not yet compromised. He argued that a wide-spread independent social movement could re-build the social bonds and solidarity destroyed by the totalitarian state and exert long-term concerted pressure for the transformation of the socio-economic structure. He acknowledged the possibility that such groups might, at some point, join to freely create a formal, hierarchical organization. However, Kuroń suggested that in all likelihood what would emerge were divisions.³¹¹ Kuroń supported these methods of opposition on ethical and practical planes.

Kuroń believed that opposition ought to develop in phases; education was the indispensable first step. Not only did Polish history books need to be re-written, but perhaps even more importantly, the populace needed to become accustomed to thinking and acting in democratic ways. In 1977, Kuroń argued that the possibility for re-education had begun with the independent publishing movement. He discussed the need to create small independent self-governing groups of workers, peasants, the faithful etc. to help in limiting the totalitarian power of the state; he called for intellectuals to help these movements. In this context, he also put forward the idea of Finlandization, meaning that Poland could seek parliamentary democracy with limits on internal and external politics in relation to direct Soviet interests.³¹²

In the winter of 1978-1979, Kuroń asserted that intellectuals have the qualifications for organizing a program of action while workers have the strength to achieve one; solidarity was needed. He wrote that with the growth of the worker movement (aided by *Robotnik*), rural self-

160; Jacek Kuroń, "Porozmawiajmy poważnie" in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 197.

³¹¹ Jacek Kuroń, "Uwagi o strukturze ruchu demokratycznego" in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 101, 105; Jacek Kuroń, "Myśli o programie działania", 86-87.

³¹² Jacek Kuroń, "Myśli o programie działania", 93-95.

defense committees, SKS, and TKN “we are nearing the moment during which the uprising of a mass organization of workers can result in the defense of their interests before the state-employer.”³¹³ Demonstrating his rejection of Marxist economic principles, Kuroń insisted that economic changes toward decentralization and dependence on the market were needed and that Polish society would have to learn to stop looking to the state for succor.³¹⁴

By the spring of 1979, Kuroń feared a social explosion. He argued that the social movement had grown over confident and political but was not broad enough to effect change. Fearing “national tragedy” through a Soviet invasion or a massacre by Polish forces, Kuroń called for a “movement of demands” (freedom for unions including the right to strike, socio-economic reforms, administrative and judicial reform), observation of the law and working within official structures to channel anger to practical pressure for these demands. Kuroń explained that he endorsed opposition based on constant social pressure as he placed the ultimate value on human life. He claimed that those who opposed cautionary reform efforts were seeking a social explosion and threatening lives. He reiterated his 1977 claim that those who suggest that “the worse it gets the better”, demonstrated contempt for humanity.³¹⁵

In July 1980, as a wave of strikes rocked the nation, Kuroń called for workers to demand more than local pay raises. He explained that the economic crisis was deep enough that any pay raise would be negated by inflation. What was needed, according to Kuroń, was a nationwide discussion over the economy with societal access to mass media. He called on the opposition to help workers to develop broader demands and free trade unions as a step toward democracy.³¹⁶

³¹³ Jacek Kuroń, “W stronę demokracji”, 150.

³¹⁴ Jacek Kuroń, “W stronę demokracji”, 154.

³¹⁵ Jacek Kuroń, “Sytuacja w kraju a program opozycji” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 180, 182, 184-185; Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 110.

³¹⁶ Jacek Kuroń, “Ostry zakręt” in Jacek Kuroń, *Kuroń opozycja, Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyka, 2010) 205, 207-208.

Adam Michnik³¹⁷

Adam Michnik asserted that “I believe that the form of an independent and democratic Poland is being shaped today. I would like that Poland to be based on tolerance and political culture....”³¹⁸ Michnik’s contributions to independent publications which heralded pluralism and frequently referenced and warned against the threat of nationalism, represented his efforts toward shaping society to those ends. An avowed Socialist who described himself as part of the “lay left,” Michnik described his own values when he insisted that:

[t]he left champions the ideas of freedom and tolerance, of individual sovereignty and the emancipation of labor, of a just distribution of income and the right of everyone to an equal start in life. It fights against national-chauvinism, obscurantism, xenophobia, lawlessness and social injustice. The program of the left is the program of anti-totalitarian socialism.

Michnik opposed free-trade capitalism, but also endorsed a liberal identification with individual rights and insisted that totalitarianism, not capitalism, was the “greatest nightmare of our times.”³¹⁹

Like Kuroń, Michnik described the PRL as a “totalitarian power which, with a foreign mandate and foreign assistance, acted against the interests of the Polish nation.” He explained that since 1945 the state had been pursuing a “long-term cultural policy” which if successful would mean that Poles “will cease to be a nation and will become a collectivity of captives

³¹⁷ Adam Michnik was 29 years old when KOR was founded. Raised in a Communist family, Michnik was, from the age of 11, active in the Communist, Walterowcy scout group, which Kuroń led. After its closing, he participated in the Crooked Circle Club and on its closing, the Seekers of Contradiction Club. He joined the ZMS but was expelled in 1964 for disseminating Kuroń’s Open Letter. Also, at that time, Michnik was suspended from his history studies at Warsaw University and imprisoned for two months. He was again suspended in 1966 for organizing student meetings with Leszek Kołakowski. He was at the forefront of the 1968 student protests during which he was expelled from university then sentenced to three years in prison. After prison, Michnik worked as a welder and obtained a history degree before becoming secretary to Antoni Słonimski. Michnik was active in the protests against the Constitutional changes but was in France at the founding of KOR on the invitation of Jean-Paul Sartre. He was a founding member of TKN, and was on the editorial board of KOR’s *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Krytyka*, *Zapis* and *NOWA*.

³¹⁸ Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels” in *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, 197.

³¹⁹ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, ed. & trans. David Ost (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 33, 192.

speaking a soviet dialect of Polish.” He continued that this was “the most dangerous form of dictatorship, since it depends not only on depriving a person of physical freedom, but on depriving a person of spiritual freedom as well.”³²⁰ Michnik herein, like Kuron, tied individual autonomy to nationhood and culture; it is individual spiritual freedom which appeared to be essential for Michnik. Indeed, his insistence that “freedom begins with each one of us, not with the authorities,” suggests that he believed that freedom is primarily achieved through individual thought and action.³²¹

In order to combat what Michnik presented as the regime’s destructive designs, he, in 1976, called for an unceasing societal struggle for the expansion of civil liberties and human rights through pressure from independent social organizations; he termed this New Evolutionism.³²² Michnik argued that this program ought to be directed “to an independent public, not to totalitarian power...[because] Nothing instructs the authorities better than pressure from below.”³²³ He asserted that the “[d]emocratic opposition must be constantly and incessantly visible in public life, must create political facts by organizing mass action, must formulate alternative programs.” Michnik placed special emphasis on the working class who he argued had already through steady and unyielding stances forced the government to make concessions and called for independent workers’ councils as he believed that “the power elite fear this group most.” He asserted that the Catholic Church was also “crucial.”³²⁴

Showing less moderation than Kuroń, Michnik argued that although the Red Army and the Brezhnev Doctrine meant that any demand for revolution was, at that time, unrealistic and

³²⁰ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 44, 156.

³²¹ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 212.

³²² Adam Michnik, “A New Evolutionism” in Adam Michnik, *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, 142.

³²³ Adam Michnik, “A New Evolutionism”, 144.

³²⁴ Adam Michnik, “A New Evolutionism”, 144, 145, 147.

dangerous, these were not excuses for inactivity.³²⁵ Michnik defended peaceful protest while asserting that this “does not mean that the movement for change will always be peaceful—that it will not require sacrifices and casualties.”³²⁶ Michnik’s New Evolutionism, like Kuroń’s proposals, was predicated on the belief that “change within the party is inevitable” due to the need for economic reforms. He conceived of the evolution of society, bringing about evolution in the system through social pressure and partnership with party pragmatists.³²⁷ For Michnik, Polish society could force change in the state.

In 1977, Michnik argued that already a “movement of self-governing democracy” had developed which sought to return to society and individuals their rights. Michnik asserted that the effectiveness of this movement had been demonstrated with the freeing of the KOR activists. Michnik argued that due to the economic crisis, the state had to enter into dialogue with society. Showing a growing confidence, Michnik asserted that the state would have to improve church-state relations, end political discrimination in the work place, allow a pluralistic youth movement, and reform education and the censorship mechanism as a means of achieving public trust so that authentic dialogue could be pursued.³²⁸

In 1979, Michnik with Jan Józef Lipski (a co-founder and leader of KOR), wrote a polemical response in objection to their colleague, Jacek Kuroń’s article which expressed concern over a social explosion and called for legalism, working within state structures and a movement of demands. They asserted that while they appreciated Kuroń’s anxiety “about the potential consequences of such an explosion...we believe that the issue of how a democratic

³²⁵ Adam Michnik, “A New Evolutionism”, 143.

³²⁶ Adam Michnik, “A New Evolutionism”, 145.

³²⁷ Michnik acknowledged that “[t]his obviously does not mean [that the elites are] striving for democratic reform and pluralism and authentic self-government.” However, he argued that they would understand “the effectiveness of compromising with forces favoring plurality” as suppression only leads to the next crisis. In this way he argued that PZPR pragmatists could become partners to the democratic opposition; not allies. [Adam Michnik, “A New Evolutionism”, 146.]

³²⁸ Adam Michnik, “Potrzebna reform”, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 15 Dodatki Publistyczni B.I. (October 1977) 1-4.

opposition should function in our society is broader and that it is partly unrelated to the possibility of an imminent outburst.”³²⁹ They wrote that “[i]n Kuroń’s thinking the movement for independent institutions can be classified as political opposition. In our opinion these independent institutions form a part of the broad movement of demands for civil rights, a movement aiming to make our society democratic and autonomous.”³³⁰ They asserted that the only way to maintain pluralism in society was through independent institutions so they could not be abandoned although struggles within official institutions should also occur.³³¹

Antoni Macierewicz³³²

Antoni Macierewicz emphasized the need for an independent, democratic Poland in which Christian ethics would have an important role. He described independence as a foundational condition for the realization of all values, insisted that “there is no freedom and democracy without independence” and claimed that “[t]here is no culture where there is no freedom. Today and now equally independence, like democracy, are indispensable conditions to realizing freedom.”³³³ Macierewicz insisted that human life was perhaps the greatest value and argued that values have to be based on human beings; not historic necessity.³³⁴ He stressed Christian ethics such as love and inner honesty but also insisted that Christianity could not be

³²⁹ Adam Michnik and Jan Józef Lipski, “Some Remarks on the Opposition and the General Situation in Poland,” in Adam Michnik, *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, 149.

³³⁰ Adam Michnik and Jan Józef Lipski, “Some Remarks on the Opposition and the General Situation in Poland,” 150.

³³¹ Adam Michnik and Jan Józef Lipski, “Some Remarks on the Opposition and the General Situation in Poland,” 152-154.

³³² Antoni Macierewicz hailed from a non-Communist family. After harassment by the Communist authorities, his father, an AK veteran, committed suicide. Macierewicz was 28 when he became one of the founding members of KOR and shortly after was, as a result, forced to halt his doctoral work on Latin American history at Warsaw University. He had been active in scout groups, played a central role in the student protests of 1968 (for which he was imprisoned) and in the protests against the changes to the constitution. He edited *Głos* and KOR’s *Komunikat* and was chief editor of the *Głos* Publishing House which gathered friends from his scout group, Czarna Jedyńska.

³³³ Antoni Macierewicz (Marian Korybut), “Refleksje o opozycji” in *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976-1980: Wybór Dokumentów*, ed. Zygmunt Hemmerling & Marek Nadolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994) 91-92.

³³⁴ Antoni Macierewicz, “Refleksje o opozycji”, 93.

used as a means of resigning from struggle as individuals have the natural right to fight to defend their freedom, dignity and life.³³⁵

Macierewicz described the ruling regime as an updated, totalitarian version of historic, Russian imperialism and insisted that the Soviet state-model was a carryover of the Russian tsarist ideal of a unitary administration in which the individual has no say.³³⁶ Macierewicz argued that in the Soviet system, values were destroyed, history ceased to exist, and education was falsified and used as a tool.³³⁷ He insisted that through double-speak concepts such as democracy, freedom, citizens and rule of law lost their meaning. Macierewicz depicted the regime as being based on the inequality of society and the exploitation of workers. He argued that it had legally incapacitated the populace and destroyed the military and economic capabilities of the nation. Macierewicz believed that the threat posed by the party-state was growing; he argued that, in certain respects, between 1971 and 1976 the state was becoming more Stalinist.³³⁸ Macierewicz maintained that as long as Poland remained a Russian colony in which the Polish citizenry had no say, a rapprochement between Russia and Germany in which Russia would trade away Poland's "recovered lands" was plausible.³³⁹ In assessing a potential threat to Poland's territorial integrity, Macierewicz made clear his dire vision of the continuation of Poland's contemporary status and therefore the need for rapid change.

In 1976, Macierewicz insisted that only a "moral opposition" was possible; he rejected legalism for the opposition and called for a recommitment to values in society. Macierewicz equated the struggle for values with the struggle for truth, Polish culture, freedom, and

³³⁵ Antoni Macierewicz, "Refleksce o opozycji", 89.

³³⁶ Antoni Macierewicz, "ZSRR wobec Europy środkowo-wschodniej", *Głos* 15 (April 1979) 39-41.

³³⁷ Antoni Macierewicz, "Refleksce o opozycji", 86; Antoni Macierewicz, "Tradycje polityczne w PRL", *Głos* 4, (January-February 1978,) 21.

³³⁸ Antoni Macierewicz, "Walka o prawa obywatelskie", *Głos* 5 (March 1978) 3-4; Antoni Macierewicz, "Odpowiedź" *Głos* 7, (May 1978) 39; Antoni Macierewicz, "Wybory 1980", *Głos* 20-21 (November-December 1979) 6.

³³⁹ Antoni Macierewicz, "Chiny, Rosja i sprawa polska", *Głos* 14 (February-March, 1979) 44-46.

independence. In particular, he emphasized the need for values as a foundation for education, especially in history.³⁴⁰

Macierewicz, in 1978, noted that a movement for independent social institutions had begun and although small, was verbalizing social needs, increasing the sovereignty of the Poles and struggling for respect for the rule of law, the right to safety, education, work, and the free flow of information. Ultimately, he wanted these to “replace the degenerated state-party institutional façade.”³⁴¹ Macierewicz insisted that “the road to democracy for Poland depends on rebuilding society” and called for the enlargement of independent social initiatives.³⁴² He called for independent trade unions, a consumer movement, and a cooperative movement to rebuild the social structure destroyed by the PZPR.³⁴³ He appealed to society to regain its sovereignty and learn democracy and solidarity by pursuing collective actions such as petitions, boycotts, public manifestations and strikes as a path toward taking control of unions, political parties, the Sejm, the legal system and the state administration.³⁴⁴ His emphasis on public manifestations and boycotts put him at odds with Kuroń who perceived both as being easily manipulated by the authorities; with the former carrying the risk of bloodshed.

Moreover, while Kuroń and Michnik had insisted on the need for civil society to emerge through a process characterized by the entrenchment of societal self-governance, Macierewicz’s liberalism was clear in his insistence that presently there was also a need for legal codification of these changes. Macierewicz argued that social self-governance alone was insufficient and that “observation of these rights” by those in power was also needed. Macierewicz proposed a

³⁴⁰ Antoni Macierewicz, “Refleksje o opozycji”, 83, 87-88, 95-96.

³⁴¹ Antoni Macierewicz, “Tradycje polityczne w PRL”, 21; AM [Antoni Macierewicz], “Dążenia i postulaty”, *Głos* 11-12 (November-December 1978) 6.

³⁴² AM [Antoni Macierewicz], “Dążenia i postulaty”, 6.

³⁴³ Antoni Macierewicz, “Walka o prawa obywatelskie”, 4.

³⁴⁴ Antoni Macierewicz, “Walka o prawa obywatelskie”, 5; AM [Antoni Macierewicz], “Dążenia i postulaty”, 6.

minimum program based on legislation and changes in the power structure to guarantee respect for the rights of citizens (as enshrined in the Helsinki Agreement), subordination of the militia, an independent judiciary, societal control over state administration, the right to strike, and a free press.³⁴⁵

In 1979, Macierewicz insisted that much had been achieved which had previously seemed unrealistic (KOR, TKN, the independent press) so that the independent struggle was proving that sometimes the impossible happens. Macierewicz claimed that in the wake of John Paul II's visit, the total lack of societal support for the regime was increasingly felt as society rejected cooperation with the state and the societal crisis deepened. He asserted that the geo-political situation (Jimmy Carter's stress on human rights, Pope John Paul II's election and problems between Russia and China) was changing so that a "historical opportunity" was presenting itself.³⁴⁶

Macierewicz believed that as the state became weaker, the need for institutional reform and social regeneration to bring social stabilization was increasingly likely; not social explosion as Kuroń suggested. While Kuroń had proposed a movement of demands and working within official institutions, Macierewicz argued that efforts to reform the PZPR only help the power-state. Macierewicz instead endorsed a Charter of Rights to demand reform of the countryside, the break-up of State Land Funds and unprofitable state farms, independent education, an end to privileges, the liquidation of hard-cash shops, free trade unions, prices tied to values and a Polish Pact on the Rights of Man and Citizen guaranteed by free elections, an independent judiciary,

³⁴⁵ Antoni Macierewicz, "Walka o prawa obywatelskie", 4-5.

³⁴⁶ Antoni Macierewicz, "Karta praw", *Głos* 14 (February-March 1979) 3-4.

and an end of censorship. He also called for the Catholic Church to gain “a legal character in agreement with the role which it plays in Polish society.”³⁴⁷

Macierewicz vociferously supported the boycott of the March 1980 Sejm election. He asserted that an offensive struggle for the rights of man was needed.³⁴⁸ A boycott of the election was, for Macierewicz, a major part in this struggle. Macierewicz asserted that the boycott was a moral issue and affirmed that society was evolving.³⁴⁹

Leszek Moczulski³⁵⁰

Leszek Moczulski wrote two of the most comprehensive proposals of action for the democratic opposition. The first, *Memorial*, was written in 1976 and published with the help of Mirosław Chojecki. The second, *Rewolucja bez Rewolucji*, was published in 1979, after Moczulski's split with Czuma; it was published in *Droga* and was something on a manifesto for KPN. Together, they demonstrate the radicalization of Moczulski's depiction of the status quo and the need for change. In contrast, his focus on an independent, democratic Polish state as the primary goal remained unwavering.

In *Memorial*, Moczulski claimed that the state, which was governed by an unthinking, centralized bureaucratic hierarchy, due to its unchanging nature, had grown increasingly archaic. Moczulski maintained that society's lack of influence on the governing process had prevented the balance found in representative systems and led to periodic social explosions. In contrast to the state, Moczulski depicted society as increasingly dynamic through the growth of “micro-

³⁴⁷ Antoni Macierewicz, “Karta praw”, 4-5.

³⁴⁸ Antoni Macierewicz, “Wybory 1980”, 7, 8.

³⁴⁹ Antoni Macierewicz, “Bojkot”, *Głos* 24-25 (March-April, 1980) 2-6.

³⁵⁰ Leszek Moczulski was a founder of Nurt Niepodległości and the co-leader of ROPCiO. He was born in 1930 and joined an anti-Communist fighting organization immediately after the war. In 1948 he joined the PZPR but was expelled two years later. He studied history at Warsaw University and wrote for various official publications, primarily about history. He was imprisoned between 1957 and 1958 for publishing in the West. After falling out with Andrzej Czuma, his co-leader in ROPCiO, Moczulski founded the first independent political party: Confederacy for Polish Independence (KPN). During this period, Moczulski was alternately on the editorial board of *Opinia*, *Droga*, and *Gazeta Polska*.

societies” of independent thought which sought change. While Kuroń, Michnik and Macierewicz depicted Polish society as increasingly fractured, Moczulski insisted that social links had grown and strengthened societal self-organization in the previous 25 years.³⁵¹ Rather than divisions within Polish civil society, Moczulski focused on what he depicted as a deepening polarization between those in power and society; it was this divide which he insisted had given rise to the contemporary crisis which Moczulski described as equally political, ideological-moral, social, cultural and economic. Moczulski maintained that in these conditions the minimal goal on which all thinking Poles could agree, was the need for the internal transformation of Poland with the lowest possible costs exacted in terms of individuals, society, the prestige of the state, national dignity, and the economic interests of the nation.³⁵² Moczulski’s emphasis on the “prestige of the state” is not found in the publications of the other authors herein discussed.

Moczulski insisted that an auspicious moment for change was arising. He argued that by the 1970s new social bonds had developed, the psycho-social results of the experience of wartime and Stalinist terror were lost, and the population had grown in important ways. Moczulski contended that between 1977 and 1979 Polish society would reach the apogee of its fighting strength due to a peak in the number of individuals between 18 and 31. Furthermore, he insisted that the economic crisis would begin to turn around by 1980.³⁵³

Moczulski called on reformers (which is how he described those who sought change) to reach a *modus vivendi* with those in power (who he described as conservative) to steer the process of evolutionary change away from polarization. Moczulski insisted that reformers ought to depend on the power of Polish society and asserted that while conservatives had a unified center to direct polarization, reformers needed to develop one. Claiming that the Church could

³⁵¹ Leszek Moczulski, *Memorial*, 1, 2.

³⁵² Leszek Moczulski, *Memorial*, preface & 1.

³⁵³ Leszek Moczulski, *Memorial*, 1.

not fulfill this function, Moczulski instead suggested a team of centers based on independent groups.³⁵⁴ From conservatives, Moczulski demanded that they stop identifying with the state and believing that they knew more than society and begin to place state and national interests above their own; he insisted that they ought to work to restrain change rather than insisting on the full maintenance of the status quo.³⁵⁵ To build society's trust, Moczulski called for the release of the workers arrested in 1976.³⁵⁶

In *Rewolucja bez Rewolucji*, Moczulski's portrayal of the Polish state took a marked turn for the worse. In it, he argued that Poland was a mere Soviet satellite which economically existed for Russian exploitation so that any economic proposal that improved Poland actually only served to increase Soviet exploitation.³⁵⁷ Moczulski contended that the regime was attempting to deprive the nation of "feelings of human dignity and Polish honor, national identity and heritage, a deep feeling for our Polish and Christian millennium, tolerance and respect for divergent views, respect for all civil rights, respect for different peoples and love of the fatherland."³⁵⁸ Moczulski insisted that the social policies of the PZPR had a negative demographic impact on Poland which had cost millions of Polish lives (more than were killed during WWII.)³⁵⁹

Moczulski called for a "a moral revival" at the center of which was the call for independence. He argued that the struggle for independence would be won by direct, brutal

³⁵⁴ Leszek Moczulski, *Memoriał*, preface, 1, 4, 7.

³⁵⁵ Moczulski asserted that conservatives could look to Charles DeGaulle as a model.

³⁵⁶ Leszek Moczulski, *Memoriał*, 7.

³⁵⁷ Leszek Moczulski, "Rewolucja bez rewolucji" in *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976-1980: Wybór dokumentów*, 529, 548.

³⁵⁸ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 546.

³⁵⁹ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 556-557.

strength and that the Polish nation was the source of this strength. Moczulski wrote that if even 5-10% of Poles were active in independence formations this would be sufficient.³⁶⁰

Moczulski rejected Kuroń's concern about a social explosion leading to Soviet invasion and violence. Moczulski argued that social explosions were provoked by the PZPR who used them to manipulate and suppress the populace. He contended that when individuals like Kuroń appealed to the populace to be peaceful, they were guaranteeing that the PZPR would provoke an uprising.³⁶¹ Moczulski insisted that "[t]he response of all of society to a provoked explosion should be a general strike in the entire country" and maintained that if the state appreciated that this would be the outcome, it would resign from encouraging an explosion.³⁶² In effect therefore, Moczulski suggested that popular uprisings were not spontaneous but were actually provoked by the state.

Moczulski contended that the first step to achieving his desired response had been achieved with the establishment of the independent press which allowed the opposition to inform society on how to behave. Moczulski favored occupation strikes, but argued that violence was to be avoided, so that if necessary, people could stay home.³⁶³ Moczulski argued that during the strike, all local efforts would integrate to a central power; he laid out a list of demands which would need to be met for the strike to cease.³⁶⁴ He argued that accepting his plan was the only way to discourage the state from provoking a confrontation.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁰ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 547, 585.

³⁶¹ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 518-520, 521, 526-28, 536-37, 578, 580.

³⁶² Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 580-81.

³⁶³ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 581-82.

³⁶⁴ He called for freedom of all those arrested, the withdrawal of all army and police to their barracks, the return of normal conditions in individual places of work following negotiations with societal representatives, the recognition of an all opposition council as the representative of society and a guarantee for its continued action, recognition of all political, social and other structures formed and guarantees for their right to act; in particular, he stressed the need for access to mass media, with free publishing and distribution of publishing without censorship. [Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 583-584.]

³⁶⁵ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 584-85.

Moczulski, rejecting Michnik's idea of evolutionism, called for a five step "constructed revolution" to achieve independence. He argued that Poles had already set out on this path by creating independent initiatives but that it was important to intensify these actions, lay out a concrete plan of action, and move to a new stage.³⁶⁶ Moczulski asserted that it was time to admit that the democratic opposition's role has been played and that it was time for a departure in tactics.³⁶⁷

Moczulski's first stage was the establishment of a plurality of political groups which he contended was already occurring. He argued that each of these groups should work on a program to begin to underline their political identity; they should publish journals to voice their views precisely and to lay out political plans.³⁶⁸ Through ideological clarification, they could move to the second phase: the formation of political infrastructures. He argued that these groups would cooperate with like-minded groups and eventually evolve into political parties with internal structures.³⁶⁹ In the third phase, these parties would form a Polish political system, by "begin[ning] to create common institutions with a character which is political and quasi-state."³⁷⁰ In the fourth phase, Moczulski foresaw a situation in which there would be two political systems in place; the official and unofficial. He anticipated elections to councils, with the widest social participation possible, but argued that if even one in three individuals participated in elections, they would have a more authentic social mandate than the ruling apparatus. This process was to begin in narrow localities which through coordinated action

³⁶⁶ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 558-61.

³⁶⁷ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 569.

³⁶⁸ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 562-63.

³⁶⁹ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 563.

³⁷⁰ He contended that as an example, a coordinating council to connect all political groups could be established to direct an independent system of education. [Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 563-564.]

would choose representatives to a national council which would grow to form a fully self-governing, quasi-state structure to embrace all parts of social and political life.³⁷¹

Moczulski stated that his plan would reach fulfillment with the taking of power and independence (the fifth phase.) He argued that this could result from different regional councils talking with administrative powers or factory councils and taking over the economy. It would end with the declaration of a Third Republic, a new constitution and direct, free and secret elections to the Sejm and other government organs.³⁷² Moczulski acknowledged that this process would be complicated and non-linear and that as the state power crumbled, the threat of Soviet invasion would increase. However, he argued that this “Polish national revolution” was possible.³⁷³ Moczulski contended that this term should not be perceived in a nationalist or chauvinist sense but insisted that the “Polish national revolution” would bring forth an independent Polish nation-state based on social justice and egalitarianism and an “unwavering democratic style, supporting rights and freedoms for all people.”³⁷⁴

Aleksander Hall³⁷⁵

Aleksander Hall argued that every nation has the right to decide its own fate and to independence and cautioned that “[t]he full development of man is never possible if his indispensable rights, his dignity, freedom, liberty to seek right and justice is not respected.”³⁷⁶ Hall explained that the nation is not about race or descent, but is a “moral, spiritual, cultural, and historical shared formation” which through generations shaped consciousness through the

³⁷¹ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 564-65.

³⁷² Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 565.

³⁷³ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 566.

³⁷⁴ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 559.

³⁷⁵ Aleksander Hall was raised in a working-class family on the coast. In the early 1970s, he attended discussion groups led by Father Ludwik Wiśniewski. Hall joined *Nurt Niepodległości* and then became a signatory of ROPCio in 1977 at the age of 24. Hall was a founder and leader of Ruch Młodej Polski and edited *Bratniak*.

³⁷⁶ Aleksander Hall, “Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie”, *Bratniak* 10 & 11 (May-June 1978) 2.

common group's fate, traditions, culture, language and territory.³⁷⁷ Hall rejected what he presented as French Enlightenment and English Liberal thoughts' stress on laicization and an egoist comprehension of the individual at the cost of the community and the national idea.³⁷⁸

In portraying the contemporary situation, Hall argued that European values and nations were under threat across the continent due to totalitarianism, materialism and consumptionism.³⁷⁹ He detected a crisis of values in Western Europe and claimed that he sought a "different road of departure" which rejected both free trade capitalism and "individualistic liberalism" and instead developed love of the community through love of the nation.³⁸⁰ Hall acknowledged that critiques of liberal democracy had derived from radical stances but insisted that Christianity provided the major critique of the materialism which Hall negatively associated with liberal democracy. Hall lauded what he presented as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's appraisal of the West and the need for a departure from individual egoism toward a path based on morality.³⁸¹

Hall depicted the threat to European values as even more dire in the east than in the west due to sovietization and the loss of national independence. Hall described sovietization as the brutal subjugation of man to the organized state and the destruction of "the nation as a SPIRITUAL and MORAL community."³⁸² Hall claimed that this process had been accelerated by the near elimination of Polish political elites in World War II, Stalinist terror and Communist propaganda which "destroyed independent, authentic political thought and made the Polish

³⁷⁷ Aleksander Hall, "Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie", 3.

³⁷⁸ Aleksander Hall, "Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie", 5.

³⁷⁹ Aleksander Hall, "Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie", 3; Aleksander Hall, "Europa, ale jaka?", *Bratniak* 19 (September-October 1979) 6.

³⁸⁰ Aleksander Hall, "Jeszcze o Europie", *Bratniak* 22 (March-April 1980) 40; Aleksander Hall, "Myśl polityczna opozycji", *Bratniak* 16 (March-April 1979) 4 & 7

³⁸¹ Aleksander Hall, "Jeszcze o Europie", 40; Aleksander Hall, "Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie", 5-6.

³⁸² Aleksander Hall, "Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie", 3.

nation passive.³⁸³ Hall warned that the Polish nation, due to sovietization and the loss of independence, was threatened by the state's primitive and vulgar phraseology and "losing the skill to think in national categories, in categories of one's own independent statehood."³⁸⁴ Hall concluded that Polish society was characterized by demoralization, a crisis of values, the disintegration of society and the formation of a totalitarian mentality.³⁸⁵

Hall was less programmatic than the other authors herein discussed in laying out tactics for opposition. Hall insisted that to remedy the present situation, pride in the nation's history was needed. He called for "solidarity of action" and a "sacred union" of all those fighting for the rights of man and education reform (especially in history).³⁸⁶ He insisted that building national pride, was intimately connected to democracy and independence.³⁸⁷ Hall argued that truth was needed in the democratic opposition as well as a plane on which, in the name of humanistic values, common actions could be directed.³⁸⁸

Hall alleged that the opposition was threatened by a minimalization of aims and asserted that the "older" opposition's focus on moral protest was contemporaneously insufficient.³⁸⁹ Hall insisted that full engagement with the goal of independence was necessary and contended that it was impermissible to allow "limited sovereignty" to be called independence since "independence is our right" and needed to be clearly expressed as such.³⁹⁰ Pointing to differences with Kuroń, Michnik and perhaps Macierewicz, Hall rejected the limiting of oppositional efforts to the

³⁸³ Aleksander Hall, "Myśl polityczna opozycji", 4.

³⁸⁴ Aleksander Hall, "Poglądy," *Bratniak* 4& 5 (January-February 1978) 18.

³⁸⁵ Aleksander Hall, "Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie", 3.

³⁸⁶ Aleksander Hall, "Krytyka *Krytyki*" *Bratniak* 14 (November-December 1978) 13, 14.

³⁸⁷ Aleksander Hall, "Kilka uwag o nauczaniu historii w szkole średniej", *Bratniak* 20 (November-December 1979) 10.

³⁸⁸ Aleksander Hall, "W opowiedzi Jackowi Kurońowi", 34.

³⁸⁹ Aleksander Hall, [Untitled] *Bratniak* 4/5, (January/February 1978) 1.

³⁹⁰ Aleksander Hall, "Polacy wobec Rosji", *Bratniak* 19 (September-October 1979) 15.

creation of independent social actions due to, what he presented as, fear of political action.³⁹¹

Hall maintained that in the contemporary context “when a swath of the most elemental human and national rights are threatened, dividing humanitarian and social actions from the ideological-political is very difficult.”³⁹²

Hall proposed that Polish civil society pursue two lines of action. He called for the continuing expression of the aspirations of society in defense of its basic rights through the organization of social self-aid. Second, Hall insisted that efforts aimed at convincing society that personal and national dignity can’t be divorced from independence be pursued along with a concrete program of struggling for independence which persuaded Polish society to tear itself from passivity and lack of faith in the ability for change to the political system. He argued that such a program would follow a middle path between romanticism and realism.³⁹³ Hall insisted that the means to combat the loss of values were growing, that pluralism (though variously defined) was widely accepted, that “humanism was the way of the future” and concluded that though the road to independence was long, hard, and would require sacrifice, “we look to the future with optimism and hope.”³⁹⁴

Polemic Exchanges

Jacek Kuroń, Antoni Macierewicz and Adam Michnik, penned a joint article in the first issue of *Głos*, which provides a fine point of departure in examining similarities and differences among the five authors under consideration and, by extension, within the democratic opposition.

In it they argued that:

³⁹¹ Aleksander Hall, “Myśl polityczna opozycji”, 7.

³⁹² Aleksander Hall, “W opowiedzi Jackowi Kurońowi”, 33.

³⁹³ Aleksander Hall, “Myśl polityczna opozycji”, 3.

³⁹⁴ Aleksander Hall, “Polacy wobec Rosji”, 15; Aleksander Hall, “Wypowiedzi o współczesnym Polskim patriotyzmie”, 3

All must place the sovereignty of the Polish country in the primary position. The form of Polish independence, is not, however, for us inconsequential; therefore we also want to build independent, self-governing social institutions. Some defend the slogan: first independence and then democracy. This cannot be agreed to: both principles are weighty and are not disconnected. There is no doubt that democracy and therefore the sovereignty of society are only fulfilled in a sovereign country...³⁹⁵

This article enunciated Macierewicz's, Michnik's and Kuroń's agreement on the long-term goal of democracy and independence and their faith in independent self-governing institutions as the best means of reaching this goal. The equal stress placed on the struggle for independence and democracy points to a difference of emphasis with Moczulski who insisted that the struggle for independence was primary. The call for a sovereign country (*kraj*) rather than a sovereign nation (*naród*), hints at opposition to the nation-state model which Hall embraced.

Foreign Relations

Kuroń, Michnik and Macierewicz, in their joint article, insisted that contemporaneously, as in the 18th and 19th centuries, the independence of Poland depended on Polish-Russian relations. They acknowledged that while "it is easy in this perspective to say that nothing changes and that we are in a train of history so that the problems of our grandfathers are ours...." other possibilities of action existed. They maintained that Russia acted as an imperial country but that during the inter-War era, Poland did as well when it divided Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. They insisted that "guaranteeing the sovereignty of Poland is the sovereignty of the nations dividing us from Russia." They continued that "there is no Polish-Russian border", called for independence for Belarus, Lithuania and Ukraine and maintained that they stood with "the Russian democrats 'for your freedom and ours.'"³⁹⁶ They were thereby giving notice that they sought a historically new order for Eastern Europe in which independent Lithuanian, Belarusian and Ukrainian states would exist alongside Poland and between Poland and Russia.

³⁹⁵ Jacek Kuroń, Antoni Macierewicz, Adam Michnik, "Sprawa polska-sprawa rosyjska" *Głos* 1, (October 1977) 21.

³⁹⁶ Jacek Kuroń, Antoni Macierewicz, Adam Michnik, "Sprawa polska-sprawa rosyjska", 22.

They also believed that Poland's independence struggle ought to be pursued in concert with their neighbors.

Aleksander Hall agreed that from the partitions to the present Russia (which he described as half-Asian) was the main opponent to Polish independence and that the ideal situation would be to have Poland and Russia divided by intermediary Belarusian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian nation-states with whom Poland could pursue friendship and coordinated cooperation through an east-European confederation. However, he asserted that in all likelihood, a future Polish state would border the USSR. He therefore called on the Polish nation to decide if it would stay out of the USSR's internal affairs if independence was won or if it would attempt to destroy the USSR as a "prison of nations." Hall contended that Poland's position was different than that of their neighboring Czechs, Slovaks, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians so that the former stance was correct. He claimed that while morally Poland would have to voice support for the independence and freedom of all nations, each nation decides its own fate and that it was clear that the USSR would never agree to an independent Poland which aimed to become an "anti-Russian Piedmont." He concluded that those who did not accept his assessment were Romantics.³⁹⁷ While Hall disagreed with Kuroń, Macierewicz and Michnik about cooperation with their neighbors, importantly he agreed that the contemporary borders were final and that full respect was owed to the sovereignty of the nations which neighbored Poland. This was a radical historical change in consciousness from the pre-War era; it is therefore noteworthy that even political opponents agreed on it.

Differences of opinion over imperialism are pertinent to disagreements over relations with Poland's neighbors. Not only did Michnik, Macierewicz and Kuroń denounce imperialism in their joint article, Macierewicz, in his individual articles, frequently returned to the theme of

³⁹⁷ Aleksander Hall, "Polacy wobec Rosji", 13, 14, 17-18.

the evils of imperialism. Emphasizing the connection between Russian and Soviet imperialism, he insisted that just as the tsars had sought control of the Black Sea, a Baltic port and a border on the Vistula, so too did the Soviets.³⁹⁸ Hall, who rued the loss of influence which Europe had enjoyed during the imperial-era, presented a more ambiguous view of imperialism.³⁹⁹

Historical interpretation therefore proved to be vital to the ways in which tactics were proposed in relation to Poland's neighbors. Kuroń, Macierewicz, and Michnik insisted that historically, Russian imperial goals toward Poland were unwavering and that imperialism had weakened Poland. Their call for a concerted struggle by the peoples of East-Central Europe was justified as realistically the best means of overturning Russian hegemony; the argument that any deal could be brokered with an imperial Russia/Soviet Union was for them romantic. In contrast, Hall argued that history ought to have taught Poles that realistically, they needed to divorce their independence struggle from that of their neighbors if they were to gain Russia's acquiescence to their sovereignty.⁴⁰⁰

Discord in independent publications was found not only over proposals for Polish civil society's relations with its neighbors but also with the West; the scarring legacy of Yalta played a major role in these debates. Aleksander Hall argued that World War II had taught the hard lessons that the West could not be counted on.⁴⁰¹ Antoni Macierewicz, similarly wrote that the Russian long-term goal to colonize Poland and her eastern neighbors had been confirmed at Yalta, not through military defeat (since they were in the winning alliance) but through the treachery of Poland's allies. Macierewicz compared Yalta to a modern Congress of Vienna

³⁹⁸ Antoni Macierewicz, "ZSRR wobec Europy środkowo-wschodniej", 40.

³⁹⁹ Aleksander Hall, "Europa, ale jaka?", 5

⁴⁰⁰ Neither stance was new. Hall's views were entirely in keeping with the National Democratic tradition which he embraced. In contrast, not only did 19th century Polish patriots fight 'for your freedom and ours', insisting that Polish independence was related to the broader struggle against imperialism, Ukraine's national bard, Taras Shevchenko, insisted that Poland and Ukraine fell together when they did not stand united against Russia. As such, Macierewicz, Michnik and Kuroń's views had a long historical provenance.

⁴⁰¹ Aleksander Hall, "Polacy wobec Rosji", 14.

where the West again betrayed the East.⁴⁰² Jacek Kuroń likened Poland's position resulting from Yalta to a Greek tragedy in which the Western powers gave over Eastern Europe to Stalin. However, he and Michnik also insisted that Western public opinion and Western support (especially that of the left) should be cultivated as important tools in combating the Soviets; it was they who maintained close ties with Radio Free Europe and garnered the support of Western intellectuals.⁴⁰³ Leszek Moczulski, in apparent response to Kuroń, acknowledged the possibility of coordinated action with Poland's neighbors within the bloc, but rejected all cooperation with non-Poles outside of the bloc, especially the left.⁴⁰⁴

Disagreements over relations with the West had a clear impact on the development of independent publishing. Given that the leaders of KSS-KOR sought cooperation with parts of the international community, it is unsurprising that they were more effective at garnering financial support from abroad. Their successes were not, however, looked upon with equanimity by all in the democratic opposition.

Catholicism and the Catholic Church

Catholicism and the future role of the Catholic Church proved to be a bone of contention within Poland's burgeoning civil society. Macierewicz insisted that "Polish society is Catholic", that Christian ethics were the one value system which challenged the regime and described the Catholic Church as the symbol of national aspirations and the only institution in Poland with 2,000 years of tradition and "a 200 year struggle with Russification."⁴⁰⁵ Macierewicz therefore called for the Catholic Church to gain "a legal character in agreement with the role which it plays

⁴⁰² Antoni Macierewicz, "ZSRR wobec Europy środkowo-wschodniej", 39, 43.

⁴⁰³ Jacek Kuroń & Stefan Starczewski, "Od redakcji", *Krytyka* 4 [1979], 45; Jacek Kuroń, "Zasady ideowe", 133.

⁴⁰⁴ Leszek Moczulski, *Memoriał*.

⁴⁰⁵ Antoni Macierewicz, "Refleksje o opozycji", 81, 89.

in Polish society.”⁴⁰⁶ Similarly, Hall contended that the Polish nation and culture were formed by Christian European civilization; he maintained that “the nations of Europe are depositories of the civilization which had its beginning in the Mediterranean Sea basin under the dominant influence of Christianity and its resulting system of values....” Hall downplayed the positive role played by secular values in the European tradition and, like Macierewicz, seemed to foresee a future institutional role for the Catholic Church as he insisted that this was the most important value system in Polish society.⁴⁰⁷

Adam Michnik did not agree with Hall’s solidly positive presentation of the historic role of the Catholic Church in Polish society. Michnik asserted that during the inter-War period, the anti-clericalism of the left was about democratic and progressive aspirations suggesting thereby that the Catholic Church had had an un-democratic impact on Polish society. However, Michnik insisted that after World War II, that which had been progressive became its negation.⁴⁰⁸ He noted that in the atmosphere of totalitarianism, it was the Catholic “Church that was defending truth, dignity, and human freedom.”⁴⁰⁹ Michnik continued that he now fully renounced political atheism and supported a French-style separation of Church and state for a future democratic Poland.⁴¹⁰ While this stance differed from Michnik’s previous views, it still put him at odds with those in the opposition who perceived the Catholic Church as civil society’s best defense against the crisis in values brought about by the totalitarian regime.

Socialism and the Political Left

The People’s Republic of Poland, by presenting itself as Communist, damaged the reputation and standing of the political left. Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik therefore sought to

⁴⁰⁶ Antoni Macierewicz, “Karta praw”, 5.

⁴⁰⁷ Aleksander Hall, “Europa, ale jaka?”, 6.

⁴⁰⁸ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 43-44, 122.

⁴⁰⁹ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 52.

⁴¹⁰ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 121, 143-45.

redeem the legacy of Polish Socialism. Michnik maintained that without such “socialist romantics” as Józef Piłsudski, independence would have been hard to envision in 1918.⁴¹¹ Both Michnik and Kuroń depicted inter-War Socialists as having been the most democratic element in Polish society and wrote about Kazimierz Pużak (the wartime and post-War Socialist leader who had opposed Communism) to contend that the Socialist-left had a long, democratic tradition which was entirely distinct from the Soviet regime.⁴¹²

Michnik and Kuroń also sought to personally divorce themselves from the taint of association with the regime by distancing themselves from, and apologizing for, their former Communist affiliations. Kuroń maintained that he now understood that the “radical realization of the traditional program of the left is totalitarian”⁴¹³ and that anyone who wore a “red tie”, including himself, held moral responsibility for having supported Communism and the regime.⁴¹⁴ Michnik insisted that the post-War left became “an unwitting tool in the hands of a totalitarian power...”⁴¹⁵ and admitted that in 1966 the Revisionist left, including him, were complicit in the state sponsored attacks on the Church when the authorities “wanted to instill a sense of xenophobia, to unify the nation around chauvinistic slogans... to create a link, in popular perceptions, between Church humanist values and the notion of treason.”⁴¹⁶ Michnik claimed that his behavior then was now a source of shame.⁴¹⁷ Michnik claimed that after 1968, the ‘lay left’ had arisen, recognized its common values with Christianity, rejected “the political atheism

⁴¹¹ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors,” 209.

⁴¹² Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels”, 183; Jacek Kuroń & Stefan Starczewski, “Od redakcji”, 44.

⁴¹³ Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 117- 118.

⁴¹⁴ He insisted, however, that the degree of personal responsibility varied. [Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 115.]

⁴¹⁵ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 44.

⁴¹⁶ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 94.

⁴¹⁷ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 52, 93.

of the past” and embraced “the traditional values of the left (freedom, equality and independence).”⁴¹⁸

Macierewicz described the left as being those who sought change in contrast to the right who were those who wanted to maintain the status quo. Accordingly, while Macierewicz insisted that he was on the left, it would be a mistake to consider Macierewicz’s left to be socialist like that of Michnik or Kuroń.⁴¹⁹ Indeed, Macierewicz evinced deep suspicion toward former Revisionist circles, arguing that in them was found traces of a lack of faith in actions outside of social democracy and elite society as well as a distrust of Polish national traditions.⁴²⁰ He alleged that references to the “non-Communist left” were not entirely about limiting the left’s ideological connection to Communism but rather about separating it from the crimes of the Communist states and insisted that some making such claims demonstrated a closer connection to the traditions of Communist dictatorship than social democracy.⁴²¹

Although Leszek Moczulski had been a member of the PZPR, he also portrayed deep suspicions toward those who identified with the socialist left. Moczulski insisted that the antecedents of the ‘lay left’ were the SDKPiL (which had opposed independence) and the PPS-Lewica (rather than Piłsudski’s PPS) and argued that most of society was suspicious of the lay left and that their constant calls to workers (which according to Moczulski signified their belittling the rest of the nation) fell on deaf ears.⁴²² He continued that it is an intellectual, internationalist milieu with a “tendency to scorn Poles as a nation who can’t think politically” and that it is attached to the Russian Communist idea of ‘directing man’ which, according to

⁴¹⁸ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 133.

⁴¹⁹ Scriptor [Antoni Macierewicz], “Prawica-lewica”, *Głos* 7 (May 1978) 14-16.

⁴²⁰ Antoni Macierewicz, “Tradycje polityczne w PRL”, 21.

⁴²¹ Scriptor [Antoni Macierewicz], “Prawica-lewica”, 14.

⁴²² Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 572-73.

Moczulski, found no resonance in Polish society due to its Christian and Western heritage.⁴²³

Moczulski concluded that the lay left is different from other oppositional milieus due to its is post-Marxist basis. He claimed that “[t]his is the main source of mutual misunderstanding. Deep in this environment is an arbitrary tone, a lack of tolerance, an obsessive search everywhere (except with itself) for nationalism and totalitarianism; in reality it scorns contact with Polish society which the lay left doesn’t understand well and doesn’t want to understand.”⁴²⁴

All four authors seemed to accept the idea that contemporary Polish society was suspicious of socialism. Macierewicz and Moczulski stated so outright and themselves evinced distrust towards toward those on the socialist left. Michnik and Kuroń, by attempting to rescue the reputation of socialism, indicated that they agreed that society was wary of the socialist left.

Nationalism, Tolerance and Intolerance

For many Poles, the idea of Poland being historically a land of tolerance was almost proverbially. ROPCiO documents, in particular, made regular reference to the *szlachta*’s “golden freedoms,” the Warsaw Confederacy and the May 3rd Constitution to insist that the Polish historical tradition was based on tolerance and pluralism.⁴²⁵ Moczulski made similar arguments when he wrote of the “golden freedoms” and *liberum veto*.⁴²⁶ Aleksander Hall contended that Polish “patriotism never represented itself in aggressive, intolerant chauvinism” but instead was based “on that which was most beautiful in our [Polish] history and traditions”⁴²⁷

In contrast, Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuroń presented tolerance as but one strand in the Polish tradition. Michnik asserted that one ethos on which Polish culture is built is that of “a

⁴²³ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 573-74.

⁴²⁴ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 575.

⁴²⁵ See for instance ROPCiO Appeal of March 25, 1977.

⁴²⁶ Leszek Moczulski, “Memoriał”, 1.

⁴²⁷ Aleksander Hall, “Polemik” *Bratniak* 6-7 (March-April 1978) 17.

diversified republic in which nationalities coexist in conditions of equality and tolerance....they have always remained the dream of the best citizens of this land.”⁴²⁸ That Michnik tied this tradition to John Paul II suggests that it was not only a socialist-friendly version of Polish history which he sought to develop, but rather one which emphasized tolerance. Kuroń claimed that “Polish culture grew out of traditions from the Commonwealth of Many Nations and included integral elements of European culture so that it embraced pluralism and universalism.”⁴²⁹ However, Kuroń also asserted that despite the best efforts of the Socialists, during the inter-War era, the national question was not solved “in the spirit of the Republic of Many Nations.”⁴³⁰

Debates over inter-War leaders, Józef Piłsudski and Roman Dmowski, were central to how those in independent publishing estimated the role of tolerance and intolerant nationalism in Polish historical traditions.⁴³¹ Adam Michnik juxtaposed Piłsudski who he described as a model in the struggle for independence, imponderables and ethnic tolerance with Roman Dmowski and the National Democrats who he portrayed as intolerant nationalists.⁴³² Michnik claimed that Piłsudski “saw Poland as the motherland of many nations; a commonwealth of many cultures”, rejected ethnic nationalism and treated with contempt those, like Dmowski, who treated socialists as foreign to the nation.⁴³³ Michnik presented the National Democrats as anti-Semites and contended that “[t]he National Democratic mode of thought adopted by the ruling

⁴²⁸ Adam Michnik, “A Lesson in Dignity” in *Church and the Left*, ed. & trans. David Ost, 227.

⁴²⁹ Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*”, 176.

⁴³⁰ Kuroń argued that limiting ideas of Polishness to the ethnic, Catholic sense, would mean creating a Poland without the Jagiellonians, Adam Mickiewicz, Frederic Chopin, Tadeusz Kościuszko and Józef Piłsudski. [Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 135-136].

⁴³¹ Dmowski led the National Democrats from the late nineteenth century into the inter-War state. He was Piłsudski’s main political rival. While Piłsudski embraced the idea of resurrecting a multi-ethnic, multi-denominational Commonwealth of Many Nations, Dmowski supported the modern, nation-state ideal. Furthermore, while Piłsudski supported armed uprising and helped to lead the 1905 workers’ protests, Dmowski called for Positivist actions and opposed the socialist protests in 1905. Dmowski joined the Duma after the uprising, something which Piłsudski entirely rejected.

⁴³² Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”, 208, 211.

⁴³³ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”, 212-213.

Communists commands pride in national uniformity.”⁴³⁴ Michnik likened the popular attacks on the student protests in 1968 to the National Democrats’ opposition to Piłsudski during the 1905 uprising.⁴³⁵ Michnik thereby tied the National Democratic legacy to the regime and, by extension, to its attacks on the 1968 student protesters while Piłsudski was neatly aligned with Michnik and his colleagues in the 1968 protests. Michnik thereby connected both traditions of tolerance and intolerance from the pre-War period to the present, thereby suggesting contemporaneously nationalism existed and that its provenance dated back before the establishment of the current regime.

Aleksander Hall embraced the national tradition; it is therefore unsurprising that Michnik’s article provoked him to respond. Hall claimed that different types of nationalist ideology exist so that while one may dislike the National Democrats, it is “absurd to suggest that the National Democrats and Mieczysław Moczar are of the same strand of nationalist ideology.”⁴³⁶ He insisted that it was a gross simplification for Michnik to make connections between the National Democrats, Moczar and the “events of 1968” and claimed that while national slogans were used by the regime in 1968, they were actually directed in anti-national ways and questioned whether those who fell for the regime’s national rhetoric demonstrated a moral collapse and a contemporary lack of national self-view and political consciousness, rather than nationalism.⁴³⁷ Hall insisted that “Polishness was never limited to the racist, biological sphere but was underlined above all else as a chosen attitude.”⁴³⁸

Hall’s historical analysis and presentation of Polish nationalism prompted Jacek Kuroń to respond. Kuroń insisted that Dmowski had increasingly equated the nation with a common

⁴³⁴ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”, 214.

⁴³⁵ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”, 205.

⁴³⁶ Aleksander Hall, “Krytyka *Krytyki*,” 13.

⁴³⁷ Aleksander Hall, “Krytyka *Krytyki*,” 14; Aleksander Hall, “Polemik”, 16.

⁴³⁸ Aleksander Hall, “Krytyka *Krytyki*,” 10.

race and history and ideological differences with good and evil, vilifying political opponents. Kuroń therefore called on Hall and the editors of *Bratniak* to renounce the anti-Semitism that he insisted was part of the National Democratic legacy even as he acknowledged that he did not find racism in the pages of *Bratniak*.⁴³⁹ Kuroń believed that contemporaneously Communism had become ideologically empty so that it was “national totalitarianism” which posed the greatest ideological threat to the democratic opposition and by extension, to Polish civil society.⁴⁴⁰ He noted that 200 years of tragic history compounded by 30 years of Communist rule had left many lonely and weak and responsive to a “deformed identification with power” through nationalism.⁴⁴¹ Kuroń contended that “through official propaganda the idea of Poland as equated with Poles or “pure Poles” was propagated and believed.⁴⁴²

Hall responded that Communism still had the power to destroy and demoralize society and rejected Kuroń’s claim about the threat of national totalitarianism.⁴⁴³ Hall avowed that “[p]resently, with full certainty, we are not threatened by chauvinism and xenophobia directed against other nations...”⁴⁴⁴ Hall rejected Kuroń’s appeal that he renounce part of the National Democratic past as Hall responded that he was of a younger generation so that while he and his milieu embraced elements of National Democratic thought, they also derived ideas from Gaullism and parts of Romantic-independence thought.⁴⁴⁵

Antoni Macierwicz, in an apparent reference to these exchanges argued that the establishment of the PRL was such a caesura that drawing connections between past political trends, especially Piłsudskite and National Democratic, and the present was impossible. This

⁴³⁹ Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 127; Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*”, 157, 159, 162, 175.

⁴⁴⁰ Jacek Kuroń, [Untitled], *Krytyka* 1, Summer 1978, 21.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Jacek Kuroń, [Untitled] *Krytyka* 1, 20; Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe” 136.

⁴⁴³ Aleksander Hall, “Krytyka *Krytyki*,” 13-14.

⁴⁴⁴ Aleksander Hall, “Poglądy,” 18.

⁴⁴⁵ Aleksander Hall, “W opowiedzi Jackowi Kurońowi”, 32.

argument is important for, these debates about the past were not just about the past but also about the present. Macierewicz, in rejecting any connection between the past and present seemed to be rejecting any linkage of the nationalism and socialism of the regime to that of the National Democrats and PPS. Macierewicz explained that after 1945, the PZPR had moved from one group to another (landless peasants, intellectuals, workers) and attached them to the state by briefly realizing part of their program only to then crush them, thereby destroying the independent peasant, socialist and national movements.⁴⁴⁶ He claimed elsewhere that “anti-Semitism is not particularly close to the Polish national tradition” despite 1968 which he contended occurred as a result of PZPR influence.⁴⁴⁷ For Macierewicz therefore, contemporary society was not threatened by historic nationalism or intolerance.

These five authors valued Polish society and its nationalism/intolerance very differently. Moczulski, in portraying the Polish tradition as inherently tolerant, rejected any threat posed by nationalism. For Hall, the nationalism which could be attributed to the Communist regime was an inauthentic nationalism which was inherently different from the true nationalism which he presented as having been espoused by the National Democrats. According to Hall therefore, the destruction of the regime would bring about the end of this false nationalism which lacked any historical provenance. Macierewicz likewise did not perceive nationalism as a threat to Polish civil society contemporaneously or historically. Kuroń and Michnik, in contrast, saw intolerant nationalism as having a long tradition which continued to endanger Polish civil society. Such differences may help to explain disagreements over tactics and the comparative temerity of Kuroń and Michnik in supporting popular protests.

⁴⁴⁶ Antoni Macierewicz, “Tradycje polityczne w PRL”, 21-23.

⁴⁴⁷ Antoni Macierewicz, “Odpowiedź”, 38.

Insurrectionary Inclinations

Those in the democratic opposition did find common ground, however, in the belief that Poles were uniquely drawn to active opposition through armed uprisings which placed Poland in a comparatively fortuitous position within the bloc. Leszek Moczulski frequently insisted upon Polish insurrectionary inclinations and claimed that his plan of action was viable because of them.⁴⁴⁸ Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik, despite other differences with Moczulski, agreed that Poles were historically and contemporaneously attracted to uprisings. They also believed that while the threat of Soviet invasion loomed, it had parameters due to Polish insurrectionary traditions.

Kuroń contended “our aim is independence and democracy. In order to achieve this aim we need liberation from Soviet domination.” He insisted that as proven in Berlin in 1953, Hungary in 1956 and Prague in 1968, the Soviet threat was no paper tiger. However, he also explained that Polish insurrectionary traditions were a “part of Russian historical tradition” so that Russia “must count on this, that military intervention on the Vistula River will be a bloody war, which can draw on itself uprisings by other defeated nations, war with China, and difficult relations with the West.” Kuroń contended therefore, that Poland had room to maneuver and the possibility to contemporaneously prepare the conditions for democracy and independence “for tomorrow.”⁴⁴⁹

Adam Michnik argued similarly. He claimed that “the traditional anti-Russian sentiments of the Poles, and their propensity to fight out of sheer desperation (as demonstrated, for instance, in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944)” meant that a Soviet decision to “intervene militarily in Poland would be equivalent to opting for war with Poland.” He contended that while Poland would lose

⁴⁴⁸ Leszek Moczulski, “Memoriał”, 1; Leszek Moczulski, “Rewolucja bez Rewolucji”, 587-588.

⁴⁴⁹ Jacek Kuroń, “W stronę demokracji”, 148; Jacek Kuroń, “Niepodległość i demokracja a interwencja radziecka”, *Robotnik* 20 (August 3, 1978) 2.

on the battlefield, such a situation was something Russia would want to avoid due to the political ramifications, which allowed Poles more room to act than their neighbors.⁴⁵⁰

The democratic opposition largely agreed that contemporaneously, the Polish populace was prepared for violence and that Soviet invasion would not precipitate passive resistance, but an uprising; Kuroń's warnings about the threat of violence in 1979 reflected his conviction that the Polish populace was open to violence. Furthermore, Kuroń and Michnik insisted that Soviet leaders were aware of the Polish mood so that, in effect, the sacrifices of past generations helped to protect the current generation since they served as a calling card for the Soviet leadership as to how the populace would react if the Warsaw Pact attempted to invade Poland as it had Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Personal Experience

Although many of the differences in valuing Polish civil society were predicated on ideological differences, many others were based in personal experiences. Adam Michnik contended that "March 1968" was central to the identity of those in his generation and claimed that it was the events of 1968 which caused him to re-evaluate the role of Józef Piłsudski and the Catholic Church in Polish society and history.⁴⁵¹ Michnik argued that prior to 1968, the "majority of oppositionist initiatives" came from Revisionist circles who were at the forefront of the events of 1968.⁴⁵² He insisted that during 1968 "those aspects of Polish thought which are backward, stupid, chauvinistic and xenophobic" came to the fore in the midst of an "anti-intelligentsia and anti-Semitic pogrom...conducted with the active consent of a significant part

⁴⁵⁰ Adam Michnik, "A New Evolutionism", 143-144.

⁴⁵¹ Adam Michnik "Reminiscenje niesentimentalne", *Krytyka* 1, (Summer 1978) 24; Adam Michnik, "Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors", 203-205.

⁴⁵² Adam Michnik, "A New Evolutionism", 135-138.

of the population.”⁴⁵³ Michnik concluded that after 1968, the “lay left,” had arisen, recognized its common values with Christianity, rejected “the political atheism of the past” and embraced “the traditional values of the left (freedom, equality and independence).”⁴⁵⁴

Macierewicz, although part of Michnik’s “1968 generation”, portrayed this period differently. He contended that “March” started as a Revisionist attempt to fix Communism, but that that ideological focus was lost when it became a mass movement which emphasized “freedom, independence and democracy.” He then went on to stress the importance of Catholic opposition which he contended was (unlike Revisionist opposition) truly opposed to the Communist regime.⁴⁵⁵ Macierewicz acknowledged that chauvinistic excesses had occurred in 1968, but did not underline them.⁴⁵⁶ Again pointing to differences in his and Michnik’s personal experiences, Macierewicz, rather than tracing the development of the lay left in the period after 1968, insisted that neo-conservatism and a “moral reflex” came to dominate the opposition.⁴⁵⁷

Personal experiences during 1968 deeply divided Moczulski from Michnik and Kuroń. Moczulski contended that in 1968 the liberal-democrats were defeated when the nationalists attempted to consolidate their power by removing a “foreign body, ‘the so-called Zionist group.’” He insisted, however, that the nationalists were, in turn, defeated in 1970. Moczulski argued that these events had increased societal disappointment and the gap between the desires of society and the state’s ability to fulfill them.⁴⁵⁸ This analysis could not be further from Michnik’s. There is not only no mention made of popular anti-Semitism, but those who were

⁴⁵³ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors”, 203.

⁴⁵⁴ Adam Michnik, *The Church and the Left*, 133.

⁴⁵⁵ Antoni Macierewicz, “Refleksce o opozycji”, 82.

⁴⁵⁶ Antoni Macierewicz, “Odpowiedź”, 38.

⁴⁵⁷ Antoni Macierewicz, “Refleksce o opozycji”, 83.

⁴⁵⁸ Leszek Moczulski, *Memorial*, 2.

defeated in 1968 were portrayed as having been outside of the Polish nation. It therefore had echoes of the official press campaign against Michnik and his peers.

Indeed, when Michnik wrote of the official press campaign against he and his friends, which depicted them as Stalinist provocateurs and foreign Zionists, he referenced articles written by Leszek Moczulski in the official press, from that time.⁴⁵⁹ Jacek Kuroń also referenced Moczulski's publications in 1968; specifically Kuroń mentioned an interview with Józef Kępa (who was First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR) which Moczulski had printed in 1968 in the journal he then edited, *Stolica*, in which he attacked the student protesters.⁴⁶⁰ Aleksander Hall claimed that 1968 played too great a role in Michnik's thought and chastised he and Kuroń for mentioning Moczulski's actions in 1968. He insisted that mentioning Moczulski and Kępa "in the same breath" created the false innuendo that Moczulski was a nationalist.⁴⁶¹ Michnik responded that not only had Moczulski not renounced these articles but continued, in independent publications, to express similar, albeit distilled views, so that it was fair and even necessary to mention them.⁴⁶² These disagreements demonstrate that in addition to ideological differences, personal differences had a clear role in differences within the democratic opposition and particularly between those in ROPCiO and KSS-KOR. These differences impacted the ways in which contemporary society was understood and tactics for opposition proposed.

Methods of Debate

As these arguably personal disagreements were aired, different methods of debate were pursued. Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuroń regularly enunciated those with whom they polemicized and with whose ideas they took exception, including Moczulski. Despite being

⁴⁵⁹ Adam Michnik "Reminiscenje niesentimentalne", 26.

⁴⁶⁰ Jacek Kuroń, List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*, 174.

⁴⁶¹ Aleksander Hall, "W opowiedzi Jackowi Kurońowi", 34.

⁴⁶² Adam Michnik, [Untitled], *Krytyka* 3 (Fall 1978) 130.

friends and colleagues, they even openly disagreed with each other through the pages of independent publications. Aleksander Hall also tended to name those with whom he polemicized; he entered into direct exchanges with both Michnik and Kuroń. Hall insisted that a plane of mutual respect was needed by those in the democratic opposition and in his polemic with Michnik over inter-War history, maintained that despite any disagreements with Michnik, Michnik was owed respect for his many years of struggle.⁴⁶³ Similarly, Kuroń asserted in his open letter to the editors of *Bratniak* that he was pleased by their publication and perceived important common ground despite their different ideological foci.⁴⁶⁴ In contrast, Macierewicz rarely named those with whom he polemicized while Moczulski did so irregularly. Both also showed little respect for those with whom they disagreed.

Macierewicz and Moczulski used insinuation to make clear that just as Michnik and Kuroń felt suspicion towards Moczulski due to his past which they saw as impacting his present, they felt distrust toward those, including Kuroń and Michnik, with Communist pasts (despite the fact that Moczulski had joined the PZPR) which they saw as still influencing them. Macierewicz made little mention of the Red Army threat in his publications and argued that those who did (as did Kuroń and Michnik), fettered the nation. He insisted that independence was achieved in 1918 despite the “science” of those like Rosa Luxemburg, so that contemporaries who capitulate to “History” and “Necessity” and say that democratization is possible but not democracy and that liberalization is possible but not independence are morally and politically wrong.⁴⁶⁵ By connecting such individuals to Luxemburg (who opposed Polish independence), Macierewicz suggested not only that they were wrong; but also by implication, questioned their commitment to independence.

⁴⁶³ Aleksander Hall, “Polemik”, 17.

⁴⁶⁴ Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*”, 157

⁴⁶⁵ Antoni Macierewicz, “Refleksje o opozycji”, 85-86, 94.

Moczulski suggested that those with whom he disagreed were treacherous when he described support for Finlandization (which Kuroń had described as a step toward independence) as analogous to endorsement of the Confederacy of Targowica which was a catchword for treachery. Moczulski insisted that there was a clear division between those who emphasize financial happiness and have a vision of Poland as tied to Russia and those who stress democracy and have a vision of Poland as free; the implication was that those with whom he disagreed fell into the former category. He stated that while Kuroń perceived independence as impossible, Moczulski believed that democratization of the regime was. Moczulski argued that those who did not enunciate independence as the primary goal were either dishonest or misrepresenting society's wishes and so were akin to the regime in its mendacity. Moczulski portrayed Kuroń's call for a movement of demands as morally wrong and unrealistic; but then returned to generalizations to argue that those who sought to bridle a social explosion, did so out of fear of the nation.⁴⁶⁶

Veiled allegations and innuendos do not facilitate civil discourse and only engendered further suspicions. Hall, Kuroń and Michnik, by naming their interlocutors, provided them with the opportunity to openly engage in debate. Furthermore, by responding to specific publications, they diminished their ability to employ the types of blatantly inflammatory conjectures and generalizations which are more easily attributed to abstractions such as 'the lay left' or 'former-Revisionists.' While Kuroń responded to *Memoriał*, he did not respond to Moczulski's more virulent attacks in *Rewolucja bez Rewolucji* through the pages of independent publishing. However, it was at this time that a loan was given to Andrzej Czuma from KSS-KOR with the caveat that he not share it with Moczulski, suggesting the ways in which words in the democratic opposition could not only trigger action by the regime, but also action by those in the democratic

⁴⁶⁶ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 539, 548-552, 555.

opposition. It also demonstrates the ways in which finances played a role in disagreements within the democratic opposition and raises the issue of the fair distribution of funds.

All of those in the democratic opposition lived in a state which allocated funds independently from the market. While those in the democratic opposition rejected the state's censorship and the privileged position of the security services, complaints about the state's full employment and guaranteed wage for intellectuals were not raised. Grievances were, however, aired (specifically by Macierewicz and Moczulski) about the way that funds were divided within the democratic opposition. As independent publishing activists were forced to deal with the superior ability of some individuals to raise social funds, they were provided with a small taste of the challenges arising from the move to a competitive market already in the 1970s.

Contemporary Opposition Tactics and Historical Debates

Just as historical understanding informed the ways in which those in the democratic opposition understood and portrayed contemporary society, history was also vital to the ways in which tactics for the opposition were proposed and justified. Adam Michnik warned against what he described as certain Polish insurrectionary traditions. He claimed that “[t]he cult of martyrdom, of heroic sacrifice, created in the Polish tradition is a beautiful but dangerous ethos.”⁴⁶⁷ He cautioned against feeling that one has “discovered the sole moral and correct road to sovereignty and democracy.” He noted that in the past, when conspirators had come to “angelize” themselves and “maggotize” the majority who did not actively fight or fight as they saw fit, they came to think they had “special rights”, leading them to disregard the safety and aspirations of others.⁴⁶⁸ Michnik, in his historical analyses, sought to alter these traditions by reinterpreting Polish history in ways which bolstered tolerant, non-violent forms of opposition.

⁴⁶⁷ Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels”, 194.

⁴⁶⁸ Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels”, 191, 194-195.

Michnik, in discussing Piłsudski, emphasized his non-violent struggle for independence. Michnik asserted that Piłsudski, to achieve independence, “sought to train Poles in the spirit of independence...By the free, independent, uncensored printed word.” He continued, “[a] society in captivity must produce illegal literature because it much know the truth about itself, see a non-falsified picture of itself, hear its own genuine voice.”⁴⁶⁹ While Piłsudski was at the forefront of the founding of the underground paper, *Robotnik*, he was also (rightly) most associated with armed struggle. Therefore, Michnik, in electing to emphasize Piłsudski’s support for the production of independent literature, is providing his own proposals for opposition with the imprimatur of tradition and forestalling any allegations that his calls for social initiatives were too moderate.

Antoni Macierewicz claimed that the road to independence in 1918 had come through the rebuilding of society through educational activities, societal work and physical struggle.⁴⁷⁰ That physical struggle was noted after educational and social work implies that Macierewicz, like Michnik, reinterpreted Polish history to downplay armed struggle and to support his proposed, non-violent tactics for opposition. Macierewicz enunciated clearly his desire to alter Polish insurrectionary traditions when he acknowledged that boycotts were a change for Poles who “have a rich tradition of struggling for independence” which had taught heroism, solidarity and courage, but not peaceful work for the rights of citizens. Macierewicz insisted that a boycott was useful as it would help to school Poles in collective action and the methods of civic struggle.⁴⁷¹ He therefore, like Michnik and Kuroń, suggested that the contemporary populace was ready for armed struggle, but that new traditions needed to be devised.

⁴⁶⁹ Adam Michnik, “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors,” 207.

⁴⁷⁰ AM [Antoni Macierewicz], “Dażenia i postulaty”, 6.

⁴⁷¹ Antoni Macierewicz, “Wybory 1980”, 7.

Moczulski, an avowed Piłsudskite, asserted that just as Piłsudski had understood that 1905 and 1914-1918 were auspicious moments for the nation, Moczulski knew that 1976 to 1979 was. Furthermore, Moczulski maintained that after the May 1926 coup in which Piłsudski overthrew the elected government, “Marshall Józef Piłsudski said in the Sejm that he achieved ‘a revolution without revolutionary results and therefore without the sacrifice and unhappiness of those who create a destructive nihilist revolution. We hold sacred the same aim.’”⁴⁷² Moczulski’s presentation of the 1926 coup indicated that although he supported the peaceful creation of social institutions, he did not categorically reject armed struggle. It also pointed to a belief that some individuals have the ability and right to act against the expressed wishes of the populace. That Moczulski claimed that he, like Piłsudski recognized the existence of a favorable moment for action, hints at his own faith in his being such a person. His historical interpretation therefore underline his differences with Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron about opposition tactics in the present.

Moczulski called on contemporaries to reflect on Piłsudski’s letter from 1918 to Roman Dmowski. Moczulski explained that Piłsudski had written that it was necessary that they move above party, clique and group interests to unify.⁴⁷³ Contemporaneously, although Leszek Moczulski stated that he endorsed pluralism, he also called for the integration of societal self-defense groups (KSS-KOR and ROPCiO), contending that “[d]ivisions now are neither accepted nor understood by society.” He proposed unifying their treasuries and then their organizational structures. He concluded that “[t]here is no other road. They must unite on the road to

⁴⁷² Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 587.

⁴⁷³ Leszek Moczulski, *Memoriał*, 9.

independence. This is the road to pluralism and a united society.”⁴⁷⁴ For Moczulski, his demand for unity was an echo of Piłsudski’s demands in 1918.

Kuroń did not accept Moczulski’s argument for unity through pluralism. He insisted that every society, like every individual, has a plurality of desires and identities so that speaking of universal, conscious societal political aims (except perhaps in times of external threat) is impossible and a path to dictatorship.⁴⁷⁵ He then turned to history to make his point by arguing that this is what happened during the inter-War era. Kuroń maintained that “for Piłsudski, Poland was a kind of holy entity, for which only he could speak. His whole life he served Poland but also for her he broke the will of the Polish citizenry.”⁴⁷⁶ Kuroń contended further that the Sanacja-regime, Roman Dmowski and the Communist authorities essentialized the nation in order to speak for it. Kuroń saw similar tendencies in Hall’s and Moczulski’s writings. Kuroń expressed concern over Hall’s presentation of the Polish nation as implying an abstraction of individual plurality in order to create a unity which Kuroń did not believe existed. Kuroń similarly warned that Moczulski was seemingly making the state primary, abstracting society and writing from the position of spokesman for the nation. He rejected Moczulski’s demands for unity of action within the opposition and instead insisted that a pluralistic, de-centralized movement was the ideal. Strikingly, this description bears traces of his presentation of the 16th century Republic of Many Nations.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁴ This demand, made after Moczulski was not longer connected to ROPCiO (after allegations of misappropriation of funds) and amid his attacks on the KSS-KOR milieu, was perceived by some contemporaries as extremely self-serving. [Jan Walc, “Droga podłości do niepodległości”, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 7/33 (October 1979) 60; Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*, 562, 577.]

⁴⁷⁵ Jacek Kuroń, “Myśli o programie działania” 79; Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*”, 158.

⁴⁷⁶ Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*”, 178.

⁴⁷⁷ Moczulski’s demand that those in KSS-KOR openly assert their political nature and join a political party fell on deaf ears. Kuroń had long insisted that KSS-KOR was a diverse milieu; not a socialist group so that it could not become a unified political entity. One wonders, however, if this was clear to Moczulski and that he believed that by forcing KSS-KOR into political pronouncements, Kuroń and Michnik would be sidelined. If this was the case, it was

Adam Michnik likewise opposed demands for unity in the opposition and society, instead arguing for “the difficult art of compromise, without which authentic pluralism is impossible.”⁴⁷⁸ Michnik insisted that the opposition in Poland “feel strong and are strong because we enjoy the moral and material support of a broad strata of our society.” He noted that these people are not by temperament heroes or politicians, but that without them “it would be difficult to conceive of independent publishing.”⁴⁷⁹ He argued, in effect, that while these individuals were a vital part of Polish civil society they would not take serious, personal risks in a unified opposition. He therefore, like Kuroń insisted upon the need for a de-centralized, tolerant and amorphous opposition.

While Moczulski identified with Piłsudski and so drew tactical inspiration from him and interpreted his legacy as being in line with his own contemporary tactics for opposition, Aleksander Hall did the same for the National Democrats and Roman Dmowski. Hall wrote that while he did not seek to glorify the National Democrats, he did want to put them and Dmowski in their proper historical setting. Hall argued that while Piłsudski was indeed engaged in a moral struggle for Polish independence and the resurrection of the Commonwealth with social progress and justice for the oppressed, this was not the case of everyone on the barricades with him. Hall explained that in 1905, individuals such as Rosa Luxemburg, struggled not for Poland but for Russian revolution and a class war; Polish independence was a tool. It was in this context which Hall claimed that National Democratic opposition to the 1905 uprising should be placed.⁴⁸⁰ Hall

not successful for Macierewicz also rejected demands for the unity of the social-aid groups and the politicization of the opposition after the publications of Moczulski's treatise. Macierewicz asserted that unions, political parties and social and economic creations would *in the future* help the political struggle. [Jacek Kuroń, “Zasady ideowe”, 123-127, 133; Jacek Kuroń, “Uwagi o strukturze ruchu demokratycznego”, 103; Jacek Kuroń, “List otwarty do zespołu redakcyjnego pisma młodych *Bratniak*”, 159-162; Antoni Macierewicz, “Wybory 1980”, 7; Antoni Macierewicz, “Bojkot”, 4.]

⁴⁷⁸ Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels”, 190.

⁴⁷⁹ Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels”, 189.

⁴⁸⁰ Aleksander Hall, “Polemik”, 14-16.

asserted that it was time to value the positive role played by the National Democrats in spreading Polish national consciousness and the impact this had on the winning of independence in 1918.⁴⁸¹ Hall claimed further that National Democratic assimilationist policies toward national minorities (except Jews) proved that they weren't racist. He continued that even National Democratic anti-Semitism was not racist, but was instead based on political, economic and civilizational foundations.⁴⁸² Hall's implication that Roman Dmowski opposed Piłsudski by default as a result of his opposition to Rosa Luxemburg, like his insistence that National Democratic anti-Semitism was based on civilizational difference rather than racism, is contentious at best but does point to his desire to use history to contemporaneously resurrect the national tradition and separate it from anti-Semitism as well as his insistence that a reengagement with Polish national traditions would tactically help in winning independence.

Conclusion

Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik, Antoni Macierewicz, Leszek Moczulski, and Aleksander Hall well represented the democratic opposition's call for a free, democratic and independent Poland. All agreed that Poles had an affinity for armed uprisings at the same time that they eschewed violence. Each called for truth and pluralism, respect for their neighboring nations and minorities, and for individual liberties to be legally enshrined. They all also agreed that while major concerns should remain under state control, there should be some market regulation of the economy.⁴⁸³

These authors, like the democratic opposition as a whole, disagreed, however, in how they assessed the nature of Polish society and the specifics and goals for the future. Their differences impacted their proposed plans of action for opposition and were often rooted in

⁴⁸¹ Aleksander Hall, "W opowiedzi Jackowi Kurońowi", 32.

⁴⁸² Aleksander Hall, "Krytyka Krytyki", 12.

⁴⁸³ Leszek Moczulski, *Rewolucja bez Rewolucjną*, 560.

historical interpretation. They could not agree on what type of foreign relations Polish civil society should pursue, whether nationalism was a trend with a long provenance in Poland which therefore would take concerted effort to uproot for pluralism and democracy to ensue or whether it was the result of the Communist state's policies and so would wither away with the overthrow of the regime. They disagreed over the role for the Catholic Church in an independent Poland and on whether unity in society and the opposition should and could be pursued. They disagreed over the socialist legacy and its role in contemporary society. These differences of opinion were often fluid and related to personal experiences as well as ideological commitment.

Kuroń, Michnik, Macierewicz, and Hall, despite their many differences, agreed that Polish civil society was, as a result of the Communist legacy, weakened and in need of reeducation in order to regain its vibrancy and successfully combat the regime. Kuroń and Michnik perceived Polish society as dangerously attracted to nationalism. If the populace at times betrayed suspicions toward the intelligentsia, these intellectuals likewise felt unease with part of the Polish populace. They therefore called for independent social institutions which would break this connection and engender a civil society which would be attached to the values they associated with authentic socialism thereby paving the road to independence. Macierewicz perceived no threat from nationalism but did insist that a reengagement with 'values', particularly those connected to the Catholic Church, was needed in order to strengthen Polish civil society so that it could act for the legal entrenchment of individual freedoms on the path to independence. Finally, Aleksander Hall in his efforts at reawakening nationalism, demonstrated his belief that the true nationalism which he embraced had been largely destroyed, diminishing Polish civil society. He therefore proposed a program of action which was predicated on society reengaging with what he believed was authentic Polish nationalism through independent social

initiatives and patriotic public manifestations as the best means of reawakening civil society and gaining independence. All agreed that independent publishing, by educating the populace and helping to engender independent social life, would aid in the rebirth of Polish civil society which they believed was necessary in combating the regime.

Moczulski believed that Polish society was strong and insisted that Polish civil society was the one weapon which could effectively fight the regime. He downplayed any threat from nationalism or a loss of values and saw the one true threat as emanating from the Communist regime. He therefore believed that immediate concerted action by Polish civil society was possible and necessary to achieve independence. In calling for the creation of a shadow state, Moczulski proposed a more radical plan of action than the other authors under consideration. For Moczulski, independent publications were less about reeducation and more important in allowing for political debate and the informing of society in how to act so that civil society could fully emerge.

These authors ultimately agreed that an active civil society was the best means of fighting the regime and that independent publications and social institutions aided this goal. However, questions remained about whether the arguments of the minority in independent publishing and their interpretations of contemporary society and tactics for opposition represented any more than the marginal views of an active opposition. To answer these questions, it is necessary to look at Poland in the 1980s.

CHAPTER 3

Solidarity and Independent Publishing

The growth of Solidarity between August 1980 and December 1981, broadly followed the tactics laid out by the democratic opposition in the pages of independent publications as a plethora of independent social initiatives were instituted and Polish civil society emerged more fully. Despite significant differences of opinion over the restrictions to be made on societal actions and demands, those in the democratic opposition had accepted that some boundaries were needed due to “the fraternal” guns to the East. In accordance with their prescriptions, Solidarity pursued a “self-limiting revolution.” Independent publishing also became “self-limiting” as it expanded exponentially after August 1980. Ironically, just as Polish civil society experienced its first tastes of freedom, independent publishing became less free. Jarosław Broda, the editor of *Solidarność Dolnośląska*, enunciated the clear differences in independent publishing before and after August 1980 when he rejected allegations that Solidarity was attempting to create an “independent, in the pre-August meaning, and therefore oppositional press.”⁴⁸⁴

Restrictions on independent publishing derived from a number of directions. Despite alterations to the censorship laws, censorship remained in force for most publications, including several Solidarity papers. Publications such as *Tygodnik Solidarność*, which were subject to state censorship, can not really be termed independent. Although it did become legal to produce union publications without censorship, these were only sanctioned for ‘internal union use’ which meant limitations on content and distribution. Many editors of independent publications, both union and non-union, self-censored due a sense of social responsibility; they were aware that if they printed something which was perceived as a provocation, it could have had repercussions which impacted the Solidarity union, Solidarity social movement and Polish civil society.

⁴⁸⁴ Jarosław Broda, “Dyskusja musi trwać”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 53 (September 22, 1981) 8.

Furthermore, prior to August 1980, independent publications were produced by loose milieus and were entirely independent of the market and readership, Solidarity publications were not. With time, Solidarity's union leadership and members increasingly impinged on the independence of editors of union publications. Sometimes these incursions were attempts at moderating union publications. For instance, Jan Józef Lipski suggested a commission within Solidarity to serve as an ex post facto censorship group to watch the ways in which attacks were made on Poland's "big brother."⁴⁸⁵ At other times, the populace called on the editors of union publications to pursue less moderation such as when union members in Krakow called on the editors of *Goniec Malopolski* to carry information on Katyń. Editorial interference also derived from union leaders who sought to prevent any criticisms of the union leadership. As divisions within Solidarity grew, so did limitations on the independence of union publishing. Waldemar Kuczyński, an editor of *Tygodnik Solidarność*, asserted in the fall of 1981 that while "[t]he period after August was an explosion of free speech, I feel that today it is more restricted to one's own "party" than in the years 1977-1980 when as a private person I wrote for *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Krytyka*, *Robotnik*, and *Głos*."⁴⁸⁶

Due to ambiguities over what precisely constituted 'independent publications' in this era, this chapter will explore all Solidarity publications (both censored and uncensored), publications from the Independent Students' Union and Rural Solidarity as well as those which were entirely institutionally independent. It will also survey changes in the censorship laws and repression.

The Birth of Solidarity

Tensions between the ruling regime and Polish society were high in the summer of 1980. On July 1, the government instituted a complex, although minor increase in the costs of certain

⁴⁸⁵ Jan Józef Lipski, "Cenzura a prasa związkowa", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 54 (October 14, 1981) 13.

⁴⁸⁶ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą, Dziennik 1980-81*. (Warsaw: Iskra, 2002) 163, 182.]

cuts of meat. In response, strikes and work stoppages broke out across the country, notably in Lublin where the main train line between the Soviet and Polish border was blockaded. KSS-KOR called for the strikes to be carried out with good organization, responsibility and solidarity with other factories; it set up an information exchange between factories. Late in July, Peasant Self-Defense Committees released statements of support for the workers and *Robotnik* produced a special edition.⁴⁸⁷

Jacek Kuroń employed the independent publishing network to keep the Western press and, through Radio Free Europe, the Polish populace, abreast of what was happening. Wojciech Onyszkiewicz who had moved to Lublin in 1978, helped to organize a team to collect information. Kuroń also contacted Paweł Nowacki and Maciej Sobieraj of *Spotkania* and asked them to go to Chełm and Lublin as reporters. Henryk Wujec was sent to the Świdnik helicopter factory as was Zygmunt Kozicki and Waldemar Jakson who were independent publications distributors in Lublin.⁴⁸⁸ These individuals were to report back to Onyszkiewicz and Nowacki who would transfer information to Kuroń who then relayed it to Radio Free Europe. When Nowacki informed Kuroń that a Soviet war memorial in Chełm had been defaced, Kuroń referred to it as a provocation and did not transmit that information to Radio Free Europe along with the other information Nowacki had provided. Foreshadowing future disagreements in independent publishing, Nowacki charged Kuroń with censorship and ceased his cooperation.⁴⁸⁹ Although demands for state recognition of free trade unions had surfaced, on July 20 workers in Lublin settled for a pay raise. Kuroń left for vacation while Józef Śreniowski and Ewa Kulik

⁴⁸⁷ *Robotnik* 57 (July 11, 1980).

⁴⁸⁸ Czesław Niezgoda was strike leader in Lublin. [Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia* (Warsaw: Krytyka, 2009) 507, Henryk Wujec in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, ed. Michael Szporer (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012) 288; Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980* (Warsaw-Lublin: IPN, 2009) 159.]

⁴⁸⁹ Paweł Nowacki “Zapis, Spotkania i potyczki z Kurońem”, *IPN Biuletyn* 7-8/54-55 (July-August 2005) 145-147; Zygmunt Kozicki in “Początki niezależnego ruchu wydawniczego w Lublinie”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 80; Maciej Sobieraj, “Okres romantyczny *Spotkań*”, *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 196.

remained in his apartment which continued to serve as the contact point for the transfer of information about all independent social initiatives within Poland to the West and, through independent publications, back through Poland.⁴⁹⁰

Then, on August 9, 1980, Anna Walentynowicz, an activist in the Free Trade Union of the Coast (WZZW) and editor of *Robotnik Wybrzeża*, was fired from her job at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. Bogdan Borusewicz, who had insisted that from late July, the workers in the shipyard were ready for a strike, after meeting with Andrzej Gwiazda, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda, Alina Pieńkowska, Lech Wałęsa, Bogdan Felski and other WZZW activists, began organizing young workers to strike on August 14 to demand her re-instatement. On August 14, Alina Pieńkowska, a nurse in the Lenin Shipyard, called Jacek Kuroń to inform him that “We’ve begun [the occupation strike at the Lenin Shipyard]....Wałęsa is with us!” In a moment of historical theater, Lech Wałęsa, an electrician who had been fired due to his work with the WZZW and *Robotnik Wybrzeża*, had leapt over the shipyard gate to help lead the strike. Kuroń informed the Western press.⁴⁹¹ Borusewicz contacted workers outside of the Lenin Shipyard including Andrzej Kołodziej from the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia and Zenon Kwoka, a transportation worker in Gdansk; both helped to lead their co-workers in occupation strikes. A settlement was initially reached in the Lenin Shipyard on August 15 for a pay raise. Although it was ultimately decided that the shipyard would continue its occupation strike in solidarity with other striking concerns, very few workers were left in the shipyard that evening. Knowing that they could have been easily crushed had state forces attacked, the remaining workers welded the

⁴⁹⁰ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 509; “Komitet Samoobrony Społecznej KOR”, *Robotnik* 63/64 (October 12, 1980) 2.

⁴⁹¹ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 511; Zenon Kwoka in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 115.

shipyard doors shut. No attack came. The following day, many workers returned to the occupation strike; the government cut all communications with the coast.⁴⁹²

On August 16, the Gdansk Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS) was formed when representatives from 23 factories and industrial concerns sent representatives to the Lenin Shipyard.⁴⁹³ On August 17, Andrzej Gwiazda, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda, Bogdan Lis and Bogdan Borusewicz, helped the workers to draft 21 strike demands. They demanded the right to form free trade unions and the right to strike. Under the influence of Borusewicz, who pointed out that the abolition of censorship had caused intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, they demanded the alteration of censorship laws rather than their abolition. They also demanded an end to the repression of independent publishing, mass media for representatives of all denominations, for the government to broadcast information on the strike, reinstatement of those workers and students previously dismissed for political reasons, real information on the socio-economic situation in the country with an open debate about it, pay increases, regular pay raises commensurate with the cost of living, an end to the privileges for the MO and SB, earlier retirement ages, three year paid maternity leave, improvement of the national health service, holidays for children, shorter wait periods for apartments and work free Saturdays. Borusewicz and Aleksander Hall (who also went to the shipyard) rejected including a demand for free elections (as some with ties to RMP had requested) as too radical.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹² Occupation strikes, long endorsed in independent publications were the norm when strikes broke out. [Anna Walentynowicz, *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 172.]

⁴⁹³ It is perhaps important to note, as did Jacek Merkel, an engineer at the shipyard, that of the 16,000 workers at the shipyard, 3,000 took part in the occupation strike during this period, while the other 13,000 stayed home. [Jacek Merkel in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 142]

⁴⁹⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985) 42; “Dwadzieścia jeden żądań strajkujących załóg trójmiasta” in *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce, 1976-1980: Wybór dokumentów*, ed. Zygmunt Hemmerling and Marek Nadolski (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994) 706-708; Bernard Guetta “Sierpień w Gdańsku” in *Gdańsk 1980: Oczyma świadków*, Barbara Toruńczyk, ed. (London: Polonia Book Fund, Ltd, 1980) 14; Bogdan Borusewicz in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 49; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski* (Gdansk: Wydawnictwo Arche, 2000) 167.

Across Poland, support was shown for the workers on the coast. In less than a week 300 factories joined the strike, farmers held a brief solidarity strike, and intellectuals organized hunger strikes and issued announcements of solidarity. In August, inter-factory strike committees were established in Szczecin, Ebląg, Wrocław and Bydgoszcz; Silesian miners also went on strike and set up a strike committee in Jastrzębie.⁴⁹⁵ The editors of *Robotnik* proposed founding a nationwide union. KSS-KOR released an announcement in support of the strikes just before many of its leaders were arrested on August 20.

With the arrest of the leaders of KSS-KOR, intellectuals with connections to the Catholic Club of Intellectuals (KIK), the Flying University (TKN) and Doświadczenie Przyszłość (DiP) went to Gdansk to help. Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Bronisław Geremek appeared first; Bogdan Cywiński, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Waldemar Kuczyński, Tadeusz Kowalik and Jadwiga Staniszkis followed. The state began negotiation with the Gdansk MKS on August 23 and provided intellectuals with safe passage to the shipyard to help with negotiations. On August 24, they formed a Commission of Experts. Mazowiecki led the experts and, with Geremek, selected who could join; they rejected cooperation with Karol Modzelewski who was perceived as too radical.⁴⁹⁶

In negotiations, state and union representatives reworked and reworded the pithy 21 demands of the workers into 21 pledges by the state. Censorship and independent publishing played a major role in negotiations. On August 24, Deputy Prime Minister, Mieczysław Jagielski, who was representing the regime, claimed that existing independent publishers had an “anti-socialist” character which was the reason for their repression; he insisted that freedom of speech existed in Poland. The experts appointed Jan Strzelecki and Professor Jerzy Stembrowicz

⁴⁹⁵ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 51.

⁴⁹⁶ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 21-23, 29.

(who had joined their Commission) to work on the wording for the demand for changes in censorship. On August 26, Lech Bądkowski, the Gdansk MKS's spokesman, referring to the cycle of Polish history, expressed fear that even if changes to censorship were enacted, they would last but a short period. Acknowledging that the full abolishment of the censor would be dangerous, he called for legal guarantees which would allow for full and honest reporting in which various convictions and views could be voiced.⁴⁹⁷

On August 31, state officials and the Gdansk MKS leadership, represented by Lech Wałęsa, signed the fruit of these negotiations, the Gdansk Agreement. The workers agreed to return to work and the government promised to begin meeting the union's demands. Immediately, the state was to free all political prisoners and permit the establishment of independent self-governing trade unions which would have the right to strike and be allowed to produce their own internal union publications.⁴⁹⁸ Within three months, the government was to present a draft censorship bill to the Sejm which would include a guarantee of legal recourse in relation to censorship decisions. Catholic mass was to be broadcast on the radio on Sundays. The Agreement included an acknowledgement of the leading role of the PZPR in the state (not in society) and the continuance of existing international alliances. The Szczecin MKS signed its own agreement on August 30. The miners of Jastrzębie signed an agreement with the state shortly after. These agreements were thereafter jointly referred to as the August Social Accords. In the wake of the Accords, independent inter-factory trade unions were established across the country while existing independent inter-factory strike committees (MKSs) became independent

⁴⁹⁷ Jan Skórzyński, Introduction to *18 dni sierpnia: Solidarność*, ed. Jerzy Rozwadowski (Warsaw: Omnia Ltd, 1990) 30; "Rozmowy z Delegacją Rządową", *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* 2 (August 24, 1980) 3; Editor, "Z sali obrad," *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* 9 (August 29, 1980) 1.

⁴⁹⁸ Jan Kozłowski, Marek Kozłowski and Edmund Zazdożynski were released as well as the KSS-KOR activists who had been recently arrested. The Commission of Experts advised the workers that they alter the demand for free trade unions (which they believed the government associated with KSS-KOR) to a demand for independent trade unions which they did.

inter-factory trade union committees (MKZs). Soon after, Stanisław Kania replaced Gierek as head of the PZPR.⁴⁹⁹

In September, a National Congress of the 35 existing independent inter-factory trade unions was held in Gdansk at the Morski Hotel; they accepted the proposal by Karol Modzelewski (who was serving as advisor to Wrocław's MKZ) that they apply jointly for legal registration as a national union with the name: Independent Self-Governing Trade Union, "Solidarity" (NSZZ "S").⁵⁰⁰ In the midst of drawing up statutes for the new union, they agreed that Solidarity would remain a de-centralized movement, divided by region rather than by trade. Regional Inter-Factory Trade Union Committees (MKZs) were established to serve as intermediaries between the National Coordination Commission (KKP) and Factory Commissions (KZs.) The KKP was to include representatives from each MKZ (regardless of size) and was based in Gdansk. Lech Wałęsa was elected head of the KKP while Andrzej Gwiazda and Ryszard Kalinowski were to serve as his deputies. The Commission of Experts transformed into an advisory group for the KKP; similarly some MKZs chose advisors.

Those from the democratic opposition, especially those connected with *Robotnik*, *Robotnik Wybrzeże*, and the free trade union movement were well poised to take central roles in the emerging independent trade unions; many such individuals had ties to KSS-KOR. Even individuals who had no previous ties to KSS-KOR, during the strikes had, at times, reached out to that milieu. The influence of KSS-KOR was, however, contested. Kazimierz Świton, who was close to ROPCiO circles, had edited *Ruch Związkowy* and helped found the Free Trade Union in Katowice, attacked Bogdan Borusewicz, as a KSS-KOR signatory, for being part of the advisory board for MKZ Gdansk. Likewise, the leaders of the Commission of Experts (Mazowiecki and

⁴⁹⁹ Gdansk Strike Protocol in Neal Ascherson, *The Polish August* (New York: Viking Press, 1982) 288-299.

⁵⁰⁰ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą* 69.

Geremek) were displeased when Jacek Kuroń, who had gone to Gdansk upon his release, was made an advisor by Wałęsa as they sought preeminence.⁵⁰¹ Andrzej Celiński (who was from the Głos group in KSS-KOR) even drafted a statement in the name of KSS-KOR calling for Kuroń's resignation. Not only was his proposal rejected in KSS-KOR, but individuals like Seweryn Blumsztajn were angry that Kuroń didn't have a more active role in advising the union.⁵⁰²

Resentments were also voiced by some workers over the influence of intellectuals in the union. In Gdansk, a high level of cooperation had existed prior to August between different milieus in the democratic opposition. Accordingly, it was often "outsiders", meaning those from Warsaw which irked workers rather than intellectuals like Bogdan Borusewicz, Lech Kaczyński (a lawyer) or Paweł Bądkowski who were from the coast and were known by workers there since they had already been cooperating with free trade union activists prior to the August strikes. For others, it was the entire group of advisors who were suspect. Many workers perceived Solidarity as a legitimate workers union; not a form of opposition to the regime. The intellectuals who had been portrayed negatively in the official press were perceived therefore as radical oppositionists who were attempting to control Solidarity and turn it into something other than a sanctioned union.⁵⁰³

Independent Publishing and the Birth of Solidarity

Independent publishing activists in Gdansk proved their mettle in the heady days of August. On August 12, Bogdan Borusewicz went to Piotr Kapczyński, Maciej Kapczyński, and Zbigniew Nowek (from Wydawnictwo Alternatywy) with an immediate request for flyers

⁵⁰¹ Waldemar Kuczyński recalled Mazowiecki's disappointment that Krakow's KIK was not interested in working within the union as he wanted preeminence for KIK in Solidarity

⁵⁰² Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 527-528, 534, 540; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą* 53, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 97; Jacek Kuroń interview with Janina Jankowska, "In Every Situation I Look for a Way Out". Originally published in *Krytyka* 26 (1987), reprinted and translated in: Michael H. Bernard, *From the Polish Underground: Selections from Krytyka, 1978-1993* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995) 308-309.

⁵⁰³ Zenon Kwoka in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 124.

demanding Walentynowicz's reinstatement and a pay raise; he provided two prepared matrices. They produced 6-8,000 copies; Borusewicz ultimately had about 12,000 flyers made. Several posters were also produced by Grzegorz and Tomasz Petrycki from the State School of Plastic Arts in Gdansk.⁵⁰⁴

Jerzy Borowczak, Bogdan Felski, and Ludwik Prądyński (WZZW activists and *Robotnik Wybrzeże* distributors) arrived at their jobs at the Lenin Shipyard early on August 14 and pasted the posters up in visible places and handed out the flyers. The flyers did not demand an occupation strike. Borusewicz explained that that way if a strike did not erupt it could not be perceived as a failure. However, a strike beyond anyone's wildest expectations was indeed set off. Bogdan Felski remembered handing a shipyard director a few *Robotniks* and the flyer about Walentynowicz when he, upon seeing the crowds gathering, asked what was going on. Borusewicz and Ryszard Pusz distributed the rest of the flyers outside of the shipyard along the coast in Tchew, Żabianka, Gdynia and Sopot as well as in Gdansk.⁵⁰⁵

Although initially Borusewicz had his friends prepare to print outside of the shipyard as he feared that printing inside would be used as a pretext for physically attacking the striking workers, already by August 16 Piotr Kapczyński went to the shipyard with supplies to start printing. On August 17, Kapczyński returned to the shipyard with Krzysztof Wyszowski (editor of *Robotnik Wybrzeże*, WZZW co-founder and head of the Klin publishing house); he thereafter remained in the shipyard organizing the delivery of printing supplies. Kapczyński reflected "I

⁵⁰⁴ Piotr Kapczyński in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 106; Arkadiusz Kazański, ed. *Gdański sierpień '80* (Gdansk: IPN, 2010) 9; Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"* (Gdansk-Torun-Bydgoszcz: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Finna", 2009) 19; Bogdan Borusewicz in "Dni Solidarności," *KARTA* 30, 2000; Bogdan Borusewicz in *Polak z polakiem*, ed. Grzegorz Nawrocki (Warsaw: Słowo, 1990) 80.

⁵⁰⁵ "Jak rozpoczynał strajk", *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* 11 (August 30, 1980) 2-3; Jerzy Borowczak in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 30-31; Bogdan Felski in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, ed. Jerzy Eisler (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2003) 160; Bogdan Boursewicz in *Polak z polakiem*, 81; Bogdan Borusewicz in *Portrety niedokończone*, ed. Janina Jankowska (Warsaw: Biblioetka Więzi, 2004) 63.

remember handing out pamphlets about censorship [in the shipyard]...I came out of the swarm of hands with scrapes and scratches. Talking about real hunger for the printed word!”⁵⁰⁶

Although RMP had not been informed of the strike in advance, on August 15, they began producing publications for the shipyard and went on to publish the 21 strike demands as well as MKS proclamations; they also helped with distribution outside of the shipyard.⁵⁰⁷ Jacek Merkel, an engineer at the Lenin Shipyard, put together a team in the shipyard to print leaflets.⁵⁰⁸

As various factories joined the strike, some workers went to their factory directors to ask for access to factory printing supplies. They were regularly rebuffed; one director insisted that printing was “a form of ammunition” which he would not allow the workers. Force was therefore often used to obtain supplies. When workers on the coast did eventually gain access to official printers they found that photo-offset printers in the region had been deliberately damaged. Accordingly, supplies provided by independent publishers were initially decisive.⁵⁰⁹

On August 15, Andrzej Kołodziej with Andrzej and Maciej Butkiewicz (who had worked on *Robontik Wybrzeża* and in WZZW) called forth a strike at the Gdynia Paris Commune Shipyard where they worked. Kołodziej almost immediately demanded access to the shipyard’s printing supplies. Andrzej and Maciej Butkiewicz, with several other workers, went to the shipyard director with a petition asking for the key to the shipyard’s printing supplies. When they were refused, they forced their way in which provided the shipyard with professional machines and tons of paper. However, not only did they not know how to use the machines, but they had been sabotaged. The workers invited professional printers from the city to the shipyard to repair

⁵⁰⁶ Piotr Kapczyński in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 108; Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej “A”*, 21, 27, 40.

⁵⁰⁷ “Wolne drukarnie strajkowe”, *Bratniak* 24 (July-August 1980) 27; Bogdan Felski in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 64; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski*, 167-169.

⁵⁰⁸ Jacek Merkel in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 143.

⁵⁰⁹ “Wolne drukarnie strajkowe”, *Bratniak* 24 (July-August 1980) 27.

the printers and to teach them how to use them. To keep the supplies secure, access was limited to the area and guards were placed outside. Although they still couldn't produce a flyer due to the damage to the machines, that night they created their first matrix (dated August 15th).⁵¹⁰

On August 16, the first strike publications were produced in the Paris Commune Shipyard. During the afternoon, Kołodziej demanded access to the shipyard's Xerox machine. When the shipyard director refused, the striking workers threatened him with expulsion from the shipyard and took charge of it. Later in the day, one of the damaged machines was fixed. With it, the workers began producing a flyer which briefly informed the inhabitants of the triple city (Gdynia, Gdansk and Sopot) that the MKS had been founded in Gdansk and the number of concerns on strike. The flyer insisted that the strike was peaceful and that the strikers would endure; they used the insignia "Wolna Drukarnia Stoczni Gdynia." This flyer was used as a template in the coming days and was altered as more concerns joined the strike; the highest print-run of it was 700,000 copies.⁵¹¹

On the evening of August 17, the second printer was fixed; one printer was then used to produce a summons to a general strike while the other continued printing the flyers. The strikers also began preparing matrices with their demands which were printed on August 19.⁵¹² On August 20, they sent distributors not only into the city, but also on trains to spread information about the strike around the country; four distributors were arrested in Gdansk. Kołodziej travelled to the MKS in the Lenin Shipyard with a car full of their publications. In Gdansk, he

⁵¹⁰ Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdynscy Komunardzi, Sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia* (Gdynia: Verbicause.pl, 2008) 59-60, 62-63, 71.

⁵¹¹ Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdynscy Komunardzi, Sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia*, 82, 105.

⁵¹² Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdynscy Komunardzi, Sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia*, 81, 94

was reprimanded for printing without the agreement of the MKS, but he was un-phased as the need to spread word of the strike was, for him, more important than organizational niceties.⁵¹³

In the coming days, several printing machines were functioning in the Gdynia Shipyard in addition to the Xerox machine. They were able to reach upwards of 100,000 printings a day and ultimately produced about 2 million documents. Mainly, they produced texts from the MKS in Gdansk which were taken to Gdynia to be printed and then returned to Gdansk for distribution; these had to be delivered by hand as cars quickly began to be searched. Flyers were also distributed in Gdynia and around the country. Among other things, they produced strike bulletins (20,000 an issue of the strike bulletin produced in the Lenin shipyard), the 21 strike demands, a letter from John Paul II to Primate Wyszyński about the strikes, information on the Commission of Experts and passes for entry into the Gdansk shipyard (in two days 1,200 were made and still proved insufficient).⁵¹⁴

NOWa split its efforts by sending a team to Gdansk. Mirosław Chojecki who was on vacation in the region, went to the shipyard, but was then detained by the police and forced to return to Warsaw. Konrad Bieliński and Ewa Milewicz were on the coast picking up Swedish printing equipment for NOWa. They therefore returned to Warsaw to gather printing matrices and ink. On August 18, they drove to the Lenin Shipyard where they distributed copies of *Robotnik* and set up several basic stands to screen-print MKS publications. On these they printed the 21 strike demands and a flyer about the founding of the MKS.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ In retrospect, Kołodziej noted that there was no doubt that his earlier work in independent publishing impacted his actions in August 1980 and that what set Gdynia apart was its printing. [Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdynscy Komunardzi, Sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia*, 95-97, 106.]

⁵¹⁴ Andrzej Kołodziej, *Gdynscy Komunardzi, sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia*, 82, 105; A.D., “Byliśmy w stoczni”, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 6 (40) 32 (August-September 1980) 32, 34; Konrad Bieliński in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, eds. Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej Paczkowski (Krakow: Znak, 2008) 657.

⁵¹⁵ Bernard Guetta, “Sierpień w Gdańsku” in *Gdańsk 1980: Oczyma świadków*, 22; Ewa Milewicz, “Ja, happening, stocznia” in *Gdańsk 1980: Oczyma świadków*, 61-62, 68; “Oświadczenie MKS w Stoczni Gdańskiej im. Lenina, August 21”; Konrad Bieliński interview with Jan Strękowski, “Bibuła. Wolne słowo w Polsce 1976-1990”

The first issue of the Gdansk *Strajkowego Biuletynu Informacyjnego Solidarność* was produced on the evening of August 23. The chief editor was Konrad Bieliński who was helped by Ewa Milewicz, Krzysztof Wyszkowski, and Mariusz Wilk (who had worked on *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* and *Podaj Dalej* in Wrocław). They used the publishing house insignia, Wolna Drukarnia Stoczni Gdansk. It was a four page information bulletin which appeared once or twice a day. Although it was distributed for free, it was in such high demand that people offered as much as 500zl for it. It included information on the MKS, negotiations between the strikers and state representatives, explanatory articles on specific demands and the political prisoners in Poland, letters of support from around the country and world, as well as poems from witnesses to the strike. They produced 20-40,000 copies an issue. Thirteen regular issues and one special, two page edition were produced. Jerzy Janiszewicz developed the iconic Solidarity logo at this time.⁵¹⁶

In Warsaw, NOWa produced and distributed information on the strike while the editors of *Robotnik* produced special editions of *Robotnik* with print-runs of about 60,000-70,000 as well as 80,000 copies of the 21 strike demands. These were distributed in the major work concerns and strike areas around the country. Zbigniew Bujak and Zbigniew Janus were provided daily with 2,000 (up from the normal 160) copies of *Robotnik* as well as 2-3,000 one page flyers about the strikes to be distributed in Ursus. Henry Wujec also helped with distribution in Ursus which soon went on strike. When Ursus struck, NOWa helped the workers to produce a strike bulletin. Wujec claimed that “quite often strikes broke out thanks to contacts with *Robotnik*” and pointed

supplement to *Rzeczpospolita*, June 2003; Grzegorz Boguta in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 227; “Byłem człowiekiem do pomocy...” Interview with Henryk Wujec, *Niezależność* 19 (March 17, 1981) 1.

⁵¹⁶ Ewa Milewicz “Ja, happening, stocznia”, 74, 81; *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* 1-13 and Dodatek Nadwycieczny, August 23-31; Konrad Bieliński interview with Jan Strękowski, “Bibula. Wolne słowo w Polsce 1976-1990” supplement to *Rzeczpospolita*, June 2003; Konrad Bieliński in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, eds. Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej Paczkowski (Krakow: Znak, 2008) 657-658.

out that Józef Ruszar and Franciszek Grabczyk were key in the strike at Nowa Huta in Krakow just as Władysław Sulecki was in Gliwice. Wujec explained that as strikes broke out, this news was communicated to *Robotnik* where it was printed and also sent through Kuroń to Radio Free Europe which then broadcast it back to Poland, helping to set off further strikes. Indeed, Bujak remembered learning of the strikes on the radio.⁵¹⁷

The impact of Radio Free Europe and independent publishing on the outbreak of strikes was also noteworthy in Wrocław. Andrzej Pawlik, a worker from Wrocław, learned through RFE of the events on the coast. He then called the novelist and KOR signatory Jerzy Andrzejewski (whose phone number had previously been broadcast on RFE in connection with his work with KOR) for organizational aid and contacts in Wrocław to help him start a strike. He soon after received two basic printers from SKS students with ties to KSS-KOR. The content of many strike bulletins derived from Radio Free Europe.⁵¹⁸ Also in Wrocław, *Biuletyn Dolnośląski* produced a number of special editions in August in which they printed the communiqués from MKS Wrocław and the 21 strike demands.⁵¹⁹

With the issuing of the August Social Accords, over one hundred new publications emerged in factories and schools across the country. In addition, many strike bulletins transformed into bulletins ‘for internal union use’ as had been guaranteed in the August Accords. For instance, *Jedność* which had begun publication on August 24, for Szczecin’s MKS, later became the weekly publication for the MKZ West Pomorze into which MKZ Szczecin morphed.

⁵¹⁷ Bernard Guetta, “Sierpień w Gdańsku” in *Gdańsk 1980: Oczyma świadków*, 22; “Oświadczenie MKS w Stoczni Gdańskiej im. Lenina, August 21”; “Byłem człowiekiem do pomocy...” Interview with Henryk Wujec, *Niezależność* 19, March 17-1981, 1; Henryk Wujec in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 288; Henryk Wujec and Jan Lityński in *Co znam zostało z tych lat... Opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z dzisiejszej perspektywy*, 134-135, 140; Zbigniew Bujak in *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za ‘Solidarność’*, ed. Janusz Rolicki (Warsaw: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza ‘BGW’, 1991) 45; “*Robotnik*: Początki niezależnego ruchu robotniczego”, *Robotnik* 63/63 (October 12, 1980) 3; Mirosław Chojecki, “Jestem w ogóle apolityczny”, *Więź* 5/6 (May–June 1990) 162.

⁵¹⁸ Andrzej Palik, “Zaczynaliśmy od ramek”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 32 (April 30, 1981) 4.

⁵¹⁹ *Biuletyn Dolnośląski*, September 1980.

In Gdansk, when the strike ceased, Konrad Bieliński returned to Warsaw, after showing his friends how to use the screen-printing equipment he left behind. They renamed the Gdansk strike bulletin *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* and began producing it as a weekly union bulletin for MKZ Gdansk. Rather than relying on equipment from independent publishers, most new union publications were produced on state-owned print machines in workplaces, schools and even publishing houses through individual agreements between independent trade unionists and local bosses.⁵²⁰ They generally carried passive information about Solidarity's activities both on the national and local level.

On September 23, the Gdansk MKZ reached an agreement with local authorities that it would be able to have a Solidarity section three times a week in an official daily newspaper, *Dziennik Bałtycki* entitled "Samorządność;" it first appeared on September 24, 1980. Lech Wałęsa appointed Lech Bądkowski who was close to RMP circles and had served as MKS's spokesman, as editor. The union now had access to official networks of distribution and production. It was not, however, independent of censorship. Editorial disagreements were frequent.⁵²¹

The Expansion of Solidarity Publishing in late 1980

Talks between state and union representatives were held during the fall of 1980 as union representatives pushed for the fulfillment of the August Social Accords. The demand for access to mass communication was particularly pressing. Karol Modzelewski, who was chosen to be the KKP's press representative, led Solidarity's negotiations over publishing. The regime stalled in enacting the August Social Accords, precipitating a one hour warning strike on October 3 and

⁵²⁰ Ewa Milewicz, "Ja, happening, stocznia", 74, 81; *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* 1-13 and Dodatek Nadwycieczny, August 23-31; Konrad Bieliński interview with Jan Strękowski, "Bibuła. Wolne słowo w Polsce 1976-1990" supplement to *Rzeczpospolita*, June 2003.

⁵²¹ "Zaczni współpracownicy prasy", *Niezależność* 2 (October 16, 1980) 1; Paweł Zbierski, "100 numer *Samorządność*," *Tygodnik Solidarność* 11 (June 12, 1981) 5.

the breaking off of negotiations between Solidarity and the state. On October 6, a KKP resolution demanded fulfillment of the August Social Accords. It specifically called for the publication of a daily union paper, the publication of regional union periodicals with print-runs commensurate with the size of local MKZs, and for the publication of independent monographs.⁵²²

With the founding of the MKZ Mazowsze in Warsaw on September 4, Mirosław Chojecki had made NOWa's supplies and personnel available to the union. Bogdan Grzesiak became head of the technical side of the MKZ Mazowsze's publishing efforts while his brother, Adam, helped in producing Solidarity publications. They were joined by activists from *Robotnik* including Andrzej Zieliński. Konrad Bieliński became the director of Information and Mass Communication for Solidarity Mazowsze and began working with Jan Łojaj to produce a weekly information bulletin for MKZ Mazowsze. Ludwik Wujec, from *Robotnik*, joined Łojaj on the editorial board of the new paper: *Niezależność*. It began publication on October 9 as the official publication for MKZ Mazowsze. Individuals with ties to the KSS-KOR milieu, thanks to their previous experience and prevalence in independent publishing in Warsaw, quickly came to dominate union publishing in Warsaw. Antoni Macierewicz, Ludwik Dorn and Ursula Doroszevska from the 'Głos group' created a Center for Social Research in October within MKZ Mazowsze.⁵²³

On October 24, union representatives learned that the Solidarity Statutes, which they had submitted to legally register Solidarity, had been altered to include recognition of the leading role of the PZPR in the state. Amid a fresh wave of strikes due to this "Registration Crisis", Modzelewski gained the government's acquiescence for Solidarity to have the right to purchase

⁵²² "Uchwała", *Niezależność* 2 (October 16, 1980) 4.

⁵²³ Konrad Bieliński in "Słowo Jak Dynamit", ed. Wiesława Grochola, *KARTA* 29 (2006) 117; "Gratulujemy", *Niezależność* 4 (November 1, 1980) 4.

printing materials from abroad and to publish its own weekly, national publication (which Modzelewski sought to have produced in Warsaw at the Dom Słowa Polskiego with a print run of 1,000,000). The state also sanctioned the continued existence of the regional union papers which were being published in Szczecin, Katowice, Wrocław and Krakow. At the same time, in a reflection of the degree of self-censorship which was required in union publications despite their independence from state censors, state representatives insisted that some union publications were not maintaining a “responsible” line and insisted that Solidarity publishing would have to remain within the framework of the August Social Accords and be “responsible.”⁵²⁴ These negotiations lagged behind developments in the country as, by the end of October, MKZ publications were produced in Gdansk (MKZ Gdansk); Szczecin (MKZ West Pomorze); Katowice and Jastrzębie (MKZ Silesia Dąbrowska), Warsaw (MKZ Mazowsze), Jarocin (MKZ Wielkopolska), Kalisz (MKZ Kalisz/South Wielkopolska), Wrocław, Wałbrzych and Legnica (MKZ Lower Silesia), Lublin (MKZ Central East), Płock (MKZ Płock), Łódź (MKZ Łódź), Świętokrzyska (MKZ Świętokrzyska), Krakow (MKZ Małopolska), Zielone Góra (MKZ Zielone Góra), Krosno (MKZ Podkarpacie Krosno), and Bydgoszcz (MKZ Bydgoszcz). In addition, numerous factories, schools, and local communities had also jumped into the realm of independent publishing.

The “Registration Crisis” was resolved on November 10 when it was agreed that an addendum would be added to the statutes acknowledging the leading role of the PZPR in the state. This compromise had been hard one. Jan Rulewski from MKZ Bydgoszcz had been particularly opposed to it. Jacek Kuroń, Karol Modzelewski and Janusz Olszewski (of KSS-

⁵²⁴ “Oświadczenie, *Niezależność* 4 (November 1, 1980) 1; “Dostęp do środków masowego przekazu”, *Robotnik* 68/69 (November 23, 1980) 4; Andrzej Friszke, “*Tygodnik Solidarność*, 1981”, *Biuletyn IPN* 54-55 (Warsaw: IPN, July-August 2005) 22; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 545; “Solidarność petraktuje z rządem”, *Robotnik* 67 (November 2, 1980) 1.

KOR) were key in gaining the support of the “radicals”. In the wake of these disputes, a special group, “the eleven” was created within the KKP. It was composed of representatives of the eleven largest Solidarity MKZs and was intended to focus the union’s leadership since with Solidarity’s rapid growth, a number of MKZs with small memberships had arisen making the KKP increasingly unwieldy.⁵²⁵

Talks between state and union officials over access to mass communication broke off when security services on November 20 raided the publishing offices of MKZ Mazowsze at 4:30 a.m.. They found secret government documents (which explained how to deal with “anti-socialist activists”) which were about to be printed. The following day, Jan Narożniak (of NOWa) and Piotr Sapełło (a clerk in the Prosecutor’s Office), who had passed the documents to Narożniak, were arrested. On November 24, a Solidarity delegation went to the Mazowia procurator’s office to demand not only the release of Narożniak and Sapełło, but also an investigation into the SB and MO and the events of 1970 and 1976 as well as the release of all political prisoners, including Leszek Moczulski.⁵²⁶ They explained that if their demands were not met, Ursus would strike with other factories in the region following suit. Henry Wujec and Antoni Macierewicz convinced Zbigniew Bujak (the chairman of MKZ Mazowsze) to endorse these additional demands in the name of MKZ Mazowsze. With more factories joining the strike and a general strike in Mazowia looming for November 27, Stefan Bratkowski, a founder of DiP and newly elected chairman of the Polish Journalists’ Association (SDP), served as a mediator

⁵²⁵ The areas were Silesia-Dąbroska, Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Krakow, Lublin, Łódź, Poznan, Rzeszow, Szczecin, and Wrocław. [Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą* 100.]

⁵²⁶ Leszek Moczulski was arrested on September 23, 1980 after giving an interview with *Der Spiegel*. As a result of the planned annual public manifestations for November 11, Wojciech Ziemiński and Zygmunt Gołagowski were arrested.

between the regime and the Solidarity leadership; he gained the regime's agreement to free Narożniak and Sapełło and begin discussing the other demands.⁵²⁷

On November 27th at 1 a.m., Bratkowski arrived at Ursus with Narożniak and Sapełło. However, by that time, some factories, notably the Warsaw Steelworks and its strike leader, Seweryn Jaworski, were not willing to stop the strike until all the demands were met. Kuroń convinced them to call off the strike. He believed that because the August Accords did not sanction political pluralism, and this was KPN's goal, Solidarity could not endorse a strike for its leaders. Indeed, KPN's leadership were held in jail for much of the Solidarity era. In contrast to Kuroń, Zbigniew Romaszewski believed that Bratkowski with the "doves" in Gdansk including Mazowiecki, Geremek and Wałęsa as well as Kuroń acted without thinking about true justice for political prisoners and were manipulated out of action at a time when Solidarity was in a position of strength. The Narożniak affair underlined the fact that the government's loosening of the bonds on independent publishing did not mean total freedom of the press.⁵²⁸

In December, negotiations over Solidarity's access to mass communication resumed in a less official manner. The issue of who would edit Solidarity's future national newspaper reignited the competition between the leaders of the KKP advisory group (who often had ties to the Catholic Church) and the KSS-KOR milieu, both of which hoped to have one of their own edit Solidarity's official paper. The KSS-KOR milieu floated Konrad Bieliński, Kazimierz Dziewanowski and Karol Modzelewski as possible candidates for the position of editor.⁵²⁹

However, unbeknownst to them, Lech Wałęsa, along with the PZPR leadership and Catholic episcopacy opposed choosing someone from the KSS-KOR milieu. Wałęsa, after

⁵²⁷ "Solidarność przeciw bezprawu", *Niezależność* 7/8 (November 20, 1980) 1; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 123-124; Dariusz Fikus, *Foksal '81* (Poznan: SAWW, 1989) 50-51.

⁵²⁸ Zbigniew Romaszewski in *Portrety niedokończone*, 485-186; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 574-75; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 126.

⁵²⁹ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 132.

meeting with several Church leaders (including Bishop Bronisław Dąbkowski and Father Włózy Orszulik) named the Catholic publicist, Andrzej Micewski, editor of Solidarity's future paper. Wałęsa also transferred to Micewski (from Modzelewski) the position of main negotiator in Solidarity-state negotiations over publishing. Micewski, who had published in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, had close ties with Catholic circles but almost no ties with those in the democratic opposition. Michnik and Kuroń opposed his appointment and even Mazowiecki was cool towards him. Micewski, unable to form an editorial board, resigned on December 26, 1981. Modzelewski again became lead negotiator in Solidarity-government talks over publishing.⁵³⁰

Negotiations were simultaneously held over the new censorship law. Although by November, a new draft censorship law was due, the government dragged its heels. Jerzy Bafia, from the Ministry of Justice, had, in a meeting with representatives from the Polish Journalists' Association (SDP) suggested cutting Solidarity representatives out of all deliberations over censorship. The SDP representatives rejected his proposal. From December 4 to January 14 negotiations over a future censorship law were held with Solidarity representatives in attendance. Solidarity's representatives insisted that the August Social Accords guaranteed that union publications were to be fully free of the censor and rejected the government's demand for a three month prison sentence for those who illegally published outside of the censor. They did reach agreement on the need for legal procedures in the case of something being censored and accepted the state's demand for customs officials to be able to confiscate select publications at the borders.⁵³¹

⁵³⁰ Andrzej Friszke, "Tygodnik Solidarność, 1981", 26-29; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 134; *Z dziejów Tygodnik Solidarność: Rozpracowanie Tygodnik Solidarność przez Służbę Bezpieczeństwa, 1980-1982*, ed. Grzegorz Majcharzak (Warsaw: IPN, 2007) 9.

⁵³¹ Dariusz Fikus, *Foksal '81*, 58-59; Jan Walc "Kogo trwoży brak obroży", *Niezależność* 14 (January 24, 1981) 8.

By the end of the year, Solidarity had 9 million members while the PZPR membership had reached its height with 3 million members (700,000 of whom were in Solidarity).⁵³² In addition to the publication of numerous serials in various factories throughout the nation, MKZ publications were produced in Koszalin, Szczecinek (MKZ Pobrzeże); Gorzow (MKZ Gorzow-Wielkopolski); Leszno (MKZ Leszno); Częstochowa (MKZ Częstochowa); Giżycko (MKZ Pojezierze); Zamość (MKZ Central East); Poznan (MKZ Wielkopolska); Kluczborek, Opole (MKZ Opole); Piła (MKZ Piła); Chełm (MKZ Chełm), Bielsko-Biała (MKZ Podbeszkids), Słupsk (MKZ Słupsk), and Rzeszów (MKZ Rzeszów).

Non-Solidarity Independent Publishing at the Outset of the Solidarity-Era

As new Solidarity publications and publishing houses emerged and grew, those publications and publishing houses which pre-dated Solidarity and were independent of it, changed markedly. Wydawnictwo Młoda Polska and Wydawnictwo Alternatywy, both of which were based on the coast became very much enmeshed in Solidarity publishing and grew within the union framework after August 1980. Indeed, Alternatywy even had a small room in MKZ Gdansk's headquarters in the fall of 1980. In contrast, Klin diminished greatly while Archiwum, in Warsaw, after publishing materials on the July and August strikes, stopped production. In Krakow, the Wydawnictwo ABC broke off from KOS; it became noteworthy in the publication of literary works and was led by Jan Polkowski. KOS which remained under the leadership of SB informant Henryk Karkosza, was also productive.⁵³³

After publishing its 100th work (Kazimierz Brandys' *Miesiące*), NOWa held a special gathering on October 25, 1980. It was held at the home of Paweł Bąkowski in Warsaw; about 100 people were invited including cultural luminaries and leaders of Solidarity and the

⁵³² Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 98.

⁵³³ Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"*, 27.

democratic opposition. Konrad Bieliński who was accompanied by Ewa Milewicz, Grzegorz Boguta, Adam Michnik and Mirosław Chojecki made the opening remarks. A brief performance was then held by Jacek Kaczmarski. Kazimierz Brandys was the guest of honor. A small exhibit was held which showed pictures of NOWa printers (with covered faces) producing independent publications as well as publications some of which were for sale. Such a public manifestation signaled the growing urge toward openness in even the non-union independent press. Indeed, in October 1980, Chojecki proposed creating an all-Poland Cooperative Solidarity Publishing House to connect all independent publishing activities, including NOWa. He proposed that the new publishing house act legally as a union organ and produce uncensored works for internal union use. A further signal that a change had occurred in the state's relationship to independent publishers was made when in December 1980 Chojecki and Boguta were granted passports to fly to Stockholm for the awarding of a Noble Prize for Literature to Czesław Miłosz as NOWa was still the only publisher of his works in Poland.⁵³⁴

Mirosław Chojecki, Konrad Bieliński and Ewa Milewicz were increasingly active in Solidarity publishing efforts rather than in NOWa while Adam Michnik had become an advisor to MKZ Mazowsze and Ryszard Knauff had retired to personal life. Acknowledging these changes, on January 15, 1981, the directing college of NOWa (Bieliński, Boguta, Chojecki, Michnik and Milewicz) chose Grzegorz Boguta as the new official head of NOWa. Boguta with Marek Borowik and Marek Chimiak were promoted to the primary editorial positions at NOWa.⁵³⁵ Despite these personnel changes, NOWa continued to lead the nation in the

⁵³⁴ In counting its works, NOWa included the then sixteen issues of *Zapis*, seven of *PULS* and six of *Krytyka*. [“Setna książka NOWa”, *Zapis* 17 (January 1981) 132; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 104-105; “Gratulemy”, *Niezależność* 4 (November 1, 1980) 4; *Ludziej Nowej, 1977-2007* (Warsaw: NOWa, 2007) 21, 23; APN, “Jubileusz NOW-ej; *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* (November 1980) 18; “Monika” Reports, October 14, 1980 and November 7, 1980 in “*Ketman*” i “*Monika*” –*Żywotny równoległe*”, eds. Ewa Zając and Henryk Głębocki, (Warsaw: IPN) 266, 273.]

⁵³⁵ *Ludziej Nowej, 1977-2007*, 24.

publication of independent books. It also still printed works for TKN courses and continued to produce *Krytyka* and *Puls* which appeared irregularly. Although *Zapis* kept its high reputation and in October 1980 carried poems which Czesław Miłosz had written specifically for it, it appeared sporadically in 1981.⁵³⁶ Indeed, non-union independent serials often appeared irregularly as editors were working in Solidarity; KSS-KOR's *Biuletyn Informacyjny* ceased publication in the fall of 1980 while the KSS-KOR *Komunikat* was only produced once in 1981.

At the turn of December 1980/January 1981, a group from the Głos publishing house left due to political differences, and created the Krąg publishing house. The editorial board included Marek Barański, Andrzej Chojnowski, Wojciech Fałkowski, Adam Karkowski, Andrzej Rosner, Marek Tabin, Lukasz Ossowski and Kazimeriz Ossowski. It focused on the publication of history books.⁵³⁷

With these defections and the transfer of personnel to Solidarity publishing efforts, the activities of the Głos publishing house shrank; the journal *Głos* ceased publication between February 1981 and February 1982. In January 1981, the *Głos* publishing house began cooperating in the publication of *Wiadomości Dnia* in Warsaw which was edited by Urszula Doroszevska, Jerzy Modlinger, Paweł Niezgodzki, and Jerzy Prus with support from Ludwik Dorn, Antoni Macierewicz and Piotr Naimski. It was produced in the name of the Center for

⁵³⁶ Wiktor Wroszyski, "Wyspy wolności", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 18 (November 29, 1980) 4.

⁵³⁷ Andrzej Rosner explained that their differences dated to the disagreements in December 1979 with Kuroń over the participation of the Głos group in the ROPCiO organized public manifestations. Rosner believed that Macierewicz had used these disagreements for tactical reasons within KSS-KOR and saw the behavior of some in the Głos faction to have been disloyal. Furthermore, when Rosner went to London in the summer of 1980, he felt that Macierewicz and Naimski were playing a political game with the émigrés. He explained that Aleksander Smolar gave him printing equipment for Głos even though Smolar said that he had no reason to like our publication. Rosner believed that Macierewicz would not have behaved the same had the tables been reversed. Finally, Rosner and his colleagues believed that Macierewicz was trying to form a political group, which they opposed. [Andrzej Rosner in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, 560, 565-567.]

Social Research in Solidarity Mazowsze (which they had founded), making it a union publication; it was produced daily with a print-run which quickly grew to about 5,000 copies.⁵³⁸

Robotnik continued to be published in Warsaw and was edited by Helena Łuczywo, Jan Lityński and the Wujeces. Although *Robotnik* remained formally independent from Solidarity, by the spring of 1980 its masthead noted that it was a common publication of Solidarity regions Mazowsze, Małopolska, Świętokrzyska, Jelenia Góra and Toruń. With these connections, *Robotnik* grew dramatically after the August Social Accords, achieving print-runs reaching up to 250,000. From September to December 1980 *Robotnik* was again produced bi-weekly and averaged four pages. However, it then began to appear irregularly in 1981 and ceased publication in December 1981. *Robotnik* carried information on the labor movement and Solidarity, emphasizing democracy in the union. It also published information on recent history, especially the democratic opposition and KSS-KOR; it frequently included articles by KSS-KOR signatories.⁵³⁹

The Lublin based Spotkania publishing house and journal remained in existence although many of its activists became engaged in union work. Janusz Krupski spent much of this period in Gdansk and Warsaw working within Solidarity; he led the Solidarity History Bureau in Gdansk which had been initiated by Borusewicz to gather information about the events of December 1970. Wojciech Samoliński became the press representative for the MKZ Central East which was based in Lublin. Maciej Sobieraj directed the regional Bureau of Information in MKZ Central East from March 1981. Zdzisław Bradel and Józef Ruszar also began working in Solidarity publishing in their region while Paweł Nowacki, Jan Stępek, and Dana Winiarska

⁵³⁸ “Perspektywy rozwoju poligrafii związkowej”, *Wiadomości dnia* 50 (March 3, 1981) 1.

⁵³⁹ Andrzej Friszke, *Przystosowanie i opór: Studia z dziejów PRL* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2007) 294; Krzysztof Łabędz, *Koncepcje polityczne w prasie NSZZ “S” w latach 1980-1981* (Torun: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2004) 52.

organized printing for Rural Solidarity. Krzysztof Żórawski moved to Szczecin where he worked in Solidarity publishing and helped Krupski in gathering information about the events of 1970. Although *Spotkania* appeared more infrequently, it did remain in existence with a print-run of 2,000-3,000. The Spotkania publishing house also printed several books, including Father Adam Boniecki's book on building underground churches (which was produced in a state printing house in Warsaw with a print-run of 4,900).⁵⁴⁰

Although both KSS-KOR and ROPCiO became increasingly defunct after August 1980 with efforts toward social self-defense now being funneled through Solidarity, the publishing efforts which had been tied to the KSS-KOR milieu continued to dramatically out distance those of the ROPCiO milieu. Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja had been almost fully compromised by the SB and diminished in this period. *Ruch Związkowy* ceased to exist entirely. Emil Morgiewicz, who began working with the Głos group in the Center for Social Research, remained editor-in-chief of *Opinia* which remained in print. The editorial board of *Gospodarz* changed and its publication still appeared irregularly. As in KSS-KOR, many of ROPCiO's leaders began working within Solidarity. Andrzej Czuma became editor-in-chief of a Solidarity paper, *Wiadomości Katowickie* while Benedykt Czuma, Andrzej Wóznicki and Stefan Niesiołowski edited *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej*. Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka remained in existence and continued to publish monographs.

Independent publishing in ROPCiO's off-shots also suffered. RWD's leaders refused to accept Solidarity's acknowledgement of the leading role of the party so Karol Głogowski and Adam Pleśnar were completely side-lined in this period; *Aspekt* appeared only once.

⁵⁴⁰ Janusz Krupski, Zymut Kozicki, Paweł Nowacki, Maciej Sobieraj, "Karnawał" *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 85-86, 88, 93; Janusz Krupski, "Biuro redakcji na dziedzińcu KUL", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 120; Maciej Sobieraj, "Okres romantyczny *Spotkań*", 197; Krzysztof Żórawski, "Powielacze i formacja" *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 252; Piotr Jegliński, "Placówka w Paryżu", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 74.

Rzeczpospolita was produced three times in the Solidarity era. The fact that KPSN's leader, Wojciech Ziemiński, was in prison from November 12, 1980 to March 13, 1981 couldn't have helped.⁵⁴¹

The RMP group in Gdansk became fully enmeshed in Solidarity. Aleksander Hall became active in MKZ Gdansk and was a co-founder, with the lawyer, Jacek Taylor, of the Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience which Solidarity had created on December 10, 1980. Maciej Grzywaczewski directed the Gdansk MKZ office and from mid 1981, the National Bureau for the union. Grzegorz Grzelak became Chief of the KKP Secretariat. Arkadiusz Rybicki became director of the Solidarity Press Bureau of Information or BIPS (which will be discussed below). Jacek Bartyzel cooperated with BIPS from Łódź while Marian Piłka and Bronisław Komorowski were the BIPS contacts in Mazowsze. RMP also organized a number of discussion groups; notable was a May 3rd Constitution discussion group which was founded by Lech Bądkowski and attracted Hall, Grzywaczewski, Grzelak and Donald Tusk who was the leader of the KOR student circle in Gdansk. *Bratniak* was published irregularly. In addition, a group connected with RMP began publishing *Uczeń* which was aimed at high school students and was edited by Wiesław Walendziak. RMP milieus produced a couple other short-lived publications.⁵⁴²

Leszek Moczulski spent nearly this entire period in prison. However, KPN activists continued to publish *Droga*, *Gazeta Polski* and *Opinia Krakowska*. *Słowa* began publication in print-runs of 500-600 in August 1980 from the KPN milieu in Lublin. Unsurprisingly, KPN

⁵⁴¹ Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 275-283, 285-287; Piotr Opozda in "Karnawał", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 102.

⁵⁴² Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski*, 173, 174, 176, 197, 200, 203; Mirosław Rybicki in *Korzenie Solidarności 30-lecie Ruch Młodej Polski*, Gdansk, September 26-27, 2009, eds. Grzegorz Grzelak & Mirosław Rybicki (Gdansk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2010) 53; "Komitet Obrony Więzionych za Przekonania" *Niezależność* 11/12 (December 31, 1980) 4; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 275-283, 285-287; Piotr Opozda in "Karnawał" *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 102.

collaborators quickly became dominant in the Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience which created local branches across the country. These committees produced over a dozen publications under the Solidarity umbrella which primarily focused on the arrest of the leaders of KPN.⁵⁴³

Biuletyn Dolnośląsk continued to be produced as a regular monthly publication by Kooperatywa Wydawnicze Wyzwolenie in Wrocław. It grew to a print-run of approximately 10,000 in 1981 and was, on average, about 40 pages. It remained under the editorship of Jan Waszkiewicz and Kornel Morawiecki who also worked with MKZ Lower Silesia. It carried union information as well as more general information on the nation and its history; it had particularly interesting articles on Poland and its neighbors as well as Polish-Jewish relations.⁵⁴⁴

Despite the collapse and reduction of various publications and publishing houses from the 1970s, it was rapid growth which characterized independent publishing in the fall of 1980 and the winter of 1980/1981. In Warsaw, the Enklawa publishing house was formed in August 1980. Wielkopolska Inicjatywa Wydawnicza was founded by Edmund Chrościński who became editor of a new journal, *Pryzmat*, after he met with Chojecki. It was published in Poznań. In Białystok, a Białystok Oficyna Wydawnicza was organized. They used a printer which they had received from NOWa and bought a Xerox machine with which they published a book about General Władysław Sikorski.⁵⁴⁵ Wydawnictwo “Gdański Sierpień” published a collection of documents about the events of December 1970.⁵⁴⁶ Toruńska Oficyna Niezależna (TON) was founded in the fall of 1980 in Toruń and became the first publishing houses in the Communist

⁵⁴³ Moczulski, Ziembinski, Tadeusz Stański (October 13), Zygmunt Goławski (November 11), Jerzy Sychut (December 1980), Krzysztof Bzdyl (December 6) and Tadeusz Jadziszak (December 6 arrested), Romuald Szeremietiew (January 1981) were in prison. [“Komitet Obrony Więzionych za Przekonania” *Niezależność* 11/12 (December 31, 1980) 4; Grzegorz Waligóra, *ROPCiO, 1977-1981*, 275-283, 285-287.]

⁵⁴⁴ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą*, 254, 397.

⁵⁴⁵ Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 135.

⁵⁴⁶ [Untitled], *Niezależność* 10 (December 22, 1980) 12.

bloc to publish a complete version of *Gulag Archipelago*. It also re-printed several works which had been first published by NOWa. For the most part, independent publishers (meaning those who remained independent of the new unions and state) primarily focused on books while union publishers produced serials; most of these were union bulletins.

The New Year and Independent Publishing within Solidarity

As the new year dawned, fights over work-free Saturdays, the showing of the film *Robotnicy*, and the registration of Rural Solidarity dominated debates within Solidarity and between Solidarity and the state. The censorship of these issues in the official press led to increased complaints over continuing censorship and Solidarity's lack of access to mass communication. At the KKP meeting which was held on January 7 and 8 these were major issues of discussion. On January 7, the KKP announced that Tadeusz Mazowiecki would be the leader of Solidarity's weekly paper. On January 17, the KKP formed a commission to help with the distribution of printing supplies. The Commission for the Distribution of Printing Supplies was lead by Andrzej Słowik (MKZ Łódź) who was assisted by Lech Dymarski (MKZ Wielkopolska) and Aleksander Karczewski from (MKZ Kutno). All printing supplies were supposed to go through this group. With dozens of MKZs producing publications with print-runs in the thousands and hundreds of factories producing their own bulletins, supply shortages became a serious and regular problem; on January 27, the KKP created a Commission of Publishing and Printing.⁵⁴⁷

Some of the most noteworthy publications in the largest regions were:

- *Nasza Solidarność Jastrzębie* began publication weekly in October 1980 in what became MKZ Silesia-Dąbrowska, Solidarity's largest region. It had a print-run of about 4,000-5,000.

⁵⁴⁷ Jan Walc, "Skrawek *Niezależności*", *Niezależność* 13 (January 17, 1981) 2; E.K. "Wiadomości Tygodnia", *Niezależność* 13 (January 17, 1981) 4; *Z Dziejów Tygodnik Solidarność*, 9.

Jerzy Skwara served as editor-in-chief. He followed a moderate editorial line and wrote extensively about miners' issues and the Catholic representatives in the Sejm. It later began to be published on state-equipment which led to an increased print-run and censorship.⁵⁴⁸

- Also in MKZ Silesia-Dąbrowska was *Wolny Związkowiec: Biuletyn NSZZ «Solidarność» Huta Katowice* which had begun publication in September 1980. As a result of the agreement to end the strike in the Katowice Steelworks, it was produced on factory printing equipment and so was produced about weekly with a high technical quality. Initially, Zbigniew Kupisiewicz was the editor-in-chief. Factual content was extremely basic while letters from the editors tended to be inflammatory compared with other major union publications. Being printed on factory equipment, from late 1980, the factory's technical director was supposed to okay *Wolny Związkowiec* which meant a degree of censorship. This situation immediately caused problems. As a result, from January, *Wolny Związkowiec* began being produced "for internal union use" and so without censorship on equipment supplied by Solidarity; Jacek Cieśllicki became editor-in-chief. In March, *Wolny Związkowiec* reached a print-run of 40,000 with a maintained length of four to six pages; at that time Cieśllicki was charged with disparaging the state. From May, publication became very irregular and dropped to about once a month. In August 1981, it started charging. Content improved significantly in 1981 through the inclusion of extensive historical discussions (at the cost of coverage of union affairs) as well as the publication of several pages of *Gulag Archipelago* and excerpts from Moczulski's *Rewolucja bez Rewolucji*.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ Krzysztof Łabędz, *Koncepcje polityczne w prasie NSZZ "S" w latach 1980-1981*, 49; Andrzej Kamiński, *Encyclopedia Solidarność, "Nasza Solidarność Jastrzębie"*.

⁵⁴⁹ "W obronie prasy związkowej", Wydanie Specjalne, *Niezależność*, NTO (January 10, 1981); Jacek Cieśllicki, "Jesteśmy im potrzebni" *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 51 (September 7, 1981) 4; Leszek Maleszka, "Niezależni dziennikarze," *Goniec Małopolski* 30 (May 13, 1981) 14-17; Henryk Doczyk, "Wolny związkowiec" in *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, O emigracji, o osobie*, Discussions with Andrzej Krajewski (London: Aneks, 1989) 51.

- *Solidarność Dolnośląska* began publication in September 1980 in Wrocław in MKZ Lower Silesia (the second largest region). It was on average about twelve pages and appeared weekly with a print-run of 50,000; special editions reached up to 70,000. The editorial board included those with experience in publishing in the democratic opposition through SKS publishing in Wrocław and NOWa including Jarosław Broda, Stanisław Huskowski and Zenon Pałka; Maciej Zięba served as the editor-in-chief. *Solidarność Dolnośląska* included information on the national union as well as above average information on the region; in the weeks prior to the regional elections it provided readers with exceptional information on the upcoming elections, including interviews with all of the candidate to major offices. It also carried information on history (World War II notably), the international labor movement, KSS-KOR, and Polish culture. The first issue was done on state machines, but when the censor cut two articles, they then began printing in factories where they could use printing equipment without censorship. It was one of, if not the best and most informative union weekly. Thanks to *Solidarność Dolnośląska* and the daily, *Z Dnia na Dzień*, readers of union publications in Lower Silesia were provided with arguably the best regional coverage.⁵⁵⁰
- *Niezależność* was the primary publication for MKZ Mazowsze which was Solidarity's third largest region. It was initially four pages but quickly grew to eight pages, maintaining a weekly print-run of 25,000. In April 1981, it began, to be produced daily, Monday to Thursday, with a length of two pages; Friday's edition was six pages. At that time, Konrad Bieliński began to be named as editor-in-chief of the paper. It was fully independent of censorship. *Niezależność* provided critiques of decisions in Solidarity and openly reported

⁵⁵⁰ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 59, Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą*, 46, 194, 205; S. Huskowski and Andrzej Pawlik "Zaczynaliśmy od ramek", *Solidarnosc Dolnośląsk* 32 (April 30, 1981) 4.

on disagreements within the union; it provided extensive information on national union matters as well as polemic discussions. It reported on the history of KSS-KOR and included articles by Jacek Kuroń and others from that milieu. Its editors were largely from the “majority” KSS-KOR group. It was one of the most informative union publications, including information on union activities across the nation; it was likely the best daily produced by Solidarity.⁵⁵¹

- *Goniec Małopolski* was a weekly produced in Krakow from November 1980 for MKZ Małopolska (the fourth largest region). Despite the size of the region, *Goniec Małopolski* only had an average print-run of under 5,000 copies. It was technically of a high-quality and produced free of the censor. It was edited by Robert Kaczmarek and his peers from the democratic opposition including those who had worked on *Merkuryusz Krakowski i Światowy* and *Indeks*. This legacy was apparent in issues produced between January and May 1981 as they were lengthier than most union publications (averaging about 20-24 pages) and included much longer and more theoretical articles than was the norm in union publications which tended to focus on brief bulletin- or newspaper-style articles on occurrences within the union. From May, the publications became shorter; at the same time, the length of articles shrank as they came to be more factual and union focused. The editors included information on self-governance, regional and national Solidarity, education and history; they also included exceptional coverage of Rural Solidarity. Although at times

⁵⁵¹ Konrad Bieliński in “Słowo jak dynamit,” 117; “Pytania i odpowiedzi”, *Niezależność* 4 (November 1, 1980) 2-3; Jacek Kuroń, “Uczmy się demokracji”, *Niezależność* 5 (November 8, 1980) 3; Jacek Kuroń, “Czym jest Solidarność”, *Niezależność* 11/12 (December 31, 1980) 1.

factually sparse, this was one of the best publications for the coverage of theoretical debates in the union.⁵⁵²

- *Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność: Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk*, which replaced the Gdansk strike bulletin in September 1980 was the press organ for the MKZ Gdansk (the fifth largest region). Editors included Mariusz Wilk, Joanna Duda-Gwiazda and Jerzy Milewski. It had a print-run of a couple thousand copies and initially appeared weekly to bi-weekly. It included extensive coverage of tactics and strategies within the union, internal union democracy, political prisoners (with coverage of KPN), and letters to the editors which provided very different viewpoints. Joanna Duda-Gwiazda, in particular, provided numerous articles on tactics and strategies. Due to the overlap in regional and national union leadership in Gdansk, there was good coverage of both; basic blurbs on union activities around the country were also included. Technical ability was high and each issue had a large photo on the opening page. In the fall of 1981, *Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność* began to be produced more irregularly (about once a month) and included extensive information on self-governance.⁵⁵³
- In October 1980, MKZ Łódź (the sixth largest region) began issuing a *Komunikat*. In May 1981, it was re-named *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej*. It was four to twelve pages and was produced uncensored, weekly with a print-run of 40,000. The editorial board included those from the ROPCiO milieu including Andrzej Woznicki, Malgorzata Bartyzel, Benedykt Czuma, and Stefan Niesiołowski. Initially it provided basic but good quality (in terms of content and production) information on both national and regional union matters and it only

⁵⁵² Robert Kaczmarek, *Goniec Małopolski* 24/25 (April 8-15, 1981) 11; “Seksja informacji”, *Goniec Małopolski* 34, (June 10, 1981) 11-13.

⁵⁵³ Leszek Biernacki, “*Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność: Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk*”, *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

improved with time. With the possible exception of *Solidarność Dolnośląska*, it provided readers with some of the best information on regional candidates prior to elections which allowed for better informed voters. It also provided lengthy coverage of weavers who were found in high numbers in the area as well as the Kowalczyk brothers and other political prisoners. It consistently provided information on Polish history and the Catholic Church; historical coverage became so extensive from the late summer of 1981, that coverage of union matters diminished. Articles about Józef Piłsudski were pervasive; the Second World War (AK, the Vilnius Uprising, the Warsaw Uprising etc) and Communist-era uprisings (especially 1956) were also popular. Self-governance was also discussed. Some of the most interesting articles were by Ruch veteran, Stefan Niesiołowski who at times evinced suspicion towards KSS-KOR and the lay left and their role in union publishing, providing this publications with a different ideological focus than some of the other major, regional union publications such as those in Gdansk and Mazowsze which Niesiołowski referred to as “crypto-KOR” publications.⁵⁵⁴

- The Wielkopolska MKZ, based in Poznań was the seventh largest region. In September 1980, Lech Dymarski began producing a *Komunikat* for it with brief information about unfolding events. In November, this was transformed into a lengthier, monthly to bi-monthly publication, *Solidarność Wielkopolski*, which was edited by Dymarski with Stanislaw Barańczak (both of whom had experience in publishing with *Zapis*) and Piotr Czartołomny. It had a print-run of 10,000-15,000 and was produced on state machines but without censorship. In February 1981, *Wiadomości Dnia* began publication as a brief daily

⁵⁵⁴ Włodzimierz Domagalski, “*Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej*”, *Encyklopedia Solidarność*; Leszek Maleszka, “Niezależni dziennikarze,” *Goniec Małopolski* 30 (May 13, 1981) 14; Stefan Niesiołowski, “Totalitarne cienie”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 29 (April 23, 1981) 6.

with basic information. In September, 1981, Poznan gained a daily union publication, *Obserwator Wielkopolski*; Grzegorz Gauden was editor in chief.⁵⁵⁵

- *Jedność* was founded in August 1980 in Szczecin as the strike bulletin in the Warski Shipyard. It ceased publication in September and returned in October as the organ of MKZ Szczecin and then MKZ West Pomorze (which was the 8th largest region in Solidarity). In December 1980, it was printed in Szczenskie Zakłady Graficzne which led to a leap in quality and print-run (to 15,000) as it gained the appearance of a newspaper rather than a bulletin. It obtained legal permission to print regionally and was available at government kiosks from January 7 across the region; it went from a print-run of 15,000, to 100,000 (65,000 were sold in kiosks and 35,000 were distributed within Solidarity). It was the first union publication to move under the state's pre-emptive censorship; the editors had to meet with censors every Thursday. The challenges related to censoring a paper which had previously been uncensored quickly arose when state censors had issues of *Jedność* seized after the editors ignored a demand by the censors not to print something. This precipitated a strike by print-workers in Szczecin on January 23. Despite these difficulties, the editorial board which was led by Stanisław Wiszniewski and Leszek Dłouchy, continued to publish under the censor. *Jedność* included extensive coverage of events on the coast and the print-workers' union which had its congresses in Szczecin as well as on the gaps between the PRL reality and socialist ideals. Self-governance became a popular topic in *Jedność* earlier than in the other major union publications and it remained a focal topic. Although *Jedność* provided frequent interviews with union experts (which meant a moderated tone) they also carried a large cover-photo of a bloodied worker and the slogan "Punish the Guilty!" after

⁵⁵⁵ E.K., "Zjazd prasy związkowej", *Niezależność* 16 (February 18, 1981) 8.

the Bydgoszcz events (discussed below) and reported on union disagreements related to democracy in the union.⁵⁵⁶

On January 24-25, the first all Poland Congress of the Union Press was held at the Katowice Steelworks; representatives from 24 MKZ publications were in attendance. On the first day of the Congress they discussed the status of union publications. All agreed on the need for the independence of the press from regional Solidarity rule and rejected the concept of their being an organ of Solidarity's regional MKZ leadership. The representatives established a Solidarity Press Agency (AS) to be based in Warsaw. It was to be led by Helena Łuczywo (of *Robotnik*) along with a supervisory council including: Jan Araszkiewicz (*Biuletyn Informacyjny* in Wałbrzych), Jarosław Broda (*Solidarność Dolnośląska* in Wrocław), Piotr Czartołomny (*Solidarność Wielkopolski* in Poznań), Anna Szwed (*Goniec Małopolski* in Kraków), and Antoni Tokarczuk (*Wolne Słowo* in Bydgoszcz). AS was created to spread information about the KKP as well as regional and local MKZs throughout the union via telex. In addition, it was to establish a bulletin which would include information on the union and negotiations between the KKP and the government, news from the foreign press, and opinion pieces. It was agreed that editors of each regional paper would send 5,000 zł a month to Mazowsze to pay for it. On the second day of the Congress, representatives discussed technical problems including shortages of equipment and supplies and appealed to the KKP for help.⁵⁵⁷

On February 1, 1981, AS began publishing *Biuletyn Pism Związkowych i Zakładowych* which was produced in a print-run of about 1,500. It was mainly distributed to the editors of Solidarity publications. As requested, it included documents related to the union as well as a calendar of events, and re-printed articles from regional Solidarity publications. Joanna

⁵⁵⁶ Krzysztof Łabędz, *Koncepcje polityczne w prasie NSZZ "S" w latach 1980-1981*, 49 ; "Wiadomości Tygodnia," *Niezależność* 14 (January 24, 1981) 6; "Czytelnicy o Jedności"; *Jedność* 21 (January 23, 1981) 7.

⁵⁵⁷ E.K., "Zjazd prasy związkowej", *Niezależność* 16 (February 18, 1981) 8.

Szczęsna, Anna Dodziuk, Elżbieta Regulska did editorial work while Seweryn Blumsztajn served as a correspondent; Jan Stękowski and Henryk Wujec joined the editorial board later.⁵⁵⁸

Due to continuing interference from state censors, the Solidarity division of printers threatened a “Day Without the Press” for February 13 during which they would print nothing but school textbooks. Dariusz Fikus, from SDP, opposed the strike; SDP representatives convinced Solidarity to call it off. The editors of *Niezależność* rued the decision not to hold what they described as a “most beautiful strike.” Accordingly, official papers appeared as normal to broadcast news about the February 12 inaugural address to the Sejm of Poland’s new Prime Minister, General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Jaruzelski called for a 90 day moratorium on strikes and in return offered a Permanent Committee for Solidarity-state talks. That same day, in Gdansk, the KKP announced the establishment of a provisional Presidium to be led by Walesa as a leadership nexus for the union.⁵⁵⁹

On February 25, Solidarity finally received official permission to begin publishing a national newspaper, *Tygodnik Solidarność*, with a print run of 500,000 (270,000 to be sold in kiosks, 130,000 for internal union subscriptions, 80,000 individual subscriptions and 20,000 special subscriptions.) The KKP’s chosen editor-in-chief, (who enjoyed the support of Cardinal Wyszyński) Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was confirmed as were his deputies, Bogdan Cywiński and Kazimierz Dziwanowski.⁵⁶⁰ Mazowiecki began hiring a variety of talented people. Helena

⁵⁵⁸ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 138; Anna Dodziuk and Elżbieta Regulska in *Szminka na sztandarze*, ed. Ewa Kondratowicz (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 2001) 15, 103.

⁵⁵⁹ The KKP Presidium included Lech Walesa and Andrzej Gwiazda from Gdansk, Ryszard Kalinowski from Ebląg, Zbigniew Bujak from Warsaw, Tadeusz Jędynak from Silesia-Dąbrowska, Jan Rulewski from Bydgoszcz, Andrzej Słowik from Łódź, and Stanisław Wądołowski from Szczecin. Its secretary was Andrzej Celiński while Karol Modzelewski was named press representative/spokesman. [Fikus, *Foksal* 81’, 91; “Wiadomości Tygodnia”, *Niezależność* 16 (February 18, 1981) 7; Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 145.]

⁵⁶⁰ Despite friction with Kuron in the summer of 1980, by this time they were cooperating well. Moreover, Mazowiecki had served as spokesman during the hunger strike in St. Marian for the KSS-KOR leadership in 1977 and had published both Michnik and Kuron (under pseudonyms) in *Więź*. Accordingly, while he was from KIK, he also had ties to those from KSS-KOR and the democratic opposition. Dziwanowski’s role on the editorial board

Łuczywo and Joanna Szczęsna from the KSS-KOR milieu agreed to work with him.

Mazowiecki hired Józef Ruszar (from *Robotnik* and *Spotkania*) and Jan Dworak (from ROPCiO and *Opinia*) as well as Krzysztof Wyszowski (WZZW) to work on the paper.

Independent Publishing and Rural Solidarity

In the fall of 1980 several separate independent self-governing unions for independent farmers were established. These joined together under the name “Rural Solidarity” as a federation which was led by Wiesław Kęcik and advised by Henryk Bąk. They had about 300,000 members in November 1980.⁵⁶¹ The government’s rejection of their application for registration as a union led to rural strikes, notably in Rzeszów. On December 14, a Congress of Rural Solidarity was held in Warsaw Polytechnic University as strikes spread to Ustrzyki Dolne which, like Rzeszów, is in the Podkarpackie region.⁵⁶²

Farmers were able to look to workers and intellectuals for support; Solidarity’s Jastrzębie-Zdrój Accord of January 7-8 affirmed solidarity with striking farmers. In the wake of physical attacks on Rural Solidarity activists in Ustrzyki Dolne and a sit-in strike in Rzeszów, Lech Wałęsa, Bogdan Lis, Bronisław Geremek and Adam Michnik went to Rzeszów in late January to demonstrate solidarity.⁵⁶³ On February 10, the High Court insisted that while only workers (not private farmers) could create a union, Rural Solidarity could be registered as an association. With Wałęsa’s encouragement, on February 18 the “Rzeszów Agreement” was signed. It affirmed that Rural Solidarity was an “association”; not a union, but promised

was also a sign toward inclusion of KSS-KOR. [Mazowiecki in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 30; “Wiadomości Tygodnia”, *Niezależność* 16 (March 3, 1981) 6; “Kolportaż Tygodnik Solidarność”, *Wiadomości Dnia* 47 (February 27, 1981) 1.]

⁵⁶¹ “Związki chłopskie”, *Niezależność* 9 (December 12, 1980) 2; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 117.

⁵⁶² Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 115; “Strajk w Ustrzykach” & “Zjazd ‘Solidarność Wiejskiej’”, *Niezależność* 10 (December 22, 1980) 9, 10.

⁵⁶³ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 569.

legislation guaranteeing private farmers the right to own and inherit property and promised that new textbooks with “full historical truth” would be produced.⁵⁶⁴

With the legal registration of Rural Solidarity (which by the spring claimed close to 2 million members) stalled, in March, private farmers in Bydgoszcz occupied the United Peasant Party headquarters to demand full recognition of Rural Solidarity. They were joined by the Regional Solidarity leader, Jan Rulewski. When security forces were sent in, they viciously beat up everyone inside; they singled out Rulewski who needed to be hospitalized.⁵⁶⁵ These “Bydgoszcz events” set off massive strikes across the region. Finally, on May 12, 1981 the government legally registered Rural Solidarity.⁵⁶⁶

NSZZ Solidarity had obvious advantages over Rural Solidarity in the production of independent publications. Most significantly, its legal right to exist and publish union publications was affirmed from the time of the August Social Accords. Rural Solidarity only gained that right in the spring of 1981. In addition, factories and industrial concerns had printing supplies over which workers, during their occupation strikes and creation of MKZs, often took control. The countryside did not have printing facilities and supplies in similar abundance for farmers to use. While Rural Solidarity had some support from intellectual circles, this was not on the scale of NSZZ Solidarity. They also did not enjoy widespread support from abroad. While Solidarity as a trades union received money and supplies from international trades unions, Rural Solidarity did not. It is not insignificant that Bydgoszcz and Rzeszów (the two places where the regime used concerted violence) were the only two regions of the important “eleven” which did not have a numerous union publication.

⁵⁶⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 132-133

⁵⁶⁵ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 151; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 580-81.

⁵⁶⁶ Bohdan Cywiński, “Chłopska wytrwałość” *Tygodnik Solidarność* 7 (May 15, 1981) 1.

Independent publications created by and for the farming population remained on a small scale. Although on approximate 100 titles appeared in this period; only several were of a non-ephemeral nature. *Placówka* had already ceased printing before August 1980. However, *Gospodarz* continued to print 1-3,000 issues monthly throughout this period. More notably, the monthly *Rolnik Niezależny* which was produced in Rzeszów and was edited by Henry Bąk grew when in March 1981 it became a publication of Rural Solidarity. *Biuletyn Informacyjny "Solidarność" Rolników Indywidualnych* in Solidarity's Central East region, based in Lublin, appeared from December 1980 to December 1981. It was edited by Danuta Winiarska and Krzysztof Michałkiewicz (who had ties to the Spotkania group and had been delegated by Solidarity in Lublin to work with Rural Solidarity). About twenty issues, at six to fifteen pages were produced. Its print-run varied from 600-15,000 copies. *Kłos* was produced from May in Gdansk for Rural Solidarity and remained in production throughout this period. Mention should also be made of *Trwamy* which was the strike bulletin produced from January to February 1981 in Rzeszów. It was two to four pages and produced in a print-run of a couple thousand copies. It was edited by Jan Musiał who had been editing MKZ Rzeszów's sole MKZ publication, *Solidarność Rzeszowska* (which was produced in a print-run of a couple thousand from 1980). Jan Narożniak and other Solidarity publishing activists helped him.⁵⁶⁷

In August 1981, the leaders of Rural Solidarity agreed to create an official union weekly. Jarosław Nanowski who was part of Rural Solidarity's Presidium, was appointed to prepare a national weekly paper for Rural Solidarity. In September 1981, debates were held over the future editor-in chief. Bishop Dąbrowski and Father Orszulik, perhaps unsurprisingly, proposed

⁵⁶⁷ Krzysztof Michałkiewicz in "Karnawał" *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 89, 93; Wojciech Turek, "Kłos", Michał Stręk "Trwamy" and "Solidarnosc Rzeszowska" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność; Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 171.

Andrzej Micewski. Andrzej Kłyszynski was proposed as well. Ultimately, nothing came of these discussions.⁵⁶⁸

Independent Publishing and the Student Movement

Various independent student organizations arose in August and September 1980, leading in October to a founding meeting at the Warsaw Polytechnic University of the Independent Student Association (NZS) which replaced the earlier Student Solidarity Committee (SKS) as the national independent student association. On October 20, NZS was refused registration as a union (like farmers, on the grounds that only workers had the right to a union). This sparked strikes in a number of universities.

On January 11, a sit-in strike began at the University of Łódź over censorship, rule of law, academic autonomy, and the registration of NZS.⁵⁶⁹ On February 11, high school students in Łódź also went on strike. In February, students at the University of Poznań began a solidarity strike as well as students in Kraków, Toruń and Olsztyn. On February 17, the government agreed in the “Łódź Agreement” to the registration of NZS as an association, more student autonomy, as well as end to compulsory classes in the Russian-language and Marxism-Leninism.⁵⁷⁰ In April 1981, NZS had its first national meeting. By May, it had about 80,000 members.⁵⁷¹

In the late fall of 1981, student strikes spread across the nation on an unprecedented level. In November, 55,000 students around the country went on strike over the appointment of an unpopular rector at the Radom Engineering School. Numerous strike bulletins were produced at this time in addition to the hundreds of student serial publications already in print.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁸ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 149-150, 173.

⁵⁶⁹ EK “Strajk studencki”, *Niezależność* 16 (February 18, 1981) 7.

⁵⁷⁰ Małgorzata Bartyzel, “Koniec strajku”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 21 (February 19, 1981) 1.

⁵⁷¹ Andrzej Anusz, *Osobista historia PC* (Warsaw: Akces, 2007) 109.

⁵⁷² “Odwołać hedbę!”, *Niezależność* 162 (October 30, 1981) 4.

Indeed, in contrast to Rural Solidarity, students connected with NZS produced a plethora of publications. NZS was second only to Solidarity in the publication of serials, demonstrating how actively Polish students engaged in independent publishing. Father Jarosław Wąsowicz estimates that 212 publications citations were tied to NZS while an additional 60 student publications were published without ties to NZS.⁵⁷³

Warsaw led the nation in the production of student publications. Various academic departments in both Warsaw University and Warsaw Polytechnic University produced their own publications. At Warsaw University, the Math and Information Science Department, the History Department, and Economics Department each produced publications from the fall of 1980 until December 1981.⁵⁷⁴ Warsaw University's NZS produced *CIA. Centrum Informacji Akademickiej przy NZS Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* weekly throughout 1981 in a print-run of 1-6,000; they also produced a special strike bulletin in late 1981.⁵⁷⁵ From July to October 1981, five issues of *BIS: Biuletyn Informacyjny Studentów* were produced by the Information Section of the leadership of NZS in Warsaw; the editorial board included Robert Czarnota and Małgorzata Łopińska. In addition, students from Warsaw University helped in the production of the weekly *Informator* and monthly *Czerwony Kapturek* at Warsaw Polytechnic.⁵⁷⁶ Students at other schools in Warsaw, particularly the Warsaw Polytechnic University, also produced a number of publications.

Student publications were especially important in Krakow given that their union publications had much lower print-runs than in Warsaw. However, while union publications

⁵⁷³ Ks. Jarosław Wąsowicz, "Krótka historia młodzieżowej bibuły (1977-1989)" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, ed. Marta Marcinkiewicz & Sebastian Ligarski (Szczecin: IPN, 2010), 85.

⁵⁷⁴ Włodzimierz Domagalski, "Po prostu My", "Post Factum" and Anna Grażyna Kister "Życie Codzienne" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

⁵⁷⁵ Tomasz Kozłowski, "Gazeta Strajkowa" CIA in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

⁵⁷⁶ Włodzimierz Domagalski, "Informator" and Anna Grażyna Kister, "Czerwony Kapturek" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

focused primarily on union matters, Jagiellonian University's *Aplauz* (which was produced bi-monthly in 1981 with a print-run of 300-1,000) included literary, historical and socio-political articles.⁵⁷⁷ *Biuletyn Niezależnego Zrzeszenia Studentów* was also produced at Jagiellonian University monthly to bi-monthly with a print-run of 1,500. It was more journalistic in length and material.⁵⁷⁸ *Donosiciel* was the weekly information bulletin for NZS Jagiellonian University. It was produced from March 1981 with a print run of 500-3,000.⁵⁷⁹ *Po Prostu Bis* was also a NZS publication at Jagiellonian University while *Bez Tytulu* was a cultural journal from NZS Krakow. In addition, the students at the academies of farming, medicine, and mining, as well as the Polytechnic University in Krakow also produced their own publications.⁵⁸⁰

In Wrocław, the NZS was quite active as had been the SKS. Alongside the NZS grew new student groups such as the New Culture Movement which formed Orange Alternative. Orange Alternative was led from October 1980 by Waldemar Maria Frydrych, popularly known as "Major." This 'socialist surrealist' group founded their own 'socialist surrealist' publication, *Gazeta A*, in May 1981. In November 1981, they began publishing *Pomeranczowa Alternatywa* under the slogan "All Proletariat, be Beautiful!" These satirical journals existed in addition to several NZS publications in Wrocław.⁵⁸¹

Although between 1976 and 1980, student publications could be enumerated, this is not possible for this period. Many publications were ephemeral, but many were not. NZSs in Białystok, Częstochowa, Gdansk, Gdynia, Katowice, Kielce, Koszalin, Krakow, Łódź, Lublin, Opole, Poznan, Rzeszow, Szczecin, Warsaw, and Wrocław all had publications. In addition, a

⁵⁷⁷ Paweł Goleń "Aplauz" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

⁵⁷⁸ Paweł Goleń, "Biuletyn Niezależnego Zrzeszenia Studentów" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

⁵⁷⁹ Paweł Goleń, "Donosiciel" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

⁵⁸⁰ Ks. Jarosław Wąsowicz, "Krótka historia młodzieżowej bibuły (1977-1989)" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 85.

⁵⁸¹ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą*, 225-227, 236; Waldemar Fydrych, "Nie tylko sztuka i nie tylko alternatywa", *Obecność* 24 [1988] 30.

number of publications were produced for younger students. *Ława*, the brainchild of Maciej Butkiewicz, was produced in Suwałski for high school students with support from RMP and distributed throughout the country. It was produced irregularly with a print-run of 500-3,500 and included satirical pieces as well as historical and social articles aimed at youths.⁵⁸² In Poznań, students connected with RMP founded the student union, Pro Patria, which was more Catholic/nationalist than NZS; it produced its own bulletin. Lublin, whose students community had given birth to independent publishing in 1976 and which boasted not only KUL, but also Marie Curie-Sadowska University, a Polytechnic University and farming and medical academies, had a number of student publications with impressive print-runs. Indeed, with strike bulletins being produced in November 1981, it is reasonable to suggest a joint serial print-run for student publications in Lublin, in that month at over 10,000.⁵⁸³

Students also created their own publishing houses most of which focused on literary texts. Aneks was created by NZS in Opole and produced several works including books by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Czesław Miłosz. Niezależnie Wydawnictwo Studenckie which was tied to the NZS at the Polytechnic University in Częstochowa began publishing books from mid-1981. Universitas and Oficyna NZS both were tied to the NZS at the University of Wrocław and began publishing books in 1981. OWS Vade-Mecum was connected to the Polish Studies Department at Warsaw University and primarily published literary texts. Paragraf was the publishing house for the NZS at the University of Łódź. Studencka Agencja Wydawnicza im

⁵⁸² Marcin Zwolski, "Ława" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

⁵⁸³ Mirosław Rybicki in *Korzenie Solidarności 30-lecie Ruch Młodej Polski*, 53; Marcin Dąbrowski, "Informator NSZZ Solidarność AR w Lublinie. Wydanie strajkowe", "Informator Akademicki, NZS Polytechnic" Lublin, "Biuletyn Niezależnego Zrzeszenia Studentów" Marie-Curie Sadowska University, "N. Organ Uczelnianego Komitetu Strajkowego UMCS", "Kronika Wydarzeń" NZS KUL, "KUL-ier", "Informator Strajkowy" KUL, "Komunikat" of Akademicki Komitet Strajkowy, and "Solidarność AM :Biuletyn informacyjny NSZZ «Solidarność» Akademii Medycznej w Lublinie" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*; Małgorzata Choma-Jusińska, "Szaniec. Niezależny Miesięcznik Informacyjno-Kulturalny dla Młodzieży" in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski*, 192, 195, 202.

Uniwersytetu Zachodniopomorskiego “Sorbonna” was tied to the NZS at the Higher Pedagogical School in Szczecin. Studencka Agencja Wydawnicza or SOWa was tied to the NZS at Szczecin University. In Krakow, Wydawnictwo I was started by Zdzisław Jurkowski in connection with the Independent Student Office while Unia Nowoczesnego Humanizmu was founded by Władysław Bruliński.⁵⁸⁴

Solidarity Publishing and Independent Non-Union Publishing in the Spring and Summer of 1981

State provocations in March meant that Jaruzelski’s call for a 90-day moratorium on strikes was not credible. In March 1980, intellectuals in Warsaw sought, for the first time, to openly commemorate the events of March 1968. On March 6, a pro-Communist, anti-Semitic group, the United Grunwald Patriots, declared its existence and organized counter-demonstrations with state sanction. Soon after, Jacek Kuroń was arrested while formal charges were brought against Moczulski and three other KPN arrestees. When state forces attempted to arrest Michnik, he refused to be taken and was given a ‘workers guard.’ Solidarity workers stood by Kuroń and he was released. Days later, the “Bydgoszcz events” occurred.

The KKP called for a four hour general strike for March 27, 1981 and a general strike for March 31 if their demands which included punishment for those responsible for the “Bydgoszcz events”, guaranteed security for union members and the closure of all pending cases against those arrested for oppositional activity from 1976-1980 were not met. The strike was conceived of not only as a means of demonstrating Solidarity’s strength, but also of harnessing the increasing demands in the rank-and-file membership which was manifesting itself in unsanctioned wildcat strikes. Almost total societal participation was recorded in the four-hour strike. In preparation for the general strike, MKZ leaders moved to major factories for protection

⁵⁸⁴ Cecylia Kuta, “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989” in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny. ed. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010) 270, 280, 281.

in case the state resorted to violence; the KKP moved to the Lenin Shipyard. Instructions were given about what to do in case of foreign invasion. The general strike was averted at the eleventh hour by the Warsaw Agreement which was a compromise between the union and the state.

The “Bydgoszcz events” and the Warsaw Agreement brought disagreements within Solidarity into the open and were perceived by many as a turning point for Solidarity. Although a clear majority of the KKP had agreed to call off the general strike, the agreement had been brokered between the state and Solidarity by Cardinal Wyszyński and negotiated by Lech Wałęsa and the KKP advisors alone. Still recovering from his injuries, Jan Rulewski was furious; union leaders from Bydgoszcz, called it a manipulation.⁵⁸⁵ Andrzej Słowik attacked Andrzej Celiński, the Presidium’s Secretary, as a coward.⁵⁸⁶ Karol Modzelewski claimed that Solidarity was becoming akin to a feudal monarchy which was ruled by the king’s (Lech Wałęsa) court. He resigned as KKP press representative.⁵⁸⁷ Andrzej Gwiazda, wrote an open letter to Wałęsa in which he asserted that “internal democracy is needed in our union.” Wałęsa wrote an open letter in response. Although the editors of *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* termed this exchange a “witness of authentic democracy”, others feared a growing lack of democracy in the union. These exchanges publicly aired the split which had arisen between the “fundamentalists,” led by Gwiazda (including Walentynowicz, Borusewicz and others from the free trade union movement) and the “pragmatists” led by Wałęsa (who was supported by the KKP advisors).⁵⁸⁸

“Fundamentalists” was the label given to those who were less inclined to compromise with the regime and ‘limit’ Solidarity than the “pragmatists” who were those who were more

⁵⁸⁵ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 587.

⁵⁸⁶ Andrzej Celiński in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 244.

⁵⁸⁷ “Jedność, ale nie jednomyślność,” *Niezależność* 24 (April 10, 1981) 4.

⁵⁸⁸ Andrzej Gwiazda, “List otwarty do Lecha Wałęsy,” *Niezależność* 23 (April 9, 1981) 1; “Dwa Listy”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 28 (April 16, 1981) 4.

disposed to moderation. This division also had personal elements. It crystallized when Anna Walentynowicz was removed from the Presidium of the KZ for the Lenin Shipyard on April 1, 1981 (although she remained on the Presidium of MKZ Gdansk). The “fundamentalists” believed that Wałęsa was responsible; among the charges brought against her was her opposition to Wałęsa. Andrzej Gwiazda with Adam Michnik and others from KSS-KOR, called for acting for her re-instatement. Jacek Kuroń disagreed, contending not only that attacks on Wałęsa in the contemporary situation amounted to attacks on Solidarity but that it was not KSS-KOR’s role to act in Solidarity matters. His stance led to a rift between he and his erstwhile friends from KSS-KOR.⁵⁸⁹

Amidst growing complaints about a lack of democracy and influence by the rank-and-file in the union, new movements were formed within the union at the grass roots level. In April, Siec, a “horizontal structure” of self-governance was formed; Jerzy Milewski was the intellectual coordinator. Siec was a network of Solidarity’s leading workplaces and was intended to help in the decentralization of the economy by encouraging economic self-governance. The KKP accepted Siec as a “consultative body” in May. By June, Siec was proposing true worker self-governance at workplaces with power sharing. Siec’s program was directed toward Polish civil society politicizing and gaining self-governance of the state. In addition, the issue of union branches again came to the fore. Although, it had been agreed that Solidarity was supposed to

⁵⁸⁹ This disagreement had been festering already for months. In December 1980, Walentynowicz was excluded from an active role in the memorial celebration for the events of December 1970. Wałęsa then tried to exclude her from the Solidarity delegation which went to meet Pope John Paul II in the early spring. Walentynowicz, a deeply Catholic woman, insisted on her inclusion on the trip and went despite Wałęsa’s opposition. The reasons for her repeated exclusions are debatable. She believed that it was due to her raising challenges toward the union leadership; others suggested that Wałęsa was jealous of the attention shown to her. Jacek Kuroń later contended that at the heart of the issue was the fact that while Wałęsa was a national hero, he was not an intellectual and so had previously depended on the Gwiazdas, Borusewicz and Pieńkowska for advice. However, with the arrival of Mazowiecki, Geremek, and the “experts,” Wałęsa no longer needed his friends from *Robotnik Wybrzeże* all of whom he sidelined. [Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 583, 88, 90-91, 603-604, “Sprawa Anny Walentynowicza”, *Niezależność* 22 (April 8, 1981) 2; “Rozbieżność w sprawie”, *Niezależność* 37 (May 5, 1981) 2; “Komunikat”, *Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ Sz siedziba w Gdansk* 51 (June 25, 1981) 13.]

divide by regions, some professions, including print-workers founded their own union branches within Solidarity in 1981 thereby potentially diminishing union unity.

In the spring, Solidarity's leadership continued to work toward better organizing union publishing, gaining greater access to mass media and completing talks on a new censorship law.⁵⁹⁰ On April 3, Solidarity's national newspaper, *Tygodnik Solidarność*, first appeared in state run kiosks for 7-8 zł per issue. It was to be the official organ of the KKP and was produced in state-owned publishing houses with a print-run of 500,000. It was subject to state censorship. On April 3 and April 24 meetings of union printers were held to consider the organization and distribution of regional publishing. They discussed shortages in both equipment and paper and called for regional union libraries. Indeed, Darek Kupiec and Henryk Wujec, of NOWa had already begun helping to create factory libraries. Mirosław Chojecki was appointed to help with the coordination of union publishing. He soon cooperated with state publishers in having the May 3rd constitution published officially.⁵⁹¹

On April 10, the KKP announced the creation of a Solidarity Press Bureau of Information (BIPS) which was to be based in Gdansk with branches in Warsaw, Krakow and Łódź. It was run by Arkadiusz Rybicki and Janusz Onyszkiewicz (who had been named the KKP's press representative after Modzelewski resigned) who were supported by Maciej Grzywaczewski, and Bogdan Olszewski among others. It was intended to publish all Solidarity documents. From May 9, 1981, BIPS also published a weekly *Tygodnik BIP NSZZ "S"*. Being based in Gdansk and led by individuals with ties to the KKP advisors and RMP which tended to support Wałęsa, it

⁵⁹⁰ "Z Dnia na Dzień", *Niezależność* 31 (April 23, 1981) 1; "Cenzura", *Niezależność* 35 (April 29, 1981) 1; "Jeszcze raz o cenzurowaniu prasy związkowej", *Niezależność* 36 (April 30, 1981) 4; "Zjazd poligrafii związkowej", *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ Sz siedziba w Gdansk* 41 (April 9, 1981) 4.

⁵⁹¹ "Z Dnia na Dzień", *Niezależność* 21 (April 7, 1981) 2; "Instytut wydawniczy związków zawodowych", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 10 (June 5, 1981) 13.

was clearly envisioned as a means of counter-balancing the influence of AS which had ties to KSS-KOR and the “fundamentalists.”⁵⁹²

On May 9-10, the Second Congress of the Union Press was held in Ursus. 107 representatives from Solidarity publications attended. They extended AS’s mandate for another six months and founded a commission to deal with relations between the union, state censors and the editors of Solidarity publications; Jarosław Broda from *Solidarność Dolnośląska* was to head it. They also released an announcement insisting on the independence of union publications from the union leadership. Indeed, amid lengthy discussions on the independence of the union press, questions were raised about the objectivity and separation of BIPS from the KKP leadership. They did, however, acknowledge that union publications were required to be at the full disposition of Solidarity’s leaders if a strike was called or was about to be called and that they had to publish the union’s official stances even if editors disagreed with them.⁵⁹³

Talks between Solidarity and government representatives over union access to mass communication continued. Although *Tygodnik Solidarność* and *Jedność* were now both being published in state printing houses they were censored. Moreover, their weekly print run of 600,000 was hardly sufficient for a union which had over 9 million members. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who now led the negotiations for Solidarity, was advised by Mirosław Chojecki, Leszek Dłochy, Bronisław Gotowski and Marek Rapacki. They laid out a minimal program of one Solidarity newspaper (8-16 pages) per union member per week and called for the supply of 12,000 tons of paper a year for the union from the government. The government responded that

⁵⁹² Joanna Gwiazda-Duda claimed that BIPS through its ties to RMP was about limiting democracy. She claimed that AS got information out faster, more readably and more fully. [Joanna Gwiazda in *Gwiazdozbiór w “Solidarności”*, ed. Remigiusz Okraska (Łódź: Obywatel, 2009) 185; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski*, 179.]

⁵⁹³ “Zjazd Prasy Związkowej”, *Niezależność* 42 (May 11, 1981) 2; “Spotkanie prasy związkowej”, *Wiadomości Dnia* 100 (May 12, 1981) 1; Leszek Maleszka, “Niezależni dziennikarze”, *Goniec Małopolski* 30 (May 13, 1981) 14; Jerzy Modlinger, “II zjazd prasy związkowej”, *Tygodnik Solidarność*, 8 (May 33, 1981) 15; “II zjazd prasy związkowej”, *Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk* 46 (May 13, 1981) 2.

for it to allow Solidarity any more publications would mean, due to supply limitations, cutting existing publications which was problematic. Furthermore, it insisted that it could only supply Solidarity with 6,000 tons of paper a year (4% of that going to official printers). Onyszkiewicz also raised the issue of the union publishing within the rubric of official papers. Acknowledging that Solidarity's experience with the "Samorządność" section in *Tygodnik Bałtycki* was difficult, and despite government efforts to make such situations temporary, Onyszkiewicz insisted that in smaller regions, it was necessary that Solidarity have the right to publish within official publications.⁵⁹⁴

Despite the state's claims to material shortages, new union publications were constantly being born while many existing publications successfully increased their print-runs. On May 15, *Nasza Solidarność Jastrzębie* was renamed *Solidarność Jastrzębie* and began to be published on state printers (which meant under the censor's pen), gaining a print run of 50,000. *Sygnaly* which had been published by MKZ Opole from 1980, was in mid-1981 able to significantly increase the print-run of its two to three day information bulletin up to 10,000 without being censored. *Kwadrat* began publication in May 1981 as a bi-weekly publication for the print-workers union branch. It was produced in Szczecin with a print-run of 45,000 and was censored.⁵⁹⁵ Although these had some of the largest print-runs and were mostly censored, it is necessary to emphasize that in addition to these publications, hundreds, if not thousands, of other union publications were being produced without censorship albeit with much smaller print-runs; the vast majority of these were factory bulletins.

⁵⁹⁴ Dariusz Fikus, *Foksal* '81, 104-106; "Z Dnia na Dzień", *Niezależność* 46 (May 15, 1981) 1; "Polska, 18-24 Maj 1 1981 roku", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 9 (May 29, 1981) 2.

⁵⁹⁵ Krzysztof Łabędz, *Koncepcje polityczne w prasie NSZZ "S" w latach 1980-1981*, 51; "Przegląd prasy związkowej", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 14 (June 26, 1981) 7.

Non-union publishing also expanded. On May 16-17, a book fair and exhibit of independent publishing houses was held at Warsaw Polytechnic University. It was organized by independent student groups in cooperation with NOWa. It was attended by a couple dozen publishers including NOWa, Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja, KOS, Wielkopolska Inicjatywa Wydawnicza, Biblioteka Historyczna i Literacka, SOWa, Oficyna Liberalów, Młoda Polska, Głos, Krąg, and Spotkania. NOWa had on display its most recent publications including those for TKN, Czesław Miłosz's *Captive Mind* and Aleksander Wat's *My Century* as well as Zdenka Mlynařa's diary from the Prague Spring which was NOWa's biggest hit at the time. Despite increased openness, the exhibit was forced to open late (it was supposed to have been held from the 10th) due to the inclusion of a publication which carried an unflattering caricature of Brezhnev.⁵⁹⁶

A month later, on June 20-21, the First All-Poland Meeting of Independent Publishing Houses was held for non-union publishing houses. It was attended by representatives from Alternatywy, Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja, Krąg, Młoda Polska, Spotkania, Głos, and NOWa. They established a publishing house bureau of information to keep track of which titles were being prepared, called for all publishing houses to distribute to factory libraries, and laid down maximum prices for books. The most expensive books were those with an A5 format which were produced on offset printers, screen-printers or typographic printers. These were 1 zł a page. The cheapest were mimeographed works on A5 paper which were .50 zł a page. They also insisted that permission from the author was needed in independent publishing.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹⁶ Andrzej Matuch- Książki, "Których szukamy", *Niezależność* 41 (May 8, 1981) 3; Grzegorz Boguta Interview, "Staliśmy się znani", *Niezależność* 41 (May 8, 1981) 4; Irena Lewandowska, "Niezależny kiermasz", *Niezależność* 27 (May 20, 1981) 2; Jan Walc, "Chojecki—Tak; Brezniew—Nie", *Niezależność* 27 (May 20, 1981) 2.

⁵⁹⁷ "Niezależne wydawnictwa", *Niezależność* 68 (June 22, 1981) 2, "Komunikat", *Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk* 51 (June 25, 1981) 13.

In the meantime, the new censorship law made its way through the necessary legal procedures. On May 21, the Sejm under-commission on the censorship law finished their work. Two drafts had been submitted to the Sejm, one from the government representatives and one from society's representatives who were led by Jan Józef Lipski and Klements Szaniwski. In June, the Sejm commission on the censorship law finished their work and passed it. The new law, which guaranteed more room for the coverage of domestic affairs and for legal recourse when something was censored (as long as it was not initially acknowledged that it had been cut), maintained censorship over the questioning of Poland's independence, borders and foreign alliances. More contentious proved to be 10,000 zł fines for printing outside of the censor (possibly for authors as well as those who prepared and distributed publications) and ambiguity over the independence of union publications.⁵⁹⁸ Due to its vagueness over the independence of union bulletins, when the law was unveiled, the "fundamentalists" opposed it. It was also opposed by Jan Rulewski and the "true Poles." Despite the opposition of both the "fundamentalists" and "true Poles", Wałęsa and the "pragmatists" endorsed the bill while insisting that union factory bulletins maintained the right to publish outside of all censorship.⁵⁹⁹

The "true Poles" gathered as a nationalist faction within Solidarity around this time. They insisted that they truly embodied Polishness and attacked the KSS-KOR lay left milieu and what they described as their "pragmatists allies," often with anti-Semitic overtones. Although relations between Kuroń (who had spent much of the spring and summer racing around the country, trying to smother wildcat strikes in the name of the KKP) and Michnik were fractured with the latter associated with the "fundamentalists" and the former with the "pragmatists," the

⁵⁹⁸ "Cenzura", *Niezależność* 68 (June 22, 1981) 1; "WZDR o cenzurze", *Niezależność* 68 (June 22, 1981) 1; "Jaka cenzura?", *Wiadomości Dnia* 108 (May 25, 1981) 2; "Ustawa o cenzurze", *Wiadomości Dnia*, 126 (June 17, 1981) 1; Jolanta Strzelecka, "Ustawa o cenzurze", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 30 (October 23, 1981) 12.

⁵⁹⁹ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 603-04.

“true Poles” still singled out both of them as well as Modzelewski and Onyszkiewicz as primary targets for their ire. Mazowiecki was also attacked amid claims that Jews had taken over the workers’ papers (not that Mazowiecki was Jewish).⁶⁰⁰

Divisions, particularly those between “pragmatists”, “fundamentalists”, and “true Poles” were increasingly visible in the spring and summer of 1981 due to the gathering of two-part plenary congresses in each MKZ. These congresses elected new regional leaderships (ZRs) for each MKZ including delegates to the two-part national congress for Solidarity which was to be held September to October 1981. They also aired disagreements over the state of the union. Union publications proved to be a point of contention in many regional congresses.⁶⁰¹ The government helped to radicalize these gatherings by initiating a concerted propaganda campaign against Solidarity and increasingly infringing upon the independence of union publishing in the summer of 1981.

On August 15-16, the Third Congress of the Union Press was held in Puławy. 55 editorial representatives attended. SDP representatives called on the Solidarity leaders to bring young, increasingly radical, publishers under their wing through professional, journalistic training. This set off an explosion of anger. The second day, Onyszkiewicz made overtures in that direction, defended the new censorship law as a major step in the current conditions, appealed for the moderation of anti-Soviet attacks in union publications and put forth a program for a Council of the Union Press which could work to mediate and defend union press outlets in disputes with the censors. However, many saw such a council as an attempt at internal, union censorship; one delegate called Onyszkiewicz a traitor. The need for an independent union press was again

⁶⁰⁰ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 573, 610, 616-17; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 153.

⁶⁰¹ “I walne zebranie delegatów”, *Niezależność* 65 (June 16, 1981) 1; Donald Tusk, “Impresje z walnego zebrania czyli: Rzecz o jedności i rozwadze”, *Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk* 54 (July 23, 1981) 16.

insisted upon.⁶⁰² Despite some opposition to Onyszkiewicz's proposal, on August 31, the KKP formed a Press Advisory board to try to help with problems between the state and union publishers.⁶⁰³

The Solidarity leadership responded to the state's growing infringements on union publishing with a call for, "Days without Press" for August 19-20, meaning a halt to all official printing and distribution in the country. At the forefront of the strike was the Dom Słowa Polskiego, where an occupation strike was held. That 40,000-50,000 official print workers had joined Solidarity clearly impacted its success. With the exception of Bydgoszcz, Katowice, and Zielona Góra the strike was almost fully met. Most of the publications which did appear were flyers rather than papers and were generally printed on army printers or at PZPR committees. In Wrocław, state publishers used the idle machines to print union publications. Publishers in Krakow extended the strike until the morning of August 21, while publishers in Olsztyn maintained their strike until September 5, only halting with the start of Solidarity's National Congress.⁶⁰⁴

Solidarity's First National Congress

Solidarity's First National Congress was held in Gdansk at the Olivia Sports Arena in two rounds in the fall of 1981; the first round was held September 5-10 and the second round was held September 26-October 7. During the first round of the Congress, Soviet military maneuvers

⁶⁰² Onyszkiewicz, in May, described smaller regions within Solidarity as more radical. However, he also alleged that this was often little more than rhetoric since, unlike Mazowze, which if, "it sneezes, the whole union gets a cold", this was the only way that smaller centers gained attention. [Krzysztof Wolicki, "Wniowski dla prasy i związków", *Niezależność* 108 (August 18, 1981) 1; Marek Kossakowski, "III Zjazd prasy związkowej", *Niezależność* 108 (August 18, 1981) 1; Dariusz Fikus, *Foksal '81*, 121-122; Interview with Onyszkiewicz, *Niezależność* 46 (May 15, 1981) 3.]

⁶⁰³ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 158, 160, 163; "Z prasy związkowej", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 50 (August 31, 1981) 11.

⁶⁰⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 139; "Strajk prasowy", *Niezależność* 122 (September 7, 1981) 2; "20 VIII Posiedzenie Prezydium ZS Dolny Śląsk", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 50 (August 31, 1981) 2; Mirosław Kowalski, "Strajk prasowy", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 22 (August 28, 1981) 5.

in the Baltic and the continuing anti-Solidarity propaganda campaign in the official press ensured radicalization.⁶⁰⁵ Although “fundamentalists” took the lead in debates, the “true Poles” were visible as well. The demand for self-governance was a rallying point at the Congress.⁶⁰⁶

Between the first and second rounds of Solidarity’s National Congress, the state maintained its heightened harassment of union and independent publishing. Moreover, at that time, the Sejm proposed a bill on self-governance. Without a quorum (only four members were present) the Presidium voted to support the Sejm’s proposal. Wałęsa (with Kuroń’s and Mazowiecki’s support) voted for it on September 22. After some last minute finagling by the regime, it was passed into law on September 25.⁶⁰⁷

When the second round of the National Congress opened, delegates expressed anger over the undemocratic way in which the self-governance bill had been supported. They formally voted a motion criticizing it and the advisors. On September 28, Edward Lipiński announced the end of KSS-KOR. A new union leadership was elected and on October 1, Wałęsa was voted Chairman of the new National Commission (KK) which was to replace the KKP. The elections were fractious.⁶⁰⁸

During the Congress, independent union and non-union publishers demonstrated the extent of their growth. The Congress produced a special Polish-language bulletin for delegates, *Głos Wolny* as well as an English-language bulletin, *Congress Post*, for foreign journalists and guests. BIPS produced packets as well as a series of “notebooks” for the delegates; these included union documents, programmatic debates and re-prints of works by Miłosz. During the second round of the Congress BIPS published a “Who’s Who” in Solidarity. NOWa held

⁶⁰⁵ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 614

⁶⁰⁶ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 212.

⁶⁰⁷ Jacek Kuroń in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 257; “Kto kogo”, *Niezależność* 136 (September 25, 1981) 1.

⁶⁰⁸ Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 625, 627-28; Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 216.

exhibits of its work in the corridors of the Congress during the second round and set up a sales point. Union publishers from Lublin distributed their new serial, *Miesiqce*.⁶⁰⁹ Solidarity created a press bureau for the Congress which made telexes and telephones available to various news services. Due to challenges in keeping up with the transfer of information, by the second round individuals from the press bureau met with journalists every other hour; they also released daily information packets.⁶¹⁰

During the Congress, Karol Modzelewski claimed that only 30% of Solidarity's regions had a telex working full-time which he explained seriously limited the ability of the press to function effectively. Jacek Kuroń claimed that the concerted propaganda campaign of the state ought to be answered with a unified union response; Modzelewski explained that a Solidarity propaganda team had been created.⁶¹¹ Paweł Niezgodzki (a "true Pole" who had been elected press representative for Mazowsze) opposed this body and called for the team to include the press representatives of every region.⁶¹²

Contests for dominance in union publishing arose outside of the Congress hall at this time. In September, Helena Łuczywo explained to Waldemar Kuczyński that the "true Poles" were competing with KSS-KOR for control of Mazowsze. She claimed that Paweł Niezgodzki, had prevented the installation of a telex at AS which was necessary for their work. She therefore asked about the possibility of moving AS from the ZR Masowsze headquarters to *Tygodnik Solidarność*'s headquarters if things continued to worsen. At the Katowice Steelworks, in an

⁶⁰⁹ "Drugi dzień", *Niezależność* 137 (September 28, 1981) 2; "Zeszyt informacyjne BIPS", *Głos Wolny* 1 (September 4, 1981) 4; Interviews in "Karnawał", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 95-102.

⁶¹⁰ Tomasz Łuczak in "Pomiedzieli nam", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 16.

⁶¹¹ It included Wojciech Arkuszewski, Bronisław Geremek, Jan Józef Lipski, Jan Lityński, Jacek Fedorowicz, Jerzy Kropownicki, Jacek Kuroń, Karol Modzelewski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Leszek Dłouchy, Andrzej Wielowiejski and Krzysztof Wolicki.

⁶¹² "Spotkania zjazdowe", *Niezależność* 123 (September 8, 1981) 2.

apparent bid not only for control of factory printing but of the factory itself, Solidarity held an enterprise-wide vote to remove their director after he had closed down their factory bulletin.⁶¹³

Solidarity Publishing and Independent Non-Solidarity Publishing, October- December 1981

In the fall of 1981, the August Social Accords were over a year old and still largely unfulfilled; as government intransigence grew, so did society's demands. On October 18, General Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected First Secretary of the PZPR. On October 28, a one hour general strike was held in an attempt at harnessing and directing the union's strength.⁶¹⁴ By this time, Solidarity was growing more and more fractured as it was impossible to maintain a unified union organization among Solidarity's 10 million members who voiced increasingly far reaching demands. Furthermore, Bogdan Borusewicz argued that a cult of leadership had developed around Wałęsa and local party bosses and insisted that Solidarity was becoming increasingly intolerant. He saw chauvinists as squeezing out the old democratic opposition.⁶¹⁵

New efforts were made to direct growing political impetuses outside of the union structure. In September, a Club in the Service of Independence was founded by Aleksander Hall, Jacek Bartyzel and others from RMP as well as Wojciech Ziemiński and Jarosław Kaczyński. Antoni Macierewicz also joined, demonstrating the total split within the KSS-KOR milieu; theirs was more or less the program of a political party. On November 3, Stefan Bratkowski, Wojciech Lamentowicz and Ryszard Turski founded "Understanding for Societal Re-birth" to serve as a power between the state and the union. On November 22, Jacek Kuroń was arrested when he, Adam Michnik, Jan Lityński, Zbigniew Bujak and others gathered to form a club to support the

⁶¹³ Already at the Mazowsze regional congress in August, Eugeniusz Kościanek had complained about having AS in Mazowsze's headquarters. Niezgodzki had added that he believed that Mazowsze's Bureau of Information could fully take over the role of AS. ["Zarząd o informacji cd.", *Niezależność* 114 (August 26, 1981) 2; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 163, 182.]

⁶¹⁴ Seweryn Jaworski, "Dłaczego stajkujemy", *Niezależność* 159 (October 27, 1981) 1; "Głupota czy prowokacja", *Niezależność* 155 (October 21, 1981) 1.

⁶¹⁵ Bogdan Borusewicz in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, eds. Maciej Łopinski, Marcin Moskit [Zbigniew Gach], and Mariusz Wilk; trans. Jane Cave (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 7-9.

idea of a self-governing republic. Regime spokesmen claimed that they were attempting to turn Solidarity into a political party. Kuroń countered that they sought a forum for politics which was separate from the union. Kuroń was quickly released.⁶¹⁶

Government intransigence manifested itself in regular censorship of union publications, leading the editors of *Tygodnik Solidarność* to test the strength of the new censorship law.⁶¹⁷

When censors removed an entire letter to the editors which critiqued censorship and supported independent publishing, the editors went to the Main Administrative Court office for redress. The editorial board received a positive verdict on November 2, 1981 and the letter was printed.⁶¹⁸

Despite challenges, independent publishing continued to flourish. The leadership of NOWa (which in August 1981 published its 150th work) decided in October 1981 to change its structure, to come out in the open and begin officially working with Solidarity as a partner by organizing publishing at various factories including Huta Katowice and the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta. In Huta Katowice, the workers gained NOWa's permission to reprint *Gulag Archipelago* and prepared matrices for it. The NOWa leadership, in November, established a publishing locale at the Ursus factory to be led by Emil Broniak who was provided with two offset printers. Its first publication was to be Gustaw Herling-Grudziński's *A World Apart*.

⁶¹⁶ Bujak saw it as a left leaning response to the group Macierewicz had helped to form earlier. He described it as the first step on the road to political formations. [Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 244, 257; Andrzej Friszke, *Przystosowanie i opór*, 295; Jacek Kuroń, *Autobiografia*, 642; Zbigniew Bujak in *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za 'Solidarność'*, 60.]

⁶¹⁷ A full issue of *Jedność* was seized due to an article on Hungary in 1956 and an article on the state of the economy ["Z teleksu", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 53 (November 2, 1981) 2.]

⁶¹⁸ "Wolność słowa kontra wolność cenzury", *Niezależność* 165 (November 11, 1981) 1; "Zwycięstwo nad cenzurą", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 55 (November 5, 1981) 4; Jolanta Strzelecka, "Cenzura przed sądem", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 33 (November 13, 1981) 1, 4.

NOWa also floated the idea of entering into a cooperative project with the Polish Writer's Union.⁶¹⁹

In line with NOWa's move toward openness, in November, NOWa representatives met with representatives from the Literary Institute in Paris and Polonia Book Fund in London at the Frankfurt Book Fair where they agreed that NOWa would represent the Literary Institute in Poland and re-print their works for free. They also created a common fund for research scholarships and to help finance independent publications. NOWa representatives met with Penguin Publishing House representatives about producing an English-language anthology of their work.⁶²⁰

Disagreements, however, were voiced about NOWa's move into the open. Adam Grzesiak reminisced that when he learned of NOWa's plans, he organized NOWa's technical personnel who went to Boguta's house where a heated exchange occurred. Grzesiak insisted that there were spies in Ursus which would lead to the destruction of NOWa. Although Grzesiak perceived the "new leadership" as betraying NOWa, Chojecki also supported the decision for openness. Grzesiak, who claimed that he would "never trust the Reds," began participating in the creation of an entirely new structure in NOWa, an "underground within the underground." Grzesiak with Andrzej Gorski supplied a secret house in Falenica (an outlying region of Warsaw) with three professional print machines, ink, chemicals, and enough food to last three months. At

⁶¹⁹ Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 156-157; Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 267; Henryk Doczyk, "Wolny związkowiec" in *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, O emigracji, o osobie*, 50; "Monika" Report, November 24, 1981, in "Ketman" i "Monika" – *Żywy równoległy*, 336.

⁶²⁰ "Z prasy związkowej", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 60 (November 19, 1981) 11; "Solidarność na targach Frankfurckich", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 34 (November 20, 1981) 14.

a house nearby on Trocinowa Street, two offset printers from Vienna were stored by Stanisław Bareja.⁶²¹

Although late 1981 witnessed the emergence of a number of new publications, it also saw the demise of *Robotnik* which had remained in production for over four years. It was the reason Witold Łuczywo helped to devise the printing techniques which were taken up with fervor by union activists. It had been the backbone of the independent workers movement prior to August 1980 and had published the Charter of Workers' Rights which was central to the birth of free trade unions and Solidarity. It had brought together workers like Lech Wałęsa, Andrzej Kołodziej and Henry Wujec with intellectuals like Bogdan Borusewicz, Andrzej Gwiazda and Jacek Kuroń. It had given rise to friendships as well as numerous stints in prison. On December 3, 1981, *Robotnik* became a part of history.⁶²²

Logistics of Publishing: Independent of Whom?

Estimates for the number of serials produced during the Solidarity-era range between 1,500 and 3,200 titles. The vast majority of publications were small bulletins which were produced for factories or schools and maintained print-runs of a few hundred copies. Joanna Bachtin estimated that in 1981, 1,250 titles were related to Solidarity, 272 to students, 97 to farmers, and 92 to young people (generally as opposed to student specific works). She found that 80 were socio-political in focus while only 13 were cultural/literary publications. Independent serials were therefore of a quite different character after August 1980 then before when the (admittedly limited) number of independent publications had almost all been socio-political. Warsaw continued to lead the country in the production of independent publications;

⁶²¹ Adam Grzesiak, "Opowieści wolnego drukarza", prepared for publication by Wiesława Grochola, *Karta Kwartalanik Historyczny* (Warsaw: Fundacja Ośrodka Karta) 90-91, 95-97; Adam Gorski and Grzegorz Boguta in "Słowo jak dynamit," 117; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 156; Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 266.

⁶²² Helena Łuczywo in "Słowo jak dynamit," 117.

between 1980 and 1981 it produced about 300 titles. Krakow, Wrocław, and Gdansk followed (in that order); each produced around 150 publications. Łódź, Lublin, Katowice, Szczecin, and Poznan trailed behind; they produced about 60-80 titles each. The number of printings of monographs has been estimated at between 2,000 and 2,500 for this period. These were mostly short brochures which were produced by publishing concerns connected to Solidarity; recent history was a popular topic. Although all of these figures are estimates, they clearly demonstrate the rapid growth of independent publishing as well as the dominance of Solidarity in independent publishing. Indeed, despite the radical growth in the number of independent publications produced during this period, most publications had a relatively similar profile in their focus on passive union matters.⁶²³

With this explosion in publishing, supply was incapable of meeting demand. Printing supplies and monies sent from abroad were therefore vital. Swedish and Norwegian trade unions were particularly important in supplying Solidarity with money and equipment for printing. In late 1981, Swedish trade unionists sent two full printing sets valued at about \$200,000 each to Poland; one was sent to Gdansk and the other to Wrocław. They also sent people to train Solidarity printers in the use of the new machines. With the arrival of these machines in Wrocław, in November 1981, the regional information daily, *Z Dnia na Dzień* (which had been published from July 1981 with Zenon Pałka as editor) was able to be produced with a print-run of 45,000. It was also on these that *Solidarność Dolnośląska* was then produced. Bujak insisted that the machines in Gdansk, which were used for printing the documents from Solidarity's

⁶²³ *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 163-165, 171; Justyna Błażejowska, “‘Chciałem mieć w ręku broń’” in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 238; Cecylia Kuta, “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989” in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 282; Marek Jastrzębie, “Underground Prints of the Martial Law Period”, *Polish Libraries Today*. vol. 3. (1993) 104; Maria Kocójowa, “Informacja o wydawnictwach drugiego obiegu w Polsce i na świecie,” in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 61.

National Congress, were decisive. Labor groups from the United Kingdom, France and the United States sent money and equipment; American unionists donated an estimated \$500,000.⁶²⁴

Initially, supplies were smuggled into the country or deals were also made at the local level to use state-owned equipment in workplaces, schools etc. However, workplace chiefs did not always agree to Solidarity workers using printing supplies.⁶²⁵ After Solidarity gained the legal right to procure printing supplies from abroad, it established a Commission on Printing Supplies in January 1981. The Solidarity leadership decreed that all printing materials had to be registered and released by the Commission's chairman, Andrzej Słowik; materials were also registered with the authorities. This process was not always ideal. In May 1981, Mazowsze union publishers pled with the KKP to intervene because printing equipment which had been sent from abroad to MKZ Mazowsze had been waiting in customs for three months to be picked up. The problem was that the region couldn't collect it without the Commission on Printing Equipment freeing it. They had waited so long, in fact, that the equipment was about to be returned to the sender or confiscated by the government. When they appealed to Słowik, he rejoined that Mazowsze already "have the most machines and if you regard what you have as too few- it's better that they are returned to the sender." Through Wałęsa's intercession, they received the equipment but not without a public airing of this dispute.⁶²⁶

Not only printing equipment, but the supply of paper, ink and other printing essentials proved a challenge for Solidarity. Publications like *Tygodnik Solidarność* which were censored

⁶²⁴ Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"* 29; Paweł Jaworski, "Szwedzka pomoc dla polski i Solidarności w latach 1980-1981" in *Czas przełomu, Solidarność 1980-1981*, ed. Wojciech Polak (Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2010) 262, 264; "Z Dnia na Dzień", *Niezależność* 32 (April 24, 1981) 1; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 59; "Wizyta szwedzkich związkowców", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 46 (October 16, 1981) 1-2; "Perspektywy rozwoju poligrafii związkowej", *Wiadomości Dnia* 50 (March 3, 1981) 1; Michael Szporer, *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, 57.

⁶²⁵ "Listy", *Niezależność* 9 (December 12, 1980) 6.

⁶²⁶ "Dobrze znany scenariusz", *Niezależność* 49 (May 22, 1981) 6; Editors, "Lepiej, żeby odesłali", *Niezależność* 52 (May 27, 1981) 1; "Z Dnia na Dzień", *Niezależność* 53 (May 28, 1981) 1.

and printed on state machines, had these supplies provided by the state. However, even *Tygodnik Solidarność* dealt with paper shortages and difficulties related to the poor quality of the paper provided.⁶²⁷ The purchase of paper for union publications was sorted out in a variety of ways. Some regional leaders made deals with local state suppliers, while in others regions, editors were left to procure supplies wholesale and even retail. This was a problem because regions with large printing apparatuses used massive amounts of paper; by the first half of 1981, Lower Silesia was using about five tons of paper a month. Binding was almost a non-issue for union publications which were usually no more than a few pages and so used no binding mechanism.⁶²⁸

A perhaps even more complex issue was supply for non-Solidarity independent publishing. The August Social Accords allowed for independent publications for “internal union use” (which was often written on the masthead of union publications), they did not have any provision for independent publishing as such; indeed preventative censorship was changed not abolished. Accordingly, Solidarity independent publishers acted legally, non-union independent publishers did not. Although independent publishing activists had grown accustomed, between 1976 and 1980, to procuring supplies and producing publications in the underground, NOWa and other publishing houses had handed over much of their technical apparatus to Solidarity. The supplies and monies which began flowing in from abroad legally went directly to Solidarity while most of those being smuggled in to Poland were also destined for the union rather than to the democratic opposition, KSS-KOR or NOWa as had been the case in the past.

Quite often the issue of supply for independent publishers was dealt with on a private, personal level. Władysław Frasyniuk relayed that when Wrocław received the high quality printing equipment from Swedish trades unions, they gave their old printers to the independent,

⁶²⁷ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 158, 160.

⁶²⁸ Andrzej Pawlik, “Zaczynaliśmy od ramek”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 32 (April 30, 1981) 4; “Komunikaty”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 2 (July 27, 1981) 4.

non-Solidarity press. They did this because “[w]e simply felt that it was vital to have publications that were independent of both the union and the government.” However, he also claimed that “we couldn’t say so openly to the union members who would have torn us to pieces.”⁶²⁹ Similarly, Bogusław Sonik opposed Henryk Karkosza’s proposal that KOS become responsible for printing in Małopolska’s MKZ as he believed that unofficial printers were needed as well as union printers. The Lower Silesia Solidarity leadership allowed Kornel Morawiecki to regularly borrow printing equipment to print *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk*.⁶³⁰

Bogdan Grzesiak, who had initially worked at NOWa, became the chief of the technical side of the publishing headquarters of MKZ Mazowsze. Throughout this period he helped NOWa to obtain supplies. This was an informal relationship which, as in Wrocław, enjoyed neither official nor popular endorsement.⁶³¹ The effectiveness of this arrangement, however, is demonstrated by the fact that NOWa was using an estimated five tons of paper a month in 1981.⁶³²

In the fall of 1980, Borusewicz provided Piotr Kapczyński with a high quality, printer which had been smuggled from Norway for Kapczyński to use in non-union printing. Kapczyński gained additional equipment by smuggling equipment from abroad and illegally procuring supplies in Poland. With these supplies, he and a group of peers produced 10,500 copies of a book by Jakub Karpiński on the events of 1956. They later went on to produce several more monographs including Leszek Kołakowski’s *Main Currents of Marxism* which was 1,500 pages in total and produced in a print run of 3,500; it was not completed fully until 1983. Dependence on a mixture of procurement methods, including smuggling supplies from abroad,

⁶²⁹ Władysław Frasyniuk in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 12.

⁶³⁰ Kornel Morawiecki with Artur Adamski, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej* (Wrocław: Kontra, 2007) 81; “Monika” Report, December 15, 1980 in “*Ketman*” i “*Monika*” –*Żywy Równoległy*”, 279.

⁶³¹ Adam Grzesiak, “Opowieści wolnego drukarza”, 90-91, 95

⁶³² Michał Paziewski, “Nowa i inne”, *Jedność* 38 (May 22, 1981) 6.

illegally obtaining equipment in Poland, using state equipment and, covertly acquiring supplies from union activists was typical for non-union independent publishers.⁶³³

With time, supply from the union became more difficult. Bogdan Borusewicz remembered that Lech Wałęsa, while visiting the house of a mutual acquaintance, in late 1981, saw a duplicator and assuming she stole it sent Andrzej Słowik to retrieve it. When Borusewicz confronted Wałęsa about it not being a union duplicator, he shrugged it off. Borusewicz explained that because customs officials took note of every duplicator destined for the union entering the country, he was afraid that, due to the rampant distrust and suspicions in the union by late 1981, that if he hid one and it were found in a police raid he would be charged with theft. This also meant that he no longer felt free to supply non-union publishers.⁶³⁴ Still, independent publishers also frequently printed on state equipment.⁶³⁵

In the Solidarity-era, as in the period between 1976 and the establishment of Solidarity, questions related to the distribution of limited goods did not have straightforward answers. Money and supplies were sent to Solidarity. Accordingly, was it not fair for union officials to insist that they remain exclusively within the union; especially if they were obtained with union dues? Yet, Solidarity was more than a union; it was a social movement as well. So, did those who sent monies and supplies, send them to the union Solidarity, or the social movement? In the latter case, ought not supplies go to non-union ventures? Moreover, given the rush of independent publishers into union publishing, was it even possible to make a distinction between independent union and independent non-union publishing?

Overlap between union and non-union independent publishers from the former democratic opposition, was ubiquitous. In Lublin, by the end of 1980, the MKZ Central East

⁶³³ Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"*, 29, 45-56, 48-49.

⁶³⁴ Bogdan Boursewicz in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 8-9.

⁶³⁵ SB Report, June 23, 1981 in *"Ketman" i "Monika" –Żywy Równoległy*, 300.

leadership had received, in its headquarters, a high-quality offset printer as well as other, less professional printing machines. In the same building, Rural Solidarity procured a few small rooms for its offices. They made a deal with the Spotkania group who agreed to provide Rural Solidarity with two small printers and help with producing their publications. In return, the Spotkania group could produce their works at Rural Solidarity's headquarters. This meant that in Lublin, the largest independent publishing house, Solidarity's leadership and Rural Solidarity's leadership were all based in the same building.⁶³⁶

Non-union independent publishers were key in teaching new union activists the logistics of printing. In the fall of 1980, Solidarity in Wrocław organized a course in the use of printing frames; those who had produced *Biuletyn Dolośląsk* were central to the creation of union publishing in Wrocław.⁶³⁷ Mirosław Chojecki directed a school in screen-print publishing in Warsaw in the summer of 1981. Soon after, Marek Wachniak of NOWa went to teach independent publishers on the coast to publish using screen-print. Zbigniew Nowek, from Alternatywy, then held a training "session of printers" in Gdansk.⁶³⁸

The legality of union publishing meant that distribution, like production, was done in the open. In Warsaw, 22 KZs functioned as press distribution points by April 1981. Every day by 10 a.m. they received issues of *Niezależność* and *Wiadomości Dnia* as well as non serial publications. Authorized representatives then collected publications from one of these points for further distribution. Different sections of MKZ Mazowsze were supplied directly by the Polish state railroad which dropped publications at train stations where distributors picked them up and organized local distribution. Although Warsaw led the country in the production of independent

⁶³⁶ Wiesław Ruchlicki, Krzysztof Michalkiewicz, and Maciej Sobieraj, "Karnawał" *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 93, 95.

⁶³⁷ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą*, 41, 397.

⁶³⁸ Wojciech Polak, *Wydawnictwo alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A"*, 29, 45-56, 48-49.

publications with its MKZ using about eight tons of paper a month, only one issue of *Niezależność* was produced for every 70-80 union members in the region.⁶³⁹

Małopolska, with *Goniec Małopolski*'s print-run averaging under 5,000 copies, developed the "ABC", 3-part distribution method which had been devised by Bolesław Śliwiński, an AK veteran. Step A divided the region into 40 sections (fifteen in Krakow city-limits) each of which had one major factory. Step B connected about ten enterprises to each of these forty factories. Step C attached a couple dozen smaller workplaces to those concerns from step B. Twice a week, representatives from step A met in Krakow to collect their prepared package of publications which were then distributed to points B then C. This method meant that distribution was completed within six hours and ensured that each factory got some publications and that every factory had a line of contact with central publishing in the region. It was so effective that it was then replicated in MKZ West Pomorze by Jerzy Sychut.⁶⁴⁰

State-run, Ruch kiosks were also used for the distribution of union publications. These officially distributed *Tygodnik Solidarność*, *Jedność*, *Kwadrat*, *Solidarność Jastrębie*, and *Sierpień 80* (in Opole). However, some also, informally, sold uncensored union publications including *Solidarność Dolnośląska* in Lower Silesia which was a comparatively well supplied region. A poll in Wrocław, found that 75.9% of union members read union publications while 40.2% did so systematically.⁶⁴¹ Indeed, as in the period prior to August 1980, publications, especially union bulletins, were often read out loud at factories or passed to numerous readers.

⁶³⁹ "Zasady kolportażu", *Niezależność* 23 (April 29, 1981) 2.

⁶⁴⁰ "Seksja informacji", *Goniec Małopolski* 34 (June 10, 1981) 11; Lesław Maleszka, "Pomysłna demokracja", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 8 (May 22, 1981) 15; Krystyna Duchnicka, "Czas optymizmu czyli ABC", *Jedność* 54 (September 11, 1981) 4.

⁶⁴¹ "Zrodnia na Ursynowie", *Niezależność* 110 (August 20, 1981) 2; "Solidarność w opiniach swoich członków", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 44 (July 17, 1981) 4.

Although non-Solidarity independent publishers still generally produced their publications covertly as they were not protected by the August Social Accords, like union publishers, distribution was largely done in the open. Stalls sprang up at various universities, openly selling independently published materials. Shops were also found in private apartments.⁶⁴² In November 1980, NOWa began distributing their works to university libraries and official institutions (which did lead to heavy confiscations by the SB); they were available from the spring of 1981 at Jagiellonian University, University of Łódź etc. Grzegorz Boguta explained that KZs and MKZs had, at the outset of the Solidarity-era, attempted to order from NOWa 200-300 copies each of certain books for discussions. He continued that because of supply shortages, NOWa's average print-run of 3-5,000 copies per printing meant that these were unrealistic requests. Accordingly, in May 1981, NOWa announced the founding of a network of independent libraries in Mazowsze; by August there were about 300. Independent libraries also quickly spread across the country with the encouragement of independent publishers. These allowed for books and journals to reach numerous readers, extending their influence.⁶⁴³

Editorial policy in union publications proved contentious. Mirroring the internal challenges resulting from Solidarity's dual character as a trades union and a nation-wide social movement, editors of independent union publications had to determine to what degree they were to fulfill the function of a union bulletin as opposed to a social register. Legally, the August Social Accords only won for Solidarity the right to publish *union* publications and while most trades union bulletins would not cover the national economy or national health care, Solidarity

⁶⁴² Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 428; Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 210; *Ludzie Nowej*, 1977-2007, 24.

⁶⁴³ Grzegorz Boguta Interview, "Staliśmy się znani", *Niezależność* 41 (May 8, 1981) 4; "Polska, Maj 4-8, 1981", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 7 (May 15, 1981) 2; Grzegorz Boguta, "Jak zostać wydawcą", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 20 (August 14, 1981) 9; RT, "Książki dla wszystkich", *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 24 (March 12, 1981) 7.

had been promised, in the August Social Accords, changes in these areas. Was it not then fair to report on them? At the same time, union publishing suffered from a shortage of qualified journalists for the coverage of such issues. Furthermore, due to supply shortages (most union publications were only a few pages) the decision to cover broader issues meant that specific union and factory news was, by necessity, curtailed. With time, some regions, notably Wrocław, were able to establish both regional daily bulletins to provide concise basic information as well as regional weekly papers to provide more in-depth information. However, this only increased challenges related to supply and was therefore not feasible in most regions. A compromise point was reached in West Pomorze which had a regional weekly union publication produced on state equipment as well as an uncensored daily union bulletin. Still, this meant that the weekly was censored and so had limitations in what it could include. Furthermore, it did not save its editors from interference from the union leadership.⁶⁴⁴

At the first Congress of the Union Press in January 1981, discussions were held over what union publications should cover. Editors discussed whether it was best to re-print Solidarity programs and announcements in their entirety or to summarize them. The drawback in summarization, for some, was the potential for editorial interference through emphasis while others were concerned that printing official documents would mean that union publications would be unreadable and even incomprehensible to many workers. Helena Łuczywo, Ewa Kulik and Jan Lityński noted that while the union press did a good job of providing passive information, it did not sufficiently participate in the creation of a program for Solidarity or work to limit the power of the union leadership (meaning criticize it).⁶⁴⁵ Joanna Szczęsna and

⁶⁴⁴ “Cenzura wychodzi z podziemi”, *Jedność* 21 (January 23, 1981) 4; “Związej i jego prasa”, *Jedność* 54 (September 11, 1981) 8.

⁶⁴⁵ “Zjazd prasy związkowej”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 19 (February 5, 1981) 3.

Seweryn Blumsztajn, warned against the tendency of using compromised language in union publications and thereby mimicking shortcomings in the official press.⁶⁴⁶

Union publishers had to decide on what kind of political/editorial line their publications should take. In November 1980, Helena Łuczywo and the editors of *Niezależność* rejected an article by Waldemar Kuczyński (which called for Solidarity to take co-responsibility in directing the economic crisis) as they deemed it anti-union and anti-society. Kuczyński contended that while certain of the taboos of the official censors had fallen, new taboos against any sign of a lack of loyalty or faithfulness to the movement had arisen.⁶⁴⁷

Indeed, editorial policy in union publications became a point of popular contention. Stefan Niesiołowski referred to the “apologetics” which he claimed AS’s *Biuletyn Pism Związkowych i Zakładowych* printed from Kuroń and Michnik, insisting that it was a KOR mouthpiece. He called for the “authentic, democratic election of union journalists” and for the best of these to be in AS. He insisted that KSS-KOR “like every political organization” had the right to its own publications but insisted that it couldn’t use union publications as self-advertisement which is how he presented *Biuletyn Pism Związkowych i Zakładowych* and *Biuletyn Solidarność* from Gdansk.⁶⁴⁸

With the founding of *Tygodnik Solidarność* in April, which Ryszard Bugaj described as a “political instrument of the union”, further questions were raised over editorial policy.⁶⁴⁹ The question of whether all Solidarity announcements and flyers were to be included in this, the official KKP weekly paper was difficult to answer since, due to space constraints, total inclusion would mean serious limitations on articles dealing with society, history and the economy. BIPS

⁶⁴⁶ Joanna Szczesna and Seweryn Blumstajn, “Język prasy związkowej”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 23 (March 5, 1981) 5.

⁶⁴⁷ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 112-113, 154-155.

⁶⁴⁸ Stefan Niesiołowski, “Totalitarne cienie”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 29 (April 23, 1981) 6.

⁶⁴⁹ “Dyskusja nad *Tygodnik Solidarność*”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 22 (February 26, 1981) 3.

was created, in part, to deal with this issue. Mazowiecki emphasized unity in *Tygodnik Solidarność*, and therefore avoided coverage of internal disputes and polemics within the union. In relation to the state, *Tygodnik Solidarność* stressed compromise and dialogue. Mazowiecki's editorial policy led *Tygodnik Solidarność* to be referred to as a "corpse of caution" and caused Kazimierz Dziewanowski to resign from the editorial board in May 1981.⁶⁵⁰

Disagreements over union publications, and *Tygodnik Solidarność* specifically, were aired in the spring of 1981 in the KKP and in union publications, in the midst of the cleavage between "pragmatists" and "fundamentalists." In the KKP, Karol Modzelewski, Zbigniew Bujak, Andrzej Gwiazda, and Janusz Onyszkiewicz called for complete truth and freedom of speech in Solidarity publications meaning that they should be free to critique the union leadership; they treated this as a component part of achieving democracy within the union.⁶⁵¹

On May 7, there was a meeting in Warsaw of the editors of *Tygodnik Solidarność* (Mazowiecki and Wyszowski) with representatives from the union and union press. *Tygodnik Solidarność* was attacked for not covering internal union disputes (specifically surrounding the Warsaw Agreement), the history of the independent social movement, political prisoners and the upcoming elections.⁶⁵² Soon after, Modzelewski argued that union bulletins should both inform the public and help to form public opinion; he criticized *Tygodnik Solidarność* which he described as having censorship deriving not only from the state, but from the editors as well.⁶⁵³ Onyszkiewicz, who described *Tygodnik Solidarność* as "cautious" in an interview in *Niezależność*, claimed that the paper would be improved by following its own editorial line,

⁶⁵⁰ Waldemar Kuczyński was then elevated to the position of deputy editor. [Krzysztof Leski, "Trudno być redaktorem," *Niezależność* 43 (May 12, 1981) 2.]

⁶⁵¹ "Jedność, ale nie jednomyślność," *Niezależność* 24 (April 10, 1981) 2-5.

⁶⁵² Krzysztof Leski, *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk* 47 (May 21, 1981) 11-12.

⁶⁵³ Karol Modelewski, "Nasza wiarygodność niezbędna dla ocalenia kraju", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 34 (May 14, 1981) 5.

rather than mirroring that of the KKP. He also noted that while there was plenty of enthusiasm, journalistic skill was often sparse with the amateurs who flocked to other Solidarity publishing ventures.⁶⁵⁴ Complaints were also raised over the treatment of KPN in *Tygodnik Solidarność* amid insinuations that it was an organ of KSS-KOR as the “true Poles” grew in confidence. Stefan Niesiołowski presented it as instrument of the “lay left” and not in tune with the nation.⁶⁵⁵ Geremek and Mazowiecki defended the editorial policy at *Tygodnik Solidarność* in the KKP.⁶⁵⁶ Mazowiecki, in the pages of *Niezależność* insisted that as the one widely available union publication, he didn’t want to interfere in the upcoming elections and so attempted to stay above the fray and out of union disputes.⁶⁵⁷

Disagreements over the Solidarity’s leadership’s control of the union press became more heated in the lead up to the elections in the spring and summer of 1981. In May 1981, the editors of *Biuletyn Informacyjny* and printers for MKZ Central East Region, threatened a strike due to the “paralyzing” influence of the regional union leadership on the publication. Disagreements had already been festering over the editorial policy which was perceived by many as too radical including the printing of transcripts of regional MKZ leadership gatherings. The editors were then fired. Soon after, their publication ceased to exist, and a new *Informator* which would be an official organ of the regional union leadership was created in Lublin. Tomasz Zieliński likened the reaction of Maciej Sobieraj, the vice-chairman of the region to Louis XIV.⁶⁵⁸ Shortly after

⁶⁵⁴ However, he also acknowledged that as the only national union publication, there was an issue if *Tygodnik Solidarność* took a clear side in internal debates [Interview with Onyszkiewicz, *Niezależność* 46 (May 15, 1981) 3.]

⁶⁵⁵ Stanisław Rutkowski, “Czytelnicy piszą”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 48 (Sierpień 4, 1981) 3; Stefan Niesiołowski, “Lewica laicka i naród”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 49 (Sierpień 11, 1981) 2.

⁶⁵⁶ “Jedność, ale nie jednomyślność”, *Niezależność* 24 (April 10, 1981) 2-5.

⁶⁵⁷ Not covering disputes, clearly would, however, impact elections, if voters were unaware of disagreements. [Krzysztof Leski, “Trudno być redaktorem,” *Niezależność* 43 (May 12, 1981) 2; Andrzej Terlecki interview with Mazowiecki, “Jeszcze się uczymy”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 53 (October 2, 1981) 5.

⁶⁵⁸ “Prawa związkowa grozi strajkiem!”, *Niezależność* 49 (May 22, 1981) 4; “Z dnia na dzień”, *Niezależność* 53 (May 28, 1981) 1; Maciej Sobieraj, “Karnawał” *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 91; Tomasz Zieliński, “Wyzwanie”, *Jedność* 41 (June 12, 1981) 8.

this incident, at the Second Congress of the Union press, union journalists published an announcement asserting that changes in editorial boards should only come from a full gathering of a region's union members; not from the regional leadership. Onyszkiewicz disagreed, pointing out that the cost for a two day gathering in Mazowsze was 4 million zł; he insisted that this was too high a price to pay for the selection of an editor. He continued that while "the press should very much have autonomy...there is here a certain dilemma. Namely, it is difficult to decide what should be the tribunal appointing the main editors of union papers and how to form editorial collegiums." Onyszkiewicz also expressed concern over the power of editors to choose the entire editorial board, in which case, the publication could become a private soapbox paid for with union dues.⁶⁵⁹

Debates in Mazowsze, where fights over the union press were particularly strident, provide a window into various points of contention. In June, the editors of *Wiadomości Dnia* printed questions raised in a union gathering about why *Niezależność* appeared daily rather than weekly and calling for it to revert back to its former, weekly format.⁶⁶⁰ Konrad Bieliński responded that printing daily was technically the best option since only one sheet could be printed per night. Demonstrating the increasingly divisiveness of union debates, he called it "demagoguery" for other printers not to admit this to the public.⁶⁶¹ Piotr Piętrak responded in the pages of *Wiadomości Dnia* with an equally stark attack on the editorial policy of *Niezależność*

⁶⁵⁹ Interview with Onyszkiewicz, *Niezależność* 46 (May 15, 1981) 3.

⁶⁶⁰ In March, *Niezależność* began, like *Wiadomości Dnia*, to be produced daily; it continued to carry factual information as well as more polemic pieces. In May, *Wiadomości Dnia* moved to the regional headquarters which is where *Niezależność* was produced. Although by this time it had markedly improved in quality, it still carried quite brief factual articles (much like *KOR Komunikat* had). ["*Niezależność* tygodnikiem; *Wiadomości Dnia* dziennikiem" *Wiadomości Dnia* 122 (June 12, 1981) 1.]

⁶⁶¹ Konrad Bielinski, "Dlaczego taka", *Niezależność* 72 (June 26, 1981) 2.

which he presented as divergent from the views of the union membership; he also asserted that there were no real technical problems with weekly production.⁶⁶²

These issues were raised amidst a plethora of insinuations at the regional congress in August 1981. Paweł Niezgodzki, a “true Pole” who was on the editorial board of *Wiadomości Dnia* and from January had been chairman of the Solidarity Mazowsze Information Bureau, took the lead in attacking *Niezależność*. At the gathering, union delegates questioned why Mazowsze didn’t have a regional weekly and complained about the coordination and distribution of publishing. One delegate called for *Niezależność* to cease publication. Kornad Bieliński blamed the regional leadership for not organizing printing on state equipment for a weekly and insisted that a daily publication was best due to their technical capabilities.⁶⁶³

Issues related to the supply of equipment were also discussed at length. Delegates complained about the condition of union printing machines in Mazowsze and continually demanded to know why Mazowsze was so poorly supplied, insisting that other region, specifically Łódź, were better supplied. This issue was not easily dropped despite the explanation by Zbigniew Bujak (who was on the KKP) that because Andrzej Słowik was based in Łódź, machines were there since it was the center for the distribution of union printing supplies; not because they belonged to the MKZ in Łódź. Bieliński insisted (correctly) that Mazowsze was comparatively well supplied with printing equipment. Furthermore, he claimed that the equipment in the regional headquarters used to produce *Niezależność* and *Wiadomości Dnia* had been organized by himself and Witold Łuczywo through private connections and that they continued to have to personally organize the supply of paper as the regional leadership

⁶⁶² Piotr Piętak, “Po pierwsze, po drugie, po trzecie”, *Wiadomości Dnia* 136 (July 1, 1981) 2.

⁶⁶³ In July at the gathering of Lower Silesia’s ZR, disputes over the competence of the editors of the regional paper were also voiced. [“Zarząd o informacji”, *Niezależność* 113 (August 25, 1981) 2-4; “Zarząd o informacji cd.”, *Niezależność* 114 (August 26, 1981) 2; *Wiadomości Dnia* 98 (May 8, 1981) 1.]

made no deal with the state to organize paper supply as had occurred in some other regions. Henry Wujec supported Bieliński, asserting that the people who created union publications in the region, did so without any help from the union, so that now the leadership should be helping them rather than attacking them. He also emphasized the importance of factory publications rather than just the regional bulletins as sources of information. Complaints and insinuations were also made about equipment being sent to other regions from Mazowsze. Bieliński explained that only small machines were sent to other regions and that these were largely intended for those regions and had only been in Mazowsze for further distribution. The virulence of these attacks points to the increasing impossibility of providing others (even within the union) with printing equipment. Unsurprisingly, complaints were also raised over editors' control of the press and their right to critique the union leadership.⁶⁶⁴

Ultimately, *Niezależność* ceased publication due to these disputes. When it was demanded that *Niezależność* be produced only twice a week, Bieliński refused. On November 9, 1981 *Niezależność* produced its last issue. While the 'true Poles' and *Głos milieu* at *Wiadomość Dnia* now had control of Mazowsze's sole daily union publications, it was at the cost of the region losing not only its primary source of independent union information but also one of the most informative union publications in the country.⁶⁶⁵

While debates in Mazowsze were especially strident, these general issues were raised at various regional congresses and in union publications at this time.⁶⁶⁶ In Małopolska, when questions over the editorial policy at *Goniec Małopolski* were raised, Robert Kaczmarek who edited *Goniec Małopolski* and led the region's Information Section, stated outright that he would

⁶⁶⁴“Zarząd o Informacji”, *Niezależność* 113 (August 25, 1981) 2-4; “Zarząd o informacji cd.”, *Niezależność* 114 (August 26, 1981) 2.

⁶⁶⁵ Ewa Kulik and Konrad Bieliński, “Uwaga: Chory region!”, *Niezależność* 155 (October 21, 1981) 3-4; “Obrady zarządu”, *Niezależność* 167 (November 6, 1981) 2; “Dlaczego”, *Niezależność* 168 (November 9, 1981) 1.

⁶⁶⁶ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą*, 201.

resign if his editorial freedom was infringed upon. At the same time, he promised that the pages of his paper were open to everyone. Indeed, in the wake of calls, at the regional congress, for information on Katyń to be published in *Goniec Małopolski*, the following issue carried an article on the massacres. Still, Małopolska continued to suffer from equipment shortages while Wrocław and Łódź (both of which had uncensored dailies and weeklies) were much better supplied. Gdansk also was comparatively well supplied with printing equipment. Mazowsze was better off than Małopolska, but this was more a result of the pre-existence of independent publishers than of union supply routes.⁶⁶⁷ Given the complaints about the supply of printing equipment in Mazowsze, it is perhaps ironic that, Andrzej Terelecki of *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* complained about paper supply and questioned why the regional leadership was able to provide MKZ Łódź with printing equipment but not paper which meant that they had to produce a shorter issue.⁶⁶⁸

Union publications also printed articles on editorial independence. Józef Menes argued in *Tygodnik Solidarność* that the union press should be treated as a rung of the union and that editors should be chosen by the union leadership which he argued, unlike the editors, had been democratically elected by the union membership.⁶⁶⁹ However, Onyszkiewicz was much more cautious about union control of the press and in the pages of *Niezależność* warned that some local union leaders thought that since the PZPR leadership had “their own press”, they should have the same; he termed this a “dictatorial inclination.”⁶⁷⁰ Jarosław Broda in *Solidarność Dolnośląska* expressed faith that the population was intelligent enough that truth was sufficient

⁶⁶⁷ Robert Kaczmarek, *Goniec Małopolski* 24/25 (April 8-15, 1981) 12; “Nasza poligrafia”, *Goniec Małopolski* 44 (September 14, 1981) 16.

⁶⁶⁸ Andrzej Terelecki, “Sprawa papieru”, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 32 (May 14, 1981) 2.

⁶⁶⁹ Józef Menes, “Jak prasa związkowa?”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 13 (June 26, 1981) 7.

⁶⁷⁰ “Żeby związek nie był niemy”, *Niezależność* 72 (June 26, 1981) 6.

in combating state propaganda rather than there being a need for Solidarity to respond with propaganda.⁶⁷¹

Andrzej Gwiazda proposed that each MKZ have at least two papers; one which would be an organ of the MKZ and one which was independent. He posited that the first could print all official stances and resolutions of the union leadership. The second would include criticisms. He argued that not having an independent union press would lead to a collapse into totalitarianism.⁶⁷² Due to supply shortages this proposal was not contemporaneously feasible.

Debates over editorial independence and the just distribution of supplies partially reflect the challenges arising from an underground social movement merging with an organization with dues paying members. While independent publishers had helped with the creation of union printing, did this mean that they could permanently control union press organs? Prior to August 1980, independent publishers had, in effect, acted entirely independent of their readership; whoever could procure supplies and print could produce what they wanted. Moreover, with the significant exception of *Robtonik*, most readers were intellectual. Even *Robotnik* was produced by a small intellectual group; if workers didn't want to read it, they didn't have to and had paid nothing toward it. After August 1980, supplies and funds were provided by an organization which was dominated by workers who were often annoyed at intellectual control of union publications which were paid for by their dues; they demanded worker influence over publications. Although a market was not created as such, editors were forced to become more responsive to their readers.

The issue of pay for union functionaries (worker and intellectual) was increasingly raised (including those involved with publishing), demonstrating a further shift toward economic

⁶⁷¹ Jarosław Broda, "Dyskusja musi trwać", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 53, (September 22, 1981) 8.

⁶⁷² Andrzej Gwiazda interview with Tomasz Zieliński, "Z Andrzejem Gwiazdą o wychowaniu rządu", *Jedność* 56 (September 25, 1981) 7.

responsiveness. Adam Grzesiak, who Chojecki had sent over to the Solidarity Mazowsze headquarters from NOWa in September 1980, quickly became disaffected with the haphazard organization and pay within the union and returned to NOWa.⁶⁷³ With time, pay for union printing did become regular. Union journalists in Mazowsze were ultimately making about 8,000 zł a month while those in Wrocław earned 5,000-6,500 zł. In Małopolska, union journalists made about 5,500 zł. Printers made 5,000-7,000 zł a month in these regions.⁶⁷⁴ This change meant that jealousies arose over who was chosen to work on union publications as their salaries derived from Solidarity's coffers which were filled by donations and union dues.

Repression

At the outset of the Solidarity-era, overt state repression of union publishing was all but non-existent while repression of independent publishers was sparse. In December 1980, Bogdan Grzesiak was, while on his way to Gdansk, arrested at the airport and detained for over ten hours. He had a couple hundred copies of *Niezależność* confiscated as well as issues of *Robotnik* and posters dealing with the events of December 1970.⁶⁷⁵ In February 1981, state officials seized 1,500 copies of *Puls* as well as a NOWa duplicator. This seizure led to a public outcry, demonstrating what a rare occurrence seizures had become.⁶⁷⁶

The harassment of independent and union publishing rose sharply in the summer of 1981. In the wake of the "Bydgoszcz events" state repression increased, spurring on radicalization within the union at the same time that union publishers became more confident, less constrained by self-censorship and increasingly sought to publish works which were more historic and monographic and less convincingly 'only for union use.' In June of 1981, the government

⁶⁷³ Adam Grzesiak, "Opowieści wolnego drukarza", 90-91, 95.

⁶⁷⁴ Leszek Maleszka, "Niezależni dziennikarze", *Goniec Małopolski* 30 (May 13, 1981) 15; "Tajemnice prezydium", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 30 (April 10, 1980). 4.

⁶⁷⁵ Bogdan Grzesiak, "Przyczynek do obchodów grudnia", *Niezależność* 11/12 (December 31, 1980) 5.

⁶⁷⁶ "Czy wznowia niż represje wobec pism niezależnych?" *Zapis* 18 (April 1981) 142.

blocked and seized publications produced in Radom to commemorate the events of June 1976.⁶⁷⁷ Although *Tygodnik Solidarność* regularly had articles censored, the censoring in the 25th issue (June) of an article by Kaja Bogomilska about the events of June 1976 was perceived as especially intrusive; the censor had eliminated information about the “path of health” and other brutalities by the militia.⁶⁷⁸ On July 2, in Wrocław, 500 copies of a book about Katyń were seized by the SB in the Mera-Elwro Factory, despite the fact that it had been printed on the commission of the KZ.⁶⁷⁹ Soon after, state run kiosks which sold *Solidarność Dolnośląska* and *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* were shut down.⁶⁸⁰ Union publishing efforts in Piła (which was one of Solidarity’s smallest regions) came to a halt in June and July 1981. After bringing in, Franciszek Langner, the editor of the union paper in June for questioning over alleged infringements on the censorship law, in July, the SB searched the union’s printing office in the Polam factory and seized 7,500 brochures about the events of 1956, 1968 1970, 1976 as well as 3,000 brochures about Poznań in 1956. They then suspended the printing of *Solidarność Pilska* and *Solidarność Polamowska*.⁶⁸¹ Shortly after, the printing of *Wolny Związkowiec* was held up when it included a caricature from *Solidarność Ziemi Puławski*. Jacek Cieśliski, the editor, noted that when the Procurator threatened them, they held the paper for two days, but when no further response was received from the Procurator, they distributed it. Soon after, the print workers from the factory which had printed it were transferred to other jobs. This led the workers as the Katowice Steelworks to call for the removal of the director of their enterprise.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁷ “W Radomiu po staremu”, *Niezależność* 79 (July 7, 1981) 1.

⁶⁷⁸ “Cenzura”, *Niezależność* 74 (June 30, 1981) 1.

⁶⁷⁹ “Pierwsza konferencja prasowa pierwszych władz”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 44 (July 17, 1981) 1; “Stanowczy odpor”, *Niezależność* 78 (July 6, 1981) 1.

⁶⁸⁰ “Co oznaczają te akcje?”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 44 (July 17, 1981) 5; “Strajk ruch”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 61 (November 16, 1981) 2.

⁶⁸¹ “Bibuła”, *Niezależność* 88 (July 20, 1981) 1.

⁶⁸² Mirosław Kowalski, “Stalowy filar PRL”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 23 (September 4, 1981) 8.

In early August 1981, in the midst of state-union negotiations, when Zbigniew Bujak asked about the harassment of union publishers and a house search of Wiesław Kęcik in which over a thousand works were seized from *Niezależne Wydawnictwa Chłopski, Rakowski* interrupted him and went to an adjoining room where tables were covered with the seized publications.⁶⁸³ The KKP termed the seizure, “an act of aggression” against both Rural Solidarity and Solidarity and claimed that carrying out a house search in the midst of union-state discussions and the organization of an “exhibit” of the confiscated publications was an outrage. They threatened that if such an instance occurred against “our union or any other union or independent publishing house” we will respond. The government cut relations with Solidarity; they never resumed on that level.⁶⁸⁴

On August 14, *Jedność* appeared with blank spots where articles about the KPN trials and the theft of a monument to the victims of Katyń were supposed to be. After the censors cut these articles, the editors decided to underline what had happened by leaving the blank areas. The censors had rejected this remedy. ZR West Pomorze advised printing anyway, which meant that printers produced them “illegally.” State kiosks refused to distribute the issue so it was entirely distributed by the union apparatus.⁶⁸⁵

The “Days Without Press” in August did not stop Solidarity’s problems with state censors. In late June 1981, ZR Jelń Góra had begun producing *Odrodzenie* on state printers (meaning under censorship) with a weekly print-run of 20,000. For the seventh issue, during the “Days without Press” it left large blank spaces. On August 21, the editors received a telex from

⁶⁸³ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 197; “Jak długo jeszcze?”, *Niezależność* 101 (August 7, 1981) 4.

⁶⁸⁴ “KKP uchwał ciąg dalszy”, *Niezależność* 106 (August 14, 1981) 4.

⁶⁸⁵ The use of blank spots gained increasing popularity in official papers at this time. It was a method which had been used by Polish patriots in the Russian partition in the 19th and early 20th century to highlight incursions by censors. As with *Jedność*, state censors generally refused to allow blank spaces; that editors used them, often led to the seizure of a publication. [Julia Czarnecka, “Taka plama to reklama”, *Niezależność* 32 (April 24, 1981) 5-6; “Dni bez prasy”, *Niezależność* 105 (August 13, 1981) 1; “Dni bez prasy”, *Niezależność* 107 (August 17, 1981) 1; “Dziś dzień bez prasy”, *Niezależność* 109 (August 19, 1981) 1.]

GUKPPiW, threatening to withdraw their license if they did something similar again. When the eighth issue was submitted, the censors proposed changing about 50% of the texts. As a result, *Odrodzenie* was declared a publication for ‘internal union use’ which would be printed and distributed by the union alone and moved from the censor.⁶⁸⁶ Waldemar Kuczyński remarked on August 24, that despite the new censorship laws, the censors continued to act in the old way.⁶⁸⁷

On September 14, 1981, Kornel Morawiecki, editor-in-chief of *Biuletyn Dolnośląska* was arrested but soon after released after he published an appeal by Russian émigrés to Russian soldiers to boycott any action against Poland/Solidarity.⁶⁸⁸ The following day, state censors made extensive incursions in *Tygodnik Solidarność*. After extensive negotiations, and the state refusing to allow a blank spot, the issue appeared late with the censored articles replaced with other articles.⁶⁸⁹ On September 16, Dom Słowa Polskiego threatened not to publish *Trybuny Ludu* if *Tygodnik Solidarność* continued to have these problems.⁶⁹⁰

The government did not halt its harassment of independent publishers. In October, Kornel Morawiecki, was charged with illegally writing against the connection between Poland and the Soviet Union.⁶⁹¹ At his hearings, which was held in November and December 1981, the SB officer who was responsible for gathering information on *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* testified for Morawiecki, noting that it was in the pages of *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* that he first read, in print, the truth about Katyń. That an SB officer testified for Morawiecki demonstrates the degree to which

⁶⁸⁶ “Cenzura”, *Niezależność* 119 (September 2, 1981) 1.

⁶⁸⁷ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 157.

⁶⁸⁸ Dariusz Fikus, *Foksal* ’81, 145; “Represje”, *Niezależność* 130 (September 17, 1981) 1; [Untitled] *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk*, Special Edition (1987) 2.

⁶⁸⁹ Krzysztof Czabański, “Ekstremiści mimo woli”, *Niezależność* 130 (September 17, 1981) 2.

⁶⁹⁰ Waldemar Kuczyński, *Burza nad Wisłą*, 148, 150, 154, 158-160, 177.

⁶⁹¹ “Kornel Morawiecki przed sądem”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 55 (October 22, 1981) 13.

social solidarity really had developed; that the trial was held shows that state authorities were not pleased with these developments.⁶⁹²

The state also continued to employ infiltration, using their SB plants to gather information on publishing and moderate it. Lesław Maleszka was extremely important in union printing in Małopolska and regularly penned articles for papers there. In November 1981, Henryk Karkosza attended the Frankfurt Book Fair as a representative of KOS to gather information on publishing in the emigration.⁶⁹³

Following the wave of strikes which halted universities across the nation in November 1981, on December 2, riot police ended the brief occupation strike at the Warsaw Fire Officer's Academy. The next day, Solidarity's Presidium and Regional Chairmen agreed on a warning strike if the Sejm debated giving the government emergency powers. It also contemplated the radical step of declaring a vote of no confidence in the government. On December 11-12, 1981 the KK met in Gdansk to discuss the appropriate response to the government's apparent efforts toward provoking a confrontation.

At 11:00 PM on Saturday, December 12, operation Jodła began with the arrest and rounding up of the Solidarity leadership. On December 13, a State of War was declared as a Military Council for National Salvation (WRON) took over the state apparatus. All telecommunications were cut after Jaruzelski televised a speech to the nation. The Czech and East German armies blockaded Poland's borders. There was no foreign invasion however. Red Army General, Leon Dubicki explained soon after that "the Soviet Union is afraid of the Polish nation" and was not willing to risk sending in their own army. Still, 31,750 Polish security

⁶⁹² "Proces K. Morawieckiego", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 58 (November 10, 1981) 1; "Rozprawa przeciwko Morawieckiemu", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 59 (November 12, 1981) 11; "Proces Morawieckiego", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 64 (November 19, 1981) 1-2; "Proces Morawieckiego", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 75 (December 10, 1981) 1.

⁶⁹³ Henry Głębocki, "Ketman" i "Monika" – *Żywy Równoległy*, 93, 98.

forces (SB and MO), supported by 80,000 members of the regular Polish army, crushed Solidarity. By this time, the PZPR had less than 3 million members (one million of whom were in Solidarity), Solidarity had 10 million members while Rural Solidarity had over 3 million members. It was therefore not only a union, but Poland's burgeoning civil society on which the state declared war.⁶⁹⁴

Conclusion

Independent publishing in Poland between the summer of 1980 and December 1981 expanded exponentially. As independent publishing moved from its intellectual, oppositional roots to a much broader, legal basis it confronted a variety of new challenges. After August 1980, the editors of independent publications were less independent than those before August as they were forced to be more responsive to their readers and the leaders of the Solidarity trades union who themselves pursued a self-limiting revolution. Independent publishers were, however, able to reach a readership in the millions, something which was unimaginable only a year before. Moreover, just as Solidarity grew less self-limiting with time, independent publishers grew less inclined toward self-censorship by late 1981.

⁶⁹⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution*, 170, 147; "ZSRR boi się narodu Polskiego", *Arka* 1 (1983) 175.

CHAPTER 4

Solidarity's First National Congress and the Union Press

Solidarity's First National Congress was held in Gdansk at the Olivia Sports Arena in two rounds in the fall of 1981. The first round was held September 5-10 and the second round was held September 26-October 7. Debates during the first round concentrated on alterations to Solidarity's statutes. Delegates also created thirteen working groups which labored between the rounds to draft sections to Solidarity's future program. During the second round, Solidarity elected a new leadership and debated Solidarity's program. During the Congress, delegates voted a number of official resolutions and decrees.

The 896 delegates to the Congress had been elected in regional elections during the spring and summer of 1981 by Solidarity's approximately 9.4 million members. The size of regional delegations to the National Congress was proportionate to the Solidarity membership in each region (it was meant to be 1 for every 10,000 members); the largest regional delegation was the mining district of Silesia-Dąbrowska which had 106 delegates, Mazowsze had 92 delegates, Lower Silesia had 91 delegates, Małopolska had 66 delegates, and Gdansk had 53 delegates; the remaining 488 delegates came from medium and smaller sized regions. About 2,000 invited guests from abroad and at home, including a number of experts, also attended the Congress.⁶⁹⁵ In addition, Solidarity accredited a number of press outlets. At the Congress, 161 Polish journalists and 204 foreign journalists were in attendance. Polish television was quickly banned

⁶⁹⁵ Lidia Kowalińska-Maślanka and Tomasz Zieliński remarked on the absence, during the first round, of some of those who had been at the forefront of the union's founding, namely Bogdan Borusewicz, Anna Wałentynowicz and Alina Pieńkowska. However, Wałentynowicz did address the union during the second round as an invited guest. [Lidia] Kowalińska-Maślanka & Tomasz Zieliński, "Nasz zjazd", *Jedność* 54 (September 11, 1981) 1.]

as it was not possible for the entire proceedings of the Congress to have been aired and delegates were concerned that state editing would be done in a manipulative way.⁶⁹⁶

Thanks to polls which were done around this time, it is possible to outline society's major concerns going into the Congress as well the basic social background of the delegates. In August, the Center for Social Research in Mazowsze did a poll of 1,000 individuals across the country in which they were asked what issues were of the highest importance: 44% noted the sovereignty of the country, 43% answered economic reforms, 32% said popularization of the true history of Poland, 32% referenced the free flow of information and a decrease in censorship, 26% spoke of the danger of unemployment and 21% noted self-governance.⁶⁹⁷ At the Congress, 891 of the 896 delegates who were predominantly male and young (over ½ were under 35) responded to a poll on their social background. 47% claimed to derive from the working class, 32.8% described their background as intellectual, 14.4% identified with the peasantry, and 5% responded other (which could mean, for instance, that they were peasant-workers). The Mazowsze region had the highest percentage of self-identified intellectuals in their delegation, while Silesia-Dąbrowska had the highest percentage of workers. In terms of education, 50.7% of delegates had a university degree, 35.7% had a high school degree, and 9.9% had completed vocational school and only 2.3% had only a primary degree. Just under 10% of the delegates were PZPR members which meant that they represented about the same percentage at the Congress that they did in the population.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁶ Of the mid-sized regions, the largest were Łódź with 47 delegates, Wielkopolska with 43 delegates and West Pomorze with 35 delegates. ["Zaplecze", *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 4; "Wiadomość dnia", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 2; "Trochę statystyki", *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej* 49 (September 11, 1981) 10; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 26 (September 26, 1981) 16.

⁶⁹⁷ Ludwik Dorn, "Solidarność a samorząd", *Głos Wolny* 4 (September 7, 1981) 2.

⁶⁹⁸ A representative from the MO even attended and argued that the security services ought not be used against the legitimate working class. ["Kto nas reprezentuje", *Głos Wolny* 21 (October 5, 1981) 4; "Trzeci dzień", *Niezależność* 138 (September 29, 1981) 1.]

National Congress proceedings were mediated to the populace most fully through the lens of union publications. *Głos Wolny* and *Tygodnik Solidarność* were distributed nationally and were the most important and comprehensive sources of information for the populace on Congress debates. They are the focus of analysis for this chapter.

Głos Wolny was a four-page paper for the delegates. It was uncensored and was published daily during the two rounds of the Congress and intermittently between them so that 24 issues were published between September 4, 1981 and October 8, 1981. *Głos Wolny* was produced in cooperation with BIPS. The editor-in-chief was Jan Dworak; *Głos Wolny* employed individuals with experience in a number of independent publications.⁶⁹⁹ It was printed in Gdansk at the Gdansk ZR publishing offices with a print-run of 10,000 during the first round of the congress and 15,000 during the second round. In addition, it was re-printed in Małopolska, Mazowsze and in Silesia so that it had a total print-run of about 80,000-100,000. *Głos Wolny* was the sole publication which daily provided the nation with excerpts from delegates' debates. It also carried most official announcements, transcripts of important speeches and addresses, interviews with delegates and guests as well as interesting articles on the day's occurrences.⁷⁰⁰

Tygodnik Solidarność had unquestionably the largest print-run of any Solidarity paper. After a request by the Congress, the print-run of *Tygodnik Solidarność* on September 11, 18 and 25 was allowed to extend from 500,000 to 1,000,000. However, in the wake of the unprecedented cuts by the censors in the September 18 issue and the concomitant wide-spread

⁶⁹⁹ The entire editorial board included Seweryn Blumsztajn, Jarosław Broda, Andrzej Dorniak, Urszula Doroszevska, Jan Dworak, Hulle, Jerzy Kasprzyszak, Jolanta Kozak, Tomasz Luczak, Antoni Pawlak, Piotr Strzałkowski, Arkadiusz Rybicki, Joanna Szczesna, Tomasz Wolek, Czesław Zegar, Katarzyna Zakowska, and Jacek Zakowski. Together, they had experience at BIPS, AS, *Tygodnik Solidarność*, *Solidarność Dolnośląsk*, *Robotnik*, *Bratniak*, *Głos*, *Iskra*, *Solidarność Ziemi Łódzka* etc

⁷⁰⁰ Jan Dworak, "Jak pracujemy", *Głos Wolny* 12 (September 26, 1981) 1; "Kto nas wydaje", *Głos Wolny* 23 (October 7, 1981) 4.

complaints in the union press, the government did not allow *Tygodnik Solidarność* to maintain this enlarged print-run for round two of the Congress.

Solidarity's National Congress was the first nation-wide, democratically elected gathering held in Poland in over 40 years. It is therefore the best opportunity for exploring the political trajectories Polish society embraced in 1981, five years after the emergence of wide-spread, continuous independent publishing efforts and one year after the birth of Solidarity. While between 1976 and 1980, independent publishing activities often looked to history to understand and debate the present and future, at the Congress, history took a backseat as delegates focused on concrete assessments of the present and proposed programs for immediate change in the future.

This chapter will focus on the debates and addresses of the delegates at the Congress. A number of invited guests, especially representatives of international trade unions, addressed the Congress as well as the decorated veteran, Mieczysław Boruta-Spiechowicz and several experts including Jacek Kuroń. In addition, Catholic mass was held daily before the opening of debates; one of Father Józef Tischner's sermons was officially added to the transcript of the Congress. However, only the views of society's elected representatives will be analyzed as only they had the imprimatur of societal support through election.

Union publications frequently quoted individual views in debates, underlining the importance of transparency, allowing readers to create informed opinions about their representatives and distancing themselves from the coverage of the PZPR. In order both to maintain that style of coverage and also to underline the fact that it was a bevy of individuals from across the country who were delegated to the Congress, rather than summarizing debates,

this chapter will, whenever possible, reference the views of individual delegates and note the region which they represented.

Delegate debates made clear that most of the population expected Solidarity to function not only as a trades union, but also as a social movement. Accordingly, this chapter will first analyze debates about Solidarity as an organization and union then as a social movement. It will conclude with a review of the presentation of candidate's for Solidarity chairman.

This chapter will demonstrate that the democratic opposition's faith in independent social initiatives in helping to regenerate Polish civil society, was not misplaced. Indeed, delegates' focus on self-governance was about independent social initiatives leading to societal control of the state. Therefore, although Solidarity's representatives insisted that they were not a political opposition, delegates debates were, in many ways, a furtherance of the democratic opposition's tactics for achieving sovereignty. This chapter will also show that Polish society was growing increasingly less self-limiting. While demands for electoral reforms, an independent judiciary, and a more market-based economy had been voiced in independent publications by the democratic opposition prior to August 1980, these demands were perceived as radical and found no place in the 21 strike demands in August. By the fall of 1981, however, these demands were voiced publicly by society's elected representatives at the Congress and printed in union publications (censored and uncensored); as civil society emerged moderation waned.

Solidarity: An Organization and Trade Union

Debates over Solidarity's organizational structure at the Congress often sounded more like the deliberations of a constitutional congress than those of a union. Delegates universally agreed on the need for democracy but disagreed on how best to achieve democracy as they debated centralization and de-centralization, voting regulations and the influence of elected and

non-elected officials in the union. Their debates reflected not only the challenges of building a democratic organization from scratch, but also of creating a democratic organization within a non-democratic environment. Disagreements over transparency and centralization were very much connected to the fact that Solidarity was engaging with a state which was centralized and secretive. Accordingly, debates over union structure reflected ideological and moral concerns as well as ideas about effectiveness.

At the Congress, Zbigniew Bujak (Mazowsze) insisted that in August 1980 no one had known that such a dynamic movement would be born. He contended that the job of the KKP had been to bring a union to life. Bujak continued that it could not be questioned that the union existed. His conclusion that, “we fulfilled out primary function,” met with massive applause.⁷⁰¹ However, this fairly self-congratulatory tone about the accomplishments of Solidarity as a union and organization did not find many echoes as debates continued.

Statutory Organizational Structure

During the extensive debates over Solidarity’s statutory organizational structure, the issue of internal union democracy was repeatedly raised. Delegates proposed nearly 300 concrete alterations were proposed to Solidarity’s statutes; most dealt with organization. In addition, a number of non-specific proposals were put forward to improve union organization, democracy and efficiency.⁷⁰²

The main point of contention over Solidarity’s organization was its leadership. The leadership of the union was focused in the KKP and its eight-person Presidium. KKP membership was fluid; each regional MKZ had at least one representative. While regional chairman usually served as KKP representatives, this was not statutory; frequently more than one

⁷⁰¹ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 3; “Czwarty dzień obrad,” *Z Dnia na Dzień* 35 (September 30, 1981) 2.

⁷⁰² “Piąty dzień”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 24 (September 10, 1981) 3.

individual per region (especially those from Gdansk) participated and voted in the KKP. Experts/advisors played a de facto, although non-regulated role in the union leadership. Delegates debated the composition, competencies and electoral procedures for the future National Commission (KK) which was to replace the KKP as well as the Presidium and the union's advisors.

The Mazowsze delegation put forward the proposal by the Center for Socio-Professional Studies (OPSZ) in Mazowsze that a Supreme Council be created within Solidarity alongside the KK and Presidium. The Supreme Council was to be appointed by the regions and serve as a legislative body. According to this proposal, the KK was to become the union's executive body. It, as well as the Presidium, would be elected by the Congress and would shrink in size.⁷⁰³

A counter-proposal from the 'radical' Łódź delegation rejected the idea of a Supreme Council and called for the chairman of the KK to be elected by the Congress, with regions electing the KK and Presidium.⁷⁰⁴ Karol Modzelewski, in the name of the Lower Silesian delegation (which also was dubbed radical), opposed the idea of a Supreme Council. Like the majority of the Łódź delegation, the majority of Lower Silesian delegates expressed concern that a Supreme Council would, by dividing the union's central power, weaken Solidarity. Modzelewski agreed that the KKP had problems, but argued that these resulted from its lack of a narrow leadership with defined powers as well as its unrepresentative nature, resulting from the unproportional participation of the regions. Modzelewski called for proportional representation in the KK and for the KK to elect the Presidium.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰³ AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3.

⁷⁰⁴ Marek Kossakowski, "Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 123 (September 8, 1981) 1; L[idia] Kowalińska-Maślanka & Tomasz Zieliński, "Nasz zjazd", *Jedność* 54 (September 11, 1981) 4.

⁷⁰⁵ AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3; Kazimierz Helebrandt, "Mogliśmy mieć dobry statut", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 53 (September 22, 1981) 4; Marek Kossakowski, "Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 123 (September 8, 1981) 1.

Disagreements over the division of Solidarity's leadership were often portrayed in stark contrasts of democracy or dictatorship. Lech Kaczyński (Gdansk) supported the creation of a Supreme Council; he insisted that the union needed centralization in its struggle with the state but decentralization otherwise. He believed that a Supreme Council would balance this requirement as it could serve as a strategic organ which would guarantee the division of powers: executive and rule making. Zbigniew Iwanów (Toruń) supported Kaczyński as he thought that a Supreme Council would guarantee the democracy which he argued had until that point been lacking in the union.⁷⁰⁶ Krzysztof Jagielski (West Pomorze) noted that this was a vote for democracy or dictatorship, for federalism or centralism and insisted that not dividing power was "Bolshevik."⁷⁰⁷ Stanisław Krukowski (Mazowsze) also opposed Modzelewski, asserting that a Supreme Council brought a federal character to the union.⁷⁰⁸ Tadeusz Kłopotowski (Mazowsze) responded to a poll in *Głos Wolny* that "of course I voted to divide. For perhaps 200 years it has been known that power must be divided."⁷⁰⁹ Despite opposition and cries of manipulation, the Congress delegates voted, in the majority, not to divide central power within the union when they voted against creating a Supreme Council.

Although it was agreed that the focus of union power remain with the KK and Presidium; disagreements continued over how they ought to be composed. Lech Wałęsa (Gdansk & Wielkopolska) insisted that the KKP and its Presidium had not functioned well. He called for the future KK to meet once a month and consist of at most 100 individuals including regional chairman and individuals elected proportionally from the regions. He proposed that the Presidium be composed of fifteen to twenty people and include the chairmen of the large regions

⁷⁰⁶ AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3.

⁷⁰⁷ AS, "Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 7 (September 10, 1981) 3.

⁷⁰⁸ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 24 (September 11, 1981) 6.

⁷⁰⁹ "Nasza sonda", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 2.

who would not have to remain in Gdansk but would be responsible for major decisions. He insisted that it was important that they be included as the union leadership needed to feel strong and, according to Wałęsa, strength came from the regions. He also called for a working group of seven to ten individuals who would remain permanently in Gdansk. Wałęsa asserted “[w]e are going into a hard battle and in this battle there must be division generals.”⁷¹⁰

However, many delegates opposed dual office holding which meant that they rejected the inclusion of regional chairman in the union’s executive. Lech Kaczyński (Gdansk) asserted that if regional chairmen were included in the Presidium, it would reduce the power of the KK to zero.⁷¹¹ Tadeusz Pławiński (Gdansk), Krzysztof Szczygieski (Słupsk), Janusz Kornalewski (Toruń), Tadeusz Romanowski (Lower Silesia), and Jerzy Modrzejewski (Jelenia Góra) also all opposed connecting union functions.⁷¹² Krzysztof Jagielski (West Pomorze) argued that dual office holding would, by necessity, mean that individuals couldn’t do both jobs fully; he believed that regional chairmen were likely to concentrate on their regions meaning that they would leave the work of the executive to those who could remain in Gdansk.⁷¹³ Similarly, Seweryn Jaworski (Mazowsze) cautioned in the pages of *Tygodnik Solidarność*, that while the inclusion of regional chairmen seemed to increase federalism, if they didn’t have time for Presidium activities, this would mean that decisions would be falling to the advisors who could remain in Gdansk. For these delegates, the inclusion of regional chairmen actually worked against federalism and regional links with the center while increasing the influence of the un-elected advisors.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹⁰ AS, “Trzeci dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3; “Szósty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 3; “Lech Wałęsa”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 25 (September 11, 1981) 1.

⁷¹¹ AS, “Szósty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 3.

⁷¹² AS, “Piąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 7 (September 10, 1981) 3; BIPS, “Zjazd krajowy”, *Niezależność* 126 (September 11, 1981) 1; L[idia] Kowalińska-Maślanka & Tomasz Zieliński, “Nasz zjazd”, *Jedność* 54 (September 11, 1981) 4.

⁷¹³ Krzysztof Jagielski, “Jak głosowałem”, *Jedność* 56 (September 25, 1981) 3.

⁷¹⁴ Interview with Jan Dworak, “Demokracja czy dyktatura”, *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 12.

Other delegates supported Wałęsa's call for the inclusion of regional leaders in the executive. Jacek Szymanderski (Mazowsze) raised the issue of social trust when he argued that "[w]e trust the KK that it won't abuse power" and insisted that linking positions helped to maintain connections between the central and regional leadership and so kept the central powers strong.⁷¹⁵ Waldemar Wesołowski (Central East) supported democracy at the bottom, connected through the regions to a strengthened centralized power at the top.⁷¹⁶ Patrycjusz Kosmowski (Podbeszkids) called on delegates to look at the United States and France where he argued that democracy was strong as opposed to the Polish "pseudo-democracy." He argued that in both, the executive was both strong and operational. He concluded, "I am for Walesa."⁷¹⁷

Debates over the composition of the union leadership, like disagreements over the creation of a Supreme Council were often phrased as defenses of democracy. Bernard Bujnicki (Białystok) expressed fear that delegates were "destroying democracy through democracy" by weakening the central leadership of the union. Stanisław Huskowski (Lower Silesia) insisted that if someone was qualified, they should not have their candidacy to the union's executive limited; he therefore opposed legislation restricting regional chairmen from being on the Presidium or KK.⁷¹⁸ Lesław Buczkowski (Gdansk) contended that curtailments on who could join the Presidium limited democratic choice within the union; he opposed restricting multiple office holding and term limits on the grounds of democratic rule.⁷¹⁹

Ultimately, Congress delegates voted, in the majority, against statutory prohibitions on term limits and multiple office-holding. When the Toruń delegation put forward a proposal for

⁷¹⁵ AS, "Szósty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 3.

⁷¹⁶ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 24 (September 11, 1981). 5.

⁷¹⁷ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 7; BIPS, "Zjazd krajowy" *Niezależność* 126 (September 11, 1981) 1.

⁷¹⁸ AS, "Szósty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 3.

⁷¹⁹ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 7.

the forbidding of the connecting of functions, it was initially passed. However, after much wrangling, this decision was narrowly overturned the following day. This change led some to suspect improper backdoor dealings. Despite the support of a minority of delegates for term limits, (Maciej Jankowski of Mazowsze proposed a limit of two terms) these were rejected.⁷²⁰

Due to dramatic differences in the size of some MKZs (Silesia-Dąbrowska had 1,400,000 members while Tarnobrzeg had 23,000) delegates extensively discussed statutory regulations on the size of MKZs to improve union organization. Marek Czekalski (Łódź) called for smaller regions as he argued that these were more effective.⁷²¹ However, he was decidedly in the minority. Indeed, Eligiusz Naszkowski (Piła) expressed fear of the growing dominance of the large regions over smaller ones within Solidarity and at the Congress.⁷²² Janusz Rejdych (Silesia-Dąbrowska) called for smaller regions to attach to larger regions. Bogdan Gut-Gutkowski (Mazowsze) also endorsed a narrowing of the number of MKZs as he noted that for the KK to function, it couldn't be too numerous; this meant the creation of larger regions. Over the protests of some of the smaller regions, the majority of delegates voted that MKZs not be allowed to be smaller than a województwo; Kędzierzyn, Nysa, Kutno and Tarnobrzeg ceased to be counted as regional MKZs so that only 38 official MKZs remained.⁷²³

Differences in MKZ sizes impacted debates on the composition of the Presidium and KK. Andrzej Słowik (Łódź) supported Wałęsa's proposal that, in response to the challenges posed by the unequal size of the regions, the KK should include regional chairmen as well as representatives who were proportionally elected by the regions. He insisted that this would force

⁷²⁰ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 4-5.

⁷²¹ "II tura zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 140 (October 1, 1981) 1

⁷²² "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 4.

⁷²³ Although not the intent, this pointed to the potential for Solidarity to function as a shadow state. [AS, "II tura zjazdu. Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 7; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 13.]

the executive to depend on opinions in the regions and therefore increase democracy.⁷²⁴ A proposal was put forward that only regions with over 200,000 members include their chairman on the KK. Jan Brodzki (Płock) rejected the 200,000 threshold which would have meant that only thirteen regions could include their regional chairman as he found it undemocratic to have only the chiefs of larger regions in the executive. Henryk Bąk (Mazowsze) opposed forming the KKP entirely proportionally as he contended that it would be prejudicial to the smaller regions.⁷²⁵ Reflecting on these concerns, Czesław Jezierski (Lower Silesia) called for every region to be guaranteed at least one seat on the KK. Otherwise, he called for proportional voting by the regions with a proportion of 1:100,000.⁷²⁶

In the end, delegates voted that the 38 regional chairmen be included in the KK. In addition, each region would receive one KK member for approximately every 140,000 members; this meant an additional 69 members were added to the KK. Delegates decided that the Presidium would consist of the chairmen of the six largest regions as well as twelve additional members who would remain in Gdansk.⁷²⁷

Delegates debated how candidates should be proposed and elected to the KK and Presidium. Zdzisław Strzelec (Lower Silesia) argued for the regional selection of KK members as he believed that outside of a few individuals (Lech Wałęsa, Jan Rulewski etc.) most were only known in their regions.⁷²⁸ However, others disagreed, as they saw this as a limitation on freedom of choice. Henryk Bąk (Mazowsze) argued that regional lists would be akin to the lists

⁷²⁴ "Nasza sonda", *Głos Wolny* 7 (September 10, 1981) 2.

⁷²⁵ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 24 (September 11, 1981) 5.

⁷²⁶ AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 8, 1981) 3.

⁷²⁷ Eight MKZs would only be represented by their chairman. In addition to their chairman, seventeen MKZs had the right to one member, five had the right to two, three had the right to three (Łódź, Wielkopolska, West Pomorze), Gdansk had the right to four, Małopolska had the right to five, Mazowsze and Lower Silesia had the right to seven and Silesia-Dąbrowska had the right to ten representatives. [AS, "II tura zjazdu. Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 7; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 13.]

⁷²⁸ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 8.

of candidates which the state put forward in elections. Henryk Wujec (Mazowsze) and Jerzy Lasocki (Małopolska) endorsed the idea of regions voicing preferences, but not in creating exclusive lists which would then be voted on by the entire Congress. Wujec argued that this would help to break down barriers between regions.⁷²⁹ Bolesław Kozłowski (Sandomierska) suggested that half of the KK be elected in the regions and half by the Congress.⁷³⁰ Seweryn Jaworski (Mazowsze) insisted that the entire executive ought to be elected by the Congress as the union's highest body.⁷³¹ Likewise, Zbigniew Iwanów (Toruń) argued for both the Presidium and the KK to be elected by the Congress.⁷³² Tadeusz Plawiński (Gdańsk), like Karol Modzelewski, supported election of the Presidium by the KK, as had been the case earlier. Plawiński argued against election by the Congress as he contended that it was intended to coordinate; not rule.⁷³³

Delegates voted in the majority that candidates to the Presidium be appointed by the union chairman and then confirmed through election by the KK. For the KK, each region would make a list of candidates which had to include more candidates than positions. Although the entire Congress would vote on candidates from every region, individuals needed to achieve 20% support from their regional teams to be elected.⁷³⁴

After delegates voted for a strong, central leadership, proposals were then put forward to limit it and regulate it. Stefan Jurczak (Małopolska) succinctly asserted that "[w]e have a powerful chief, we must take care that he doesn't grow away from us."⁷³⁵ Krzysztof Rytwiński (Silesia-Dąbrowska) suggested that every activist from Wałęsa down, ought to, at least twice a

⁷²⁹ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 3.

⁷³⁰ Marek Kossakowski, "Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 123 (September 8, 1981) 1.

⁷³¹ AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3; Miłosz Michał Moszyński, "I zjazd delegatów NSZZ 'Solidarność'", *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdańsku* 50 (September 25, 1981) 2.

⁷³² AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3; Marek Kossakowski, "Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 123 (September 8, 1981) 1.

⁷³³ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 24 (September 11, 1981) 5.

⁷³⁴ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 3.

⁷³⁵ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Dziewiąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 21 (October 5, 1981) 3.

month, return to the section from where they came to prevent the leadership from losing contact with the bottom.⁷³⁶ Roman Niegosz (Jelenia Góra) suggested that during the most important discussions, representatives from the twenty largest work concerns should be invited to take part.⁷³⁷

A proposal was also put forward to create a new rung in the union structure between KZs and ZRs to improve regional organization. Marian Morawski (Małopolska) and Janusz Rejdrych (Silesia-Dąbrowska) supported such a change. Piotr Wiekera (Silesia-Dąbrowska) agreed but noted that a direct rung between KZs and ZRs should have one competence and that was coordination.⁷³⁸ In contrast, Andrzej Cierniewski (Silesia-Dąbrowska) believed that such a proposal was not really workable. He proved to be in the majority when the proposal was defeated.⁷³⁹

Experts and Advisors

Delegates also debated the role of un-elected individuals in the union; especially the experts/advisors. Although a higher degree of cooperation existed between workers and intellectuals than in the past, Congress debates about the advisors showed that suspicions remained. They also reflected concerns that Solidarity was losing its worker/trades union core

A number of delegates criticized Solidarity's advisors. Mikołaj Kiecko (West Pomorze) argued that the union needed to "break the tradition of rule by the experts."⁷⁴⁰ Kazimierz Świton (Silesia-Dąbrowska) asserted that at the top of the union was the advisors. He claimed that the union leadership was becoming a group of dignitaries who were divided from the uninformed

⁷³⁶ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷³⁷ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷³⁸ AS, "Trzeci dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 5 (September 8, 1981) 3.

⁷³⁹ AS, "Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 7 (September 10, 1981) 3.

⁷⁴⁰ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3.

masses. Jan Seń (Lower Silesia) charged the experts and advisors with using Solidarity as an umbrella to protect them; he insisted that they weren't helping the union but rather themselves.⁷⁴¹ Bogusław Szybalski (Ebląg) attacked the experts and called for clarification of their role in the decision making process of the Presidium. Patrycyusz Kosmowski (Podbeszkids) denounced the experts as traitors and argued that just as in March (with the Warsaw Agreement), they contemporaneously impeded the work of the union.⁷⁴² Debates over the role of the experts were also held in the pages of *Głos Wolny*. Jan Szarzyński (Wielkopolska) insisted that the KKP and Presidium did not have good advisors. He saw March 1981 as the turning point and contended that they then began thinking of politics rather than the workers.⁷⁴³

Attacks on the experts often reflected concern among delegates over the undue influence and impact of non-workers on Solidarity. Zygmunt Zawojski (Podkarpacie) noted that he was a member of the KKP, but as a worker, it was sometimes difficult to follow the discussions therein.⁷⁴⁴ Jacek Szymanderski (Mazowsze) rejected independent people getting involved in program discussions and drawing the union away from work-related issues; he singled out Jacek Kuroń and Antoni Macierewicz in this context. Witold Switalski (Mazowsze) also attacked the role of intellectuals in Solidarity.⁷⁴⁵ Andrzej Zając (Pobeszkids) called on Wałęsa to choose workers as advisors.⁷⁴⁶ Daniel Filar (Wielkopolska South) demanded that all union leaders be workers while Ryszard Gwiżdż (Lower Silesia) called for the future KK to be composed only of workers from large factories.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴¹ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 1.

⁷⁴² "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 6.

⁷⁴³ "Nasza sonda", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 2.

⁷⁴⁴ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 1, 2.

⁷⁴⁵ "Dziewiąty dzień", *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 4.

⁷⁴⁶ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3.

⁷⁴⁷ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

A minority of delegates defended the influence of both the experts and intellectuals in Solidarity. Aleksander Małachowski (Mazowsze) insisted that the experts defended the union; he denounced what he perceived as the anti-intellectual accent of some delegates. Andrzej Kralczyński (Podbeszkids) described the experts as academic and moral authorities and argued that many had sacrificed their careers in education and their family lives fighting the totalitarian power. He argued that while he did not seek to defend those who had made errors, “[o]ne can not divide the Polish working class and intellectuals.”⁷⁴⁸ Zbigniew Malinowski (Silesia-Dąbrowska) insisted that 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1976 had failed as society was divided. He insisted that he remembered June of 1976 when the intellectuals helped “us.”⁷⁴⁹

Attacks on, and defenses of the experts and intellectuals, dovetailed with disagreements over the influence of KOR within the union. This issue was vividly raised when Prof. Edward Lipiński announced the dissolution of KSS-KOR at the Congress. After he did, Antoni Sobieraj (Radom) put forward a proposal from the workers of Radom and Ursus to thank KOR for “defending the interest of workers and national matters.”⁷⁵⁰ However, this proposal set off angry responses and the following day Sobieraj withdrew his proposal amid disagreements and Jan Józef Lipski’s (Mazowsze) insistence that he and his peers had never acted with thought to thanks. As a result, Bogusław Sonik (Małopolska) proposed that the Congress recognize the role played by KOR in the creation of the independent social movement in Poland. Paweł Niezgodzki (Mazowsze) responded with a counter-project which removed all mention of KOR and instead highlighted the tradition of workers’ movements in Poland dating from 1956, the role of the Church and concluded that “through Solidarity we connected to a many century,

⁷⁴⁸ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14.

⁷⁴⁹ “Nasza sonda”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 2.

⁷⁵⁰ Edward Lipiński, “Socjalizm to miała być większa wolność”, *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 1-2; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Trzeci dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 3.

democratic tradition to create the social movement.” Amid these quarrels, Lipski collapsed on the floor of the Congress.⁷⁵¹ Despite repeated attacks on the influence of KOR on the union leadership, an official thank you to KOR was voted on the last day of the Congress. These debates point to the different historical provenances which delegates and society as a whole attributed to Solidarity.⁷⁵²

Organizational Competencies

Debates over the role of the advisors linked with debates over the competencies of and in the union leadership. Bogdan Lis (Gdansk) argued that while dictatorship is wrong, at times, centralized power was necessary for the union. He insisted that it was irresponsible to call for the removal of the experts and advisors and instead stipulated the need for a resolution outlining their competencies and roles as well as safeguards (rather than limits) on the union’s central powers so that they could not be turned against union members. Krysytina Sobierajska (Lower Silesia) insisted on the need for unity and consolidation in the union at the same time that she warned against the creation of dictatorship. She agreed with Lis’ demand for laying out specific competencies for union leaders. Jerzy Koralewski (Wielopolska South) believed that competencies ought to be outlined for the Presidium and KK.⁷⁵³

Delegates debates on the competencies of the union leadership became focal in the wake of the Presidium’s support for the Sejm’s bill on self-governance. Although the Presidium had reached its decision without a quorum (only four members were present; Wałęsa, Tadeusz Jędrzak of Dąbrowa-Silesia, and Stanisław Wądołowski of West Pomerania voted for it), delegates tended to question the competency of the Presidium to decide on such an important

⁷⁵¹ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 3.

⁷⁵² AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dwunasty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 24 (October 8, 1981) 3.

⁷⁵³ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; “Ósmy dzień obrad”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 39 (October 4, 1981) 1.

matter rather than if they had followed democratic procedures. Jerzy Ciepiela (Silesia-Dąbrowska) and Tadeusz Romanowski (Lower Silesia), denounced the decision of the Presidium as undemocratic.⁷⁵⁴ Jerzy Łysiak (Opole) noted that he had joined Solidarity “with the hope that its members would have the deciding voice,” but suggested that he had been disappointed.⁷⁵⁵ Seweryn Jaworski (Mazowsze) argued that “[s]uch a small group cannot decide for the entirety.” He insisted that self-governance wasn’t to be decided, but co-decided.⁷⁵⁶ Edward Nowak (Małopolska) claimed that four people did not have the right to decide on such an important measure alone and presented the behavior of the Presidium as a break with democracy.⁷⁵⁷ Similarly, Andrzej Gwiazda (Gdansk) argued that the Presidium’s support for the bill was one more instance of the bottom being treated instrumentally. He asserted that the power of the union was not in the Presidium or leadership, but in the common actions of the rank-and-file members.⁷⁵⁸

A number of delegates, including Marek Hołuszko (Mazowsze), maintained that the decision of the Presidium was unacceptable because it was in contravention to the resolutions on self-governance which had been passed during the first round of the Congress. They therefore also argued both directly and by inference that the Congress was the highest authority in the union so that the Presidium had to act in keeping with the resolutions and decrees of the Congress; not independently for union democracy to be upheld. Mikołaj Kiecko (West Pomorze) contended that the Presidium, in ignoring the resolutions of the Congress, had

⁷⁵⁴ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5.

⁷⁵⁵ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁷⁵⁶ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁷⁵⁷ Edward Nowak, “Ten kompromis jest ustępstwem”, *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 3.

⁷⁵⁸ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5; “Drgui dzień”, *Niezależność* 137 (September 28, 1981) 2; Andrzej Gwiazda, “Dyskutowali nad głowami związkowców”, *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 3.

followed the methods of the Political Bureau of the PZPR with fatal results. He continued that while the goal had been to break the neck of the nomenklatura, all that had been accomplished was a sprain.⁷⁵⁹ Zbigniew Kowalewski (Łódź) insisted that because the Presidium had acted against the will of the Congress, its decision was not legitimate.⁷⁶⁰ Jan Rulewski (Bydgoszcz) maintained that the decision should have gone to the Congress, as the union's highest authority, and that the union was now organized in a "dictatorial, feudal manner."⁷⁶¹

Lech Wałęsa (Gdansk & Wielkopolska) spoke out in defense of his vote for the Sejm's self-governance bill, the influence of the experts and the democratic nature of the union. He insisted that while he took advice from a number of people (including those with ties to KOR), "the experts don't run me." He rejected the idea that dictatorship was possible in Solidarity as dictatorship required discipline and consequences; Solidarity had neither. He claimed that while certain decisions may have been undemocratic or dictatorial, the union itself was not undemocratic or dictatorial. Wałęsa contended that central power was needed and warned that too much decentralization to the regions could just lead to regional "princes" in Warsaw, Poznan, etc.⁷⁶² Wałęsa attempted to turn the tables on his interlocutors when he argued that those who he described as seeking to destroy the Sejm and the government (by radically attacking the Sejm's self-governance bill) were acting more totalitarian than those institutions. He concluded that if such views were allowed to flourish, in five years a worse totalitarianism would exist than currently did.⁷⁶³ Wałęsa made clear his belief that the resolutions and decrees of the Congress were meant to inform decisions but that as the elected chairman of the union he had the right to

⁷⁵⁹ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; Krystyna Duchnicka & Tomasz Zieliński, "Trwa", *Jedność* 57 (October 2, 1981) 3.

⁷⁶⁰ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁷⁶¹ Jan Rulewski, "Głosował przeciw", *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 3; AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁷⁶² Interview with Jan Dworak, "Demokracja czy dyktatura", *Głos Wolny* 8 (September 11, 1981) 1.

⁷⁶³ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; Lech Wałęsa, "Przyjechał czterech, a moli wszyscy...", *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 2-3.

act in keeping with his conscience even if it was in opposition to the Congress majority. This meant that while Wałęsa agreed on the need for democracy in the union, he saw the threat to democracy as emanating from regional powers and the Congress stripping the democratically elected executive of the right and competency to act according to its conscience.

Ultimately, the Congress delegates passed a resolution denouncing the behavior of the Presidium and the influence of the experts on the self-governance bill as an inappropriate violation of the principles of union democracy. It also called for a clarification of the role of experts in decision-making. The wording of this resolution made clear that for most delegates, internal union democracy meant the right of the rank and file members as represented at the Congress to make important decisions and place binding instructions on the leadership. This was an endorsement for direct democracy rather than representative democracy and suggested that the Congress' competencies included the deciding of major issues.⁷⁶⁴

Union Publishing

Delegates debated Solidarity's access to mass communication and union publishing, demanding increases in both. They also reflected on the independence of the union press, the selection of editors, and the distribution of supplies. These debates highlighted the challenges of Solidarity being both a social movement and an organization.

A number of delegates called for an increase in union publishing. To help with the current lack of information, Marian Kwieciński (Jelenia Góra) and Krzysztof Gołaszewski (Gdansk), agreed on the need for an increase in the quantity of independent information.⁷⁶⁵ Czesław Kujaszczyk (Mazowsze) called for the enlargement of union publications' print-runs so

⁷⁶⁴ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁷⁶⁵ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14.

that one was produced per member.⁷⁶⁶ Jerzy Jastrzębowski (Mazowsze) asserted that Solidarity needed a radio program and called for the creation of its own if one were not granted by the state; he suggested that the only reason that one had not been given was due to Poland's neighbors. He also called for a daily paper and television access.⁷⁶⁷ Jerzy Gawęda (Gdansk) proposed a resolution for a nation-wide, daily paper.⁷⁶⁸ Eugeniusz Szumajko (Lower Silesia) insisted on the importance of improved education and access to mass communication; he demanded a union newspaper with a print-run of 1,000,000.⁷⁶⁹ Zygmunt Rolicz (Greater Poland) called for Solidarity to gain access to both radio and television. Similarly, Antoni Lenkiewicz (Lower Silesia) called for a daily 30 minute television program and a daily paper with a print-run of 1,000,000.⁷⁷⁰ Kazimierz Biskupek (Silesia-Dąbrowska) asserted that access to mass communication for Solidarity ought to be the union's primary concern.⁷⁷¹ Union delegates voted a resolution which called for a print-run of 1,000,000 for *Tygodnik Solidarność* as well as union access to radio and television. They also called for new publications in places where the government still held a monopoly on information.⁷⁷²

The organizational independence of the union press was debated in the first round of the Congress after a proposal was made that its independence be guaranteed in Solidarity's statutes. Marek Janas (Mazowsze) opposed the proposal as he asserted that the union press often abused their independence and that such abuse could not be sanctioned. Similarly, Jerzy Łysiak (Opole) asserted that since the press was the property of the union, it was impossible for it to be entirely independent. However, he did call on the union press to show different viewpoints. Przemysław

⁷⁶⁶ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷⁶⁷ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3.

⁷⁶⁸ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 12.

⁷⁶⁹ "Głosy kandydatów", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 37 (October 2, 1981) 3.

⁷⁷⁰ AS, "Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 7 (September 9, 1981) 3.

⁷⁷¹ "Powiedzieli nam", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 1, 3.

⁷⁷² "Uchwała w sprawie polityki wydawniczej związku", *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 4

Fenrych (West Pomorze) called for the union leadership to appoint the editor-in-chief of union publications. He insisted that the union press should provide both information and propaganda for the union. Krzysztof Jagielski (West Pomorze) voted for the proposal as he warned against union censorship. The proposal to enshrine the independence for the union press in the union statutes was rejected in round one, 318 to 241.⁷⁷³

In round two, the issue of the union press's organizational independence again came under debate. Aleksander Aniołczyk (Łódź) argued that the KKP should have its own press organ, printing documents and information about its discussions with the government. Paweł Niezgodzki (Mazowsze) argued that the "[s]ystem of union information should be under the elected power of the union." In contrast, Robert Kaczmarek (Małopolska) insisted on the principle of independence for the union press and its right to critique the union leadership.⁷⁷⁴ These debates highlighted the challenges posed by union papers being the only sanctioned uncensored publications in the country, meaning that they had a social as well as an union dimension.

Delegates also debated the content of union publications. Antoni Borowski (Eblag), in discussing the economy, argued that "[i]nstead of cheap anti-Soviet propaganda, there ought to be questions about trade relations with the USSR" in union publications.⁷⁷⁵ Piotr Ejmont (Gdansk) proposed that the union press restrain from publishing anti-Soviet materials, not treat the state powers as a monolith and make direct contacts with the nations of eastern Europe.⁷⁷⁶

Robert Kaczmarek (Małopolska) also asserted that there was a need for a broad initiative to

⁷⁷³ AS, "Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 7 (September 10, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 6; Krzysztof Jagielski, "Jak głosowałem", *Jedność* 56 (September 25, 1981) 3.

⁷⁷⁴ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷⁷⁵ "Dyskusja nad propozycjami programowymi sekcji II", *Niezależność* 141 (October 2, 1981) 1.

⁷⁷⁶ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3.

inform neighboring countries about Solidarity.⁷⁷⁷ Ryszard Bogacz, (West Pomorze) in the pages of *Jedność*, wrote not only about the lack of access to mass communication, but also the impact this had on international considerations. He insisted that “I am not only an opponent, but decidedly an enemy of the government, which through its monopolistic role blocks the official road to understanding...between our nation and the Russian, Czech, Hungarian and German nations.” He complained about the lack of international contacts and information exchange for Solidarity. He explained, as a journalist, that information was not simply a register of facts or even their interpretation but about the societal self-knowledge necessary for forming opinions and choosing directions of action. He therefore demanded access to all flows of information for the union.⁷⁷⁸

Delegates also debated the dispersal of printing equipment within the union. Mirosław Krupiński (Mazury-Warmiński) called for the new leadership to clarify the purchase of printing materials.⁷⁷⁹ Lech Sobieszek (Gdansk), in discussing the abuses of the Presidium, spoke of printing equipment which had been sent from abroad and of which he argued that there was now no trace.⁷⁸⁰ Andrzej Zajac (Podbeszkidzie) charged NOWa with taking union printing machines.⁷⁸¹ The Congress passed a resolution calling for expanded, proportional distribution of supplies.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁷ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷⁷⁸ Amid demands for improved information on Solidarity for neighboring nations, the delegates voted for an appeal to the working people of Eastern Europe which was strongly endorsed by Kornel Morawiecki (Lower Silesia). It asserted that those in Solidarity felt a commonality with the fate of all East Europeans and expressed hope that their representatives could soon meet with Solidarity. This declaration was perceived as a provocation by Poland’s neighbors and demonstrated that solidarity was not only intended within Poland but without as well. [Ryszard Bogacz, “Czy jestem radycą?”, *Jedność* 56 (September 25, 1981) 1-3.]

⁷⁷⁹ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 8.

⁷⁸⁰ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 2.

⁷⁸¹ NOWa released an official response in which it was affirmed that NOWa printed on its own equipment. Furthermore, it affirmed that NOWa had helped Solidarity with printing supplies at its founding. Specifically, it referenced Jakub Świecki, NOWa’s representative in Sweden organizing the transfer of supplies to Gdansk in

Eligiusz Naszkowski (Piła) read a resolution which dealt with the repression of editors of union publications. He called for the union to defend them and proposed the creation of a team, through ZR Mazowsze, to help deal with repression. This proposal was widely endorsed and became an official Congress resolution.⁷⁸³ Henryk Wujec (Mazowsze) raised the issue of repression of not only union publishers but also NZS publishers and independent publishers.⁷⁸⁴ However, the Congress focused only on union publishing when it passed resolutions, thanking those who founded the union press and calling on the new leadership to support union publishing.⁷⁸⁵

Proposals for Non-Statutory Improvements to Solidarity's Organization

In addition to statutory changes to the union organization, some delegates raised more general proposals for union improvement. They spoke of the need for improved transparency, education and tolerance. These debates often echoed those aired by the democratic opposition in independent publications between 1987 and 1980.

A number of delegates called for greater transparency in Solidarity. Both Jan Jędrzejewski (Gdank) and Jerzy Swider (Gdansk) insisted that the union membership lacked full information about decisions by the union leadership.⁷⁸⁶ Arkadiusz Paszek (Podbeszkids) noted that while, “we charged the powers with hiding the truth, already in the first year we are doing the same.”⁷⁸⁷ Ryszard Kotarski (Gorzów) asserted that “we” don’t know what is said as the KKP

September 1980. It concluded that to allege that equipment was transferred from Solidarity to NOWa was to “depart from the facts.”[AS, “II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; “Oświadczenie NOW-ej”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 4.]

⁷⁸² AS, “II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3; “Uchwała w sprawie polityki wydawniczej związku”, *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 4.

⁷⁸³ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 13.

⁷⁸⁴ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 29 (October 16, 1981) 3.

⁷⁸⁵ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3; “Uchwała w sprawie polityki wydawniczej związku”, *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 4.

⁷⁸⁶ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Trzeci dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 15 (September 29, 1981) 3.

⁷⁸⁷ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3.

made sole decisions at the top.⁷⁸⁸ Stanisław Szymkowiak (Zielona Góra) claimed that the reports of the KKP were akin to those of the PZPR without full accounting.⁷⁸⁹ Robert Kaczmarek (Małopolska) called for openness at all levels of the union leadership without secrecy, even in dealings with the state to improve the union.⁷⁹⁰

While a number of delegates focused on the need for greater transparency, others focused on the related issue of education. Wiktor Kulerski (Mazowsze) insisted that of particular importance, was the struggle for respect for truth, as without truth, democracy is false. He emphasized the struggle for truth in mass communication, education and in the raising of children. Kulerski asserted that in addition to independent publishing houses, a system of union education was needed. He claimed that Solidarity needed to school society to not raise a new class of slaves for a new exploiter class.⁷⁹¹ Waldemar Bartosz (Świętokrzyskie) proposed the creation of union universities. He explained that these would be independent of power and their diplomas would be honorary.⁷⁹² Henryk Wujec (Mazowsze) contended that the universal union didn't depend on centralization, but on altered experiences. He therefore emphasized the need for lectures in factories, discussions and union schools as well as the creation of a bank of information to increase democracy and tolerance.⁷⁹³

Several delegates contended that increased tolerance was key to the improvement of Solidarity. Marek Holuszko (Mazowsze) asserted that he perceived growing intolerance and

⁷⁸⁸ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 1.

⁷⁸⁹ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 1, 2.

⁷⁹⁰ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷⁹¹ AS, "Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3.

⁷⁹² "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 4.

⁷⁹³ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; Seweryn Blumsztajn & Zbigniew Gach, "Czy zdążmy?", *Głos Wolny* 20 (October 4, 1981) 1; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

chauvinism in the union and so called for Solidarity's program to insist on equal rights for all citizens, regardless of political conviction, nation or religion.⁷⁹⁴ Piotr Ejsmont (Gdansk) asserted that he was a member of the PZPR and demanded that some appreciation be given that all party members were not the same and that in the name of tolerance, not all be treated as enemies to Solidarity.⁷⁹⁵ Karol Modzelwski (Lower Silesia) insisted that one of the greatest threats posed by the self-governance bill was the way it had encouraged the union to turn against itself. He claimed that, "[w]e will be suicidal if we don't remember about internal democracy in the union."⁷⁹⁶ In this context, he supported tolerance and moderation toward those with different opinions. Holuszko's proposal was included in the Solidarity Program. The majority of delegates also passed a resolution on the protection of national minorities within Poland.

Finances

Delegates debates over finances demonstrate that some union members were not only suspicious of the advisors, but also of the union leadership; regional jealousies also existed. Delegates debates over the just distribution of payment within the union organization reflected concerns about union officials separating from the union membership. Wojciech Lasocki (Mazowsze) complained of the pay for "princes" like [Zbigniew] Bujak and [Jan] Rulewski. Czesław Kujszczyk (Mazowsze) called for union employees to get the average worker wage and for union leaders to earn no more than three times that. He insisted that pay should come from union dues; not from factory funds.⁷⁹⁷ Jerzy Koralewski (Łódź) also warned against too high pay for union activists and called for them to have pay commensurate with rank-and-file union

⁷⁹⁴ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷⁹⁵ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 12.

⁷⁹⁶ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5; "Drugi dzień obrad", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 33 (September 28, 1981) 1.

⁷⁹⁷ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

members.⁷⁹⁸ Roman Paterek (Bydgoszcz) proposed that KZ chairmen earn an average of their last few months at work.⁷⁹⁹ Edward Tomasik (Podkarpacie) proposed a pay cap of 5,000 zł.⁸⁰⁰ Józef Kula (Silesia-Dąbrowska) said that “the question of finance always divides people, pay must be everywhere the same.”⁸⁰¹ He therefore endorsed a universal pay scale.⁸⁰¹ Henryk Mierzejewski (Gdansk) called for union work to be paid at the union level rather than through the factory to prevent union workers from falling under the influence of directors.⁸⁰² Ultimately, however, decisions on the payment of union employees remained with the regions.

Calls were also made for sharing strike funds between factories and regions. Krzysztof Szegłowski (Słupsk) supported broad based strike funds; he asked “[w]here is Solidarity if the big concerns can’t help the small?” Andrzej Piesiak (Jelenia Góra) proposed a strike fund through the KK. In contrast, Tadeusz Pławiński (Gdansk) called for strike funds to go through the regions as he claimed that finances should be de-centralized to give the regions power. Krystyna Ruchniewicz (Gdansk) drew a different conclusion on the same premise when she asserted that such a central fund would be good as it would eliminate wild cat strikes.⁸⁰³

Delegates also raised the issue of death benefits for union members. Edmund Łukomski (Warminski-Mazrury) called for benefits to only be allowed to go to one person. Andrzej Zarach (Lower Silesia) called for benefits for children. Jozef Kula (Silesia-Dąbrowska) called for benefits of 4-5,000 zł.⁸⁰⁴ No concrete decision was reached which meant de facto that the union had no death benefits.

⁷⁹⁸ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁷⁹⁹ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dziesiąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 22 (October 6, 1981) 3.

⁸⁰⁰ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 29 (October 16, 1981) 3.

⁸⁰¹ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dziesiąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 22 (October 6, 1981) 3.

⁸⁰² AS, “II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3.

⁸⁰³ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 29 (October 16, 1981) 3; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dziesiąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 22 (October 6, 1981) 3.

⁸⁰⁴ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 29 (October 16, 1981) 3.

Forms of Debate

Delegates also discussed methods and style of debate within the union and their connection to democracy. Zdzisław Strzelec (Lower Silesia) noted that a problem with the Congress was that many people were repeating views and not saying new things. He noted, however, that “I understand that this is the price for democracy...”⁸⁰⁵ Tadeusz Syryjczyk (Małopolska) asserted that “I am for democracy, but for effective democracy, that which knows the value of time.”⁸⁰⁶

Other delegates focused on semantics. Tomasz Wójcik (Lower Silesia) proposed that delegates not speak of union powers but of union representatives.⁸⁰⁷ Marek Janas (Mazowsze) called for changes in the wording of directions to delegates to ‘recommendations’ rather than ‘instructions’ as a more democratic and federalist gesture.⁸⁰⁸ Andrzej Gwiazda (Gdansk) challenged the emphasis on regions in the Congress. He insisted that rather than serving as delegates for the nation, individuals were, by meeting in regional gatherings, creating false ideas of unity. He called it “demagogy” for there to be proposals by region which he argued often meant only 50% of delegates plus one supported a resolution. He insisted that delegates should only speak for themselves.⁸⁰⁹

Conflicts also arose over the tone and stridency of critiques of the union leadership. Andrzej Kralczyński (Podbeszkids) claimed that sometimes unpopular decisions had to be made and that delegates should not destroy Wałęsa’s authority by attacking him too harshly, as it

⁸⁰⁵ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 8.

⁸⁰⁶ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dziewiąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 21 (October 5, 1981) 3.

⁸⁰⁷ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁸⁰⁸ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 4.

⁸⁰⁹ Interview with Andrzej Jakubowicz, “Zjazd nie jest zbiórą regionów”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 53 (September 22, 1981) 4.

would only lead to chaos in the union.⁸¹⁰ Jacek Mikołajczyk (Mazowsze) called for unity and the elimination of divisions as he believed that the union was threatened by fracturing apart.⁸¹¹ Jacek Bukowski (Mazowsze) took a middling stance when he argued that it was good to criticize the Presidium within the Congress but that outside unity was needed.⁸¹² In contrast, Jan Rulewski maintained that the differences of opinion at the Congress were a symptom of democracy and that the critiques heard at the Congress were the “calling card for democracy.” Krzysztof Rytwiński (Silesia-Dąbrowska) asserted that “[a]ttacks on the Union from inside are not as threatening as indifference...”⁸¹³

The Solidarity Social Movement

Because Solidarity functioned not only as a union, but also as a social movement, most delegates saw themselves not only as union representatives, but as social representatives as well. Zbigniew Karwowski (Kujawy & Dobrzyńska) was one of the numerous delegates who argued that the Congress ought to deal with matters relating to the entire nation and country; not just the union. He supported reform of the economy, mass communication and elections. Likewise, Janusz Pałubicki (Wielkopolska) insisted that Solidarity should go beyond just union issues and called for changes in the state’s socio-political structure to create a wider degree of connection between the people and those who monopolize power. He insisted on the importance of mass communication in this context. Jakub Forystek (Opole) called for Solidarity to defend national pride and dignity.⁸¹⁴ Aleksander Małachowski (Mazowsze) maintained that defense from ruin in

⁸¹⁰ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 1,2, 3.

⁸¹¹ “Dziewiąty dzień”, *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 4

⁸¹² AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; “Drgui dzień”, *Niezależność* 137 (September 28, 1981) 2; Drugi dzień obrad”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 33 (September 28, 1981) 2.

⁸¹³ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁸¹⁴ AS, “Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3.

the face of potential civil war and foreign invasion were expected of Solidarity.⁸¹⁵ Walerian Domański (Lower Silesia) argued that democratic liberty was indispensable on both a political plane and an economic plane in emerging from the current crisis. He maintained that the union ought to be an instrument of free initiatives in the economy.⁸¹⁶

Arnold Kęsik (Gorzów), in presenting a proposal from his region, claimed that Solidarity was a social movement which was not limited to the role of a trades union. He noted that Solidarity had mobilized society and re-built social bonds; he credited the Church in helping Solidarity to succeed. Kęsik argued that Solidarity ought to take part in rebuilding the socio-economic conditions in the country. He believed that for this to happen democracy was indispensable as he contended that Solidarity needed to work in democratic surroundings. Kęsik insisted further that while Solidarity could not become a political party, reform of the system of representation was needed as well as changes to election ordinances and full access to mass media which he insisted was “the most important mission” for Solidarity at the present time. He proposed the creation of a Bureau in Defense of the Constitution and changes in national education, particularly in history. Kęsik reflected on the “enormous devastation of social consciousness” due to the state education system and insisted that “the Union, by animating the activities of educational centers and libraries and by defending the independent publishing movement, could counteract this phenomenon and become a factor in shaping social consciousness.” He called for economic reform including self-governance and the union gaining influence over foreign trade as well as the elimination of what he described as the oligarchic apparatus. Kęsik concluded that democracy in the union was the guarantee for society.⁸¹⁷

⁸¹⁵ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 12.

⁸¹⁶ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 7

⁸¹⁷ AS, “Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 4 (September 7, 1981) 3.

Grzegorz Pałka (Łódź) contended that the union had won what it could through moderation and that in the wake of the Warsaw Accord, Solidarity found itself at an impasse as it had decided to resign from confrontation. He insisted that the union needed to choose a plane of realistic action and confrontation in future conflicts with the state and insisted that it had to clearly assert “the absolute desire for sovereignty.” At the same time, Pałka maintained that accusation of anti-Sovietism were false. He acknowledged the necessity of military union, economic principles and contact with the Soviet Union but believed that autonomous political and cultural life was possible.⁸¹⁸ Eligiusz Naszkowski (Piła) called for an offensive program of action and legislative changes.⁸¹⁹ Kornel Morawiecki (Lower Silesia) warned that “[f]or a year a state of emergency and foreign intervention have threatened us and yet we pretend that we don’t hear this.” He maintained this it was necessary to draw out plans for what to do in response to a state of emergency or foreign invasion. Czesław Jezierski (Silesia-Dąbrowska) insisted on the need for new forms of protest which would not be as costly as strikes but that would still mobilize union members and keep them in the mindset of struggling. He proposed five minute strike with sirens.⁸²⁰ Piotr Rychter (Krosno) called for hard negotiations; he insisted that what was needed were people who beat fists on tables.⁸²¹ Amidst these generalities, more specific tactics for change were proposed; most focused on self-governance.

Self-Governance

Many delegates came to agree that working toward the self-governance of society and the economy was the best form of action. Debates over self-governance and, in particular,

⁸¹⁸ AS, “Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 4; Grzegorz Pałka, “Strategia konfrontacji”, *Niezależność* 127 (September 14, 1981) 3.

⁸¹⁹ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 4.

⁸²⁰ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁸²¹ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dziewiąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 21 (October 5, 1981) 3.

disagreements over the Sejm's self-governance bill and the Presidium's support for it shed light on tactical differences within Solidarity. Jacek Kossak (Tarnobrzaska) charged the current system with bringing state catastrophe and argued that it was necessary to build a system guaranteeing liberty of social initiatives. For Kossak, self-governance was a major part of this goal. He insisted that in order to support the desires of self-governing enterprises and their equality, crews should take part in their profit; he maintained that higher prices should bring greater recompense. He also called for new ordinances for the Sejm and National Council.⁸²²

Indeed, self-governance was not just about workers taking control of factories, but was a catchword for society taking responsibility for itself. Patrycyusz Kosmowski (Podbeszkids) contended that economic and political changes could not be divided. He therefore called for the liquidation of the nomenklatura, a referendum on elections and new election ordinances for the Sejm and National Council. Zygmunt Rolicz (Wielkopolska North) supported the self-governance project proposed by Siec, including territorial self-governance and just principles in Sejm elections. He argued that while Solidarity was not a political party, it ought to support the founding of political parties. Similarly, Janusz Sanocki (Nysa) called for free and un-fettered elections to the Sejm and National Council.⁸²³

Antoni Lenkiewicz (Lower Silesia) linked self-governance with serious economic and social reforms. He called for societal control over production and distribution of goods including energy, raw materials, medicine, and food. He also demanded more access to mass communication as he described Solidarity as not only a trade movement, but also a national movement. He demanded openness of information on international trade and for Poland to

⁸²² AS, "Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3.

⁸²³ AS, "Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3.

connect with the IMF. In addition, Lenkiewicz supported self-governance and aid for farmers, individual actions in the economy and the regulation of passports with an end to privilege.⁸²⁴

Karl Modzelewski (Lower Silesia), who described self-governance as the most important resolution of the Congress, insisted that the state authorities were against self-governance as they didn't want to accept or admit that Solidarity had influence on decisions. He insisted during round one that the union could not accept this point of view and so called for a referendum to prove who had the support of society. In an article in *Z Dnia na Dzień* he reiterated these beliefs and insisted on the importance of a national referendum, arguing that such a demand had the backing of a 10-million strong union.⁸²⁵ Bogusław Szybalski (Ebląg) agreed that a referendum would bring forth the ideas of the populace.⁸²⁶ In contrast, Jan Rulewski (Bydgoszcz) who had no trust in the Sejm argued that it was “absurd” and “stupid” to call for a referendum as the state would use this to drag its feet and waste time in achieving self-governance. Indeed, Modzelewski acknowledged the unlikelihood of the state holding a national referendum as it would be “suicidal”, but still supported the demand as putting pressure on the state authorities.⁸²⁷

The majority of delegates voted on a self-governance decree based on Modzelewski's proposal. It demanded that the Sejm carry out a national referendum and insisted that the union was ready to carry out its own referendum if the state did not. The decree also demanded a boycott of any parliamentary resolution or actions which departed from authentic self-governance and support for Siec.⁸²⁸

⁸²⁴ AS, “Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3; “Wystąpienie A. Lenkiewicza”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 52 (September 17, 1981) 4.

⁸²⁵ AS, “Czwarty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 6 (September 9, 1981) 3; Karol Modzelewski, “Co chcemy osiągnąć”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 24 (September 10, 1981) 1.

⁸²⁶ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 18, 1981) 3.

⁸²⁷ “Opinia”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 52 (September 17, 1981) 13.

⁸²⁸ “Uchwała w sprawie samorządu”, *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 52 (September 17, 1981) 13

The self-governance bill which the Sejm passed between the two rounds of Solidarity's National Congress, included elements of the state-sponsored proposal as well as that of Solidarity/Siec. Some of the main differences between the bill which the Sejm voted on and the Siec proposal were that the new bill called for factory directors to be nominated by the state with approval by the workers while the Siec proposal called for them to be nominated by workers. The new law granted the government the right to set up obligatory associations within factories; for Siec this was unacceptable. The government bill allowed for obligatory tasks which Siec rejected. Finally, the Sejm bill allowed the state to take over a factory if it acted against society and if it was "necessary for the good of the state"; it left open what this meant.

When the second round opened (in addition to the previously discussed fights over the ways in which the self-governance bill was passed) disagreements over the content and impact of the Sejm's bill on self-governance erupted. Jan Rulewski (Bydgoszcz), who had voted against the decision of the Presidium, believed that the law gave the nomenklatura; not workers the right to enterprises.⁸²⁹ Roman Jarmuszkiewicz (Łódź) similarly argued that the compromise only strengthened the nomenklatura.⁸³⁰ Ignacy Czeżyk (Central East) opposed the bill, maintaining that without an independent judiciary or free elections, the new bill did not guarantee that, that with which Solidarity struggled against would not return.⁸³¹

Those who supported the bill did so on the grounds of pragmatism. Antoni Matuszczyk (Rzeszów), contended that the self-governance bill passed by the Sejm was "a success on the measure of what was possible" and that it brought the realization of economic reform closer. He then discussed some of the specifics of the Siec proposal, only to insist that it would have been

⁸²⁹ Jan Rulewski, "Głosował przeciw", *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 3; AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁸³⁰ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁸³¹ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5.

defeated in the Sejm.⁸³² Henryk Bąk (Mazowsze), after tracing the struggle since 1944 for a sovereign society, accepted that the bill resigned the demand for a referendum; he argued that the next initiative was with the state.⁸³³ Karol Modzelwski (Lower Silesia) maintained that the state had torpedoed the idea of a national referendum, but that the Presidium, in supporting the bill, had given the Sejm the green light to pursue compromise. He claimed that the bill was not bad and “did not close the road to creating self-governance.”⁸³⁴ Mieczysław Gil (Małopolska) referred to the Sejm debates over self-governance as “historic.” He noted that while many people may be unhappy with the result of the compromise, the government wanted to direct things to a confrontation over self-governance. He explained that this was avoided at the same time that the current bill gave many factories the chance to move toward authentic self-governance.⁸³⁵ Daniel Filar (Wielkopolska) claimed that the compromise reached was useful.⁸³⁶

Lech Wałęsa (Gdansk & Wielkopolska), who had voted in support of the bill, argued that while he appreciated that the major point of dissension was the appointment of directors, when he consulted with Siec representatives, they agreed with all else. He maintained that since the union now had self-governance, it could work on appointing directors; he continued that if even ten directors were appointed by the workforce, that would be ten more that currently existed. Wałęsa insisted that large enterprises were strong enough to engage in the struggle for the

⁸³² AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; “Drgui dzień”, *Niezależność* 137 (September 28, 1981) 2; “Drugi dzień obrad”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 33 (September 28, 1981) 2.

⁸³³ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Pierwszy dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 13 (September 27, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 4.

⁸³⁴ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5; “Drugi dzień obrad”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 33 (September 28, 1981) 1.

⁸³⁵ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; AS, “II tura zjazdu. Pierwszy dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 13 (September 27, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 4.

⁸³⁶ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

appointment of directors while smaller enterprises wouldn't have been able to struggle for self-governance in the first place making this the best possible option.⁸³⁷

Delegates who defended the bill frequently focused on its difference with that proposed by the state to the Sejm. Antoni Lenkiewicz (Lower Silesia) insisted that Solidarity ought to choose a road of evolution; not revolution. He contended that the Sejm law was a success in the struggle for self-governance and was in opposition to the resolutions of the III Plenum of the PZPR and not those of Solidarity's Congress.⁸³⁸ Andrzej Konarski (Lower Silesia) described the bill as closer to the union's proposal than that of the government and a step in the right direction. He denounced those who he believed were using self-governance for electoral purposes.⁸³⁹ Andrzej Krajewski (Mazowsze) insisted that the Sejm bill, with the exception of the appointment of directors, was much better than the original state proposal.⁸⁴⁰ Janusz Onyszkiewicz (Mazowsze) insisted that a large number of representatives in the Sejm had boycotted the state's project which had a major meaning as he believed that they were "emancipating themselves."⁸⁴¹

Indeed, the Sejm's debates on the self-governance bill were repeatedly raised in Congress debates to suggest that this bill signaled a significant change in the Sejm. Jerzy Kropiwincki (Łódź) argued that the Sejm deputies had tried to work in agreement with the will of society which was unprecedented in the PRL.⁸⁴² Jerzy Zieliński (Mazowsze) contended that the passage of the bill was the first rebellion in the Sejm in the history of the PRL. He believed that Solidarity had acted responsibly; he perceived the bill as an accomplishment in the current

⁸³⁷ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; Lech Wałęsa, "Przyjechał czterech, a moli wszyscy..." *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 2-3.

⁸³⁸ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; "Drugi dzień obrad", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 33 (September 28, 1981) 1.

⁸³⁹ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5.

⁸⁴⁰ "Drgui Dzień", *Niezależność* 137 (September 28, 1981) 2.

⁸⁴¹ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

⁸⁴² AS, "II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3.

conditions in which, according to him, only a few months ago many Solidarity activities didn't want to hear of self-governance.⁸⁴³

Even some individuals who rejected the behavior of the Presidium valued the debates in the Sejm. Edward Nowak (Małopolska), who was a founding member of self-governing project at the Katowice Steelworks, characterized the bill not as “compromise but as a very serious resignation.” However, he also argued that the bill was the first time that the Sejm had rejected a state project.⁸⁴⁴ Similarly, Andrzej Gwiazda (Gdansk) argued that the Presidium's support for the bill was wrong but that the bill was a success in so far as the Sejm had held a real debate.⁸⁴⁵ The arguments underline the degree to which delegates not only worked for specific changes but also for general social and political change.

Grzegorz Pałka (Łódź) rejected both the argument that there was any meaning to the debates in the Sejm and that the bill was a major step in the current conditions. However, he insisted that it was time to move forward. Pałka explained that once the Presidium had made its decision, there was nothing the Congress could do as new conditions had been created and the struggle for appointing directors lost. Pałka insisted that the union now had two tactical options: to create a resolution outlining the union's stance, independently of the Presidium and to call a referendum.⁸⁴⁶ Indeed, delegates voted for a resolution on a referendum which called for changes in the bill including the factory appointment of directors, the rejection of “definite tasks from above” and the refection of forced membership in any organization.

⁸⁴³ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5.

⁸⁴⁴ Edward Nowak, “Ten kompromis jest ustępstwem”, *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 3.

⁸⁴⁵ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 27 (October 2, 1981) 5; “Drugi dzień”, *Niezależność* 137 (September 28, 1981) 2; Andrzej Gwiazda, “Dyskutowali nad głowami związkowców”, *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 3.

⁸⁴⁶ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Drugi dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 14 (September 28, 1981) 3; Grzegorz Pałka, “Formalna i mertyoryczna porażka”, *Niezależność* 139 (September 30, 1981) 2; “Drugi dzień obrad”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 33 (September 28, 1981) 1.

Economic Reforms

During the second round of the Congress, Ryszard Bugaj (Mazowsze) and the “realists”: Andrzej Krajewski (Mazowsze) and Zbigniew Janas (Mazowze) proposed an economic plan predicated on a partial return to the market and price hikes. A second proposal was put forward by Stefan Kurowski (expert) with Grzegorz Pałka (Łódź), Zbigniew Karwowski (Kujawy & Dobrzyńska) and Wacław Adamczyk (Wielkopolska). Their “alternative proposal” was more extreme in insisting that the economy was in a tailspin so that radical balancing of the economy was needed. It agreed, however, on the need for increased market control of the economy.

Pałka (Łódź) called for immediate price rises on meats with recompense only for families who fell below the poverty line as well as a five year freeze on money accounts in order to control inflation and begin to right the economy. He continued that it was foundational that Solidarity cooperate with the government to gain control of the economy and suggested the possibility of forming a societal Economic Council. Their proposal also called for a national referendum.⁸⁴⁷ This plan was predicated on investment in the growth of production, production centers in state farms with the inclusion of goods from individual farms, production centers in the state sector for products from the private sector, the liquidation of various economic elements from the state to the private sector, changes in international trade and limits on defense. It was believed that this would more rapidly move the economy from the crisis, than Bugaj’s proposal.⁸⁴⁸

Ryszard Bugaj (Mazowsze) responded that this alternative proposal was too optimistic in the returns it expected on the liquidation of assets proposed as well as the raw materials available. Furthermore, Bugaj claimed that the proposed pay for private farmers was unrealistic

⁸⁴⁷ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Szósty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 18 (October 2, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 6.

⁸⁴⁸ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Szósty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 18 (October 2, 1981) 3.

in the current situation. He continued that while there may be a need for price hikes, he didn't see society as able to cope with the proposed changes. Bugaj insisted that price hikes should only be accepted in the context of an overall package and that they should start with luxury items (gasoline, cigarettes and alcohol) rather than food.⁸⁴⁹ When it came to a vote between the proposals laid out by Krajewski and Pałka, a decided majority of delegates voted for Pałka's proposal.⁸⁵⁰

Bogdan Lis (Gdansk), pointing to some of the challenges posed by Solidarity becoming both a trades union and a social movement, insisted that both proposed economic reforms would lead to joblessness which as a union, Solidarity, ought not accept. Furthermore, he insisted on the potential growth of difficulties with self-governance in factories as workers, representing the interests of their enterprises, would not have the same interests as Solidarity and society as a whole. He therefore called for the creation of a mechanism to deal with these conflicts.⁸⁵¹ Indeed, the move toward a market economy and worker control of factories would have meant the creation of radically new economic system which could bring about a bevy of new challenges.

Delegates also proposed a number of specific, less comprehensive economic changes. Longin Malec (Białystok) called for union control of international trade.⁸⁵² Leon Okińczyk (West Pomorze) called for re-privatization of farming and reform of the land.⁸⁵³ Andrzej Rozplochowski (Lower Silesia) demanded liquidation of PZPR factory committees as he argued that these had led to a deformation of factories putting politics above economics. He continued

⁸⁴⁹ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 11.

⁸⁵⁰ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 13.

⁸⁵¹ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 7.

⁸⁵² "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 10.

⁸⁵³ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 11.

that factories were places of work; not politics. He described the use of Polish raw materials as predatory and neo-colonial, especially in reference to coal.⁸⁵⁴ Henryk Bąk (Mazowsze) called on self-governing enterprises to create direct international contacts. Stanisław Osiniak (Central-East) called for the re-privatization of enterprises under 50 people which had been taken over in 1946.⁸⁵⁵ Andrzej Kuźniar (Rzeszów) called for closer cooperation with Rural Solidarity.⁸⁵⁶ All of these demands meant the unraveling of the economic system created after the Second World War.

In the midst of the Congress, the state announced a number of price increases, specifically on cigarettes. This action precipitated discussions of the state's right to raise prices and even attacks on the Presidium who had, in the summer, suggested the possibility of price hikes in the context of an overall economic reform. Karol Modzelewski (Lower Silesia) called for the freezing of prices until a system of recompense and a real reform package was presented and a halt to the export of food stuffs; he endorsed a brief general strike. Andrzej Gwiazda (Gdańsk) called for a press strike and the blockade of the export of food stuffs. Grzegorz Pałka (Łódź) insisted similarly that changes in prices could only be accepted with society gaining control of the economy. He therefore proposed a referendum in the largest enterprises over what kind of strike measures to embrace and the creation of an Economic Council by Solidarity and Rural Solidarity. Jan Rulewski (Bydgoszcz) endorsed a one hour, universal strike. A plurality of delegates (433) delegates voted for Modzelewski's proposal.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁴ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 8.

⁸⁵⁵ "Dyskusja nad propozycjami programowymi sekcji II", *Niezależność* 141 (October 2, 1981) 1

⁸⁵⁶ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14.

⁸⁵⁷ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Jedenasty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 23 (October 7, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 13; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 29 (October 16, 1981) 4-5; "Jedenasty dzień obrad", "Dziesiąty dzień obrad", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 42 (October 7, 1981) 3.

Political Reform

Wacław Adamczak (Wielkopolska) argued that through economics “we must achieve full control over society.” Indeed, for many, economic self-governance was linked to political self-governance.⁸⁵⁸ Tadeusz Waśniewski (Białystok) demanded the division of political power from the economy as well as free elections to the Sejm and National Council, the freeing of political prisoners, and the creation of a multi-party system.⁸⁵⁹ Stefan Kawalec (Mazowsze) supported the boycott of elections to the Sejm and National Council until electoral reforms were passed.⁸⁶⁰ Eugeniusz Szumejko (Lower Silesia) proposed that Solidarity create a team to help in breaking the monopoly of the PZPR in the National Council and Sejm.⁸⁶¹ Ryszard Kuszłyko (Silesia-Dąbrowska) called for authentic free elections and the possibility of a second house on the model of the English House of Lords.⁸⁶² Kazimierz Świtoń (Silesia-Dąbrowska) claimed that “[i]n our country you can’t do anything without a political party.” He maintained that while Solidarity couldn’t be a political party or get into politics, it should help to create independent political groups. His call for the removal of PZPR members from the union, contending that they needed to choose one of the other, suggested that Solidarity may not have been, for Rulewski, a political party, it certainly was a political entity.⁸⁶³ Krzysztof Rajpert (Silesia-Dąbrowska) contended that the union should prepare tactics in how to behave in relation to the Sejm and National Council

⁸⁵⁸ “Głosy kandydatów”, *Z Dnia na Dzień* 37 (October 2, 1981) 3.

⁸⁵⁹ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 12.

⁸⁶⁰ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Dziewiąty dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 21 (October 5, 1981) 3.

⁸⁶¹ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Ósmy dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 20 (October 4, 1981) 3.

⁸⁶² “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 12.

⁸⁶³ AS, “II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad”, *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 12.

elections.⁸⁶⁴ However, a proposal that the line in Solidarity's statute about the leading role of the PZPR in the state be deleted was quickly vetoed.⁸⁶⁵

In addition to reform of national electoral procedures, delegates also called for legal protections for the rights of man and an independent judiciary. Bogusław Sonik (Małopolska) called for the codification of the rule of law, insisting that "the struggle over law is the struggle for our freedom."⁸⁶⁶ Zbigniew Romaszewski (Mazowsze) called for the institutionalization of the rights of man, an independent judiciary, defense of prisoners of conscience and for those who brought about the crisis and the attacks on workers in 1956, 70 and 76 to be held responsible.⁸⁶⁷ Adam Strzembosz also spoke of the need for an independent judiciary.⁸⁶⁸ Lech Kaczyński (Gdansk) called for changes in the work codex to strengthen the position of workers as well as protection for those injured on the job.⁸⁶⁹

Social Reform

Delegates called not only for economic and political changes, but also for improvements in social welfare. Teodor Basak (Central East) commented on work safety and hygiene. Lech Winiarski (Bydgoszcz) called for the union to become active in combating the housing shortage. Andrzej Porawski (Wielkopolska) and Longin Malec (Białystok) proposed environmental protection.⁸⁷⁰ Zygmunt Rolicz (Wielkopolska) called for the founding of a club of the defenders of independence from 1939-1945. He suggested the establishment of pensions for these

⁸⁶⁴ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Piąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 17 (October 1, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5.

⁸⁶⁵ "Piąty dzień", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 24 (September 10, 1981) 3.

⁸⁶⁶ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Dziewiąty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 21 (October 5, 1981) 3.

⁸⁶⁷ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 11.

⁸⁶⁸ "Ósmy dzień", *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 4.

⁸⁶⁹ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 10.

⁸⁷⁰ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 5, 10.

individuals arguing that “We owe them a debt of thanks.” Czesław Jezierski (Lower Silesia) decried the loss of food to waste and the contemporary lack of medicine.⁸⁷¹

A number of delegates raised issues related to the health of the nation. Jan Huszcza (Chełm) spoke out against the death penalty and alcoholism.⁸⁷² Grażyna Przybylska (Płock) also spoke of alcoholism and drug addiction when she called for the reorganization of Polish health services and an end to privileges.⁸⁷³ Andrzej Węgrzyn (Wielkopolska South) likewise discussed the need to improve health care. He even called for the creation of a health care system outside of ZUS (the state health insurance service) for those injured in the 1939 struggle with the Soviets and later fighting with the Soviets because they did not enjoy the rights of combatants which those who had fought the Germans enjoyed.⁸⁷⁴ Jerzy Modrzejewski (Zielona Góra) spoke in the defense of the handicapped.⁸⁷⁵

Delegates discussed women’s working conditions, maternity leave and child care. Ignacy Czeżyk (Central-East) argued against women working at night, insisting that women had, after the war, lost rights which had been previously fought for and won.⁸⁷⁶ Krzysztof Rajpert (Silesia-Dąbrowska) demanded that Solidarity work to correct the situation for Polish women; he called for two year maternity leave. Grzegorz Kaminski (West Pomorze) contended that this was too long a maternity leave and would lead to the isolation of women.⁸⁷⁷ Maria Trec (Opole) spoke of the difficulties in taking care of small children and called for greater support from the state.⁸⁷⁸ Krystyna Ruchniewicz (Gdansk) demanded respect for children’s rights while Wanda Pietroń-

⁸⁷¹ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 8.

⁸⁷² “Zjazd krajowy”, *Niezależność* 141 (October 2, 1981) 2.

⁸⁷³ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14.

⁸⁷⁴ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 8.

⁸⁷⁵ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14.

⁸⁷⁶ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 7.

⁸⁷⁷ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 29 (October 16, 1981) 5.

⁸⁷⁸ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 7.

Drechny (Mazowsze) plead for an end to what she described as de facto discrimination against rural children in education.⁸⁷⁹

Indeed, delegates repeatedly called for education reform. Jan Waszkiewicz (Lower Silesia), insisted on the importance of the delegates devising an anti-crisis program which protected the nation through territorial self-management through reform of public life in culture, education etc; he proposed the creation of a fully independent university to break the state's monopoly on education.⁸⁸⁰ Franciszek Łuczko (West Pomorze) focused on problems in history education and called for resolutions for having the Solidarity emblem on a denomination of paper money as well as special coinage for the 600th anniversary of Jasna Góra. He also called for the re-burial of Władysław Sikorski in Wawel Castle and the return of the crown to the Polish eagle.⁸⁸¹ Henryk Siciński (Wielkopolska South) insisted on the need for new textbook and popular texts on recent history.⁸⁸² Czesław Jezierski (Lower Silesia) also called for new textbooks on recent history.⁸⁸³ Michał Pietkiewicz (Białystok) discussed Russification of Poles in the USSR and the devastation of Polish culture in the former borderlands and called on the union to do something.⁸⁸⁴ Janusz Bałenkowski (Lower Silesia) called for clarification of the events of 1956 and 1970 and punishment for the perpetrators.⁸⁸⁵

A full overhaul of the state's economic, political and social structure was necessary to begin to answer the demands made by Solidarity's delegates. However, even then, many of

⁸⁷⁹ "Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 141 (October 2, 1981) 2.

⁸⁸⁰ "Głosy kandydatów", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 37 (October 2, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 11.

⁸⁸¹ Sikorski was the leader of Poland's government-in-exile during World War II. The Communists had removed the crown from the Polish eagle as a sign of unacceptable royalty; it is now back on the crest. ["I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 7; "Dzień szósty", *Jedność* 58 (October 9, 1981) 1]

⁸⁸² "Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 141 (October 2, 1981) 2.

⁸⁸³ "Szósty dzień obrad", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 37 (October 2, 1981) 4.

⁸⁸⁴ This was censored in *Tygodnik Solidarność*. ["Zjazd krajowy", *Niezależność* 143 (October 6, 1981) 1.]

⁸⁸⁵ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 14; "Ósmy dzień obrad", *Z Dnia na Dzień* 39 (October 4, 1981) 1.

society's demands were mutually exclusive; the economy could not be balanced at the same time that new social programs were created. These problems were endemic and not easily handled.

Election of the Union Chairman

Perhaps the most dramatic moment at the Congress was the election of a new union chairman. The four candidates for the position of chairman were Andrzej Gwiazda (Gdansk), Marian Jurczyk (West Pomorze), Jan Rulewski (Bydgoszcz) and Lech Wałęsa (Gdansk & Wielkopolska). Each addressed the Congress with a ten minute speech and then answered questions; each discussed Solidarity as both a union organization and a social movement

Marian Jurczyk called for democracy and discipline at each level of the union. He argued that "the most intelligence and power is found in society...[accordingly] the chairman of the KKP does not have the right in any instance to make singular decisions. Of course, I am thinking of important decisions." He insisted further that "I am decidedly for continuing a hard route" and maintained that there existed a serious threat from compromise in the face of a state which did not have true elections and which had perpetrated the crimes of 1956 and 1970 with impunity. He called for self-management of factories, territorial self-governance and free elections to the Sejm; such elections he argued would allow "us" to move from the current economic, political and moral crisis. He also called for trade links with both the East and West.⁸⁸⁶

In the question and answer period, Jurczyk asserted that while he had deep respect for Wałęsa, the decision about the self- governance bill was an unforgivable error. He called for territorial self-governance, societal control of production and factories as well as Sejm elections.

⁸⁸⁶ Jarosław Broda, ed. "Mitying wyborczy", *Głos Wolny* 18 (October 2, 1981) 2; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 9; "Prezentacja kandydatów na przewodniczącego", *Niezależność* 142 (October 5, 1981) 2.

Jurczyk demanded that the Sejm take control of the government and noted that his views of the Sejm differed from those of Wałęsa.⁸⁸⁷

Andrzej Gwiazda spoke next. He argued that the union found itself under pressure due to the economic crisis and from state attacks. He noted that only a year ago the state had taken up trials against Solidarity as the prosecutor turned on independent publishing and independent publishers.⁸⁸⁸ He continued that mass communication stood at the same place it did a year ago in reference to television while nothing had been achieved in work safety or the protection of the environment. Still, Gwiazda maintained that the state could reach compromises and that he had worked many out. However, he also argued that these needed to come from equals. Gwiazda concluded that we are unionists, but above that Poles and even above that people and maintained that the Communists had sought a state for ideal people when what was needed was a state for people as they existed; that was the ideal.⁸⁸⁹

In the question and answer period, Gwiazda asserted that adherence to the law was primary for him. He called for cooperation with the Church and defended KOR arguing that “we can’t forget that these 22 [the initial KOR signatories] people out of 35 million Poles, who didn’t lift a finger in defense of workers...” raised the country from shame in 1976.⁸⁹⁰

The incumbent, Lech Wałęsa, gave the most somber address. He noted that it was unsettling for him to hear how their “partner” (the state authorities) was not valued and argued that channels needed to be kept open. He insisted that, if elected, he would not act wrongly even if it was demanded of him through the future program. He continued that in spite of differences

⁸⁸⁷ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 10.

⁸⁸⁸ The arrest of Narożniak,

⁸⁸⁹ Jarosław Broda, ed. “Mitying wyborczy”, *Głos Wolny* 18 (October 2, 1981) 2; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 9.

⁸⁹⁰ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 10.

of opinion unity was needed as “we are really going to battle.” He concluded that while it was obvious that improvements were needed in reference to food supply, these would come.⁸⁹¹

In his question period, Wałęsa asserted that the immediate issue was the average standard of living and putting an end to ques. Longer-term, he focused on self-governance and independent structures to guarantee democracy. He described delegates’ attacks on the intelligentsia as “incomprehensible” and acknowledged that he could not guarantee that the mess in the Presidium would not return. Wałęsa asserted that “democracy is a gaggle” and argued that sometimes correct decisions need to be made undemocratically.⁸⁹² Accordingly, Wałęsa gave notice that he did not rue his decision over self-governance and did not intend to follow the dictates of the Congress if he disagreed with them.

Finally, Jan Rulewski spoke. He argued that an error in the union up to that point had been in imagining a Soviet threat. He argued that this had led to a censoring of aims from the factory to the election of the Sejm. *Tygodnik Solidarność* censored the next part of Rulewski’s speech when he insisted on the need to throw out this internal censor and ideas based on the imperial power of the Soviets. Rulewski maintained that while Poland had pacts with the Soviet Union, it also did with 35 states through the Pact on European Safety which the Soviet Union had also signed. He argued that this had guaranteed the sovereignty of states and so had created alternative political boundaries. *Tygodnik Solidarność* was permitted to print the remainder of Rulewski’s address in which he argued that the Sejm had cut “our laws” and enterprises and that he dreamt of the types of enterprises in which workers, engineers, etc. worked for themselves.⁸⁹³

⁸⁹¹ Jarosław Broda, ed., “Mitying wyborczy”, *Głos Wolny* 18 (October 2, 1981) 2; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 9.

⁸⁹² “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 10.

⁸⁹³ Jarosław Broda, ed., “Mitying wyborczy”, *Głos Wolny* 18 (October 2, 1981) 2; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 9.

Rulewski's answers were, like his address, censored from *Tygodnik Solidarność*.

Rulewski demanded a new election ordinance for the Sejm within the next two years, control of the SB and MO and stabilization of the economy. He called for *Tygodnik Solidarność* to become a daily and noted that access to mass communication was of paramount concern.

Rulewski argued that the most important thing for Poland was to connect with the wide flow of European culture, taking part in international work and liberating the potential of a nation which included Marie Curie-Sadowska, Tadeusz Kościuszko and Pope John Paul II.⁸⁹⁴

Although Rulewski and Gwiazda had received more applause than Wałęsa, he won with 462 votes. Jurczyk received 201 votes, Gwiazda earned 74 votes and Rulewski had 52 votes; 48 delegates abstained from voting.⁸⁹⁵

Solidarity's Statutes, Declarations and Program

The concrete results of the Congress were new statutes, a new program and a number of decrees, declarations and appeals. There was to be neither a new Supreme Council nor a new rung between KZs and KRs. The statute not only allowed for dual office holding but guaranteed it. The Presidium continued to function as a cabinet for the chairman. No clear competencies were laid out for the advisors or the rest of the union leadership. No clear regulations were laid out in reference to union pay, death benefits, or a strike fund. The position of union publishing in relation to the union leadership remained unclear. The most significant changes were made in the formation of the KK in favor of proportionalism. The statute also insisted that Solidarity could expand its purview to Polish enterprises outside of the country and declared that while any

⁸⁹⁴ "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 10.

⁸⁹⁵ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Siódmy dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 19 (October 3, 1981) 3.

factory could call a strike, strikes which were called by more than one regions needed KK approval. The statute was ratified by 23 regions, accounting for 74% of members.⁸⁹⁶

Decrees were passed on independent publishing, education for the young (particularly in the fields of history and the Polish language), national culture, the “Bydgoszcz affair”, self-governance in higher education, the rights of union workers in radio and television, national minorities and the rights of civil workers in MON and MSW (the security services). A declaration was released denouncing the “psychological warfare” which the state allegedly used to frighten the nation as well as one supporting John Paul II’s encyclical “Laborem Excensis.” In addition, letters were written to Poles in the entire world, Pope John Paul II, the workers of Eastern Europe and the president of the Polish Writers’ Union. A declaration of understanding with the Polish Writers’ Union was made in support of the creation of nation-wide libraries offering independent publications, the organization of workers’ universities, and the encouragement of independent and union publishers. The declaration on national culture insisted that the state had purposely omitted and degraded elements of the Polish past; Solidarity was to work to correct this.⁸⁹⁷

During the first round of the Congress, delegates released a Congress declaration which avowed that the aim of Solidarity is “to create dignified conditions of life in an economic and politically sovereign Poland.” It continued that this meant a life free of idolatry, exploitation, fear and lies, in a society organized democratically with the rule of law. To achieve this, it called for correction in food control and production, economic reforms, truth, democracy, justice, and preservation of the health of the nation.⁸⁹⁸

⁸⁹⁶ *Congress Post* 8 (September 27, 1980) 1.

⁸⁹⁷ “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 30 (October 23, 1981) 9; “I krajowy zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 6.

⁸⁹⁸ “Deklaracja i zjazd delegatów”, *Tygodnik Solidarność* 25 (September 17, 1981) 1.

On the eighteenth day of the Congress, the Solidarity Program was released. It was 43 pages and had 37 theses which were separated into eight sections. 455 delegates voted for it, 65 voted against and 91 abstained.

The Solidarity Program insisted that self-governing workplaces were the basis for a self-governing republic. The proposal called for democracy at all levels of the government, a second house within the Sejm, legal guarantees on the freedom of citizens, self-governing territories, and an independent judiciary with punishment for all crimes against society. The program demanded a bevy of social changes including defense of the poor, respect for the right to work, just food distribution, the rebuilding of social initiatives, an end to discriminatory privileges, the defense of families and the old, safe and healthy working conditions, protection of the biological substance and health of the nation, environmental protection, and housing reform. It also called for a freer flow of information with pluralistic views in a self-governing republic, support for culture and enlightenment, and independent cultural and national education initiatives. The program declared that the right to the past and present is the key to national identity and demanded mass communication under societal control. Economically, the program called for a balancing of the market and self-governing workplaces. In relation to internal union organization, the program insisted that democracy is the basis of our union and its strength, all union decisions should come from union members while all union actions should be based upon them. It insisted that control and critique of the union is the right and responsibility of all members; it declared that Solidarity was to help in a new social understanding.⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁹ "Tezy programowe", *Solidarność Dolnośląska* 54 (October 14, 1981) 3; Benedykt Czuma "Program związku", *Solidarność Ziemi Łódziej* 53 (October 9, 1981) 1.

Conclusion

Equally, if not more important than the concrete results of the Congress (the statutes, declaration and program) were the transcendental and societal achievements. The Congress showed that Polish civil society was awakening, surpassing the most radical hopes and estimations of the democratic opposition. The bevy of documents produced and voices heard point to the development of the type of vibrant, active civil society which Hannah Arendt described. The demands of the democratic opposition for independent social initiatives and their focus on the importance of independent publishing in encouraging the peaceful creation of independent worker, educational and rural initiatives proved correct.

Delegates debates were often presented as chaotic; frequently they were. This was a nascent civil society which for the first time in decades was engaging in self-governance. Most delegates had no experience with any form of democratic practice; many perceived all procedural regulations as limitations on democracy. It was inevitable that unruly behavior would ensue when such people were called on to draw up a union program, revise the union statutes, discuss societal self-governance *and* create democratic procedures and regulations for a Congress through which almost ten million members were represented. Allegations of manipulation and treachery were rife while distrust and criticism of Solidarity was more frequently voiced than appreciation for its achievements. Few echoed Gabriel Plemieniak's (Lower Silesia) argument that, while "[i]t is most easy to criticize...the Union had awakened the national spirit. It created a platform to national unity. That which we do, we do well."⁹⁰⁰ But Plemieniak was right.

⁹⁰⁰ AS, "II tura zjazdu. Czwarty dzień obrad", *Głos Wolny* 16 (September 30, 1981) 3; "I krajowy zjazd delegatów", *Tygodnik Solidarność* 28 (October 9, 1981) 1, 2, 3.

Timothy Garton Ash, a guest at the Congress, argued convincingly that Congress debates were reminiscent of the “Polish Noble Democracy of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.”⁹⁰¹ Indeed, as delegates jostled to have their voices heard, procedures were broken with numerous delegates embarking on long-winded presentations so that the Congress lasted longer than was initially intended. However, just as in the sixteenth-century Sejm, Congress debates proved that votes were not taken lightly and without consideration; delegates were fully engaged in improving their union and society independently of the state as they themselves were being schooled in democratic practice. Such earnestness predictably brought discord.

Delegates’ debates over division of powers and the balance between executive and legislative power as well as voting regulations, centralization and de-centralization were impressive in a society which had no recent memory of democratic procedures. Issues related to proportional voting are not, even in a developed democratic system, straight forward. That they were a point of heated contention among primarily young men with no democratic experience is no surprise. What is perhaps most noteworthy is that all delegates remained unwavering in insisting that the goal was a democratic union and society; disagreements were over how best to achieve these goals.

Despite the heated nature of debates, the most dramatic proposals for change were rejected; Lech Wałęsa was re-elected as Solidarity’s chairman. Indeed, delegates were attuned to the geo-political restrictions imposed upon Poland. Yes, disagreements arose over how far the state and its backer, the Soviet Union, could be pushed, but Congress delegates, like the democratic opposition before them, did not express contempt for society or its safety by renouncing all boundaries.

⁹⁰¹ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985) 220-221.

At the same time, in just over one year, a seismic shift had occurred in what was perceived as too maximalist. Demands for a fully market-based economy, new international alliances and the cessation of censorship were not voiced. However, demands were publicly voiced for a partially market based economy, judicial reform, further freedom of the press and even free elections. While public manifestations had been perceived as radical by even some in the “radical” democratic opposition just two years before, these were now treated as normal by society at large. Demands for a national referendum would have been unimaginably extreme just a short time before; yet, the majority of delegates called for a referendum. As late as August 1980 independent publishing was the purview of a minority. While publishing activists believed that it was morally wrong that they had to function underground, they acknowledged that they acted outside of the laws of the state. By the fall of 1981, tens if not hundreds of thousands were involved in the production of uncensored union publications. These individuals increasingly believed that they had the moral and legal right to publish whatever they wanted aboveground. The rapidity of these developments suggests that the self-limiting nature of society’s demands were about security; not conviction. They therefore point to the growth of Polish civil society.

Chapter 5

Independent Publishing, Martial Law to the Summer of 1989

With the imposition of martial law on December 13, 1981, independent publishing moved fully underground; authors and editors rarely signed their works. Despite repression, approximately 1,000 different serial titles appeared in 1982; almost 600 were Solidarity related bulletins. These tended to appear less frequently than had Solidarity publications prior to December 13, 1981, had smaller print-runs and were more ephemeral. At the outset of martial law, the significant degree of cooperation in independent publishing as well as its quantity reflected a high level of social solidarity and even unity while content pointed to society's lessening moderation as well as the de-centralization of the Solidarity organization as new groupings developed their own Solidarity publications. Because distribution networks functioned as Solidarity's underground structure, independent publications demonstrate the weakening of social unity as well as the Solidarity trades union during the mid 1980s as the number of Solidarity related serials diminished until they reached a low of about 270 in 1987. Over all, the number of independently produced serials decreased steadily until 1986 when it reached a low of approximately 550 titles. After 1987, however, the number of independent serial titles began to increase annually.⁹⁰²

Although the number of independently produced serial titles as well as Solidarity's organizational strength fluctuated and even diminished, independent publishing shows that in the 1980s civil society became stronger and more pluralistic. In contrast to Solidarity's losses, the number of youth related publications grew steadily between 1982 and 1989; 309 titles were in print in 1989 (an additional 143 student publications were also printed that year). These had a plethora of foci, including environmentalism, pacifism, anarchism, feminism, punk rock etc.

⁹⁰² *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, ed. Marta Marcinkiewicz & Sebastian Ligarski (Szczecin: IPN, 2010) 163, 171.

Despite minor fluctuations, about 100 socio-political titles were produced annually between 1983 and 1988; over 200 were produced in 1989. These were produced with liberal, socialist, and nationalist programs. This figures meant that the annual number of socio-political journal titles printed, like the number of cultural/literary journal titles was consistently greater between 1982 and 1989 than in 1981. In addition, a number of publications which focused on international relations, human rights and professional interests were also produced. While the exactitude of these figures may be open to dispute, the trend they show toward increased pluralism in independent publishing is incontrovertible.⁹⁰³

In addition, the mid to late 1980s saw the growth of a proto-market in independent publishing as well as the diversification of media produced. Without funds coming primarily from Solidarity or foreign donations, independent publishers had to become more responsive to readers in order to remain in existence. As a result, the plurality of independent publications convincingly proved society's own plurality. When independent publishers again began signing their names in 1988 and society moved toward openness, the state was confronted with an active, pluralistic and less moderate (although still peaceful) civil society.

Martial Law: December 13, 1981 to July 22, 1983

With the establishment of martial law, the leaders of Solidarity and the democratic opposition were imprisoned; almost 10,000 individuals were interned at some point during martial law. The security services and army went one by one to the major industrial concerns in the county where occupation strikes were held. They surrounded the factories and used whatever force was necessary to break the strikes; nine miners were killed in the Wujek mine in Silesia-Dąbrowska. On December 27, 1981 Solidarity's last major occupation strike was broken. NZS

⁹⁰³ Ibid.

and Rural Solidarity were both de-legalized.⁹⁰⁴ Although they were easily defeated, youth who engaged in “blizzard” attacks on the authorities, armed with rocks, continued their struggles into the spring.

State repression targeted independent publishing. The state authorities destroyed or confiscated any independent libraries and printing supplies they found. The destruction of union printing capabilities was eased by Solidarity having legally registered their printing equipment and having housed it in the open. In addition, many publishing activists, both union and non-union found themselves interned. Draconian punishments were announced for any further independent publishing. According to martial law article 48 which dealt with independent publishing, individuals could be imprisoned for one to eight years for attempting to weaken the PRL, six month to five year sentences were announced for spreading false information leading to societal unrest and one to five years in jail was the punishment for distributing uncensored materials.⁹⁰⁵

Some Solidarity activists and independent publishers evaded the authorities, escaped interment and disappeared ‘underground.’ Such people spent weeks, months and even years in hiding. They attempted to alter their appearances and regularly switched locations, allowing for minimal contact with family and loved ones.

A number of activists were left at liberty as they were not on internment lists; some were not known to the authorities while others were not interned because it would have been impossible to put everyone in jail who was associated with independent publishing. Although *Tygodnik Solidarność*’s entire editorial board was interned, not all employees were. Those who were left at large were able to remove some printing equipment as well as the paper’s archive

⁹⁰⁴ Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985) 263.

⁹⁰⁵ Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja; Z dziejów drugiego obiegu wydawniczego w Polsce 1976-1989/90*. (Warsaw: IPN, 2010) 162.

(which included letters to the editor which were incriminating for countless readers) to hide in a Warsaw parish.⁹⁰⁶

Solidarity Independent Publishing During Martial Law

During martial law, Solidarity publishing diversified dramatically. Millions of flyers were dropped while hundreds of serials were produced by different groups related to Solidarity. These were primarily brief bulletins which carried information on Solidarity and state repression. Their tone was less moderate than in the period prior to December 13, 1981. Despite this diversity, social solidarity and cooperation was high.

In the first days of martial law, Solidarity flyers blanketed the country. On the night of December 12/13, Emil Broniarek, of NOWa, printed a call for a general strike at the NOWa printing locale which had been established at Ursus. Reflecting the insecurity of the times, he then asked workers who he did not know to bury the machines so that if he was interned and beaten he couldn't reveal their location; he then went into hiding.⁹⁰⁷ Feelings of uncertainty and fear were widespread. Elżbieta Regulska (who had recently had a daughter) felt the clearly historically ingrained fear of deportation to Siberia.⁹⁰⁸ In Gdansk, Piotr Kapczyński and his peers printed a summons to a general strike as well as a flyer calling on police and army personnel to refuse to obey orders. They began distributing them the next day. Students in Gdansk produced statements made by Bogdan Lis who disappeared into the underground.⁹⁰⁹ On December 14, NOWa printers, Przemysław Cieślak, Andrzej Gorski, Adam Grzesiak, and

⁹⁰⁶ Andrzej Friszke, "Tygodnik Solidarność, 1981", *Biuletyn IPN* 54-55 (Warsaw: IPN, July-August 2005) 47.

⁹⁰⁷ Emil Broniak in "Słowo Jak Dynamit", ed. Wiesława Grochola, *KARTA* 29 (2006) 117-118.

⁹⁰⁸ Elżbieta Regulska-Chlebowska in *Szminka na sztandarze*, ed. Ewa Kondratowicz (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 2001) 106.

⁹⁰⁹ Piotr Kapczyński in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, ed. Michael Szporer (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012) 108; Bogdan Lis in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, eds. Maciej Łominski, Marcin Moskit [Zbigniew Gach], Mariusz Wilk; trans. Jane Cave (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 29.

Krzysztof Siemieński printed a flyer at Grzesiak's apartment.⁹¹⁰ On December 14, 1981, individuals associated with the Krąg publishing house produced flyers.⁹¹¹ In Wrocław, students from the Farming Academy and Polytechnic University produced flyers.⁹¹² A Solidarity activist from WSK-Hydral in Wrocław asserted that he and his work colleagues dropped tens of thousands of flyers from factory windows at this time.⁹¹³ In Lublin, Andrzej Pleszczyński, Wojciech Gruz, Emil Ward, Krzysztof Hariasz, Kazimierz Iwaszko and Jan Magierski from NZS, Rural Solidarity and Solidarity produced flyers to distribute to schools and factories.⁹¹⁴

Although flyers vitally contested the Polish public space in the face of the state authorities' drive to remove civil society from the public sphere, they were distributed anonymously and so did not help in creating an organization. Serials, in contrast, were not anonymously distributed and often charged a fee. With many activists having fallen back on personal bonds in small groupings with the imposition of martial; the distribution of serials enabled these to link with broader networks.

At the outset of martial law, most independent serials, including numerous strike bulletins, were produced in and for specific workplaces; most were basic, carrying re-prints from Radio Free Europe and local information. Solidarity activists in WSK-Hydral in Wrocław from February 1982 had their own factory publication *Hydratek*. The editors claimed that '[i]t is unusually important to publish one's own publication.'⁹¹⁵ Anastazja Konieczna, a welder from the River Shipyard in Wrocław, from the establishment of martial law, alone typed and

⁹¹⁰ *Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007* (Warsaw: NOWa, 2007) 25.

⁹¹¹ "Trwale wartości kultury", Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseud.) from Krąg Publishing house, *Vacat* 42, [closed December 1986] 47.

⁹¹² Kornel Morawiecki with Artur Adamski, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej* (Wrocław: Kontra, 2007) 85.

⁹¹³ "Jestem pewien zwycięstwa Solidarności", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 82 (March 29, 1984) 1.

⁹¹⁴ Andrzej Pleszczyński and Kazimierz Iwaszko in "Słowo pisane znów nabrało strasznie ważnego znaczenia...", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 110, 112.

⁹¹⁵ "Jestem pewien zwycięstwa Solidarności", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 82 (March 29, 1984) 1.

distributed a factory bulletin.⁹¹⁶ Taxi drivers in Warsaw also typed their own publication from December 1981.⁹¹⁷ In Lublin, individuals from the information bulletin for the Central-East region began producing a strike bulletin in Świdnik in December.⁹¹⁸

Factory bulletin networks connected with regional serials to reestablish Solidarity's structure. *Szeptem* was produced in Katowice. The editor, Janina Jadwiga Chmielowska, noted that "publishing activities were for us the foundation" as bulletins had two functions: to signal that we existed and to consolidate groups. She noted that as regional chief she connected, at the local level, with those who were printing.⁹¹⁹ *Biuletyn Informacyjny* in Białystok appeared in January 1982; by the spring it had a print-run of 3,500 for the region.⁹²⁰ *Obserwator Wielkopolski* in Poznań, and *Biuletyn Małopolski* in Krakow were key in reestablishing the Solidarity network in their regions. *Aktualności* which had begun publication in the fall of 1981, continued to be produced in Krakow and became the information bulletin of Solidarity's emerging regional underground leadership; it remained in print until May 1988.⁹²¹

Because of the haphazard nature of this period, "Solidarity publications", even regional publications, were often only tenuously connected to the union leadership as it formed underground. In Lublin, *Biuletyn Informacyjny* was produced for the Central-East region which had been able to save some equipment, including a Spotkania printer. *Informator* became the region's main Solidarity publication with a print-run of over 1,000; by 1984 it jumped to 8,000

⁹¹⁶ Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe, 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002) 44.

⁹¹⁷ Discussion with Representatives of Sekret KZ NSZZ Z Miejskiego Przedsiębiorstwa Taksówkarskiego in Warsaw, January 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, ed. Grzegorz Nawrocki (Warsaw: Pokolenie, 1988) 143.

⁹¹⁸ Krzysztof Michałkiewicz in "Słowo pisane znów nabrało strasznie ważnego znaczenia...", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 116; Henryk Gontarz in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, eds. Anotni Dudek and Krzysztof Madej (Warsaw: IPN, 2006) 82.

⁹¹⁹ Janina Jadwiga Chmielowska in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 69-70.

⁹²⁰ Dariusz Boguski and Krzysztof Burek co-edited it. [Dariusz Boguski and Stanisław Marczyk in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 32, 35-36, 174.]

⁹²¹ Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudnia 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia "Secesja", 1993) 34.

when a better printer was procured. Initially, it was produced by four students without any connection to the Solidarity regional leadership. Jan Magierski, who was on the editorial board, explained that they felt a “sacred responsibility” to inform the populace about those who were repressed and in prison. *Informator*, by the spring of 1982, became an organ of the union leadership, in fact as well as in name. Similarly, in Łódź, it was students from NZS who began producing *Solidarność Walcząca* as a union regional paper in December 1981; they re-printed materials gathered from Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.⁹²²

With much of Solidarity’s elected leadership in prison, as the union regrouped, those who had escaped arrest or had not been on internment lists moved into positions of authority in the underground so that regional structures were often formed by new people many of whom had been part of the democratic opposition and were now in hiding. Bogdan Borusewicz who had evaded arrest, became a leader of the Gdansk Solidarity underground. He claimed that, in Gdansk, the independent press was quickly able to reach several thousand people. He argued that while in many places students did most of the publishing, in Gdansk, it was workers. Borusewicz acknowledged the printing superiority of Warsaw and Wrocław. Indeed, the Lenin Shipyard was so unprepared, that its first factory bulletin was only printed in March 1982. However, by May, the shipyard was also producing a theoretical publication as well as receiving publications from neighboring factories. Gdansk’s regional *Biuletyn Informacyjny Solidarność* fully revived in the spring of 1982 under the direction of Maciej Łopiński.⁹²³ Bogdan Lis, the leader of Gdansk’s underground insisted that printing and communication was the top priority

⁹²² Wiesław Ruchlicki, Arkadiusz Kutkowski, Jan Magierski, and Wiktor Tomasz Grudzień in “Słowo pisane znów nabrało strasznie ważnego znaczenia...”, “Studenci przejmują inicjatywę” and “Druga redakcja *Informatora*”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 119, 123, 125, 131, 132, 134, 13; Wiesław Maciejowski and Wojciech Słodkowski in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 150, 203.

⁹²³ Bogdan Borusewicz in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 108; Interview with activists from the Solidarity Secret Factory Commission in Gdansk Shipyard on May 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 10; Edmund Szczesiak, *My, Podziemni. Cisi bohaterowie stanu wojennego* (Gdansk: Fundacja Archiwum Filmowe “Drogi do Niepodległości, 2006) 9-10.

for his region and that from the beginning, conspiratorial work in the factories was based on the creation of pamphlets.⁹²⁴

The Lower Silesian branch of Solidarity (based in Wrocław) which was led by Władysław Frasyniuk (who had evaded internment and was living underground) was arguably the strongest region at the outset of martial law and was active in independent publishing. While the state had seized most of Solidarity's financial assets, this region had legendarily withdrawn millions of zloty before the imposition of martial law. Although the machines they received from Sweden had been smashed, some of the smaller printing equipment in the regional headquarters had been smuggled out amidst ZOMO attacks. Frasyniuk explained that the success of his region was partially due to their having created plans of action of what to do in case of a state of emergency and because Lower Silesia had directed schools for screen-printing during the Solidarity-era as they were conscious that if something happened, this would mean widespread printing capabilities. They had even printed flyers in Russian in advance (at Kornel Morawiecki's suggestion), imagining that if Solidarity was attacked it would be by the Soviets. In Wrocław, experts, including professors and docents, participated in Solidarity's initial underground printing efforts; they also taught additional workers how to print.⁹²⁵

Z Dnia na Dzień, in Wrocław, was one of the few serials which lasted from the Solidarity-era through 1989. At the outset of martial law, it was two pages and appeared bi-weekly with a print-run of 20-30,000; it was signed by the Regional Strike Committee (RKS) which became the focus for Lower Silesia's underground Solidarity leadership. Kornel Morawiecki, and a team from *Biuletyn Dolnośląski*, including Romek and Helena Lazarowicz and

⁹²⁴ Bogdan Lis in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 47, 60.

⁹²⁵ "Solidarność w podziemiu", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 13 (May 12, 1981) 1-2; Władysław Frasyniuk in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 11, 20, 42, 106; Jan Seń, "Polski się nie wygada" in *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, o emigracji, o osobie*, Discussions with Andrzej Krajewski (London: Aneks, 1989) 138.

Joanna and Wiesław Moszczak had an issue ready for distribution on December 14, 1981. Together, they edited about fifty issues by June 1982. This group also produced the first underground edition of *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk*. In addition, *Biuletyn Wrocławski* and *Dziś a Pojutrze* were soon being produced in Wrocław. The former was produced by students while the latter was a more programmatic RKS publication. Although Frasyński found both more interesting than *Z Dnia na Dzień* (which he thought was too emotional), they lasted only briefly. Indeed, the first underground publications, produced in a time of uncertainty and fear were frequently inflammatory as well as short-lived.⁹²⁶

In May 1982, Kornel Morawiecki left *Z Dnia na Dzień* and resigned from his position in underground Solidarity in Wrocław. A new editorial team took over *Z Dnia na Dzień* and in June, Morawiecki began the production of *Solidarność Walcząca* (*Fighting Solidarity*) which was heavily reliant on the *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* milieu. *Solidarność Walcząca* appeared more or less bi-weekly and had an initial print-run of 12,000. It was four pages and had brief articles which mostly focused on Solidarity and union issues. By 1983, the print-run reached 20,000.⁹²⁷

Reflecting the diversification of the underground Solidarity movement, on July 1, 1982, Morawiecki announced the creation of Fighting Solidarity which was formally separate although close to Solidarity. It was conceived of as a political organization rather than a union and sought a more confrontational stance with the state authorities than did the emerging underground leadership of Solidarity. Fighting Solidarity helped to organize manifestations on June 28, 1982 (in commemoration of June 1956), August 31, 1982 (for the signing of the Social Accords) and November 11, 1982 (for independence day) which *Solidarność Walcząca* informed readers about

⁹²⁶ Władysław Frasyński in *Konspira*, 106; Kornel Morawiecki with Artur Adamski, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej* (Wrocław: Kontra, 2007) 85-90; Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa* (Poznań: PWN, 2001), 269.

⁹²⁷ Front Matter, *Solidarność Walcząca* 2 (June 20, 1982) 1; Front Matter, *Solidarność Walcząca* 49 (May 15, 1983) 1.

in advance. Demonstrating the strength and radicalism of activists in Wrocław, on August 31, 1982, an estimated 100,000 people or 1/6 of the city took to the streets for the anniversary of the Social Accords. In August 1982, Fighting Solidarity founded the Independent Photography Agency, Diamenti which became the premier underground photography group. It also continued to produce *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk*.⁹²⁸

Morawiecki noted that he supported the creation of factory bulletins at the start of martial law as they were proof that Solidarity lived. He explained that in smaller factories, printing teams would meet with those from other factories to publish. He asserted that, “to a pretty large degree, the [independent] press was the beginning action of the RKS in its first months.” Morawiecki insisted that independent publishing was effective because it not only broke the monopoly of information, but helped to build independent social life as people read, discussed and perhaps then wrote themselves. In addition, distributors gained contact with new milieus. Morawiecki concluded that independent publishing was “a life independent of the regime, built in opposition to it, and to a degree prepared to break away in freedom.”⁹²⁹

Zbigniew Bujak, Mazowsze’s underground regional leader, similarly believed that independent publishing was the backbone of Solidarity’s initial underground. He argued that “the history of the beginnings of the Warsaw underground is the history of the underground press.”⁹³⁰ Later he insisted that “the history of martial law is, to a meaningful degree, the history of underground publishing.”⁹³¹

⁹²⁸ Kornel Morawiecki, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej*, 71; “Panorama Wrocławia”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 247 (April 20, 1988) 2; Discussion with Fighting Solidarity Activists, February 1984 in *Struktury nadziei*, 53; Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa*, 256; Editors, “Jaka Polska?”, *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* 37/38 (June/July 1982) 1; “Solidarność Walcząca”, *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* Special edition (May 1989) 4.

⁹²⁹ Kornel Morawiecki, *Kornel z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej*, 106.

⁹³⁰ Zbigniew Bujak in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 46-47.

⁹³¹ Zbigniew Bujak in *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za ‘Solidarnosc’*, ed. Janusz Rolicki (Warsaw: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza ‘BGW’, 1991) 91.

Warsaw continued to lead the country in the production of independent publications and, like Wrocław, was aided by the existence of non-Solidarity publishing ventures. Zbigniew Bujak claimed that he had felt that as long as NOWa survived and kept its equipment, Solidarity Mazowsze would be fine.⁹³² Indeed, he contended that in Warsaw, thanks to an “unusual exuberance”, independent publishing came from outside of the Solidarity organization. Bujak perceived this as particularly important as he thought that it allowed for real editorial independence.⁹³³ Bujak avowed that “as chairman, I recognize the right of the editors to critique our actions.”⁹³⁴

A number of Solidarity related papers appeared in Warsaw in the first months of martial law. Both Antoni Macierewicz and Urszula Doroszevska escaped underground and helped with *Wiadomości* which appeared in Warsaw already in December 1981. The editor-in-chief was Hanna Rozwadowska; Ludwik Dorn and Marian Gugulski joined after their release from internment. It had a print-run of about 1,000 (but reached as high as 14,000) and lasted until 1989. *Tygodnik Wojenny* and *Przegląd Bierzeny Wydarzenia* were founded by January 1982 but were shorter lived.⁹³⁵

A variety of underground Solidarity groups were created in Warsaw which produced their own serials. *Wola* appeared weekly in Warsaw as an organ of the underground Solidarity Inter-Factory Coordinating Committee which created its own publishing house, Wola. *Wola* reached a print-run high of 10,000. The Solidarity Committee of Social Resistance (KOS) first produced flyers and by February 1982 was publishing the paper, *KOS*, which quickly had a print-run of 3,000. *KOS* reached a print-run of 20,000 and had several distribution points around Warsaw

⁹³² Zbigniew Bujak in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 10.

⁹³³ Zbigniew Bujak in *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za 'Soldiarnosc'*, 91.

⁹³⁴ Zbigniew Bujak, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 2 (February 11, 1981) 2.

⁹³⁵ Urszula Doroszevska, “Rozmowa o życiu pełnym przygod”, *Arka* 26 (1989) 95.

where activists also distributed *Wiadomości* and *Tygodnik Wojenny* on Fridays. *KOS* was also distributed outside of Warsaw. The group associated with *KOS* established their own publishing house, WSKOS under Krzysztof Turlejski and produced regional *KOS* papers around the country.⁹³⁶

In April 1982, the Solidarity Inter-Factory Workers Committee (MRK S) was founded in Warsaw. The leadership included representatives of Warsaw's four largest enterprises. MRK S became the largest Solidarity structure in Mazowsze, connecting the major work concerns. The founders insisted that MRK S grew from publishing as "publications were material proof that opposition had begun." *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika*, became the organ of MRK-S. This paper derived from *Głos Wolnego Hutnika* which was produced from January 1982 in the Warsaw Steelworks and then distributed to other large concerns. In April 1982, it switched its name to *Głos Wolnego Robotnika* and then *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika* when it teamed up with the CDN publishing house (discussed below). The editorial board included Krzysztof Wolicki, Adam Borowski, Andrzej Machalski, Anna Jaworska, Marek Rapacki and Tomasz Sypniewski; *CDN- Głos Wolnego Robotnika* reached a print-run high of 25,000.⁹³⁷

Tygodnik Mazowsze became the most important independent publication between 1982 and 1989 and was connected to Solidarity Mazowsze's regional leadership (RKW). *Tygodnik Mazowsze* had been envisioned in the fall of 1981 as the weekly paper which was demanded by Solidarity Mazowsze. On November 5, 1981 Jerzy Zielenski was announced as the future editor-in-chief. Zielenski then began negotiations with the state for permission to print on state

⁹³⁶ "Być zwycięzonym i nie ulec zwycięstwu", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 2 (February 11, 1981) 6; "KOSy—Komitet Oporu Społecznego "Solidarność", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 3 (February 17, 1981) 1; Archwista, "Potrzebna wolnego słowa", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 9 (April 6, 1982) 1; Discussion with the Editor of *Wola* in *Struktury nadziei*, 104; Justyna Błażejowska, "Chiałem mieć w ręku broń" – Zadrukowane kartki papieru. Pisma pozacenzuralne 1980-1989/1990" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. Vol. II Ruch społeczny. ed. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010) 241, 244.

⁹³⁷ Discussion with Representatives of MRK S, March 1986 in *Struktury nadziei*, 112-115; Adam Borowski in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 44-45.

equipment. However, before *Tygodnik Mazowsze* reached readers, martial law was declared and Zielinski committed suicide. On December 14, 1981 a new editorial group gathered to discuss the future of the paper; many were connected with *Niezależność*.⁹³⁸

Tygodnik Mazowsze's editor-in-chief was Helena Łuczywo. Joanna Szczęsna, Anna Dodziuk, Anna Bruzowska-Bikont, and Małogorata Pawlicka were on the original editorial board. For security reasons, Pawlicka, Łuczywo, Szczęsna and Bikont lived together underground, moving frequently. Elżbieta Regulska joined the editorial board soon after. However, like all independent publications in this period, the editorial board was not named. Likewise, authors did not sign their articles. The only exceptions were well-known oppositionists who were interned such as Jacek Kuroń and Adam Michnik or individuals who had escaped into the underground and were already sought by the authorities, including Bogdan Borusewicz, Bogdan Lis, and Zbigniew Bujak. This shift toward anonymity was a major change in independent publishing and lasted through the late 1980s. Although many journalists simply did not sign their articles, some used pseudonyms. The most famous pseudonym became Dawid Warszawski (pseudonym of Konstanty Gebert) who published in *Tygodnik Mazowsze* as well as *KOS* and *Wola*.⁹³⁹

Krzysztof Jagielski, a Solidarity activist from West Pomorze, who helped with underground publishing in his region, noted that initially, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* was the only really professional, readable paper. He argued that it helped in mobilizing society.⁹⁴⁰ *Tygodnik Mazowsze* appeared weekly and had an initial print-run of 4,000-4,500, but by June 1982 it reached 50,000. In 1985, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* reached a print-run high of 80,000, then dropped

⁹³⁸ "Słowo o Jerzym Zielenskim", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 2 (February 11, 1981) 1; "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, *Brulion* 4 (Winter 1987/1988) 151; Interview with editors of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, "Na karku trzecia setku", *Promieniści* 89 (May 13, 1987) 1.

⁹³⁹ Anna Bikont in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 180.

⁹⁴⁰ Krzysztof Jagielski, *Za burtą legendy* (Szczecin: Punkt, 1992) 214.

again to average about 50,000 copies an issue until 1989. In addition, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* was read out on Radio Free Europe. Indeed, in 1982 Radio Free Europe shifted to reading materials from independent publications including *KOS*, *Wola* and *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika* thereby providing independent writers with a broader audience.⁹⁴¹

On April 22, 1982, the Temporary Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity (TKK) was established, providing a center for a national Solidarity leadership.⁹⁴² Regional committees (RKWs and RKSs) which were connected with the TKK were also declared. Each regional Solidarity leadership included silent members as well as those who were named; those who were named had to remain underground as anyone who signed their name would be interned or arrested. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* became something of an organ not only for RKW Mazowsze but also for the TKK; it included all TKK announcements.⁹⁴³ Despite the establishment of the TKK, Solidarity and Solidarity publishing remained more de-centralized and pluralistic than had been the case prior to December. Terenowy Komitet Oporu Solidarność (TKOS) was founded in Warsaw as a regional, rather than an inter-factory organization in August 1982. This group had from December 1981 gathered to drop flyers and then began exchanging information which they produced in typescript. In the summer of 1982 they printed their first bulletin-type serial, *Sektor* with an initial print-run of 1,000. They also came to re-print several serials including *Tygodnik Mazowsze* in a print-run of 5,000 as they also increased the print-run of *Sektor*. In July 1983

⁹⁴¹ [Helena Łuczywo], "Wywiad z samym sobą", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 100 (October 4, 1984); "W *Tygodniku Mazowsze* pracowali", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 290 (April 12, 1989) 4; Witold Pronobis, "Placówka badań nad Polską prasą niezależną w Radiu Wolna Europa" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 67-68.

⁹⁴² It included Zbigniew Bujak (Mazowsze), Władysław Frasiński (Lower Silesia) Władysław Hradek (Małopolska), Bogdan Lis (Gdańsk) and Eugeniusz Szumajko who had been in the KK; all of them were in hiding

⁹⁴³ "Komunikat", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 11 (April 28, 1982) 1; "Komunikat", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 13 (May 12, 1982) 1; Interview with editors of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, "Na karku trzecia setka", *Promieniści* 89 (May 13, 1987) 1.

they started producing a monthly journal, *Baza*. They also did radio broadcasts and created their own publishing house, Kret which produced books as well as flyers and serials.⁹⁴⁴

Independent publications aired tactical disagreements within Solidarity. The idea of armed struggle was rejected. However, as in the period between 1976 and 1980, debates arose over whether public manifestations and strikes should be called or if Solidarity should focus on self-education initiatives. Jacek Kuroń (in contrast to his views prior to August 1980) insisted that “if we don’t want war, we must prepare for war” and called for society to liquidate the oppressor through collective actions: flyers, graffiti, work stoppages and even a general strike. In contrast, Zbigniew Bujak and Wiktor Kulerski (who were in Mazowsze’s underground leadership) supported the concept of the “long march” through the creation of an underground society. Bujak insisted that the priority at that time was for every factory to procure a printer and make its own publication so that it could pass on important information to workers and connect with regional and national networks.⁹⁴⁵

Unsurprisingly, Polish historical models played a role in these debates. Kulerski argued that Polish society was in a time akin to the nineteenth century periods between uprisings. He noted that for 200 years, since the time of Adam Mickiewicz, Polish youths had struggled for truth and enlightenment. He described Solidarity as one of Poland’s greatest national uprisings and called not for strikes or street protests, but for positivist work in schooling the population to pursue common action, developing societal and national consciousness, acting against

⁹⁴⁴ “Terenowy Komitet Oporu Solidarność”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 146 (November 14, 1985) 3; Discussion with a printer from TKOS, January 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 150, 153.

⁹⁴⁵ “To było jedno z naszych wielkich powstań narodowych”, interview with Zbigniew Bujak and Wiktor Kulerski, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 2 (February 11, 1982) 2; Zbigniew Bujak, “Wobec rządowych propozycji dla ruchu związkowego”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 4 (February 25, 1981) 1; Jacek Kuroń, “Tezy o wyjściu z sytuacji bez wyjścia”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 8 (March 31, 1981) 3; Zbigniew Bujak, “Walka pozycyjna” and Wiktor Kulerski “Trzecia możliwość”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 8 (March 31, 1981) 4; Wiktor Kulerski, “Wobec oświaty niezależny”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 14 (May 19, 1982) 4.

propaganda, and discovering truth. He insisted that regional leaders would help in publishing.⁹⁴⁶ Bogdan Borusewicz agreed that “an uprising of the classic kind has absolutely no chance of success in today’s Poland”. However, he also claimed that “the threat of armed uprising has been a crucial psychological factor in forcing the authorities to adopt a more flexible position.” He therefore sought less moderation than Kulerski.⁹⁴⁷ Frasyniuk agreed that a national uprising was impossible but also believed that the long march idea was in “conflict with our national character.” Frasyniuk insisted that “through the [independent] press, through leaflets and publications, we shape political and economic consciousness and maintain morale in the factories.”⁹⁴⁸

The TKK proved to be more tactically moderate than the MRK S and Fighting Solidarity. In July 1982, the TKK laid out its proposed plan of action when it called for a de-centralized underground and for society to help the oppressed, pursue independent publishing, create independent education initiatives including libraries, and organize social actions such as dropping flyers.⁹⁴⁹ It therefore rejected popular manifestations. While the TKK called on the populace to stay calm on May 1st and May 3rd, Fighting Solidarity and MRK S supported street protests. Street protests did occur. In Gdansk, 75,000-80,000 people confronted police brutality on the first of May.⁹⁵⁰ Despite these differences, the various Solidarity related groups all cooperated with the TKK which was accepted as the only Solidarity organization with national pretensions. Martial law therefore resurrected much of the social solidarity which had been lost by late 1981 at that same time that it brought about the de-centralization of Solidarity.

⁹⁴⁶ Wiktor Kulerski, “Wobec oświaty niezależny”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 14 (May 19, 1982) 4; Wiktor Kulerski, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 2 (February 11, 1981) 1.

⁹⁴⁷ Bogdan Borusewicz in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 121.

⁹⁴⁸ Władysław Frasyniuk in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 80, 96.

⁹⁴⁹ “Społeczeństwo podziemne”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 22 (July 28, 1982) 2.

⁹⁵⁰ Bogdan Borusewicz in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 89; Interview with activists from the Solidarity Secret Factory Commission in Gdansk Shipyard on May 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 11.

Solidarity was formally de-legalized on October 8, 1982. In response, the TKK, for the first time, called a general strike. It was to be a four hour strike, on November 10, 1982 which was the anniversary of Solidarity's registration. The strike was poorly met. A few days later, the authorities released Lech Wałęsa from internment; he returned to a largely private existence.

Despite successes in independent publishing, many Solidarity activists had a somber outlook as 1983 began. Martial law had been in place for a full year. The hopeful slogan "the spring will be ours" which was heard across Poland in the winter of 1981 proved wrong. An article in *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, in January 1983, asserted that it was certain that Solidarity was less visible than it was a year ago. It continued that "the publishing movement is no doubt the most important existing underground action" and that print-runs had grown and become more regular in recent months.⁹⁵¹ In May 1983, Bujak acknowledged that the November strike was a disaster, but contended that it was positive in having broken those who had rejected 'long march' tactics. Bujak argued that real successes occurred through initiatives such as Solidarity Culture Committees and the National Education Council on Culture. In July 1982, the underground National Education Council was founded in Warsaw as well as a Cooperative Commission of Independent Publications which was created by *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika*, *KOS*, *Tygodnik Wojenny* and *Wola*. In 1982/1983, the Solidarity Independent Culture Committee was founded; it gave annual cultural awards. The leaders who noted that "independent culture creates an enclave of freedom", enjoyed support from Solidarity Mazowsze. The Solidarity Independent Culture Committee was able to provide financial support in dozens of cities across the country.

⁹⁵¹ MAX, "Przeciw zniechęceniu", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 40 (January 20, 1983) 1.

Between 1984 and 1986, Independent Culture Committees were founded in Krakow, Wrocław, Poznan, Łódź, Katowice and Gdansk.⁹⁵²

A variety of additional Solidarity related independent education and publishing initiatives had been created. A Solidarity Information bureau was established by the TKK; by August 1982, it had 250 serial titles attached to it.⁹⁵³ In March 1982, a Team of Independent Enlightenment was formed from Solidarity Mazowsze to struggle for an alternative system of education; it established a Fund for Independent Enlightenment (FON). From March 1983, they began publishing national education notebooks (ZENs) and cooperated with teachers in the production of the serial, *Tu i Teraz* which had a print-run of 3,000-5,000.⁹⁵⁴ National education notebooks were published in cooperation with NOWa, CDN, and WSKOS and focused on topics including March 1968, the letters of Khrushchev and Kennedy and workers' protests in the USSR. In early 1984, the editors maintained contact with about 90 active self-education circles in large cities across the country. Councils for Enlightenment were also founded in Wrocław, Lublin and Krakow where each produced its own periodical.⁹⁵⁵ In addition, several Solidarity radio stations were created; these were founded in Warsaw, Poznan, Gdansk, Krakow and Wrocław often by those with ties to independent publishing.⁹⁵⁶ Union libraries were slowly re-established; KOS in Wrocław built a network of 100 libraries.⁹⁵⁷

⁹⁵² Discussion with Representatives of Committee of Independent Culture, March 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 60, 62, 65; "Komunikaty", *Kultura Niezależna* 39 (March 1988) 121; "Jak organizowała się Solidarność w okresie stanu wojennego", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 23 (August 1, 1982) 1.

⁹⁵³ 56 in Mazowsze, 32 in Lower Silesia, 25 in Małopolska, 15 in Silesia-Dąbrowska, 14 in Wielkopolska, 12 in West Pomorze, 12 in Łódź, 10 in Gdansk, and 7 in Toruń

⁹⁵⁴ Wiktor Kulerski, "O wsparcie Funduszu Oświaty Niezależnej", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 44 (March 10, 1983) 1; "Rozmowa z nauczycielem", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 123 (March 28, 1985) 2; Discussion with Representatives of *Wiatr od Morza* and *Monit*, publications of Federation of Fighting Youth (FMW) in Gdansk, May 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 89, 93.

⁹⁵⁵ Discussion with Representatives of Zeszytów Edukacji Narodowej. March 1984 in *Struktury nadziei*, 94-96.

⁹⁵⁶ "Jak organizowała się Solidarność w okresie stanu wojennego", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 23 (August 1, 1982) 1; Zofia Romaszewska in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 60.

⁹⁵⁷ "Opor", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 23 (August 1, 1982) 1.

An entirely new type of Solidarity publication was initiated with the creation of independent papers which were produced by and for political prisoners; dozens appeared between 1981 and 1983.⁹⁵⁸ Jarosław Chołodecki reminisced that in prison, every political prisoner had to go to printing lessons. His prison paper, *Kret*, was produced in Nysa with a print-run of 200. *Grypsa* was produced by prisoners on the coast. These clearly had low print-runs but spoke to the diversification of Solidarity printing.⁹⁵⁹

Non-Solidarity Independent Publishing During Martial Law

With the imposition of martial law, most non-Solidarity independent publishers supported Solidarity and so focused their activities on the production of flyers and brief bulletins which were related to Solidarity. Although monographs and journal-style serials were again emphasized by mid to late 1982, these too were often Solidarity related. A high level of cooperation was visible across independent publishing milieus as new publishing houses emerged and others disappeared; NOWa remained the most noteworthy independent publishing house.

In January 1982, NOWa produced one of the first independent books during martial law, Karel Jaspers' *Problem Winy*. In April/May 1982, NOWa produced Marek Nowakowski's *Visions of Martial Law* which was excerpted in *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. Nowakowski's work became an underground best-seller and won one of Solidarity's cultural award in April 1983. NOWa continued to produce *Krytyka* which appeared in June 1982 for the first time during martial law. NOWa also published the new socio-political serial *Spectator*; from the spring of 1982 to the spring of 1986 twelve issues appeared. *Zapis* ceased publication. *Nowy Zapis* appeared in December 1982 as something of a continuation. However, it proved to be short-

⁹⁵⁸ Justyna Błażejowska, "Chiałem mieć w ręku broń", 221.

⁹⁵⁹ Jarosław Chołodecki, "Wszystko było możliwe" & Kazimierz Masiak, "Zszedłem z Pola" in *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, o emigracji, o osobie*, 32-33, 122.

lived; anonymity certainly hindered the development of original literary journals. NOWa, at times, re-printed *Puls*, which began to be published in London.⁹⁶⁰

NOWa's organization and structure altered dramatically during martial law. Mirosław Chojecki remained abroad from 1981-1989 and so no longer managed NOWa. In addition, after NOWa's policy of increased openness during the Solidarity-era, much of NOWa's personnel was interned and its equipment seized.⁹⁶¹ Paweł Bądkowski and Adam Kersten (from NOWa 2) came to serve as de facto leaders. In addition, Stanisław Bareja, who had hidden printing supplies on Trocinowa Street, remained at liberty as did Adam Grzesiak and Andrzej Gorski who had created the secret printing locale in Falenica in the fall of 1981. These printing locales were not de-conspired and were where the first *Tygodnik Mazowsze* was printed. In February 1982, after helping with the printing of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, Adam Grzesiak was interned. However, by that time, Tomasz Michalak and Tadeusz Markiewicz had begun cooperating with NOWa underground printing activities. Michalak produced fake documents for those in the underground. On August 5-6 1982, a number of raids left NOWa so weak that they largely ceased the publication of monographs for a time. In January 1983, the leadership of NOWa was stabilized to include Grzegorz Boguta, Wojciech Borowik, Marek Chmiak, Przemysław Cieślak, Piotr Sz wajcer, and Jan Walc; Adam Michnik was included although he remained in prison.⁹⁶²

In March 1983, several NOWa activists founded the Feniks Publishing House. Emil Broniarek, Andrzej Gorski, Witold Łuczywo and Tadeusz Markiewicz printed several

⁹⁶⁰ "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 149; "Mniej wpadek, więcej książek", Interview with NOWa editors, *Vacat* 17/18 (May/June 1984) 22; Paweł Bądkowski, "Kielbasa, kapusta, polka" in *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, o emigracji, o osobie*; Lector [Lotha Herbst], "Przegląd prasy niezależnej", *Obecność* 2 (1983) 61-62.

⁹⁶¹ These included Grzegorz Boguta, Konrad Bieliński, Marek and Wojciech Borowik, Marek Chmiak, Bogdan Grzesiak, Tomasz Jastrun, Jerzy Jedlicki, Sergiusz Kowalski, Sławomir Krętkowski, Anatol Lawina, Adam Michnik, Janusz Spotanski, Piotr Sz wajcer, and Jan Walc

⁹⁶² Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 167-168; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 176-179; *Ludzie Nowej* 25-27; Krzysztof Siemieński, <http://www.Przedświt.org/1564/3835.html>.

monographs for Feniks before it was disbanded in late 1983 because of financial woes. Its workers returned to NOWa.⁹⁶³

The Krąg publishing house had never de-conspired during the Solidarity era and so, compared to NOWa, was left largely in tact with the imposition of martial law. Witek Ferens, Marek Tabin, and Andrzej Rosner were interned so that Andrzej Chojnowski began serving as de facto editor-in-chief. He worked with Wojciech Fałkowski, Adam Karwowski, Piotr Mitzner, Władysław Ordega, Kazimierz and Łukasz Ossowski, Małgortata Szejner, Herzy Targalski, Krzysztof Tołłoczko, Agata Tuszyńska, Waldemar Wysokiński, and Bogdan Zela. Rosen and Tabin collaborated when they were released.

On December 16, 1982, individuals from Krąg who were still at liberty gathered to decide on future plans. While they had focused on the production of historical monographs during the Solidarity-era, with martial law, they then decided to, in the short term, focus on serials. They published *KOS*, *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, *Tu i Teraz*, and *Wola* as well as a number of other periodicals. Initially, they had one small offset, but after a year they gained possession of three ditto machines and two more offsets; they sometimes used screen-printing for book covers. Their first books during martial law were volumes of Władysław Pobóg-Malinowski's five volume history of Poland. The fourth volume was done in November 1981 and reached some distributors before December 13, 1981 and some after. The fifth volume was produced in January 1982. Krąg also produced Adam Michnik's *Letters from Prison* and Tadeusz Mazowiecki's *Internowanie*. They published Jerzy Holzer's history of Solidarity in 1983 and again in 1984 which became an underground best-seller. While their average print-runs varied

⁹⁶³ *Ludzie Nowej*, 28

from 1,500 to 8,000, Holzer's work was so popular, that it had a print-run of 10,000. In 1982, Krąg produced 22 book titles and in 1983, 13 titles.⁹⁶⁴

The Enklawa publishing house in Warsaw, which had been formed during the Solidarity-era, remained in existence under the continuing leadership of Leszek Stall, Wojciech Warecki, and Włodzimierz Woroniecki. In late 1982, it changed its name to Oficyna We, although it also at times published as Kret (Mole), a name used by a couple publishing ventures. They mostly focused on the publication of literature, especially Polish literature. They cooperated with NOWa in the production of works by Vaclav Havel and Milan Kundera and also helped with the publication of *Spectator*.⁹⁶⁵

Although NOWa struggled, it did remain active unlike some other pre-Solidarity publishing houses which diminished or vanished; this was particular true of publishing ventures which had depended on state equipment or supply from Solidarity. Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja disappeared largely as a result of the informants in its structure. In 1983, Paweł Mikłasz, a SB informant, initiated Wydawnictwo Myśl as a sort of continuation of Wydawnictwo im. Konstytucji 3-ego Maja. It produced a number of books and serials. With martial law, RMP announced its break-up and *Bratniak* ceased publication; RMP donated its equipment to Solidarity underground publishing. Wydawnictwo Polskie continued to exist but no longer played a central role on the independent publishing market. The group behind Alternatywy, used a variety of publishing house names including Pryzmat, Litery etc. after

⁹⁶⁴ "Trwale wartości kultury", Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseudo.) from Krąg Publishing house, 46-47; Paweł Sowiński, "Andrzej Chojnowski" in *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989*, vol. III, ed. Jan Skórzyński, Paweł Sowiński, Małgorzata Strasz (Ośrodek KARTA: Warsaw, 2006) 56-57; [A. Chojnowski] interview "Wydawanie książek to bakcyl", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* (April 14, 1983) 2.

⁹⁶⁵ "Rozmowa z Oficyna We", *Vacat* 26 (March 1986) 22-25; *Encyklopedia Solidarności*.

martial law. They helped with Solidarity publishing in Gdansk and finished the production of Leszek Kołakowski's *Main Currents of Marxism*.⁹⁶⁶

Some pre-August publishing houses slowly re-grouped. The *Spotkania* publishing group remained in existence. Although several members were interned including Janusz Bazydło and Wojciech Samoliński; Janusz Krupski, Paweł Nowacki and Janusz Stępek evaded internment. Zygmunt Kozicki directed printing and in June 1983, the first martial law issue of *Spotkania* appeared.⁹⁶⁷ Individuals from *Głos* produced not only *Wiadomości* but also the journal *Głos* from February 1982 which appeared bi-monthly in 1982, but less frequently thereafter. It was largely Solidarity focused. In addition, they produced one of the first monographs of martial law, *Solidarity in Martial Law*. Oficyna Liberalów in Warsaw remained in existence, printing both books and serials.⁹⁶⁸

New publishing houses also emerged. The CDN publishing house was founded by Czesław Bielecki with Jan Krzysztof Kelus in Warsaw in December 1981. It had iron clad rules of conspiracy. In its first year, the CDN publishing house published ten book titles and *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika*, as well as re-prints of *Wiadomości* and *Tygodnik Mazowsze*.⁹⁶⁹ In 1982, CDN began publishing *Reduta* which was produced by and for members of the Polish armed services. It criticized martial law and the Polish alliance with the Soviet Union. *Reduta* remained in print until 1985 when its editorial board was discovered and arrested.⁹⁷⁰

Wacław Holewiński, who had been chief of Niezależnej Spółdzielni Wydawnictwo (which had functioned within NOWa) from 1978 to 1981, founded the Przedświt publishing

⁹⁶⁶ Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*, vol. II Ruch społeczny, eds. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010) 269-270, 280.

⁹⁶⁷ Janusz Krupski in "Słowo pisane znów nabrało strasznie ważnego znaczenia...", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 115; "Kalendarium Środowiska Spotkań" *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 16; Janusz Krupski in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 8, 15.

⁹⁶⁸ Urszula Doroszevska, "Romowa o życiu pełnym przygod", *Arka* 26 (1989) 96.

⁹⁶⁹ Discussion with Representatives of MRK S, March 1986 in *Struktury nadziei*, 112-115.

⁹⁷⁰ Zbigniew Bujak in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 207.

house as a new venture in November 1982. The poet, Jarosław Markiewicz, joined him soon after; both initially relied on personal contacts to raise capital and establish printing locales. Their first publication was Claire Sterling's *Who Wants to Kill the Pope?* Przedświt primarily produced original works and focused on the production of literature, including poetry since the major publishing houses (with the exception of Oficyna Literacka) did not. In this context, they created a series: Warsaw Independent Office of Poets and Painters which ultimately produced ten volumes. They also helped with the publication of some serials.⁹⁷¹

Non-Solidarity publishing spread in Wrocław. In the spring of 1983 the Independent Publishing House Aspekt (IWA) was founded by Krzysztof Hofman and Jacek Mulak. It became one of the largest in Wrocław and published what became Wrocław's premier socio-cultural journal, *Obecność* which included works by Stanisław Barnańczak, Zbigniew Herbert, Adam Michnik, and Sławomir Mrożek among others. Its editorial board included Krzysztof Hofman and Lothar Herbst. *Obecność* appeared quarterly from 1983 and had a print-run of 1,000-2,000. In 1986, *Obecność* won a Solidarity cultural award. It at times collaborated with NOWa.⁹⁷² In mid 1983 Robotnicze Wydawnictwo Feniks was founded in Wrocław; it, at times, cooperated with Fighting Solidarity. It published Leszek Nowak's *Antyrakowski* as well as a work on Frasyńiuk and Leszek Moczulski's "Rewolucja bez rewolucji".⁹⁷³ Publishing in Wrocław became so well developed that some editors from Lublin sent works there to be printed.⁹⁷⁴

⁹⁷¹ "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 152; "Przedświt", Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, *Vacat* 15 (March 1984) 22-23, 25; Ewa Holewińska, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3845.html>; Jarosław Markiewicz, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3838.html>.

⁹⁷² "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 152; *Encyklopedia Solidarności*.

⁹⁷³ "Robotnicze Wydawnictwo Feniks", Interview with Feniks representative, *Solidarność Walcząca* 107 (July 7-14, 1985) 2.

⁹⁷⁴ Arkadiusz Kutkowski, "Wydawnictwo AUT 82", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 143.

In the spring of 1982, Oficyna Literacka was formed in Krakow. It derived from the KOS milieu. Despite its name, the first few works printed were historical; the first work was Piłsudski's *Bibula*. It was still led by Henryk Karkosza who continued to be a SB mole.⁹⁷⁵

A variety of new serials were produced by non-Solidarity publishers. While during the Solidarity-era and in the first months of martial law, serial publications were almost all brief and union-related, during the summer of 1982, new publications began production which were more magazine- or journal-style. These included the cultural/literary journal *Wezwanie* which was initiated by Leszek Szaruga and edited by Tomasz Jastrun, Irena Lewandowska, and Piotr Matywiecki. It started off quite popular but became irregular by 1986. A group of librarians from around the country (Krakow, Warsaw, Poznan, Szczecin and Łódź) began producing *Okno*.⁹⁷⁶ *Vacat* was a socio-political journal (with an emphasis on political) which began publication in December 1982. It was edited by Wojciech Borowik, Jan Gogacz, Marek Kossakowski, and Krzysztof Siemieński; it had a socialist bent. Initially self-published, NOWa took over the publication of *Vacat* in the spring of 1982. Although it appeared regularly as a monthly to bi-monthly publication at first, it became more irregular in mid-1986; it appeared only twice in 1987 and briefly revived in 1989. It was not of the highest quality in terms of production although content was interesting.⁹⁷⁷

Pope John Paul II's second pilgrimage was well covered in the independent press. In particular, *Mały Polski* in Krakow produced special daily one page editions about the Pope's trip

⁹⁷⁵ Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudniu 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 38.

⁹⁷⁶ *Ludzie Nowej*, 25-26; "Bibliografia *Vacatu*", *Vacat* 36 (December 1985) 55-59; "Przedświt", Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, 23; Justyna Błażejowska, "'Rzykować za ptaszki i wwiatki'. Drugiobiegowe pisma literackie i kulturalne" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 51.

⁹⁷⁷ *Ludzie Nowej*, 25-26; "Bibliografia *Vacatu*", *Vacat* 36 (December 1985) 55-59;

from June 17-24, 1983.⁹⁷⁸ His visit gave Polish citizens the first opportunity since the imposition of martial law to again return to public spaces en masse.

On July 22, 1983 martial law was lifted and WRON was broken up. All internees were amnestied. Political prisoners serving sentences under three years were released. The limited nature of the amnesty set off street protests in Warsaw for the release of the arrested leadership of Solidarity, KSS-KOR and KPN who were not included in the amnesty.

Pluralism and Diversification of Independent Publishing, July 22, 1983 to 1988

Between 1983 and 1988, Warsaw and Wrocław continued to outdistance the rest of the country in the publication of independent materials, with Krakow following behind.⁹⁷⁹ Andrzej Gwiazda in 1984 argued that, from the perspective of 1976-1980 when they had no printers or funding, contemporaneously things looked wonderful with hundreds of independent papers being published.⁹⁸⁰ Similarly, Andrzej Słowik, in 1984, referred to the underground press as “a real success in scale.”⁹⁸¹ Despite this optimism, archivists at *Tygodnik Mazowsze* noticed a dip in the number of independent serials being produced between December 1983 and December 1985.⁹⁸²

Indeed, with time, many publishing activists fell into a languor of disaffection and fatalism. Many started to question if there was any point to their activities. While independent publishing had once seemed exciting and meaningful, for many it came to seem tedious and pointless. Activists who were exhausted by the seemingly endless underground struggle, retired to private life or emigrated. The state authorities announced in December 1986 that between 1980 and 1986, 740,000 Poles emigrated; 70% were under 35. Some of these created new independent publishing ventures abroad. Mirosław Chojecki began producing the monthly

⁹⁷⁸ “Przegląd prasy związkowej”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 57 (July 14, 1983) 4.

⁹⁷⁹ “History bez debitu”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 136 (July 25, 1985) 1.

⁹⁸⁰ “Pierwsze rozmowy na wolności”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 97 (August 23, 1984) 1.

⁹⁸¹ “Optmistyczny realizm”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 101 (October 11, 1984) 1.

⁹⁸² “Ile mamy bibuły”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 154 (January 16, 1985) 3.

socio-political journal *Kontakt* in cooperation with Bronisław Wildstein in Paris in 1982. Barbra Toruńczyk edited the literary quarterly, *Zeszyt Literackie* with Stanisław Barańczak, Wojciech Karpiński, and other émigrés.⁹⁸³

Some independent publishing activists opted to leave the underground for official printing. Anonymity in the underground hindered the desire of known literati to publish. Moreover, the state became more lenient in what it would print encouraging the move from independent to official publishing. In the summer of 1985, the editors of *Res Publica* announced that it would begin publishing officially. The editor-in-chief of *Res Publica*, Marcin Król, defended this decision amid a number of attacks on he and the other editors in the pages of independent publications. Jerzy Giedroyc and Dawid Warszawski called the move “capitulation.” From July 1987, *Res Publica* began to appear legally.⁹⁸⁴ Similarly, Tadeusz Konwicki elected to publish both *A Minor Apocalypse* and *Polish Complex* in a state publishing house and gave his new works to official publishing houses. He defended this decision by arguing that underground printing often meant working without control or feedback which easily led to hack works and a cult of the underground.⁹⁸⁵

The quantity and even popularity of independent publishing did lag in the mid-1980s. A distributor wrote in the spring of 1987, that while in mid-1984 he/she had no problem distributing 100 issues of independent publications, now it was a challenge to get rid of ten. He/she rued the fact that serials were often late and that readers frequently found only one or two interesting articles in them. He/she insisted that readers like history and belle letters; not

⁹⁸³Timeline in *Encyklopedia Solidarność*; Lector [Lothar Herbst], “Przegląd prasy niezależnej”, *Obecność* 2 (1983) 62-63; “Rozmowa z Bronisławem Wildsteinem”, *Obecność* 9 (1985) 41.

⁹⁸⁴ “40 lat Paryskiej Kultury” *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 183 (October 8, 1986) 3; David Warszawski [Konstanty Gerbert], “O babelki w mazowszance” *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 186 (November 5, 1986) 4; Maciej Prniewski, “Ryzko bez ryzyka”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 133 (June 13, 1985) 2.

⁹⁸⁵ “Jest teraz taka dziwna pauza”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 190 (December 3, 1986) 1; Tadeusz Konwicki, “Przeznaczenie oszukanej generacji”, *Vacat* 14 (February 1984) 6-8.

Helsinki reports or factual texts and argued that more professionalism and regulation was needed. He/she called for influence from distributors on decision making since he/she believed that editors didn't seem to know what people wanted, ignored readers and were naïve in terms of business.⁹⁸⁶ In January 1987, another distributor wrote that editors of independent publications think it's 'like Eldorado' getting rid of their products. However, he/she insisted that it wasn't like it used to be and that these were hard to sell. He/she called on editors to be more responsive to their readers.⁹⁸⁷

While the period after martial law witnessed a decrease in the quantity of independent publications, this drop obscured very real developments in independent publishing as it began to achieve a pluralism which was absolutely greater than in previous times. Publications which were directed at a pluralistic society were often produced for niche audiences. This certainly made the job of independent distributors harder. Moreover, during this period, independent publishers did respond to readers by diversifying in a variety of ways. Publishers produced works with new foci as well as new media including photographs, calendars, stamps, cassettes, and videos. Moreover, millions of flyers were produced as independent publishers increasingly contested the public sphere.

Pluralism in Solidarity Independent Publications

During the mid-1980s, Solidarity publishing continued to diversify. Thanks to the decentralized nature of Solidarity's underground structure, different views were increasingly voiced from within various Solidarity milieus through the pages of independent publications. New levels of pluralism were achieved as new divisions arose.

⁹⁸⁶ "Smutne ale prawdziwe", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 203 (March 18, 1987) 4.

⁹⁸⁷ Kaprys, "List do redakcji" *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 193 (January 1, 1987) 4.

In the wake of the widespread social solidarity and even the unity witnessed during the martial law period, by the mid-1980s, complaints began to be increasingly raised over tactics for the union. In 1984, disagreements arose over the TKK's proposed boycott of the elections of 1984. In *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, Adam Michnik went to far as to suggest that anyone who voted was acting akin to a baboon in servility. Ewa Milewicz, in that same publication, took exception to his article. Other publications took pro- or anti-elections stances; for instance, Tadeusz Mazowiecki's *Konfederacja A* did not support the boycott while *Biuletyn Małopolska* and *Wola* did.⁹⁸⁸

After a general amnesty in July 1986, in September, at a press conference at Jacek Kuroń's apartment, Lech Wałęsa announced the establishment of the open structure of the TKK.⁹⁸⁹ Soon, a number of regional Solidarity structures came into the open.⁹⁹⁰ Solidarity's move to openness set off a number of disputes over the selection of Solidarity's organizational structure. In March 1987, the Working Group KK NSZZ Solidarity was founded.⁹⁹¹ Its members, with Andrzej Gwiazda at the forefront, disparaged the way in which the TKK had been created largely due to personal bonds and personal activism. They believed that the first step in building an open Solidarity structure should be in re-creating the elected union formations from 1981.⁹⁹² This was the first group which sought to compete with the TKK on a national

⁹⁸⁸ "Z prasy związkowej", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 78 (February 16, 1984) 1; Ewa Milewicz, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 93 (June 28, 1984) 4.

⁹⁸⁹ It was composed of Bogdan Borsiewicz (Gdansk), Zbigniew Bujak (Mazowsze), Władysław Frasyniuk (Lower-Silesia), Tadeusz Jedynak (Silesia-Dąbrowska), Bogdan Lis (Gdansk), Janusz Pałubicki (Wielkopolska), and Józef Pinior (Lower Silesia).

⁹⁹⁰ These included: Mazowsze, Konin, Lublin, Jelenia Góra, Silesia-Dąbrowska, Łódź, Świętokrzyskie, Radom, Opole, Pile, Gorzów, Wielkopolska.

⁹⁹¹ Founding members were: Andrzej Gwiazda, Seweryn Jaworski, Marian Jurczyk, Janusz Kropiwnicki, Jan Rulewski, Tadeusz Słowik, and Stanisław Wądołowski.

⁹⁹² However, after over five years underground, many of those who had been elected had moved abroad, retired to personal life or spent much of the ensuing time in prison. While underground Solidarity leaders such as Bogdan Borsiewicz and Konrad Bieliński could not lay claim to electoral mandates they had been and continued to be vital to Solidarity's organizational existence. [*Encyklopedia Solidarność*.]

level. In October 1987, the TKK, Temporary Council and Wałęsa announced the KKW NSZZ Solidarity as a means of unifying the union's direction.

Disagreements over the move to openness led to struggles for dominance in some regions; independent publications were often the battlefield over which these contests were fought. Lower Silesia created an aboveground, RKW structure in December 1987; it was led by Frasyniuk. The founding of the RKW led to a power struggle between the underground RKS and the above-ground RKW which continued until February 1990 when the RKS disbanded. RKS's press organ was *Z Dnia na Dzień* which Eugeniusz Szumajko edited. *Z Dnia na Dzień* didn't even report on the creation of the RKW.⁹⁹³

The Solidarity Social Movement (RSS) which had been founded in Wrocław in 1985, supported the RKW and helped to produce their organ, *Region* from November 15, 1987. The first issue carried information on the creation of the KKW and an interview with Frasyniuk who was Lower Silesia's representative on it. The second issue was on the founding of the RKW. The RSS, with the independent publishing group which had been producing *Ogniwo* from 1983, also agreed to cooperate in turning *Ogniwo* into a *Newsweek*-style publication for the RKW.⁹⁹⁴

Supporters of RKS noted that by comparing RKS's *Z Dnia na Dzień* (which had a print-run in the tens of thousands) and *Region* (the print-run for which peaked at 10,000), it was obvious that RKS had the support of the factories since it carried much more factory information. In fact, what it showed was the impact of independent publishing on Solidarity structures as the differences between these publications reflected long standing disagreements over the influence

⁹⁹³ "Panorama Wrocławia", 2; Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa*, 267.

⁹⁹⁴ "Panorama Wrocławia", 1; Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa*, 274.

of Warsaw on Wrocław and the degree to which the state could be trusted. RKS was more Wrocław/factory biased and suspicious of the state.⁹⁹⁵

Criticisms of the content of Solidarity independent publications were increasingly raised. Space limitations, as a result of supply shortages, meant that it was impossible to include all of the kinds of materials which readers sought as most publications were only a couple pages long. Moreover, with state repression as harsh as it was, lists of every arrest and act of repression, really did take up close to an entire page for a weekly publication. Space limitations were also impacted by print size. The editors of *Wola*, used a larger font than *Tygodnik Mazowsze* as they believed that this was necessary for workers who often did not have glasses and read while at work. True though this may have been, it exacerbated space limitations. In 1984, a letter to the editors of *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from a printer suggested that with martial law over, it ought to alter its focus away from laundry lists of repression. The author insisted that Solidarity was a social movement; so that fun topics and satire should be included in their publications. In contrast, other readers raised complaints about lack of information in factories. However, as activism stopped at factories, by necessity, so did news on them.⁹⁹⁶

In 1987, “David Warszawski” in an interview with *Tygodnik Mazowsze* called the independent press “bad.” He argued that *Tygodnik Mazowsze* was an organ of the TKK or Solidarity Mazowsze, *KOS* was of KOS, *Solidarność Walcząca* was of Fighting Solidarity and *CDN* was of MRK S.⁹⁹⁷ Despite his intentions, this criticism underlines the improved pluralism in Solidarity publishing in comparison to the period between 1980 and 1981 when often only one Solidarity paper was produced per region (frequently with interference from the regional

⁹⁹⁵ “Panorama Wrocławia”, 2.

⁹⁹⁶ Discussion with the Editor of *Robotnik* in *Struktury nadziei*, 101; Discussion with editors of *Wola* in *Struktury nadziei*, 104; “Listy do redakcji”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 85 (April 26, 1984) 3.

⁹⁹⁷ “Tekst publiczny do zwierzyna łowna” *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 201 (February 25, 1987) 3.

leadership) and only *Tygodnik Solidarność* (which was censored) had a national distribution. Print-runs were undoubtedly lower, but independence and pluralism were higher in Solidarity publishing as the movement itself continued to de-centralize.

Tygodnik Mazowsze remained Solidarity's most important voice, printing documents from both the TKK and RKW Mazowsze. It tried to steer clear of controversy and was generally pro-TKK and pro-Wałęsa. Despite Solidarity's drive to openness, Wiktor Kulerski insisted that all publishing structures would remain underground although people would be encouraged to begin signing their works. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* remained underground. However, authors rarely signed their works.⁹⁹⁸

CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika remained the organ for MRK S in Warsaw and developed branches across the country. When in December 1985, *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika* included a list of 132 people who allegedly worked with the SB, an announcement was released from Konrad Bieliński, Zbigniew Bujak, Wiktor Kulerski and Jan Lityński (who were the open leaders of RKW Mazowsze) insisting that it was not in keeping with moral norms to anonymously charge people.⁹⁹⁹ Despite their arguments, Solidarity publications frequently included lists of 'collaborators' meaning those who informed to the police.¹⁰⁰⁰ The divide between MRK S and RKW Mazowsze deepened as the leaders of MRK S, like those at Wrocław's RKS and Fighting Solidarity, did not agree with the TKK's move to openness in 1986; these organizations insisted on remaining fully underground.¹⁰⁰¹

Fighting Solidarity was extremely active in independent publishing. Grzegorz Waligóra claimed that Fighting Solidarity created "a true press imperium". He noted it produced over 100

⁹⁹⁸ "Konferencja prasowa", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 182 (October 1, 1986) 1; Helena Łuczywo in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 259.

⁹⁹⁹ "Oświadczenie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 152 (January 3, 1986) 4.

¹⁰⁰⁰ "Kolaboranci", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 15 (May 27, 1982) 4.

¹⁰⁰¹ "Pozostajemy w podziemiu", *Solidarność Walcząca* 140 (October 26-November 9, 1986) 1.

serial titles most of which were tied to Fighting Solidarity's Information Agency. Barbra Saporuk of Fighting Solidarity conducted over 100 printing courses between 1982 and 1989 for independent publishers. The main periodical, *Solidarność Walcząca*, appeared bi-weekly with a print-run of 20,000 and was edited by Kornel Morawiecki, Jerzy Pajsert, and Andrzej Kisielewicz. It carried information on Solidarity and Fighting Solidarity (including pronouncements) as well as information from independent social initiatives focusing on human rights and rural initiatives; as environmental and student protests arose these were also covered. The leaders of Fighting Solidarity rejected the TKK's move to openness; from 1986 *Solidarność Walcząca* became increasingly critical of the Solidarity leadership.¹⁰⁰² In addition to *Solidarność Walcząca*, Fighting Solidarity produced an information bulletin, *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* (with a print-run of 1,500-7,000), *Replika*, and *Wiadomości Bieżące* in Wrocław as well as publications in Gdansk, Rzeszow, Szczecin, Jelenia Gora, Poznan, Konin, Katowice and Lublin. In Warsaw, *Horyzont* was published from 1987 to link up Fighting Solidarity activists in the capital. A number of factory bulletins were connected to Fighting Solidarity. In 1985, Fighting Solidarity established its own publishing house. They also produced flyers and sporadically did so in the Czech, Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian languages underlining their continuing commitment to cooperation with Poland's neighbors. The arrest in 1987 of Morawiecki was a real setback for Fighting Solidarity; Andrzej Kołodziej then became chief. Anna Bikont specifically referenced Fighting Solidarity when she argued that an important pluralism existed within Solidarity by 1987.¹⁰⁰³

¹⁰⁰² "Pozostajemy w podziemiu", *Solidarność Walcząca* 140 (October 26-November 9, 1986) 1.

¹⁰⁰³ Discussion with Fighting Solidarity Activists, February 1984 in *Struktury nadziei*, 53; Andrzej Kisielewicz in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 35; Grzegorz Waligóra "Prasa niezależna ugrupowań niepodległościowych w latach, 1982-1990" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 102-104; Adam Borowski in *Świadczenia stanu wojennego*, 50; Anna Bikont in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 185; Untitled, *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* 80 (October-December 1987) 1; "Solidarność Walcząca", *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* Special Edition (May 1989) 4.

Factory bulletins remained the plurality in independent publishing. In December 1983, the chief of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*'s Enterprise Network noted that almost every major factory to which they delivered had their own factory publication.¹⁰⁰⁴ A Solidarity activist from WSK-Hydral in Wrocław in March 1984, asserted that he and his colleagues continued to distribute regional publications (*Z Dnia na Dzień* and *Solidarność Walcząca*) as well as their factory publication *Hydralek* which appeared two to three times a week. He asserted that it reached about 80% of the factory workforce and formed their opinions.¹⁰⁰⁵ In September 1984, a Solidarity activist from the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow/Nowa Huta noted that they had two publications: *Hutnik* and *Solidarność Zwycięży* but that they also distributed regional Solidarity publications including *Kronik Małopolska* and *Aktualności*. He noted that their enterprise received about 7,000 copies of *Hutnik* per issue which he said were openly read and discussed.¹⁰⁰⁶ *Hutnik* had a print-run of 16,000-20,000; it was distributed as far as Warsaw and Gdansk. An underground Solidarity activist from the Budostal concern in Krakow/Nowa Huta spoke of his factory bulletin, *Budostalowiec* (which was produced about bi-monthly from May 1985) and noted that he also had access to *Hutnika* and *Paragraf*.¹⁰⁰⁷ *Solidarność i Rozwaga* in the Lenin Shipyard had a print-run of 3,000-5,000 and was distributed both in the shipyard and further afield. Although it became more irregular after 1982, the TZK Port continued to produce *Portowiec* in Gdansk.¹⁰⁰⁸ *Grot* was important in Szczecin and was produced at the shipyard for

¹⁰⁰⁴ "Sytuacja w zakładach regionu", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 71 (December 8, 1983) 1.

¹⁰⁰⁵ "Jestem pewien zwycięstwa Solidarności", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 82 (March 29, 1984) 1.

¹⁰⁰⁶ "O Nowej Hucie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 99 (September 20, 1984) 1.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Lesław Maleszka, "Nowa sytuacja", *Arka* 17 (1987) 18; Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudnia 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 35; Wojciech Polak, "Niezależna i podziemna prasa aakładowe w latach 1980-1989" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 81.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Interview with activists from the Solidarity Secret Factory Commission in Gdansk Shipyard on May 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 10.

Solidarity. *Wolny Związkowiec* in Katowice reached as high as a 50,000 print-run. All of the above mentioned factory publications lasted, at least, to 1989.¹⁰⁰⁹

Support from the Catholic Church was important for some factories bulletins. The state declared that the Stalowa Wola Steelworks had a special status as a factory supplying the military; this meant that its workers faced particularly strong repression. However, by November 1982, the factory had its own publication which became the basis for the union structure. Matrices were prepared in local presbyteries with the permission of the priests.¹⁰¹⁰

Lower Silesia outdistanced the rest of the country in the publication of factory bulletins. These included *Iskierka*, *Fatamorgana*, *Jednością Silni*, *AUT*, *Victoria*, *Niteczka*, and *Solidarność—Chemitex*. Notable was the Pafawag factory's bulletin, *Jutzrenka* which maintained a print-run of 1,000, but could reach 5,000 and distribute to other factories if called on to do so. Other major bulletins included *Solidarność Elwro* from the Elwro factory, *Świt* for public transportation workers, and *Odrodzenie* from the Dolemel factory. Employees of the major schools in Wrocław also had their own Solidarity publications. Factory publications tended to focus on local matter and re-print materials from larger publications.¹⁰¹¹ On November 11-16, 1987, a week of the independent factory press was announced in Warsaw and Wrocław; it

¹⁰⁰⁹ "Ile mamy bibuły" *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 154 (January 16, 1985) 3; Michał Siedziako, "Prasa niezależna w Szczecinie, 1976-1989" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 122; Justyna Błażejowska, "Chciałem mieć w ręku broń" – Zadrutowane kartki papieru. Pisma pozacenzuralne 1980-1989/1990 in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 243.

¹⁰¹⁰ Marek Ziemba, *Solidarność w Stalowej Woli w Latach 1980-2000* (Tarnobrzeg: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Prof. Stanisława Tarnowskiego, 2009) 159, 160, 162.

¹⁰¹¹ "Panorama Wrocławia", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 247 (April 20, 1988) 3; Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa*, 284-298; Cyryl Iwański [Krzysztof Hoffman], "Wrocławska bibuła", *Obecność* 6 (1984) 70.

was organized by MRK S and *Robotnik* (discussed below). Various independent publications were spread in factories in both cities.¹⁰¹²

In addition to Solidarity factory and regional newspapers and bulletins, a variety of Solidarity magazines and journals also began to be produced. Prior to December 13, 1981, only bulletins “for internal union use” were legal. Accordingly, almost all Solidarity publications were union bulletins. With illegality, there was no such reign on union publishing. Solidarity magazines and journals presented different viewpoints within the union and were produced across Poland. *Bez Dekretu* was produced in Krakow from 1984 with a print run of 3,000. It was edited by Maria Hernandez-Paluch. *Obraz* was produced in Szczecin from 1983. *21* was produced from 1983 and was something of a mouthpiece for Solidarity’s experts. *Nasz Czas* was published on the coast for Solidarity supporters. All of these works lasted until 1989 and allowed for extensive tactical, theoretical and programmatic debates about Solidarity.¹⁰¹³

Political and Economic Pluralism in Independent Publications

While political differences were voiced in the pages of independent publications between 1976 and 1981, most publishing houses and publications sought to present themselves as apolitical. Although a publication like *Bratniak* attempted to re-consider National Democratic thought, it was not an avowedly National Democratic paper, just as *Krytyka* was not described as Socialist by its editors. Furthermore, all Solidarity publications presented themselves as apolitical. Indeed, through 1981, the demand for immediate political pluralism was treated as an extremist position which was only embraced by KPN in their independent publications.

¹⁰¹² “Miejsce prasy zakładowej”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 228 (November 18, 1987) 1; “Panorama Wrocławia”, 3; “Miesiąc prasy zakładowej” in *Prasa zakładowa, NSZZ Solidarność w latach 1980-1981*, ed. Tomasz Truskawa (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2010) 60.

¹⁰¹³ Jan Klincz [Joanna Szczęsna], “Co kwartał 5000 stron...”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 245 (April 6, 1988) 1-3; Wojciech Frazik, “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudnia 1981 roku” in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 37; Edmund Szczesiak, *My, Podziemni. Cisi bohaterowie stanu wojennego*, 21, 23.

However, by the mid 1980s, political pluralism was visible in independent publishing. By the end of the decade, several political parties were founded. Economically, while almost all independent publishers agreed that re-privatization of large concerns was wrong and so supported a socialist or mixed-economy through 1981, the demand for a free market was increasingly voiced during the 1980s.

Over a dozen KPN periodicals appeared over the course of the mid- and late-1980s. *Droga* re-appeared from 1984 under Moczulski's leadership; it remained KPN focused and radically anti-Communist. *Informator* and *Opinia Krakowska* were also KPN organs. In December 1987, Leszek Moczulski played a leading role in the founding of the Temporary Accord of Independent Organizations in Krakow which brought together KPN activists with others who believed that it was time to embark on the type of shadow political structure which Moczulski had described in *Rewolucja bez rewolucji*.¹⁰¹⁴

Socialist/Social Democratic publications were also produced. *Robotnik* (not connected to KOR's *Robotnik*), was established in Warsaw in 1983 to encourage free thought in factories as well as the resurrection of leftist initiatives; their articles were critical of market economies and anti-liberal in tone. The editors were Piotr Ikonowicz and Grzegorz Ilka. *Wola*, likewise, had a kinship to social-democracy and sought to save its reputation in Poland. In November 1987, a Congress of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was held in Jan Józef Lipski's apartment. Ikonowicz and Józef Pinior who left Wrocław's Solidarity leadership for the PPS were in attendance. *Robotnik* became the organ for the PPS. In the spring of 1988, when the PPS split and PPS-Rewolucja Democracja (PPS-RD) was formed, *Robotnik* became its organ, including all pronouncements. It had a print-run of a couple thousand copies. *Praca—Placa—BHP* was

¹⁰¹⁴ Lesław Maleszka, "Jawność z drugiej strony", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 237 (February 2, 1988) 4; "Listy do redakcji" *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 240 (February 24, 1988) 4.

initially a Solidarity publication but then, from 1988, a PPS organ. It was edited by Cezar Miżejewski in West Pomorze.¹⁰¹⁵

Publications with National Democratic stances were also produced. *Myśli Państwowej* was strongly and avowedly National Democratic. *Polityka Polska* which was produced from the RMP milieu as something of a replacement for *Bratniak* was National Democratic in tone. The editorial board included Jacek Bartyzel, Aleksander Hall, Marek Jurek, Jarosław Kaczyński, Tomasz Wołek, etc. It appeared more or less bi-annually throughout this period.¹⁰¹⁶

The most obvious shift in socio-political independent publications was the growth of a number of publications which were liberal leaning. Indeed, these proved to be more numerous than either National Democratic or Socialist papers and therefore pointed toward the path down which an independent Poland was likely to go. *Wyzwolenie* attempted to create a centrist stance with elements of liberal and socialist thought. In opposition to *Wola* and *Robotnik*, however, they did support a free market and focused less on class.¹⁰¹⁷ *13* appeared from 1982 to 1987 as a Christian-Liberal publication in Krakow and was something of a continuation of the pre-Solidarity *Merkuryusz Krakowski i Światowy*. It was replaced by *Biuletyn Krakowskiego Towarzystwa Przemysłowego* in the fall of 1988 which began to be published officially. *13* provided re-prints from conservative British and American publications. It was edited by Mirosław Dzielski.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁵ Discussion with the editor of *Robotnik* in *Struktury nadziei*, 100-101; Discussion with the editor of *Wola* in *Struktury nadziei*, 106; “Rozłam w PPS”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 239 (February 17, 1988) 1; Kamil Dworaczek, “Od Robotnika do Robotnika” in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 40-44; Cezar Miżejewski, *Praca—Placa—BHP in Prasa Zakładowa, NSZZ Solidarność w Latach 1980-1981*, 66.

¹⁰¹⁶ Jan Klinec [Joanna Szczęsna], “Co kwartał 5000 stron...”, 1-3; *Encyklopedia Solidarność*; Piotr Zaremba, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski* (Gdansk: Wydawnictwo Arche, 2000) 220; Mirosław Rybicki in *Korzenie Solidarności 30-Lecie Ruch Młodej Polski*, Gdansk, September 26-27, 2009, eds. Grzegorz Grzelak & Mirosław Rybicki (Gdansk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2010) 53.

¹⁰¹⁷ Interview with representatives of the Political Movement “Wyzwolenie”, June 1986 in *Struktury nadziei*, 42-43.

¹⁰¹⁸ Wojciech Frazik, “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudnia 1981 roku” in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie* 34; “W skrócie”, *Brulion* 9 ([Winter] 1989) 203.

With Margaret Thatcher the British Prime Minister and Ronald Reagan the American President, it perhaps should not be treated as surprising that a number of publications became more liberal-conservative. *Antyk*, *Kurs*, and *Zeszyt Liberalów* were liberal-conservative as was *Niepodległość* which was the organ for the Liberal Democratic Party, Independence (LDP N). Its founders sought a free market and insisted that Poland couldn't be part of the Russian orbit. It was distributed in Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Krakow, Poznan and Lublin.¹⁰¹⁹

Janusz Korwin-Mikke from Oficyna Liberalów helped, from January 1986, with the publication of the liberal-conservative journal, *Stańczyk* which appeared quarterly with a print run of 3,5000. It was distributed in Krakow, Warsaw, Wrocław and Poznan. *Stańczyk* sought to present and adopt the principles of classic liberalism to the Polish context; often in a provocative and uncompromising way. It carried a "Chicago Boys" section to present neo-liberal classics to its readers. Demonstrating their distance from those with social-democratic ties, *Stańczyk* included an appeal by Leszek Skonka which attacked KOR as a neo-Stalinist, totalitarian group. *Stańczyk* became the organ of the liberal-conservative Political Realism Movement (which Korwin-Mikke helped to create), when it was founded in November 1987. It then began to produce all of its documents and program. *Stańczyk* also carried information on the Conservative-Monarchist Club which was founded in March 1987 by young people in Warsaw and actually called for the restoration of monarchy. Both the Political Realism Movement and Conservative-Monarchist Club organized public meetings in 1987/1988.¹⁰²⁰

Przegląd Polityczny was produced from 1983 in Gdansk. It was presented as a Solidarity paper, although its focus was more on liberalism than union matters; it appeared about twice a

¹⁰¹⁹ Paweł Skokowski, "Działalność wydawnicza Liberalno-Demokratycznej Partii Niepodległości", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 167; Bogusław Chrabota, "Czym byłaby demokracja dla małych grup", *Brulion* 10 (Spring 1989) 185.

¹⁰²⁰ "Od redakcji", *Stańczyk* 8 (1987) 2; Leszek Skonka, "Do działaczy opozycji demokratycznej", *Stańczyk* 8 (1987) 63; "Klub Zachowawczo-Monarchistyczny", *Stańczyk* 9 (1988) 68; "Co nowego w RPR", *Stańczyk* 9 (1989) 2.

year. The editorial board included Piotr Kapczyński, Jacek Kozłowski, Marek Zająkła and Andrzej Zarębski. Donald Tusk was editor-in-chief. The editors helped to organize a Liberal Congress in Gdansk on December 10-11, 1988. In February 1989, this group created the Gdansk Socio-Economic Group 'Liberal's Congress.' Their main demands were for re-privatization and a return to the market.¹⁰²¹ That a Solidarity paper avowedly made these demands, reflected the degree to which, by 1989, most independent publishers treated it as a matter of course that Poland would be returning to some form of a free market.

Social and Cultural Pluralism in Independent Publishing

Leszek Nowak, in describing independent publishing in 1985, noted that it successfully broke the state's Marxist-Leninist focused monopoly on information and allowed access to liberal, socialist and national ideas. However, he also argued that this was not the same as pluralism, for "pluralism of thought depends on every alternative world view; artistic, theoretical, political etc. having the same chance to reach its own recipients."¹⁰²² The greatest change in independent publishing in the mid-1980s was the development of the kind of pluralism which Nowak described as publications were produced with a variety of foci including rule of law, specific professional groups (including farmers), international relations, socio-cultural issues and literature.

While KOR's and ROPCiO's initial publications often dealt with issues related to the rule of law, a variety of new publications focused specifically on this topic in the 1980s. *KOS* and *Obecność* included a rule of law section from 1983 with reports from Poland's Helsinki Committee whose reports were published by Krąg, CDN, NOWa and WSKOS and included in a number of publications. The serials *Praworządność*, *Praworządność-Dokument*, *Prawo i*

¹⁰²¹ "Gdańskie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Gospodarcze "Kongres Liberalów", *Przegląd Polityczny* 12 (1989) 3-4; "I Gdański Kongres Liberalów", *Przegląd Polityczny* 12 (1989) 5.

¹⁰²² Leszek Nowak, "Tezy o drugim obiegu", *Vacat* 32/33 (July/August 1985) 30-31.

Bezprawnie, O Prawie i Praworządność and *Paragraf* all focused on rule of law, its infringement in Poland and what was being done to combat these infringements by new groups such as the Committee for the Defense of Rule of Law, Committees of Citizens Against Violence (Jan Józef Lipski was at the forefront), and the Committee for Intervention and Legality (founded by Zbigniew Romaszewski), all of which were founded in 1984.¹⁰²³

A number of new publications arose which were geared to specific professional groups. It is important to note that these were not only union publications, but professional publications. Several were produced for those in the medical professions. *Niezależny Myśli Lekarskie* was printed by NOWa and was most notable in this respect. Teachers and educators also produced their own professional serials. *Wolny Głos Nauczycielski* was produced in Wrocław from April 1982 for grade school teachers. It was Solidarity connected but mostly carried information on teaching as a profession.¹⁰²⁴

About a dozen titles appeared annually for farmers and rural communities; some had connections with the Catholic Church. The most notable titles were *Rolnik* in Krakow and *Wieś Solidarna* in Lublin. On November 23, 1986, in Warsaw, the Temporary Consulting Council of Solidarity Individual Farmers was announced to openly coordinate the actions of underground Rural Solidarity activities. It was led by Józef Teliga, Stanisław Janusz and Zbigniew Nawrocki. However, Rural Solidarity largely collapsed as an organization in the underground as was reflected in their diminished independent publishing activities. During the 1988 Round Table talks, Józef Kowalczyk of the ZSL (the official peasant party) rather ironically complained not

¹⁰²³ Discussion with Representatives of the Helsinki Committee in Poland, February 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 72-74; Discussion with Representatives of the Committee for the Defense of Rule of Law and the editors of *Zeszytów praworządność-dokumenty*, October 1986-February 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 76-77, 81-82.

¹⁰²⁴ Szczepan Rudka, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa*, 280.

only about shortages of official publications for the rural populace, but also commented on their marginality within independent publishing.¹⁰²⁵

Although *Przegląd Wiadomości Politycznych* was described as nationalist and xenophobic, the demand for cooperation with Poland's neighbors was much more popular, if not pervasive, within independent publishing. Indeed, a number of independent publications were produced which focused on improved international relations with Poland's neighbors and the struggle versus xenophobia and nationalism. Publications focused on this theme included *ABC* (Adriatic, Baltic and Black Sea), *Dialogi Polski-Ukraiński*, *Obóz*, and *Nowa Koalicja*. *ABC* was founded by Bronisław Komorowski; it reached a print-run of 3,000. The cover of *Obóz* had a map of Poland which was abutting Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania rather than the Soviet Union; the political message was clear. In 1983, Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity was created in Wrocław by Mirosław Jasiński. This group went on to smuggle a significant amount of independent literature into Czechoslovakia, some of which had been brought into Poland from the Czechoslovak emigration and some of which had originated in Poland. In 1987, they founded a Polish-Czechoslovak Information Bulletin; Jarosław Broda was editor-in-chief. This group also smuggled publications to Ukraine.¹⁰²⁶ Support for Czech dissidents was visible when the editors of *Wezwanie* and *Obecność* called on the Stockholm Noble Prize Committee to consider Milan Kundera in 1984.¹⁰²⁷ Solidarity's leaders also organized secret meetings with the leaders of Charter 77.

¹⁰²⁵ Jan Olaszek, "Prasa niezależnego ruchu chłopskiego (1977-1989) in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 110-111; *Okrągły stoł: Dokumenty i materiały* vol. III, eds. Włodzimeierz Borodziej and Andrzej Garlicki (Warsaw: Kancelaria Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2004) 160; "Zjednoczenie niezależnego ruchu chłopskiego." *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 189 (November 26, 1986) 1.

¹⁰²⁶ Jan Klincz [Joanna Szczęsna], "Co kwartał 5000 stron...", 1-3.

¹⁰²⁷ "List otwarty do Sztokholmskiego komitetu Nagrody Nobla", *Obecność* 6 (1984) 74.

Socio-cultural/socio-political journals included *Archiwum*, *Jesteśmy*, *Szkieł*, *Kultura Niezależna*,¹⁰²⁸ *Obecność*, *Arka* and *Krytyka*. *Arka* and *Krytyka* became two of the most impressive independent publications in terms of content; David Warszawski described them as “being on a European level.”¹⁰²⁹ While *Krytyka* maintained its socio-democratic emphasis, *Arka*, which began publication in June 1983, was more liberal-conservative. In April 1984, the Independent Culture Committee gave it an award for its work in 1983. An editor, Ryszard Terlecki explained that after the 1984 murder of Solidarity priest, Father Popiełuszko, the editors decided that an avowedly new stance was needed, one which rejected the system of ideas which had built the socialist system then in place. Accordingly, *Arka* included articles like Friedrich August Hayek’s “Liberalism.” *Arka* included literature as well as socio-political articles and critiques which was deemed necessary in staying relevant. At the turn of 1985/1986 *Arka* did an issue in cooperation with the Russian emigrée weekly, *Russkaja Mysl*, which included texts by Russian dissidents. By 1986, *Arka* had a print run of about 3,000 and appeared more or less quarterly. In 1987, it added a board of patrons which included Saul Bellow, Alain Besançon, François Brody, Leszek Kołakowski, Melvin Lasky, and Norman Podhoretz. *Arka*’s editorial board included Maria de Hernandez Paluch (to 1984), Bronisław Maj (to 1985 when he left for *Na Głos*), Leszek Maleszka (to 1984), Tadeusz Nyczek, Bogusław Sonik, Ryszard Terlecki,

¹⁰²⁸ *Kultura Niezależna* was produced from Solidarity’s Committee on Independent Culture as a monthly from August 1984; it became more irregular in 1986/1987. It started off as a section in *KOS* before growing into its own publication of about 100 pages which was produced as a pocket-sized book. It was initially published by Przedświt then Pokolenie, Most and finally PoMost. It carried original works as well as reviews of cultural products including books, spectacles, films etc. It included information on not only Polish, but European culture as well [Discussion with Representatives of Committee of Independent Culture, March 1987 in Grzegorz Nawrocki, *Struktury nadziei* (Warsaw: Pokolenie, 1988) 65; Katarzyna Tałuc, “Wydawnictwo z niezależnej oficyny Śląskiej w Katowicach” in *Česká a polská samizdatová literatura/Czeska i polska literatura drugiego obiegu*, eds. Libor Martinek and Martin Tichý, International Conference in Opava, November 13-14, 2002.]

¹⁰²⁹ “Podziemie w defensywie”, *Brulion* 7-8 (Summer/Fall 1988) 210.

Ryszard Legutko, Piotr Pieńkowski, and Łukasz A. Pleśnar; Andrzej Nowak joined later. Jan Polkowski was editor-in-chief.¹⁰³⁰

By the late 1980s, a few literary/cultural journals were also produced; these included *Na Głos*, *Brulion*, *Bez Debitu*, *Czas Kultura*, *Veto* and *Almanach Humanistycznych*. *Struktury Trzecie* was published in Poznań from 1987 as a means of consolidating the city's writers. *Na Głos* was founded in Kraków in 1983 to integrate Kraków's literary salons after Kraków's ZLP had its publication shut down. Each issue served as a sort of record for a ZLP authors' evening; it included elements of Kraków cabaret with poetry, prose, satire, interviews with authors and critical essays. Bronisław Maj was editor-in-chief. *Brulion* was produced quarterly in Kraków from the spring of 1987; it was printed by Oficyna Literacka. Robert Tekieli was editor-in-chief. It included information on and reviews of Polish independent cultural life, including theater, cabaret, art and photo exhibits as well as reviews of independently produced literature and films. In addition, it included original literature (both prose and poetry) by East European dissidents such as Ivan Klima, Jozef Škvorecký and Aleksander Solzhenitsyn as well as Polish authors. Western authors were also included; works by Kurt Vonnegut were popular. A special edition, dedicated to Joseph Brodski, was produced in 1988 when he won the Nobel Prize for Literature. *Brulion* was more international and youthful in focus than *Zapis* had been (it included information on alternative culture, sexual minorities and drugs) but was of an equally high

¹⁰³⁰Ryszard Terlecki, "Moja historia *Arki*", *Arka* 29 (1990) 4-8; "Rozmowa z *Arką*", *Promieniści* 104 (February 29, 1988) 2; "Wrażenie upadku", Interview with editors of *Arka* and *Wezwanie*, *Brulion* 4 (Winter 1987/1988) 146. "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 149; Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudniu 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 35.

quality. It also gave awards for the best graffiti found in Poland and included drawings of winners' work. It had a print-run of 1,500-4,000.¹⁰³¹

Pluralism of Youthful Independent Publishing; Students and New Subcultures

Above all else, the growing pluralism in Polish independent publishing was visible in publications produced by and for young people. During the 1980s, a number of new, youthful subcultures developed in Poland which sought openness through street manifestations and public protests; these produced over 100 independent serial titles in 1987 alone. Environmentalists, pacifists, punks, feminists and anarchists published for their respective milieus; many produced flyers as well as serials. For instance, the Warsaw anarchist paper, *Katatymia* was produced irregularly and was anti-Church, anti-party and not terribly favorable to Solidarity. Publications were also made specifically for students, scouts and small children.¹⁰³²

The Alternative Social Movement (RSA) was an anarcho-pacifist group which was based in Gdansk but had chapters in Szczecin, Słupsk, Lublin, Rzeszow and Nowa Huta. It was created by Janusz Waluszko and Wojciech 'Jacob' Jankowski. Their founding declaration in June 1983 focused on full amnesty for political prisoners, an end to compulsory military service and an end to the death penalty. They believed that reform of the state was impossible without limiting its power which they sought to have diminished to zero. RSA increasingly emphasized ecology after the Chernobyl disaster on April 26, 1986; they also called for full separation of the church and state. Rather than focusing on history, politics or Solidarity, they stressed the creation of an alternative society through open education, independent publishing and

¹⁰³¹ Jarosław Klejnocki, "Podziemny bruLion—Czy początek nowek formacji?" in *Česká a polská samizdatová literatura/Czeska i polska literatura drugiegoObiegu*, 209-211; Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudniu 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 37; Bronisław Maj, "Pismo mówione, *Na Głos* (1983-1989) in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 46-54; Bogusław Bakula, "Literackie czasopisma mówione *Na Głos* i *Struktury Tzrecie* w pejzażu Polskiej kultura niezależnej lat 80" in *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989, materiały konferencyjne, Koszalin, 12 Maja 2006 r.* ed. Leszek Lakowski (Koszalin: Koszalińska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Joachima Lelewela, 2006) 31-33.

¹⁰³² *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 171.

independent economic initiatives for Poland and the Communist bloc. Jankowski highlighted KOR's traditions, insisting that everything independent society had achieved (independent publishing as well as independent self-governing social, political, worker and cultural activities) came through these traditions. However, with the loss of KOR, Jankowski believed that society had lost a program of action. In November 1985, Jankowski was arrested after mailing in his draft book and refusing military service; he was sentenced to 3.5 years in prison.¹⁰³³

In 1984, RSA initiated the Independent Group Freedom (PGN Wolność) to coordinate independent youth groups in Gdansk; these cooperated in large flyer drops. 5,000 flyers were dropped on May 1, 1985 when RSA and other Gdansk youth engaged in street fights with the police. On October 12, 1985, flyers were dropped dealing with Solidarity's proposed election boycott which RSA saw as an empty gesture. In 1985/86 they dropped anti-military flyers on the coast, in Szczecin, Nowa Huta, Zamość, Poznan and at concerts in Jarocin and Olsztyn as well as with pilgrims to Częstochowa. By dropping flyers at these diverse locales, RSA/PGN Wolność was able to reach young people from villages and smaller towns and inform them about the issues with which they were concerned. RSA's main publication was *Homek*.¹⁰³⁴

Homek began publication in 1983 as a monthly publication, but became increasingly irregular in 1985 after the arrests of Jankowski and other RSA activists for refusing military service. Still, it maintained publication through 1989. *Homek* averaged two to six pages and included cartoons and graphics with the passage of time. Articles focused on the ideas of RSA.

¹⁰³³ "Fizjologiczna niechęć do czerwonego dystans do S", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 154 (January 16, 1985) 3; "Ruch Społeczeństwa Alternatywnego" *Homek* 2 (June 1983) 1; "O religii", *Homek* 5 (November 5, 1983) 1.; Stansław Zemler, "Słowo o programie" *Homek* 5 (November 5, 1983) 3; Jerzy Delinski [Wojciech Jankowski], "Wybory", *Homek* 22 (October 1985) 1; Janusz Waluszko, *Homek* 45/46, [late 1989] 6, 8; Janusz Waluszko, "Czarna flaga na ulicy", *A Capella* 14 [1988] 13.

¹⁰³⁴ Jerzy Delinski [Wojciech Jankowski], "Wybory", *Homek* 22 (October 1985) 1; Janusz Waluszko, *Homek* 45/46, [late 1989] 6, 8; Grzegorz Widok, "Jarocin-Rekonesans", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 178 (August 15, 1986) 3.

It was edited by Waluszko (who had, during the Solidarity-era, edited *Gilotyn* then *Dialog* and *Podaj Dalej* during martial law) in cooperation with his friends in RSA.¹⁰³⁵

On April 14, 1985, Freedom and Peace (WiP) was announced in Krakow. WiP had about forty original signatories who supported pluralistic, above-ground activities. WiP was structurally more akin to KOR or ROPCiO than Solidarity in that it was a loose milieu with ‘participants’ rather than ‘members.’ Although Leszek Budrewicz (of Wrocław who had previously cooperated with KOR and SKS and maintained ties with Solidarity) played a de facto leadership role, WiP didn’t have avowed leaders. WiP was soon visible in Krakow, Gorzów, Wrocław, Szczecin and Gdansk where it worked closely with RSA. The Krakow WiP milieu tended to be more conservative than the more radical Gdansk group. WiP organized hunger strikes and pursued new levels of openness with public demonstrations in which participants wore sandwich boards and carried placards. They also carried out a number of large flyer drops in support of the issues on which the movement was founded: support for conscientious objectors, an end to the death penalty, better relations with Poland’s neighbors and ecological protection.¹⁰³⁶

WiP’s first major action was in support of conscientious objection. WiP called for men to mail in their draft books and held public burnings of draft books which in Gdansk were coordinated with RSA. WiP also brought attention to Wojciech ‘Jacob’ Jankowski and Marek Adamkiewicz (an NZS activist from Szczecin who had been arrested in 1984) who were in prison for refusing to take the military oath. While WiP often focused on the fact that the military oath avowed Poland’s connection to the Soviet Union, RSA activists more frequently rejected compulsory military service outright. WiN also publicized the case of a Hungarian

¹⁰³⁵ Janusz Waluszko, *Homek* 45/46 [late 1989] 4.

¹⁰³⁶ See WiP Wrocław Flyer with *Dezerter* at Karta Archive; Jerzy Skoczylas, “WiP”, *Promieniści* 117/118 (December 12, 1988) 2.

conscience objector, Zsólt Keszthelyi as well as Polish Jehovah's Witnesses through flyers.¹⁰³⁷

In Krakow, in September 1987, WiP dropped 10,000 flyers about political prisoners. They dropped 3,000 more in October and again dropped flyers in December in Krakow. Flyers drops were also carried out in Gdansk, Szczecin and Wrocław by WiP.¹⁰³⁸

Another major focus for WiP were environmental protests. In the fall of 1985, Budrewicz drew up an ecological statement for WiP. The drive for environmental protections gained impetus after the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl. WiP organized a number of street gatherings, many of which were composed of women marching with small children to discourage police violence. On June 1, 1985, in Krakow, a large protest was held on Children's Day amid flyer drops which asserted that Polish children would live shorter lives than Westerners. In Warsaw, 6,000 flyers were dropped about Chernobyl which avowed solidarity with Ukraine. In July 1986, WiP organized a 2,000 person protest in Krakow against the building of an atomic power plant in Żarnowiec.¹⁰³⁹ In October 1987, four WiP activists in Gdansk held banners on a roof from which they dropped flyers opposing the building of atomic energy plants; more flyers were distributed in the region.¹⁰⁴⁰

WiP established its own independent publications. Notable were the bi-weekly, *Dezserter* (Warsaw), *Wolność i Pokój* (Krakow) *Bez Przemocy* (Gorzow), and *A Cappella* (Gdansk) as well as a nation-wide Amnesty International newsletter. Szczecin produced a couple ephemeral

¹⁰³⁷ *A Capella* 8 [1987] Enclosed Flyer.; Janusz Waluszko, "Czarna flaga na ulicy", Janusz Waluszko, "Czarna flaga na ulicy", *A Cappella* 14 [1988] 13.

¹⁰³⁸ "W obronie więzionych za sprzeciw sumienia", *Dezserter* 2/48 (October 11, 1987) 1; "W obronie więzionych 'kaloryferów'", *Dezserter* 3/49 (October 25, 1989) 1; "W obronie więzionych", *Dezserter* 6/52 (December 6, 1987) 2.

¹⁰³⁹ "Demonstracja WiP w Krakowie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 173 (June 5, 1986) 4; Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution*, 72; "Ruch ekologiczny", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 174 (June 12, 1986) 4; *Tygodnik Mazowsze* (October 1986) Special Edition.

¹⁰⁴⁰ "Zadyma" *A Cappella* 7 (October 16, 1987) 7.

WiP publications. WiP was also connected to several environmental groups and publications, including *Zagrożenie* in Wrocław.¹⁰⁴¹

Dezserter was a continuation of WiP's bulletin from 1987. It had basic information on WiP with a bulletin format. It was edited by Gwido Zlatkes who explained that "we are children of Solidarity" but that Solidarity had failed so that something new was needed.¹⁰⁴² Piotr Niemczyk who was also on the editorial board, like Zlatkes, had worked previously with *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. In 1988, *Dezserter* included a form to be cut out and mailed to Amnesty International London for Human Rights Day 1988. While WiP focused on the need for world peace, like many Polish pacifist groups, a number of participants evinced suspicion toward some Western peace groups who they perceived as dangerously seeking unilateral disarmament.¹⁰⁴³

A Cappella began publication in 1986 in Gdansk but was distributed to Krakow, Wrocław, Poznan, Bydgoszcz, Częstochowa, Gorzów and Kołobrzeg. The editorial board included Jarosław Cieszyński, Jarema Dubiel, Krzysztof Galiński, Wojciech Jankowski, Klaudiusz Wesołek and Tomasz Żmuda-Trzebiatowski. Although it was treated as a WiP publication, its editors also had ties to RSA, demonstrating the overlap of WiP and RSA activists in Gdansk. Indeed, the A in the title was printed as an anarchy sign; in the spring of 1988; the editors called on readers to send them books so that they could create an anarchist library.¹⁰⁴⁴

Klaudiusz Wesołek, insisted, in the pages of *A Cappella* that freedom of speech could have no limits.¹⁰⁴⁵ *A Cappella* dealt with themes which were rarely discussed in the independent press. They called for a forum on women's liberation, insisting that this didn't mean burning

¹⁰⁴¹ "Ruch ekologiczny", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 174 (June 12, 1986) 4; Ks. Jarosław Wąsowicz, "Krótka historia modzieżowej bibuły (1977-1989)" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 90.

¹⁰⁴² Gwido Zlatkes, "Minimum Solidarności", *Dezserter* 2/48 (October 11, 1987) 4.

¹⁰⁴³ *Dezserter* 17/63 (May 16, 1988) 8; "Oświadczenie w sprawie formuły działania Ruch Wolność i Pokój", *Dezserter* 16/ 61 (April 17, 1988) 2.

¹⁰⁴⁴ "Biblioteczka anarchista", *A Cappella* 9 [1988] 5.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Klaudi Wesołek, "Bez Ograniczen", *A Cappella* 4 [Spring 1987] 3.

bras or riding tractors but about true liberation and called on female readers to write it to express their views.¹⁰⁴⁶ *A Cappella* carried sympathetic interviews with two homosexuals from Gdansk who talked about being gay in Poland.¹⁰⁴⁷ It included information on animals rights and vegetarianism, including vegetarian recipes.¹⁰⁴⁸ *A Capella* covered the punk movement in Poland and frequently printed song lyrics. The editors helped to organize a 1986 Rock for Peace concert in Gdansk.¹⁰⁴⁹ Conscientious objection remained a major focus, and in 1988 *A Capella* included a page which could be cut out and mailed to Warsaw to protest the imprisonment of conscientious objectors.

Visually, *A Cappella* was one of the most striking independent publications. It used lots of graphics and cartoons. Articles were often mishmashed together with images intermixed with text. It even included pictures of naked women. From the spring of 1985, each page was printed in a different color. *A Cappella* also included inserts. One was a blank page which told readers to create their own flyer with it. Another was a collage of pictures of rock bands which could be treated as a wall poster.¹⁰⁵⁰ An article entitled “John Paul II Superstar”, received negative responses by some in the adult opposition.¹⁰⁵¹

Indeed, the publications created by youth subcultures, did not always meet with approval by opposition seniors. Mirosław Dąbrowski in a review of Krakow’s independent youth publications, claimed that “nothing good could be said” of them. He described *Iskra*, which was produced in Krakow in 1988 from the WiP milieu, as “poor” He argued that instead of engaging in polemics, it had flyers and brochures which encouraged agitation. He found the

¹⁰⁴⁶ M.h. “Forum Wyzwolenia Kobiet”, *A Cappella* 5 [spring/summer 1987] 5.

¹⁰⁴⁷ “Inni” *A Cappella* 16 [1988/1989] 6.

¹⁰⁴⁸ *A Cappella* 15 [late 1988] 12.

¹⁰⁴⁹ “Rock for peace” *A Cappella* 2 [late 1986] 9.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *A Cappella* 11, irregular issue.

¹⁰⁵¹ Małgorzata Tarasiewicz in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 122.

format which included comics next to more serious texts and purposeful language errors absurd. Dąbrowski claimed that the WiP program which it carried, focused on anarchy, ecology, conscientious objectors, European unity, national minorities, and opposition to Soviet influence in the PRL. He continued that under WiP “even homosexuality and feminism” was supported and that WiP at Jagiellonian University had pushed for legal equality for these groups. He disparaged WiP for lacking a programmatic assertion with a hierarchy of aims.¹⁰⁵² This critique beautifully illustrates the radical development in social pluralism within independent publishing.

The Federation of Fighting Youth (FMW) was founded in 1984 in Warsaw. It was an unstructured youth movement which was active on the coast and Warmia-Mazuria from 1983. Some of its adherents took part in ‘blizzard’ attacks and protests at soccer games. FMW organized self-education groups and the publication of several periodicals including *Wiatr od Morza* which had a print-run of about 2,000 and *Monit* which averaged about 1,000; both were printed in Gdansk. Its members cooperated with WiP and Solidarity; *Lustro* was produced in Szczecin from 1986.¹⁰⁵³

A number of punk-rock titles were also produced. In Wrocław the student paper, *Zero*, which Budrewicz co-edited, attempted to reach a new generation seeking its own political ideas and distance from both the Church and Solidarity. They focused on pacifism and underground “garage” culture, carrying interviews, information and song lyrics from popular bands. In 1986, Piotr Wierzbicki became editor of *QORYQ*, a punk magazine based in Warsaw. *Azotox*, *Chaos*, *Gangrena*, *Zabili Mnie*, *Manipulator*, *Obok*, *Rewolter* and *Anarchy to Peace* were also punk-

¹⁰⁵² Mirosław Dąbrowski, “Bibuła akademickiego” *Brulion* 10 (Spring 1989) 188-190.

¹⁰⁵³ Discussion with Representatives of *Wiatr od Morza* and *Monit*, publications of Federation of Fighting Youth (FMW) in Gdansk, May 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 90-91; Discussion with Witkor Kulerski, “Społeczeństwo podziemne”, *Kultura Niezależna* 19 [April 1986] 5; Ks. Jarosław Wąsowicz, “Krótka historia młodzieżowej Bibuły (1977-1989)” in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*,; Michał Siedziako, “Prasa niezależna w Szczecinie, 1976-1989” in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 123;.

zines. These serials distanced themselves from both the politics of the state and of Solidarity; most were photocopied and had a print-run of a couple hundred. The New Wave Solidarity Publishing House emerged to support such ventures.¹⁰⁵⁴

Wrocław led the nation in youthful publishing and activism. The city's MKO (Inter-School Resistance Committee) had, from the initiation of martial law, cooperated with Solidarity and Fighting Solidarity, dropping flyers for both. They also pursued self-education and published their own bi-weekly, four page paper, *Szkoła Podziemna* (*Underground School*). In the fall of 1986, a new editorial board was formed. Reflecting the move toward openness, they dropped the word underground from the title. They also halted their previous anti-Communist and anti-state rhetoric and instead focused on student life. In January 1987, they added a comic strip, "Animal Farm" and thereafter included increasing graphics and illustrations. *Szkoła* encouraged self-education and covered the student strikes which MKO supported in 1987 in protest to the state calling for school attendance one Saturday a month. In addition, *Szkoła* included articles on quitting smoking (in a spoof of Lenin talking to his mom) and drinking as well as interviews with teachers and children of Solidarity leaders. By 1988, it included information on Orange Alternative happenings; both reporting on them and including invitations to future happenings.¹⁰⁵⁵

Orange Alternative was a "socialist surrealist" milieu, based in Wrocław, which had originated in the Solidarity-era. The unofficial leader of Orange Alternative was Waldemar "Major" Frydrych who was focal to the organization of Orange Alternative happenings and

¹⁰⁵⁴ Franek Skandal (pseud.), "Rozwalić klatka", *A Cappella* 3 [closed February 7, 1987] 2; Adam Krępiński, "Pokolenie Zera", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 153 (January 9, 1986) 4; "Fizjologiczna niechęć do czerwonego dystans do S", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 154 (January 16, 1985) 3; "Jeden z Homków", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 170 (May 16, 1986) 4; "Podziemie w defensywie", *Brulion* 7-8 (Summer/Fall 1988) 213.

¹⁰⁵⁵ "Czujemy się mocni", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 159 (February 20, 1986) 3; "Panorama Wrocławia", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 247 (April 20, 1988) 2; Redakcja, "Nihil Novi", *Szkoła* 1/27 (November 15-30 1986) 1; "Sobota w domu", *Szkoła* 5/6 32/33 [Spring 1987] 1.

quickly became second only to Frasyński in popularity in the city. On April Fool's day 1986, Orange Alternative made its first attempt at a happening. Their next happening occurred one year later on April 1, 1987. Their first large-scale happening occurred on Children's Day, June 1, 1987. Under the slogan, "elves are real" young people crowded on to Świdnicka Street, dancing and singing while dressed as elves.¹⁰⁵⁶ Orange Alternative happenings featured the slogan "Smile! Tomorrow will be worse." On October 15, 1987, a "who's afraid of toilet paper" happening was held, mocking the toilet paper shortages in Poland.¹⁰⁵⁷

These happenings, even more than WiP's environmental protests, had no overt political message; the security services looked absurd trying to capture "elves." At the same time, they contested state control of the public sphere which was a political act of which the leaders were aware. Frydrych asserted that Orange's "happenings integrate...After every action, new people come to Orange Alternative....Orange is also a way to make contacts with the serious opposition."¹⁰⁵⁸ The large-scale nature of these happenings would have been impossible to organize were it not for independent publishers informing the public when and where to appear and even what to wear.

Krakow's independent student paper, *Staszek*, rejected Orange Alternative's activities as hooliganism.¹⁰⁵⁹ While Jacek Kuroń did not denounce these new youth subcultures and their actions, he did argue in September 1987 that Polish youth were anti-Solidarity.¹⁰⁶⁰ Józef Pinior from Wrocław's Solidarity leadership, frequently participated in Orange Alternative's happenings; he disagreed. Pinior claimed that the youth movement, especially in Wrocław, was

¹⁰⁵⁶ Orange Alternative had long organized actions where elves were spray painted over the blobs left when the security services painted over Solidarity slogans.

¹⁰⁵⁷ "Hokus pokus", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 240 (February 24, 1988) 1; "Panorama Wrocławia", 3; "Studencka wiosna", *Obecność* 17 (1987) 63; Waldemar Fydrych, "Nie tylko sztuka i nie tylko alternatywa", *Obecność* 24 [1988] 29-35.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution*, 190.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution*, 176.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Jacek Kuroń, "Solidarność w krajobrazie po bitwie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 220 (September 16, 1987) 1.

diverse and so not unified in anything including anti-Solidarity ideas. An anonymous author argued that it was normal for youths to seek different thing than their seniors and emphasized the importance of their continuing to publish their own views. Henryk Wujec argued that he did not believe that Polish youth were anti-Solidarity. He insisted that the youth movement was pluralistic, especially in Wrocław, with many having their own independent publications.¹⁰⁶¹ Indeed, Wrocław had a unique atmosphere. Małgorzata Tarsiewicz from WiP in Gdansk contended that while there was real cooperation with Solidarity in Wrocław, because of the hierarchy of the Solidarity underground in Gdansk, the same was not true for those in WiP on the coast.¹⁰⁶²

Krakow's youth publications were also noteworthy. *Promieniści* followed a pattern somewhat akin to *Szkola*. When it started publication in the fall of 1982, it carried the subheading "a publication of fathers and grandfathers for sons and grandsons." While its focus was supposed to be on middle school and high school students, the editors (who were teachers and older students) included extensive information on Solidarity and the opposition. In November 1985, an entirely new format was embraced. It began appearing as a broad sheet with images and graphics. Content shifted to include more interviews, information on self-education, concerts and ecology (especially after the Chernobyl disaster) with less information on Solidarity. Orange Alternative and WiP actions became popular topics. These changes reflected personnel changes as young people moved into leadership roles at the publication.¹⁰⁶³

At the outset of martial law, many students began working within Solidarity. However, NZS (although weakened) did survive and grew rapidly from 1987 as Solidarity diversified and

¹⁰⁶¹ Józef Pinior, Henryk Wujec, AB, "Solidarność w krajobrazie po bitwie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 220 (September 16, 1987) 1.

¹⁰⁶² Małgorzata Tarasiewicz in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 127.

¹⁰⁶³ *Promieniści* special edition (1988) 1.

pluralism grew. The number of student publications doubled between 1987 and 1988; about twenty NZS publications were re-activated at that time. In January 1987, an underground NZS Congress was held in Warsaw. By late 1987, the NZS in Wrocław was able to activate about 30-50 people for flyer drops and graffiti actions. They printed their own publication, *Na Indeksie* as well as a *Komunikat* and re-printed *Z Dnia na Dzień*. NZS was also strong in Krakow and published *Indeks*, *Przegląd Akademicki*, *Gwarek* etc. Warsaw's NZS produced over ten publications by 1987 including *Kurier Akademicki*, *Grizzly*, *Refleksy*, *Mecenat* and *NURT*. NZS also gained branches in Poznan, Katowice, Gdansk, Szczecin, Kielce, Lublin, Torun and Łódź; all of these produced serials at some point.¹⁰⁶⁴

Scout groups also produced their own publications; these often had connections with church organizations. An independent scouts' publishing house was also founded. Scout serials included, *Czuwajmy* in Krakow, *Wolny Wiatr* in Wrocław, *Harmel* in Poznan and *Lacznik* in Warsaw.¹⁰⁶⁵

Ground-breaking in intended readership was *Okienka* which was produced for small children from 1986 to 1989. It was published by WSKOS. It included historical pieces as well as articles dealing with family issues and religious tolerance. A few, short-lived publications were also aimed at children including *Krecik* which was printed in Krakow in 1985. In addition, a number of books were printed for children; most of these, including a catechism, were re-prints

¹⁰⁶⁴ Andrzej Anusz, *Osobista historia PC* (Warsaw: Akces, 2007) 110-112; Interview with chief of NZS at University of Wrocław, "Chodzi o poszerzenie sferi wolność", *Biuletyn Dolnośląski* 70 (February 1986) 6; Ks. Jarosław Wąsowicz, "Krótka historia młodzieżowej bibuły (1977-1989)" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL* 88-90, 171.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Wojciech Hausner, "Czuwajmy—Hacerskie pismo niezależne" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 69-73.

of works from the inter-War era. Materials aimed at children tended to be patriotic in tone, extolling values like honor, heroism and faithfulness.¹⁰⁶⁶

Diversification in Independent Publishing Houses and the Rise of a Proto-Free Market

In the wake of martial law, independent publishing houses again focused on the production of monographs and longer format serials. Rather than producing re-prints from the emigration, an increasing number of original works were created. Although cooperation remained high within independent publishing milieus, the growth of a number of active publishing houses meant that a new pluralism and diversification was possible. At the same time, as publishers became increasingly financially dependent on their readers, the market began to regulate and even limit what editors published.

Grzegorz Boguta insisted that NOWa was an apolitical, quality publishing house; not a cheap, anti-Communist concern. Despite claims to being apolitical, the editors of NOWa, like the editors of all independent publishing houses, in the Polish context, had the very political goal of striving to create a democratic, pluralistic society. The works which NOWa published were those which the editors thought would help this goal. As a result, certain works were more likely to be published than others. NOWa's editors claimed that when Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik and Jan Józef Lipski were in jail, they felt a moral responsibility to print their works because of their high-quality. They asserted, however, that they did not feel the same about Leszek Moczulski's works as they didn't see the need to present his views to readers. While they alleged that it was differences in literary quality, it is hard not to see this as resulting from political differences. Furthermore, NOWA's editors explained that they would not print materials which

¹⁰⁶⁶ Anna Mól [Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont] & Marek Nowy, "Młodzież-wiosna 1988", *Tygodnik Mazowski* 256 (June 22, 1988) 3; Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudniu 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 35; Donchona Dabert-Bakułowa, "Drugi obieg dla dzieci" in *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989*, 55-56, 62-63.

called for violent struggle, expressed racial hatred or suggested that Bujak or Wałęsa were the “greatest enemies of the Polish nation” rather than Soviet totalitarianism.¹⁰⁶⁷ Some contemporaries, as well as historians, have perceived these choices as censorship. However, NOWa was, in effect, working as a private firm whose editors could choose what to publish and what not to publish; they did not, for instance, inhibit Moczulski from publishing elsewhere.

However, private firms are dependent on a free market; Poland certainly did not have an independent publishing free market in 1977 when NOWa was founded. Indeed, NOWa received monies as a social institution; not just a publishing house. Like Solidarity, therefore, it had a dual personality as a social movement and an organization (which helps to explain charges of censorship). In its first years, NOWa’s readership, like its editorial board, was composed of a small, primarily intellectual (often left-leaning) minority who were loyal to independent publishing as such. By the 1980s, independent publications were reaching new readers who, at times, wanted different things than the editors of NOWa and the major independent publishing houses provided; they were not willing to pay for products they did not want. Readers, embodying the changes the initiators of independent publishing had hoped for in society, demanded that their wishes be met. A sign of the changing times was the publication in October 1985 of *Solidarnosc—500 Pierwszych dni* which was a twenty page comic book picture history of Solidarity. It was produced by “Zespół 4 R” and received underground awards for its innovative style. Demands for graphics and recent history became increasingly pronounced.¹⁰⁶⁸

The editors at Przedświt, like those at NOWa, insisted that they didn’t want to only publish works which attacked the “reds” and would be censored, but works which were high-quality. However, when Przedświt produced a book of poetry by Kamil Sipowicz, the public

¹⁰⁶⁷ “Mniej wpadek, więcej książek”, Interview with NOWa editors, 25.

¹⁰⁶⁸ “Pierwszy podziemny komiks”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 102 (October 18, 1984) 3.

feedback was that it was a waste of paper and took unnecessary risks for printers and distributors as it could have been published officially. It had to be distributed for free. Similarly, when Krąg published Arthur Schnitzler's *At the Sign of the Green Parrot*, it proved so unpopular that it too had to be given away for free. While one of NOWa's first works was a book of Miłosz's poetry, Boguta insisted in 1987 that poetry did not sell; NOWa all but stopped producing poetry as the power of the market began to regulate independent publishers.¹⁰⁶⁹

While publishing houses initially relied almost entirely on re-prints from the émigré community, by the mid-1980s, a number of original monographs were produced by independent publishing houses. These included both original Polish translations of foreign works as well as new works which were written domestically. Larger publishing houses such as Przedświt, which focused on the publication of original works so that writers would not be left at the mercy of the state, created strong relations with certain translators and authors and ordered works from them on contract. Of course, original works from translators and writers were also bought upon completion. The emphasis on original works enabled increasing numbers of Polish intellectuals to find employment in independent publishing.¹⁰⁷⁰

NOWa invested in translators as its editors explained that they were one of the few independent publishing houses which could afford to do so. They claimed that while readers demanded books on the massacres at Katyń and September 17, 1939, the public knew about these events more than they knew the literature of Russian dissidents; NOWa sought to correct this blank spot in the public consciousness. While this may have been true and while it may have been admirable to provide Polish Russian-language specialists with the opportunity to

¹⁰⁶⁹ Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 174-175; "Z kronika Solidarności", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 125 (April 18, 1985) 3; "Przedświt", Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, 23.

¹⁰⁷⁰ "Przedświt", Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, 25. Krzysztof Siemieński, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3835.html>; Jarosław Markiewicz, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3838.html>.

translate non-Communist literature, such plans were not always popular. In the spring of 1987, a distributor argued that there were too many cultural-literary quarterlies and translations from Russian; he/she called for the publication of history and “classics” like *A Minor Apocalypse*, *Courier from Warsaw* and *A World Apart*.¹⁰⁷¹

The initiators of independent publishing (like official publishers) were not dependent on the market, as they became more so, they acknowledged that the populace did not always seek those publications which they deemed intellectually important or gratifying. Karl Popper’s *Open Society and Its Enemies* was produced by NOWa for the Krytyka Library. Boguta explained that it was an unquestionably important work which ought to be available to Polish readers. At the same time, he explained that it was not a light read and, due to the editorial and translation work requisite, expensive. Boguta quoted a price of 3,500 zł a copy before adding in NOWa’s printing costs. Although it was printed, NOWa’s editors could not remain deaf to readers if they were to stay in existence. William Forsyth’s *The Devil’s Alternative* was a thriller, KGB spy novel which NOWa published with *Vacat* in answer to popular demands; it was a money maker.¹⁰⁷²

History, especially that dealing with the recent past and Solidarity, programmatic texts and literature with political resonance were the most popular subjects and publishing houses which sought to remain in existence published these. *Karta* was a historical journal which was produced irregularly from January 1982. Its founders helped to create an Archive of the East to reconstruct the history of Poles deported east during and after the Second World War. By 1988, it had gathered about 130 memoirs, 450 hours of recordings and nearly 1,000 pictures. The

¹⁰⁷¹ “Listy do redaktora”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 207/208 (April 22, 1987) 3; “Mniej wpadek, więcej książek”, Interview with NOWa editors, 22-23; “Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu”, Interview with editors of NOWa, 153-154.

¹⁰⁷² Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 174-175.

Archive had 70 people working with it; while Warsaw was the hub, much work was also done in Wrocław. This was the type of work which the public sought.¹⁰⁷³

In 1984, Grzegorz Boguta cooperated with Marek Owsiniak and Andrzej Paczkowski in the founding of Archiwum Solidarność. It aimed to print materials related to Solidarity and Rural Solidarity including original documents, and secondary sources. Their first work was “Szczecin. December—August—December” which appeared in 1985.¹⁰⁷⁴ By 1986, it had printed ten volumes and won a Solidarity Cultural Prize. Archiwum Solidarności aided with the production of the NOWa microfilm publishing group.¹⁰⁷⁵

Indeed, a growing diversification of media occurred in successful publishing houses.¹⁰⁷⁶ NOWa, which celebrated its 10th anniversary in 1987, by which time it had published over 300 titles, was no exception. In the midst of martial law, FotoNOWa was established to produce images and graphics. In 1984, NOWa produced a George Orwell *Animal Farm* calendar. CDN also created a photography office.¹⁰⁷⁷

Stamps began to be produced by independent publishers, including NOWa. The idea for a “Solidarity post” arose in the first days of martial law. Thousands of different stamps were produced in print-runs in the thousands and tens of thousands; they were sold for about 50 zł each. Stamps became an important source for fundraising across the underground and a clear testament to the improving capabilities of independent publishers as they were often colorful and visually interesting. Many stamps were Solidarity focused and commemorated specific events in

¹⁰⁷³ B. Dąbr, “O losach Polaków na wschodzie. Z rozmowy z inicjatorem Archiwum Wschodniego”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 268 (October 26, 1988) 3.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ludzie Nowej*, 28; “Archiwum Solidarności”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 115 (January 31, 1985) 4.

¹⁰⁷⁵ “Nagrody Kulturalne Solidarności za rok 1986”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 198 (February 11, 1987) 1; “Związek powinien znać swoją przeszłość” a discussion with the editor of Archiwum Solidarności, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 211 (May 13, 1987) 2; “Wydawnictwa NOW & Arch”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 211 (May 13, 1987) 2.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ludzie Nowej*, 30; “10 lat Nowej”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 231 (December 9, 1987) 3; Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 175.

¹⁰⁷⁷ “Mniej wpadek, więcej książek”, Interview with NOWa editors, 23, 26.

the history of the movement as well as its leaders; they also portrayed political prisoners. The murdered Solidarity priest, Jerzy Popiełuszko was often depicted. History was also a popular topic; stamps commemorated the “Polish months” as well as Józef Piłsudski, the Polish eagle, the AK and the massacres at Katyń. Stamp sets were also made commemorating independent publishing itself including stamps for *Robotnik*, *Krytyka*, KOR’s *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, *Placówka*, *Spotkania*, *Zapis*, *Puls*, *Vacat*, *Wezwanie*, *Wola*, *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, *Solidarność Walcząca* etc. Stamps for the major independent publishing houses were also produced.¹⁰⁷⁸

NOWa was one of the few independent publishing houses which established non-print publishing projects. While in prison, the editors of NOWa, inspired by people from Radio Solidarity, came up with the idea to produce cassettes. NOWaKaseta first produced music tapes but moved on to produce tapes on historical and political topics as well. These were more expensive than books as publishing houses needed to pay for blank tapes, the printing of covers, recording and honorariums for the authors/singers. CDN also began producing tapes from late 1982. They produced music as well sermons by Jerzy Popiełuszko; they produced 25 titles. Szczecin Oficyna, WSKOS and Arka also moved into the production of independent tapes.¹⁰⁷⁹ In the spring of 1985, Boguta helped in the creation of VideoNOWa which was then led by Józef Chain. Several more firms moved into the production of videos.¹⁰⁸⁰ Costs related to intellectual property rights could be more pronounced with the production of non-print media; many cassettes and videos were pirate productions.¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁷⁸ “Pocztą Solidaności”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 125 (April 18, 1985) 3; “Zawiadomienie”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 128 (May 9, 1985) 4; Sylwester Skryba [Jacek Mulak], “Znaczkami ‘poczty Solidaności’”, *Obecność* 12 (1985) 55-57.

¹⁰⁷⁹ “Fonotek CDN”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 124 (April 11, 1985) 4; “Magnetofon jest antyrządowy”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 161 (March 6, 1986) 4; Discussion with Representatives of Committee of Independent Culture, March 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 65.

¹⁰⁸⁰ “Rozmowa z VideoNOWą”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 129 (May 16, 1985) 2; “Kino domowe”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 171 (May 22, 1986) 3; Krzysztof Gajda, “Między obiegami—Piosenka niezależna, 1976-1989” in *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989*, 45-50.

¹⁰⁸¹ “Chef niezależnego Video-Kina wypowiedział dla *Promieniści*”, *Promieniści* 106 (April 11, 1988) 1.

Przedświt, like NOWa, balanced the production of popular and ‘important’ works. Przedświt cooperated with NOWa in the production of a Critical Thought Library to include difficult but valuable works for an academic audience. The first volume in this series was to come from NOWa: Józef Feldman’s *History of Polish Political Thought During the Partitions*. However, the entire print-run was captured by the SB and NOWa then transferred it to Przedświt for publication. In addition, Przedświt produced a work on Polish-Belarusian post-War relations as well as a number of literary works, including Milan Kundera’s *Book of Laughter and Forgetting* which proved to be quite popular with readers.¹⁰⁸²

Przedświt’s real successes were in the publication of historical and Solidarity-related works. Przedświt published the bestseller of 1984 and 1985, *Konspira* which was a collection of interviews with Solidarity’s underground leadership including Bogdan Borusewicz, Zbigniew Bujak, Władysław Frasyniuk, Bogdan Lis, and Eugeniusz Szumejko. *Konspira* won the best book of 1984 award from Solidarity’s publishing workers and was re-printed in Paris by Spotkania. However, it did not win a Solidarity cultural award as the Solidarity Independent Culture Committee attempted to stay away from overtly political works in its endowment of awards. For that reason *Oni*, which was also published by Przedświt was not awarded. *Oni* was a collection of interviews with Communist party officials. It was a bestseller in the underground and, like *Konspira*, received an award from the Solidarity print workers. Przedświt distributed to Warsaw, Gdansk, Krakow, Wrocław and Szczecin and produced over fifty books by the spring of 1986 as well as seventeen issues of *Kultura Niezależna* and several issues of *Wezwanie*.¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁸² Cooperation with NOWa was likely aided by Krzysztof Siemieński, who in the fall of 1983 began cooperating with Przedświt after his arrest left him sidelined at NOWa [“Przedświt”, Interview of Vacat with Przedświt, 23, 26; Interview with Editors of *Krytyka*, November 1986 in *Struktury nadziei*, 34; “Z kronika Solidarności”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 125 (April 18, 1985) 3; Krzysztof Siemieński, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3835.html>; Jarosław Markiewicz, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3838.html>.]

¹⁰⁸³ “*Konspira* to po prostu świetna książka”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 118 (February 21, 1985) 3; “Przedświt”, Interview of Vacat with Przedświt, 22; “Nagrodach Kulturalnych Solidarności”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 157 (February 6, 1986)

Krąg was also productive and by late 1986, had produced about 110 works. In 1984, Krąg won a Solidarity cultural award. A SB raid in 1985 which resulted in the arrest of Krzysztof Tołłoczek as well as financial stress, led Andrzej Chojnowski to resign from working with Krąg. Andrzej Rosner then became editor-in-chief. Although the firm continued to work with an editorial council so that any loss could not conclusively destroy their publishing efforts, printing did slow down as a result of these losses and the exhaustion of some activists; by 1989, they had produced about 150 works.¹⁰⁸⁴

Despite Krąg's focus on history, it also produced non-historical books. Although the editors (like those at every publishing house) found literature less popular with readers, translations of Bohumil Hrabal's *Too Loud a Solitude*, Vassily Grossman's *Forever Flowing* and Georgi Vladimov's *Faithful Ruslan* were popular. All three works are not only good literature, but also had clear political overtones and were asked for years after they were first published. Krąg worked to produce the entire oeuvre of Józef Mackiewicz who also crossed the literary/historical line. Krąg cooperated with NOWa to produce Aleksander Wat's *My Century*. Krąg's entire print-run fell to the SB, causing the publishing houses to have different release dates. This work of personal history by a Polish literati proved very popular. Krąg cooperated with the Krytyka Library in the production of works by Adam Michnik, Jacek Kuroń, Vaclav Havel, Karl Popper, and Jan Wosleński. Krytyka did the translations and editorial work preparing these books, while Krąg did the printing. Krytyka also helped with the editorial and translation of historical works including Jean-François Steiner's *Warsaw 1944-Uprising*. This

3; Ajaz "Serce przebite *Konspira*", *Vacat* 27 (April 1985) 62; "Nagrody 'S' pracowników wydawnictw", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 172 (May 29, 1986) 3.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Paweł Sowiński, "Andrzej Chojnowski" in *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989*, vol. III, 56-57; "Trwale wartości kultury" Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseudo.) from Krąg Publishing house, 50-51; Andrzej Rosner in *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników*, eds. Andrzej Friszke and Andrzej Paczkowski (Krakow: Znak, 2008) 539.

work, reprints of Holzer's history of Solidarity and Krytyka Kersten's history of Poland in the 1940s remained important for Krąg as the editors noted that the production of one issue of *Krytyka*, made only 1 zł profit *before* the payment of printers and distributors.¹⁰⁸⁵

Oficyna Literacka produced about 90 titles and received a Solidarity cultural ward in 1986. They were one of the few publishing houses to focus on literature; they even produced poetry, including works by Zbigniew Herbert, Stanisław Barańczak and Adam Zagajewski as well as new comers such as Zbigniew Machej, Gwido Zlatkes and Bronisław Maj. Oficyna Literacka also produced re-prints of *Sublokator* by Hanna Krall, Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* and George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*. Jan Jozef Szczepański's *Kadencja* was a success and had a print-run of 7,500. Notable also was a hard cover edition of *Animal Farm* which was illustrated by Jan Lebenstein. With the exception of this work, all of their works were pocket sized.¹⁰⁸⁶

CDN published one of the most popular books of this period: Jan Jozef Lipski's history of KOR which was also produced by NOWa. Lipski's history won a Solidarity cultural award in 1984. CDN's focus, however, remained on serials especially after the 1985 arrest of its editor, Czesław Bielecki who was freed in September 1986. Tomasz Krawczyk served as interim chief.¹⁰⁸⁷

On November 28, 1985, CDN, Krąg, NOWa, Przedświt, WSKOS/KOS and Oficyna Literacka joined to create the Social Council of Independent Publishing Houses/Consortium of

¹⁰⁸⁵ [A. Chojnowski] interview "Wydawanie książek to bakcyl", 2; "Trwale wartości kultury", Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseudo.) from Krąg Publishing house, 47, 49-52; Interview with Editors of *Krytyka*, November 1986 in *Struktury nadziei*, 36-37.

¹⁰⁸⁶ The fact that Oficyna Literacka was almost a SB front may explain the viability of its printing poetry. [Discussion with Representatives of Oficyna Literacka, Krakow, April 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 132-134; Wojciech Frazik, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Krakowie po 13 grudniu 1981 roku" in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 39.]

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny. 274.

Independent Publishing Houses which established an Independent Publishing Fund. Irena Lasota became their primary contact abroad; she was responsible for the majority of funds sent from abroad between 1985 and 1989. The Consortium was intended to regulate prices and quality as well as to mediate conflicts and provide financial support within the independent publishing movement. By 1986, about forty publishing houses were cooperating with it.¹⁰⁸⁸

In 1987, the Consortium laid out conditions for qualifying for funds: a publishing house had to exist for at least one year, have produced at least twelve works either monographs or journal-style serials (ie. *Arka*, *Krytyka*, *Vacat* etc.), have published within the last nine months and observe the rights of authors and publishing houses. It included a reminder about the need to pay honorariums and that only NOWa had the right to freely re-print from the Literary Institute in Paris.¹⁰⁸⁹ All other publishing houses were supposed to pay 3% of their sales into a fund set up by the Literary Institute and NOWa for independent culture.¹⁰⁹⁰ The Consortium, through the control of monies, helped to encourage smaller publishers to meet their responsibilities in reference to intellectual property rights. This was important, as “gangster”, fly by night publishing ventures grew dramatically.

“Gangster” publishers were often individuals who had access to some form of printer and so decided to re-print a work which they found desirable. Some “gangster” operations simply existed for their own financial gain. Others were founded by people who didn’t even think of the need to pay authors as they saw themselves as fulfilling a social function. Others still felt the moral responsibility to pay authors, but had no idea how to get in touch with them/feared that doing so could alert the security services to their activities.

¹⁰⁸⁸ “Komunikat konsorcjum”, *Tygodnik Mazowze* 267 (October 19, 1988) 4; Jan Klicz [Joanna Szczęsna] with “O-Set”, “O sprawach podziemnego ruch wydawniczego”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 191 (December 12, 1986) 4.

¹⁰⁸⁹ “Komunikat Fundusz Wydawnictw Niezlaeznych”, *Tygodnik Mazowze* 222 (October 7, 1987) 4.

¹⁰⁹⁰ “Mniej wpadek, więcej ksiazek”, Interview with NOWa editors, 25.

An example of a publishing house which only with time paid for intellectual copyright was the Rytm publishing house. Rytm derived from the Solidarity Resistance Group which was led by Teodor Klincewicz (who had been a NZS activist at Warsaw's Polytechnic University and had connections to KOR) and was based in Warsaw. It was primarily composed of young workers and students who specialized in flyer drops in Warsaw but also did drops in Katowice and Wrocław.¹⁰⁹¹ The Group started out as part of Solidarity but then became independent. Initially, they relied on the large publishing houses in Warsaw to print materials for them but by 1982 obtained a printer from RKW Mazowsze. In average actions, they dropped 40,000 to 80,000 flyers. From February to June 1985 they had an especially large action and dropped over ½ million flyers in relation to new price hikes. Their record was dropping 45,000 flyers in an hour and 45 minutes. From 1985, they also produced their own serial flyer, *Kurier Mazowsze* (with help from Konrad Bieliński) which they dropped from rooftops. Around that time, they decided to form their own publishing house, Rytm, to print their serial and monographs. Rytm was directed by Marian Kotarski, a SB plant. Rytm published three books aimed at small children. Their fairytale about Santa Clause in the PRL was given to 50 workers' families for free as Christmas presents. Rytm also produced serials including *Tygodnik Mazowsze* with a print run of 2-4,000 a week. The publication and sale of stamps helped to fund the activities of Solidarity Resistance Group which by 1987, had about 100 to 200 individuals cooperating with them.¹⁰⁹² One of Rytm's first books was a re-print of a book by Jozef Anderman. In the fall of 1987, Anderman wrote an open letter complaining that Rytm had re-printed his work without seeking permission, without paying him and without even giving him a copy of his book. The

¹⁰⁹¹ For a time they used smoke bombs to conceal drops but stopped in 1985 out of fear of being charged with terrorism.

¹⁰⁹² Discussion with Chief of Solidarity Resistance Group, August 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 120-128; Piotr Izgarszew in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 108.

editors wrote to apologize, explaining that they were a new venture then but would now send him money and a copy of his book.¹⁰⁹³

The non-payment of authors sometimes reflected differences in age and experience. In 1986, Jan Krzysztof Wasilewski founded Wolna Spółka Wydawnicza (WSW) in Lublin. Wasilewski, who had earlier worked with *Spotkania*, insisted that it was important to him from the beginning to get permission from authors to print their works as, just “because something was not legal in the country, didn’t mean that I could steal the author’s rights.” He later received financial aid from the Consortium.¹⁰⁹⁴

The Independent Publishing Fund also provided money to the Respublica publishing house which was founded in 1986 and, like WSW, was in Lublin and founded by someone who had previously worked with *Spotkania*: Zygmunt Kozicki. Respublica maintained strong contacts with the emigration. Chojecki, gave them permission to reprint *Kontakt* in Poland. The editors of Respublica, in 1987, created the Józef Mackiewicz Oficyna. Mackiewicz was, at that time, one of the most popular authors. In his will, (he died in 1985) Mackiewicz allowed all independent publishers in Poland the right to publish his works. Respublica and the Józef Mackiewicz Oficyna, together produced about 60 works.¹⁰⁹⁵

In January 1985, Maciej Lukaszewicz founded *Wolne Pismo Most* with Anna Baniewicz. Both were journalists who had been fired due to state ‘verification’ procedures. Shortly thereafter they were joined by Dariusz Fikus and Małgorzata Taczanowska who had also lost their jobs. Tadeusz Markiewicz of NOWa helped them with equipment. In 1986 this group

¹⁰⁹³ Janusz Anderman, “Listy”, *Kultura Niezależna* 35 (November 1987) 125; “Listy”, *Kultura Niezależna* 39 (March 1988) 117; Zygmunt Kozicki in “Trud kolporterów”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 210.

¹⁰⁹⁴ WSW changes its name several times as a security measure. [Krzysztof Wasilewski, “Wolna spółka wydawnicza”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 147-149; Ewa Kuszyk-Peciak, “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy w Lublinie w latach 1983-1989. Wybrane wydawnictwa książkowe”, http://www.tnn.pl/rozdzial.php?id=554&idt_r=2478]

¹⁰⁹⁵ Piotr Kozicki and Zygmunt Kozicki, “Wydawnictwo Respublica i Oficyna im. Józefa Mackiewicza”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 151-155; Barbara Toposka Mackiewicz, “Oświadczenie” *Arka* 11 (1985) 132.

founded the publishing house Most. Most produced over a dozen monographs and several issues of *Kultura Niezależna* by the spring of 1988.¹⁰⁹⁶

Despite these successes, by 1987, the Most publishing house had become deeply divided. Marek Krawczyk who had worked with NOWa in the 1970s then the Głos publishing house during the Solidarity-era and martial law (when he wasn't in prison), had become connected to Most in 1985. During the mid-1980s, Krawczyk became the biggest procurer of paper in the underground, helping to supply NOWa, Krąg, Przedświt, CDN, Pokolenia, *CDN-Głos Wolne Robotnik*, *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, and *Wola*. However, he and Tomasz Cyngot had a falling out with Łukaszewicz and Andrzej Karczewski from Most. When they left to found a new publishing house, disagreements over the division of equipment and allegations that they had stolen equipment led to the creation of an arbitration commission which was composed of Konrad Bieliński, Grzegorz Boguta and Jan Kofman from NOWa. This commission not only helped in the division of the publishing house but bore testament to the self-governing abilities of independent publishers.¹⁰⁹⁷

PoMost was founded on March 25, 1988 from those who had split from Most. Although they did not agree with the decision of the arbitration committee, they accepted it and went on to become a successful firm. They took over the publication of *Kultura Niezależna* and produced the bestseller of 1988: a hardcover three volume edition of *Gulag Archipelago* for 12,000 zł.

¹⁰⁹⁶ “Komunikat”, *Kultura Niezależna* 39 (March 1988) last pages; *Ludzie Nowej*, 28; AL “Zobowiązaliśmy się dbać o wiarygodności dziennikarstw”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 15 (May 27, 1982) 3.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 204; Józef Darski and Paweł Sowiński, “Marek Krawczyk” in *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989* vol. III, eds. Jan Skórzyński, Paweł Sowiński, and Małgorzata Strasz (Ośrodek KARTA: Warsaw, 2006) 152-154; “Komunikat,” *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 249 (April 13, 1988) 3; “W skrócie”, *Brulion* 11/12 (Summer/Fall 1989) 202.

They followed this up with the 1989 bestseller, Jozef Czapski's *Swobodna Tajemna* which was printed with color images. Both Most and PoMost later joined the Consortium's board.¹⁰⁹⁸

In 1983, the Pokolenia Publishing House was founded by Waldemar Gniadek in Warsaw. The publishing house gathered youths who had once taken part in the "blizzard" fights with the police. CDN provided them with a printer. NOWa also supported them at times. Pokolenia cooperated with both the RSW and WiP milieus. They produced about 50 books by 1989; almost all of which dealt with 20th century Polish history or Polish literature. They also produced a number of issues of *Kultura Niezależna*.¹⁰⁹⁹

Aspekt remained important in Wrocław. In addition, Wers was founded in 1985 by Adam Borowski, Mirosława Łątkowska and Wiesław Żywicki in Wrocław. Printing was done in Warsaw. They produced dozens of books.¹¹⁰⁰

Toward the Round Table and June Elections

By early 1988, the quantity and pluralism of independent publishing continued to grow demonstrating that society was becoming more active and pluralistic. Openness increased in independent publishing as authors and editors again began signing their works. The views which they expressed were now much more radical than those which had been openly voiced prior to December 1981; demands for immediate political pluralism and a market based economy were norms. Public manifestations also increased as well as strikes in April and August 1988. Although these were started independently of Solidarity, Solidarity's leadership agreed to meet with the authorities in Round Table discussions. Not only did this decision lead to deep divisions within the Solidarity movement, but with Solidarity again acting openly and making a

¹⁰⁹⁸ "W skrócie", *Brulion* 11/12 (Summer/Fall 1989) 202; Editors of Wydawnictwo PoMost, "Oświadczenie", *Kultura Niezależna* 46 (December 1988) 159.

¹⁰⁹⁹ "Uciec od Babilonu", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 228 (November 18, 1987) 3; "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 152.

¹¹⁰⁰ Adam Borowski in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego* (Warsaw: IPN, 2006) 49.

bid for legality, divisions and suspicions were voiced in a variety of independent publications as the number of independent serials doubled between 1987 and 1989 (by which time over 1,200 serial titles were being produced). By the spring of 1989, fights over the elections, public manifestations in which increasingly radical demands were voiced and the growing number of independent publications indicated that civil society had fully emerged; the election results proved it.¹¹⁰¹

In January 1988, the editors of *Krytyka* began publishing their names. The editor-in-chief, Jan Kofman, was careful to insist, however, that their new openness was nothing like *Res Publica*'s, as *Krytyka* was committed to remaining an independent publication. Indeed, what *Krytyka* actually did was re-engage with its pre-martial law roots.¹¹⁰² Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont of *Tygodnik Mazowsze* noted in February 1988 that a number of independent publications had recently published the phone numbers of their editorial offices. She argued that if the political climate continued, more should follow Kofman's lead. In March, Andrzej Osęka, noted that "optimists" were calling for independent publishing to legalize, come into the open and "begin to act according to the principles of a free market." In 1988, *Arka* announced that it had a discussion club and printed the names of all of its attendees as well as the editors of their publication.¹¹⁰³

Simultaneous with increased openness in independent publishing, was a growing openness in Polish civil society as cities across Poland found their public spheres contested in early 1988. On February 16, 1988, Orange Alternative held a Rio de Janeiro Carnival themed Mardi Gras happening in Wrocław; it attracted 5,000 participants. The flyer invited inhabitants

¹¹⁰¹ *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 157.

¹¹⁰² "Mowi Jan Kofman, redaktor naczelny *Krytyki*", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 236 (January 27, 1988) 1.

¹¹⁰³ Anna Mól [Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont], "Prasa podziemna pod telefonem", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 238 (February 10, 1988) 3; "Club 'Arki'", *Arka* 24 (1988) 3; Andrzej Osęka, "Kuszenie drugiego obiegu", *Kultura Niezależna* 49 (March 1989) 3.

of the city to come to a carnival celebration wearing a mask, insisting that “the militia won’t be there and even if they are, they will celebrate with us!” Banners at the happening read “Open the Borders! We’ll run to Calgary” as participants chanted “Long live blue Smurfs!”¹¹⁰⁴ Orange Alternative-style happenings occurred in Poznan, Gdansk, Bydgoszcz, Łódź and Warsaw as Polish youth struggled for control of the public sphere. In March 1988, student protests were held in Krakow, Warsaw and Lublin in memory of the student protests of 1968; they were violently broken up. Also that month, Frydrych was arrested and received a 60-day prison sentence.¹¹⁰⁵ WiP continued to drop tens of thousands of flyers around the country in the spring of 1988.

Although a number of strikes had occurred in 1987, the spring of 1988 saw new, larger-scale strikes. In February 1988, the state announced a number of price hikes which led to popular protests throughout the country. On April 26, 1988, a strike was started at Nowa Huta. On May 2, 1988, a strike began at the Lenin Shipyard. Both started independently of Solidarity. Despite concerns that oppositional youth subcultures were anti-Solidarity, individuals from WiP, RSA and FMW went to the strikes to help with printing and the dissemination of independent information. In Gdansk and Krakow they spread flyers in schools. *A Cappella* appealed to its readers, “if you are not drunk, high on weed or tired from lovemaking” support the strikers. They explained that “a victory for them is a victory for us” since they support “our buddies” who are political prisoners.¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰⁴ Szymon N (pseud.) “Pomarańczowa Alternatywa—Karnawał Rio-Botniczy”, *Promieniści* 104 (February 29, 1988) 1; “Hokus Pokus”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 240 (February 24, 1988) 1; “Panorama Wrocławia”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 247 (April 20, 1988) 3.

¹¹⁰⁵ “Hokus Pokus”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 240 (February 24, 1988) 1; Czesława Mykita-Glensk, “Teatry Śląski i inicjatywy teatralne poza cenzurą (1976-1989)” in *Česká a polská samizdatová literatura/Czeska i polska literatura drugiego obiegu*, 196; Waldemar Fydrych, “Nie tylko sztuka i nie tylko alternatywa”, *Obecność* 24 [1988] 32.

¹¹⁰⁶ Print of flyer, *A Cappella* 9 [1988] 9; Anna Mól [Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont] & Marek Nowy, “Młodzież-wiosna 1988”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 256 (June 22, 1988) 3.

On the second day of the strike, Krzysztof Galiński of WiP went to Father Jankowski for permission to print at St. Brygyda's Church in Gdansk. It was given and Galiński began printing and coordinating the dissemination of information in Gdansk. Lech Koziak, the chief of the strike bureau of information at the shipyard noted that the Solidarity paper, *Rozwaga i Solidarność* was poorly organized, so he brought young people in to create a new factory bulletin.¹¹⁰⁷ Wojciech 'Jacob' Jankowski, Jarek Cieszyński, and Małgorzata Gorczewska printed in the ship yard. Jankowski noted that since the workers demanded the freeing of political prisoners, "I knew that I had to do what I could to help." He helped to print *Rozwaga i Solidarność* as well as posters and flyers. Klaudiusz Wesołek helped in printing and distribution.¹¹⁰⁸

On April 28 and on May 2, 1988, WiP held solidarity demonstrations in Krakow for the striking workers from Nowa Huta; security forces beat the students who participated.¹¹⁰⁹ WiP also helped directly in Nowa Huta. Grzegorz Surdy, in his apartment, together with Edward Nowak, created an official information exchange. WiP also created an information bureau at the ministry for the steelworkers at Szklane Domy in Nowa Huta. That Nowa Huta produced one of, if not the largest factory independent publication in the country helped.¹¹¹⁰ Although these strikes were defeated, the willingness of the youthful protesters to show solidarity with workers, was proven.

Activism by Polish youth continued after the end of the workers' strikes. By May, several stands were openly selling independent publications at Warsaw University. These sold works from PPS and KPN as well as *Tygodnik Mazowsze* and independent books. However, the

¹¹⁰⁷ "O Gdansku i stoczni", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 251 (May 18, 1988) 2.

¹¹⁰⁸ *Dezerter* 18/64 (May 30, 1988) 2; "WiP podczas strajków" *Dezerter* 17/63 (May 16, 1988) 1, "Strajk maj 1988", *A Cappella* 9 [1988] 8.

¹¹⁰⁹ Paweł Chojnacki, "Grupa Krakowska", *Promieniści* 127 (May 1989) 2.

¹¹¹⁰ "WiP podczas strajków", *Dezerter* 17/63 (May 16, 1988) 2.

open distribution of independent publications at Jagiellonian University, led to the suspension of several students.¹¹¹¹ A signal of change came in June, when the Sejm altered the military oath and the next month released the last WiP conscientious objector. Orange Alternative's, "revolution of the elves" on June 1, 1988, attracted 15,000 people. Its next actions were more overtly political. On June 27, 1988 an Orange Alternative happening in Wrocław was held in celebration of the release of PPS activists Józef Pinior and Czesław Borowczyk. Pinior made a speech while the PPS dropped flyers. On July 29, 1988, Orange Alternative organized a happening at the Czechoslovak border in commemoration of Poland's role in the 1968 invasion.¹¹¹² In July 1988, the Soviet Premier, Mikhail Gorbachev, visited Poland. He was met by NZS protesters from Warsaw University who dropped flyers and held placards demanding truth about Katyń, indemnity for 1939-1941, sovereignty for all the peoples of the USSR and the withdraw of the Red Army from Poland. The last three demands were perceived as so radical in 1981 that they were rarely even mentioned in independent publications; they were now being voiced on the streets of Warsaw in front of a Soviet leader.¹¹¹³

August 1988 proved to be even more dramatic than the spring had been. Every August, since the establishment of martial law, some form of protest or strike had broken out somewhere in Poland in commemoration of the August Accords. Those in 1988 were on a new scale. Most significant proved to be the strike in the July Manifesto mine in Jastrzębie. Although Silesia-Dąbrowska had been Solidarity's largest region between 1980 and 1981, the violence of the attacks on workers there in 1981/1982 as well as mass emigration (in a region in which many inhabitants had relatives in Germany) had left this former Solidarity strong-hold weak. Indeed,

¹¹¹¹ Anna Mól [Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont] & Marek Nowy, "Młodzież-wiosna 1988", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 256 (June 22, 1988) 3.

¹¹¹² Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution*, 189.

¹¹¹³ "NZS wita Gorbaczowa", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 258 (July 20, 1988) 1.

when the strike broke out, workers had not even initially demanded the re-legalization of Solidarity. Although the July Manifesto miners did not receive the outside support which Nowa Huta or the Lenin Shipyard did, students from WiP in Krakow came to run printing presses. Students also went to Stalowa Wola in the Carpathian Mountains which went on strike at that time as well as to Szczecin. Piotr Niemczyk coordinated public relations in Szczecin and called Radio Free Europe to keep them informed. These WiP activists were especially important as, in August 1988, the informal information network which had served the independent social movement since 1976 broke down when Jacek Kuroń's phone was shut off. At this time, the Solidarity Information Service (SIS) was created; about half of its core membership came from WiP, including Piotr Niemczyk and Barbra Hybacz from Gorzow.¹¹¹⁴ In Gdansk, *A Cappella* called on its readers to again support the workers who were striking across the country and created a special edition in the shipyard.¹¹¹⁵

Although these strikes had started independently of Solidarity and were often supported by those outside of Solidarity, the government had, as a result of them, begun talks with Solidarity's national leadership. In September 1988, Lech Wałęsa called for an end to the strikes as the government had promised to enter into negotiations with Solidarity. The strikes ceased demonstrating society's continuing faith in the Solidarity leadership, and in October 1988 preparations began for Round Table talks. Parodying, if not mocking these developments, Orange Alternative called a protest for September 1, 1988 with a flyer which asserted "We want to talk at the Round Table with the ZOMO! Viva Revolution!"¹¹¹⁶

In October 1988, Grzegorz Boguta and Adam Michnik, met with the public in a Warsaw University auditorium as representatives of NOWa. Michnik asserted that "our meeting today is

¹¹¹⁴ Padraic Kenney, *A Carnival of Revolution*, 234-237, 260.

¹¹¹⁵ "Strajk", *A Cappella* 13 [1988]; *A Capella* Special Edition [1988].

¹¹¹⁶ Waldemar Frydrych-Major, "Vivat rewolucja!", *Obecność* 23 (1988) 35.

an act of faith that something is changing for the better.” He insisted that “the relationship to the independent publishing movement is a test of the real intentions of the state authorities toward Polish culture” and claimed that we are moving to a place where each group of citizens who has the determination, can have their own publication. Boguta presented NOWa as having been a precursor to *glasnost* in having published Andrei Sakharov, Aleksander Solzhenitsyn etc. Boguta claimed that NOWa was again moving to open distribution and claimed that 15% of their products were being sold to universities, including subscriptions to *Krytyka*.¹¹¹⁷ By the spring of 1989, NOWa had produced over 400 works as well as dozens of cassettes and videos.¹¹¹⁸ At Warsaw University, it became normal for students to cite independent publications.¹¹¹⁹ Przemysław Czapliński noted that it would have been hard to have studied Polish at university in the 1980s without the independent press.¹¹²⁰

On December 15, 1988, Boguta transferred 200 books from about 30 different publishing houses to Warsaw University Library. Librarians promised that these would be made available to students.¹¹²¹ By late 1988, stands selling independent publications appeared not only at Warsaw University, but at Wrocław University, Jagiellonian University and Gdansk University as well as in Katowice.¹¹²² In January 1989, several independent publishing houses and major publications, (including CDN, *Krytyka*, NOWa, Oficyna Liberalów, Pokolenie, PoMost, Przedświt, Rytm, *Tygonik Mazowsze*, Wola, *Wolne Pismo Most*, and WSKOS) demanded an end to preventative censorship, freedom of speech and the equal distribution of supplies. These

¹¹¹⁷ Anna Mol [Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont] “Spotkanie z NOWą”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 269 (November 2, 1988) 4; Jolanta Rawska, “NOWa na uniwersytecie”, *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 123-124.

¹¹¹⁸ Jolanta Rawska, “NOWa na uniwersytecie”, *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 124.

¹¹¹⁹ “Drugi obieg”, Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski (Konstanty Gebert), *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 120.

¹¹²⁰ Przemysław Czapliński, “Dziedzictwo niezależności. Krotka historia komunikacyjnego podziemia” in *Literatura Drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989*, 11.

¹¹²¹ “W drugim obiegu”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 276 (January 4, 1989) 4.

¹¹²² “W skrócie”, *Brulion* 11/12 (Summer/Fall 1989) 202-3.

demands were significantly more radical than those in the 1980 demands at the Lenin Shipyard.¹¹²³

With new openness, old arguments came to the fore. Suggesting that workers' Solidarity-era suspicions toward intellectual control of publishing many have been reignited with Solidarity's bid for legality, Maciej Jankowski, a welder employed by Warsaw University, complained about Solidarity publishing. He argued that very little was included on pure union matters in union publications and contended that there was too much focus on polemics. He continued that it felt like some texts were addressed to a couple dozen friends of the editors rather than to the general public.¹¹²⁴

With the promise of elections, competition also heated up between Solidarity groups. The leaders of MRK S which criticized the Round Table talks, in November 1988, fired the editors of *CDN-Głos Wolnego Robotnika* for an alleged arrogant, Christian-patriotic tone and for the censorship of diversity.¹¹²⁵ While the new editors stopped going after the Communists as harshly as they had in the past, the new target of ire proved to be Bujak.¹¹²⁶

Indeed, many groups and milieus, through the pages of independent publications, expressed their opposition to the Solidarity leadership and the Round Table talks as they believed that after the events of December 13, 1981, it was foolish and wrong to again enter into negotiations with the state. Kornel Morawiecki insisted that any agreement ought to come with a full "anti-crisis package" to include the legalization of Solidarity, self-governance and a free market with the party ceasing its economic interference. He rejected meeting with the state when there were still political prisoners and continuing repression and raised questions about Wałęsa's

¹¹²³ "Oświadczenie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 277 (January 11, 1989) 1; "O wolność słowa", *Kultura Niezależna* 48 (February 1989) 163.

¹¹²⁴ Maciej Jankowski, "Ostatni moment na powrót", *Arka* 24 (1988) 68.

¹¹²⁵ "Próba rozłamu w Mazowszu", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 272 (November 23, 1988) 1.

¹¹²⁶ "Cdn?", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 280 (February 1, 1989) 2.

right to decide on an issue which effected all of society.¹¹²⁷ Others were unhappy with the direction toward which the leaders of Solidarity were moving. The editors of a youth publications, *Spartakus*, warned against the push toward a free market and re-privatization of property. They insisted that it would be PZPR leaders who would be in the position to benefit from such a change and that striking workers had sought control of their factories; not for them to move into private hands.¹¹²⁸

Despite protests from Fighting Solidarity, KPN, PPS, WiP and the Working Group of KK NSZZ Solidarity, on February 6, 1989, the Round Table talks began. The sub-group on mass communication met on February 17 and 25 as well as on March 4, 12, 18 and 22. Solidarity's delegates, like all of the Round Table delegates, were largely chosen by Wałęsa which led to allegations of a lack of popular representation. From official publishing houses, the sub-group included Krzysztof Kozłowski of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, Jacek Woźniakowski of Znak publishing, Marcin Król of *Res Publica* and Jacek Ambroziak who specialized in legal matters in Catholic publishing. Grzegorz Boguta, Jan Kofman and Adam Michnik represented NOWa. Helena Łuczywo of *Tygodnik Mazowsze* also participated. Kazimierz Dziewanowski, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Dariusz Fikus (who had worked in independent and official publishing) took part. Liquidation of the state's monopoly on mass communication and legalization for independent publishing remained the dream for these, society's representatives. However, the main goal in reference to independent publishing was an end to repression.¹¹²⁹

¹¹²⁷ Kornel Morawiecki, "Solidarność—Tak, wypaczenia—Nie", *Biuletyn Dolnośląsk* 83, [Late 1988/early 1989] 3; "Solidarność Walcząca nie zaakceptuje żadnych rozwiązań polegających na rezygnacji z NSZZ Solidarność", *Solidarność Walcząca* 188 (September 18-October 2, 1988) 1.

¹¹²⁸ Untitled article from *Spartakus* 1 reprinted in *A Cappella* 14 [Fall 1988] 2.

¹¹²⁹ Helena Łuczywo, "Między drugim a pierwszym obiegiem", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 287 (March 29, 1989) 3; Krzysztof Kozłowski, "Mass media" in *Szermierze okrągłego stołu. Zwątpienia i nadzieje*, ed. Paweł Smoleński (Paris: Spotkania, 1989) 62-63.

Bogdan Jachacz, a government representative, chaired the February 17, 1989 meeting; he emphasized the need for “responsibility in publishing.” Król responded that fears about irresponsibility in publishing were nonsense. Dziewanowski demanded, at a minimum, that there be a return to the censorship law of 1981. He raised the issue of independent publishing which he argued “saved the honor of Polish publishers” in their most difficult hour. Helena Łuczywo insisted that society needed access to mass communication if it was to begin to feel that the state was theirs; she emphasized the need for television access. Showing how radically society had shifted from August 1980, Boguta raised the issue of the legalization of independent publishing, commercialization of paper distribution, a free market in printing equipment and an end to the state’s monopoly in publishing houses and distribution. Jerzy Urban flippantly responded that underground publishers could become legal as long as they paid taxes and obeyed the censor. Challenges related to paper shortages were raised by government representatives.¹¹³⁰

On February 25, 1989, the importance of radio and television access, particularly in light of proposals for new elections, was discussed. As for independent publishing, Bogdan Jachacz noted that “hundreds of bulletins” are full of hatred and an anti-Soviet ethos; he specifically referenced WiP. Michnik defended WiP, arguing that in Western countries pacifists were allowed to publish without the state collapsing. He passionately insisted that the actions of the state toward publishing were immoral and unnatural and questioned why specifically Czesław Miłosz and George Orwell were forbidden. Kofman called for a full moratorium on the repression of independent publishing and the creation of conditions so that within two years

¹¹³⁰ Krzysztof Kozłowski, “Mass media” in *Szermierze okrągłego stołu. Zwątpienia i nadzieje*, 65; Helena Łuczywo, “Co nasze to nasze”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 283 (February 22, 1989) 1-2; *Okrągły stół: Dokumenty i materiały* vol. III, 156, 158-159, 161, 164, 176, 178.

independent publishing could cease. However, he insisted that in the current conditions independent publishing was still needed.¹¹³¹

As these meetings continued, a more moderate stance was taken by society's representatives. Helena Łuczywo insisted that just as in 1981, it was obvious that the union press would not be censored. However, she also claimed that Michnik's call for a full end to censorship would be an irresolvable source of conflict with the state.¹¹³²

By the time the Round Table talks closed on April 5, 1989, it was agreed that Solidarity would be legalized while new elections would be held on June 4, 1989 for the Sejm and a second legislative body, the Senate. In the Sejm, 65% of the seats were guaranteed to go to the those on state lists from the PZPR, ZSL, SD and the other satellite parties. 35%, or 161 Sejm seats, were to be freely contested. All one hundred senate seats would be contested. In addition, a president would be elected for a six-year term from these bodies. On April 8, 1989, a Solidarity Citizens Committee was formed (it was appointed by Solidarity's leadership) which urged Solidarity in every region to form a similar organization to find candidates for the upcoming elections.¹¹³³ On April 17, 1989, Solidarity was legally registered. On April 20, 1989, Rural Solidarity was registered.

Society also gained the right to mass communication. It was agreed that new titles and publishing houses could be created and that some monthly and quarterly theoretical and educational journals could be published without any censor. The government avowed that it would continue its new "liberal policies" toward independent publishing, meaning that repression ceased. Solidarity obtained permission for a weekly newspaper, regional weeklies

¹¹³¹ Helena Łuczywo, "Którędy do telewizji?", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 284 (March 1, 1989) 1-2; *Okrągły stół: Dokumenty i materiały* vol. III, 186, 194.

¹¹³² "Obrady KKW", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 286 (March 15, 1989) 2.

¹¹³³ "Dokument Komitetu Obywatelskiego," *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 290 (April 12, 1989) 1.

and a daily election paper; these would be censored. The opposition also gained the right to a minimum 30 minute television broadcast and 60 minute radio broadcast every week. It was also agreed that by January 1, 1990 there would be a free market in paper. The free market was, however, scary for some delegates; Krzysztof Kozłowski pointed out that the market meant a new reliance on monies which would be a further challenge. These achievements were perceived as minimal and most independent publishers opted to remain underground.¹¹³⁴

On April 12, 1989, the last issue of *Tygodnik Mazowsze* appeared as its producers had offered their services to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Solidarity's new daily paper. The editors in their farewell addressed acknowledged that while it was a time of uncertainty, a new situation had arisen and while the upcoming elections were not democratic they could be won or lost so it was time to take a risk.¹¹³⁵ They, for the first time, listed the names of their editors.¹¹³⁶ *Wola* then became the organ for RKW Mazowsze.¹¹³⁷

On April 19, 1989, the NZS at Krakow's Polytechnic hosted Grzegorz Boguta and Rafał Zakrzewski from *Krytyka*. Boguta called for a group to bring together the strength of

¹¹³⁴ "Mass media", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* Special Edition 289 (April 12, 1989) 2; Helena Łuczywo, "Między drugim a pierwszym obiegiem", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 287 (March 29, 1989) 3; Paweł Smoleński, *Szermierze okrągłego stołu. Zwątpienia i nadzieje*, 68, 70-71.

¹¹³⁵ "Redakcja *Tygodnika Mazowsze*", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 290 (April 12, 1989) 1; Leon Bober [Andrzej Kaczyński], "Piękna była przygoda", *Kultura Niezależna* 61 (May 1990).

¹¹³⁶ Tomasz Burski (pseud. Tomasz Chudy) who had also been editor of *Wezwanie* (1982-1987) had been on the editorial board from 1985. Zofia Bydlińska-Czernuszczyk who had worked at NOWa and been at *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from the beginning. Wojciech Kamiński (pseud. alex) had been at *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from 1984 after having worked on AS during the Solidarity-era. Anna Kruczkowska-Bikont (pseud. Anna Mól) had worked at NOWa and then with *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from its founding. Krzysztof Leski (pseud. K Pajka) had been at AS and then *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from 1982. Helena Łuczywo (pseud. Paweł Hofer) who had edited *Robtonik* then AS was then editor-in-chief of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. Piotr Pacewicz (pseud. FF-Feliks Felicki) had cooperated from 1982 with *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. Joanna Szczęsna (pseud. Jan Klincz) who had worked on KOR's *Biuletyn Informacyjny* then AS was with *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from its inception. Marta Woydt (pseudo. Jag; Jagna Jagman) had helped to found *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. Ludwika Wujec (psued Michal Kos) had worked at *Robotnik* then *Niezależność*, then AS and then finally with *Tygodnik Mazowsze* from 1982. Piotr Bikont, Agata Niewiarowska, Małgorata Pawlicka, Brygida Bytkowska, Elżbieta Regulaska, and Gwido Zlatkes had been on the editorial board at various points. Olga Iwaniak, Joanna Kluzik and Wojciech Świdnicki had helped from the August 1988 strikes. ["W *Tygodniku Mazowsze* pracowali", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 290 (April 12, 1989) 4.]

¹¹³⁷ Justyna Błazejowska, "Chiałem mieć w ręku broń" – Zadrukowane kartki papieru. Pisma pozacenzuralne 1980-1989/1990 in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny. Ed. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010) 232.

independent publishers as he discussed the impending challenge of independent publishers competing with official publishers.¹¹³⁸ Indeed, with support from the Consortium of Independent Publishers, in the spring and summer of 1989, Stowarzyszenia Wolnego Słowa was founded as a fully independent organization to form uncensored book clubs, discussion groups, libraries, and bookstores as well as organizations for directors and authors in a drive toward parity between independent and official publishing. Piotr Sz wajcer was president.¹¹³⁹

On April 22-23, 1989, the fourth Congress of the Independent Press was held in Stalowa Wola. It was the first Congress to be held after martial law. The delegates called for continued underground press initiatives and for the re-birth of factory bulletins. They also called for the Solidarity Fund for Independent Press Initiatives which had been founded in November 1988 by the Solidarity leadership to, with the legalization of Solidarity, act further.¹¹⁴⁰

On May 8, 1989 *Gazeta Wyborcza* began publishing with a print-run of 150,000. It included individuals from *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, SIS and WiP. Adam Michnik was editor-in-chief. On May 9, 1989, the television program, "Election Study of Solidarity" first aired. On June 2, 1989, a re-activated *Tygodnik Solidarność*, under the editorship of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, reached newsstands. In addition, a number of independent publishers helped in the creation of electioneering materials, including posters and flyers; these were openly distributed.

As hundreds of new independent publications emerged, the elections became a point of contention in their pages. Despite the official support of the Solidarity leadership for the

¹¹³⁸ J.Z., "NOWa wypełzanie na powierzchnię", *Promieniści* 156 (May 1, 1989) 2.

¹¹³⁹ Leon Bober [Andrzej Kaczyński], "Informacja", *Kultura Niezależna* 51 ([Summer] 1989) 164; P. Ch. "Stowarzyszenia wolnego słowa" *Promieniści* 129/130 ([Summer?] 1989) 4; "Do uczestników Walnego Zjazdu Delegatów Stowarzyszenia Wolnego Słowa", *Kultura Niezależna* 56 (December 1989).

¹¹⁴⁰ The board included Wojciech Adamiecki, Bogdan Borusewicz, Władysław Frasyniuk, Andrzej Grajewski, Stefania Hejmanowska, Maciej Koloski, Maciek Lopinski, Grazyna Stanisze wska, Maciej Szumowski and Jarosław Szczepanski. ["Fundusz Inicjatyw Prasowych S", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 271 (November 16, 1988) 1; "Komunikat Rady Funduszu Inicjatyw Prasowych "S"", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 288 (April 5, 1989) 4; Leon Bober [Andrzej Kaczyński], "Informacja", *Kultura Niezależna* 51 ([Summer] 1989) 164.]

elections, a variety of independent social groups, including some connected with Solidarity rejected them. Fighting Solidarity insisted that the elections were undemocratic and so called for an election boycott.¹¹⁴¹ RKS Solidarity in Wrocław also supported a boycott.¹¹⁴² A number of anti-election protests were organized for May 1. In Wrocław, Fighting Solidarity and PPS-RD organized protests which attracted 8-9,000 people. In Gdynia, they with FMW, organized protests which attracted about 2,000 people. In Gdansk, approximately 10,000 people gathered under the slogan “We will not go to the elections”. Andrzej Gwiazda, Anna Walentynowicz and Tadeusz Szczudłowski spoke against Wałęsa and the elections. In Jastrzębie, about 7,000 people gathered to call for a boycott of the election. Brutality by the security services toward the protesters engendered further protests and opposition to the elections.¹¹⁴³

RSA, WiP and NZS organized a number of student protests in the spring of 1989.¹¹⁴⁴ In Krakow, in particular, the violence of student protests escalated. On April 20, 1989, NZS called for nation-wide public protests for the legalization of NZS. In Krakow, students gathered on the main square, demanding free elections. They burned a pile of official newspapers and chanted “Newspapers today; committees tomorrow!” They then moved to the Soviet consulate where they chanted “Soviets go home”, “Free Lithuania” and “Free Russia”.¹¹⁴⁵ On May 16, 1989, Marek Kurzyniec’s WiP student action group staged their first anti-Soviet demonstration in Krakow’s main square. They chanted “Soviets go home” and threw rocks. On May 17, 1989, the protests continued with thousands of flyers demanding punishment for those responsible for repression; state-sponsored brutality continued. These protests became so heated that the

¹¹⁴¹ Kornel Morawiecki, Jadwiga Chmielowska, Roman Zwiercan, “Nasze stanowisko”, *Solidarność Walcząca* 201 (March 20-April 2, 1989) 1.

¹¹⁴² “RKZ NSZZ “Solidarność” Regiony Dolny Śląsk wyzwa do bojkotu wyborów!”, *Solidarność Walcząca* (May 8-14, 1989) 1.

¹¹⁴³ “1-Majowe demonstracje”, *Solidarność Walcząca* 205 (May 8-14, 1989) 1-2.

¹¹⁴⁴ “Anarchia w Warszawie”, *Homek* 38 (June 1989) 2; *Promieniści* 123 (March 13, 1989) 2.

¹¹⁴⁵ “Kraków w natarciu”, *Solidarność Walcząca* 205 (May 8-14, 1989) 4.

Regional Solidarity Committee in Małopolska called on WiP and NZS to desist from public manifestation during the election; in exchange they were promised printing equipment and money. On May 23, 1989, an occupation strike started in Warsaw University when NZS was turned down for registration.¹¹⁴⁶

On June 4, 1989, the elections were held with a 62% voter turnout. Of the 261 seats which were contested, Solidarity's Citizens' Committee received 252 outright; nine required a second round of voting. During the second round of voting which had a measly 26% voter turnout, Solidarity's Citizens' Committee gained 8 more seats. The state lists had 296 in the Sejm while Solidarity had 162. In the Senate, Solidarity Citizens' Committee had 99 seats while the PZPR had one. The break-up of seats for those on state lists in the Sejm were: PZPR 173, ZSL 76, SD 27, PAX 10, Union of Christian-Society 8, Polish Union of Catholic-Society 5. Despite dissension in its ranks, Solidarity had won every but one contested seat.

Logistics

As in the period from 1976 to 1980 and during the Solidarity-era, it is difficult to reach conclusive figures on the number of independent publications produced between December 1981 and June 1989. However, Joanna Bachtin and Stefania Skwirowska's figures have been used throughout this chapter to give a sense of general trends with independent serial publications. In total, they placed the number of serials titles at over 3,000 for this period.¹¹⁴⁷ At the outset of martial law, it is likely that at least several hundred serials were in print. These often carried information which had been broadcast on Radio Free Europe, were openly anti-state, connected to Solidarity and had bulletin-like formats. With time, the majority of these publications ceased. Dawid Warszawski explained that people weren't interested in multiple

¹¹⁴⁶ "W skrócie", *Brulion* 11/12 (Summer/Fall 1989) 236; "Dyskusja 'starzy' i 'młodzi' *Promieniści*" & "Wydarzenia", *Promieniści* 128 (May 29, 1989) 1.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 157.

publications with the same information, telling them that “we’re lovely and the reds are crap” and that with time independent publishing became more responsive to the market while print-runs stabilized.¹¹⁴⁸ Although many publications were short-lived, hundreds were in publication at any one time. While the majority of publications had some connection to Solidarity, as Solidarity de-centralized and diversified, so too did Solidarity publishing. Moreover, an increasing number of publications were entirely independent of Solidarity as serials became more pluralistic and concentrated on a variety of foci.

The number of monographs grew substantially during this period. Between 1981 and 1986, there were an estimated 3,725 printings of monographs. It is fair to estimate that about 5,000 printing occurred by 1989. Many of these printings were multiple printings of popular works.¹¹⁴⁹ Joanna Szczęsna, in the summer of 1987, met with a number of distributors to discuss which books could be found on the independent market in Warsaw. She noted that about 100 titles from around 40 publishing houses were available. She remarked on the popularity of Józef Mackiewicz as an author and found that recent history was the most popular topic although World War II history was popular as well. She also found interest in works by Russian, Czech and Hungarian dissidents.¹¹⁵⁰

It is also important to mention the flyers which blanketed the country at different times. Through these, millions gained contact with independent publishing even if most of the populace did not perceive them as such. These also served to contest the public sphere in a way which traditional independent publications did not and reminded recipients that opposition continued.

¹¹⁴⁸ “Drugi Obieg”, Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski (Konstanty Gebert), *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 115.

¹¹⁴⁹ Bożena Wyrozumka, “Wbrew cenzurze” in *Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie*, 19.

¹¹⁵⁰ Jan Kłincz [Joanna Szczęsna], “Rajd po skrzynkach”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 218 (July 15, 1987) 3.

The number of publishing houses is difficult to gauge. Often publishing houses would appear and publish one of two works then disappear again; hundreds of such “gangster” publishing houses appeared. Only about a dozen publishing houses were really large scale. In 1987, a representative from the Consortium of Independent Publishers estimated that there were about 100 publishing houses in existence.¹¹⁵¹

Readership can also only be estimated. In 1983, in a discussion with Solidarity’s leaders organized by *Arka*, one participant asserted that across the country, millions were taking part in discussions, distributing independent publications and paying dues. He/she claimed that in large enterprises 30-70% of the work force more or less regularly had access to union publications while in smaller concerns 10-50% of the workforce did.¹¹⁵² According to independent groups in Krakow, in Poland in 1989, there were about 3.5 million readers of the independent press. David Warszawski, more conservatively argued that it was likely to have been about 1.5 million readers. He claimed that even 2 million seemed too high as individuals who read the independent press often read more than one publication. Moreover, there was major fluctuations during this period of eight years. For instance, in Silesia-Dąbrowska, the independent press had all but disappeared in the mid 1980s, but when strikes started in 1988 so did interest in independent papers.¹¹⁵³ Adam Mielczarek reporting on a poll from 2005, estimated that about 26% of the population over the age of 15 had contact with independent publishing in this period. 11% (or over 3 million people) had regular contact. 8% read publications sometimes, while 7%

¹¹⁵¹ “Przedświt”, Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, 22; “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy”, *Kultura Niezależna* 28, (February 1987) 31.

¹¹⁵² *Arka* 2 (1983) 3.

¹¹⁵³ “Drugi obieg” Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski (Konstanty Gebert), *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 115-116.

did sporadically. His conclusion that readers were primarily located in the cities was backed up by contemporary impressions and is certainly correct.¹¹⁵⁴

In December 1985, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* provided a poll for readers about how to improve their publication.¹¹⁵⁵ When, in March 1986, it published the results of the poll based on analysis of 707 respondents, they found that *Tygodnik Mazowsze*'s readership was predominantly young (72% of respondents were under 40), male (61% of respondents) and Warsaw-based (68% of respondents). When asked which other publications their readers read, only 20% responded factory publications. 50% also read *KOS*, 35% read *Wola*, 18% read *CDN*, 12% read *Wiadomości* and 8% read *Vacat*. Almost all respondent also had access to independent books; the most popular were *Konspira* and *Oni*. The frequency with which readers read other papers, suggests that indeed, independent publishing, was often focused on core groups who sought multiple independent publications.¹¹⁵⁶

In June 1986, *Promieniści* published a poll of its readers; 85 of whom responded. According to it, the readers found the best publishing houses to have been NOWa followed by Krąg and Przedświt. The best serial was noted as *Krytyka*, followed by *Arka* and *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. The most popular author was Józef Mackiewicz although *Gulag Archipelago* was the most sought book. *Oni*, *Konspira* and *Animal Farm* were also quite popular. Polish history and literature were unquestionably the most popular subjects. Although the value of this poll is clearly limited due to the narrow number of respondents, the conclusions reflect other observations about what independent publications were being read and sought.¹¹⁵⁷

¹¹⁵⁴ Adam Mielczarek, *Śpiący Rycerze* (Stworzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2006) 21.

¹¹⁵⁵ "Ankieta *Tygodnika Mazowsze*" *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 150/151 (December 12, 1985) 5-6.

¹¹⁵⁶ "Ankieta TM", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 163 (March 20, 1986) 1.

¹¹⁵⁷ "Ankieta bibuła *Promienistych*", *Promieniści* 76 (June 2, 1986) 2.

A radical change in independent publishing in this period was the shift toward original works. Independent publishers were partially able to attract original works because they were able to produce them much faster than official publishing houses. Initially, it took Krąg two to four months to publish works. They received Tadeusz Mazowiecki's *Internowanie* in October 1982, and by November it was on the street. Yet, this speed lagged in the mid 1980s after state repression damaged their printing capabilities.¹¹⁵⁸ In 1984, Przedświt was able to take texts from manuscript to market in about three months. They even took over the production of some works from Krąg because the authors wanted them published more quickly than Krąg was able.¹¹⁵⁹

The rapid production of independent publications was partially possible because of the massive number of people involved in the production of independent publications. The editors of Krąg estimated in 1986 that as many as 2,000 people could be involved in production at their publishing house. They estimated that about 100 people were involved in editorial work, 400 in technical work with additional hundreds in distribution; many of these would have worked with a number of publishing houses and publications.¹¹⁶⁰ While there was overlap in publishing house workers, tens of thousands of people were likely involved in the production of independent publications in this period. Dawid Warszawski noted that in Warsaw alone there were thousands of people who were able to set up printing locales in their homes and screen print. Those who were active in independent publishing frequently had earlier ties to Solidarity. Most were young (under 40) and urban. Women frequently played dominant roles in editing. However, printing was mostly done by young men, both workers and students.¹¹⁶¹

¹¹⁵⁸ "Trwale wartości kultury" Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseudo.) from Krąg Publishing house, 48.

¹¹⁵⁹ "Przedświt", Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, 23, 25.

¹¹⁶⁰ "Trwale wartości kultury" Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseudo.) from Krąg Publishing house, 48-49.

¹¹⁶¹ "Drugi obieg" Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski (Konstanty Gebert), *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 115, 120.

Most monographs and journal-like serials followed similar printing techniques and patterns to those established earlier and so primarily relied on off-set printers and ditto machines. Some machines had been salvaged from martial law. In Mazowsze, Piotr Izgarszew, with his sister, Ewa, saved the machine which was used to produce *Niezależność* (which she had worked on); it first went to Krąg and then to Helena Łuczywo.¹¹⁶² Many other machines were smuggled in from abroad (Belgium, Sweden, France, Czechoslovakia etc.). Other machines were purchased on the Polish black market or hobbled together. Production continued to take place primarily in detached homes and country houses. Some also printed covertly on state printers. Secrecy was, however, heightened. In Lublin, for instance, Jan Magierski served as the one contact between most editors and printers; no one knew each other until 1988.¹¹⁶³

While NOWa had, prior to Solidarity, moved its printers frequently, more stable 'print shops' were created after December 13, 1981. NOWa continued to maintain several locales. Boguta insisted that while this meant they could not move as quickly as some other publishing houses, they were more immune to state repression. Indeed, most publishing houses had only one machine and so had only one printing locale.¹¹⁶⁴

A major change in serial production was that, in contrast to earlier periods when the print-run of any publication was usually produced in one locale by one publishing venture, numerous large-scale serial publications were produced in a variety of places by different publishing ventures. Editors would send matrices to each 'print shop' which was then responsible for gathering its own paper and ink. This sub-contracting prevented the confiscation of entire print-runs, diminished the need for the centralized collection of supplies and aided the de-centralization of distribution. *Tygodnik Mazowsze* which had an average print-run of about

¹¹⁶² Piotr Izgarszew in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 99, 101.

¹¹⁶³ Andrzej Pleszczyński in "Druga redakcja Informatora", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 137.

¹¹⁶⁴ Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 167.

50,000 was produced in a couple dozen printing places; each would pay for matrices and then print independently. The main office only produced about 30% of the whole print run. *KOS*, which had basic a print-run of 10,000 in Warsaw, was re-printed in regional sections so that the print-run reached closer to 20,000 fully. *Robotnik* sent out matrices for printing to a number of factories. Although this pattern of production was primarily used by serials with larger print-runs, even some books were produced at different locales. Moreover, some publishing houses, by cooperating in the publication of monographs, could take over the publication of a work if it was confiscated.¹¹⁶⁵

De-centralization of printing was made possible by the screen-printing methods which had been first developed for *Robotnik* in 1978. Numerous independent publications provided their readers with direction in screen printing; *Tygodnik Mazowsze* included an article in September 1982 describing how to screen-print at home.¹¹⁶⁶ In addition, chains were built with one person teaching another how to screen-print, and so on along the lines. Schools were also created. Adam Kersten taught enough people to screen print that he earned the nickname “Lord Komfort” after the laundry detergent used to make screen-printing ink.¹¹⁶⁷ Screen printing also provided a fall back option if printing equipment was confiscated. For instance, the Solidarity bulletin in Białystok was screen printed when their printer was confiscated. However, by 1985,

¹¹⁶⁵ “Moi I Z” “O drukowaniu *Tygodnika*”, Discussion with chief of printing at *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 201 (March 4, 1987) 3; Zbigniew Bujak in Zbigniew Bujak: *Przepraszam za ‘Soldiarnosc’*, 93; Discussion with editors of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, February 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 162; Interview with editors of *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, “Na karku trzecia setku”, *Promieniści*, 89 (May 13, 1987) 1; Arkadiusz Kutkowski in “Drukarze i drukarnie”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 178. “Drugi obieg” Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski (Konstanty Gebert), *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 121; Discussion with the Editor of *Robotnik* in *Struktury nadziei*, 101; Discussion with editors of *Wola* in *Struktury nadziei*, 104.

¹¹⁶⁶ “Wszyscy robimy afisze, plakaty, ulotki”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 26 (September 15, 1982) 4.

¹¹⁶⁷ Wojciech Guz in “Drukarze i drukarnie”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 183; Wiktor Tomasz Grudzień and Paweł Skokowski in “Technika druku”, *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 192, 193.

Wujek had their publication produced in Warsaw on a printer.¹¹⁶⁸ Another strength of screen-printing was that it was easily done in city apartments.

Binding continued to follow similar patterns to earlier periods. Most publications were small serials and so had no binding mechanism. Smaller publishing ventures bound works where they were created. Larger firms, such as NOWa, continued to collect publications from printers and then distribute them to binders from where they were sent to distributors.

Distributors continued to work with various publishing ventures and often took a percentage (10%) of sales as payment. However, it was usually distributors at the top who took pay; the lowest rungs often took nothing, particularly those who distributed newspapers and bulletins. Distribution relied heavily on personal contacts which served to limit it geographically and socially. Distribution remained focused in large cities; particularly those where publications were produced. While during the Solidarity era, a significant portion of works went to libraries, with the loss of Solidarity factory structures, many of these disappeared. Library subscriptions did continue, but most publications went to individuals.¹¹⁶⁹ As earlier, publications were usually divided between several “wholesale” distributors who then sub-divided these works through their own separate networks. At CDN, publications were divided between five to eight distribution points which were mostly private homes. Andrzej Kiepuski explained that publications were always put in bags rather than loose in the trunks of cars as it was believed that if you were stopped for a search, a militiaman could turn a blind eye if they weren’t on obvious display.¹¹⁷⁰ Some creative methods were found for distribution. Piotr Jegliński helped to organize the

¹¹⁶⁸ Stanisław Marczuk in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 174.

¹¹⁶⁹ “Mniej wpadek, więcej książek”, Interview with NOWa editors, 24; “Trwale wartości kultury”, Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseudo.) from Krąg Publishing house, 48; “Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu”, Interview with editors of NOWa, 153-154; K.G. Buntowszczyk, “Bibuła szmal i złudzenia”, *Promieniści* 86 (February 16, 1987) 1.

¹¹⁷⁰ Andrzej Kiepuski in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, 119.

release of thousands of balloons with miniature *Spotkania* books in 1982. In 1985, he had thousands of packages with books dropped off of a boat near the Polish coast.¹¹⁷¹

The greatest change in logistics between the pre- and post-Solidarity era came in funding and repression which proved, at times, to be linked. With the onset of martial law, independent publishing was largely financed from the pockets of the initiators and their friends and provided for free. However, by the mid-1980s, a proto-capitalist market arose. As readers became increasingly fastidious, publishing houses competed with each other to maintain competitive prices on desirable products. Moreover, the creation of original works meant increased costs in terms of honorariums. At NOWa, 10-30% of the cost of publications went to authors, editors and translators.¹¹⁷²

As new publishing houses arose, increased demands were placed on supplies, especially paper. Amid growing inflation and demands, the price of paper rose dramatically. Even NOWa could not maintain its self-sufficiency. Boguta explained that while VideoNowa was not self-sufficient, funds transferred from the sales of cassettes made it viable. He continued that the production of books was self-sufficient *excepting* the cost of printing machines which had to be purchased in the West with hard currency then smuggled into Poland; these were paid for by foreign funds.¹¹⁷³

The Consortium of Independent Publishers was partially founded to deal with financial woes. Initially, 45% of the Consortium's funds were to be spent among Consortium members, 45% to smaller publishing houses and 10% was to be kept in reserve.¹¹⁷⁴ In 1986, 46 firms were

¹¹⁷¹ Piotr Jegliński, in "Technika Druku", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 198; "Kalendarium środowiska *Spotkań*", *Scriptores* 39 (Lublin, 2011) 15, 16.

¹¹⁷² "Listy do redaktor" *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 207/208 (April 22, 1987) 3; "Mniej wpadek, więcej książek", Interview with NOWa editors, 22-23; "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 153-154.

¹¹⁷³ Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 175.

¹¹⁷⁴ "O sprawach podziemnego ruchu wydawniczego", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 191 (December 12, 1986) 4.

given grants (30 outside of Warsaw); these produced about 250 monographs that year. In 1987, the Consortium helped 90 firms, $\frac{3}{4}$ of which were in Warsaw.¹¹⁷⁵ By 1988, about 75% of money went to the strongest firms and 25% to smaller firms which meant it resigned from the earlier divisions of 45/45/10.¹¹⁷⁶ Boguta claimed that during its existence, the Consortium disposed of about \$380,000 or over an estimated 300,000,00 zł.¹¹⁷⁷

The Consortium attempted to help in regulating costs. Paper prices sky rocketed during the 1980s. While the first Congress of independent printers in 1981, had decreed that an A5 page should be 1 zł, by 1984, most publishing offices charged about 2 to 3 zł per A5 page. In 1986, the Consortium announced that an A5 page should cost 3.60 to 4 zł. In 1987, the price cap was raised to 4.50 zł per A5 page. By 1988, the Consortium asserted that publishers should charge 8 zł per page for printing an original work on A5 paper and 6 zł for re-prints. The editors of NOWa explained that before martial law, officially, a ream of paper was 36 zł, but that by 1984 it was 250 zł; this wasn't even touching on black market prices. An A4 ream of 500 pages in Krakow reached 3,500 zł on the black market by late 1988. Boguta contended that the procurement of paper became NOWa's greatest challenge. Jarosław Markiewicz of Przedświt agreed and explained that he would drive hundreds of kilometers to find paper (making cars necessities) and that all close friends and family collected paper for him. Jan Magierski claimed that at *Informator*, the catchword was 'paper is needed.' They stole, collected from friends and drove miles to bigger cities or smaller towns to procure paper. All agreed that independent publishing print-runs were limited above all else by paper deficiency.¹¹⁷⁸

¹¹⁷⁵ "Komunikat Społecznej Rady Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowiecki* 232 (December 16, 1987) 4; "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy", *Kultura Niezależna* 28 (February 1987) 33.

¹¹⁷⁶ "Zasady funkcjonowania Funduszu Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowiecki* 244 (March 23, 1988) 5.

¹¹⁷⁷ The conversion for the dollar averaged 865 zł 25 gr during this period. [*Ludzie Nowej*, 29; Cecylia Kuta,

"Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*, vol. II Ruch społeczny, 300.]

¹¹⁷⁸ "Mniej wpadek, więcej książek", Interview with NOWa editors, 24; Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 173; Jarosław Markiewicz, <http://www.Przedswit.org/1564/3838.html>; Jan Magierski and

The rapid increase in the cost of paper and the need for purchasing equipment abroad was very much a result of state repression. However, independent publishers often blamed each other for their financial woes. Publishing houses which received monies from abroad were better able to meet the new financial challenges. Those which didn't obtain foreign funds sometimes alleged that it was foreign money which drove up market prices on printing supplies. Accordingly, disputes arose over the way that money being sent from abroad was distributed amid charges of corruption, centralization and favoritism of the political left.¹¹⁷⁹

Although the Consortium was envisioned as a means of helping with financial challenges, it was not met with universal acclaim. The *Głos* publishing house refused to cooperate. The leaders at *Głos* rejected the Consortium's price limits, insisting that every publishing house was self-financing and so had the right to determine its own prices based on the market. They claimed that, "as supporters of a market economy and free trade" they were concerned that the Consortium was acting as a cartel. They pointed out that of the original members of the Consortium, none of those which were based in Warsaw had ever published anything by Józef Mackiewicz or Piotr Wierzbicki although both were very popular with readers. Both authors were politically conservative; these allegations therefore mirror complaints laid at NOWa from 1977 and point to suspicions of control of independent publishing by the left. Similarly, an article in *Stańczyk* argued that the fund was socialist and that while those who created it may have had the best intentions, so did Lenin. Janusz Korwin-Mikke of *Oficyna Liberalów*, alleged that those who disposed of funds were trying to force the future Poland to be

Jan Krzysztof Wasilewski in "Technika druku", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 196, 197; "O sprawach podziemnego ruchu wydawniczego", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 191 (December 12, 1986) 4. "Komunikat Funduszu Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 222 (October 7, 1987) 4; "Komunikat", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 264 (September 21, 1988) 4; "W skrócie", *Brulion* 7-8 (Summer/Fall 1988) 223.

¹¹⁷⁹Wiktor Tomasz Grudzień and Paweł Skokowski in "Technika druku", *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 201.

socialist; he implicated NOWa in this context.¹¹⁸⁰ Anna Kowalska in a scathing review of Stefan Bratkowski's "Damski Pokój", which was published in a collection of works by Rytm, attacked the publishing house itself for publishing hack works. She insisted that they received support from RKW Mazowsze and had received 200,000 zł from the Consortium; she therefore demanded to know concretely how funds were divided.¹¹⁸¹

Both the editor of *Głos* and Korwin-Mikke were right in believing that some members of the Consortium was working for a Communist Poland, they were just wrong in who they suspected. While the editor of *Głos* suggested that he or she had a more favorable stance toward *Oficyna Literacka* by noting their publishing of Mackiewicz, the editor of *Oficyna Literacka*, Henryk Karkosza, was the SB informant in the Consortium. Realizing that the defeat of independent publishing was impossible, the SB sought to control it through infiltration. Karkosza and his handlers were proud of their work in attempting to politically restraining the Consortium through him. Henry Głębocki suggested that Karkosza, by having access to funds from the state as well as the ability to have his "competition" arrested, was "able to control the underground publishing market in Krakow and Małopolska."¹¹⁸² Karkosza and Leszek Maleszka, another informant on independent publishing in Krakow, were also able to track supply routes into Poland further allowing for the defeat of any competition.¹¹⁸³ In 1989, Krąg and WSKOS left the Consortium and were replaced by representatives of Pokolenia, Pomost and

¹¹⁸⁰ 'GUS-lar', "Ceny książek u Fundusz Kultury Niezależnej", *Kultura Niezależna* 21 [August 1986] 74-76; Sebastian Ligarski, "Działania Urzędu Bezpieczeństwa i Służby Bezpieczeństwa wobec prasy niezależnej w latach, 1945-1990" in *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL*, 151; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 217.

¹¹⁸¹ "Listy do redakcji", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 224 (October 21, 1987) 6; "Fundusz Niezależnych", *Stańczyk* 3 (1986) 52.

¹¹⁸² Henry Głębocki in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" –*Żywy Równoległy*", eds. Ewa Zając and Henry Głębocki (Warsaw: IPN) 100; Ryszard Terlecki, "Monika", *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 50 (March 2005) 55.

¹¹⁸³ Henry Głębocki in "*Ketman*" i "*Monika*" –*Żywy Równoległy*", 102.

Myśl. Marian Kotarski (pseudonym of Marian Kępalski) of Myśl was also a SB agent, proving Kowalska's suspicions toward the publishing house well founded.

It bears underlining that while state repression did clearly impact the form and logistics of independent publishing, the plurality of independent publishing prevented control. The Consortium's board had more than one member making decisions. Furthermore, Czesław Bielecki, editor-in-chief of CDN, suggested that NOWa actually controlled the funds when he noted that he had the feeling that the real decisions were made by Boguta, Michnik and Kofman alone. As a result, Bielecki argued that certain publishing houses made alliances. For instance, he explained that CDN and PoMostu would make an agreement to vote against Boguta.¹¹⁸⁴ Karkosza's boasts to his superiors about his influence in the Consortium should be put in this context; it seems that rather than controlling independent publishing, state funds made possible the continuing presence of independent Polish poetry. Furthermore, the allocation of funds could influence publishing, but it could not determine who chose to participate etc. Indeed, Kotarski had first been sent to infiltrate MRK S as it was less moderate than the TKK and so perceived as more dangerous; it continued to publish throughout this period despite him.

A representative from the Consortium responded to the allegations from Głos. He insisted that while he was, in principle, in favor of a market economy, he also sought limits. He insisted that this was especially the case with independent publishers who were in a "kind of war" and so constantly dealt with state repression and confiscations so that it was impossible to rely entirely on the market. The author continued that "[i]n the entire independent movement, that which is private continually penetrates into that which is society's" and insisted that publishing houses were not really self-financing since they received social funds. He concluded

¹¹⁸⁴ Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 213, 215.

that the Consortium could not function as a cartel since its members lacked discipline.¹¹⁸⁵ K.G. Buntowszczyk (pseudonym) argued similarly that “conspiracy does not agree with a free-choice economy.” He claimed that liberalism was predicated on rule of law which did not exist for independent publishers.¹¹⁸⁶

In addition to the Consortium, some cities outside of the capital also produced their own subsidizing initiatives. In Lublin, a Fund for Social Initiatives was created which sold stamps as a means of gathering money which it could then use for its own printing needs and to support other publishing efforts. They produced a number of interesting stamp sets; some with print-runs as high as 10,000. Andrzej Peciak, of Lublin, reminisced that Warsaw was significantly better funded than the provinces.¹¹⁸⁷ Publishers in Wrocław expressed similar opinions. The OKNo Committee was created from various independent cultural, educational and environmental groups in Wrocław on the idea that Warsaw didn’t spread money fairly.¹¹⁸⁸ In addition, a Lower Silesia Publishing Fund was founded in December 1987.¹¹⁸⁹

In 1986, an Independent Publishing House Insurance Fund was founded by NOWa, CDN, the Independent Culture Committee, and *Tygodnik Mazowsze*. PoMost and Rytm also became active. It was directed by Adam Piechowski and insured equipment, cars and even personnel which meant that it would pay state fines. It became really active in 1987, insuring fifteen groups (five outside of Warsaw.) In the first half of 1987, it had gathered 1,655,000 zł (about 3/5 from gifts rather than subscriptions) and paid out 1,972,000 zł. In the second half of

¹¹⁸⁵ ‘J.S.’, “Czy niezależność nie może być wspomagana?”, *Kultura Niezależna* 21 [August 1986] 78-81.

¹¹⁸⁶ K.G. Buntowszczyk, “Bibuła szmal i złudzenia”, *Promieniści* 86 (February 16, 1987) 1.

¹¹⁸⁷ Andrzej Peciak, Paweł Bryłowski, “Fundusz Inicjatyw Społecznych” *Scriptores* 36 (Lublin, 2009) 159, 163.

¹¹⁸⁸ “Panorama Wrocławia”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 247 (April 20, 1988) 3

¹¹⁸⁹ “Komunikat Rady Dolnośląskiego Funduszu Wydawniczego”, *Obecność* 21 (1988) 22.

1987 it paid out 4,025,000 zł with a deficit of 1,216,000 zł. In the first half of 1988, it expended 8,042,000 zł to 22 firms. In the second half of 1988, it gave 30 firms 15,654,000 zł.¹¹⁹⁰

In the move toward the Round Table, the Solidarity Press Initiatives Fund was created in the fall of 1988. By April 1989, it had given out over 26,000,000 zł. Recipients included a variety of types of publications. Not only were regional Solidarity publications given money, but so were cultural journals such as *Brulion*, factory papers like *Hutnik*, and the punk journal *QQRŸQ*.¹¹⁹¹

Repression

During martial law, independent publishers dealt with repression on a new scale. Every week individuals were arrested for possessing, producing and distributing independent publications. Punishments were unpredictably varied. Prison sentences of three to five years were the norm although some individuals received shorter sentences. Notoriously, Ewa Kubasiewicz-Houée received a ten year sentence for possessing a flyer which she had helped to produce in the first days of martial law. In the same instance, Cezarek Godziul received six years for independent publishing activities; this was the longest sentence for a student. Indeed, sentences were varied and could be passed on those who simply had a few publications as well as those who produced publications. Despite continuing arrests, in April 1982, 1,000 internees were amnestied.¹¹⁹²

¹¹⁹⁰ "Fundusz Ubezpieczeniowy Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 156 (January 30, 1986) 5; "Komunikat Funduszu Ubezpieczeniowy Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 217 (July 15, 1987) 4; "Komunikat Funduszu Ubezpieczeniowy Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 253 (June 1, 1988) 4; "Komunikat Funduszu Ubezpieczeniowy Wydawnictw Niezależnych", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 267 (October 19, 1988) 4; "Komunikat FUWZ," *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 285 (March 8, 1989). 4.

¹¹⁹¹ The board included Wojciech Adamiecki, Bogdan Borusewicz, Władysław Frasyniuk, Andrzej Grajewski, Stefania Hejmanowska, Maciej Koloski, Maciek Lopinski, Grazyna Staniszevska, Maciej Szumowski and Jarosław Szczepanski. ["Fundusz Inicjatyw Prasowych S", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 271 (November 16, 1988) 1; "Komunikat Rady Funduszu Inicjatyw Prasowych "S"", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 288 (April 5, 1989) 4.]

¹¹⁹² Ewa Kubasiewicz-Houée in *Szminka na sztandarze*, 193, 202; Ewa Kubasiewicz-Houée, *Bez Prawa Powrotu* (Wrocław: Wiktory, 2007) 60, 78-79.

In May 1982, NOWa printer, Jan Narożniak was shot while trying to escape arrest. In June, colleagues from MRK S arranged his escape from hospital. He then disappeared into the underground although his doctor was arrested.¹¹⁹³

In August 1982, the authorities pursued two concerted attacks on publishing. On August 3, 1982, 30 house searches occurred during which five type writers, 25 liters of ink, 32 reams of paper, a screen-printing frame six matrices and other equipment as seized. On August 5, 1982, house searches of 55 people in 61 places were held. The security services confiscated nine typewriters, 279 reams of paper, 50 liters of ink, two screen-printing-frames, and 20,000 monographs. Charges were then brought against a number of individuals. Eight people from NOWa were arrested and the printing locale at Falenica was compromised. Bądkowski explained that they weren't as careful in maintaining secrecy at this locale (which is where *Tygodnik Mazowsze* was printed) as at Trocinowa Street and he believed that this was why they were caught. In December 1982, Adam Karwowski of Krąg was arrested and three print runs of *KOS* as well as printing supplies were confiscated.¹¹⁹⁴

However, it was the Solidarity leadership who were the primary focus of the state's ire.¹¹⁹⁵ Those with ties to KSS-KOR and KPN were harshly prosecuted.¹¹⁹⁶ Radio Solidarity was also targeted.¹¹⁹⁷ Of course, many of these people had also worked in independent

¹¹⁹³ "Jan Narożniak", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 17 (June 9 1982) 1.

¹¹⁹⁴ Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 168; "Mniej wpadek, więcej książek", Interview with NOWa editors, 22; Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja*, 184; Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 271; Paweł Bąkowski, "Kiełbasa, kapusta, polka" in *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, o emigracji, o osobie*, 187.

¹¹⁹⁵ In December 1982, Andrzej Gwiazda, Seweryn Jaworski, Marian Jurczyk, Karol Modzelewski, Grzegorz Palka, Andrzej Rozpłochowski and Jan Rulewski from Solidarity's leadership, were arrested at that time. State authorities continued to seek the underground leaders of Solidarity. When Frasyński was captured, Józef Pinior took his place in the Lower Silesia Solidarity leadership.

¹¹⁹⁶ In October 1982, Leszek Moczulski received a 7 year prison sentence, Romuald Szeremietiew and Tadeusz Stanski got 5 years and Tadeusz Jadzinskak received a 2 year sentence for their work with KPN.

¹¹⁹⁷ In July 1982, the SB captured Zofia Romaszewski, the organizer of Radio Solidarity in Warsaw as well as Joanna Szczęsna, Anna Owczarska, Zbigniew Kobłyński and Roger Nöell (a Belgian courier who supplied them). In August, Zbigniew Romaszewski, the chief of Radio Solidarity was found and arrested. In March 1983, Zbigniew

publishing. Accordingly, determining for which activities they were in reality being prosecuted was difficult. Zbigniew Bujak noted that although Ewa Kulik and Helena Łuczywo (who had gone underground at the outset of martial law) were not on an equal place of authority within the union as he, they were sought in the same way. He explained that this was because both were accomplished independent publishers prior to August 1980 and had the ability to build underground publishing anew. This they did.¹¹⁹⁸ Urszula Doroszevska was also fiercely sought, assumedly for the same reason.¹¹⁹⁹ Joanna Szczęsa who had gone underground meaning that she could not see her three year old son, was captured after several months and sat in prison for three months until being amnestied.¹²⁰⁰ In October 1982, Jacek Kuroń, Jan Lityński Adam Michnik, and Henryk Wujec, who were in internment, were officially arrested. Charges were also brought against Mirosław Chojecki and Jan Józef Lipski. It is fair to assume that at a minimum, Mirosław Chojecki's real "crime" was independent publishing. He stayed abroad although Lipski returned to the country where he was imprisoned.

The Vice-Minister for Internal Affairs, General Bogusław Stachur announced in December 1982 that since the imposition of martial law, the security services had liquidated 360 places for the production of independent literature, taken 1,196 different types of printing equipment, 468 typewriters, 730,000 flyers, 340 brochures and publications, and 4,000 posters. In addition, they had liquidated eleven Solidarity radio stations, interned 10,131 people and arrested 3,616 individuals. A significant number of arrestees were related to publishing since this was Solidarity's main oppositional activity during this period.¹²⁰¹

Romaszewski received a 4.5 year prison sentence, his wife received 3 years and 4 others who stood trial with them received prison sentences between 1.5 years and 2.5 years.

¹¹⁹⁸ Zbigniew Bujak in *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za 'Solidarnosc'*, 82.

¹¹⁹⁹ Urszula Doroszevska, "Romowa o życiu pełnym przygod", 95.

¹²⁰⁰ Joanna Szczęsa, "Byłam w środku", *Arka* 24 (1988) 89.

¹²⁰¹ *Encyklopedia Solidarność*.

In the spring of 1983, the state again pursued major attacks on independent publishers. A NOWa printing locale was raided and Adam Grzesiak, Krzysztof Siemieński and Mateusz Wierzbicki were arrested, two offset printers were seized and an entire print run of *Vacat*, Bor-Komorski's *Polish Underground State* and Józef Feldman's *History of Polish Political Thought During the Partitions* were seized.¹²⁰² With the end of martial law in July, all internees were released as well as a number of arrestees.

Although internment ceased in 1983, arrests for publishing continued on a significant scale. On March 27, 1984 Jerzy Urban announced that there were then 427 political prisoners in Poland; many were connected to publishing. In March 1984, Marek Nowakowski was arrested. Also that spring, Jarosław Markiewicz was arrested. At the Polish border, Jack Challot a French unionist was caught bringing printing supplies into the country for NOWa; he received two years in prison. In May 1984, the editorial board of *Enklawa/Oficyna WE* was uncovered and arrested after which time their publishing house ceased. In June 1984, Urszula Doroszweska was arrested.¹²⁰³

Although all “political prisoners” were released in the amnesty of July 22, 1984, those who had been sentenced for “criminal behavior” remained in prison. These included Bogdan Lis who had been charged with betraying the fatherland and Józef Pinior who had been charged with theft because of his having helped Solidarity Lower Silesia to hide funds before martial law. Likewise, a group of publishing activists in Huta Katowice (Andrzej Kisieliński, Lesław Porek, Michał Luty, Andrzej Niewiara, Jerzy Milanowicz, and Andrzej Stółarczyk) remained in prison awaiting trial as they had been charged with stealing since they had hidden Solidarity printing

¹²⁰² Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 167-168.

¹²⁰³ “Kronika bezprawia” *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 92 (June 21, 1984) 3; Jarosław Markiewicz, <http://www.Przedświt.org/1564/3838.html>.

equipment and used it for underground printing.¹²⁰⁴ In March 1985, they received sentences of between two and a half and three years in prison as well as fines.¹²⁰⁵

Individuals continued to produce independent publications and be arrested for these activities, so that the number of political prisoners in Poland rose immediately after each amnesty. The editors of NOWa described 1984/1985 as the period of the most drastic repression. In May 1985, the SB uncovered two NOWa offset printers, seized 5,000 copies of a book by Charles Bukowski and arrested Emil Broniarek, Andrzej Gorski and Tadeusz Markiewicz; each was sentenced to six months in prison. These seizures cost NOWa 5 million zł. This loss was a result of Janusz Gorski, Andrzej's brother, who informed to the SB.

Indeed, the state continued to use infiltration to direct and destroy independent publishing. Most notable in this respect were Lesław Maleszka who continued to be active in independent publishing in Krakow and had contact with *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, *Arka* and *Kontakt* in Paris; from 1987-1989 he co-edited *Bez Dekretu*. Maleszka also helped with strike bulletins in 1989 and *Gazeta Wyborcza* when it was founded. In 1986 and in 1988 he went to France to help in de-conspiring the emigration. He was invited by Bronisław Wildstein; Robert Kaczmarek, Mirosław Chojecki and Andrzej Miętkowski were all also abroad. Maleszka reported on their personal circumstances. Henry Karkosza was a SB plant and leader of Oficyna Literacka who was on the board of the Consortium. Marian Kotarski was a SB agent and led Rytm Publishing house. Both focused on limiting independent publishing.¹²⁰⁶

During the summer of 1985 a peak in trials of independent publishing activists occurred. Activists received prison sentences ranging from six months to two and a half years as well as

¹²⁰⁴ Kret, "Listy do redakcji", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 107 (November 22, 1984) 4.

¹²⁰⁵ "Pracownicy Huta Katowice sądzeni na 'kradzież' maszyn drukarskich należących do związku—na wolności", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 123 (March 28, 1985) 1.

¹²⁰⁶ Henry Głębocki in "Ketman" i "Monika" —*Żywotny Równoległe*", 109, 121.

fines. Such trials occurred every week and so received little coverage in the independent press. In October 1985, Jerzy Urban noted that there were 363 political prisoners in Poland; most of these were independent publishers who continued to struggle for change outside of the limelight and without fanfare.¹²⁰⁷ Much greater coverage was given to the repression of Solidarity's leaders; many of these had ties to independent publishing, including Seweryn Blumsztajn,¹²⁰⁸ Bogdan Lis, Adam Michnik,¹²⁰⁹ Bogdan Borusewicz¹²¹⁰ etc. The same was true of the leaders of KPN who had been amnestied and then were re-arrested and sentenced in 1986.¹²¹¹

In May 1986, independent publishing took a serious hit with repression. That month, Mariusz Wilk, who had co-edited *Konpsira* and the regional Gdansk Solidarity paper was arrested.¹²¹² In addition, Zbigniew Bujak was arrested along with Konrad Bieliński and Ewa Kulik (who led Mazowsze's independent printing offices). Bujak's arrest was a shock for many as he had become legendary for evading the state authorities and remaining underground for so long.¹²¹³

On July 22, 1986 another amnesty was announced; the entire Solidarity leadership was released. However, several lesser known individuals remained in prison, including Wojciech

¹²⁰⁷ "Obraz roku 1985", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 153 (January 9, 1986) 1; "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, 151, 153; Interview with Grzegorz Boguta, November 1987 in *Struktury nadziei*, 168; *Ludzie Nowej*, 29; Cecylia Kuta, "Niezależny ruch wydawniczy, 1980-1989" in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. vol. II Ruch społeczny, 311.

¹²⁰⁸ Blumsztajn had organized Solidarity's Press Bureau abroad. When he attempted to return to Poland in February 1985, he was turned away at the border. ["Seweryn Blumsztajn", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 116 (February 7, 1986) 1.]

¹²⁰⁹ Frasyniuk, Lis and Michnik were re-arrested in the summer of 1985 on charges of conspiring with the TKK while meeting with Wałęsa. Frasyniuk received 3.5 years in prison, Lis 2.5 years and Michnik 3 years ["Procesy polityczne", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 135 (July 11, 1985) 3; "Więźniowie polityczni", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 136 (July 25 1985) 4; "Za druk i kolportarz", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 137 (August 8, 1985) 1; *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 118 (February 21, 1985) 1.]

¹²¹⁰ He was captured in January 1986

¹²¹¹ Moczulski and the other leaders were sentenced to two to four years in prison. ["Wyroki w procesie KPN", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 168 (April 24, 1986) 1.]

¹²¹² "Aresztowania", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 171 (May 22, 1986) 1.

¹²¹³ "Aresztowanie", *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 173 (June 5, 1986) 1.

‘Jacob’ Jankowski for refusing military service. Bogusław Daszkiewicz who had been convicted of stealing printing equipment also remained behind bars.¹²¹⁴

Just as independent publishers adopted new style and methods in the mid- to late-1980s, so too did the state authorities in their repression of independent publishing. Instead, of sentencing people to prison sentences which attracted negative international attention and yet still had not halted independent publishing, the state began imposing massive financial penalties. The state even confiscated cars which were found to be used for distribution. In the PRL, where individuals waited years to obtain a car, such a seizure was a serious disincentive. Furthermore, as the employer, the state was able to garnish wages to recoup the fines levied on individuals.

This effort toward bankrupting independent publishing out of existence was first visible in late 1986 when fines of between 15,000 and 50,000 zł were imposed on independent publishers in Radom, Lublin and Szczecin. In Krakow, 19 people were together given a fine of 974,000 zł for possessing *Tygodnik Mazowsze*.¹²¹⁵ In three months, eight cars were seized.¹²¹⁶ However, the seizure of cars stopped after a few months. For one thing, activists began using taxis.¹²¹⁷ Fines, however, continued. In the spring of 1987, the state kept up the pressure on publishers with fines of about 50,000 zł per person for independent publishing. In October 1987, four WiP protesters were fined 80,000 zł each.

By late 1988, the repression of independent publishers slacked and by 1989, it all but ceased with the beginning of the Round Table talks. However, sporadic seizures continued, maintaining the sense of insecurity.

¹²¹⁴ “Niw wyszli z więzienia”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 181 (September 24, 1986) 1.

¹²¹⁵ “W myśl nowej strategii represji”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 190 (December 13, 1986) 3.

¹²¹⁶ “Arbitralne konfiskaty”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 194 (January 14, 1987) 1-2.

¹²¹⁷ “Z Art. 52a”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 205 (April 1, 1987) 2; “Z Art. 52a”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 206 (April 8, 1987) 1; “Zadyma”, *A Cappella* 7 (October 16, 1987) 7.

Conclusion

The dramatic changes wrought by the Polish election of 1989 were not immediately clear in Poland or abroad. Indeed, Solidarity's leadership agreed, through the Sejm, to elect Genreal Jaruzelski president. This decision led Fighting Solidarity to organize protests against Jaruzelski's candidacy for president on June 22, 1989 in Wrocław. In the following week, they also aided in the organization of protests in Katowice, Poznan, Gdansk, Rzeszow, Opole, Nowa Huta, Gdansk, and Bielsko-Biała. On June 30, 1989, in Warsaw, Fighting Solidarity, LDP-N, MRK S, KPN and FMW organized protests against Jaruzelski's election. These led to brutal beatings by the ZOMO and serious injury to a reporter from *Gazeta Wyborcza*.¹²¹⁸ On July 3, 1989, *Gazeta Wyborcza* carried Adam Michnik's article "Your President, Our Premier" supporting the proposal that Jaruzelski be elected president. The Sejm soon after elected Jaruzelski president after he resigned from all of his party functions. On August 24, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was elected Premier. By that time, a new Solidarity government had been created after the SD and ZSL deputies broke their alliance with the PZPR and formed a government with Solidarity Citizens' Committee.

Polish politics had, since the Second World War, been constrained not just by the PZPR, but by their backer, the Soviet Union. Indeed, it was fear of the fraternal guns to the East that had guaranteed that Solidarity's representatives remained as self-limiting as they did. Reflecting this awareness, on July 25, 1989 about thirty protesters blocked the entry to the building of the chiefs of the Soviet army in Legnica, passing out flyers in Russian and Polish.¹²¹⁹ Such a move was unprecedented.

¹²¹⁸ "Jaruzelski musi odejść!", *Solidarność Walcząca* 212 (July 10-23, 1989) 3.

¹²¹⁹ "W skrócie", *Brulion* 11/12 (Summer/Fall 1989) 236.

For many, the Berlin Wall remained “a symbol of manipulation, imprisonment and slavery—also for us” Poles. On August 13, 1989, RSA and the Inter-City Anarchists organized a happening in Gdansk for the anniversary of the building of the Berlin Wall. People came out carrying cardboard pieces, representing the wall. They put border guards on either side who gave warnings and “shot” at on-lookers. At last, a group of “freedom fighters” broke through the “wall.” The protesters then marched through the city, passing out 5,000 flyers demanding the end of barriers between people, passports for everyone, as end to censorship and restraints on state power.¹²²⁰ On October 5, Polish-German Solidarity organized a protest in Krakow’s main square of a few hundred protesters demanding the dismantling of the Berlin Wall. Banners read “Freedom for East Germany. Protesters shouted “Soviet Panzers Raus!” As they handed out flyers, which read that the war has been over for 45 years and the Germans have a right to a country like everyone else, some older citizens, just as they had in Gdansk, expressed doubts about both the Germans having a united country and young people getting involved in issues beyond their borders.¹²²¹ However, the events in Poland proved to be part of a cascade of events.

In the months after the June election, history seemed to speed up. By November 9, 1989, not only had Gdansk youth charged through a cardboard wall, but East Germans had danced atop the Berlin Wall. By the time change reached Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel, a frequent contributor to Polish independent publications, a one-time editor of *Krytyka* and repeated image on Solidarity stamps, was made president. On June 9, 1990, the Sejm officially liquidated the censorship office.¹²²² Independent publishing had already begun to cease as censorship had in actuality withered away in the wake of the election and the events of the fall of 1989.

¹²²⁰ Zbigniew Sajnog, “Klatka, karabin, komputer”, *Brulion* 11/12 (Summer/Fall 1989) 206-207; “Informacje”, *Homek* 39 (Vacation 1989) 4.

¹²²¹ “Mury runą?”, *Promieniści* 131 (October 16, 1989) 3.

¹²²² *Ludzie Nowej*, 31.

Conclusion

Through independent publishing, Polish civil society between 1976 and 1989, created something extraordinary within the Soviet bloc. Independent publishing not only provided Polish society with a medium for free speech, it also provided the populace with a means of connecting, acting with social solidarity, and experiencing self-governance and proto-capitalism. Andrzej Osęka described it as “an island where people learned things such as democracy, economy and independent decisions.”¹²²³ Accordingly, independent publishing was not just created by civil society but actually helped to engender Polish civil society as well.

When independent publishing began in 1976, Polish society, after thirty years of Soviet-rule, was largely atomized. Independent publishing provided an opportunity for new social links. The initiators of the independent press, the democratic opposition, were largely urban, left-leaning intellectuals. They directed their publications not only to intellectuals, but, reflecting the prevailing Marxist-emphasis on class, also created publications for rural communities and for workers. These publications allowed for cross-class social links. As distribution networks developed, oppositionists from across the country bridged geographic gaps as well. The procurement of supplies encouraged the development of international bonds. This was a period of uncertainty but also excitement. Adam Zagajewski perhaps characterized it best when he wrote that “the opposition in the seventies also published—as everyone knows—periodicals, novels and collections of poems; however in this copious library, it is impossible to find as great a tome as the one that wrote itself...”¹²²⁴

The first independent publishers produced both monographs and serials. The emphasis was on creating high-quality goods which would fill in the “blank spots” in state-run education.

¹²²³ Andrzej Osęka, “Kuszenie drugiego obiegu”, *Kultura Niezależna* 49 (March 1989) 7.

¹²²⁴ Adam Zagajewski, *Solidarity and Solitude*, trans. Lillian Vallee (New York: Ecco Press, 1999) 22.

The first books were mostly re-prints from the émigré press and focused on Polish literature and history. Serials were primarily socio-political in character. These publications were more than examples of free speech; they were calls to action. Historical texts reminded readers of the Polish past which was sprinkled with national uprisings; they tacitly encouraged contemporaries to act for freedom and independence as had their forefathers. Serials, in focusing on the need to create an independent society through open, independent social initiatives, pointed readers in how to act concretely. They called for further printing, social self-help, free trade unions and independent groups for students and peasants. Independent publications, by printing contact information for these groups as they arose, provided those who were interested in acting with the capability to link up with likeminded individuals. Indeed, when free trade unions, independent rural organizations and independent student groups were first created, they were consistently founded by those who had contact with independent publications and had participated in the discussion groups which grew up around them.

Krzystof Wyszowski, a co-founder of the free trade union on the coast, noted that the success of the free trade union model was predicated on it providing individuals with a means of acting which did not seem to be overtly political or illegal and which seemed to serve their own self-interest.¹²²⁵ Indeed, the entire independent social movement which linked through independent publishing had that very strength. Reading a book of poetry by Czesław Miłosz didn't feel terribly political or criminal; particularly in light of Poland's tradition of armed uprisings. Furthermore, independent publications, in the 1970s, remained quite self-limiting; those which dealt with the contemporary situation shied away from anti-state rhetoric and overt politics and instead focused on changes to the system through open, independent *social*

¹²²⁵ Krzystof Wyszowski in *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980*, ed. Michael Szporer (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012) 204.

initiatives and the enforcement of rule of law. Yet, in the Polish context the mere contestation of the state's control of intellectual commerce was *political*; independent publishing therefore provided a means of stepping into opposition.

The effectiveness of independent publishing and the call for independent social initiatives was proven in the summer of 1980. As occupation strikes spread across the country, they were initially sparked at places which had access to independent publications while the demands voiced were those which had been carried in independent publications. Within hours of the strike starting at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Radio Free Europe had been informed and thousands of flyers were already being produced to broadcast information about the strikes across Poland. Within a week, hundreds of thousands of flyers were being dropped with the strike demands, helping to set off more strikes and allowing for national solidarity with a small and large S. This was only possible due to the existing network of independent publishers.

The changes wrought in August 1980 were monumental. Bogdan Borusewicz argued that August 1980 taught “the entire nation faith in its own strength, in the possibility of change in Poland through the influence of Polish society acting in common.”¹²²⁶ Between August 1980 and December 1981, independent publishing grew and changed exponentially as millions of people gained experience with independent publishing. Although there was a vast increase in the number of publications produced, most publications were connected to Solidarity and were meant “for internal union use.” As a result, independent publishers often came to enjoy less independence given that most were reliant on the union's organizational structure. Socio-political journals with theoretical debates took a back seat during the Solidarity era as independent publications were, by and large, brief union-related bulletins which carried similar (if not repetitive) passive information. Because many union editors sought to legitimize

¹²²⁶ Bogdan Borusewicz in “Sierpień dzisaj”, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* 60 (August 25, 1983) 1.

Solidarity publishing and differentiate it from the pre-August “opposition press”, independent publishing became more self-limiting in its demands vis-à-vis the state. Moreover, the kinds of strident disagreements which had occurred in independent publications prior to August 1980 were rarely included amid calls for unity and solidarity. However, with time, an increased politicization and radicalization was visible both within the union and toward the state authorities.

Pluralism within independent publishing increased during the Solidarity era. While independent publishers had in the 1970s called for pluralism and sought to provide a plurality of political views, as the purview of a small minority of the population, this was not really possible. As millions gained contact with independent publishing, it ceased to be dominated by an intellectual minority, new voices were heard and disagreements related to editorial decision-making and the distribution of funds were exacerbated. Already between 1976 and 1980 debates had occurred over how social funds should be divided and if independent publishers, since they fulfilled a social function, had the right to decide what to print. As the underground social movement which had initiated Polish independent publishing merged with the Solidarity trades union organization, disagreements were voiced over the direction of the union press as editors insisted on the need for a free press and editorial freedom and many union members insisted on the need for union control. Disagreements also arose over the allocation of funds. These arguments became more heated with time as suspicions toward the union leadership and the role of intellectuals in Solidarity grew among many rank-and-file members.

The growing politicization and pluralism within the Solidarity movement was visible at Solidarity’s First National Congress where delegates acted as social representatives for the nation, calling for the real social, political, and economic changes which had been demanded in

independent publications. Independent publications then broadcast these views back to the general populace allowing for a greater diversity of views to be expressed. These developments were particularly important since during the period between 1976 and 1980, independent publishing was for only a tiny minority of the population who were consciously opposing the regime, while during the Solidarity era, publishing was the purview of millions who did not perceive themselves as acting overtly against the regime. Growing politicization and pluralism in independent publishing in this period therefore indicates a real shift within a significant portion of the population.

The imposition of martial law did not destroy independent publishing, but it did diminish its self-limiting nature and increased its independence. Solidarity, as an illegal underground organization was, by its nature, political and anti-state as was independent publishing. The continuing success of independent publishing, which maintained millions of readers, meant that martial law had served to move millions of individuals into state “opposition” as that which had been legal on December 12, became illegal on December 13, 1981.

Furthermore, by the mid- to late-1980s, pluralism was no longer a goal written about in the pages of independent publications, but something which independent publications themselves truly embodied. Because the number of independent Solidarity publications decreased steadily between 1982 and 1987 it is possible to assert that the Solidarity organization weakened over this period. Publishing also shows that the union organization de-centralized, fracturing into a variety of different groupings. As Solidarity splintered, publications were made for its various manifestations; these openly engaged in disagreements. At the same time that Solidarity diversified, civil society became more vibrant and pluralistic as demonstrated by the numerous independent publications produced by a bevy of new milieus. Indeed, while the number of

Solidarity publications began to rise again in 1987, the number of independent publications as a whole began to rise from 1986 showing that it was civil society which re-emerged first; then Solidarity. The number of independent youth publications grew steadily from 1982 to 1989; these were produced by a variety of milieus including punks, environmentalists, feminists, and pacifists. In addition, the number of socio-political and literary publications stayed consistently greater after 1982 than in the Solidarity era. New socio-political journals no longer had the self-limitations of the Solidarity era when it was feared that overt political statements could put the entire movement at risk. New publications were overtly social democratic, nationalist and even more often liberal as a growing number of publications demanded a return to a market economy.

By the mid-1980s, publishers could no longer rely on union dues to print. Furthermore, the reading public had grown unwilling to buy independent publications as such or works which editors found edifying. They demanded what they wanted; mostly this was history and literature with political overtones. Publishers therefore needed to begin to cater to these demands. As such, a proto-market emerged as independent publishers began to compete for readers. Independent publishing houses also witnessed a notable diversification. A variety of new types of independent works including stamps, tapes, videos, microfilm, and calendars were produced. In addition, a bevy of original works were created as independent publishers struggled to provide translators, editors and authors with a job market outside of official channels. The creation of a proto-market in publishing as well as a shadow market for intellectuals was something entirely unique within the bloc.

When independent publishing, in 1988, began moving again into the open with editors and authors signing their works, it was perhaps returning to a form of action which had existed prior to Solidarity and martial law. However, in comparison to the period before Solidarity, the

scale and plurality of independent publications as well as the demands and ideas carried therein had radicalized dramatically. Joanna Szczęsna noted in the spring of 1988 that although the number of publications may have shrunk in comparison to the Solidarity-era, “the change in people’s mindsets had happened.” She explained that prior to August those in the opposition were treated as respected crazies and extremists. She believed that that Soviet mindset had been broken. Szczęsna argued that people broadly accepted their actions as correct. Indeed, in early 1981, during debates over the new censorship laws, state officials had refused to meet with the “radical” Adam Michnik, who absented himself to the corridor. In 1989, he played an active role at the Round Table talks during which he demanded an end to censorship outright.¹²²⁷ By 1988, the once radical demand for an end to censorship, like the demand for free elections and a free market were increasingly voiced through the pages of independent publications. Such demands were also voiced in the streets. In the spring and summer of 1988, increasingly non-self-limiting youth protests erupted as well as strikes which were started independently of Solidarity but were then supported by youthful independent publishers as well as Solidarity. When the state authorities decided to enter into talks to end the strikes they chose to meet with Lech Walesa and the internationally recognized Solidarity leadership. Many factions within Solidarity as well as much of the youth movement, through the pages of independent publications, opposed the Round Table talks and the elections as they desired more maximalist gains. It was, however, this diversity of views; not unity which proved that the type of active and vibrant civil society which Hannah Arendt described, had emerged. It was this which made the success of 1989 possible.

This dissertation, by reconsidering the Polish path to 1989 also begs a reevaluation of the collapse of Communism in the eastern bloc. This dissertation challenges those who, like J.F. Brown, place predominant emphasis on Gorbaczev and the international context in bringing

¹²²⁷ Joanna Szczęsna, “Byłam w środku”, *Arka* 24 (1988) 89-91.

about the events of 1989.¹²²⁸ After all, already in 1981 Brehznev and the Soviet leadership had been unwilling to send Soviet tanks into Poland. When yet a new round of protests started across Poland in 1988, despite the imposition of martial law six and a half years earlier, the regime entered into talks with the Solidarity leadership because it was incapable of stemming civil society's increased activism; not because Gorbaczev said to. The change was Polish society's increased activism, politicization and pluralism and the state's inability to deal with society. Furthermore, it was the resounding and entirely unpredicted results of the election of June 1989 which saw the resounding electoral defeat of the PZPR thereby paving the way for similar changes across the bloc. This dissertation also rejects the idea of spontaneous action by the masses as presented by Mark Frankland. Independent publishing demonstrates that in Poland, the first country in which protests led to semi-free elections, a network of opposition developed incrementally until it reached the status of a civil society.¹²²⁹ Gale Stokes' emphasis on the Prague Spring as the decisive turning point at which time civil society across the bloc lost all trust in the system and moved down the path to 1989 is also unacceptable.¹²³⁰ It was Poland which first broke away from the Communist yoke; the Prague Spring was not the turning point for most Polish activists. The floodgates of change in 1989 started in Poland where independent publications had slowly engendered and bolstered an active civil society.

Amid the dramatic changes in independent publishing between 1976 and 1989, the one constancy proved to be the public's demand for information on the Polish past. The editors of *Kultura Niezależna* noted that "[t]he phenomenon of independent publishing in Poland is

¹²²⁸ J.F. Brown, *Surge to Freedom: The End of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991).

¹²²⁹ Mark Frankland, *The Patriots' Revolution: How Eastern Europe Topped Communism and Won Its Freedom* (New York: Ivan R. Dee, 1993).

¹²³⁰ Gale Stokes, *The Walls Came Tumbling Down: The Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

unprecedented; none of the countries in the bloc have achieved something of even close similarity.” In listing its achievements, they noted first and foremost, the creation of a non-falsified history of Poland.¹²³¹ Revulsion toward the state’s lies about the nation’s history proved to be a bond which bridged many other differences. The demand for “the truth” about the nation’s past and the crimes of the Soviet Union helped to unite Polish society and provided independent publishing with a potential readership which was greater than in any neighboring state.

The Polish national mythology and tradition in which opposition to foreign, and specifically Russian-rule, was treated as a norm, played a major role in keeping Polish civil society alive. As Eugeniusz Szumejko reminisced, the entire populace was “permeated with the ideal of independence. There was Kosciuszko, the Uprisings: November, January, Warsaw.”¹²³² However, this is not to suggest that history was treated as a model. Władysław Frasyniuk noted that the “Home Army tradition is a reference point for us in the technical but not in the ideological sense.”¹²³³ Zbigniew Bujak contended that “I myself have only the most general impression of the Home Army underground...” However, his reflections on the 1830 uprising, demonstrate the degree to which history was for many a source of contemporary understanding. Bujak noted that history had condemned the leaders of the 1830 uprising who “perhaps were feeling paralyzed by a feeling of responsibility, by a concern to preserve the nation’s stock.” He continued that “a hundred and fifty years later, I too fear to take that risk, I too, together with the other underground activists, fear a Russian intervention.” He noted that “nothing will salvage the good name of these commanders” of 1830 and that perhaps one day he, as a supporter of the

¹²³¹ “Niezależny ruch wydawniczy”, *Kultura Niezależna* 28 (February 1987) 29.

¹²³² Eugeniusz Szumejko in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, eds. Maciej Łominski, Marcin Moskit [Zbigniew Gach], Mariusz Wilk; trans. Jane Cave (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 140.

¹²³³ Władysław Frasyniuk in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 123.

“long march” approach would be treated in the same manner.¹²³⁴ This realization did not, however, lead Bujak to radicalization. The insistence on non-violence remained unwavering as contemporaries re-visited and reinterpreted the past to create new patterns of action for the present. Even groups like Fighting Solidarity called for streets protests; not grenade launchers.

Of course, the Catholic Church also played its part in keeping Polish civil society alive. However, just as it was not Polish history as such which was important, but the way in which people identified with it, interpreted it and responded to this understanding, the Church was not powerful as an abstraction. Rather, it was powerful for the very reason John Paul II explained on his first pilgrimage to Poland: because one could not divide the Polish working class from the Church.¹²³⁵ Indeed, just as a significant number of Poles were unwilling to accept the lies about Katyń and so sought out independent publications from the 1970s, millions of Catholic believers refused to cease Church attendance from the 1940s. This broad-based obstinacy in the face of state repression created a symbiotic relationship: independent institutions were strengthened by society’s loyalty and they in turn bolstered society.

Adam Michnik insisted in 1979 that “we in Poland have been breathing a different spiritual air” than the other nations in the bloc. He continued that “this spiritual air—this tissue of culture and national consciousness that is growing daily, invisibly—is not simply the result of reading *Zapis* or *Biuletyn Informacyjny* or publishing with NOWa but it is the outcome of *the totality* of Polish accomplishments.”¹²³⁶ Independent publications were, however, the means for broadcasting and therefore further encouraging these developments which were Polish society’s

¹²³⁴ Zbigniew Bujak in *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, 124, 127-128.

¹²³⁵ John Paul II, “Homilia w czasie Mszy św. odprawionej przed opactwem oo. Cystersów w Mogile”, Krakow-Nowa Huta, June 9, 1979 in *Gaude Mater Polonia* (Wydawnictwo M, 2010) 232.

¹²³⁶ Adam Michnik, “Maggots and Angels” in *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, trans. Maya Latynski (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987) 188.

greatest strength vis-à-vis the state authorities. Moreover, it was through independent publications that “this spiritual air” gained concrete action.

It was Polish society itself which made Poland and Polish independent publishing unique. In 1989, Dawid Warszawski noted that those thousands of people who were involved in independent publishing were *only* [my emphasis] threatened with prison; not death. He continued that the police were not able to destroy independent publishing as the willingness of society to struggle was greater than the ability of the state to break them.¹²³⁷ His explanation underlines the specific willingness of Polish society to take risks for change in this period as well as the fact that the risks were still very real. At the same time, it is important to underline the fact that while, in comparison to other countries in the bloc, a decidedly greater number of Polish citizens were willing to act against the state, this is not to say that all Poles were. Millions were involved with independent publishing. They did so as individuals who made personal choices and sacrifices. Many millions more did not choose to participate.

The tale of independent publishing is one about the birth of a vibrant, pluralistic civil society which was composed of millions of *individuals*; neither saints and angels (as has, at times, been its treatment in the West) nor “maggots” (as sometimes has been the treatment of independent publishers, the democratic opposition, and Solidarity in Poland.) Disagreements and petty jealousies were rife. One can’t help but wonder if the type of contrary nature which would encourage opposition to the regime also encouraged disagreements within and about independent publishing. Not infrequently, the leaders of independent publishing came in for criticism amid allegations of treacherous “moderation.” However, with the Warsaw Uprising in living memory, the majority who expressed moderation, did so through a desire to protect

¹²³⁷ “Drugi obieg”, Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski (Konstanty Gebert), *Vacat* 46 (March 1989) 115.

society; not as a result of crypto-Communism. That Jerzy Giedrocy initially shied away from providing the students in Lublin with a printer but did help to provide one to Andrzej Czuma suggests that for many individuals who had witnessed the horrors of World War II, what may have seemed like moderation was a desire to not unduly put young people at risk.

Others did act with base intentions. A number of independent publishing activists were SB informants. Although these were clearly a tiny minority within the movement as a whole, they are also part of the history of Polish independent publishing.

With the passage of time, recriminations have surfaced over the expenditure of social funds by independent publishers. It is unquestionable that social funds were embezzled. It is also certain that the vast majority of independent publishing activists did not steal but went without for publishing.¹²³⁸

Finally, between 1976 and 1989, questions were frequently raised about censorship within independent publishing. Certainly, some editors elected not to publish certain authors or works. However, just as Lech Wałęsa could not really act as a dictator in 1981, no independent publisher could actually censor any view within independent publishing as a whole. The shortcomings within independent publishing therefore mirrored the weaknesses in any human collection; it was the strengths which made it unique. After all, no one foresaw the events of 1989, making it impossible to believe that those who acted against the regime between 1976 and 1989 did so not with a view to personal advancement.

¹²³⁸ Tomasz Jastrun and Irena Lasota have suggested that funds from abroad were embezzled by publishers. Specifically, Lasota raised questions about the creation in 1989 of LogoScript which derived from NOWa and which she suggested misappropriated money from the Consortium of Independent Publishers. Questions have also been raised about Mirosław Chojecki and a fire in his apartment in Paris in which papers dealing with the allotment of social funds were destroyed. [Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja; Z dziejów drugiego obiegu wydawniczego w Polsce 1976-1989/90* (Warsaw: IPN, 2010) 213, 215.]

Between 1976 and 1989 independent publishers produced upwards of several thousand printings of monographic titles and serials as well as numerous flyers, stamps, cassettes and videos. Joanna Bachtin from Biblioteka Narodowa estimated that between 1976 and 1989, 5,500 serials were produced while 6,513 monographs were printed.¹²³⁹ It is difficult to imagine Solidarity's success in 1980-1981 and 1988-1989 without independent publishing; without these successes it is also difficult to envision "the events of 1989" across the bloc. Independent publishers in Poland made contact with activists in neighboring countries, particularly Czechoslovakia, and printed numerous works for them. In 1989, some publishers helped to "export their revolution" by sending printing equipment to Lithuania, Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and even Mongolia.¹²⁴⁰ Important though these actions were, by breaking Soviet control in Poland, independent publishing and the Polish civil society which supported it, paved the way for the loss of the rest of the bloc. The NOWa stamp which read "Books are Weapons" was surely proved correct.¹²⁴¹

Finally, independent publishing and the civil society which it helped to engender unquestionably aided in the move to a democratic and independent Poland after 1989. As independent publications such as *Krytyka* and *Arka* moved onto the official market, their demands for close relations with Poland's neighbors and entrenchment of the rule of law were achieved. Furthermore, the creation of a free press was certainly helped not only by underground publications becoming official, but also by the existence of a number of skilled independent publishers who helped to create new publications; among them, Adam Michnik came to edit

¹²³⁹ Justyna Błazejowska, "Chiałem mieć w ręku broń" – Zadrukowane kartki papieru. Pisma pozacenzuralne 1980-1989/1990 in *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989*. Vol. II Ruch społeczny, eds. Łukasz Kamiński & Grzegorz Waligóra (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010) 238.

¹²⁴⁰ Adam Borowski and Piotr Izgarszew in *Świadectwa stanu wojennego*, eds. Anotni Dudek & Krzysztof Madej, (Warsaw: IPN, 2006) 51, 109.

¹²⁴¹ Marian Mięgusz, "Wersje, awersje", *Vacat* 37 (January 1986) 70-71.

Gazeta Wyborcza while Jarosław Kaczyński edited *Tygodnik Solidarność* from 1989. The shift to a market economy was also envisioned in independent publications. Independent publications were not only acts, they were speech acts and they spoke in very clear tones for democracy, pluralism and independence.

Through analyzing independent publications, this dissertation shows that national history and its reinterpretation played a major role in keeping civil society alive and encouraging opposition. Through the pages of independent publications, Polish historical traditions were employed to emphasize peaceful protest through independent social initiatives as well as good relations with Poland's eastern neighbors and respect for their borders. These were new proposals couched in the language of tradition to which a significant portion of the population proved responsive. Independent publications therefore helped to direct society but it was Polish civil society which proved responsive and was therefore able to peacefully and doggedly act to overthrow the Communist regime. In some ways therefore, Polish independent publishing and the opposition between 1976 and 1989, as it grew from a demanding intellectual minority to a self-limiting majority and finally a demanding, political majority was, in certain ways, the culmination of previous uprisings. Independent publishing paved the way to 1989 as it provided millions of people with experience with independent life, democratic debate, and a proto-market. Independent publishing played the decisive role in activating the type of civil society which Hannah Arendt described. Finally, the Round Table talks, the elections of 1989 and the changes they brought in Poland played a major role in precipitating the events of 1989 across the Communist bloc so that the impact of Polish independent publishing spread well beyond the national borders.

Bibliography

Independent Publications

All works held at the KARTA Archiwum Opozycji in Warsaw, Poland.

- A Cappella*, Gdansk, 1986-1989 .
Arka, Krakow, 1986-1990.
Biuletyn Dolnośląsk, Wrocław, 1979-1990.
Biuletyn Informacyjny (KOR), Warsaw, 1976-1981.
Biuletyn Informacyjna Solidarność: Pismo MKZ NSZZ S z siedziba w Gdansk, Gdansk, 1980-1989.
Bratniak, Gdansk, 1977-1981.
Brulion, Krakow, 1987-1989.
Congress Post, Gdansk, 1981.
Dezerter, Warsaw, 1987-1988.
Głos, Warsaw, 1977-1989.
Głos Wolny, Gdansk, 1986-1988.
Goniec Małopolski, Krakow, 1980-1981.
Homek, Gdansk, 1983-1989/90.
Jedność, Szczecin, 1980-1981.
Komunikat (KOR), Warsaw, 1976-1981.
Krytyka, Warsaw, 1978-1990.
Kultura Niezależna, Warsaw, 1983-1990.
Merkuryusz Krakowski i Światowy, Krakow, 1979-1980.
Niezależność, Warsaw, 1980-1981.
Obecność, Wrocław, 1983-1988
Opinia, Warsaw, 1977-1981.
Promieniści, Krakow, 1982-1989.
Przegląd Polityczny, Gdansk, 1983-1989.
Res Publica, Warsaw, 1979-1981.
Robotnik, Warsaw, 1977-1981.
Robotnik Wybrzeża, Gdansk, 1979-1980.
Rzeczpospolita, Warsaw, 1979-1980.
Solidarność Dolnośląska, Wrocław, 1980-1989.
Solidarność i Rozwaga, Gdansk, 1981-1989.
Solidarność Walcząca, Wrocław, 1982-1990.
Solidarność Wielkopolski, Poznan, 1980-1981.
Solidarność Ziemi Łódzkiej, Łódź, 1980-1981.
Spotkania, Lublin, 1977-1990.
Strajkowego Biuletynu Informacyjnego Solidarność, Gdansk, 1980.
Stańczyk, Krakow, 1986-1990.
Szkoła, Wrocław, 1986-1990.
Tygodnik Mazowsze, Warsaw, 1982-1989.
Tygodnik Solidarność, Warsaw, 1980-1981.
U Progu, Warsaw, 1976-1977.
Vacat, Warsaw, 1982-1989.

Wiadomości Dnia, Warsaw, 1981-1990.

Z Dnia na Dzień, Wrocław, 1981-1990.

Zapis, Warsaw, 1976-1981.

Związkowiec: Biuletyn NSZZ «Solidarność» Huta Katowice, Katowice, 1980-1981.

Other Sources

- Anderman, Janusz, *Poland Under Black Light*, trans. Nina Taylor and Andrew Short (London: Readers International, 1985).
- Anusz, Andrzej, *Niezależne Zrzeszenie Studentów w latach 1980-1989* (Warsaw: Akces, 1991).
- *Osobista historia PC* (Warsaw: Akces, 2007).
- Arendt, Hannah, *Between Past and Future* (New York: Viking Press, 1968).
- *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- Ascherson, Neal, *The Polish August* (New York: Viking Press, 1982).
- Barańczak, Stanisław, *Breathing Under Water and Other East European Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Bernard, Michael H., *From the Polish Underground: Selections from Krytyka, 1978-1993* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).
- Konrad Bieliński interview with Jan Strękowski, "Bibuła. Wolne Słowo w Polsce 1976-1990", supplement to *Rzeczpospolita* (June 2003).
- Justyna Błażejowska, *Papierowa rewolucja; Z dziejów drugiego obiegu wydawniczego w Polsce 1976-1989/90* (Warsaw: IPN, 2010).
- Borodziej, Włodzimeierz and Andrzej Garlicki, eds. *Okrągły stoł: Dokumenty i materiały* (Warsaw: Kancelaria Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 2004).
- Brandys, Kazimierz, *Nierzeczywistość* (Warsaw: Bellona Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 2009).
- Brzeski, Jan and Adam Roliński, "Wydawnictwa drugiego obiegu w zbiorach Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej; Katalog wydawnictwa ciągłe 1976-1980," *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* nr 1/2 (Krakow, 1995).
- Bujak, Zbigniew and Janusz Rolicki, *Zbigniew Bujak: Przepraszam za 'Soldiarnosc'* (Warsaw: Polska Oficyna Wydawnicza 'BGW', 1991).
- Cenckiewicz, Sławomir, *Oczami Bezpieki: Szkice i materiały z dziejów aparatu bezpieczeństwa PRL* (Wydawnictwo Arcana, 2004).
- Cenckiewicz, Sławomir and Piotr Gontarczyk, *SB a Lech Wałęsa: Przyczynek do biografii* (Gdansk: IPN, 2009).
- Chojewski, Mirosław, "Jestem w ogóle apolityczny", *Więź* 5/6 (May-June 1990).
- Choma-Jusińska, Małgorzata, *Środowiska opozycyjne na Lubelszczyźnie 1975-1980* (Warsaw-Lublin: IPN, 2009).
- Curry, Jane, ed. *Black Book of Polish Censorship* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984).
- Davies, Norman, *God's Playground, A History of Poland*, vol. II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- Doroszewska, Urszula, "Rozmowa o życiu pełnym przygod", *Arka* 26 (1989).
- "Dotacje pozwalają nam utrzymać się przy życiu", Interview with editors of NOWa, *Brulion* 4 (Winter 1987/1988).
- "Drugi obieg" Discussion of Krzysztof Czabański with Dawid Warszawski [Konstanty Gebert], *Vacat* 46 (March 1989).
- Dudek, Antoni and Krzysztof Madej, *Świadectwa stanu wojennego* (Warsaw: IPN, 2006).
- Eisler, Jerzy, ed. *Co znam zostało z tych lat...opozycja polityczna 1976-1980 z Dzisiejszej perspektywy* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2003).
- Ekiert, Grzegorz, *The State Against Society: Political Crises and Their Aftermath in East Central*

- Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
- Encyklopedia Solidarność* (Warsaw: IPN).
- Fikus, Dariusz, *Foksal '81* (Poznan: SAWW, 1989).
- Friskke, Andrzej, *Opozycja polityczna w PRL 1945-1980* (London: Aneks, 1994).
- *Przystosowanie i opór; Studia z dziejów PRL* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2007).
- *"Solidarnosc" Mazowsze 1980-1981. Spotkanie z członkami Prezydium Regionu* (Warsaw: Muzeum Historyczne, 2008).
- *"Tygodnik Solidarność, 1981", Biuletyn IPN 54-55* (Warsaw: IPN, July-August 2005).
- Friskke, Andrzej and Andrzej Paczkowski, *NiepoKORni: Rozmowy o Komitecie Obrony Robotników* (Krakow: Znak, 2008).
- Waldemar Frydrych, "Nie tylko sztuka i nie tylko alternatywa", *Obecność* 24 [1988]
- "Vivat Rewolucja!", *Obecność* 23 (1988).
- Garton Ash, Timothy, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985).
- *Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993).
- Gąsowski, Tomasz, Barbara Klich-Kluczevska and Janusz Mierzwe, eds. *Między Sierpniem a Grudniem: "Solidarność w Krakowie i Małopolsce w latach 1980-1981* (Krakow: Instytut Historii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2006).
- Gombrowicz, Witold, *Dziennik* vol. I-III (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1986).
- *Polish Memories*, trans. Bill Johnston (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004).
- Grochola, Wiesława, ed. "Słowo jak dynamit", *KARTA Kwartalnik Historyczny* 29 (2006).
- Grzelak, Grzegorz and Mirosław Rybicki, eds. *Korzenie Solidarności 30-Lecie Ruch Młodej Polski*, Gdansk, September 26-27, 2009 (Gdansk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarności, 2010).
- Grzesiak, Adam, "Opowieści wolnego drukarza", Prepared for publication by Wiesława Grochola, *KARTA Kwartalnik Historyczny* 33 (2001).
- Gwiazda, Andrzej and Joanna, *Gwiazdozbiór w "Solidarnosci"*, ed. Remigiusz Okraska (Łódź: Obywatel, 2009).
- Habermas, Jürgen, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).
- Havel, Václav, *Open Letters: Selected Writing, 1965-1990* (New York: Vintage, 1992).
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- Hemmerling, Zygmunt and Marek Nadolski, *Opozycja demokratyczna w Polsce 1976-1980: Wybór dokumentów* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994).
- Herling-Grudzinski, Gustav, *A World Apart: A Memoir of the Gulag*, trans. Andrzej Ciołkosz (New York: Penguin Books, 2005)
- *Volcano and Miracle: A Selection from The Journal Written at Night*, trans. Ronald Strom (New York: Penguin, 1997).
- de Hernandez-Paluch, Maria, *Sztandar sprzeciwu: Podziemne pismo Hutnik, 1982-1989* (Biały Kruk, 2007).
- Holzer, Jerzy, *Solidarność, 1980-1981: Geneza i Historia* (Warsaw: Rytm, 1986).
- Iwaszkiewicz, Agnieszka and Agnieszka Rudzińska, "Katalog czasopism niezależnych wydanych w latach 1976-1990 z zbiorach Archiwum Peerelu" (Warsaw: Ośrodek KARTA, 1996).
- Iwaszkiewicz, Agnieszka ed., *Archiwum opozycji: Kolekcja "Solidarność – Narodziny ruchu"*;

- Czasopisma niezależne, 1976-1990; Książki wydane poza cenzurą 1976-1990* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Karta, 2006).
- Jagiński, Krzysztof, *Za burtą legendy* (Szczecin: Punkt, 1992).
- Jankowska, Janina, ed. *Portrety niedokończone* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Więzi, 2004).
- Jastrzębski, Andrzej, ed. *Dokumenty Komitetu Obrony Robotników i Komitetu Samoobrony Społecznej "KOR"* (Warsaw: Aneks, 1994).
- Jastrzębie, Marek, "Underground Prints of the Martial Law Period", *Polish Libraries Today*, vol. 3. (1993).
- Kamiński, Łukasz and Grzegorz Waligóra, *NSZZ Solidarność, 1980-1989. Vol. II Ruch społeczny* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2010).
- Kamiński, Józef [pseudo. Władysław Chojnacki], *Bibliografia publikacji podziemnych w Polsce: 13 XII 1981-VI 1986* (Paris: Spotkania, 1988).
- Kazański, Arkadiusz, *Gdański sierpień '80* (Gdańsk: IPN, 2010).
- Kenney, Padraic. *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe, 1989* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).
- Kobyliński, Anatol, *Sześć lat podziemnej poczty w Polsce, 1982-1988* (Rapperswil: Muzeum Polskie, 1989).
- Kołodziej, Andrzej, *Gdyńscy Komunardzi, sierpień 1980 w Stoczni Gdynia* (Gdynia: Verbicause.pl, 2008).
- Kondratowicz, Ewa, *Szminka na sztandarze* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sic!, 2001).
- Konwicki, Tadeusz, *A Minor Apocalypse*, trans. Richrad Lourie (Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1999)
- Konwicki, Tadeusz, *Moonrise, Moonset*, trans. Richard Lourie (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1987).
- *The Polish Complex*, trans. Richard Lourie (Normal, IL: Dalkey Archive Press, 1998).
- Kostecki, Janusz and Alina Brodzka, eds. *Piśmiennictwo—Systemy kontoli—Obieg alternatywny*, vol. II (Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, 1992).
- Krajewski, Andrzej, ed. *Region USA: Działacza Solidarności o kraju, o emigracji, o osobie* (London: Aneks, 1989).
- Kubasiewicz-Houée, Ewa, *Bez prawa powrotu* (Wrocław: Wiktory, 2007).
- Kuczyński, Waldemar, *Burza nad Wisłą, Dziennik 1980-81* (Warsaw: Iskra, 2002).
- Kuroń, Jacek, *Autobiografia* (Warsaw: Krytyka, 2009).
- *Opozycja: Pisma polityczne, 1969-1989* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej, 2010).
- Lipski, Jan Józef, *KOR: A History of the Worker's Defense Committee in Poland, 1976-1980*, trans. Olga Amsterdamska and Gene M. Moore (Berkley: University of California Press, 1985).
- Lakowski, Leszek, ed. *Literatura drugiego obiegu w Polsce w latach 1976-1989, Materiały konferencyjne, Koszalin, 12 Maja 2006 r.* (Koszalin: Koszalińska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Joachima Lelewela, 2006).
- Ludzie Nowej, 1977-2007* (Warsaw: NOWa, 2007).
- Łabędz, Krzysztof, *Koncepcje polityczne w prasie NSZZ "S" w latach 1980-1981* (Torun: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2004).
- Łominski, Maciej, Marcin Moskit (Zbigniew Gach), Mariusz Wilk, *Konspira: Solidarity Underground*, trans. Jane Cave (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990).
- Majcharzak, Grzegorz, ed. *Z dziejów Tygodnik Solidarność: Rozpracowanie Tygodnik Solidarność przez Służbę Bezpieczeństwa, 1980-1982* (Warsaw: IPN, 2007).

- Marcinkiewicz, Marta and Sebastian Ligarski, eds. *Papierem w system. Prasa drugoobiegowa w PRL* (Szczecin: IPN, 2010).
- Martinek, Libor and Martin Tichý, *Česká a Polská samizdatová literatura/Czeska i Polska literatura drugiego obiegu*, International Conference in Opava, November 13-14, 2002 (Opava: Slezská Univerzita, 2004).
- Michnik, Adam, *The Church and the Left* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
- Michnik, Adam, *Letters from Prison and Other Essays*, trans. Maya Latynski (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987).
- Mielczarek, Adam, Aleksandra Domańska, Jan Strękowski and Paweł Swianiewicz, eds. *Śpiący rycerze: Szeregowi działacze Warszawskiego podziemia wydawniczego lat osiemdziesiątych* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2006).
- Mikołajczyk, Magdalena, *Jak się pisało o historii...Problemy polityczne powojennej Polski w publikacjach drugiego obiegu lat siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych* (Kraków: "Księgarnia Akademicka", 1998).
- Milosz, Czesław. *The History of Polish Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
- *Native Realm: A Search for Self-Definition*, trans. Catherine S. Leach (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968).
- Pawłowicz, Jacek, *Nieznani bohaterowie: Leksykon opozycji antykomunistycznej w województwie Płockim 1980-1989. Cz. 1, Oficyny i wydawnictwa podziemne* (Płock: 1995).
- "Mniej wpadek, Więcej książek", Interview with NOWa editors, *Vacat* 17/18 (May/June 1984).
- Morawiecki, Kornel and Artur Adamski, *Kornel Z przewodniczącym Solidarności Walczącej* (Wrocław: Kontra, 2007).
- Nawrocki, Grzegorz, ed. *Polak z polakiem* (Warsaw: Słowo, 1990).
- *Struktury nadziei*, ed. (Warsaw: Pokolenie, 1988).
- Nowacki, Paweł, "Zapis, Spotkania i potyczki z Kuroniem", *IPN Biuletyn* 7-8 (54-55) (July-August 2005).
- Nowakowski, Marek, *Raport o stanie wojennym* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Bellona, 2010).
- Paczkowski, Andrzej, *The Spring Will be Ours: Poland and the Poles from Occupation to Freedom*, trans. Jane Cave (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003).
- Pawłowicz, Jacek, *Nieznani bohaterowie: Leksykon opozycji antykomunistycznej w województwie Płockim, cz. I Oficyny i wydawnictwa podziemne*. (Płock, 1995).
- Polak, Wojciech, *Czas przełomu, Solidarność 1980-1981* (Gdańsk: Europejskie Centrum Solidarnosci, 2010).
- Wydawnictwo Alternatywy z dziejów Gdańskiej poligrafii podziemnej "A" (Gdańsk-Torun-Bgdgoszcz: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Finna", 2009).
- Próchniak, Leszek, "Ruch Związkowy" *IPN Biuletyn* nr. 4 (87) (April 2008).
- "Przedświt", Interview of *Vacat* with Przedświt, *Vacat* 15 (March 1984).
- Raina, Peter, *Political Opposition in Poland, 1954-1977* (London: Poet and Painters Press, 1978).
- Rozwadowski, Jerzy ed. *18 dni sierpnia: Solidarność* (Warsaw: Omnia Ltd., 1990).
- Rudka, Szczepan, *Poza cenzurą: Wrocławska prasa bezdebitowa* (Poznań: PWN, 2001).
- Rudzińska, Anna, *O moją Polskę*, prep. Teresa Bochwic, (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Poltext, 2011).
- Ruzikowski, Tadeusz, "Bezpieka przeciwko 'Robotnikowi'", *IPN Biuletyn*, nr. 8-9 (August-

- September 2008).
- Scriptores*, Lublin 36 (2009) & 39 (2011)
- Segel, Harold B, *Columbia Guide to the Literatures of Eastern Europe Since 1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
- Skórzyński, Jan, Paweł Sowiński and Małgorzata Strasz, eds. *Opozycja w PRL: Słownik biograficzny, 1956-1989* (Ośrodek KARTA: Warsaw, 2000).
- Smoleński, Paweł, ed. *Szermierze okrągłego stołu. Zwątpienia i nadzieje* (Paris: Spotkania, 1989).
- Snyder, Timothy, *Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
- Szczesiak, Edmund, *My, podziemni. Cisi bohaterowie stanu wojennego* (Gdansk: Fundacja Archiwum Filmowe "Drogi do Niepodległości, 2006).
- Szczęsna, Joanna, "Byłam w środku", *Arka* 24 (1988).
- Szczypiorski, Andrzej, *The Polish Ordeal: The View from Within*, trans. Celina Wieniewska (London : Croom Helm, 1982).
- Szporer, Michael, ed. *Solidarity: The Great Workers Strike of 1980* (Lanham, MA: Lexington Book, 2012).
- Świerczyńska Dobrosława, ed. *Kto był kim w drugim obiegu? Słownik pseudonimów pisarzy i dziennikarzy, 1976-1989*, intro. Andrzej Friszke (Warsaw, Wydawnictwo IBL, 1995).
- Terlecki, Ryszard, "Moja historia Arki", *Arka* 29 (1990).
- "Monika", *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej* 50 (March 2005).
- Tighe, Carl, *Politics of Literature: Poland, 1945-1989* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).
- Torańska, Teresa, "*Them*": *Stalin's Polish Puppets*, trans. Agnieszka Kołakowska (New York: Harper Collins, 1988).
- Toruńczyk, Barbara, ed. *Gdańsk 1980: Oczyma świadków* (London: Polonia Book Fund, Ltd., 1980).
- Truskawa, Tomasz, ed. *Prasa zakładowa NSZZ Solidarność w latach 1980-1981* (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Wolnego Słowa, 2010).
- "Trwale wartości kultury", Discussion with Jędrzej Stopyr (pseud.) from Krąg Publishing House, *Vacat* 42, [closed December 1986].
- Walc, Jan, "My wolna walkowa", *Biuletyn Informacyjny* 38 (June 1980).
- Walentynowicz, Anna, *Cień przyszłości* (Krakow, Arkana, 2005).
- Waligóra, Grzegorz, ed. *Dokumenty uczestników Ruchu Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela w Polsce, 1977-1981* (Krakow: Księgarnia Akademicka Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Niepodlegosciowego, 2005).
- *Ruch Wolnych Demokratów, 1976-1980, Wybór dokumentów* (Krakow: Fundacja Centrum Dokumentacji Czynu Niepodległościowego, 2003).
- *ROPCiO, 1977-1981* (IPN:Warsaw, 2006).
- "*U Progu—Pierwsze Pismo powielaczowe*", *Gazeta Polska* (July 16, 2008).
- Wat, Aleksander, *My Century: The Odyssey of a Polish Intellectual*, ed. and trans. Richard Lourie (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988).
- Wałęsa, Lech, *Droga Nadziei* (Krakow: Znak, 1989).
- Wydawnictwa podziemne w powojennym Krakowie* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia "Secesja", 1993).
- Zagajewski, Adam, *Solidarity and Solitude*, trans. Lillian Vallee (New York: Ecco Press, 1999).

Zaremba, Piotr, *Młodacy: Historia Ruchu Młodej Polski* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Arche, 2000).
Ewa Zając and Henryk Głębocki, eds. *“Ketman” i “Monika” –Żywotny równoległe* (Warsaw: IPN).

Ziemba, Marek, *Solidarność w Stalowej Woli w latach 1980-2000* (Tarnobrzeg: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa im. Prof. Stanisława Tarnowskiego, 2009).