

# A ACROSS FRONTIERS

SPECIAL  
DOUBLE ISSUE!  
SPRING-SUMMER 1988

M \$ 450

Glasnost and Its  
Discontents  
Panorama of the Polish  
Opposition

In Search of Central  
Europe: Large Dams and  
Small Nations

## THE ORANGE ALTERNATIVE



*Long Live Santa Claus!*

Lights Out in Romania • East Germany: Free Rosa Luxemburg!  
Bunkers, Bats, and Rad Waste in Poland

# ACROSS FRONTIERS

## INTRODUCTION

**M**edia fascination with superstars and supersummits has resulted in near-total neglect of a historic moment in the progress of democratic opposition in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The unprecedented degree of co-operation between a broad spectrum of social political activists documented in this issue may prove to be one of the more potent by-products of the new policy of glasnost and an acid-test of its limits and possibilities. The results of this deepening collaboration are as difficult to foresee as the consequences of Gorbachev's policies in the Soviet Union, but the growth of a new, grass-roots internationalism and the articulation of a broad alliance of democratic movements adds an explosive ingredient to a volatile region whose rulers have never failed to exploit historic national rivalries in squelching democratic aspirations.

In this issue we also continue our ongoing effort to document the full panoply of independent social, political and cultural initiatives in Eastern Europe, from resistance in Polish factories to environmental actions in Leningrad. Such an enormous quantity of interesting material came our way in the last six months that we elected to combine numbers 3 and 4 into a single double-issue. Our next number will appear in late September.

**Cover** adapted from a cartoon by Polish graphic artist *MECUC*  
Back cover photos courtesy of Freedom and Peace, Wroclaw.

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**EDITOR:** A. Winton Jackson; **CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:** Igor Bavcar, Werner Fischer, Jan Kavan, Ferenc Koszeg, Tomaz Mastnak, Franek Michalski, Ferenc Mislevevz, Wolfgang Templin, Claude Vancour. **REVIEW EDITOR:** Joseph Gorlice. ISSN: 0890-11-8X

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## Gnomes, Revolution, and Toilet Paper: The Orange Alternative in Wroclaw

**FROM TIME TO TIME** hosts of strange leaflets appear in the streets of Wroclaw. Like in the first days of December.

**Santa Claus in Swidnicka Street!!!** Every year, when winter dusk is settling down and the leaves take refuge under fluffy snowflakes, He comes out of his little hut behind the Christmas tree with a huge sack(. . .). This year Santa has more work to do than usual. Especially in those places where people need a smile and small gifts. That is why Santa Claus is going to appear in Wroclaw this year with his comrades: Santa's teddies and roguish gnomes. They will be giving away winks and Christmas decorations.

Dearest Pedestrian, pick up a joyful little gift. Recent events indicate that we will have to live lean today, so as to get fatter later.

Let's come and bid welcome to Santa in Swidnicka Street on 7 December at 4 p.m. Let us dress as Santas so as not to be lonely. Let's do something new and beautiful. Let us meet under the Clock with the Saints. Do bring Christmas decorations, fir branches to decorate the subway. Let's help the local administration in this noble task! Let us appear with musical instruments. Let the new existence shape the new consciousness!!!

From the University the Devil marches, in the shape of Waldemar "Major" Fydrych, accompanied by Santa with a hatchet on his shoulder. They are carrying a banner with the slogan of the day: "Santa Calus—the hope of the reform." All in all, even this hope will prove an illusion; the only gifts to give away are their signatures. A quarter of an hour later the avant-garde of the Santa-and-Devil revelry reaches the subway in Swidnicka Street, where they are stopped and detained, but only for a few moments. Meanwhile, there is street dancing in Swidnicka: 13 young men form a dancing serpent, tightly tied together with rope, which prevents their detention. A crowd of more than two thousand shouts: "Free Santa Claus!" and strongly presses on the policemen. Police vans are showered with candy. The counter-offensive ends successfully, partly because the enemy mobilized scantier forces than usual.

Half-an-hour later the revellers form a column and march to the district police HQ in the Old Town. Here the enemy forces show their numbers and pluck: the street is cordoned off at both ends, police disperse the crowd with a direct strike. An attempt to regroup at the base area of Swidnicka subway proves unsuccessful because the same maneuver has been

accomplished earlier by the police.

Such things happened here before. It is a very busy spot in the afternoons, when people return home from work. The revelry is initiated by the New Culture Movement alias the Orange Alternative. The stormy development of these happenings dates back to the "Gnomes":

Try coming with your own gnome-hat. May Socialist Surrealism live long and flourish!!! Let the world forces of peace flourish in the shade of the martial arts!!! Vivat Sorbovit!!! [A disgusting soft drink!]

On International Children's Day [1 June] dozens of gnomes in red hats danced and distributed sweets. Then came:

- an anti-war demonstration on 1 September;
- a happening entitled "Who's Afraid of Tiolet Paper?" on 1 October;
- an independent Policeman's Day, on 7 October, on the official day of the police and Security Service [no joke];
- exercise "Melon in Mayonnaise" on 12 October, the Day of the Polish People's Army;
- the eve of the October Revolution [Bolshevik] on 6 November;
- Referendum, on 27 November—happening entitled "Wroclaw, the city of 100 (200) percent turnout (2 times 'Yes')."

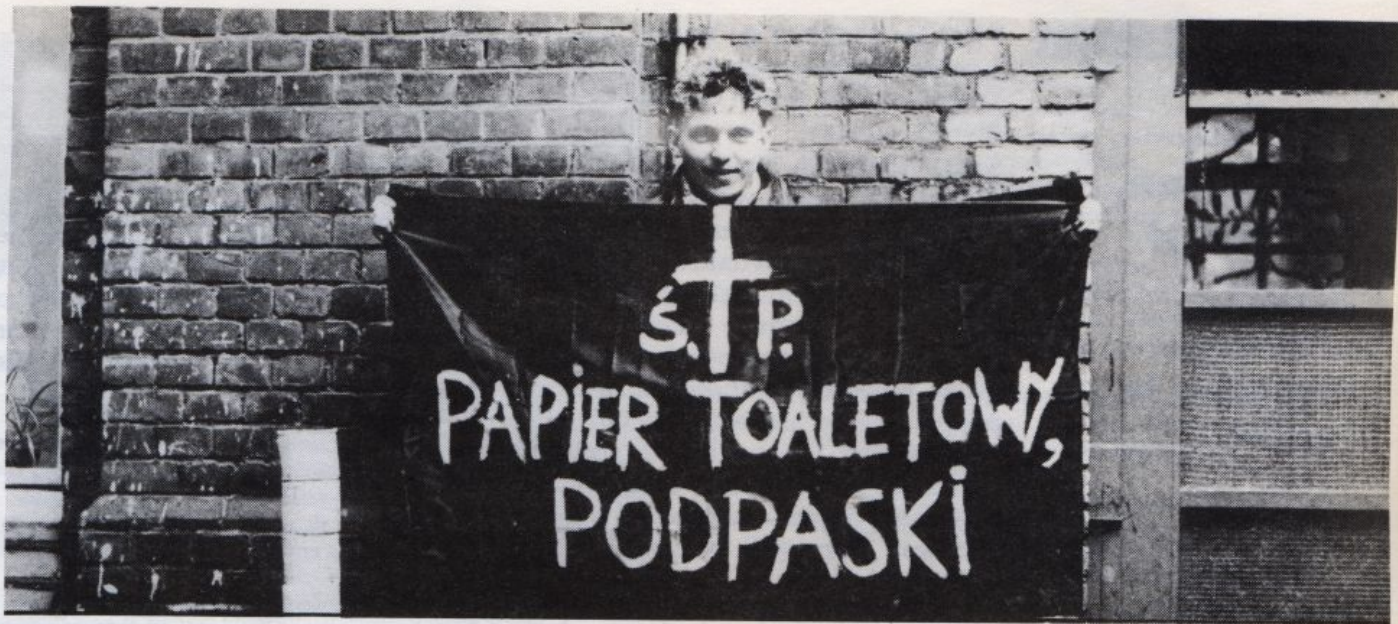
### Citizens!!! The People of Wroclaw!

The situation of each of us was unclear even yesterday, but today the people's government has come out to us with the historically outstretched hand. Today and tomorrow becomes a clear YES to us! Let us tell ourselves honestly: Yes, YES twice over, as many times over YES as there are voters. YES! Down with egoism, down with reaction, the referendum is ours and the price doesn't matter. YES! Let us organize a demonstration to manifest support for this marvelous folk holiday. Let us do it on Friday 27 November at 4 p.m. in Swidnicka Street under the clock. We will conduct a public consultation there under the slogan: "Wroclaw—the city of 100 (200) percent turnout"; other slogans are welcome, e.g.: "Referendum Today, Discipline and Welfare Tomorrow."

The chief producer, director and stage manager of the Wroclaw happenings, "Major," 34, is a graduate of Wroclaw University with degrees in history and history of art. Never shaven, clad in whatever friends donate—this winter he wears a navy-blue trench coat, which looks rather like theatrical costume, and a leather flying hat—"Major" is shy and very dilligent. During the [following] interview he is almost falling asleep, he is so tired preparing "Santa" for the next day.

\* \* \*

Reprinted from *Uncensored Poland*, 2/88. The Polish text appeared originally in Warsaw's underground weekly *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, #232, January 16, 1988.



Wroclaw, October 1, 1987 —  
 "Toilet paper, sanitary napkins RIP"

"Major": I put everything together like beads on a string. We initiate something and then improvise. Take the October Revolution: I was left with some canvas from a previous happening, which I have to a group of friends and they produced the battleship *Aurora*, a really huge model, some 7 or 8 yards long, with a banner and a gun. Another group made a cardboard cutout of the battleship *Potemkin*, entirely on their own initiative. Some others, also on their own, made Red Army caps—Budienny style, and people from the POLAR works made wooden carbines. And all these groups struck at the right time. The Red Guard with carbines and banners demanded the rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky (that's why the West German press took it for a mass Trotskyist rally), cavalry moved in in Budienny caps and hobby horses. There was also a banner calling for the return of Yeltsin to office, and another, also contemporary, pleading for an 8-hour working day for the employees of the Security Service. And there were carollers, and they had a red star on a stick, and a banner reading "Red Borsch," because we had earlier distributed a leaflet announcing a Revolution's Eve dinner in the nearby bar "Barbara." We were celebrating the Eve, because the anniversary proper came on a Saturday, and there would be few people in the streets.

All in all, to prepare the October Revolution, we needed 2 weeks, as before other happenings, and four meetings, and several dozen people worked several hours each. More recently, preparations take less time for people are already well drilled for it, they don't have to work in groups so much, they can do a solo act in Swidnicka Street. There is little trouble with the props, we grab whatever is at hand. The biggest problem is finding 10,000 zlotys to pay the bill for leaflets and maintaining pressure to get them printed on time.

**Who's Afraid of Toilet Paper? (...)**  
 In these times of Socialist Surrealism,

which is beginning to dominate the whole globe, toilet paper belongs in the realm of diplomacy—it is the White Paper of a White Elephant of Polish Hygiene.(...) Socialism, with its extravagant distribution of goods, as well as an eccentric social posture, has put toilet paper in the forefront of people's dreams.

In order to satisfy the imperative of progressive thinking, let us come to Swidnicka Street on 1 October at 4 p.m., let us bring our own paper and act. Let us use it to create independent social compositions, as well as psychological, physiological, cosmological and transport ones. Don't let us forget shaving cream, let sanitary napkins see the light of day as well. Sanitary napkins are the gondolas on the stormy waters of raving reality. Uniformed and ununiformed gentlemen, do speak up for the panty liners.

At 4 p.m. let us take out our toilet paper slowly and distribute it to people bit by bit. Let us share it justly. Let justice begin from toilet paper. In the middle of Swidnicka Street there are iron poles; let us bring spoons and clank them against these poles in the intention of panty liners.(...)

To end it all—a short quiz: Are the queues for toilet paper an expression of: a) a call for culture?; b) the call of nature?; c) the leading role of the Party in a society of developed socialism? Tick the right answer.

**Major:** The task I put myself is to overcome my various weaknesses, and to help others in

doing the same; particularly the fear of the police—so that more and more people would shed this nightmare of martial law. It is not the question of political changes, but of psychological change. Later on it can bring about all sorts of results.

Usually everybody who can be identified as taking part in the happening is picked up. Sometimes a hundred people, sometimes even more. The revelry then continues at the police HQ, and after a few hours everybody goes home.

More and more people get used to the police. After the Eve of the Revolution, those released from jail shouted "All the Best" to the security policemen, and "Thanks for a nice evening!" As it happened, some security police shouted back: "All the Best." During the celebration of the Independent Policeman's Day, the atmosphere was almost idyllic. A column of students and pupils marched from Swidnicka Street to the Old Market Square and back with a banner "The Youth of Wrocław—On Policeman's Day" and an 18-foot flower. Guitars were played, patrol cars and the officers, as well as plainclothed ones, were festooned with flowers and decorations; the dancers singing "Happy Birthday" surrounded one of the police vans and then staged a rally shouting "Come With Us!" Only "Major" was locked up then—he was direct-

ing traffic with a huge blow-up gnome on his shoulder. Whenever the lights changed to green, he sounded the cymbals he had with him, and someone on the other side of the street was drumming for crossing pedestrians to fall in step.

On 7 December even a Santa Security Service took part in the game, helping to detain other Santas and lead them to patrol cars.

**Major:** Swidnicka Street is the site of a conflict between people who put on red hats in the name of freedom and those who put on blue hats in the name of meeting their needs (...). In the tradition of Polish independence there is a concept of a *levy en mass*, or a non-organized movement of engaged individuals.

**Hurrah!!! A Solemn Order of the Day.** We, our Magnificence the Rector-Commandant of the Ultra-academy, let it be known that on 12 October Major Fall Maneuvers will take place under the codename "Melon in Mayonnaise." The place of concentration of the armies will be the city of Wrocław with its discreet little corners. The said maneuvers will coincide with the anniversary of the Polish People's Army, therefore a grand

"From time to time hosts of strange leaflets appear in the streets of Wrocław . . ." — ecological demonstration by Freedom and Peace. Photos by independent Polish news agency Dementi courtesy of *Uncensored Poland*.



Street at 1600 hours.  
 The slogan of the parade: "The Warsaw Pact—an Avant-Garde of Peace."

An interview with Major for the bulletin *Szkola*:

*What do you mean by Socialist Surrealism?*

**Major:** Socialist Surrealism is the reality in which we live. That is what surrounds us here, in this country, now. (...)

*What does "happening" mean?*

Happening is just what happens to happen. Its principle is to break certain norms. These can be behavioral norms, or norms of form in art. Fear is a certain norm, torpor is a certain norm. Happenings in Wrocław have been breaking norms set up by the state, among others.

*Do you set up happenings in order to expose the totalitarianism of the system under which we live?*

I do them because I do them. But one does things because of, or for something. . .

Well, yes, when I was preparing for the gnome happening, I assumed that we would have a good time, with sweets and streamers. . .

*And only for the sake of having a good time?*

Well, not, not only. In order to scout out the reality in which we live.

*But one could guess what would happen. . .*

But no, one couldn't know whether they would detain gnomes or not. But they did.

Major is surprised that there are those who think that the opposition is being made to

the working folk! Let us start celebrating the Eve of the October Revolution. Let us get together already on 6 November at 4 p.m. in Swidnicka Street under the "Clock of History."

Comrades, dress up in your best, in red. Put on red shoes, red hat, red scarf. (...) If you can't get a red banner anywhere, at least paint your fingertips red. If you have nothing to wear, you can buy a red French loaf covered with ketchup. We, the Reds, (red faces, red hair, pants and lips) will stand fast on that day at 4 p.m. under the clock.

Comrades, let us meet at the rally to honor the Revolution!!! The ideas and practice of Leninism and Trotskyism live on!!!

—The Council of People's Commissars

**Major:** One day, when I was still at school in Torun, I came there dressed up completely different to everybody else. I appeared in a trilby, with a walking stick and an attache case. I prearranged it with my friends that as soon as I entered the classroom, they would spring to attention, I would come up to the teacher, take the register, and pretend that I was a school inspector come to supervise a sample lesson. I sat in the last desk and scribbled something in the register, checked the marks. After the lesson, I came up to the teacher again, congratulated him on a good lesson and went. When I was leaving the building, the teacher in charge of checking pupils' uniforms stood to attention.

a n a r c h i s t y  
 m e n e l e  
 f e m i n i s t k i  
 p u n y  
 j a j a r z e  
 p a c y f i s t y  
 o l e w a c z e

**WARIACI WSZYSTKICH KRAJÓW  
 łączcie się!**



"Crazies of the world, unite!"

look silly by such things as running about in red hats or with banners reading: "Toilet Paper R.I.P." and "We can also wipe the government's." If anyone thinks like that—well it's their problem. The street is a public place and does not belong to anybody. This sort of thinking: that there is too little political action and too many happenings—well, this is simply communist thinking.

These days Orange Alternative has few enemies. It speaks for itself that Jozef Pinior is always a very active participant, and that Wladyslaw Frasyński appeared in one of the recent happenings.

**PRAVDA WILL FREE US** (in Cyrillic) (...) Comrades, time to break through the passivity of the masses of

Then came Mayday. Under my windows groups were being organized to take part in the parade. (...) I was struck by a sudden idea when I switched on the television and saw Brezhnev and all on the mausoleum. I dressed up, grabbed some small bottle and went towards the parade. I told the sentry near the tribune that I was carrying heart-drops for my father and he let me through. I stayed there. When my school came by, I gathered a lot of flowers and started throwing them down at people. Later on, to save his face, the head teacher was saying that I was delegated there by the Circle of Young Journalists. (...) I started practicing Socialist Surrealism.

(...) Running away from military service, I made my appearance at the psychiatric

clinic. I explained to the doctor that I was raising the level of psychiatry in Poland. One day I was telling him that I had lovely officer's boots, and another that I was a VIP, that various forces crave for my downfall and surround me. And one day, when I came shaven to the skin and in sunglasses, the psy-

but they contained far less of the present flair. "I presume," he says, "that if they had been so far advanced, I would have ended in prison."

\* \* \*  
**Major:** When Solidarity started, I became its client, for I started editing a Socialist Surrealist



October 12 — Operation "Melon in Mayonnaise."

chiatrist started shouting at me, that I ought to take them off, and also that he was my superior. So I started to call him colonel, and I spoke of myself as a major, and so it stayed.  
 (...) Then I went to a psychotherapeutic summer camp. I was already known there as a Major and led military maneuvers. There was a great demand for that. We bought toy guns and plastic sabers, made paper helmets, constructed a raft "Antipsycho terapeuticus," and sailed it on the sea. We shot at food and cooks in the canteen and formed the Foreign Legion on the dunes. There were some communist youth activists with disorders at the camp as well. They were shouting at the meetings that all this was impossible, that the Foreign Legion was after all an imperialist formation. So, you see, there were those who were really sick there too. But the guys who exercised with me were all escaping the service, like me, or wanted a leave in order to stay longer at university. So that, in the end, the real nuts pretended they were normal, and the normal ones acted nuts. Somehow these two worlds co-existed well. It was 1979.

\* \* \*  
 Before August 1980 Major was in the Students Solidarity Committee, and already engaged in various happenings in Wrocław.

paper in 1980. It was called AA. The University went on strike, and the police were pasting over our posters. Once, at night, we ran out, surrounded them and sang "Sto lat" [equivalent of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow"]; another time—the "Internationale." There was a lot of commotion in the street, people were taking snapshots of these policemen, they disappeared but kept coming back, and so the game started. We called the Department of Philosophy "Fort No. 1," we had the HQ of the revolution there and edited our journal, *The Orange Alternative*. It dealt primarily with art, but in those conditions, art was political.  
 In 1982 we were painting gnomes on the walls, but already in 1983 we started with happenings: we dressed up as policemen, in paper uniforms, stood at zebra crossings and attempted to direct traffic. That really looked strange in those days. There were several people involved in painting gnomes and "paper policemen," the same since 1980; some of the old guard still come and go. Now we have new people from Freedom and Peace, Solidarity, Fighting Solidarity—from all political walks, even a fellow from the PZPR [Party]. Often I have no idea where they are from, but political affiliations don't bother me.  
 The End (so far, that is).

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# After the Referendum: Panorama of the Polish Opposition

Divisions within the Polish opposition have continued to deepen following the government's failure to receive a popular mandate for "reform" in last November's referendum (see "The Bullet Bites Back" in *Across Frontiers* Vol. 4 #1, Winter 1988). Tensions between the underground Temporary Co-ordinating Committee (TKK) and the public Temporary Council of Solidarnosc (TRS), on the one hand, and political-strategic disagreements on the other, came to a head last September when 22 leading militants addressed an open letter to Lech Walesa demanding convocation of the union's National Committee. The establishment of a National Executive Commission (KKW) in October — without the participation of the 22 — failed to resolve the question of authority within the movement and has exacerbated existing disagreements. The main lines of division are outlined in the following three interviews, which were conducted by Cyril Smuga and appeared originally in *International Viewpoint*, #133, January 25, 1988.

JAN LITYNSKI took part in organizing help for Ursus and Radom strikers who fell victim to repression in 1976. He worked with the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), joining in 1977. He then founded the journal *Robotnik*, the first opposition bulletin intended for workers. In 1980, he became a Solidarnosc expert.

Arrested on December 13, 1981, he escaped and went underground. A member of the Warsaw Regional Executive Commission, he is a close collaborator of Jacek Kuron and Zbigniew Bujak.

## What can you say about the results of the referendum?

Obviously, they were a surprise for everyone, because even if you take as good coin the official explanation given by the authorities, you don't hold such a referendum in order to lose it. But the results were unambiguous. The government lost. You might wonder why they didn't fake the results in order to be able to announce that they had an absolute majority of positive responses. I think that they were so certain of winning that they were not prepared for falsifying the returns. Maybe, and that is giving them the benefit of the doubt, they didn't want to falsify the results—but that doesn't seem to me to be very likely.

The Outcome seems clear as regards the general assessment of the situation. Whatever the government does, whatever kind of propaganda it engages in, it does not have the confidence of the society. This is all the more so because the campaign conducted before the referendum testified to a lack of respect for the society. The questions were not clear. And even though they announced that they would clarify the meaning of the questions, they did not do so.

Today, it has become evident that the authorities engaged in a form of blackmail. "You'll get reforms, maybe you'll get a better life, there may even be some political changes. But to get that, you'll have to accept a big price rise." What seems to me to have been the big success in the referendum was that the society refused to grant such confidence. And in my opinion a lot of those who voted "yes" in the referendum did so only because they are convinced any reforms will have to come from this government.

On the other hand, a lot of those who voted "no," or who abstained, and in that case those who did so in response to Solidarnosc's appeal, were also convinced of the need for reforms, but thought that this government was incapable of carrying out the reforms that it proposed. In my opinion, this was a signal for the government. Without real reforms today, the situation cannot improve. As regards Solidarnosc, the result shows first of all that its decision to ignore this referendum was proved to be correct.

Secondly, the result shows that there is a possibility for overcoming the social apathy that has prevailed for rather a long time in our country if Solidarnosc shows that it is able to stimulate the potential for social activity indi-

cated by the referendum results, that we can expect quite significant changes, over which the society will have an influence.

But in calling for ignoring the referendum, in its first appeal at least the National Executive Commission of Solidarnosc (KKW) did not mention the question of the price rise. You say that today there is a possibility for remobilizing society. Around what axes can this be done, and what place should be reserved in this for the workers' material demands?

I think that that is not the only axis, although material demands are indispensable. What is more, since 1982, it has become apparent that the spontaneous resistance to the price rises and the struggles that developed spontaneously for wage increases have been useful, because they have prevented the government from getting a surplus at the expense of the society alone. All this resistance, this wage fight, has been a struggle for reforms, because it has forced the regime to undertake structural reforms. I think that that was something very valuable. On the other hand, today while such resistance is necessary, it is not sufficient.

Today, we need social activity in a lot of different areas at once. First of all, there is the problem of self-management at the enterprise level. The councils are functioning in one way or another but they should increase their activity. There is the fundamental problem for Solidarnosc of finding ways to rebuild the union—a process that is beginning through the creation of Solidarnosc organizing committees in the enterprises. There is the question of democratic self-management at the local government level.

If reform gets off the ground, its fate will be decided on the local level. The present structures, the various cliques, or even mafias, have to be dismantled. They serve as a straitjacket because of the ties that exist between the administration, the nomenklatura and even a section of the private entrepreneurs. If all this can be destroyed, to the benefit of local self-management, normally functioning industries and cooperatives, as well as private economic activity, then the reform will be successful. The success of the reform, therefore, will be determined on two levels. The first is the dismantling of the nomenklatura and the cliques in the stronger industries. The second, perhaps more important, is the local level.

## Don't you think that the essential question is that of the central government?

It is obvious that it is the system that is in question. But this system is evolving under social pressure. What is at stake is getting the central power to give up control of economic and social life. In order for it to do that, appropriate pressure will be necessary, because it functions in such a way that its natural tendency is to fill up all the gaps in social life. On the contrary, the society must penetrate into all the breaches that open up. I do not see today any possibility of solving this problem centrally, in the sense of the system being transformed overnight into something else.



This can only be a process advancing as the system evolves.

**When you talk about economic reform, are you thinking about a market reform?**

Yes, of course.

**But don't you think that the society's response to the referendum has been a rejection, if not of the market reform project, at least of the social cost involved in introducing such a reform, no matter in what form and regardless of who carries it out?**

I think that it is incorrect reasoning to say that the reform involves social costs. Maybe that is so, I don't know. Social costs do not flow from the reform but from the debits piled up by the totalitarian economic, social and political system that has dominated our country. We have to accept these costs. We are in a situation where the standard of living is going to continue to decline.

The question is whether, with this declining standard of living, we can carry out reform. The question is therefore not whether we want a market reform or non-market reform, but only—and that is much more essential—who should make the sacrifices. If there is no activity and organization by the society, then it will be the weaker social groups that will bear the weight of the sacrifices. If we manage to force the acceptance of independent unions and local self-management, then there is a chance that the costs will be borne by those who have caused them, that is the apparatus and its clientele.

The fundamental problem, which no one has yet raised, is that of the military complex, of the administration, the army and the police. In the present situation, if Gorbachev's policy is really aimed at reducing the arms race, then that should have a real effect in Poland by leading to a reduction in production for the army, in the costs of administration and in the military and repressive apparatus. That is where the reserves have to be found that can make it possible to distribute the costs more equitably.

**In 1980, at the time of the struggles that culminated in the founding of Solidarnosc, one of the demands put forward was rationing around the argument that everyone has the same kind of stomach. But the market method, on the other hand, leads to distribution on the basis of money, and so in this context the less well-placed groups naturally pay the costs of this option.**

Yes. That is why mechanisms must be introduced that will guarantee a certain minimum for the more disadvantaged groups. But such mechanisms can only be introduced on condition that Solidarnosc and other real unions can exist legally.

I do not see any other way to develop the country than the one that involves the market, or in other words the one that leads to capitalizing actually existing socialism. This does not mean that social forces that will take up the defense of the weak groups should not exist in this process. On the other hand, the road of

rationing leads to strengthening the central apparatus and creating a group of people with an interest in perpetuating the system.

**In 1981, Solidarnosc demanded social monitoring of rationing. Don't you think that that could be an alternative solution?**

I don't think so. The rationing system involves the existence of a developed bureaucratic apparatus, and it is no solution to set up an apparatus for social inspection standing above the society, one that will naturally tend to degenerate. In that way we would have apparatuses that in monitoring each other would paralyze social life. I am, of course, in favor of social inspection, but this must be done through democratic mechanisms, whether of a parliamentary or market type, and through various social groups. This applies, for example, to the question of the environment, where pressure and social monitoring are necessary.

**In what way can Solidarnosc exert its influence today with a view to getting such changes?**

First of all, Solidarnosc organizing committees must be formed in the factories. If we don't achieve this, we will get nowhere. Even if it was not inevitable, today one can see clearly that the regime on its own will not authorize trade-union pluralism. Rather strong pressure will be necessary.

There are today in our ranks two conceptions of these Solidarnosc factory committees. One is that it is enough to form these committees and expect that when they are numerous enough they will force acceptance of Solidarnosc. The other, toward which I incline much more, is that the committees should be established, go through a stage of organization and begin immediately to act. This would be an indirect way of continuing the work that Solidarnosc did in 1980-81.

However, today, this is no longer enough. For years we have called for giving Solidarnosc a chance to exist at plant level in the framework of reform. But this is no longer adequate. We have to take up organizational activity at a higher level than that of the plants. And I don't think we can afford to be slow about undertaking this. For some time, we have been seeing a tendency to abandon clandestine activity, which at present seems quite pointless, in favor of open activity.

**In 1981 you wrote an article arguing that the time had come to begin to divide. In Solidarnosc today, differences are appearing more and more clearly, including at the central level. I am referring here to the letter of the 22 Solidarnosc leaders to Lech Walesa.**

I am for expressing differences, if they are around real tendencies, different programs, and not differences over the question of who is or is not in the leadership. It seems to me that the letter of the 22 was an error. Today, calling a National Commission would serve no purpose. Solidarnosc is what it is. That is, it is weaker but continues to exist in the framework of certain structures. It is in this framework that it has to start to act, and that has to be done with the support of other people

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This can only be a process advancing as the system evolves.

**When you talk about economic reform, are you thinking about a market reform?**

Yes, of course.

**But don't you think that the society's response to the referendum has been a rejection, if not of the market reform project, at least of the social cost involved in introducing such a reform, no matter in what form and regardless of who carries it out?**

I think that it is incorrect reasoning to say that the reform involves social costs. Maybe that is so, I don't know. Social costs do not flow from the reform but from the debits piled up by the totalitarian economic, social and political system that has dominated our country. We have to accept these costs. We are in a situation where the standard of living is going to continue to decline.

The question is whether, with this declining standard of living, we can carry out reform. The question is therefore not whether we want a market reform or non-market reform, but only—and that is much more essential—who should make the sacrifices. If there is no activity and organization by the society, then it will be the weaker social groups that will bear the weight of the sacrifices. If we manage to force the acceptance of independent unions and local self-management, then there is a chance that the costs will be borne by those who have caused them, that is the apparatus and its clientele.

The fundamental problem, which no one has yet raised, is that of the military complex, of the administration, the army and the police. In the present situation, if Gorbachev's policy is really aimed at reducing the arms race, then that should have a real effect in Poland by leading to a reduction in production for the army, in the costs of administration and in the military and repressive apparatus. That is where the reserves have to be found that can make it possible to distribute the costs more equitably.

**In 1980, at the time of the struggles that culminated in the founding of Solidarnosc, one of the demands put forward was rationing around the argument that everyone has the same kind of stomach. But the market method, on the other hand, leads to distribution on the basis of money, and so in this context the less well-placed groups naturally pay the costs of this option.**

Yes. That is why mechanisms must be introduced that will guarantee a certain minimum for the more disadvantaged groups. But such mechanisms can only be introduced on condition that Solidarnosc and other real unions can exist legally.

I do not see any other way to develop the country than the one that involves the market, or in other words the one that leads to capitalizing actually existing socialism. This does not mean that social forces that will take up the defense of the weak groups should not exist in this process. On the other hand, the road of

rationing leads to strengthening the central apparatus and creating a group of people with an interest in perpetuating the system.

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I don't think so. The rationing system involves the existence of a developed bureaucratic apparatus, and it is no solution to set up an apparatus for social inspection standing above the society, one that will naturally tend to degenerate. In that way we would have apparatuses that in monitoring each other would paralyze social life. I am, of course, in favor of social inspection, but this must be done through democratic mechanisms, whether of a parliamentary or market type, and through various social groups. This applies, for example, to the question of the environment, where pressure and social monitoring are necessary.

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**ANDRZEJ GWIAZDA** was deported to Siberia with his mother at the age of five. As an assistant at the Gdansk Polytechnic School, he took an active part in the March 1968 student rebellion. In 1976 in Gdansk, he organized help for the strikers who fell victim to the repression.

In 1978, Gwiazda founded the Baltic Coast Free Unions' Organizing Committee. A member of the Gdansk Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee in August 1980, he became vice-president of Solidarnosc.

At its first congress, he stood against Lech Walesa for the presidency of the union. He was elected to the National Commission. Imprisoned on December 13, 1981, Gwiazda was only released in the summer of 1984.

Andrzej Gwiazda is now working as a painter 300 kilometers from his home. He is one of the signatories to the open letter of 22 Solidarnosc leaders to Lech Walesa.

#### **What attitude did you take on the referendum?**

I thought that regardless of the questions, our answers and our intentions, participating in the referendum had only one meaning. The government was looking for a popular endorsement. It was the same with the 1946 referendum. Instead of asking us the fundamental question—whether we wanted a Communist Party government in Poland brought in by the Red Army—they asked us three substitute questions: Did we want social reforms, a single-chamber parliament and borders on the Oder-Neisse line.<sup>1</sup> In participating in this referendum, we could say that we relinquished the western territories, but not that we could do without a Communist government.

We could not make the same mistake as before. In the recent referendum, we were asked to give up our right to defend ourselves against exploitation. On December 13, 1981, the regime responded to the demand for reforms to be carried out under the supervision of the society by instituting a state of war. Instead of looking for the cause of the crisis, they accused Solidarnosc of provoking it, and the reform theme was used to justify the continual price increases, inflation and restricting the rights of the workers.

After six years of uninterrupted reforms, young people no longer have any chance of finding a place to live, and most families have been tightening their belts for a long time, despite working harder and taking on second jobs. The most burning question is the defense of workers' material interests. So, what had to be done was to call for a boycott with the slogan, "By boycotting the referendum, you are protesting against exploitation!"

**What is your assessment of the referendum results? According to the French press, Professor Geremek [Lech Walesa's main advisor] considers that it was a setback for everybody, because the government compromised the ideas both of the referendum and the economic reform.**

If such views have been expressed, they are utter nonsense. The result of the referendum is a spectacular blow against Jaruzelski. It

testifies to the fact that the Polish society no longer believes in any reform by the Communists. This is the result of 40 years of a Communist regime. Jaruzelski told Moscow that he had everything under control, and that he had achieved total normalization. He could even claim that there was general support for the economic reform, because it was supported by Lech Walesa, the Solidarnosc leadership and its experts. The referendum showed that all that was nothing but propaganda.

People gained confidence after the referendum. They feel more sure of themselves. Only they no longer think, as they did before, that there is a leadership and that it will lead their struggle. After I got out of prison in the summer of 1984, I travelled through the country for a year. I discussed with the main leaders of Solidarnosc, as well as with ordinary activists in the plants. I could see then that combativity was flagging, and that the leadership's authority was also on the wane—it was the TKK at the time. Today, the evolution of the situation will depend to a large extent on the correlation between these two processes. If the leadership's authority continues to decline, but not combativity, then people will begin to organize autonomously. Before, these two processes were parallel. Now, even before the referendum, the ranks had begun to think independently. The referendum result is the expression of that.

#### **What do you think of the position taken on October 25 by the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission (KKW) on the referendum?**

It was the worst imaginable. I was in a small provincial city at the time, and I discussed with a Solidarnosc activist there. He told me, "You don't understand anything, because Walesa says that the the reform is a good thing, but that there is no need to vote." The whole Solidarnosc leadership took the same position as Walesa, that the society is hoping for an economic reform, that this reform is necessary but that, despite everything, it was better not to go to the polls. Onyszkiewicz, the representative of the Solidarnosc leadership, said that it was better to go fishing or gathering mushrooms, because in any case the referendum results would not matter. That was very bad propaganda. On the other hand, the government conducted more intelligent propaganda than ever. But despite this, the people refused to give their support. They are starting to think independently.

#### **In your opinion why was the government so mistaken in its predictions?**

Everyone is asking themselves that question today. Why did Jaruzelski hold this referendum? I think that the team in power today is taken in a lot less by its own propaganda than those that preceded it. But it let its head be turned by the Solidarnosc leadership's propaganda. It thought that this leadership faithfully represented the opinion of the society.

I have heard such an opinion voiced by a representative of party and police circles. All you had to do, according to them, was listen

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**JOSEF PINIOR** is the regional treasurer of Lower Silesian Solidarnosc. He gained a place in history as the person who, shortly before the institution of the state of war, withdrew 80 million zlotys from the bank, money that served to finance the union's underground activity.

In November 1982, he took the leadership of the Lower Silesian Regional Strike Committee (RKS) and came into the underground national leadership (TKK) of Solidarnosc. He participated in the development of the "line of the factories"—a militant orientation that was put into practice in his region. Arrested in April 1983, he was released in the summer of 1984.

Subsequently, Pinior was ordered by the courts to pay back the 80 million zlotys used to finance the union. From September 1986 to October 1987, he belonged to the Provisional National Council (TRS) of Solidarnosc, which operates openly.

In November 1987, he took part in the founding of the Polish Socialist Party, and he is the vice-president of its General Council. Since then, he has not participated in the leading bodies of Solidarnosc.

**What do you think of the referendum results?**

In my opinion, they reflect above all a lack of confidence in the regime, in the whole policy that General Jaruzelski has been carrying out since 1981, and not just a lack of confidence in the proposed changes in the economy. Poles said "no" to this regime. The society is in favor of political and economic reforms, but real ones and not a facade that was to be legitimized by the referendum.

**But the introduction of enormous price rises is one of the aspects of General Jaruzelski's economic reform. Wasn't the referendum result also a rejection of these rises?**

People find it hard to accept a growing pauperization, especially without any of the guarantees offered by the possession of civic and political freedoms, even at as elementary a level as trade-union pluralism and the right to defend your own interests through independent trade-union representation. When you have such rights and guarantees, then you can discuss price increases and material sacrifices. But such a discussion is impossible in the absence of elementary political and trade-union freedoms. It is evident that the referendum result was also a response to the government's schemes for raising prices.

**Do you think that the workers would be ready to accept price rises in exchange for trade-union pluralism, and that they would not immediately take advantage of a legalization of their independent union to win wage rises to compensate for the price increases?**

No. That is something unimaginable. And the government does not think in such terms. It has no intention of compensating for the price rises and growing pauperization of the society by granting trade-union freedoms. There is no doubt that in Poland we will see a struggle by the majority of the society for a decent material life, a struggle on the most basic

questions. This is the result of the "Albanization" that is advancing year by year, of an enormous impoverishment. People no longer have anything to lose; they have no future. Their standard of living is extremely low, and it may fall lower still.

We will witness natural reactions, explosions of struggles for better living conditions. But these struggles are going to crystallize at the political level as struggles for trade-union freedoms, for self-management rights and for political liberties. In fact, in Poland, given the sort of social consciousness that exists, it is unlikely that the expression of these struggles will be different. It is unimaginable that the resistance to the price rises and the defense of the standard of living will not be linked to the fight for trade-union freedoms, or that people might fight for trade-union freedoms without at the same time fighting to defend living standards.

**One of the new forms of social resistance is the emergence of initiatives aimed at winning legality for independent factory unions. I know that you support these initiatives.**

In the Wroclaw area today, at the rank-and-file level, Solidarnosc organizing committees are being established, which are trying to get independent trade-union organizations recognized at the factory level. This is clearly a manifestation of the social situation we talked about. This is above all a movement of young people, young workers of 18 to 20 who were not in Solidarnosc in 1980-1981, and who started to work after the establishment of the state of war. Today, they are beginning to discover what classical work for immediate demands is.

For these young workers, these plant-level Solidarnosc union organizing committees are an attractive form of organization, because they are at the same time a means of fighting for the right to legal trade-union activity and a means of operating out in the open. Such committees have appeared in Lower Silesia in several enterprises—in Polar; in the Hydral arms factory; in the Polkowice mine in Walbrzych; and in the Domel factory, a traditional Solidarnosc bastion in Wroclaw. We will see how this develops.

I think that these committees will have to go through two stages. The first involves an elementary organizational question. You have to find ten people with the courage to form such a committee. I repeat, with the courage, because although forming such a committee is technically legal, it will immediately face repression by the administration and the SB [the political police]. For seven years already, Solidarnosc has been trying to get over this first hurdle. But what will be decisive for such a committee's success is completing the second stage, developing a plant-level trade-union program, that is a program through which the workers in the plant in question can identify with the ten brave souls.

What is needed is a very concrete program of demands that can be met within the framework of the relations between the organizing

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# Leave the Bunkers to the Bats!

Marek Kossakowski

**BUILT BY THE GERMANS ON** their pre-war eastern border at the Oder and Warta rivers, the Miedzyrzecze (Messeritz) Fortified Region ranks as one of the main fortifications in Europe (apart from the Maginot Line). The MFR was to be the basic defensive position on the road to Berlin—defensive, because initially the Germans expected the war to be initiated in the west. The eastern fortifications were designed to prevent Poland from coming to the aid of her ally, France. When Hitler ordered construction halted on eastern fortifications in April 1938 (having changed his mind for one last time), the basic structure of the MFR was almost finished.

Several dozen bunkers equipped with heavy machine guns, with walls of reinforced concrete two-and-a-half meters thick, topped by three-ton armored cupolas, were connected 35 meters underground by more than ten kilometers of main tunnels. These had a ten-meters-square cross section and could accommodate mechanical vehicles as well as a narrow-gauge electric railway. Several kilometers of auxiliary tunnels led to underground halls, warehouses, technical-maintenance rooms, and control centers for directing artillery fire. This was the central section of the MFR. The southern and northern wings of the complex were relatively less developed. The region's sophisticated water system was also intended for military purposes. Various hydrotechnical installations were constructed—dams, reservoirs, and easily-disassembled drawbridges. Contingency plans were made to flood

large sections of territory. Completing the fortifications were ditches, traps and mine fields.

In the middle years of the war, when battles were being fought thousands of miles to the east of the MFR, some of the mechanical equipment was removed to the fortifications on the Atlantic coast and the underground areas were turned to "civilian" purposes. Airplane motor repair shops were set up and...a warehouse for Luftwaffe womens' uniforms. Work was performed by forced labor and Soviet prisoners of war.

The German General Staff turned its attention to the MFR once again in the summer of 1944. Construction was hastily completed, armaments and crews assembled. However, due to the speed of the Soviet Army's movements and to the element of surprise, the fortifications were breached relatively easily at the end of January 1945.

In peacetime the vacant underground complex, which was now on Polish territory, became a tourist attraction...and a habitat for bats. In winter thousands and thousands of them congregate here from all over Europe. In August 1980 sections of the underground network were declared a "bat-preserve."

All of the above information was drawn from a pamphlet by Andrzej Toczewski, "The Miedzyrzecze Fortified Region," a publication of the Miedzyrzecze Museum. Distribution of this pamphlet was prohibited—no, not by the Reich's Central Security Service. It'd been over forty years since Miedzyrzecze was called Messeritz.

Protest march through Miedzyrzecze. Banners read: "We want to live" and "Leave the bunkers to the bats!"



Originally published in *Magazin-WiP* #1. Translation by Martyna Szalanska.

Disapproval of the pamphlet that described in a straightforward way the construction of the MFR and its overpowering by the Red Army came from the Secret Service of the Polish People's Republic.

The bats will not be allowed to sleep in peace. A few years ago rumors began to circulate that the government was planning to use the Miedzyrzecze bunkers as a Central Depository for Radioactive Waste. Stories were going around that

whose abundant water supply from a river system (and the way it affects the water table) would cause the slightest leak to contaminate a very large area.

At first, local residents resigned themselves to their fate. Perhaps they lacked sufficient information; perhaps they did not believe that any complaint could be successful against decisions made in far-off Warsaw. Things did not begin to move before the spring of 1987. On May 3rd

Leaflet distribution September 2 — Banner reads: "We don't want a nuclear dump!"



some West European countries (Switzerland, for instance) would like to deposit their own nuclear waste in Miedzyrzecze —naturally for an appropriate fee.

Nobody likes nuclear waste. In the last several years, public protests prevented the construction of nuclear dumps in Great Britain, the United States, and many other countries. The world press carries increasing numbers of reports about nuclear waste containers that technocrats claimed would last for centuries. Meanwhile, though, under stress from high radiation, they are about to start leaking after only a dozen or so years. Nobody has so far devised a completely safe method for storing waste from nuclear reactors. Usually they are deposited at the bottoms of deep inactive mines in geologically stable formations. Poland barely manages to take care of storing the waste from the experimental reactors in Swierk (near Warsaw), whose total power does not even equal that of one block of a nuclear power station. Therefore, it seems to be the height of folly to store an incomparably greater amount of nuclear waste in ex-German bunkers buried barely 35 meters underground, and that in an area

[Polish Independence Day, not officially celebrated] after Mass at Miedzyrzecze's St. Adelbert Church, fifteen hundred people marched through the streets of the town in silent protest. It was announced that similar marches would take place every month from then on. On May 18, five members of the Freedom and Peace group in Gorzow Wielkopolski stood for an hour atop the roofledge of a local department store, its window covered with posters, leaflets explaining the situation floating to the ground. But resistance grew weaker and weaker. On June 7, only 700 people came to the demonstration. In July and August, even fewer, as though people were losing faith in their own power. Perhaps some were scared away by the increasingly brutal actions of the police and Secret Services.

The situation was becoming ever more serious since the authorities decided to site Poland's second nuclear energy plant in Klempicz, a town only several kilometers from Miedzyrzecze. (The first is in Zarnowiec near Gdansk.) As resistance weakened, it became likely that the authorities would soon announce their decision to

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## Historic International Human Rights Conference in Moscow

Some 400 Soviet and foreign activists gathered in Moscow last December 10-12 in response to a call by the Moscow-based Press Club Glasnost — a coalition of unofficial clubs and organizations — for an international symposium on developing a common agenda for independent, non-governmental human rights organizations and initiatives. Numerous would-be participants were turned back at the borders or detained inside the Soviet Union, and those who made it were compelled to huddle in Moscow flats when the authorities revoked permission to meet in public facilities, but the seminar was an unqualified success. Although Charter 77 activist Jan Urban of Czechoslovakia was the sole East-bloc applicant to be granted a visa to travel to Moscow, his participation in the seminar symbolizes the growing cooperation between democratic movements throughout Eastern Europe. The following is an edited transcript of the final press conference held by the seminar's organizers on December 12. Translation by Yelena Saratova from tapes provided by Humanitas International of Palo Alto, California, whose representative was among the American participants.

**TIMOFEYEV:** First I will talk about the work of the 10 sections of our seminar. Around 400 people took part at different times in the work of the sections. Some 200 reports were read. Practically speaking, the seminar was addressed to the broadest public opinion, and it responded to the seminar. The hunger for free expression and independent public opinion in our country is so great that none of the Moscow apartments could possibly contain all the people who wished to attend.

We rented three banquet halls in a restaurant for the three plenary conferences. On the 10th of December "infectious bacillae" were found in one hall and it was quarantined. On the 13th another banquet hall was shut down "due to technical problems." The banquet hall reserved for today will probably be burned and a fire hazard declared. These naive excuses are in reality very significant. We were tenaciously driven into the apartments. This turned out to be a success. We had no other way. We worked in Moscow apartments, the largest capable of holding 120 persons. Other measures to restrict the work of the seminar were also undertaken. We expected the participation of people from other cities. And they actually did participate—later I will speak more about it. You of course know that two national section leaders, (Vyacheslav) Chornovil and Paruir Arekian were detained in Lvov under the pretext of transporting narcotics. This interrupted the activity of that section, but we proceeded nevertheless. We will continue the section and there are proposals to hold it in Lvov, where Chornovil and Airekian were detained. If they do not allow the people to come to Moscow we will work in their cities. They detained people from Lithuania, Tashkent, Riga and Leningrad who wanted to participate. They detained them and threatened to spread the rumor that the seminar is illegal. Finally they were threatened with warnings delivered directly from the prosecutor's office. I mention this in order to show how anxious the authorities were to narrow the scope of the seminar's activity. And this is understandable, because interest in the seminar was so great that people were willing to come regardless of prohibitions and the threat of criminal prosecution. Yesterday, for example, the Crimean Tartars Sabrie Seutova and Fuat Ablimin arrived. They had to travel on the bottom of the car in order to cross the border between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and then travel on to Moscow taking short local flights. Nevertheless, many people were captured and sent back. Parur Ayrekian, coordinator of

the section on "Nationalities Problems," was constantly followed in Erevan (Armenia). They took away his passport, cars follow him, he is literally being terrorized. Vasiliu Barladinu, the Ukrainian activist in the human rights movement in Odessa, is constantly accompanied by his co-workers and pushed into the street at crosswalks. This is the condition of people who could not come to our seminar. Nevertheless, the seminar did take place.

Despite the detentions our friends from abroad also came. We were especially happy about the participation of Jan Urban, Czech activist in Charter 77. He returned to Czechoslovakia after participating in the seminar and reading some very interesting reports which attracted great attention. We are especially pleased to introduce Jerry Nagler, deputy director of the International Helsinki Federation. We are pleased because the social press-club "Glasnost" which initiated the seminar is a member of the International Helsinki Federation, which we joined in October.

It is difficult to encompass the entire significance of this seminar which had so many different aspects. It was the first opportunity in the last few years for social public opinion to activate itself. I do not want to compare this with the general situation in the country, since it would be dishonest to people who are persecuted and face repression. To a considerable degree, the possibility for us to work was granted by the authorities against their will. But on the other hand we have to admit that at least there was this opportunity, at least we worked, despite all the delays and limitations, and we accomplished our work. It is impossible today to oppose the growing movement of public opinion with the sufficient degree of effectiveness which was always needed to limit this kind of movement. This is quite obvious. And this is perhaps the most important result of our seminar.

**BOGORAZ:** (coordinator of the section "Public Defense of the Rights of the Individual"): The section took place in an apartment on December 11. 50 people participated in the section. All the talks were interesting, but it was especially good to hear the speech of Jan Urban about the human rights situation in Czechoslovakia and about the work of Charter 77.

The most significant and interesting thing about this section was the variety of opinions about the position of human rights defendants past, present and future. Participants did not aim at formulating one point of view regarding this issue. For this reason two final documents were

accepted. Nevertheless, it was possible to locate those sections of the documents which unite both divergent positions and to mark the basic points which the participants of the section agreed upon unanimously. The basic points the participants found necessary to observe is that human rights form one of the basic values of contemporary civilization and have a significant priority in solving a number of world problems, including war and peace, establishing cooperation between countries and peoples, ecological problems, reviving national economies and cultures, political stability and others. If human rights are not given priority, these most important problems of human civilization cannot be solved effectively. We also note that the problems of human rights is not an internal affair of one or another country but has universal significance. We had to state that the problem of human rights in our country is still felt sharply. It is still not resolved, regardless of current developments. Everyone agreed that the situation with respect to protection of the rights of the individual in our country is in need of serious consideration and improvement. In particular, the questions of the release of political prisoners was begun but not finished. The possibility of criminal prosecution due to political and ideological motivations has not been eliminated. The state monopoly of the press still continues to function as a serious obstacle to any kind of development.

International social cooperation is necessary for the protection of human rights. We propose the following theses: participant countries in the Helsinki conference (1975) must consolidate their efforts in defense of human rights. We would like to see a close collaboration of human rights organizations with ecology movements, antimilitarist movements, and movements for the protection of culture. The governments of the countries which signed the Helsinki Accords must stop regarding human rights advocates as internal political opposition and stop treating human rights issue as an internal political affair of that country. We appeal to all governments to rule according to law and we stand behind the slogan promoted by Jan Urban of Charter 77: "A world without tanks." This statement expresses our relationship to both the armed interference in other countries and to the repressive methods in internal politics.

**Question:** Who took part in the seminar?

**TIMOFEYEV:** As I have already stated, we were shocked by the variety of people from different geographical areas. They came from Blagoveshchensk, Irkutsk, Tomsk (Siberia), Central Asia, Georgia, Lenin-grad. The broadest representation. This was wholly unexpected, since we assumed that only traditional human rights advocates would take part. The broad public representation from Moscow University students to venerable academicians, spe-

**Lev Timofeyev** is an economist who has published widely in the official press but turned to publishing abroad as his critique of the Soviet economy increasingly diverged from official dogma. Arrested in 1985 for "anti-Soviet agitation", he spent two years in prison and labor camp prior to his release in February 1987. He currently edits the samizdat journal *Referendum* and is the coordinator of Press Club Glasnost, a coalition of civil rights groups.

**Larissa Bogoraz** is one of the oldest veterans of the civil rights movement. She was among the seven men and women who marched out on to Red Square in 1968 to protest the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. She is the widow of Anatoly Marchenko, the political prisoner who died in Chistopol Prison on December 8, 1986, after a prolonged hunger strike in protest against terrible prison conditions and the refusal of the authorities to grant him a visit with his wife.

**Fr. Gleb Yakunin** is a Russian Orthodox Priest and former political prisoner. He was the founder in 1976 of the Christian Committee to Defend Believers' Rights, which worked under the aegis of the Mos-

cow Helsinki Group. He was released early from internal exile this year and was allowed to receive a parish once again, which is located outside Moscow. Church authorities have warned him of involvement in dissident activity such as *Glasnost* magazine.

**Sergei Grigoryants** is a literary critic, former editor of *Bulletin V*, a samizdat human rights bulletin, and a former political prisoner freed in February of this year. He is the editor of *Glasnost* magazine, an independent publication on political, social and human rights issues published by a group of ex-political prisoners in Moscow.

**Yuri Khronopulo** is a physicist who works in an institute in the Moscow suburb of Dolgoprudny. He was among the original founders in 1982 of the Moscow Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and the USSR, but later split off from this group with several other scientists to form a separate Peace Research Seminar. He is now active in a newly reformed group called Friendship and Dialogue, which has been organizing discussions on peace and human rights issues between Muscovites and foreigners.





Timofeyev speaking at press conference as seminar participants are locked out of facilities on opening day. Photo courtesy of Humanitas International.

cialists in different areas, and writers, was totally unexpected. Unfortunately, none of the well-known writers invited to the seminar came.

In the last few days I have said so much about the broad participation in the seminar that there are no words left to show the amazing range of interests and goals. People telephoned simply to greet us and thank us for conducting the seminar.

If only they could have let us conduct this seminar openly! We could have presented the full breadth of public opinion and could have really shown what people think about the situation in the country and the world. This need is enormous, people yearn for it. At the same time we demonstrated that we cannot yield responsibility for the nation's affairs to the authorities. Independent public opinion has definitely announced that it lays claim to responsibility for participation in the solution of the political, economic, legal and moral destiny of our country. It is a very important result of our seminar, and we think it will become apparent in the future.

**Question:** How many political prisoners are still left?

**BOGORAZ:** We cannot give a definite number of political prisoners for lack of information. For certain, we can quote a number higher than 20 political prisoners in camps and in exile sentenced under Article 70. Of course, it is significantly higher because there are prisoners of conscience under article 190, but we do not know how many. There are also conscientious objectors imprisoned under the antireligious articles.

**YAKUNIN:** These are articles 222 and 227. According to our figures there are 260 individuals. But the unregistered Baptists, called "underground," who refuse to register for military service, state that the believers are being slowly released.

**BOGORAZ:** I do not want to belittle the importance of accurate information about the number of prisoners of conscience. We do not have that information. But I repeat: even one prisoner of conscience is one too many.

**TIMOFEYEV:** The very fact that we cannot name the exact number of political prisoners shows that the authorities simply conceal the true situation of prisoners in our country. Above all we must raise the question of the completeness of information concerning political prisoners in our country. This question was discussed in different sections in connection with different types of political prisoners and will continue to be the object of attention for human rights activity of the seminar and Press-club "Glasnost."

**GRIGORYANTS:** We worked two days from early in the morning to late at night. We had many visitors, including visitors from other countries—England, USA,

"We want something quite simple from our governments: we want them to implement what they have declared; we want them to fulfill the obligations which they voluntarily accepted when they signed the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Final Helsinki Act ... We are convinced that respect for human rights and freedoms is one of the basic preconditions of the policy of peace and cooperation between nations and states. If today, during the negotiations on arms control and disarmament the decisive implementation of mutual trust between states is acknowledged, then one of the expressions of each state's trustworthiness should be the relationship between government, citizens and society—the recognition by those in power of civic and human rights.

Greece, and Holland. We heard many extremely interesting reports, all of which will be published in forthcoming issues of *Glasnost*.

The practice of hindering journalists' activities has assumed a wider scope. We therefore decided to organize a national section of the International Federation of Journalists, an organization that exists in 34 countries but unfortunately does not have a single section in the socialist coun-

Extracts on this page and the following are from Charter 77's letter to the Moscow seminar. Translation by Palach Press.

ries. We demand changes in the conditions of journalists in our country. We discussed ways to promote free journalism, to create conditions under which journalists can work independently in the existing active journals—samizdat, informal publications, not state ones. This was the center of the section's activity.

**Question:** How will the seminar proceed further?

**TIMOFEYEV:** The first session of the seminar will conclude with a plenary meeting and at that meeting we will announce that

It is not simply a question of creating trust and free political dialogue between East and West. Nor is it just a matter of achieving economic cooperation between East and West (as the governments of some countries perceive it) without other forms of cooperation. The conditions for free political and civic dialogue have to be created within the East. There are many obstacles and barriers which detract from our dignity: things which should be simple and obvious—unrestricted travel, for example, the exchange of information and visits, of experiences, knowledge and cultural values, the teaching of languages, joint ecological and peace activities and much else—are today, unimaginably complicated and crippled by bureaucratic red tape...

this seminar proposes to be permanently active. A coordinating committee will be created, which will coordinate the work of sections on a permanent basis. There will be meetings of those sections to discuss various problems. In particular, our next goal is to conduct a section "Nationalities Problems" and a section "Human rights aspects of environmental issues," both of which were interrupted by the authorities' intervention. We assume our activities will be coordinated with activities of the International Helsinki Federation represented here by Jerry Nagler and that in the future we will find forms of cooperative endeavor similar to the forms used in our seminar. Preliminary discussions have begun with Jerry Nagler during this visit. We will continue them.

**KHRONOPULO** (coordinator of the section "International Trust and Disarmament"): I first want to note that unusual enthusiasm with which our section is working, the unusual degree of cooperation. Despite the differences in opinions which were presented, everyone was captivated by the seminar and wants to participate in similar events in the future. The view was expressed that protection of human

rights is a criterion of a country's readiness to realize its foreign policy goals without resorting to force. The continuing abuse of human rights in various countries is an obstacle to the creation of an atmosphere of trust. Armed intervention by governments in regional conflicts causes serious harm to international trust. Naturally, many opinions were expressed regarding the Afghanistan war. An article from *Glasnost* was read at our session. It was amazing in its emotional force.

The following demands were voiced by our section: an end to armed interference in regional conflicts. All the participants in the section called for the immediate withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and termination of the war within twelve months, which the government itself has indicated. Another demand was to publish comprehensive data on the military budget and about all types of arms. Discussion took place around the question of aid to other governments and national liberation movements. We consider it very important that the people themselves participate in determining when, to whom, and what

[...the intervention] in Afghanistan, or the military measures in Poland and all other interventions of foreign powers in the lives and activities of citizens, wherever they occur in the world, should not be the concern solely of politicians, soldiers and diplomats, but must become the centre of attention in the negotiation talks of humanitarian forums. The intervention in Czechoslovakia had far-reaching and adverse consequences for the economy, culture and morality. In particular, it adversely marked the implementation and defence of civil and human rights in our country. We reiterate our demand that Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia.

kinds of aid can be given. The section then appealed to all governments to officially announce that the guarantee of human rights in any particular country is not simply an internal state affair but it is a matter of international social concern. It emerged that nearly every section ended up with the same demand (regarding human rights)! **7**

# Socialist Pluralism, Free Speech, and the Limits of Glasnost

*Sobesednik* ("Interlocutor") of the central press and *Vechernaia Moskva* ("Evening Moscow") of the local press have been issuing a steady stream of threatening remarks addressed to the seminar "Democracy and Humanism". Is this an omen that the authorities intend to make an exception to the officially proclaimed directive on dialogue with dissenters when applied to the activity of this study group of liberal democratic orientation? The directives which follow logically from the consistent implementation of the principle of denying any individual the "right to truth in the last instance" are the main foundation of new political thinking in foreign and domestic politics.

It seems obvious that the positive sense of this principle presupposes first of all an acknowledgement of that unquestionable experience through which we have suffered, that political truth as any other can and must be only the result of interaction, the struggle of opinions and convictions which are really (and not imaginarily) different from one another. This includes opposing opinions and convictions. Measured and thoroughly deliberated decision-making is only possible in conditions of free, honest, open, public, and of course, responsible and constructive criticism of any socially significant initiative (no matter who proposed it). A decision resulting from this procedure would obtain sufficient popular support, and therefore be really feasible. We see this as socialist pluralism in action.

Its content is determined by the objective need of a democratically organized society instead of some subjective notions of the "best interests of working people". In our view, this thesis possesses the character of an imperative from the point of view of the natural development of democracy in conditions of political systems of all types, not excluding of course also the political system of "real socialism". Therefore it must be regarded as an integral part of the general democratic political culture of all civilized countries.

The sad seventy years experience of the resolution of our "imminent problems" by means of the unquestioning execution of the "authoritative instructions" of superiors by subordinates, testifies eloquently enough to the absence of another course.

We foresee a question: Do you support freedom of expression for the opponents of socialism in our society? Yes, we support this because the absence of such freedom will automatically mean (as happened previously and continues until now) a ban on any serious criticism of our short-

comings because any attempt at such criticism will inevitably run into (as in the past and today) demagogic accusations of subverting the authority of the government, i.e., will be brushed aside and hounded for political reasons. Vacuous and mindless ideological squabbles will continue in the place of concrete creative work on the improvement of the living conditions of the people. Today every literate Soviet individual can competently reflect on how much such a practice enabled the construction of socialism in the past, and how much it is generally compatible with socialism. In any case, one can certainly state that responsibility for the outbreak of a general and protracted crisis of socialism in our country, must be borne not by those who criticized and continue to criticize but by those who silenced critics and continue to shut them up. This criticism, even the most intransigent and indignantly received, proved to be correct in many respects. Would it not be thus wiser to assume that we will benefit more from paying attention to criticism addressed to us (especially to the criticism of our opponents) by recalling the profound good sense of the ironic maxim: "Love your enemy because nobody will point out your errors to you better than he".

In our opinion, the right to intellectual opposition must be perceived by the legal and political system of socialism as an element of a universal democratic (by no means bourgeois!) political culture. Until this is achieved, it would be premature to talk about the perfection of our politico-legal system. Those who resist its progressive development in accordance with contemporary social needs, are also authentic opponents of socialism because serious changes in the economic realm and improvement of the quality of life of the people, are impossible without a revolutionary transformation of the political superstructure of our society. Those same individuals who defend today their nomenclature privileges, are also provoking a worsening of the crisis situation in the country which is pushing it towards the verge of catastrophe.

The attitude of these "servants of the people" to Soviet Power is distinctive. In constituting the influential stratum of the apparatus of the CPSU, the soviets, social organizations, and occupying the key posts in elective organs, they demand the defense of only that kind of "Soviet Power" and those "Soviet Laws" which safeguard their group interests. They detest any broader conception of authority and law which would deprive them of

Continued on page 50

The editors of *Viewpoint* — bulletin of Club Perestroika, one of the largest of the mushrooming independent socialist clubs in Moscow — submitted the following contribution to the December human rights seminar. Translation by Patrick Flaherty.

# Mercury — Leningrad's Underground "Green" Journal

## On the Matter of Public Opinion

—We await an answer, as  
the nightingale the summer.

On Sunday June 4 an announcement appeared on the first page of the Leningrad edition of the television and radio schedule. On July 9 the regularly scheduled program "Public Opinion" was to be broadcast simultaneously from three locations: one in the studio and two in the city. Those who, as the text put it, "think that the essence of perestroika consists above all in the creation of an economic and political 'milieu' hospitable to the activation of new attitudes in the spheres of production, social relations, and everyday life..." were invited to gather on Ostrovsky Square. Television decided to call this group the "realists."

Those who "think that the time for bold and decisive actions has already come" were invited to Kazan Cathedral and were christened "enthusiasts."

The anonymous author of the text assured the inhabitants of Leningrad that these groups (which he himself artificially created) would be given the opportunity to "argue their point of view at the microphone" and that "they will be offered the opportunity to defend it."

But in reality... In the well-known comedy "The Striped Voyage" there is an episode in which an animal-tamer, to save himself from his charges, climbs into the cage, and the tigers growl and reach for him with their paws. The young television workers in the middle of the cordoned off area, microphones in hand, the crowd gathered along its edges—yelling, indignant, hands outstretched towards the microphones, which aren't given to them, and are constantly taken away—all that reminded me of the episode from the above-mentioned comedy. Only this time it wasn't funny...

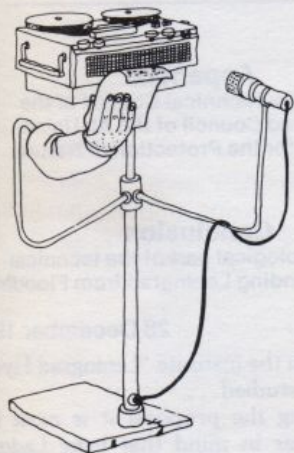
Television did not keep its promises. Not a single person who made it to the microphone was allowed to argue his opinion. The terrified hostess [of the program] scarcely gave the thirty seconds which were, for whatever reason, allotted to speeches "from the people." She preferred to speak herself, interrupting those who spoke in the most unpardonable manner. And who even remembers what she said? She was killing time. Tamara Maksimovna's speech occupied 30% of the broadcast time. Or so a participant in the broadcast, the expert K. contends. The broadcast got out of control, turning into a wild competition between, on the one hand, the crowd that had showed up on the square, and, on the other, Tamara Maksimovna. While the people tried hard to voice their concerns in the seconds allotted, the hostess endeavored to drown out any "questionable" sentiments with her own voice. She did this 119 times in the first part of the program alone.

In front of the [television] monitors on the asphalt of Ostrovsky Square, impromptu signs appeared on the stand surrounding the television group: "Give the independent groups legal status and freedom of the press!", "Bring our boys home from Afghanistan alive!", "Grant political rights to the independent

groups", "We won't let the bureaucrats grow fat off the common lie!"...

But the television cameras scrupulously avoided these signs throughout the entire three hours of the broadcast. The complete failure of the broadcast was finally signalled by a desperate plea from the hostess, asking anyone at all to say something about the positive advances and results of perestroika in Leningrad. After a short pause the answer rang out in complaints and protests. And then one of the experts who was taking part in the program from the television studio did something underhanded. He started to read a telegram which had arrived at the studio during the broadcast: "The Association of Experimental Art initiated the 'perestroika' of our city's cultural life more than five years ago. But we remain, as before, without official status... The Artists' Union has monopolized..."—and here this esteemed expert on social questions, practically a professor, stopped short and finished with his own summary—there, you see, what a marvelous example of positive results. But the telegram continued thus: "The Artists' Union has monopolized the fine arts. The fate of the Association is, as always, in the hands of the bureaucrats. Thus does enthusiasm collide head on with reality." They didn't need this kind of ending, so they liquidated it, deceiving the entire television audience in the process. The results of the survey, which they had promised to tally by the program's end, remained unknown. The only report was that the "realists" significantly outnumbered the "enthusiasts," which is not surprising. "Perestroika" and "glasnost" notwithstanding, we still see the familiar sight of television studio workers stopping speakers with a cry, and directors manipulating footage. City mayors who have lost the respect of their constituents, but who still want to get re-elected, can run for office in nearby suburban towns where no one knows them and calmly return to well-worn seats in the cabinets of the executive committees. Our soldiers have been dying in Afghanistan for seven years, defending a politically bankrupt regime, as if Lenin had never spoken of the impossibility of exporting revolution. Even as their sons' blood flows, the mothers of those who are perishing on foreign soil don't have the right to stop it. Naturally in such a society the majority are behind those who think that the government will have to implement more than a few decisive changes in order for the people to feel, if not yet the master of their future, at least its co-owner. The need for this is growing.

The last words on "public opinion," spoken by one of the Leningraders, are a fitting commentary, reminding everyone that, "no one will give us deliverance—no God, no Tsar, no hero—we will gain freedom by our own hand."



The explosive growth of independent clubs and organizations since 1987 has generated an equally remarkable samizdat explosion in the Soviet Union (for an account of recent developments, see Boris Kagarlitsky, "The Soviet New Left," and Ludmilla Alexeyeva, "Independent Youth Groups," in *Across Frontiers* vol. 4 #1). One of the most authoritative of these new journals is the Leningrad bulletin *Mercury*, edited by Yelena Zelinskaya. Disseminated in over a thousand typewritten and carbon copies, *Mercury* runs a wide gamut from "green" environmental and social issues to coverage of the local cultural avant-garde. The following translations — both from issue #4 — are by S. Townsend and were facilitated by Ark Communications Institute of Lafayette, California.

—The city's health should be in the hands of its inhabitants.

*The idea, the project, and the construction of the so-called "protective structures" (or, as they have been dubbed by the city's inhabitants, "dams") can be interpreted and discussed on various levels of competence, talent, foresight, and so forth. It is basic common sense, however, which has determined the position of those who have signed or will sign our appeal.*

**Text of the Appeal**  
to the General Secretary of the  
Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of the Soviet Union,  
M.S. Gorbachev

Dear Mikhail Sergeevich!

We appeal to you to suspend the construction of structures to protect Leningrad from flooding (dams) until all Leningrad's purification facilities are in operation and until the project has been reviewed by scientists and technical experts under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and *without* the participation of interested organizations and agencies.

With only one kilometer left to complete, builders could close up the mouth of the Neva this year. The projected completion date for the purification facilities is 1992. If this plan is realized, the mouth of the Neva will be made an inner-city reservoir. Cut off by the dam from the Gulf of Finland, it will become a cesspool of unpurified sewage.

Moreover, the purification facilities being built will not be capable of disinfecting or neutralizing the water, a problem that has yet to be solved.

It is essential that the people of Leningrad, above all its scientists and specialists, be given the opportunity to express their opinions on this matter. We have no "glasnost" on this subject in our city, despite the fact that it concerns the health and future of all its inhabitants.

The proposed action is clearly our last chance to save the city from the wholesale death (the development of epidemics and so forth) which will inevitably result from the continued degradation of its water resources. The "dam" is the last link in this lethal chain and, like a gag stuffed down the throat, cuts off not just air, but words as well. We, the forces of reason, have no voice. They—the madmen—cry out, using all available sources of information, that the city's entire population of five million appealed to them for the construction of this dam/trap...

They are the dam's clients: its administration, its designers (the Leningrad Hydro Project), its contractors (the LenGZSS), and others, including the North-Western Reservoir Territorial Commission of the RSFSR, the administration of the "Lenvodokanal."

We call on all reasonable people to voice their opinions about the destruction of our city's water resources on the pages of "Mercury."

From the editors.

Every Saturday from 2 to 3:00 at the Peace Watch in the Mikhailovsky Gardens a representative of the group "Ade-laida" will be collecting signatures...

(Translator's note: This note is followed by several others of a similar nature.)

**Appendix**

Scientific-Technical Council of the  
Leningrad Council of the All-Union  
Society for the Protection of Nature

**Conclusion**

on the ecological part of the technical project "Defending Leningrad from Flooding"

Leningrad 28 December 1977

Materials from the institute "Leningrad Hydro Project" were studied...

In examining the proposal it is most important to bear in mind that Lake Ladoga, the Neva, the mouth of the Neva, and the Gulf of Finland represent a single, living, unique aquatic system; the shallow mouth of the Neva is an integral part of that system.

Any measures taken on a massive scale involving the transformation of nature demand preliminary ecological justification. During the planning of the dam across the Gulf of Finland there was no scientific basis for the choice of its location. First, engineering plans were completed, and then the NII (Scientific Research Institute) was called in to provide ecological justification for a decision that had already been made.

In the prognoses calculated for the pollution of the mouth of the Neva by the year 2000, the perfect functioning of the purification facilities was assumed. In addition, the calculations overlooked the following points:

- the purification facilities will have no effect on biogenic organisms, numerous heavily oxidized, resinous toxic products, and a series of heavy metals;
- the plan for the development of agriculture in the north-western zone calls for the quantity of mineral fertilizers used on fields to be more than doubled. Consequently, the runoff of these substances through the river into the mouth of the Neva will increase sharply, as will the level of chemical weed- and pest-killers introduced into the water supply;
- run-off from rain showers and ice melting

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**We have no "glasnost" on this subject in our city, despite the fact that it concerns the health and future of all its inhabitants.**

in the mouth of the Neva carries a huge amount of dirt;

- in the calculations, the deposit and fall-out of pollutants into the sediment are completely ignored;... according to their calculations, for example, it turns out that nitrates and inorganic phosphorus are stable and won't

in the proposal. The dam will disturb the complex hydrologic conditions in the Eastern part of the Gulf of Finland and especially in the cut-off mouth of the Neva. In an artificially created, closed off reservoir... an altered system of drainage currents will create stable stagnant zones in the mouth of the Neva. Even with the purification of the drains, putrefaction of the water will occur in these large stagnant zones. In the project proposal the implications of this phenomenon are ignored...

The long wave deflected by the dam will inflict significant damage to the coasts of the recreational zone, and will worsen conditions for the existence of fish...

The expansion of the city in the northwest direction will make the mouth of the Neva an innercity reservoir (the lungs of the city), but because of the unsanitary conditions on the banks it will be impossible to build the recre-



"And this, class, is the source of our city's river..."

From Soviet Humor magazine *Krokodil* #5, Feb., 1984

be converted into anything else in the aquatic environment. In reality, however, the reservoir is a living ecologic environment, where these compounds are swallowed by organisms, converted into organic compounds, and are then either carried away by the current or settle to the bottom and serve as a source of secondary pollution and as a substratum of putrefactive processes...

Despite the many allowances and assumptions they made, all those scientists who filled out the section "Protection of the Environment" came to the conclusion that the protective structures would have a negative impact on the quality of the water in the mouth of the Neva. The prognosis for the year 2000 for a series of health-threatening pollutants... was unsatisfactory...

The conclusions of the authors of the project, that the protective structures will make significant contributions to water conservation and will improve sanitation conditions in the mouth of the Neva are completely unfounded.

A system of drainage, compensatory and drifting currents, floods, and storms created a natural mechanism that has existed for centuries, and has prevented the mouth of the Neva from turning into a stagnating cesspool. This mechanism is not scientifically examined

ational areas envisioned in the plan for the city's developments; the idea of a sea shore for the city loses all sense.

To forestall this situation the immediate construction of purification facilities is crucial, both in Leningrad and in all populated points on the banks of the whole waterway of the Neva and the mouth of the Neva. This necessity is even articulated in the proposal itself. The hasty beginning of construction work [on the dams], planned for 1979, will only result in the dissipation of resources and won't answer current needs. As a result, ecologic catastrophe will become a reality even at the first step of the project's realization. The fact that emissions from the main purification facility will be dumped beyond the limits of the mouth of the Neva itself will still not guarantee an acceptable quality of water in the mouth of the Neva.

On the basis of the above-mentioned, the NTS considers the Institute of the Leningrad Hydro Project's plan for the construction of dams to protect the city from flooding to be unacceptable, irrational and risky.

*Editor's Note: to the best of our knowledge this is the first time this document has been made available to the Soviet public.*

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## Is the Ice Finally Melting?

Jan Kavan

IT IS NOT surprising that the replacement of the Czechoslovak Party leader Gustav Husak by Milos Jakes—the dour conservative known for his unswerving loyalty to Moscow, his support for the 1968 Soviet invasion and his supervision of the subsequent purges—did not arouse quivers of excitement in millions of ordinary Czechs and Slovaks. Of course, whenever the First Secretary of a ruling Communist Party is forced to resign—it indicates that the power relations within the establishment have been at least significantly altered, and any change within such ossified structures does lead to feelings of uncertainty and even anxiety among the rulers and feelings of hope among their subjects. It allows people to understand that at least in theory, the ice is breakable; it encourages them to stir from their apathy, to start digging their own small holes in the frozen surface and help to set society in motion.

For the independent groups there is no reason to amend their aims or change their tactics. Rude Pravo, the Czechoslovak Communist Party's daily, published a brief news item on December 9 last year, on an official concert "Give peace a chance" which marked the anniversary of the assassination of John Lennon. The item was accompanied by an unusual disclosure that at the same time "an unorganized assembly of about 300 young people" commemorated John Lennon in their own way, leading to the detention of several participants.

The organizers of the unofficial gathering, which takes place every year on the small island "Kampa" in the middle of Prague, claimed that at least 500 young people attended despite police harassment and strict identity checks. They sang Lennon's songs and chanted "Give peace a chance."

The main speech by Ota Veverka, a Charter 77 signatory and Jazz Section member, made clear that their interpretation of this slogan differs significantly from that of the authorities. "Lennon by his songs and his conduct always clearly condemned injustice and violence... a large part of his life was one great protest. Lennon is for us a symbol of the struggle against the suppression of civil rights on this planet." Veverka also recalled the self-immolation of Jan Palach and Jan Zajic, the students who died in early 1969 in protest against the "normalization" which followed the Soviet invasion and in an attempt to halt people's growing apathy.

The crowd roared with approval when Veverka argued for the replacement of SS-20 missiles with new theatres which

would be able to stage Vaclav Havel's plays, with books of banned authors, with funds for the hungry everywhere. "And until this happens we have to shout: Give peace a chance! Remove injustice and violence! And not only from outside our state but also from within it!"

Before the police detained Veverka (who was kept in prison for two days) and several others, most of the participants signed a petition addressed to the President of Czechoslovakia, Dr. Husak. They demanded the immediate removal of all nuclear weapons from Czechoslovak territory, the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, reduction of compulsory military service to one year, an establishment of an alternative civilian service for conscientious objectors who refuse to serve in the army, and immediate release of all unjustly imprisoned people.

Two days later, on December 10, the UN Human Rights Day, citizens of Prague had the opportunity to witness an unusual event. A large crowd came to Prague's Old Town Square in response to Charter 77's call for a demonstration on behalf of political prisoners, despite the ban and the presence of hundreds of policemen. Estimates of between 1500 to 2500 demonstrators were made more difficult by the large presence of spectators, plainclothes policemen and Western journalists. The authorities attempted to drown speeches by broadcasting Christmas songs at top pitch from newly installed loudspeakers.

At least 35 demonstrators were detained and interrogated for several hours and some were beaten—one of them, Jiri Gruntorad, quite severely. Most well-known chartists were placed under house arrest that day so that they could not attend the gathering. Similar police measures took place in other Czechoslovak cities, for example Bratislava, Brno, Gottwaldov and Olomouc. The Prague demonstration lasted about two hours during which people shouted slogans demanding freedom, democracy, legalization of the Jazz Section, release of political prisoners and so on. The demonstration was undoubtedly one of Charter 77's greatest successes.

Preparations for the demonstration had been discussed at a Charter 77 meeting on November 28 followed by the first forum, devoted to ecological problems. This was only the second such meeting held to enable wider participation of Charter 77 signatories, a new form of work agreed upon early last year. The second, attended by about 70 activists from different parts of the country, agreed that forums should be convened every

Reprinted from the *East European Reporter* vol. 3 #2. "An Eyewitness Account of the Demo" and the text of Ota Veverka's speech were translated for *Across Frontiers* by Z. Jetelka from texts provided by Palach Press of London.

other month. Some will be devoted to concrete issues, others to an open exchange of opinions involving a wider range of Charter 77 supporters.

The third Charter 77 forum, convened on January 17, was set to discuss the complex political situation in present-day Czechoslovakia. Papers were prepared from three different political currents present in Charter 77; a reformist pro-Gorbachev analysis and criticisms of reformism from both a more classical conservative point of view and from the point of view of non-conformists sceptical of any established political parties, East or West. The forum planned to discuss the role of Charter 77 and other independent groups in a society ostensibly committed to "glasnost" and "perestroika."

The lesson on how such a "commitment" is perceived by the authorities was delivered by a police raid which dispersed the forum and led to the detention of more than a third of the 60-odd participants. As in December, that is in the pre-Jakes era, several of the better known Chartists were put under house arrest from early that morning. Others were, however, detained and forced to spend the whole day in prison cells. Many of those detained were interrogated about the human rights demonstration in December.

In its 1987 annual report the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS) summarizes about 20 cases of political prisoners which it is currently monitoring. The report includes several dozen cases of people who are at liberty but who are subject to criminal proceedings. VONS admits that it is able to obtain authentic information about only a tiny fraction of the country's political prisoners. The proclaimed "glasnost" had so far had no noticeable positive impact on the prison population.

It is, however, necessary to acknowledge that the ice has moved. The society paralyzed for 20 years is cautiously and tentatively beginning to flex its muscles, though this seems to be happening despite, rather than because of, the Party leadership's intentions or policies.

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From Rude Pravo:

"The Municipal Committee of the Youth Socialist Union (SSM) gave a concert called *Give Peace a Chance*, a tribute to John Lennon who was murdered on December 8, 1980 on a New York street, at the auditorium of the City Library in Prague. The *Stromboli*, *C and K Vocal*, *Marsyas* and other groups dedicated their

performances to the former Beatle.

"In their own manner, with lit candles and singing songs accompanied by a guitar, a loose assembly of some 300 young people honoured Lennon's memory on Hroznova street in Kampa. As requested by the District Committee, Prague 1 cadres, the members of the State National Security were sent along to preserve public order. Since this was breached, some of the participants of the illegal assembly were taken to the nearest Public Security station."

As a matter of fact, there were about 500 people. Lennon's songs were sung, Jan Hupka, born 1968, played the guitar. (He was later arrested and his guitar was confiscated.) The meeting took place in the open space where John Lennon's memorial used to be. The police forces numbered several hundred. One diplomat estimated they were between a thousand and 1200, but Charter sources consider this an exaggeration. Among them, many wore masks and had dogs. Ota Veverka, a Charter signatory and member of the Jazz Section,\* made a speech. During his speech, the crowd often chanted the slogan: "Give peace a chance." At the end, a five-point petition was agreed upon:

Some 180 people signed the petition on the spot. The meeting began at 6 p.m. and by 7:30 p.m., four people in plain clothes tried to drag Ota Veverka towards the river. The people did not allow this and Veverka was later taken away in handcuffs to the Public Security station at Vlasska street. An hour earlier, three Charter 77 signatories, Lenka Mareckova-Mullerova, Frantisek Starek and Jiri Gruntorad had been detained. These three were released after midnight. There is still no news of Veverka's release. Altogether eight people were taken to the Public Security station at Vlasska street and questioned. It is not yet known whether others were taken to other Public Security stations.

### OTA VEVERKA'S SPEECH

Friends,

We meet here to remember, not for the first time, John Lennon who was murdered on December 6, 1980 ..... John Lennon was an excellent lyricist and composer, known the whole world over. However, I venture to say that today, at this moment, Lennon as a person is important to us not only for his qualities as a lyricist and composer, but most of all for his approach to the world as a citizen.

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\* Cf. *Across Frontiers* Vol. 3, No. 3 on the recent Jazz Section trials.

## An Eyewitness Account of the Demo



John Lennon always sharply disapproved in his songs and overall in his actions of injustice and violence. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the greater part of his life was one big protest. After all, we all know his song *Give peace a chance*, and many of his other lyrics. For us, John Lennon is the symbol of the fight against the suppression of civil rights on this planet. John Lennon was murdered and we meet today to protest peacefully on his behalf against injustice and violence. Paradoxically, it is this very meeting that is regularly violently suppressed. Last year it did not result in tragedy but only by a hair's breadth (loud noises from crowd) when ..... the police car drove into us. The constitution and laws guarantee the right of peaceful assembly and the freedom of speech. We can only state (loud noise from crowd) that the constitution and laws are being violated and it is done exactly (loud noises from the crowd and shouting) by those who ought most to ..... see that they are respected. Last year I overheard the question: Why do you protest for Lennon, when you have Palach? And so let us remember Jan Palach. (Shouts of agreement and applause.) On January 16 1969 at 2:45 p.m. Jan Palach, a 20-year-old resident, poured combustible liquid over himself in front of the National Museum and burnt himself as a protest against the occupations of Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops, and its consequences. This living torch shook the whole world at that time. The name of Palach was on everyone's breathless lips. On January 19, Jan Palach died as a result of his burns ..... [amidst] fine words and ardent (?) promises, however, few noticed that shortly after Jan Palach, Jan Zajic, an 18-year-old student from Sumperk, burnt himself on February 25, 1969, in front of house #39 on Vaclavske Square. Jan Zajic died to reawaken the nation which in that short time for the most part had forgotten those fine words and promises. For us, both tragedies remain forever a reminder no less important, I venture to say, than that of John Lennon's death. They should remind us forever of the moral duties of every man to point out, to public and responsible officials, the violence which, unfortunately, we witness so often. And so today, let us appeal not only to our government, but to all governments: Give peace a chance. .... about the liquidation of nuclear weapons. At the same time, we ought to ask why is it that these weapons exist. Why are governments not intelligent enough to liquidate any weapons whatsoever and disband the armies? Apparently, the governments are unintelligent

.....and give hundreds of billions for the machinery of destruction instead of feeding the hungry ones, instead of using it for cultural development and other much needed things. Just imagine that there were no SS20 missiles installed on our territory, but beautiful new theaters presenting Vaclav Havel's plays, which are performed today in many countries around the world (shouting, applause). Just imagine what a number of books by Czech writers who cannot officially publish due to their opinions and attitudes would appear. And finally, how beautiful would it be if one could at last shout ..... Mr. president, you're the right guy! Better than Masaryk! Until this happens, we ought to shout again and again: Give peace a chance! Get rid of injustice and violence! Not only outside our state but in it too. And let us not forget that every man has only as much freedom as he fights for. Not long ago, our cinemas showed the film *Gandhi*. I would like to mention one scene where Gandhi's friends and supporters ..... One row after another fell beneath the police ..... In spite of that, they came back again and again, bloody and with bare hands. It was not for ..... but for life itself ..... Czechoslovakia ..... But for us, this scene may be a certain inspiration, because ....

We have prepared for you, that is for those who are willing, a sort of petition addressed to our president:

Mr. President,

We demand the immediate liquidation of all nuclear weapons on our territory. We demand the immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovak territory (shouting, applause, chanting: Hey, hey). We demand a reduction of the compulsory military service to 12 months (shouting, applause, chanting: Hey, hey). We demand that those who for religious reasons or for reasons of conscience refuse to serve in the army, may serve alternatively, e.g. in hospitals, institutions for the aged and disabled or on construction work of non-military character. We demand the immediate release of all unjustly imprisoned people (applause, chanting: Hey, hey).

Whoever agrees with it sign it, but I ask you to print your name on the lefthand side, and sign on the right on the same line. An illegible signature has no value, since it's anonymous. ■

# When Two People Do the Same Thing . . .

H.K.

They say that a joke is very like a caricature. A good joke and a well drawn caricature are never equal to a photograph—that's not their purpose—but they often present the truth in a much more exact and acceptable manner than learned tracts. The anecdotal definition of the difference between capitalism and socialism certainly belongs among the best of its genre. It says that while in capitalism man is exploited by man, in socialism it is the other way round. I recalled it when I got to know about the cases of trading in human beings in this "most developed of all systems," trading which is unconcealed, yet hidden from the world.

I am not a racist and never have been. I always despised that hatred, without reason and substance, of the members of another race, simply on account of a different color of complexion (a hatred not dissimilar to religious, nationalistic, or class hatred). I therefore began searching for the reasons for this hatred which so many of our people feel for the blacks, but also the Vietnamese, Kampuchians,

and again they have a common denominator. This time, it is not economic, but rather ideological privilege. Most of them (with the exception of the Vietnamese, maybe, who come from the southern part of their country) see the undeniable higher living standards in the USSR as deriving from "mature, realized socialism," while most of our people today see it the other way around. And so it is with other ethnic groups, too.

But only a few people know that what is going on is often a mere trading in human beings, because in socialism, man always comes (right) at the very end. Besides, not even the exalted phrases about proletarian internationalism, improvements in qualifications and literacy, and the instruction of their own cadres can change it; all these things, it is said, were taught them by their unselfish hosts, to be applied and developed by them in their own countries. Many responsible political workers in our state-owned enterprises would tell you, behind closed doors, that most of these national guests can

## The anecdotal definition of the difference between capitalism and socialism certainly belongs among the best of its genre. It says that while in capitalism man is exploited by man, in socialism it is the other way round.

Koreans and others. It seems that although the reasons are many, they have a common denominator. Let us start with the blacks. The ethics of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* correspond more closely to our people's democratic tradition (however dulled they may have become), than do those of the Ku Klux Klan. And yet . . . Haven't you often heard the expression "black mugs"? One of the reasons is the fact that most of the black citizens enjoy, so to say, privileges. A large proportion of the African students have quite high grants and can travel freely around the world, many have cars from western countries, hard currency accounts (which also attract a number of our girls); and the low requirements of teachers during examinations at all levels have an effect, too. Recently, this negative attitude has been carried over more and more against the Vietnamese and Cubans, who not only study here, but also get special qualifications for various jobs, and some simply undergo practical training. Different mentalities, another historical development, habits and outlooks just increase the ten-

hardly work as effectively as our people (although even they no longer abound in working morale after all these years), and that the money for their training, qualification, living expenses and social benefits only add to production and operational expenses, but . . . And thus we get to the root of the matter. The managers of the enterprises often literally compete to get as many of them as possible, because they get better salaries and rewards in return. What counts is not only a correct political attitude (which still could be ethically justified), but also having a higher number of employees (the more subordinates, the higher the salary: the transit from extensive to intensive economics is still more spoken about, than realized). Besides, they save money on salaries, since being mostly unqualified, these employees receive less money. The contradiction between this, and the higher expenses for their schooling (mentioned above) is merely apparent. The two are taken from separate funds which obey separate criteria and regulations. And so the managers crawl to

The following essay, which has been circulating unofficially in manuscript, is practically unique in East European samizdat — excluding that produced by the nationalist right — in addressing the phenomenon of racism. The anonymous author's conclusions have provoked a great deal of controversy in Czechoslovakia, but however facile they may appear to western readers, the article undoubtedly strikes a raw nerve in confronting head-on not only officially-inspired racism but popular attitudes as well. Translated by Z. Jetelka.

their superiors, in spite of the enormous discontent at the enterprise, and they would not even hear of letting go the workers from abroad. On the contrary. The construction and equipping of housing for them has a green light and enhances the personal files of the managers far more than doing the same thing for their own youth. The old saying goes: "When two people do the same thing, they do it differently," and all this underlines the truth. But after all, let it be so. It might be a contribution to most of those national movements. They learn something new, gain skills, and many of them finally do contribute back home.

The situation is much worse in the case of another group, not so well recognized in Czechoslovakia. For example the semi-legal and, in some places, totally illegal employment of the Poles. Some of our national enterprises use the economic hardships of their country to offer them the job possibilities missing there. Of course, they are paid less than the home employees would be. The enterprise saves, and finds workers, who are still in short supply in several professions, e.g. construction. And because the number of the legal ones is not that high, they are "illegally" imported. There is even an establishment in Lodz, disguised as an Institution of mutual cultural cooperation, which smuggles in, under the cover of study groups, Polish people who eventually work here, mostly in construction. Most of the Polish workers, sometimes even those above the age limit of 55, got

into the construction industry, e.g. in Prague, this way. "Ostrava Construction" hired them and then lent them to their sites outside Ostrava, some of which are presently in Prague. Worst of all, they are not properly registered for health and social insurance. Not one manager sweated unduly when one occasionally got sick, injured, and sometimes consequently died. In addition, our people instead of recognizing their efforts, don't understand the situation of many of them, and call them by indiscriminating, that is, unjust names: black marketeers, religious fanatics, fakes. Such jokes as "What is the difference between a horse and a Pole? —the first one eats *obrok* (i.e., hay, homonymous with "every second year"), whereas the latter eats every second day," such jokes do not demonstrate the moral maturity of many of our people.

But already our ancestors used to say that one cannot conceal an awl inside a sack. And so the truth about this disguised trading in humans is leaking out and many a pseudohumanistic slogan collapses along with it. But there are still many people who would not believe that it has gone as far as this. But let us first clean our own doorways, and not turn our discord and anger against those who are victims (blacks, Vietnamese and Poles), but turn them against those who caused them and who cover themselves in pretty slogans. Because the saying about whitewashed graves and the moral guilt of those who arouse bad feelings is still valid.

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# Charter 77 Calls for Solidarity with the Romanian People

These days, the governments of Europe, various organizations as well as many ordinary citizens are contemplating the future of our continent, the prospects for peace in Europe, ways of overcoming the division of Europe into political blocs, and the extent and type of human rights enjoyed by the populations of various European countries. Conferences are frequently held on these topics.

All this is to the good and very important.

What is less good is that the delegates at these conferences, sitting in well-heated

And just as the freedom of those who are indifferent to the enslavement of their neighbors becomes uncertain, the certainty of being able to rely on heat and light also becomes doubtful, if it is connected with indifference to the plight of those who are forced to live in the cold and in the dark.

We therefore call on the European public to remember Romania. We appeal to you to show publicly your solidarity with the plight of the citizens of that country. We suggest to all Europeans that on 1st February 1988 they should express

## We wish to hold to their word all those Europeans who feel enthusiastic about Gorbachev's statement that we all live in one European house.

and well-lit conference halls tend to forget there is a country in Europe where people have neither heat nor light.

In Romanian flats and offices the temperature in winter rarely rises above ten degrees Celsius. Each flat is allowed a maximum of two forty-watt bulbs to be burning at any given time. In Romania, basic foodstuffs, such as flour, sugar and meat are—forty-three years after the war—either being rationed or not available at all.

After twenty-two years of rule, the Romanian leader offers the people of his country only one thing: the ostentatious cult of his personality.

It is a sense of total despair that has driven Romanian workers to demonstrations.

Romania is a curious country: not only does its government deny its citizens elementary liberties to an extent which has no parallel in any other Soviet Bloc country, but it is not even capable of ensuring what the communist regimes call their "greatest achievement," the basic material and job security which these regimes use as a means of self-legitimation.

We wish to hold to their word all those Europeans who feel enthusiastic about Gorbachev's statement that we all live in one European house. We call on them to realize that in this rich house there exists a nation which is forced to live in fear of cold and hunger.

This is not only a Romanian affair. Just as the peace and the freedom of Europe are common and indivisible issues of concern to all Europeans, the situation in Romania is equally of common concern.

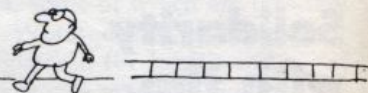
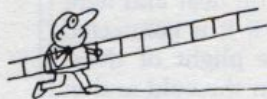
their solidarity with the Romanian people by any means available to them. Let us attempt, at least for a single day to live in an unheated and badly lit flat. Let us try to deny ourselves at least for a single day all those things that form our material living standard and that are permanently denied to the Romanians. Wherever this may be possible, let us stage peaceful protest demonstrations in front of the Romanian embassies. Let us appeal to our governments to help the Romanian people. Let us look for ways in which each of us could personally help.

We call on the Europeans to join Chapter 77 in expressing publicly on 1st February 1988, their solidarity with suffering Romanian society and their revulsion against the despotic ruler responsible for this suffering.

We are aware that one day of solidarity will not solve the Romanian crisis. But we are convinced that it can contribute towards its solution.

Stanislav Devaty, Milos Hajek, Bohumir Janat—Chapter 77 spokespersons

In a remarkable display of international solidarity, democratic opposition activists in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union co-ordinated actions and demonstrations on February 1 in solidarity with the long-suffering population of Romania. Charter 77 took the initiative in calling for the demonstrations in response to growing reports of the victimization of striking workers following last years riots in Brasov. Reprinted from the *East European Reporter* vol. 3 #2.



## ROMANIA

# A Submissive Nation?

Aurelia Tanguy

**ALONE AMONG THE** Soviet bloc countries, Romania has long been regarded as the one in which "nothing moves", with the exception of the Hungarian minority. Have not apathy, inertia, passivity and resignation characterized Romanian society?

This year, important strikes have broken out in the country, leading millions of workers to cease work; the distribution of underground literature hostile to the regime has multiplied; students in many towns took to the streets this spring to manifest their discontent; and an underground political movement, Romanian Democratic Action, has recently become known in the west. Individual dissent has not died out either; witness the attitude of those who, like Ion Puiu and Miahî Botez, have not ceased to think and act like free men.

Even if the information we have is fragmentary and spotty, we are aware of some "acts of opposition". However sporadic they may be, they merit our attention. "What is important," says Mihai Botez, "is that those in power know that there are people who say no."

"It has to be understood that the Ceaucescu family is not invincible" begins a handwritten, anonymous leaflet circulated in the capital on the eve of January 23.<sup>1</sup> Its title, "Plan of Action," sums up its drift: discussion is finally to have some effect, talk is to turn into action. At the same time its proposal impinges on the political arena; it is to remove the head of state and his family from the absolute control of the country that has lasted more than a decade.

"If we fear to act openly, let us proceed as our ancestors did, let us overcome repression by force and evil with deception," proclaims this leaflet which calls on "all citizens of the capital" to participate in a "general strike" and remain in their homes until the radio announces the resignation of Nicolae Ceaucescu. If the attitude of the leaflet and its content reveal the naivete of impatient youth, we nevertheless cannot ignore this type of action.

At the same time there appeared another leaflet signed by Romanian Democratic

Action calling for a general strike limited this time to 23 January. It also called on the population to demonstrate its opposition to the regime.

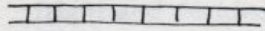
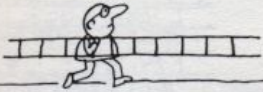
At Cluj, following a strike in November 1986, some leaflets openly called for a revolt in several universities, especially at the faculty of philosophy of Bucharest in April 1987; other leaflets urged faculty and students to unite in a common act of opposition.

These attempts were limited in number and size. They have not yet had any real effect on the functioning of the system. It is not excluded, however, that they will, in the long run, contribute to the creation of a climate of resistance in the country.

Who are the people who, at great risk, initiate these actions?<sup>2</sup> The authors for the most part maintain anonymity. In the case of Romanian Democratic Action, mentioned above, the core was assembled, according to its founders, at the end of the sixties. Its members today are some twenty young people. In the last few months, their ideas have emerged from the shadows with the dissemination—clandestinely of course—of a forty page political program which is circulating in manuscript in the capital and many provincial cities. The originality of the ADR lies in the openly political nature of its demands which include, of course, the issue of human rights integrated into a general social program. According to the ADR, only the introduction of a pluralist, democratic regime based on freedom and respect for the individual can meet the aspirations of the Romanian people.

How is an organization like this set up in a society patrolled by an omnipresent *Securitate* (political police)?

The method of organization employed by the ADR provides an example: its organizers claim not to know one another except by pseudonym, to possess no lists of names or addresses, no fixed meeting places. Determined to "play the part of subversives" they refuse to become "martyrs". Their deliberations occur spontaneously. Without formally planned conventions, they meet on vacation, at the sea or the mountains, in public or private facilities, hoping to avoid surveillance.



Their documents are not mechanically reproduced (all duplicating equipment in Romania is registered with the *Securitate*) but even handwritten material is not left to chance: their manifesto was written by an expert who, for security reasons, used an antiquated script.

Is it necessary to add that the need to use such methods is responsible in large part for the difficulty the Romanian opposition meets in attempting collective action or building stable organizations?

One of the events of the year was the student movement which drew thousands of participants in the cities of Cluj, Brasov, Timisoara and Iasi. The demonstration in Iasi, the most important, is also the one whose development is least known. It was at the beginning of March. The holidays were over. Students returned to class: without lights. The whole place was plunged in darkness, "the campus looked like an immense tomb."

An order had been issued some days earlier predicting energy cutbacks even more draconian than those already in effect. Given the situation, the extremely zealous rector of the university, a certain Viorel Barbu<sup>3</sup>, simply disconnected the gas, electricity and telephone lines throughout the entire campus.

On the evening they returned, the students found no electricity. Patience

An ardent love vibrates in us  
Our hearts are full of song  
What we are we owe to the Party  
And the Party has made us  
masters of all.

Under the purple banner of Truth  
The country is united  
Facing the future

Forward with joy,  
Forward with the Party of our  
beloved leader.

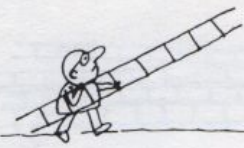
... Dear Leader (Refrain)

(from Romanian TV)

was at an end. The coeds first, followed by the male students, gathered on the lawn. They built a bonfire, and burned their textbooks of "scientific socialism". Then followed the demonstration. The demonstrators headed towards the section where the students of the polytechnical institute lived, hoping to get them to join. The authorities, aware of this attempt, called a general alert. The professors were immediately notified to gather on the square. At that point all the gates were closed. Those students locked in their rooms soon became aware of the demonstration which they tried to join, breaking windows, knotting their drapes and letting themselves down the sides of the building.

Everyone headed for the Plaza of Union, a site of historic significance, and tried to present their demands to the Party committee. It was about 10 pm. Panicked by the approaching crowd, guards and other officers deserted their posts. In a few moments, according to witnesses, the impression grew that the powers that be had left Iasi. Taken by surprise, the demonstrators appeared to hesitate for a moment. They were content, finally, to proclaim their demands without anyone in authority there. Anti-Ceausescu slogans were emphasized to the vigorous applause of the inhabitants who had come out onto their balconies. Among them was "bring in the hearse for Nikki". The demonstrators intoned old national anthems, among them "Desteptate Romania" and "Romanians, arise". The Internationale was not omitted, with phrases such as "we need no condescending savior, no god, no Caesar, no tribune" emphasized. There was something new that was significant: the police, acting on the order of the authorities, did not intervene, allowing the demonstration to proceed peacefully. Did the regime realize that too rigid a response might cause a massive reaction in the country? That the patience of the people might have a limit and that to push too far might result in damage to itself?

The strikes which occurred throughout the year also demonstrated the discontent that pervaded all segments of society. In



October and November, especially in Transylvania, thousands of workers protested the rationing of bread to 300 grams per person per day decreed only a few days before.

At Turda, in a glass factory, the strike lasted three days. The workers stood at their machines with arms folded, demanding the restoration of their wages which had been cut by the "National Agreement".<sup>4</sup> The workers had no food except for apples and some bread. . . For similar reasons the workers of the Combinatul factories in Cluj stopped work. Two weeks later, 25 of them disappeared . . . At Arad, the *Securitate* broke up the strike. Arrests followed.

On the 16th of February a strike broke out at Iasi in the Nicolina works which preceded the student demonstrations by a couple of weeks. Over a period of time wages had fallen by 20%. The morning and afternoon shifts met, occupied the factory, lowered banners with their slogans and armed themselves against a possible attack by the police. Soon, however, fearing a siege, they left the factory and turned the strike into a demonstration. About a thousand strikers headed for party headquarters. Once there, they called for Ivanescu, the local party leader,

who appeared and promised them support in their wage demands. This was not enough to calm the crowd. Highly agitated they raised more demands especially concerning food shortages. They got only an evasive answer. Several hours later, they dispersed.

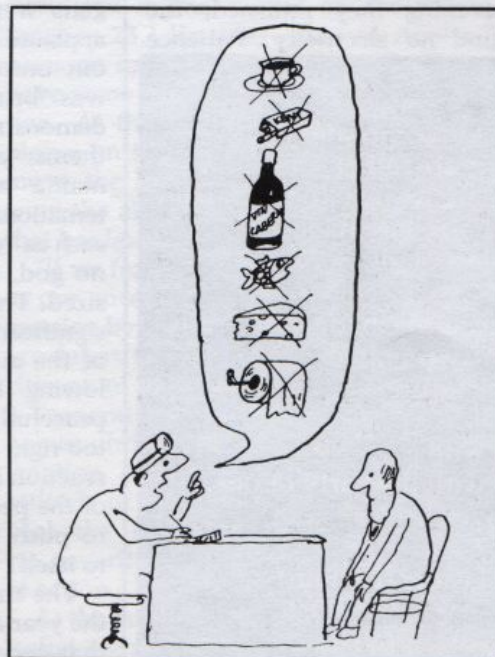
If repression did not occur in the following days it was not long in coming: the day after Easter Sunday, the 20th of April, the police stationed themselves at the factory gates, equipped with breathalyzers. Many had spent the day drinking—it was a feast day but not a holiday—and the police were able to apprehend the guilty. 150 were removed from the factory, among them, quite by accident, the main strike leaders.

What can we say of this quick summary of the recent outbreak of protest movements in Romania?

First of all, these movements exist, something often ignored.

Strikes, demonstrations, distribution of leaflets, the elaboration of opposition political programs will not bring down a regime which rests on repression and the impotence of an atomized society, physically and morally exhausted.

But despite everything, the events which we have described, and many others besides, demonstrate that this society contains underground forces which make it unrealistic to abandon hope.



Cartoon by Mihai Stanescu from a collection published in Bucharest, 1980 and subsequently banned. Reprinted from *Le Monde Libertaire*.

1. January 24 is the anniversary of the union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia. Its celebration has been eclipsed by the 26th of January—the birthday of Ceaucescu.

2. We note here the case of Radu Filipescu, condemned to 10 years in prison for distributing leaflets in a . . . hall. He was freed in 1986, as a result of pressure brought to bear by international public opinion.

3. Already notorious for organizing on his inauguration "criticism and self-criticism" sessions during which participants were required to denounce their colleagues.

4. This measure of September 1983, stipulated that wages would subsequently be tied to the production of the enterprise in agreement with the quotas set by the plan. If this was not met, whether due to bad management or the lack of raw materials, the workers would see their wages fall and would not be guaranteed the minimum wage.

**Leave the Unions!**

**Budapest leaflet appeals to Hungary's Workers**

The membership of the unions is shrinking, their income from membership fees is on the decline. SZOT (National Council of Trade Unions) has taken fright and decided simply to get the membership fee deducted from our pay. We sign once and we pay through our working lives.

**What kind of unions are these anyway?**

Allegedly the union is supposed to protect our interests but it is more concerned with the interests of the party than with ours. Allegedly the union is a democratic organisation, except it will not have its membership interfere with its decisions. Allegedly unions are a mass movement and yet their structure is a carbon copy of the rigid structure of the Civil Service.

The leaders of the unions mouth attractive slogans about protecting the industrial workers and full employment but their main concern is to safeguard their own power.

Union officials are not being taken seriously either by managers or employees and with good reason because these officials do not, cannot do anything for those who elected them.

**What do we expect of a union?**

It must protect our interests and not only behind closed doors at meetings between SZOT and the government but in every factory, in every office.

It must support all spontaneous initiatives, all united efforts among workers of identical interests to safeguard these interests.

It must demand unemployment/retraining/resettlement benefits for all who cannot find work suited to his or her abilities or qualifications reasonably near his or her home.

It must demand the codification of the right to strike and it must support strikes wherever justified.

It must fight for citizens' rights, for the freedom of association and for the freedom of the press.

**Why are we still union members?**

Out of indolence, habit, fear. But we have no reason to fear anything. Union membership is not compulsory and if thousands and tens of thousands of us leave the unions, nobody can hurt us.

17,000 full-time union officials live on our membership fees. The 2½ billion forint budget of SZOT comes out of our contributions.

Against all appearances, the unions depend on us so we ought to force them to serve us.

**How?**

Voluntary membership contributions are a century-old tradition of the Trade Union movement. Let us deny our agreement to deduction of membership fees from our pay.

But this is not enough. Let us leave the unions and form committees to safeguard our interests!

Mass resignations would spell the end of the unions and if the leaders are scared they will talk to us.

Let us demand a radical reform of the union charter, let us demand new union elections and let us elect our own candidates to union posts!

In the ever worsening economic situation we alone can protect our own interests.

Political uncertainty and austerity in the form of price rises and newly-imposed income tax have finally taken the last bloom off the Kadarist rose. The grumbling previously confined to the intelligentsia is spreading throughout Hungarian society, and early this year the following leaflet circulated in worker districts of Budapest. Text and translation courtesy of the Hungarian October Free Press Information Center, an excellent source of uncensored news from Hungary. For further information write: 24/D Little Russell Street, London W.C. 1, England.



# The Prerequisite of Friendship

George Konrad

**WHAT IS THE** prerequisite of friendship between two nations? Trustworthiness. Just as it is between two people.

In a given historical era, it is the behavior of peoples towards each other which determines a particular character. If this character is engaging we can talk about friendship. If not, we can only talk about politeness, or good-neighborly relations. To use the language of diplomacy. To me, a character is engaging by virtue of moral reliability.

There are people for whom I will put my arm in fire. I know they will not betray me. They will not mar the ethics of friendship. They will not sell me for pennies. They will not take advantage of my frailty and will not desert me in distress. People who understand my situation, who respect my inner needs even if it means temporarily risking our good terms. They are loyal not to my caprices but rather to my real needs, which they must understand or sometimes surmise simply because they are my friends. They do not flatter but speak openly, and even if it hurts to hear what they say I know that they approve of the good in me, i.e. the friend and I behave according to the same principles. These are the criteria of friendship in any culture.

What is at issue here? The Austrian Republic has a sovereign government, elected in a democratic fashion, accountable to parliament and to the public. Since it arose from the coalition of the two major parties, it expresses the political views of the Austrian majority. If public opinion and the government's views were to sharply diverge, government policy would be subject to public debate.

This government has the means to guarantee the loan offered by a big Austrian bank to the Hungarian government for a scheme whose consequences are highly questionable. Many claim that it is an extremely harmful project which will cause long-lasting and irreversible damage to the environment. Others say that everything will turn out alright.

Why does the Hungarian government proceed despite all this? Because it is not sovereign, it is not democratically elected, and it is not accountable to either the parliament or to the public.

In other words, because it can get away with it. Because it can pull off even the most dubious plan just to get the last word in. Before responsible, non-partisan, unbiased experts can express their views, the government decides.

If the government's motives are dictated

not by energy, economic, or environmental concerns, its motives here must be exclusively political. To demonstrate where the power lies.

Was it up to the Austrians to decide on a democratic government? Was it the Hungarian's fault that their government was not a democratic one? The answer in both cases is no. These two small nations received their systems from outside, from superpowers with a stake in the outcome.

But when did they indicate what they themselves wanted? During those years in the 30's which are increasingly viewed with growing nostalgia? During the war years? Or in '55? Or was it '56? What if Soviet troops had reached the western borders of Austria? Would there have been an Austrian '56, '68, '80? In other words how would you, our friends, walk around in our shoes? Friendship requires at least that much empathy from the imagination.

And if none of us entirely deserves the present state of things, what follows from that? For starters, let us not boast and flatter ourselves. Let us try to face ourselves and each other with more moral austerity; otherwise everything is built on sand.

Yielding to the pressure of Prague, Bratislava, Moscow, and the domestic lobbies, the Hungarian Party leaders and their subservient government have elected to carry out this outdated and alarming hydroelectric project.

They managed to suppress all internal controversy, pressuring scientists and providing a forum only to those who support the dam. Those opposed to it are dismissed from their work; the leaflets which could inform the public of the attendant dangers are confiscated by the police; environmentalists, members and friends of the Danube Circle are constantly harassed by the officials; and only censored and reassuring information gets published.

In Budapest it is not difficult to see that both the political and the professional leadership is divided on the issue. Hungary is increasingly caught up in a serious debt crisis. In this situation it is costly and dubious to engage in landscape altering plans, taking out large loans for that purpose when hospitals lack proper supplies for lack of hard currency. It is not sensible and not honest.

The top leadership's stubborn loyalty to a plan which many experts claim is harmful to the entire nation is based on nothing but the defense of prestige, the

arrogance of power; as far as the experts and administrators are concerned, it is bureaucratic subservience. The fact that our protest had a limited impact is a sure indication of Hungarian society's lack of power.

In my opinion a responsible Austrian government has made an agreement with an irresponsible Hungarian government. It neglected to satisfy the only crucial and morally binding condition, and therefore its proceedings in this case cannot be regarded as an act of good faith.

Hungarian intellectuals have taken out ads in *Die Presse*\* and sent letters signed by thousands of Hungarian citizens asking the Austrian government to conduct an investigation by impartial experts into the issue of the dam. Moreover, they could have sought the opinions of the individuals who populate the area and who deserve more consideration. How much will this drastic intervention into the beautiful ecology of the Danube landscape and the Danube-bend in particular harm the soil, the water, and vegetation, let alone our pockets and our hearts?

They could have asked sociologists, anthropologists, not to mention economists and energy experts. They could have made the issue a little more open in order to truly demonstrate that it is a matter of mutual concern, and that high-tech schemes like this are the common business of the public in both countries.

This much is clear: the Austrian government did not allow itself to be influenced by the faint yet audible opinion of the Hungarian public in making this decision. It did not permit itself to be troubled by either its commitment to democracy or to Central Europe.

Can we speak about democratic solidarity when a democratic government helps an undemocratic one determined to prove who is master of the house, to execute a plan by stifling the voices of dissent just to parade its supremacy? Austrian taxpayers are reaching into their pockets to cover the dubious spending whim of some elderly gentlemen when there are no more reasons to justify this scheme than there were to justify plans for dumping radioactive trash valued at several billion forints into neighboring Hungary or for exporting heroin from Austria to the same place. Simply because, as is frequently said, our histories have been intertwined for a thousand years.

No, our friends, this is not right. You have failed to satisfy one of the major

prerequisites of friendship, that of democratic solidarity. You have an embassy to find out what the Hungarians have to say about this joint venture. You had the opportunity to gather information, and you still do. If unofficial Hungary doesn't like this plan, why do you like it? Is it because you want to like the official Hungary first of all? You must decide whether you really wish to maintain the notion of friendship or whether we should bury the idea of Central Europe (so often quoted lately) as some sort of Central European illusion, or should I say self-deception? Is the Central European orientation still valid or should we view it as a short-lived flirtation?

If the Austrian government is a responsible one, then the Austrian public has the right to hold it accountable. Fortunately, there are environmentalists in Austria. In the broadest sense we refer to all those whose conscience led them to speak out and sign petitions. All of them deserve our fullest respect because they felt and understood our concern as if it had been their own. These people realized that such a historic concept as the common fate of the peoples of Central Europe must be acknowledged and taken seriously, and that it requires civil courage on our part.

This idea is not meant to be trotted out occasionally as a vote-getting device, or as a mere figure of speech, but is intended as our contribution to peace and freedom in Europe, to help us find ourselves as best we can. When we speak about Central Europe we refer to more than just contemporary relations among present-day generations. Our relations are burdened by those unfriendly actions which we have mutually endured throughout the centuries. We caused good and bad to varying degrees and in different combinations, and we have no reason whatsoever to forget either the good or the bad. The most naive strategy that an individual or a nation can adopt is that of intentional forgetting. The good and the bad deeds are in front of the door; ignore them and you trip over them.

The Austrian government's decision to guarantee the loan cannot be regarded as a short-sighted improvisation or one-time affair. Earlier, when we spoke of Austria between ourselves, we felt grateful for the respectful hospitality and readiness to help demonstrated by the simple people of a neighboring nation who received immigrant Hungarians at the end of '56. Then, two hundred thousand Hungarians felt

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# The Trial of Zsolt Keszthelyi

Miklos Haraszti

**POLITELY BESIEGING** the Military Court, a group of forty to fifty people, unarmed to the teeth, gathered in the street on April 27, 1987. No members of the public have ever been admitted to trials of conscientious objectors. This time, too, only Zs. K.'s mother and sister-in-law are initially allowed into the building. Still, never before has such a large crowd attempted to draw attention to a case of this kind. Dr. Alexander Isola, the official representative of Amnesty International, was present; the case has been receiving much publicity via samizdat; and the opposition declaration supported the accused. All these factors taken together induced the military to allow three civilians to witness the trial. The three chosen were: Tamas Perlaki, who kept in touch with the accused since his arrest; Gaspar Miklos Tamas, the author of the statement of solidarity—both members of the Zsolt Keszthelyi Committee—and the author of this report. Two veteran conscientious objectors, Karoly Kiszelyi and Tamas Toth, were dragged and pushed out of the lobby. The joined the others in the street to await the end of the trial.

Contrary to his accustomed appearance, Keszthelyi's hair is short and he is clean-shaven; he is manacled. He is not allowed to speak to his relatives, let alone to us; still we manage to shake his hand or rather, his handcuffs. These are removed only as he is seated in the dock, and replaced at each recess.

There is a single row of chairs behind the dock, actually providing room for only the two relatives, the three civilian visitors, and three other men in civilian clothes.

The trial is presided over by Col. Dr. Robert Hildebrand, career military judge; an officer and an enlisted man act as members of the people's tribunal. The prosecutor, Lt. Col. Istvan Toth is also a career man. The defense attorney, Dr. Gyorgy Ban, seeks to emphasize his civilian status by sporting a black-and-white plaid jacket. The attorney's cuffs, the accused's worn tennis shoes, these civilian symbols are almost swallowed up by the line of yellow-green tunics, wide belts and small gold stars.

At the start, defense counsel requests the presence of his Austrian colleague, Dr. Isola. The request is denied by the panel on grounds that the person in question is an Austrian, therefore a foreigner; a foreigner may not be admitted to a military establishment which this court is. It may be possible to admit him by special dispensation, but waiting for that would unduly prolong these proceedings.

Following personal identification, the judge reviews the extant documents of the case. He reads aloud Dean of Philosophy Poloski's lengthy report on Zsolt's university record. The accused had been a high school competition winner and thus admitted to university without an entrance examination. He majored in English and French and was very successful. In his fifth year he was allowed to drop French, at his own request. He then wanted to take up Polish but this was denied. When he insisted, he was dismissed from university. The judge forgets to read Keszthelyi's much shorter statement in which he discusses his

reasons for refusing armed military service.

Medical reports are also reviewed. The accused was examined by both the Chief Internist and the Chief Psychiatrist of the People's Armed Forces. Both find him fit for military service. There is no mention of the cardiac symptoms which, prior to his enrollment in university resulted in his being classified as unfit for service. Later on in the course of the trial, K. is offered an opportunity to request further evaluation of his heart complaints, which he declines. I feel that pride motivates him in this; his mother shakes her head in despair. The Chief Psychiatrist could not let K's justification for refusing to serve pass without this comment: "The draftee is in a state of infantile defiance," a highly scientific pronouncement indeed. But, he adds hastily, this does not impede his becoming a soldier.

Any comments so far? None by the prosecutor. Defense requests that the statement of the accused be read at this time. The judge complies. For the first time, the essence of this case is being heard: K. does not wish to serve in a military that takes its orders from a government not elected by the democratic process. He requests to be assigned to civilian service.

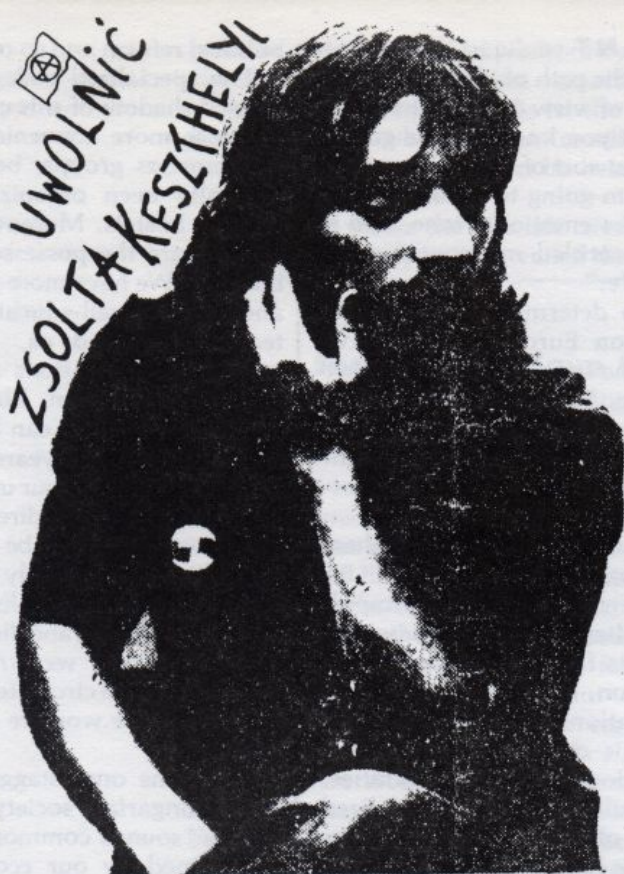
The only comment the accused offers is to the effect that the examination by the Chief Psychiatrist consisted of a brief conversation in which the psychiatrist wanted to know the basis of the accused's contention that the government does not derive its mandate through democratic elections. According to the accused, the conversation—which seemed insulting to civilian sensibilities—came to an abrupt end when it touched on the problem of the 1947 blue cards.\*

No one brings up the question of why, after 5 years, the Army suddenly requires K.'s services, whose age and health certainly don't qualify him as the typical recruit. The same police officer who was involved in K's March 15 appearance and who had conducted several searches of his home, was looking for him within 24 hours of his non-appearance at the Kecskemet recruiting center, and who conducted a press regulation-related search of his house at the same time. But since all of us are liable for military service until the end of adulthood [sic] examination of this kind of homeopathic treatment for political opinion—a bit of the hair of the dog that bit him—is not a proper topic of this hearing. Both prosecution and defense are therefore prudently silent on the subject of the suspicious timing.

Finally, the arguments begin. Judge and prosecution are focused on only one thing: K. deliberately shirked his national service duty. He was drafted; he knew he was drafted; he failed to report for duty; as a consequence, he was arrested.

The prosecution blames the accused of always wanting to be "special"; at university he wanted Polish as a "special" subject; he wants "special" treatment by the Army. He is asked if he is aware that there is no civilian service in Hungary? Yes, he is aware. "In that case, what is it you want?" Do you want the State to create a service especially for you? This of course is meant to show that K. is never

23 year old Zsolt Keszthelyi was sentenced to three years imprisonment last April for refusing military service on political grounds — the first such case in post-war Hungarian history. His trial evoked wide-spread sympathy actions and demonstrations throughout Eastern Europe, where opposition to military service is rapidly becoming the common denominator among the various democratic opposition movements. Translated by Maria Nagy from *Beszelo* #21.



"Free Zsolt Keszthelyi!" — appeal by Polish anti-militarist group Freedom and Peace, which organized rotating hunger strikes in solidarity. Keszthelyi's case attracted widespread sympathy among conscientious objectors throughout Eastern Europe.

satisfied; he does not request unarmed service within the military for which—as we all know—he does not qualify as he is neither a Nazarene nor a Jehovah's Witness; he is a democrat.

The accused realizes this is the moment to present his point of view. This legal position has been developed by Karoly Kiszelyi† and it has been adopted by several conscientious objectors.

Zs.K. states: "I would like to read aloud a proposal." The judge suggests that he call it a statement rather than a proposal. Zs.K. retorts: "I would rather read it as a proposal." He then proceeds to read.

**'Proposal:** I propose that the honorable Court dismiss these proceedings, initiating instead a review by the Constitutional Law Council of the following unconstitutional statutes.

1./ Ministerial directives contrary to Paragraphs 61, 63 and 77, which make unarmed military service exclusively available on religious grounds. Such discriminatory practices are contrary to Par. 156 of the Criminal Code and to Statute No 8/1976.

2./ The Minister's interpretation of Par. 336 of the Criminal Code, which negates constitutional freedom of conscience in relation to military service liability. Paragraph 77 of the Constitution mandates adherence to its principles by all state entities, including freedom of conscience. Liability for military service (Par. 70) and freedom of conscience (Par. 63) carry equal weight in the Constitution. However, the above mentioned interpretation arbitrarily assigns precedence to Par. 70 over Pars. 63 and 77.

I would remind the honorable Court that pursuant to Act I of 1984 the Court has both the duty and the authority to initiate pro-

ceedings on matters of constitutional law. When a Court invokes civic responsibility then it is expected to live up to its own responsibilities as well; by failing to do so it would place itself above the law.

The prosecutor recommends that the foregoing be considered a statement of defense, not a proposal. Defense counsel joins in the recommendation. The judge determines that the foregoing was a proposal. He orders recess, gives permission to the relatives to speak to the accused. Tamas is scarcely able to take a few puffs of his cigar, when we are called back into the court room. The proposal is rejected, the reason will be included in the discussion of the verdict.

The summations follow. Prosecution points to the fact that Zs.K. was allowed to voice his views in court as incontrovertible evidence of freedom of conscience. The accused will not be penalized for it in any way. Military service, however, is another matter. The only issue here is whether the accused is fit for duty. We have heard two important medical opinions, hence there can be no doubt [of his fitness]. The behavior of Zs.K. meets the criteria of Par. 336 of the Criminal Code, that of refusing to serve in the military. The usual punishment is recommended.

Defense prefaces by responding to the prosecution's position; true, Zs.K.'s act meets the criteria of Par. 336, and if judging were done by computers, no more information could be fed in. The only possible verdict of the machine would be "guilty." He quotes from a legal text; —as far as I can gather as a lay person—the gist of which is that paragraphs are not everything. One must weigh whether the activity in question represents a danger to society or not. Without "danger to society" there is no culpability. The present case is of this nature.

A clean record and outstanding professional performance are proofs that the accused is no criminal. As for the motives of his actions, they are in no way anti-social. Could anyone object to the objectives promulgated in his declaration, those of a society free from fear, its citizens behaving responsibly? How could the plea for socially useful civilian service be viewed as anti-social? Furthermore, neither the motives nor the actions themselves should be considered anti-social, in view of the emerging trends of social progress. A few years ago, considerations of conscience could never have been discussed openly in this country, while today the State recognizes the justification, in certain exceptional situations, for unarmed service, on grounds of conscience. Recently, the newspaper *Magyar Hirlap* published a full-page article about unarmed soldiers; the article refutes the charge that those are anti-social people, on the contrary it finds them to be useful citizens. Neither are the actions of the accused anti-social; rather, they amount to a critique of the election system. Recent election reforms and a prospect for more to come support his views.

The court must consider whether, by accepting the prosecution's recommendations, it deviates from the direction of progress up on

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# Recapturing Life

Viktor Orban

I DON'T WANT to divert the present discussion from the path of objectivity, but from my point of view I deem it highly significant to let you know whose guests you are and what sort of country you are in. It is why I am going to speak now in a somewhat more emotional tone, and it is why I have entitled my contribution "Recapturing Life."

I shall try to determine the meaning which a common European alternative movement can have for us and for other similar autonomous social groups. I can raise the question of what circumstances are needed for Hungarian independent groups to let their voices be heard in East-West Dialogue.

Since the beginning of the 1970's, alternative groups based on a variety of interests have been organized very impulsively. The "alternative" character of these movements for us consists in their self-determination, their independence of official organizations. This aspect of organized circles is unbelievably colorful: there are religious base communities, peace groups, cultural circles, specialized colleges. Each of these forms requires separate analysis for which I haven't time here. But what is common to them is some kind of "halfness." The common attribute of all these movements is their "in-between" character.

These movements have never been encouraged by the authorities, which distrust them because they were not created by and could not be controlled by them.

The establishment expressed its mistrust in different ways: in some cases, groups had to settle for control of their program, in other cases the leader of the circle was fired from his job, or the group itself was brutally liquidated, like Dialogue, the only independent Hungarian peace movement.<sup>1</sup> Spectacular cases of suppression did occur, but the majority of circles stayed alive, although never crossing the borders of a loose, network-like organizational structure. Only rarely did they achieve a status guaranteed by law. There have been and there continues to be permanent troubles for these circles. They want to listen to persons who are not beloved by the establishment and they have even organized actions, all of which is unpleasant for the officials. Since the moment of their birth they have floated on the edge of existence; they dissolve and are reorganized. At the beginning of the 1980's it became typical for circles to organize for discussing the total crisis of Hungarian society and looking for ways out. The members of these circles—university students or young intellectuals—came together to discuss questions of ecology, poverty, economics,

political reform and so on.

The specialized colleges<sup>2</sup> give a well-defined shadow of this colorfulness. Their status is more convenient than that of other spontaneous groups, because they have generally been organized in university student hostels. Moreover, we, students of law, are the possessors of a separate building. We have more years of tradition, and young, well-educated directors and teachers help guide us.

These organizations are small islands of relative freedom, liberated territories where the students can live a more autonomous life for 4-5 years.

In political terms our university is strictly controlled, and our directors and professors chosen by us can be vetoed altogether. The officials can simply expel us from the university. But we publish an independent paper, we invite and listen here to anybody we want, we write letters to the Parliament and circulate petitions. Everything we have won we have successfully defended.

Now, the once staggering recognition that Hungarian society is a "shortage society" sounds commonplace. The term was coined by our economists to help analyze and understand the economic system, but it can also be used in a broader sense. There is a shortage not only of material goods but of free activities as well. And as soon as our wishes find these free islands, they come together and show themselves. This is the right of assembly of our wishes, our desires. That is why these places are found especially by those who are dissatisfied with university education and want a better one. That is why both well-known and anonymous authors publish here those studies which have no chance of publication in official reviews. That is why those who painfully feel the oppression of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries gather here, and that is why those who take seriously arranging an East-West meeting live here.

This meeting, and you who come here, mean a little more freedom for us. Our recent history is the history of life expropriated. There is a more brutal and a more pleasant version of this kind of life. The Hungarian one belongs to the more pleasant variety. In the 1970's we could have lived in a real consumer society, but only the so-called "official policy" had the right to discuss political problems.

We got fed up with this half-life. First we took back the right to form circles, networks, colleges. Next, as the second step, we gained the right of discussing our views about the problems of the society we live in. And today we reclaim the next

150 citizens from 17 countries of Europe and the United States active in work for peace, democracy, and detente gathered in Budapest on November 21 and 22, 1987 to discuss European perspectives on the Gorbachev reforms, conscientious objection East and West, and possible aims and prospects for an all-European democratic movement. The seminar was organized by students from the College for Law-Students for Social Studies of the Eotvos Lorand University of Budapest in cooperation with the European Network for East-West Dialogue. The opening address reprinted here was delivered by Viktor Orban, Director of the College.

piece of the empire of official policy: the field of detente, of East-West contacts.

And now we must speak to the next basic question: what inherent conditions are needed for our voice to be heard in East-West dialogue?

In the last weeks the officials tried several times to terrify us with veiled threats.

and different opinions arise, then the authorities erupt with "This is not what we meant, the point is that all of us should act together, in unison."

But from my point of view dialogue is preconditioned by a previous separation and self-identification which is necessary to constitute its subject. Today, the prin-

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**... today we reclaim the next piece of the empire of official policy: the field of detente, of East-West contacts.**

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They pressured us to retire from the meeting. You must know that in Hungary the informal and hidden threats are no less serious than the legal cases. Those who tried to obstruct the meeting claimed that East-West dialogue is the exclusive field of official policy, where we cannot enter without being punished. One can see that the representatives of official policy have still not understood our strongest motivation. In our practice we do not want to be bound by the official policy. Because this is a confrontation of incompatible logics. The official policy can allow us to enter into its game reserve, but can also chase us out. We want to demolish the reserve's fence, to walk in it as ours. Today this is the only way to go forward—we cannot demand less.

In Hungary reform politicians become antireformers and vice versa, from one day to another. Those who tried to deter us with different threats before this meeting will perhaps tomorrow praise this meeting as their own. And it can also happen that those who were silent until now, feigning neutrality, will attack us after the meeting.

There is a strange game with words now in our country. In general everyone speaks of reform programs and the need for democratization. The principal slogan is: "Let's realize these aims together."

But when specific questions emerge

principle task of every autonomous organization is to formulate clearly its differences from others. This assumption is true for us and for our college. We can enter an all-European dialogue if we have defined points of view on the matters of conscientious objection, on superpowers, on ecological problems, and, being lawyers, on the political structure of our society. The formulation of independent opinion in our country is not something free of danger and repression. But we are sure that this conference has helped much in these matters.

The mere fact that such a conference could be organized in Budapest should not mislead the participants. It does not mean that there are strong independent movements in our country. These movements will become strong only if they can answer the questions outlined above.

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<sup>1</sup> for the definitive history of the Dialogue movement, cf. the article by Miklos Haraszti in *Across Frontiers* vol. 1 #3-4.

<sup>2</sup> the College of Law-Students for Social Studies, which hosted the conference, was founded in 1983. The College was created by an emerging unofficial movement of law-students for changing the methods and the perspective of the frozen university education, for the expression of critical views on society and law and of special interests of students, and for lessening the alienation of students within student dormitories.

For further information on the work of the **European Network for East-West Dialogue** write: c/o Dieter Esche, Niebuhrstr. 61, D-1000 Berlin 12.



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# Bulletin

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## of the European Network for

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# East-West Dialogue

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## Glasnost? Nein, Danke!

A. Winton Jackson

Soviet papers now lament that perestroika may be running out of steam, but it is only in the last year or so that the proverbially skeptical citizens of East-Central Europe—numbed by years of relentlessly boring official propaganda—have begun to take a serious look at developments in the USSR since Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary. Popular aspirations for democracy and social autonomy have been stimulated by Soviet talk of glasnost, adding an additional source of tension to the national and bureaucratic strains which increasingly afflict the bloc. Even relatively staid and prosperous East Germany has not been immune from this process, and Gorbachev and his slogans have been adopted as a symbol of rebellion by large numbers of East German youth. It is certainly no accident, to borrow a time-worn phrase from the GDR press, that hundreds of youthful music fans chanted the Soviet leader's name during last summer's "rock riots" at the Berlin Wall. And graffiti displays of Gorbachev mania have become a common sight in East Berlin and other large cities.

Gorbachevism in Moscow, however, is not without problems for the East German leadership. The INF agreement and the continuing progress of intra-German detente have contributed to a palpable lessening of Cold War tension in Central Europe, opening a modest space in which dissenting youth and intellectuals can press their demands. Samizdat political and cultural journals appeared last year, and independent peace and environmental initiatives enjoyed a modest revival.

On January 17, some 120 citizens attempted to participate independently in an official march commemorating the 1919 murder of socialist and anti-war militants Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Prominently inscribed on their banners was a quotation from Luxemburg's celebrated essay on the Russian Revolution: "Freedom is always freedom for the one who thinks differently." They scarcely had time to unfurl their banners when they were attacked by the security police and carted off to jail, where they were charged with "riotous assembly." Among the arrested were a large number of activists associated with the independent journal *Environmental Pages*, long regarded by the authorities as a prime source of subversion.\*

Also arrested en route to the demonstration was Stephan Krawczyk, a left-wing songwriter who has been banned from public performance since resigning his Party membership in 1985. Krawczyk has become something of a cult figure among GDR youth, and late last year the authorities took the step of banning him from singing in churches, where his appearances—publicized strictly by word-of-mouth—invariably drew overflow crowds. He was arrested with a banner protesting "Berufsverbot," the professional blacklisting which has silenced or driven into exile an entire generation of critical intellectual and cultural voices in the GDR.

To round out the sweep, the police arrested Krawczyk's companion, theatre director Freya Klier, and well-known activists Barbel Bohley, Werner Fischer, Ralf Hirsch, and Wolfgang and Lotte Templin of the "Peace and Human Rights Initiative" on the morning of the 26th. They were all charged with treason, which carries a potential life sentence.

The demonstration and subsequent arrests received a great deal of coverage in the West German media, while church services in solidarity with the arrested drew thousands in East Germany. Unnerved by the negative publicity and undoubtedly surprised by the extent of domestic protest, the authorities beat a modest retreat: prominent East German lawyer Wolfgang Vogel hinted that all the arrested would be released by the end of February. Shortly after his announcement Klier and Krawczyk turned up in West Berlin, claiming that they had left the country under duress and demanding to return. At the end of the week they were joined by the Peace and Human Rights activists. Hirsch, given a "choice" of emigration or 10 years in prison, had signed an application to emigrate; the others were shipped to West Berlin with temporary GDR passports. Whether they will be permitted to return home is anybody's guess.

East Germany's rulers, on the other hand, have only one message for their restive youth: whatever they think they might have heard about what is currently happening in the Soviet Union, forget it—it can't happen here. To hammer this lesson home, the security and police forces have been taken off the leash which temporarily bound them during Honecker's triumphant visit to West Germany last year.

The wave of repression is a serious setback for the emerging democratic opposition in East Germany, but the depth of the protest nationwide, in which even the normally quiescent Catholic Church registered its disapproval, suggests that the rebellious mood among a large segment of youth may run far deeper than the authorities or even many democratic activists suspect. And an upsurge of popular protest in East Germany would have immediate repercussions in the Federal Republic, which perhaps explains the widespread sympathy evinced by a broad spectrum of West German politicians and editorial writers for the "difficult position" of the East German leadership.



Exiled Peace and Human rights activist Ralf Hirsch.

\* cf. "The New Samizdat" in *Across Frontiers* vol. 4 #1.

# An Open Letter to Margarethe Von Trotta

Freya Klier

Dear Margarethe von Trotta:

Six months ago I wrote a letter—it had already made its way to the waste basket—which is now past due. For the uneasy situation which at that time moved me to write has now intensified, and it overlaps with sympathies which prevented me from sending the original letter.

I am referring to those social issues in the GDR for which increasing state repression is only the physical expression—it is less visible but for this reason a more fundamental power.

Several months ago you became a corresponding member of the Academy of Arts in the GDR—the Academy of a country in which (in the last couple of years as never before) its own critical culture has been systematically and lawfully eliminated. To me, therefore, this step stands in violent contradiction to your stance in your own country and above all to your politically active work in film. Perhaps you were not aware of the strategic power of the Academy within a minority dictatorship.

Your country enjoys (despite Interior Minister Zimmermann) an abundant cultural landscape in which art and culture are not automatically under the controls of the government but have a free space in which to operate. That is not the case in the GDR . . . There is no independent publisher, no independent theater group. The entire film, radio, and television system, all theaters, unions, the Academy and above all every art school in the country are subordinate to the uniform guidance of the SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland). The Party alone determines the budget for culture. The Party has both a financial monopoly and the sole power of appointment. And where once perhaps anti-fascist resistance fighters and bourgeois humanists lent their personal brilliance to their work, there sit today cold and correct functionaries, previously tested thoroughly for aptitude. Reliable and at the head of the pack, they stifle (often in personal coalitions, for this lessens friction) even the most timid critical voices in their schools and organizations.

Take GDR film, for example. Haven't you noticed the emptiness that dominates this field? Do you think it accidental that lightning strikes with ability and self-motivated talent in your country, while film here seems to be dying an artistic death? Not long ago, I learned unofficially (from behind a held hand—currently this is the second but more intensive level of communication) from an employee of the foreign trade ministry that last year the GDR was able to sell four whole films on the foreign market, and not a single one since January. The absence of culture lies like a nightmare on this country, and suddenly in this climate your film "Rosa Luxemburg" appears. It is a great film, finally with a woman instead of an ideological mouthpiece. And sud-

## A political position is not geographically divisible: it lacks credibility if it turns into its opposite at the border crossing.

denly they shake your hand, the ones who with relentless rigor nip the bud of every artistic beginning that doesn't fit the official concept, the ones who have hunted out of this country anyone who refused to be made silent, permanently mute, the ones who reliably ensure that no critical young person enters an art school in this country. Suddenly these functionaries shake your hand excessively and gratefully. They break into unusually uproarious applause and turn jubilant somersaults in the papers, the party organ of the state functionaries . . . How do you explain this enthusiasm to yourself, and above all, the obvious contradiction?

I think the applause has been so striking for two reasons. Above all, with you the gentlemen can produce a magnificent piece of "class struggle." Because Luxemburg is not everywhere Luxemburg. The *Berufsverbot* [professional blacklisting—trans.] directed against singer Stephan Krawczyk was based on one text (among others) he used to read at his concerts: it was a quotation from Rosa Luxemburg's "Essay on the Russian Revolution"—you probably know it. This essay is of decisive importance for people who live in a socialist country, because in it R.L. recognized and criticized quite early the kernel of party clique rule in the young Soviet power and the attendant demolition of democracy.

In the meantime this kernel has spread out over our country as an oppressive blight—we suffer from it in a way you probably cannot imagine in your world of artistic freedom. For this reason, the quotations in question from the essay were always met with

Translation by Patricia Simpson from *Grenzfall* #10.

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Official "Day of Struggle" demonstration January 17.

passionate applause; for this reason the text was not published in the GDR for decades.

This approach plays no role in your film, and that is understandable, since it is not the focus of your work. But the applause of our state functionaries should have warned you to be careful, for here it has a special meaning. These gentlemen do not appear in your film, for which they are profoundly grateful. And with your election into the Academy they solve a second problem at the same time. The absence of good native artists threatens to become shockingly obvious. They accordingly thought up this perfidy: they increasingly fill the empty spaces with western (if possible politically left) artists and writers. We're anxiously anticipating the next one. . .

A political position is not geographically divisible: it lacks credibility if it turns into its opposite at the border crossing. In a country where the fundamental destruction of independent social thought is managed by a certain power, whoever moves into its camp is guilty.

Several moments in your film touched me particularly. They have to do with the imprisonment of Rosa Luxemburg and preoccupied me even when I read the letters—the little garden, her library, the green plants. It may seem laughable to you, but the comparison strikes me powerfully! I spent some time in prison, for criminals naturally, for political prisoners don't exist here. The rule there is thick milk glass so that the prisoner cannot see the sky or a tree. There were neither green plants nor anything personal. And no pencil to scribble down a couple of thoughts or perhaps a poem on a piece of toilet paper. There was one piece of paper per month to write a letter. And if you hadn't obeyed orders as expected by the collective, this one piece was withheld.

It wasn't a lack of paper that motivated such frugality, but rather the humiliating concept of education of this state power that doesn't recognize the right of prisoners to jot down their own thoughts. A couple of weeks ago, I gave the mother of an imprisoned friend who suffered a serious breakdown a little volume with the artist's illustrations. The mother behaved dismissively and rebukingly; she had been precisely instructed that nothing personal could be passed on to the prisoner. . .

This friend was imprisoned because he wanted to leave the country.

We have this sixty years later—in a state that calls itself socialist.

It is this relentless interdiction that is the decisive reality in our country. And when I saw in your film how lovingly you depict Rosa Luxemburg in prison rapping on the little things necessary for survival, I can only smile and think that you probably come from a sheltered environment.

You should breathe a sigh of relief that biographical accident allowed you to be born and grow up in a land in which artistic talent and political activity live.

With good will,  
Freya Klier  
(theater director)



"Freedom is always freedom for the one who thinks differently."

# "We'll Keep Playing . . ."

## A Conversation with Stefan Krawczyk

*UNWELTBLAETTER: Stefan, you were barred from all public performance on November 13, 1987. How did this come about, and what effect has this official measure had on your life and work?*

**Stefan Krawczyk:** Well, a general ban has always been in effect, it started already about 2½ years ago, in August '85. Revoking my license amounted to a public ban.<sup>1</sup> But it definitely hasn't come to emigration. I mean, when you lose your license, you basically have to emigrate.

So first we looked for opportunities to perform. The church presented itself. Official bans don't apply to churches and for this reason there is more space. . .

But there's more than meets the eye where the law authorizing public performance is concerned, since those affected by it—in this case church staff—have the limits of religious conduct spelled out to them.

The cops have no competence at all here. But the state personally threatened me with penalties on the basis of this law if I performed on November 13. If Freya and I perform together, it applies to both of us. The sanction imposed basically contained four points:

First, I'm prohibited from the preparation of, or active participation in, per-

formances which do not promote the further development of socialism, pursuant to paragraph 1 of the law on performance. Only it's up to the authorities to determine what promotes the development of socialism. We have no say in how this is ultimately interpreted.

Second, the ban is general.

Third, if I participate in or organize any performances, I'll be fined 500 marks, and 1000 the second time—this goes for Freya too, if she's involved.

The fourth and most important point is the right of appeal (laughter and wisecracks in the background!).

Basically they're stepping up the pressure because they don't know how else to stop it. Because a fair amount of solidarity has been shown, including people in the church who believe that the church also has a responsibility to deal with social problems.

The state tries to bring every conceivable means of pressure to bear to get on top of the situation. Prison is at the moment not popular, since it's too damaging to the GDR's reputation abroad, so they try to do it with fines. This is actually nothing new—the first fines were levied at the beginning of the year against some pastors who had allowed me to perform.

Freya Klier and Stephan Krawczyk in performance.



Translation by A. Winton Jackson from *Umweltblaetter*, January 1988.

Now the situation has intensified, since a lien has been imposed in connection with the first fine. And an additional 750 marks have been assessed. But the state can see that with pastors, or at least some of them, a fair amount of potential resistance exists and the money will eventually be produced. They can't be disciplined this way, so they threatened us on the 13th with legal proceedings. But it won't stop us—we'll keep playing, keep performing. Even if they put a lien on everything we have!

*Q: It's actually the first time since 1952 that pressure has been applied to church councils through the retroactive application of official decisions. Concretely, how does this work?*

*A:* Maybe the example of Golgatha, where a "Brecht evening" was scheduled for November 23, can illustrate this. The pastor was officially summonsed and asked if he could guarantee public order and security. Well, you know he can't really do this. Not because he's afraid that "skinheads" might perhaps turn up, but out of fear that the Stasi [State Security] might send some people there to make trouble.<sup>2</sup> Since in that event he naturally can't guarantee order, it took a big fight to convince him he should resist the attempted intimidation.

*Q: Under these circumstances what are the possibilities for continued performance?*

*A:* Offers are really diminishing, during "Friedensdekade" [the annual "Peace Week" sponsored by the Evangelical Church] 8 out of 11 were withdrawn. The level to which the various congregations have sunk, at least as far as their social engagement, first became apparent in December. We have nothing lined up at all for December and January.

*Q: What are your plans for the near future?*

*A:* First I want to write, since I haven't been able to during all this trouble with my ban, the police, etc. Now I want to write a new program of songs.

*Q: What's the best way for us to help?*

*A:* Given the outstanding fines, we need solidarity in the form of financial help. Otherwise the state will garnish even our instruments. But solidarity basically has to come from the artistic community here, who have fewer and fewer ties to the people. They do their thing, they're paid well for performing, they travel in the West and don't want to risk anything. The situation has already changed a great

deal since the Biermann days, artists then weren't so alienated from their audience.<sup>3</sup>

*Q: All sorts of rumors about you are circulating these days—for example, that you've applied to emigrate. What's the story?*

*A:* To answer your question, it should be obvious that I haven't applied for emigration papers and have no such plans. Of course these rumors get back to us too. Rumors have spread ever since we decided to keep working here and to remain public. And they can be traced to official sources. When the pastors declared their willingness to completely support us, the attack was directed at the most sensitive issues in the church, like pornography and racism.<sup>4</sup> All of a sudden we were performing racist plays or singing racist songs. This naturally had an effect on pastors who didn't know us, who were taken in by the authorities' tricks.

We always had to fight like crazy against the rumors. The same goes for emigration. You naturally lose credibility with the public and with your audience if you sing about doing something about the problems here and have it in the back of your mind to split. This doesn't make it, and the Stasi know this very well. So they've worked to undermine our effectiveness. That's certainly not the last of it. They're very creative at this. Moreover there's this insane apparatus.

We'll keep on going and the Stasi won't have any easy time stopping us. ■

1. Cultural performers are strictly licensed in the GDR and the content of performances governed by a strict code.

2. Neo-fascist bands of "skinhead" youth have recently taken to brawling at alternative events on church premises.

3. Singer-songwriter Wolf Biermann had his GDR passport withdrawn in 1976 while on tour in West Germany. An important symbol of left-wing cultural and political opposition, he had been banned from public performance and refused a passport to travel for many years. Protests over his expulsion led to the blacklisting and/or emigration of many important East German cultural figures.

4. "Pornography" and "racism", among other categories, are explicitly excluded from the free speech allegedly guaranteed by the East German legal code and constitution.

who also want to act in Solidarnosc. This is not the time to question whether what is needed is National Commission or the KKW. The KKW was set up. I think that it was an organizational step forward, because it eliminated the quite artificial and harmful division that existed between a clandestine and a public part of the leadership.

The KKW is the only possible leadership today. It emerged in a natural way, although its composition is partially the result of chance, since it is made up of people who headed clandestine structures in their regions, or who had a great authority there. In such a situation, to raise the question of convoking the National Commission instead of acting in collaboration with the KKW seems to me to be an error. I say this even though I know that a number of the signatories of the letter of the 22 are active leaders in their regions and that they do good work.

**But the signatories of the letter of the 22 are not just demanding the convoking of the National Commission of Solidarnosc. They are criticizing the weakening of Solidarnosc's trade-union character, its lack of concern for defending the standard of living and other material interests of the workers.**

I agree with the criticism that Solidarnosc is not paying enough attention to material questions. That is correct. But you have to take into consideration the fact that until now, most of Solidarnosc's documents have gone unnoticed because such documents have to be coupled with a certain level of activity. What purpose would a Solidarnosc report on working conditions in the plants have, if there were no possibility for struggles to improve these conditions? In fact, people prefer to work in bad conditions and earn more money.

I think that for a union the problem of working conditions is fundamental but should be put in a more general context, that of a movement. And today we do not have any chance to create that. While it is true that various leading bodies in Solidarnosc are neglecting a number of social questions and this is a mistake, this error stems from the general situation and not any bad will. There is no point in issuing yet another appeal.

**With respect to the Solidarnosc leadership itself, you mentioned differences that emerged around the question of clandestine or public activity. This difference seems to me today to be a thing of the past. But I have the impression that another, deeper one has emerged. It might be described schematically as a counterposition between those who stress the question of a market reform and are therefore prepared to envisage the workers making certain material sacrifices, and those who stress the fight against austerity at the plant level. The second option appeared, for example, in an article by Henryk Wujec and Maciej Jankowski and in some positions defended in the magazine ROBOTNIK.**

As regards the document—a very good one in my opinion—by Wujec and Jankowski, it presents the position of Solidarnosc. It has not,

unfortunately, had the impact that it should have. That is, it has not helped to get things moving in the plants. This document is not at all in conflict with the reform. In Solidarnosc's view, it is necessary to organize actions for immediate demands in the plants in order to defend living standards, and it is necessary to carry out the reform. These are two different levels.

In other words, introducing the reform is inseparable from the struggle for what is involved in the reform, and on this terrain various social groups are going to act in order to defend their interests. This may slow the tempo of the reform, but it will be useful. In fact, what the government proposes is some kind of economic jungle, free enterprise à la Milton Friedman, and Solidarnosc must, of course, defend itself against that. But an economic jungle is one thing, and a market system is another.

On the other hand, it is possible that *Robotnik's* position is based on another point of view, that is the conviction that a market economic reform means lowering the standard of living of the workers. I do not agree with such an analysis. I think that it is necessary to make normal economic decisions, and that the question of how everyone has to defend themselves is secondary. In other words, in the framework of the present system we have nothing to defend because we are living in a country that is not only in an economic crisis but in a state of economic breakdown. What is at stake is ending this breakdown.

It is obvious that through material demands alone and maintaining the existing structure out of ideological attachment to such a structure we will get nowhere. On the other hand, I think that the economic reform would make it easier to defend the standard of living, because it would lead to an economic redeployment, there would be more goods in the stores, and it would be easier to defend the standard of living.

**If I understand your point of view, you think that the introduction of the market would mean that more goods would be produced?**

Yes, I think that the development of the mechanism of the market, of private enterprise, of cooperatives, of local industry and self-management are the only way today to increase the supply of goods. It is clear that the present system, by its very nature, treats consumption only as a necessary evil.

**In the framework of the present system, private enterprises can seem more efficient because they operate in areas neglected by big industry. But it is equally true, I think, that if the Polish market were opened up to international trade, that could lead to a deindustrialization of the country. The productivity of Polish industry is in fact far inferior to that of the developed countries, and it would not stand up against international competition.**

But de-industrialization and all that has already happened. We have machines that are out of use, the air is polluted, the soils have been im-

poverished and so on. If we continue in the framework of this system, the breakdown will be total. The Poles will become a degenerate nation in the heart of Europe; we cannot permit that. This system can no longer be saved; it has no more reserves. Reserves can only arise by the people's initiative—that is, if people create private enterprises, if the state enterprises cease to be that and begin to operate normally on the market, if there is normal competition. There are obviously a mass of problems tied up with that.

The question of private enterprises, moreover, is peripheral. What is important is for people to be able to work with a hope of making gains, that they produce with the idea of selling what they produce. In this country, thousands of millions have been squandered. I know no other solution, if we want to see a radical improvement in the situation, than the one that involves the market. I agree that it is necessary to have mechanisms for defense against the effects of the market, but how can we defend ourselves against something when we do not even know what it is!

In 1981, the National Congress of Solidarnosc declared for a new system of managing the economy based on a combination of democratic socialized planning and workers' and social self-management, not only at the plant and local level but also at the national level—with a chamber of parliament representing the self-management bodies—and with market mechanisms. Since then, this project seems to have disappeared from Solidarnosc's proposals, in favor of a system based essentially on the market.

It disappeared because since then a number of new facts have come to light. It has proved simply impossible to patch up the system, and what is more, the Polish crisis is not a specifically Polish one. That is, it is not due to any particular corruption of the Polish regime or any particular revolt of the Polish people, but it is a general crisis of this type of system. The arrival on the scene of Gorbachev in a way testifies to this. Discussions about some hypothetical ideal system do not interest me. It is clear that the socialism that exists, that "actually exists," as they love to repeat, is a system that leads to a total impasse. And we have no other alternative model to that of the market; no one has dreamed up any others.

So, that is what we have to head for. We are aware of the enormity of the problems we will face. The problem is knowing what public enterprise should do in the framework of the reform. It is not in the first instance to open the way for the development of private enterprises, even if that is certainly necessary and useful. In this case, free-enterprise is utopian. Our free enterprisers think that once the state allows private enterprises, we will see a boom and we will live happily ever after. That is wrong. There will be social problems to solve, but in the framework of a process leading to the introduction of a normal market. Economic development, all economic factors, have to be governed by the market and not by central planners, because they cannot do it.

**A little while ago, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was formed in Poland. What do you think of this initiative?**

First of all, I would like to stress my personal point of view. I am not interested in working in a party. I prefer to act through social movements and a union, not through a political party. In this sense, the PPS does not interest me either, and in general, I am not interested in parties whose programs aim at taking power. But I am not against the formation of such parties, because I am in favor of a multi-party system.

So, I have an outsider's point of view. I think that when groups that identify with the right are very active, the appearance of a group that says "We are socialists, we are left," is a good thing. In this way, the life of the society is enriched. Instead of taking the form of attacks by right-wing groups on Solidarnosc, political discussions take on the character of a discussion between two opposing political orientations.

On the other hand, it seems to me that forming political parties today is a bit premature, but that's not my business.

Finally, and this is the most important aspect in my opinion, it is a bit anachronistic today to divide along left and right lines. In some ways reality seems to prove me wrong, because this cleavage does and it has to be taken into consideration. But I think that this sort of polarization is not relevant to the practical tasks in the present situation, although it is possible that they may change in the future.

For example, in the documents of the right-wing groups there are a lot of things that I agree with. Although they are expressed in a language that is not to my liking, I agree with some of their practical conclusions. In particular in Polish conditions, I am afraid that left-right counterpositions might take the rigid form of ideological contention. I would rather see differences appear around practical questions: what concrete solutions for questions such as that of the social costs of the reform, or that of common action with other peoples in the Soviet camp, or the question of what attitude to take toward the reforms. If it doesn't happen that way, too bad. In any case, the formation of the PPS helps to enrich the political map, even if, in my opinion, the political picture does not fall into a left-right pattern.

**Don't you think that the emergence of political parties and groups should find an expression inside Solidarnosc, or even in its leadership, which might precisely become a common framework for concrete action for various ideological currents?**

To know whether activists from such groups should or should not come into the leading bodies of the union, you would have to know whether they have made up their minds or not to act within it. By its nature, Solidarnosc has to be pluralist, to include various currents. ■

committee and the factory manager. The workers have to regain the audacity to struggle, if only on basic questions—improving working conditions, safety, anything that can be won without having to confront the higher authorities. If these committees are able to do that, if they develop such programs, that will be a success. They do not even have to win a victory at the outset; what is important is for them to formulate demands and undertake a campaign to win them. Then they will get massive support from the workers in their factories.

That way of presenting the tasks of the union appears only rarely in the independent press, leaving aside the statements of Solidarnosc's leading bodies. On the other hand, a lot of space is allotted to the question of the need for establishing a free market.

In the Polish opposition, there is a general problem. In my opinion, it can be summed up as the need for a pluralist opposition. Seven years ago, Solidarnosc represented both a platform of national identity, a union in the classical sense of the term, and a fight for a free market. Various movements existed within Solidarnosc. It was a social movement that proved to be an excellent means of struggle against totalitarianism. Over these seven years, the lay of the land, however, has changed. We are witnessing an evolution of this system—I don't know whether you can call this a reform, but the system is changing nonetheless. This is why the form of unity characteristic of Solidarnosc seven years ago is finished, why it no longer serves much purpose.

We are witnessing a very clear emergence of systematic contraposition between two opposing poles. On the one hand, we have Marcin Krol and his magazine, *Res Publica*<sup>1</sup> and the economic societies<sup>2</sup>, which we are trying to organize and agitate for a classical free-market economy. On the other hand, on the left, we have the formation of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). We are in a period of diversification of the opposition.

For the good health of the opposition and more generally of the independent society, this diversification and crystallization of political philosophies and ideologies are important and useful. One might get the impression that all this is happening to the detriment of Solidarnosc, but that is wrong, because it is a natural development of Solidarnosc. The old formula of Solidarnosc does not hold up any more. Everything that joined together in Solidarnosc is developing today outside of it in the form of clearer ideological platforms.

If you take Solidarnosc as a union, what is most valuable in my opinion is what is happening in the plants, that is the work of the organizing committees that I spoke of, that of Solidarnosc's underground commissions, and also the growth of the union press. In speaking of the union press, I am thinking of the independent journals published in the plants by the underground commissions. That is the level of trade-union struggle to which I am the closest.

What do you think of the letter of the 22 union leaders addressed in September to Lech Walesa, in which the signatories pointed to the danger of Solidarnosc losing its trade-union identity and stressed the urgency of developing a program of immediate demands of the type you spoke about, only at the national level?

I think that we are in a situation today in which demands link up at various levels in Solidarnosc, but especially at the rank-and-file level—and in the underground factory commissions, organizing committees working openly, and the union press (and I stress again, the press published in the plants). Demands also link up at the level of the regions and in various forms at the national level, both through the platform of the 22 or that of the National Executive Commission (KKW) or by other means. Today all this should be bolstered by a certain political platform, and from that flowed the idea of founding the PPS.

It seems to me that the time has come to struggle to make the socially and economically oppressed groups political subjects [as opposed to objects]. That is, the time has come to reinforce the trade-union struggle at the basic plant level by developing a political platform. We think that that should be the task of a political party, concretely the PPS. We want, through the PPS, to give a political strength to the socially oppressed groups.

Could you explain the objectives of the PPS?

What is new in the political experience involved in the creation of the PPS is that we are clearly defining the social interests that we want to represent. This is new in relation to Solidarnosc as an anti-totalitarian social movement that expressed various interests, primarily those of the socially oppressed groups, but not only theirs. Moreover, Solidarnosc is still at that point. But we think that the time has come to express the interests of the socially oppressed more clearly, that it is time to take a clear stand. This is what the PPS is doing.

We do not intend to represent the society as a whole but only the interests of some of its sectors, that is, of the workers and more generally of all the socially and economically oppressed. This is a qualitative alteration in the political landscape of our country created by the regime, by the pauperization of the society, by the evolution of the system. And we want to offer these social groups a political force. In one way or another, these groups are becoming a social subject at the trade-union level, although this is illegal, and also at the self-management level [in the official self-management bodies]. But it is necessary to constitute a social subject that can make them into a political force.

The PPS is a sort of self-convoked gathering on the left. Today in Poland, you can fight for a free market, or do what the church is doing—I am thinking of its defense of the national identity—but you can also fight in defense of the oppressed. That is our choice. Of course, the left grouped in the PPS is not uniform. Several currents, groups and opin-

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ions exist within it. In Wroclaw, for example, we have anarchist-inclined groups, others typical of what is called the "new left," and finally social democrats in the traditional meaning of the term. The PPS was a party that is not in any way compromised in Polish history. We will see how this reference to the PPS tradition will be concretized at the programmatic level, and what programmatic variant will prevail.

**The PPS's program has not yet been worked out?**

For the time being, there is only a basic political statement in which we explain what we want to do—represent the socially oppressed groups and offer them a political force—and the things we are fighting for, such as trade-union freedoms, self-management rights, political freedoms for the workers, the right to refuse military service, protection of the environment and the abolition of the death penalty. In other words, the classical objectives of the left throughout the world.

We say clearly that we do not accept the constitutional system in force in People's Poland, for example the dominance of the Communist Party written into the constitution. Now, on the basis of this statement we have begun to draw up a program. The provisional statutes that we adopted guarantee the right to put forward various political platforms and to organize around them within the party.

**The Paris daily LIBERATION, in its November 28-29 issue, suggested that the PPS identified with the social doctrine of the church. That seems to be in contradiction to the tradition of the PPS, a party that throughout all the phases of its history was strictly secular.**

This is a confusion. In our statement of principles, we noted that the historic PPS—the party that existed before the first and second world wars—was an anti-clerical party. In the totalitarian system in which we are living, the situation is very different. The present PPS will not be an anti-clerical party, because times have changed, and we think that within our party there is a place for socialists inspired by the social doctrine of the church and of Pope John Paul II.

**Does this mean that the PPS hopes to include socialists of Christian inspiration as well as, for example, marxists?**

Yes, certainly, and that is what *Liberation* misunderstood. I think that our position on this matter is quite clear.

**To conclude, I would like you to explain the character of the demonstration organized in Wroclaw by the Orange Alternative on the anniversary of the October Revolution. You took part in that demonstration. Contradictory reports were published. On the one hand, it was reported to be a political demonstration, whose participants demanded notably the re-**

**habilitation of Leon Trotsky; and, at the same time, it was presented as a student joke. What actually happened?**

The Orange Alternative is part of the alternative culture movement. For some time, it has been organizing street actions in Wroclaw in the form of "happenings." The content of these actions has been on the borderline between culture and politics, and had a surrealist form. This form has caught on in Wroclaw. The Orange Alternative started with elitist actions, in which only a few people took part, but it was transformed into mass actions, during which the police held as many as 150 people for a few hours, which was already an important political fact.

The founder of the Orange Alternative is a young independent writer in Wroclaw, Waldemar Hydrych. It is not a formally constituted group but rather a center of initiatives that proposes concrete actions and invites the various independent organizations—Solidarnosc, the Freedom and Peace Movement (WIP) and now also the PPS—to take part.

I personally am a great champion of the Orange Alternative, and I always take part in its street actions. As regards the event organized on the anniversary of the October Revolution, it was a surrealist version of the classical ceremonies organized by the regime.

About 150 people—university students, high-school students, independent culture groups and Solidarnosc activists—participated in this event. Every group came with its own slogans. For example, one of the groups came with a banner saying "We support Boris Yeltsin." [This refers to the Moscow Communist Party leader who was removed supposedly because he tried to carry out the *perestroika* too quickly.] Imagine the surrealism of such a situation! Another group carried a banner with the slogan "We demand the full rehabilitation of comrade Leon Trotsky." It is obviously hard to say where the surrealism ended and political philosophy began. I think that both aspects were present, that undoubtedly the people who carried the banner with the slogan about Trotsky must have had something in common with him, although in Poland there is a large dose of surrealism in such a reference.

The Orange Alternative's last action was held two days before the referendum vote. The participants engaged in a parody of political self-criticism, declaring that they would "vote 'yes' twice." Once again the police held about 150 people in custody for a few hours.

1. *Res Publica*, an independent journal that identifies with the "neo-conservative" right, the only opposition legalized (in 1986) by the Jaruzelski government. This neo-conservative current criticizes Solidarnosc for its "bitter-endism," in the name of a purported realistic and constructive opposition to the established regime.

2. Economic companies, independent organizations for promoting private enterprise, which are beginning to emerge in the wake of the economic reform. One of them in Cracow has gained legal recognition.

to Walesa, the Solidarnosc leadership and the church and you would know it all. That is what convinced them to hold the referendum. They did not realize that the views of the Solidarnosc leadership had diverged from those of the society. That is because the society has no way of expressing itself, not even in the underground press. The Solidarnosc leadership and the groups linked to it have established their monopoly over this press. The existence of the independent press and publishing houses is a marvelous thing. I say that without any irony. But the distribution of the press and independent publications is weak.

In Warsaw, it seems otherwise, because there is a plant press in the Ursus tractor factory, in the Huta Warszawa steelworks, in the FSO auto factory and in the Polkolor electronics factory. But there are provincial cities and more generally many regions that this press does not reach. So, despite the existence of this press, the Western radio stations remain the main source of information. But these stations are no less given to censorship than those of the Reds. A document not approved by Walesa, the Solidarnosc leadership or its experts has no chance of getting on the air.

Consequently, the Solidarnosc leaderships have made the same error as the PZPR [the Polish CP]—they have imposed their monopoly on the independent press. Only their views are broadcast by Western radio stations; the others are eliminated. And so these groups are convinced that the whole society shares their opinions. This news monopoly functioned effectively for a period, as it did for the Communist system. Every individual thought, "I have a different view, but all the others think like the press" (the clandestine press in our case). Before the referendum, people said, "I will not go, but the others certainly will." It was not like that.

#### What do you think of General Jaruzelski's economic reform program?

In the first place, the regime is basing this reform on an economic theory of the free market. The West demands that Jaruzelski base himself on this theory, and this is demanded above all by the International Monetary Fund. But this is absurd, because there is no free market; this theory has no application here. Secondly, our economists, who are trying energetically to convince us of the soundness of their reform, are people who have undoubtedly never seen a factory, who have no idea of what is going on in industry nor of how the production process unfolds.

They imagine that a big drop in the standard of living will lead to an increase in labor productivity and to an improvement in the quality of products. Since they have nothing to do with productive labor, they think that if you drive the proles to get on with the job under the goad of hunger or the whip that they will work hard enough to raise the standard of living of the others. In fact, all those who are discussing how to get society to work have living standards several times higher than most.

I am working now as a painter on a heating

center building site in Ciechanow in the center of the country. A welder of scaffolding earns 25,000 zlotys a month. A top category welder with dozens of years of seniority earns 30,000 zlotys. This is what the wages of most workers are like. Of course, there are enterprises where wages are better—steelworks or shipyards. But I am talking about typical enterprises, like mine. Such wages are not enough today to feed a family, so most Poles are looking for supplementary jobs to do after their eight hours, obviously manual jobs.

For example, the boss on my building site clears away rubble after his workday, and the foreman at the end of his eight hours lays paving stones. And they are asking these people to let their real wages be cut in half! And they tell them, "If you want to keep your standard of living, you have to increase productivity." I don't doubt that they will manage to do it. Only at that time, I will refuse to go up with my brush onto the scaffolding built by my fellow workers, because I would be afraid that it would collapse under my weight.

If the Polish economy is sick, this sickness is caused by norms that are too high and in reality engender immense losses. In 1980-81, I was invited to drink coffee with some ministers, because they wanted to know what I thought should be done to get the economy moving again. I told them that before anything else they had to lower the quantitative production norms by 40 percent without cutting wages and create the conditions for quality production. It is only after that we can start to increase productivity, while increasing wages proportionally. But the regime has always done exactly the opposite. And this produces nothing, because Polish workers are very imaginative.

I have been working in industry for thirty years, and the workers still surprise me by their imagination. Their norms are increased, and despite that they manage to maintain their wages at the same level. I am a worker with a number of skills. I have worked as a lathe-operator, a welder, and now I am a painter. So, I can judge how much time is necessary to make a given product. The norms are such that it seems totally impossible to do the work in the assigned time, but they manage it. Simply, they do not respect the technological process. From the outside, the product seems to meet specifications. It even has, if necessary, the indicated dimensions, but this product maintains its use value ten times less than it should, because it is produced by eliminating 80 percent of the specified technical operations. All the workers' inventiveness is directed toward finding means for eliminating them.

The present economic reform will force workers to find more tricks of this sort. On paper, productivity will increase, and they will therefore maintain the level of their wages. But the economy will break down still more.

You are one of the signatories to the letter of the 22 Solidarnosc leaders to Lech Walesa. In this letter you criticize the Solidarnosc leader-



ship's lack of interest in defending workers' living standards and you demand the convocation of the National Commission elected by the union's congress in order to solve the problem of its leadership. Could you explain this demand?

The only document that defines what Solidarnosc is and how it should function is its statutes. According to these statutes, the union leadership is made up of the National Congress of Delegates, the National Commission and the Control Commission. The tasks of the National Commission, the statutes indicate, are the following: to represent the union as a whole in dealings with the state, the economic administration, as well as with the other institutions and organizations, coordinating the activity of the regional union organizations and adopting the budget.

A demand for convoking the union's only statutory leadership should not surprise any member. It is the right and duty of every member to do this, and in particular of a member of the National Commission. If anybody were to ask us to justify our demand, they would only show their ignorance of the rules that govern our union.

Why did our demand make so many waves—even arouse hostility? The object of every rule is to curb individual and group interests in the name of the general interest. The statutes of Solidarnosc are such rules. They oppose individuals' actions contrary to the interests of the union as a whole. It seems that we have people in Solidarnosc who are opposed to respecting the statutes. I am with those who demand that the statutes be respected and applied. The present leadership of Solidarnosc is not a statutory body.

**But after the establishment of the state of war, it was not possible to act in accordance with the statutes. In the place of the National Commission, replacement bodies were to appear. The Provisional Coordinating Commission (TKK) was the first.**

I was very happy when the TKK emerged. I was in an internment camp at the time. The need for forming the TKK was clear to everyone, because then it was impossible to do otherwise. However, the situation has changed since. When I got out of prison, I realized after a few months that there was absolutely no problem about convoking the National Commission. There were technical difficulties, to be sure, but they were far from being insurmountable. I have taken part in many meetings in which there were more than 200 unionists, and these meetings could be held. The National Commission has less than 100 members. Since then, conditions have become still more favorable.

If it is possible to apply the statutes, that should be done, if you want to stay in the framework of Solidarnosc. In such a situation, those who fail to apply the statutes place themselves outside the union Solidarnosc—not outside the social movement Solidarnosc, but outside the union. That seems clear to me. If a group makes it impossible to call a session of the statutory leadership of the union, then

that group is standing in the way of the union functioning.

**Why do you think this problem exists?**

It is very simple. Monopoly conditions have appeared, and the group that has imposed this is doing everything it can to maintain it. The existence of groups aspiring to monopolize power is a natural thing. But democracy's purpose is precisely to make this impossible by establishing a balance between such groups and guaranteeing that they will keep a check over each other.

**Nonetheless, the leading group in Solidarnosc contains members who have various points of view. For example, some give priority to the fight for a market-type economic reform, while others favor giving priority to the trade-union struggle in the plants, like the signatories to the letter of the 22, who consider that Solidarnosc is not paying enough attention to this question.**

It is not paying any attention to it at all. Solidarnosc may be a social movement today, but it is certainly not a union. Since the establishment of the state of war, the groups that have taken the leadership have not been carrying out trade-union activity. Henryk Wujec is an exception, because from time to time, timidly, he reminds people that after all we have to be a union.

I will give only one example: In the fall of 1984, I met in Warsaw with a group of 40 workers from a plant, rank-and-file members of Solidarnosc. The workers sat quietly through the whole meeting; they said nothing. Only the leaders talked. Shortly before midnight, the leaders left, and then the workers started talking, until 5 a.m. I learned from them—not from the leaders—that new contracts were in the pipeline. When I came out of prison, none of the regional leaders talked to me about that. Either they did not know anything about it, or else they weren't interested. In that meeting, we discussed how to defend ourselves against this looming threat.

Later, I travelled through the country, and I collected documentation about this question. I drafted a statement, and I intended to publish articles on this affair in the underground press. At that time, they were still publishing what I wrote, because I had just got out of prison and had to be reckoned with. Unfortunately, Father Popieluszko's murder diverted everybody's attention, and the regime then took advantage of that to force through the new contracts, without arousing any protests. This question simply did not interest either the TKK or the regional leaderships, because they did not feel that they were in the shoes of union leadership. That has not changed.

**You are very hard on the present leadership of Solidarnosc.**

Yes, that's so. I have a negative assessment of the work of the comrades who make up the KKW and the preceding leaderships. I am in complete disagreement with their political line, with their conception of an understanding with the regime and their attempts to orient it. I should add that I am equally shocked

by the attitude they took following the recent arrest of Kornel Morawiecki, the underground leader of the Fighting Solidarnosc Organization. As you know, the regime accuses Morawiecki of terrorist activity.

The KKW poses the problem in the following way: Solidarnosc has never been implicated in terrorism, but despite that we have

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to protest. In fact, that means the KKW giving legitimacy to the accusations made by the prosecutor and the propaganda of the government's representative, Jerzy Urban, who say that Fighting Solidarnosc is a terrorist organization. That is an inadmissible and scandalous attitude. In common with some other independent activists—including Halina Mikolajska—we drew up a statement on this matter<sup>3</sup>. If the differences that exist in the opposition were to lead us to treat each other the way Walesa and the KKW did Morawiecki, then the government would very soon be able to put us all in prison, including the comrades of the KKW, because no one would want to defend us, and rightly so.

**The Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was formed recently. What is your attitude toward this initiative?**

This could be a historic event and a turn in the situation. Over the past five years all the independent groups enjoying some influence have evolved very far to the right. Even those that in the past were identified with the left have taken positions today that would be seen in the West as very right wing. And this is to say nothing of our right, which is something that must be hard to imagine in the West. It is an eighteenth or nineteenth century right!

On the left there is a vacuum that it is essential to fill. The PPS has a chance of filling it and of becoming the party of all the left. And there is an immense demand in Poland for left-wing thought.

**Did you join the PPS?**

No, but I took part in its founding congress, and I look on the creation of this party with a lot of sympathy. If I did not join it, that is because I think that the PPS has to resolve a series of questions that I consider very important.

First of all, after the experience of the communism that appeared under the name of socialism, we have an immense conceptual confusion. The PPS will have a big job to do in defining the concepts, in developing a language and recovering from the Communists the symbols that they have appropriated. To take only one example, the goal the PPS set itself was to establish socialism in Poland. In 80 to 90 per cent of people, that immediately arouses a negative emotional reaction. So the

PPS has to clearly define what it means by "socialism" in 1987.

This is not a concept with only one meaning. Various socialist parties and currents in the world give it a different content, and, what is more, in Poland it is a concept that has been emptied of all content. The same is true for the red flag, the traditional banner of the socialists, which has been usurped by the Communists. In 1981, when the National Commission of Solidarnosc was discussing what attitude to take toward May 1, and how to celebrate it, I said, "Comrades, the question is not how to celebrate it, but how to clean away the Communist imprint from the flag of the workers' struggle for a better future." The PPS must take its distance from the compromised slogans, but maintain their real content and translate it into a new language.

Secondly, the PPS has to take a stand on the socialist tradition. The history of the Polish Socialist Party and its program are known today only to historians. Our knowledge in this area is very limited. We know that during the partition of Poland, this party placed the fight for social justice and for independence on the same level, that it organized strikes, and that for years Jozef Pilsudski was one of its leaders. Few people know about this party's attitude toward marxism and few know that the keystone of the Socialists' program was social ownership of the means of production.

It is not enough today to identify with the

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tradition of the Socialist Party, not only because it is little known in our society, but also because this party had several traditions, among which you have to choose. For example, in 1906, the PPS split into two parties. The PPS-Revolutionary Faction led by Pilsudski took up an armed struggle for independence. On the other hand, the PPS-Left fused with the SDKPiL to form the Communist Party of Poland, an agent of the USSR.

During the last war, there existed the PPS-Freedom-Equality-Independence (PPS-WRN), which fought the German occupation and, after the war, opposed the Bolshevization of Poland. At the same time, there was the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists (RPPS). After the war, it founded the "new" PPS, which collaborated with the Polish Workers Party (PPR), fusing with it in 1948 to form the PZPR.

Which tradition does the present PPS identify with? There are a lot of possible choices. Concretely, it has to say whether this is the tradition of collaboration with the Communists, that of the PPS-Left and the RPPS, and whether it should aim for legality, that is, recognition as a party by the PZPR, and seek

to govern in common with the Communists? Or whether, conversely, it will organize the society to fight for democracy and independence in accordance with the tradition of the PPS-Revolutionary Faction and the PPS-WRN? These are essential questions. Maybe they are troublesome ones for the founders of the present PPS, but they have to be asked and answered.

Thirdly, it has to be remembered that marxists and non-marxists coexisted in the historic PPS. The new PPS has to define its attitude toward marxism. That is hard. The Communists have tried to sell us the idea that Marx and Lenin invented everything, even the multiplication table. We have believed a number of propaganda claims along these lines. For example, what we are offered as marxist economics is really on the economic theory worked out by Ricardo. Certain theories cannot be rejected for the sole reason that marxists lay claim to them. The others can, and must, be abandoned. The PPS has to make a choice and present it in two versions—a popular one and a theoretical one. This will also be difficult, and maybe troublesome, but it is necessary.

Fourth, it is essential that the PPS explain how it views social ownership of the means of production. I think that it is infantile to think that state ownership leads only to bad things and social ownership only to good things. The PPS should be in favor of democ-

cracy, of normal parliamentary democracy. In a free and democratic country, the state apparatus is a sum of functionaries that society employs to handle the matters determined by the institutions that represent it. In such a country, state ownership is simply social ownership.

There are other questions of this sort that must be clarified. I hope that the PPS will clarify them in the best way, and provide answers that will induce the maximum number of people to join, and make it possible for me to join also.

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1. This border was far to the west of Poland's pre-war western borders. The settlement granted lands to Poland that had been Polish centuries before in compensation for the eastern lands of inter-war Poland, which were incorporated into the Soviet Union.

2. According to the calculations made by Solidarnosc last October, to live on the "breadline" a person needs an income of 10,660 zlotys; and to live at a minimum social level, a family of four needs an income of 53,400 zlotys a month.

3. Helena Mikolajska is an actress and recipient of two state prizes for her artistic activity. She was formerly a very active member of the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR), which was victimized for the 1976 Radom strike and became the political nucleus of the Polish opposition.

Bunkers from page 10

store nuclear waste in the MFR. Four days before the next scheduled town protest march on September 2, members of Freedom and Peace stood on the roof of a low building in the center of Miedzyrzecze with banners. Dariusz Bakalski, Marek and Waldemar Rusakiewicz, Krzysztof Sobolewski, Kasimierz Sokolowski, and Jaroslaw Wojewodzki stood on the roof for over two hours, and then distributed five thousand leaflets. After this action a crowd of local residents accompanied them to the church.

This example had its desired effect. On Sunday, September 6, between three and four thousand citizens of Miedzyrzecze marched down the streets of the town. There were many arrests, and many court summons were issued.

On September 27 nine inhabitants of Miedzyrzecze went on a hunger strike at the local church to protest police repression. Hanna Augustyniak, a teacher, Wladyslaw Biernat, a pharmacist, Stanislaw Bozek, Wladyslaw Zajac, Jan Witczak, and Jozef Granczarski, farmers, Bozena Sieciechowicz, a nutritionist, Wieslaw Zaliwski, a retiree, and Andrzej Kolakowski, a student, were later joined by Tomasz Czebatul, a museum employee, Stanislaw Szydłowska, a librarian, and Anna Kolakowska, a student. Later nine more people, among them members of Freedom and Peace, joined the strike. A

protest letter composed by the hunger strikers was signed by a thousand Miedzyrzecze residents.

Meanwhile, about thirty meters away from the church, court hearings were in progress at the city hall. The procedures were observed by a large number of Secret Service agents from Gorzow, a representative of the Gorzow bishopric, Fr. Piotr Sadownik, along with other priests, members of Freedom and Peace from Warsaw, and journalists from the official Poznan newspaper *Wprost*. (As soon as the sentences were handed down, the reporters rushed up to the judge to have him sign their travel reimbursement receipts. Twenty people were fined ten to forty thousand zlotys each (a total of 586 thousand zlotys—an average wage is 20,000 per month). Six cases were dismissed.

The authorities also began a propaganda campaign. In Miedzyrzecze factories meetings were held at which party lecturers explained that first of all, nuclear waste is harmless; secondly, the decision on the location had not yet been made; and thirdly, protests would only make matters worse. Homes of activists were visited by police warning against participation in any future protest marches, implying that there would be bloodshed.

Despite all this, on October 4, a crowd of four or five thousand (a quarter of



The church in Miedzyrzecze. Banners read: "We demand respect for civic action — conscience or following orders?" and "Hunger strike September 27 protesting repression in the cause of MFR (M. Fortified Region)."

the town's population) greeted the hunger strikers as they came out of the church at the conclusion of their hunger strike with shouts of "Thank You." The entire assembly marched from the church to the Centrum apartment complex. Banners read: "We want to live!" "We don't want a nuclear dump!" and "Leave the bunkers to the bats!" as well as peace signs. The police, who had appeared in force, demanded only that the crowd disperse.

This was the last protest march of the season; the next one is scheduled for the spring. Will it still be necessary? The Miedzyrzecze example shows how the people of a small town can join together to organize for a specific purpose. And when they succeed (as I believe they shall) they will remain organized—I hope—to fight for other causes, which will certainly not be hard to find. In any event, a lot has changed in Miedzyrzecze already. The authorities have been forced to pay attention to public opinion. Soon after the previous march, for instance, the local PRON [an official advisory body which

usually rubberstamps party decisions] sent a letter to Gen. Kiszczak [Minister of Internal Affairs] protesting the brutal handling of demonstrators by the forces of law and order. On September 30 the Town Council sent a resolution to the Chairman of the Council of State opposing the siting of a nuclear dump in the MFR.

On October 3 the Interim Council of "Solidarnosc" announced its support for the inhabitants of Miedzyrzecze.

Freedom and Peace has opposed the idea of a nuclear dump from the very beginning, in line with its opposition toward nuclear power in general.

At a meeting during the hunger strike, Freedom and Peace spokesperson Jacek Czaputowicz asked, "Can we believe that a system incapable of producing a decent car or even a decent bolt, in a country where everyday trains, buses, and trams collide, that this system will provide us with a nuclear power industry that is an enclave of good workmanship and safety?"

their legal monopoly on absolute power. They cannot tolerate any civic manifestation of independence and autonomy. They can put up only grudgingly and superficially with such phenomena as socialist democracy, socialist legality, socialist pluralism, and socialist enterprise, etc. But this acceptance remains contingent on the adjective of these word combinations continuing to cancel out the noun. They defended and continue to defend a socialism without freedom of

Given the present arrangement of forces, opponents of democratic changes who are in danger of losing their nomenklatura privileges can only gain the support of the masses by playing on nationalist feelings and rousing nationalist prejudices . . . If we are now talking about the Perestroika as a revolution, it would be appropriate to recall the lessons of the first Russian revolution of 1905 which the autocracy managed to "drown in pogroms".

Nationalist problems in our present day society are very serious and, as they say, fraught with danger. Those actually responsible for lawlessness, and the humiliation and degradation of the Russian people, are trying to lump all the blame on the "noxious influence of the West", and identify as its agents the supporters of democracy, atheistic Masons, and the always indispensable Jews. One must also admit that they have succeeded in part. Xenophobia and a distrust of everything "heathen" are still deep-seated in a country which has only recently emerged from its peasant past.

-iu. Skupko "Several Words About Socialist Pluralism," *Viewpoint* (journal of "Club Perestroika"), #3

choice, without creativity, without diversity, without initiative, without well-being. They support a socialism of form without a socialism of content which is a situation they find convenient. Barracks are the ideal of their socialism.

They immediately and demagogically brand any attack on the total absolutism of the nomenklatura stratum which is undertaken within the framework of direct democratic action as "antiSovietism", "extremism", "anarchy", and a "breach of public order", etc. They victimize these critics with gendarme methods. Organically incapable of going honestly and openly head-to-head, they physically remove the opponent from their path by discrediting him through slander. In response to any principled critique addressed to them, there reflexively follows a stream of abusive accusations of "provocation", "sabotage", and "nefarious objectives", etc. Such a regime of authority has nothing

in common with either democracy or socialism. Punishment and propaganda are its two main functions.

Must socialist democracy with its broader foundation be even shallower than bourgeois democracy? But if the latter tolerates within its confines not just protests against its own foundations but also the existence and activity of forces (communist parties) organized on a national scale whose programs proclaim the overthrow of these foundations, then why should socialist democracy fear the free expression of its citizens? Who commits violence against socialist democracy and why? Who artificially instills it with an inferiority complex?

If it is perfectly clear that criticism does not sap the foundation of the state (and this has been convincingly demonstrated by the beneficial effect of the broad offensive of glasnost in the course of this year), then the ban on freedom of expression does not make sense for at least three reasons:

In the first place because it does not actually abolish freedom of thought (It is altogether impossible to abolish or ban the latter while the individual lives).

In the second place, such a ban is inevitably reflected in a reduction of the intellectual potential of society, and leads

In my opinion, the leitmotiv of the changes at hand in our society must become the liberation of society from total party-state control, demolition of the collusive mechanisms used by the bureaucratic mafia to conceal their incompetence and corruption, and the immediate consolidation and development of self-management principles in all spheres of life. We can expect that the democratic movement will be assisted to advance in this direction by the constituent assembly of the unions of informal social groups convening in early 1988, the seminar of independent social groups on humanitarian problems planned for the end of this year, and other forms. The conducting of these meetings in a constructive spirit cultivated by discussions in the independent press, can in fact lead to the formulation of such a general program on the part of the democratic movement, the establishment of a coalition, and perhaps even an Alliance of Democratic Forces.

—*Ibid.*

to economic and cultural decline along with such dangerous consequences as degradation of morals, cynicism, duplicity, and general suspicion among others.

In the third place, in as much as it is

still necessary to know the opinion of society (at least for the successful administration of it), the state is forced to maintain at the expense of the taxpayers a costly and ineffectual department for this purpose (Moreover there are grounds to suppose that a departmentalist approach also to this matter has a detrimental influence on the final result). At the same time, the state does not employ simple accessible institutions tested through the centuries—a free unmanipulated press allowed to interpret and express all shades of public opinion without dubious intermediaries, national non-governmental referenda, voting and others.

Who degrades our socialist democracy and for the sake of what in providing cause for ridicule and rebukes of weakness on our part? The Ancients in similar cases posed the question: "Who benefits by this?" This situation benefits those who ban, intimidate, and do not let go. This situation benefits those who try to conceal their own apathy and contempt for the people behind an ostentatious "unmasking of intrigues", imaginary ene-

mies, and contrived accusations of "political mistakes". This situation benefits the bureaucratic neo-stalinist apparatus which fears with good reason that the free eye of the people will be trained first on it when the people begin to seek the root cause of its disastrous circumstances after recovering its sight.

The moment when the people finally grasp that the love of the people feigned by the petty bureaucrat conceals nothing more than his self-serving appetite will also become the transitional moment to a genuine new political mentality.

It is in the interests of socialism to secure freedom of expression juridically, organizationally, and materially by removing the unjustified politically motivated restrictions on its use.

Statement of the Editorial collegium of the socio-political bulletin *Viewpoint* (A. Zverev, V. Kuzin, Iu. Skubko) at the International Seminar on Humanitarian Problems in Moscow, 11 December 1987.

Konrad from page 31

they had to escape from a country which was not autonomous, unlike neighboring Austria which had just regained its autonomy. Our relations henceforth will be different: a little colder, more matter-of-fact, and less subject to illusion. In this case the idea of democratic solidarity will have to be achieved by the next generation, since the present one could not live up to it. We must resign ourselves to the seemingly banal realization that governments express solidarity with each other

rather than between neighboring peoples, acting in accordance with domestic priorities even if there is reason to believe that higher interests will suffer at the same time. Petty-mindedness is not forbidden, but it is somehow disappointing.

There still remain our two peoples. The legacy of our decisions will weigh on the next generation. Our decision makers share responsibility for an enormous stupidity, the correctness of which they themselves doubt. It may be that they are incapable of telling the great interests from the small, the truth from the cliches. There is a good chance that our offspring will one day look at the present generation and find themselves at a loss. They will wonder what made their elders so shortsighted and so careless. Why were they so timid? Why did they yield to the easy solutions of official propaganda rather than giving priority to self-reflection? Without self-reflection there is no moral trustworthiness. And therefore no dignity, only affectation. Sooner or later, my friends, the time will come when we will have to look into each other's eyes with more honesty.

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which society is embarked. The principles of *glasnost and perestroika* proclaimed in the Soviet Union call for patience, humaneness and openness. The German Democratic Republic recognizes conscientious objection to armed service. This progressive trend is further illustrated by last month's UN resolution, which of course serves only as guidance to member states, and is important for just that reason.

Defense counsel reads the text of the draft resolution as follows:

**Conscientious objection to military service is recognized by the United Nations as a human right**

The Commission on Human Rights of the UN voted to recognize refusal of military service for reasons of conscience as a human right. Draft resolution E/CN.4/1987/L.73 was adopted March 10, 1987, some 15 years after it was first proposed. In favor 26 votes, two against, with 14 abstentions.

**Recognizing** that conscientious objection to military service derives from principles and reasons of conscience, including profound convictions, arising from religious, ethical, moral or similar motives,

1. **Appeals** to States to recognize that conscientious objection to military service should be considered a legitimate exercise of the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;

2. **Invites** States to take measures aimed at exemption from military service on the basis of a genuinely held conscientious objection to armed service;

3. **Recommends** to States with a system of compulsory military service, where such provision has not already been made, that they consider introducing various forms of alternative service for conscientious objectors which are compatible with the reasons for conscientious objection, bearing in mind the experience of some States in this respect, and that they refrain from subjecting such persons to imprisonment;

4. **Recommends** to Member States, if they have not already done so, that they establish within the framework of their national legal system impartial decision-making procedures to determine whether a conscientious objection is valid in any specific case;

54th Meeting  
10 March 1987

(Adopted by a roll-call vote of 26 to 2,  
with 14 abstentions. See chap. XV.)

**In favour:** Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, France, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of Ireland,

Italy, Japan, Liberia, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

**Against:** Iraq, Mozambique.

**Abstaining:** Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, China, Congo, Cyprus, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, India, Mexico, Nicaragua, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

Defense counsel adds that these recommendations are now international community standards, and the fact that the Socialist countries did not vote against the draft resolution indicates that the latter recognize it as a progressive trend rather than unwarranted interference [in internal affairs], as one would deduce from the prosecution's statement.

Defense counsel moves that the case against the accused be dismissed. Should the Court uphold Par. 336, application of the paragraph permitting leniency is requested, and jail rather than prison sentence meted out.

Prosecution requests right to rebut. He rejects the notion that refusing to serve is not an anti-social act. If at some later date there is a change, Zs.K.'s sentence will obviously be commuted.

Defense responds in a single sentence. The question of whether Zs.K.'s act is anti-social or not could be decided when—in accordance with accused's proposal—the Council on Constitutional Law determines if the obligation to serve takes precedence over freedom of conscience.

The last word belongs to the accused. He pulls a checkered notebook from his poly bag and reads:

"Honorable Military Court: Justice is based on impartiality. I believe no-one will doubt that. I therefore ask: is impartiality possible in this case, where members of the organization which I refused to join are both my adversaries and my judges? Refusal of military service is contrary to the corporate interests of the armed forces. I therefore believe it is necessary to reconsider the current practice which puts the adversary on the judge's bench. Here the adversarial relationship is not meant in a person sense but that the injured organizational interest may influence the court which is composed of members of the selfsame organization. I therefore believe that it is both legitimate and necessary to insist that cases of

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refusal of military service come under the jurisdiction of civilian courts, in order that a clash of individual rights and State/organizational interests be avoided.

"The present military court is in a position to cause a review of this prejudicial practice to be undertaken simply by accepting my proposal for involving the Council for Constitutional Law. I realize that acceptance of my proposal involves a certain amount of risk and more trouble than a simple denial, but I am also convinced that it is worth the risk and trouble.

"In my opinion, there is only this chance for peace to become a reality: strategically important states must legalize alternative civilian service. This is the only way [international] enmities can be eradicated, and societies live in peaceful coexistence, making armies unnecessary.

"The mere existence of alternative civilian service does not bring about peace all by itself of course, yet without it all efforts are in vain.

"Were I to be asked what I hope for, my answer would be that I hope for seeing the establishment of alternative service in Hungary a reality. Budapest, April 27, 1987."

Another half-a-cigar's worth of recess, Zs.K., handcuffed, receives congratulatory pats on the back. The representative of Amnesty International and his interpreter now enter the corridor. We learn that they had gone to the Military of Justice, escorted by Tibor Holczer, a member of the Zs.K. Committee, and on their return they were admitted by the guards without further delay. We brief them on the situation up to now.

The returning panel of judges announce that, having received permission, there is no longer any obstacle to the presence Dr. Isola and of his associate.

The verdict: K. is [convicted and] sentenced to 3 years in prison; he is stripped of his civil rights for the period of incarceration. We are asked to be seated to listen to the explanation of the verdict.

There is no doubt that a crime has been committed; punishment is the usual. While his lack of a previous criminal record is a mitigating circumstance, on the other hand—and this comes as a surprise since this was not recommended by the prosecution—the views of the prisoner are "obviously" hostile to the social system and this aggravates his crime. Yet, considering Zs.K.'s views irrelevant to the case, the prosecution promised him impunity for voicing them in court.

With regard to the proposal, an appeal to the Council of Constitutional Law is unnecessary and, presumably, not feasible.

Prosecution accepts the verdict. The prisoner and his counsel conduct a whispered exchange; subsequently, Zs.K. requests an appeal for dismissal. Counsel joins in this, and makes an additional appeal for leniency in case the appeal for dismissal fails; a separate appeal is made on the denial of the proposal.

We say goodbye to Zs. The appeal will be heard by the Military College of the Supreme Court; we may or may not meet there. Zs. asks for language texts, other books. When asked about conditions in the jail—taboo

topic!—the guard abruptly terminates the two-minute conversation.

The two sides of the audience exchange last looks. Our group has been fairly disciplined in observing silence, with here and there a raised eyebrow, noisy exhalation, stubble crackling. The other party let fly a low "you son of a bitch" when Zs. spoke of his dissatisfaction with the degree of democracy and particularly with the lack of free elections. No-one called them on it, perhaps for the sake of freedom of conscience; after all, even the person affected, his mother, merely flinched but did not protest. Another comment, "fuck you" was heard when defense counsel invoked the spirit of glasnost and perestroika, a sign that Comrade Gorbachev has a long way to go indeed before the hearts and minds of the loyal members of the Organization are won.

### Higher Court

The Military College of the Supreme Court held its hearing on K.'s appeal May 28, 1987. All entrances to the building were locked; of the approximately 30 strong group of interested persons ten were admitted to the hearing, the rest were forced to wait outside in the rain. Other cases were not being heard during the time; employees were admitted by the building's trade entrance.

K. had changed counsel since the earlier hearing, and the new, officially appointed counsel continued Dr. Ban's line of defense, upholding the appeal both against the sentence and with regard to the constitutional issue.

The Court allowed ample time for the accused to speak. Sentence was reduced to two-and-a-half years but prison confinement was let stand. In its verbal discussion the Supreme Court characterized as illegal the lower court's action in judging K.'s political views as aggravating circumstance. They [the Supreme Court] explained that this was the reason K. was being given freedom to state his political views before this forum. The only relevant consideration in this case is his refusal of military service; among factors outside the case having impact on the decision are his rule breaking offences—these by the way were samizdat related proceedings—since these intimate a tendency toward law breaking. Motives outside of that, in this case political views, are not to be made the basis for the charge, or for the verdict.

Next day, the foreign news section of MTI [the Hungarian press service] issued a short communique of the verdict, published in this country by a single newspaper, the *Magyar Hirlap*. According to this communique, health considerations, and the voluntary and complete confession of the accused were responsible for the reduced sentence. In fact, none of these reasons had anything to do with it. The communique is silent about the main reason given by the court: the lower court's error in taking into consideration the political views of the accused.

As a matter of course, the Hungarian press is also silent on the demonstrations in support of Keszthelyi, held in front of the Hungarian embassies in Warsaw and in Vienna. ■