

REPORT

Subject: The Polish Underground Solidarity Movement in Lower Silesia.

Reference: This report is addressed to:

The Honorable Clement Zablocki, Chairman  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

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1. Short History:

The underground movement began organizing in the early days and weeks following the declaration of Marshal Law on December 13, 1981. One of the men who played a key role in its organization in Lower Silesia was Dr. Kornel Morawiecki, a mathematician from the Polytechnical University in Wroclaw. Dr. Morawiecki and I are good friends, and in better times co-authored a joint mathematical paper.

Dr. Morawiecki was an elected delegate from Lower Silesia to the National Solidarity Conference held in Gdansk in September 1981. Immediately following the declaration of Marshal Law, he went into hiding and began the painstaking process of making contacts and communication links necessary for an underground organization. By April 1982, sufficient progress had been made throughout Poland to justify its division into five separate regions, each region setting up its own Regional Strike Committee. In addition, each Regional Strike Committee would be headed by the highest elected Solidarity Official not suffering imprisonment. Although Morawiecki had played a key role in the organization of the Regional Strike Committee in Lower Silesia, he relinquished his position of leadership to Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk, the highest elected leader of Solidarity in the region not in jail.

In June 1982, Dr. Morawiecki and a group of loyal followers broke away from the Regional Strike Committee, headed by Mr. Frasyuniuk, and formed a new organization called "Solidarity in Battle". The new group differs in philosophy from the mainline Solidarity group, primarily in the belief that it is useless to seek negotiations with the communist authorities from a position of weakness, and that the communists had used and would continue to use all available means to destroy the suspended Solidarity Trade Union. The new group openly acknowledged the unavoidable political nature of their objectives, and that much more was at stake than just a free and independent trade union.

With the arrest of Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk, and his successors

Piotre Bednarz, and most recently, Jozef Pinior, Solidarity in Battle has grown in influence and prominence as a driving force in the underground movement in Lower Silesia. This is particularly evident in the May 12, 1983 edition of "Z DNIA NA DZIEN - DAY BY DAY," the official information service of NSSZ Solidarity, and now published underground, and in the May 8, 1983 edition of the underground press, "SOLIDARNOSC WALCZACE - SOLIDARITY IN BATTLE". I have recently obtained these original documents from sources in Poland, and have translated them into English to include with this report.

The two solidarity organizations maintain close connections, and fully cooperate with each other, e.g., in sharing information and clandestine printing operations. The significance of this division, as well as a statement of the political objectives of Solidarity in Battle, is contained in a recent "Interview With Kornel Morawiecki," published in the May 29, 1983 edition of the underground press, "Solidarity in Battle," which I just received from my sources in Poland. I have not had a chance to translate this important document into English, but I am enclosing a copy of the original publication with this report.

## 2. Appeal by Leaders for Outside Assistance:

During my six weeks in hiding in the Polish underground, I got to know some of its most important leaders, and to see its operation first hand. Most impressive was a location where clandestine radio stations were being built. The people in charge of the operation stressed to me the need for high frequency (100 MHZ) transistors, and other parts necessary for the construction of the transmitters. I was given the names and addresses of two contacts in Munich, West Germany, who have channels into Poland. I met and talked with these two individuals when I was in Munich, and we agreed to stay in touch.

Everyone I met stressed the important role played by Radio Free Europe as an independent source of information in Poland, and about the desirability of increasing its effectiveness by both increasing its power and number of service hours.

In the hours just before my departure from Wroclaw on January 31, 1983, I had a final meeting with Kornel Morawiecki. Dr. Morawiecki stressed the great need to develop reliable communication links both inside Poland and to the outside world, independent of state control. In his analysis, the vulnerability of Solidarity had been its failure to develop such links independent of the State controlled communication grid. He talked about the possibility of using a communication

satellite for this purpose. He asked me to contact the appropriate American Officials about the feasibility of using channels of an existing communication satellite for this purpose.

Dr. Morawiecki also talked about the need for outside help in obtaining efficient printing presses and supplies.

None of the leaders that I met ask for "hard" weapons, such as guns, to be sent to Poland. Quite the contrary, K. Morawiecki, considered by the government to be one of the most "extremist elements", asked specifically that they not be sent.

### 3. Prognosis for the Future:

No one in the underground expects a quick solution to the present stalemate. By employing the harshest of repressive measures, including widespread beatings, dismissals from work, and mass terror to control street demonstrations, as well as unrelenting propaganda in the mass media, the communists have shown their ability to remain in control of the hijacked Ship of State.

In spite of the attempt of the Polish media, and to some extent even the Western news media, to portray Jaruzelski and Rakowski as "moderate" communists, somehow more reasonable than the "hardliners" waiting to take their places, 95% of Polish Society (85% was the figure quoted by a ranking Secret Police Officer who interrogated me during one session) remains adamant in their condemnation and lack of respect for the authorities. Too many people have directly experienced the terror and brutality, the lies and duplicity, to willingly accept their communist leaders, either now or in the future.

The underground movement is biding its time, organizing and gearing up for the long haul. Their objective is not so much to grow in size - because this only increases the risk of infiltration, but to increase their stature as a positive force in society through the distribution and printing of the free word, and by helping the many victims of repression, most often the most capable members of society, to survive and plan the coming of a new day.

I, myself, have witnessed the growth of the underground organization, "Solidarity in Battle" (SW), to its present size of around 1000 activists, including branches in Katowice, Jelena Gora, and Poznan. But sheer numbers are misleading; for each activist, there are hundreds of sympathizers, even extending into the communist party itself. During part of my time in hiding, my last six weeks in Poland, I stayed at the apartment

of one such Party Member.

The relatively new organization, SW, has so far proven itself to be resilient to the arrest of any of its more important leaders, and has shown a potential for growth through the opening of branches. With the recent arrest of Jozef Pinior in Wroclaw, the last well-known elected leader of NSSZ Solidarity in Lower Silesia, and the apparent success of the May Day demonstration organized by SW, it seems clear that this new organization will continue to grow in prominence and importance in the underground movement.

The current visit of the Pope to his native land, guarantees that the Polish people will not give up in their struggle for Freedom and the principles upon which the Solidarity movement was founded.

#### References

1. Z DNIA NA DZIEN, Nr 18/277, May 12, 1983, Wroclaw. (An English translation follows this report.)
2. SOLIDARNOSC WALCZACA, Nr 18/48, May 8, 1983, Wroclaw. (An English translation follows this report.)
3. "An Interview With Kornel Morawiecki," SOLIDARNOSC WALCZACA, Nr. 21/51, May 29, 1983, Wroclaw.
4. REPORTS, Issue #14, May 5, 1983, Committee in Support of Solidarity, 275 Seventh Avenue, 25th Floor, NY, NY 10001.

DR. KORNEL MORAWIECKI  
LEADER OF RKS IN THE REGION OF LOWER SILESIA

Dr. Kornel Morawiecki was chosen to be the new chief of the Regional Strike Committee of Lower Silesia.

He is taking the place of the arrested former chief Jozef Pinior. This was learned in a communication published in the Warsaw underground bulletin "WOLA". Here is the substance of this announcement:

"With pain we must inform all members of Solidarity, that as a result of a traitor within our ranks, our colleague Jozef Pinior was arrested on April 23rd by agents of the SB. Jozef Pinior was a well known union activist and the leader of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of RKS NSSZ Solidarnosc in Lower Silesia.

"In an emergency session on the night of April 24th, the Regional Strike Committee met to choose a successor. They unanimously chose the proven union activist, and until this time Chief of Solidarity in Battle, Doctor Kornel Morawiecki.

"For reasons of security, we will not give the name of the Vice Chief. We call for vigilance, a closing of ranks, and a full mobilization of our strength."

Signed: For the Regional Strike Committee of NSSZ Solidarity in the Region of Lower Silesia -- Kornel Morawiecki.

(This new development is extremely important. It means that the underground movement of the two most important groups in Lower Silesia, RKS and SW, has been consolidated under the single leadership of Dr. Morawiecki.)

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**DR. KORNEL MORAWIECKI**  
**PRZEWODNICZĄCYM RKS REGIONU DOLNY ŚLĄSK**

Dr. Kornel Morawiecki, wybrany został przewodniczącym Regionalnego Komitetu Strajkowego - Dolny Śląsk.

Zastąpił on na tym stanowisku aresztowanego przez służbę bezpieczeństwa Józefa Piniora. Komunikat RKS na Dolnym Śląsku w tej sprawie opublikował wydawany w Warszawie podziemny biuletyn "Wola". Oto treść oświadczenia:

"Z bólem zawiadamiamy wszystkich członków 'Solidarności', że na skutek zdrady w naszych szeregach aresztowany został przez

agentów SB w dniu 23 kwietnia nasz kolega, wybitny działacz związkowy i członek Tymczasowej Komisji Koordynacyjnej, przewodniczący RKS NSSZ 'Solidarność' Dolny Śląsk, Józef Pinior.

Zebrały w trybie nadzwyczajnym w nocy z dnia 24 na 25 kwietnia Regionalny Komitet Strajkowy postanowił na przewodniczącego RKS Dolny Śląsk wybrać jednogłośnie wypróbowanego, działacza związkowego, dotychczasowego szefa 'Solidarności' Walczącej doktora Kornela Morawieckiego. Ze względu na bezpieczeństwo

nie podajemy nazwisk wybranych zastępców przewodniczącego i dokooptowanych członków zarządu. Wzywamy do czujności, zwartości naszych szeregów i pełnej mobilizacji sił.

Podpisano: za Regionalny Komitet Strajkowy NSSZ 'Solidarność' Region Dolny Śląsk - Kornel Morawiecki