

DR. ZDZISLAW M. RURARZ, former Ambassador
of Poland to Japan, statement delivered

Honorable Members of the US Congress,

I am greatly honoured to have a privilege
to address this distinguished body on a very special
occasion which is the ^{hearings on the} violation of the human rights
in Poland.

A great deal of attention is nowadays devoted
to the events in Poland.

I, my wife and daughter, were greatly moved
last Thursday, when driving from the Dulles In-
ternational, to ^{have} seen those single candles lit
in the windows of American homes expressing
the solidarity with my country.

We were also deeply moved by President Rea-
gan's ^{reference to Poland in his} ~~to Poland~~ Christmas message ~~to which~~ we listened
to in Tokyo the day we boarded the plane
to free America.

Many thanks for that moral support.
Poland is now on the lips of all, those
wishing us good and those fearing we
might go free.

But Poland is by far much more a topic
among the Poles themselves.

We express the gratitude to everybody paying,

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in good faith, the attention to our fate, but it is primarily we who are responsible for it.

When it comes to me I dramatically demonstrated what I think about the events ~~of~~ ⁱⁿ Poland. ~~The Poland~~ ^{In} a country with long tradition of tolerance and compromise, the basic human rights are being violated on an unprecedented scale and with excessive brutality.

I do not say that this is something new in Poland and born only on that fatal December 13th.

Poland has been constantly living under terror for more than 42 years. That terror cost it millions of ~~victims~~ ^{lives}. Having fallen the victim of big politics during the WWII Poland had to adopt the alien system based on terror as the surest means of its existence.

Many of us, having had no other choice, thought even that we could turn somehow our prison into something liveable and eventually even into something which by the logic of evolution may make one day the bars disappear.

And although the examples of Hungary and Czechoslovakia, not saying about our own

emptions of social unrest, always stained with bloodshed
and violence were rather not promising, I and
many like me still had the illusion that perhaps
one day we shall overcome.

That day seemed to be even finally looming
on the horizon. It was the waves of strikes

which swept across Poland in July and
August of 1980. As a result, a new and truly
independent trade union known as Solidarity
was established. Never before anything like that
has ever happened in Poland or elsewhere in
Eastern Europe.

The very fact that ~~the~~ solidarity came into
being was in itself a major historical signi-
ficance ^{and} not only in Poland, ~~but elsewhere~~

The reasons leading to that were numerous.

Poland's socio-economic system, founded
on would-be scientific socialism has been
nothing more than the excessive bureaucracy,

misconception and mismanagement, not saying

about a more philosophical concept of economic
development which has been least oriented towards

meeting the needs of individual ~~man~~
human beings.

No wonder that such a system ~~was~~

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been widely despised by the crushing majority of my nation. And when the occasion came, that majority managed to give birth to the said Solidarity.

The circumstances accompanying this very event could be long debated. I myself could tell a lot on that, but maybe not at this moment for the lack of time.

It was obvious from the very beginning that Solidarity, which became more a genuinely Polish mass movement than trade ^(itself) union, had no place to exist in would-be people's Poland.

I know from the reliable sources that the USSR from the very beginning disapproved the Solidarity's existence and was pressing the Polish authorities to roll-back the situation to a pre-July of 1980 state, that is even prior to the establishment of Solidarity.

The Polish authorities, confused and clinched in internal feudings, could not respond to that wish at once. But from the very beginning they adopted the ~~position~~ delaying and generally perfidious tactics of dealing with Solidarity and ^{with its sister} ~~emerging~~ rural Solidarity.

A period of a great contest began in Poland.
 On one hand the patriotic forces, mostly represen-
 ted by Solidarity, rapidly growing in number,
 and on the other a backward party, confused
 government and, unfortunately, weakened by the
 crises ~~the~~ security forces, army elite and
 emerging group of hardline ^{existing} leaders, while a
~~existing~~ military structure, ~~organizing~~ directly
 linked to the Soviet ^{dem-} interventionist operations
 in Poland.

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That contest had only one solution, i.e. a con-
 frontation. It was only a matter of time.
 The whole free world had greatly misinterpreted
 that contest. Although it rightly thought
 that the main obstacle to the process of demo-
 cratization in Poland was the USSR and its sa-
 tellites, it overemphasized that and even some-
 what simplified it. In other words, ~~the~~ Soviet
 unhappiness with Polish event and its eventual
 counteraction was ^{worldwide} believed to be taking the form
 of direct military intervention in Poland.
 Such a scenario led to a somewhat simplified
 formula adopted in the West that the Polish
 crisis had to be settled by the Poles themselves.

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That formula in the normal democratic conditions could be certainly valid.

But it was somehow forgotten that Poland, even after Solidarity came into being, remained a country with still existing structures of an oppressive character ready to jump on infant democratic movement. Needless to say that those structures were in fact Soviet fifth column in Poland. The USSR has had plenty of time to staff those structures with its own agents, especially that Poland is more important to it than any other country in its orbit.

Thus leaving the solution of the crisis to the Poles themselves, surrounded by the Soviet troops and ^{of} their allies, as well as those stationed in Poland itself, and plus a mentioned fifth column, was quite a task. ~~for organizing~~ ~~democratic movement~~. The disaster was more than certain.

At this moment I must forcefully reject the notion that the present clampdown in Poland was ~~partly~~ invited by the growing radicalism of Solidarity itself. Nothing more false than

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that!

To be sure that ^{growing} radicalism was ^{also} really a case.

But the reasons for that was a frustration that Solidarity, having been a mass organization, was reduced to nothing in fact. All its negotiations with the authorities were leading nowhere, for the authorities negotiated in ~~the~~ bad faith. All the negotiated solutions, if any, were hardly being put into operation.

Thus the governmental tactics of discrediting Solidarity as a talking shop became more than obvious.

But this is by far not the end of the story. The perfidy of the authorities went further and took the revenge ~~of~~ on the population itself for its support of the democratization process.

That revenge took the form of aggravating the ordeal of the people desperately looking for most basic items of daily life. There is a lot of evidence that the authorities were manipulating with the supplies to the market. The lines in front of the shops grew ever longer, the rationing more widespread. The authorities believed that by keeping people in a constant hunt ~~for~~

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~~for~~ food, soap, matches and almost anything else would turn them away from meetings and even thinking on what to do next. At the same time a vitriolic propaganda against a would-be chaos, allegedly instigated by Solidarity, was being launched on a daily basis. That propaganda naturally echoed in the USSR, Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. Overblown adverse effects of strikes were painted as the causes of all ^{the} troubles in Poland.

In other words, the authorities' main strategy, that "the worse the better", was in full gear.

And here comes to the fore the enigma of Gen. Jaruzelski.

What is his role in the tragic Polish drama?

~~It does not go that far that Jaruzelski, really was Jaruzelski or something like that.~~

~~But~~ The very fact that his ascension to a total power went as it did suggests clearly that Kozmin approved that unprecedented monopolization of power by him.

Having had rather unfortunate experience with Dubcek in Czechoslovakia who in Moscow's

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eyes betrayed it, in the case of Jaruzelski Moscow must have had the good reasons ^{to trust} in his allegiance.

Now ^(also) I believe, although until recently I was doubting that, that it was Jaruzelski himself behind the provocation of the last March in Bydgoszcz where some Solidarity activists were beaten and those guilty for the assault, as well as for giving the order to security forces to arrest the said activists, were never found. Strange, isn't it?

I myself spoke on that with Lech Wałęsa and Jan Rulewski, ^{the latter} ~~who was~~ the victim of the beating, during their stay in Tokyo last May. They seemed to point with their fingers to Jaruzelski, although they carefully missed mentioning the specific name.

In June last having been in Warsaw I heard the same ^{story} ~~this~~ time from very reliable sources and with the name not spared.

But I admit I could hardly believe that. Nevertheless, I must start in this place that because of the events in Bydgoszcz ~~the~~ ~~general strike was taking as the horizon and~~

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and the possibility of a general strike I was awakened one night ^(late in March) ~~in 1940~~ by a ^(from Warsaw) cable informing me about the possible state of war.

Thus the authorities long ago had that option in mind.

By the way, that cable was never invalidated. Moreover, I believe that the USSR, in concert with Polish authorities, was intentionally diverting the attention of the free world from internal matters to external ones. It periodically was organizing big manoeuvres in Poland and around Poland. Everybody thus was afraid of the direct Soviet intervention. Believing in that, the cry for leaving the Polish crisis to the Poles themselves was strengthening.

I believe that this was exactly what Moscow and its Warsaw puppets really wanted.

When everybody was preoccupied with an external threat to Poland the real threat, that is internal, was covertly unfolding.

I must say that this perfidious game went even much further. I was quite concerned about the Kozminski's letter of June 5

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to the ~~Central~~ Central Committee of Polish communist party. It happened that I was in Moscow soon afterwards. I grew even more suspicious then. Coming to Warsaw from Moscow I learned that it was the Polish army generals who defied Moscow in connection with the letter.

When talking to Kania and Jaruzelski I somehow wanted to know the truth. Both carefully escaped any clues on that. I started to suspect, and this suspicion was also shared by some, that the whole issue was a very subtle game. It really helped to portray Kania, and Jaruzelski first of all, as the true nationalists. Both were overwhelmingly, especially Jaruzelski who became most popular during the July Party Congress, reelected to highest party authorities. And the Congress itself was quite responsive to their personal preferences ^{as to} ~~for~~ the candidates to the newly-elected Central Committee.

That Committee, as never before, was staffed by the Army people and rather by the hard-liners. The shrewd game played by the above letter was won. Even democratic election failed to elect the liberals to the highest

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party authorities. It was a bad omen,
The time has then come for the final stage
of a contest.

The official propaganda historically was
denouncing various ^{anti-}socialist and anti-soviet
activities. Evidently much overblowing then.
Especially abominable was the way the desec-
recration of Soviet soldiers' graves in Poland
was painted. Conspicuously, however, the propa-
ganda was silent about the desecrecration
of Polish soldiers' graves and even of a dis-
appearance from Warsaw's cemetery of a
symbolical monument ~~of~~ commemorating
Katyn massacre by the Soviets in April of 1940.

All that was suggesting nothing good.
Trying to ~~divert~~ ^{divert} the attention ^{even} further, the Soviets
~~lodged~~ lodged ^{an} official protests
on anti-Soviet activities in Poland before War-
saw's authorities.

This misled the public opinion in Poland
and elsewhere. Many thought that the relations
between the authorities and the USSR were
deteriorating.

And ^{when} the final touch was given to the

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preparations for a state of war, in form of ~~Kania's~~ ~~would be resignation~~ and Jaruzelski's monopolization of power, many took it for ^{even} a good move. They wanted to believe that Jaruzelski might stand up to the Soviet intervention. ~~It was a tragic miscalculation~~

The truth was, however, ^{very} much different. Sometimes in November I learned from a very reliable source that the state of war was set ~~for~~ ~~for~~ for a winter, possibly December. The severity of the winter and exhaustion of the population were the factors behind that decision. The clampdown could meet the least resistance then.

Many reservists from the security forces, even those retired, were quietly being called-up.

At the same time the authorities were behaving in a clearly provocative way. All blame for a breaking dialogue with Solidarity was un-
fairly ~~the~~ thrown on the latter.

And to lure the vigilance of the people an ill-defined idea of creating the front of national reconciliation was launched.

I read the respective letter by the Politbureau, ~~on that~~. I was appalled by the sha-
llowness

of the idea itself. (14)

It was clear to me that no serious thought was given to it.

Then came the allegations that Solidarity was preparing for a coup d'état.

And finally came the state of war. The war declared on the Polish nation by the Soviet agents, unfortunately wearing the Polish army uniforms.

Some want to believe that by declaring the state of war Jaruzelski wanted to preempt the blow by the USSR itself.

There is, however, no slightest evidence to support such a belief.

On the contrary, the Soviets must have been clearly aware of everything. Even more than that. They had to approve the deployment of troops. The Warsaw Pact command must well in advance accept any troop movements in its operational area. And the frequent visits by ~~Warsaw~~ ~~stano~~ Kulikov, Warsaw Pact commander, in Warsaw clearly suggests the above.

Many wondered why Moscow showed that much patience with Poland's events and waited that long.

My explanation is that it was worth of waiting. The direct Soviet intervention, though

possible, was the least ⁽¹⁵⁾ advantageous option.

The covert intervention, as the case is, was by far the most advantageous.

And it was really worth of waiting.

When it comes to Jaruzelski he played the most dirty game in our history. The nation would praise him, if he would stand up to the Soviet intervention. No matter that the nation could pay dearly for that.

But the nation will never, I repeat never, forgive him the blood of Polish coalminers and of others shed these dark days!

Let the murderers do not style themselves for the saviours!

The Polish nation has already passed the verdict on its traitors.

I hope they will not escape the punishing hand of justice.

Honorable Members of the US Congress,

The violation of the human rights in Poland by the junta will long be a topic in Poland itself and throughout the world.

The junta claims that Solidarity wanted to destroy the independence of Poland by preparing

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the demonstration in Warsaw on December 17 to commemorate the fallen workers 11 years earlier, and by talking about a nation-wide referendum on whether the present government should stay in power.

Let me tackle briefly these would be abhorring attempts on Poland's independence.

When it comes to the first would-be crime of Solidarity the problem is that the slayers of the Polish workers in Baltic port cities in December 1970 are somehow still unknown.

And can really anybody talk about the preservation of human rights when people are being shot at will and the slayers go unpunished, or even anonymous?

~~to them~~ And is it a crime to commemorate the memory of the dead? What is the state which is afraid of ^{poll} that?

Now, when it comes to the second Solidarity's crime, namely that it wanted to ask the people what they think about its government, the issue requires some attention.

The post-war Poland never had any free

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election.

Certainly, any free election could unseat the Soviet puppets from ~~the~~ ruling the country.

Everything would be fine, however, if those puppets would publicly admit whom they ^{really} are.

But they claim Poland is independent. True that socialist and allied to the USSR but independent, nevertheless.

And when all that was supposed to be put to the test the puppets immediately objected to the idea.

Naturally, they knew what they were doing. For the would-be independence of Poland does mean in fact a total dependence on the USSR. That very fact is the most flagrant violation)

~~And this is the most basic violation of the human rights!~~ ~~when the nation is not truly independent!~~

When it comes to socialism, which was brought to Poland on Soviet bayonets, its failure in Poland is disastrous.

People are denied of almost everything. The violation of human rights is also the poverty and destitution in which the Polish nation lives.

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My country is rich in natural resources, land and the people are industrious.

Yet the failure on the economic front is unique in the world.

But the people are still being said that they live under the best system the mankind ever had!

Besides, Solidarity never ^{really} challenged the existence of a socialist system as such.

~~There is no big fight and the people are doing~~

Thus ~~soon~~ when the people want either to know the truth, or ask themselves who should be ruling them, the tanks start rolling for the State is mortally threatened!

What a perfidy! What a violation of basic human rights!

For that violation the USSR and its Warsaw puppets should never escape the ^{punishment!} ~~responsibility!~~

Distinguished Members of the US Congress,
The Polish drama which is unfolding before your eyes is not, I emphasize,

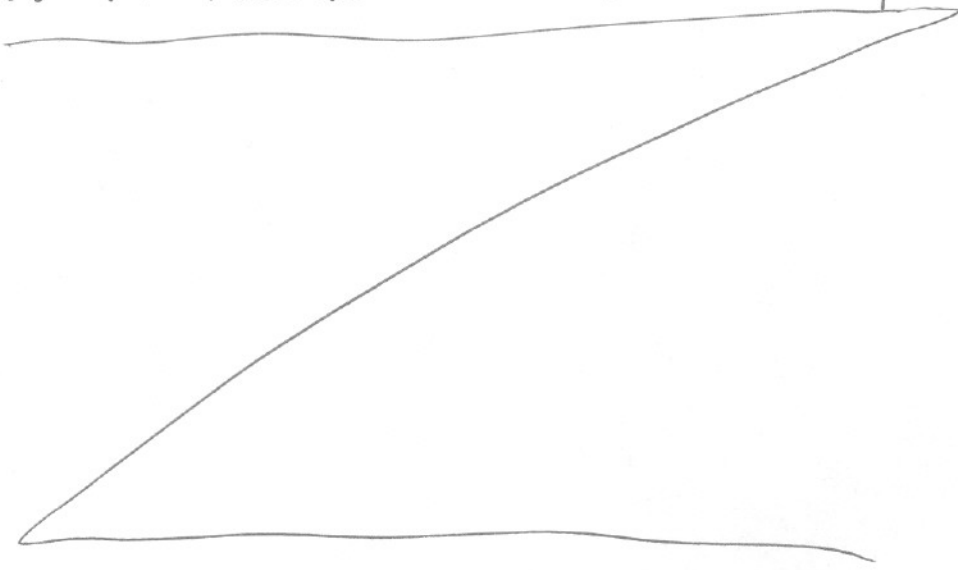
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not of the Polish making, although true that co-engineered and executed by the Polish puppets. The real screenplayers and conductors of the Polish drama sit behind the Kremlin walls!

The nation of 36 million, living under the Soviet yoke that many years, may have ~~some~~ ^{a few} thousands of traitors. Placed in key positions, having all the arms at their disposal and being backed by the Soviet might, ^{they} (can temporarily deal a blow to a nation caught by surprise.

But this only the first round!

The crime the Moscoviss puppets commit now in Poland will not break the spirit



of resistance of my nation. The hard lesson is being taught now in Poland. The Poles are quick to learn. Do not be deceived by official propaganda that the life in Poland returns to normal. It will never return before Poland is totally free! Those who are detained will be replaced by thousands of others.

If the authorities put the end to dialogue ^{on the agenda} and put the bayonet instead they will have it!

This will be primarily our fight. We, and I wholeheartedly belong to the freedom fighters, seek only the understanding here that we are in fact fighting against the USSR. Poland enslaved by it is really not Poland and, therefore, there is no "Polish internal matters" which could be settled ^{only} by the Poles themselves.

And only this we want you to understand, what is so difficult to understand in some countries, ^{closer even} to Poland. ~~Not under~~ Any lack of grasping this ~~is~~ ^{is} not only a sheer naivness, but it borders with utmost irresponsibility before the ideal of freedom,

~~That you are your attention.~~

You, Honorable Members of the US Congress, are now shocked by the gross violation of human rights in Poland. In fact, it is nothing but a new stage in that violation festivity going on for years.

Much more is to come. It is really philosophical how many people fell until now. People are getting killed and it is this that counts. People are being denied of the most basic rights in ^{the} best fascist and Stalinist tradition. Behind all that is the devilish USSR with its inhuman system, which almost rotten to the ground ^{is} still able to poison mortally.

Please feed this system with your grains and one day you yourselves will be bitten. Do not give a single penny to the treacherous Polish military junta, which violates everything, starting from the UN Charter and ending with the Helsinki agreements. Help only the Polish population, but through channels over which reliable control could be established.

~~We, the Poles, will never surrender!~~

~~Yet Poland is not yet lost!~~

~~Thank you for your attention.~~

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Poland has the right to regain freedom by all means.

We the Poles will never surrender until our beloved Motherland is free from all foreign domination.

As my great compatriot, ~~said~~ John Paul II, once said - there is no just Europe without free Poland, I would go even further - there is no just world without free Poland, ~~and~~ - Poland is not yet lost!
Thank you for your attention.