

Bartłomiej MIĘDZYBRODZKI

## „Mission accomplished crowds dispersed”<sup>1</sup>. Clashes between Polish citizens and ZOMO on the streets of Polish cities as seen through the eyes of participants (December 13, 1981 – December 31, 1982)

The imposition of martial law on December 13, 1981 deprived Poles not only of many civil liberties, but also of the possibility of organizing public gatherings and strikes<sup>2</sup>. The first days of the period of extraordinary legal measures impressed itself in the memories of people who lived through it as a period of intensified resistance<sup>3</sup>. Over two hundred workplaces began strikes<sup>4</sup>, thirty one of them in Warsaw alone<sup>5</sup>. These included the shipyards in Gdynia and Szczecin, factories in Katowice, Kraków and Warsaw<sup>6</sup>, as well as coal mines in Silesia, among others, the “Piast,” “Manifest Lipcowy” and “Wujek” mines<sup>7</sup>. The last two of these were bloodily pacified by official forces, as a result of which nine miners were killed and several tens wounded<sup>8</sup>.

On the streets of Poland as well, those opposed to General Jaruzelski and his measures manifested their resistance. On December 16 and 17, two protests, involving many thousands of people, occurred in Gdańsk. These were stifled in an unusually brutal fashion by ZOMO functionaries using lethal weapons<sup>9</sup>. As Andrzej Friszke writes, “several hundreds of people were wounded as a result of the clashes in Gdańsk, and one person killed”<sup>10</sup>. Manifestations of protest against the imposition of martial law also occurred on the streets of the Nowa Huta section of Kraków, in Bydgoszcz, Elbląg, Łódź<sup>11</sup>, and Warsaw<sup>12</sup>. Although it should come as no surprise, the press organ of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the *Trybuna Ludu* [*Tribune of the People*] printed only very small doses of information concerning the clashes of December. Short notes informed the readership of the disturbances in Gdańsk (with significantly lowered numbers of the wounded), the taking of the “Wujek” mine by the government forces (without even

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<sup>1</sup> *Akcja zakończona, ludźi rozproszono!* Cited from: *Archiwum Opozycji Karta* [*The “Karta” Archives of the Opposition*], sygn. AO IV/189.3. *Meldunki do stacji bazowej o sytuacji na ulicach Wrocławia (13 VI 1982)* [*Reports to Base Concerning the Situation on the Streets of Wrocław (June 13, 1982)*], information from 3:05 am (June 14, 1982) submitted after the pacification had been completed.

<sup>2</sup> Art. 13 i 14 Dekretu z dnia 12 grudnia 1981 r. o stanie wojennym. [Articles 13 and 14 from the Decree dated December 12, 1981, on martial law] *Dz.U.* 1981 nr 29 poz. 154.

<sup>3</sup> A.Paczkowski, *Pół wieku dziejów Polski* [*Half a Century of Polish History*] (Warszawa: 2005), pp. 352-353.

<sup>4</sup> A.Friszke, *Polska. Losy państwa i narodu 1939-1989* [*Poland. The Fate of the State and the Nation, 1939-1989*] (Warszawa: 2003), p.406.

<sup>5</sup> T.Ruzikowski, *Stan wojenny w Warszawie i wojennośćwie stołecznym 1981-1983* [*Martial Law in Warsaw and in the Capital Voivodship, 1981-1983*], unpublished doctoral dissertation (Warszawa; 2007), p.310.

<sup>6</sup> Ruzikowski, p.307.

<sup>7</sup> Paczkowski, *Pół wieku*, pp.350-352.

<sup>8</sup> A.Paczkowski, *Wojna polsko-jaruzelska. Stan wojenny w Polsce 13 XII 1981 – 22 VII 1983* [*The Polish-Jaruzelski War. Martial Law in Poland, December 14, 1981, July 22, 1983*] (Warszawa: 2006), pp.82-84.

<sup>9</sup> A.Dudek, T.Marszałkowski, *Walki uliczne w PRL 1956-1989* [*Street Fighting in the PRL, 1956-1989*] (Kraków: 1999), pp.260-266.

<sup>10</sup> A.Friszke, p.407.

<sup>11</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.256-257, 257-258, 275-276, 278.

<sup>12</sup> G.Merétik, *Noc generała* [*The Night of the General*] (Warszawa: 1989), pp.205-206.

mentioning the deaths of the miners), as well as the attempts (*sic!*) of organizing demonstrations in Warsaw<sup>13</sup>.

As the year drew to a close, all types of active resistance to the new, militarized reality of the country were cut short as a result of the aggressive actions of the armed forces of the government. Members of the delegalized Solidarity, as well as citizens who were not organized in any sort of association, but remained in opposition to the government, restrained their activity in street clashes to the minimum.

Of course, this does not mean that all activity in opposition to the régime was abandoned. Attempts were made at the reorganization of Solidarity structures weakened by arrest and internment; the Regional Executive Committee for Mazovia [Regionalny Komitet Wykonawczy – RKW]<sup>14</sup> and the Provisional Commission of Coordination [Tymczasowa Komisja Koordynacyjna – TKK]<sup>15</sup> were organized. New underground newspapers made their appearance<sup>16</sup>. People began to wear resistors attached to their clothing. An initiative was put forward to encourage people to shut off the lights in their homes on the thirteenth of every month, between the hours of 9:00 and 9:15 PM<sup>17</sup>. However, in the period stretching between the end of December to the beginning of May there occurred only one major demonstration (but quite a large one, on January 30, in Gdańsk), as well as a few tens of smaller incidents in various cities of Poland<sup>18</sup>.

According to the slogan *Zima wasza, wiosna nasza* [“The winter is yours, the spring belongs to us”]<sup>19</sup>, changes in the methods of resistance came about as the temperature rose. One occasion for the manifestation of dissatisfaction with the activities of the régime was provided by the International Day of the Solidarity of Working People, in other words, Worker’s Day, May 1. The time and place for the demonstration were ideally chosen, “at the very least,” according to the evaluation of one witness a few days later, “because it took place at the same time as the May 1 mass meeting [...] and just a few steps away from it<sup>20</sup>, on the Plac Zwycięstwa”<sup>21</sup>. A sizable portion of the militia forces was busied with the security of the official march. And besides that... Was it even conceivable, to truncheon workers on May Day?

### **Radio ZOMO: Slogans appropriate to May Day!**<sup>22</sup>

The underground administration of Solidarity<sup>23</sup> – the TKK – advised the reining back from street demonstrations<sup>24</sup>. In the April issue of the *Tygodnik wojenny*, the underground periodical associated with Solidarity, was printed an appeal from the editors *aby na czas trwania pochodu wszyscy ludzie pracy wyszli na spacer do parków. Zapelnijmy parki, a ulice zostawmy puste!* [“that the workers went for a walk in the park during the same time as the official march. Let’s fill the parks, and empty the streets!”]. It was suggested that everyone pause in silence for a minute at

<sup>13</sup> *Trybuna Ludu* [The Tribune of the People], December 17, 1981, pp.1-2, 8.

<sup>14</sup> J.Muszyńska, A.Osiak, D.Wojtera, *Obraz codzienności w prasie stanu wojennego: Gdańsk, Kraków, Warszawa* [The Picture of Everyday Life in the Press during Martial Law: Gdańsk, Kraków, Warsaw] (Warszawa: 2006), p.88.

<sup>15</sup> R.Spalek, *Warszawska ulica w stanie wojennym* [The Warsaw Street during Martial Law] (Warszawa: 2008), p.15; Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.283.

<sup>16</sup> For example, the *Tygodnik Wojenny* [Martial Weekly]; the first number of this periodical appeared on January 7, 1982 (nrs. 1-2). It was however preceded by a flyer dated approximately December 16-17, 1981, the contents of which were incorporated into the January 7 edition.

<sup>17</sup> *Tygodnik Wojenny*, January 7, 1982 nr 1-2, p.4.

<sup>18</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.281-282.

<sup>19</sup> N. Davies, *Heart of Europe. A short history of Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.24.

<sup>20</sup> The Plac Zwycięstwa [Victory Square, currently Plac Piłsudskiego – Piłsudski Square] is separated from the place where the opposition demonstration took place on the Plac Zamkowy (Palace Square) by some seven hundred meters).

<sup>21</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.2, k.17.

<sup>22</sup> “*Hasło takie, jak 1 maja!*” “3 maja. Z radiowych meldunków milicyjnych” [“May 3. From the Radioed Reports of the Militia”] *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 13, 1982, nr 18, p.2.

<sup>23</sup> L.Budrewicz, “Dementi” [“Denials”], *Karta*, 1997, nr 23, p.41.

<sup>24</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.283.

exactly noon *dla uczczenia pamięci zabitych przez reżim*<sup>25</sup> [“in respectful memory of those killed by the régime”]. The tone of these appeals witnesses to the authors’ apprehensions of confrontations with the Militia.

The armed forces of the régime strove to prepare themselves for all eventual hostile demonstrations that might disturb the official celebrations. All units of the MO, ZOMO, ROMO and ORMO<sup>26, 27</sup> were placed on alert. Many persons were interned in the days leading up to May 1, in the interests of security. In Warsaw, in order to cover all eventualities, even a mentally ill person living along the parade route was interned<sup>28</sup>. The Security Forces even attempted to cancel the May Day demonstrations in the capital city of Warsaw, emitting a specially prepared program on the airwaves of Radio Solidarity<sup>29</sup>.

In Warsaw, where the most important, and largest, march was to take place, the preparations suggested that the government did not fear so much a demonstration as a real revolt, a coup d’état and an assassination attempt on the first secretary of the Party. The march route was secured by functionaries of the SB and BOR, WSW soldiers, militia commandos, snipers and pyrotechnical experts as well as formations grouped in close ranks<sup>30</sup>. Special protection and pursuit teams moved along beside the parade, whose main purpose was the securing of the official celebrations in the face of an attack from counter-demonstrators<sup>31</sup>.

And yet despite all of these preparations, the opposition was successful in emphatically expressing their objection to the régime. Despite the calls of the TKK, Varsovians began to converge on the streets of the capital city on their own<sup>32</sup>. At first, they gathered in the general area of the main churches<sup>33</sup> of the city, so as to attend Mass. Then the crowds converged on the above-mentioned Plac Zamkowy. There, according to the MSW data, gathered a crowd of 10,000 people<sup>34</sup>. The opposition, on the other hand, estimated the number of demonstrators at 25-50,000<sup>35</sup>.

From the Plac Zamkowy, the demonstration moved through the Stare and Nowe Miasto, finally reaching the park by Wybrzeże Gdańskie. There, after a public debate<sup>36</sup>, the date of the next demonstration was set for May 3, to begin after four o’clock in the afternoon – an important detail, as May 3 was a workday.

It is very important to note in our description of the May Day march of the opposition, that the ZOMO did not intervene. Despite the large number of participants, and – at certain moments – the quite aggressive slogans chanted by the crowd, the activity of the militia forces was very muted. They restrained themselves solely to the blocking of certain streets, which prevented the opposition demonstration from reaching the city center, the route of the official march. In a similarly uninvasive manner opposition demonstrations were controlled in other cities: in Gdańsk, Łódź, Szczecin, and Białystok, for example<sup>37</sup>. Toruń was an exception, where

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<sup>25</sup> “1 maja” [“May 1”] *Tygodnik Wojenny*, April 9, 1982, nr 14-15, p.2.

<sup>26</sup> Spalek, p.22.

<sup>27</sup> MO: Milicja Obywatelska [Civil Militia]; ZOMO: Zmotoryzowane Odwody Milicji Obywatelskiej [Motorized Reserves of the Civil Militia]; ROMO: Rezerwowe Oddziały Milicji Obywatelskiej [Reserve Divisions of the Civil Militia]; ORMO: Ochotnicza Rezerwa Milicji Obywatelskiej [Volunteer Reserve of the Civil Militia].

<sup>28</sup> *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 6, 1982, nr 17, p.1.

<sup>29</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, p.173.

<sup>30</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.283.

<sup>31</sup> Ruzikowski, pp.319-320.

<sup>32</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, p.98; Ruzikowski, p.315.

<sup>33</sup> In the Catholic Church, May 1 is celebrated as a commemoration of St. Joseph the Worker. This feast was introduced in 1955 by Pope Pius XII as an alternative to the lay celebrations of Worker’s Day. See, for example A.J.M.Mausolff and M.K.Mausolff, *Saint Companions for Each Day* (Mumbai 2008), p.158.

<sup>34</sup> Spalek, p.29.

<sup>35</sup> “1 maja” [“May 1”] *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 13, 1982, nr 18, p.2.

<sup>36</sup> Spalek, pp.31-32; “1 maja” [“May 1”] *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 13, 1982, nr 18, p.2.

<sup>37</sup> Paczkowski, pp.178-179.

ZOMO forces scattered a demonstration that was already dispersing. As a result of that fighting, several militiamen were injured<sup>38</sup>.

Why were the demonstrations handled in such an unusually gentle manner? The régime was quite aware of the fact that each attempt at disrupting the official mass meetings by the opposition, however slight, would be instantly broadcast by the mass media, both the illegal, underground media at home<sup>39</sup>, and – what was worse – foreign news outlets. Thus, the truncheoning of participants in the opposition marches was not allowed, for that would negatively affect the image of the Polish government in the eyes of Western public opinion. The clash of opposition and official demonstrations was also to be avoided. Everything had to go off ideally on such an important day for the socialist state. Finding itself completely unable to deal with the competing celebrations, the Party chose to ignore them.

### **Radio ZOMO: 301, they say that your car has been torched. Is that true?<sup>40</sup>**

Most probably, the collective consciousness of the fact that an immense number of citizens found themselves in opposition to the régime became the most essential stimulus for the organization of the next demonstration; the fact that a large number of people exist, who are not afraid to take to the streets in order to loudly express their dissent. Here it would be best to let a participant in the Warsaw demonstration speak for himself: *Mostową schodzimy w dół. Dopiero teraz widać, że jest nas tysiące. Oglądamy się za siebie. Wszyscy pomyśleli chyba o tym samym, bo zaczynamy skandować: 10 milionów!*<sup>41</sup> [“We go down Mostowa St. Only now can it be seen that there are thousands of us. We look around ourselves. The same thought probably occurred to everyone, as we began to chant: ‘Ten millions!’”]. When the protestors saw how many of them there were, they began to believe in their own strength<sup>42</sup>.

Although this fact is often overlooked, the demonstrations planned for May 3 took place not only in Warsaw, but also in Elbląg, Gdańsk, Kraków, Lublin and Szczecin. This time, the militia undertook aggressive measures to stifle all anti-régime events. Truncheons, tear-gas grenades, and water cannon were all employed against the demonstrators, who weren't lax in paying back their adversaries, the MO, with angry slogans, stones, and Molotov cocktails<sup>43</sup>. The demonstrations evolved into regular battles with the ZOMO forces<sup>44</sup>.

According to the official media, the most serious clashes took place in the capital<sup>45</sup>. Today we know that the information provided by the *Trybuna Ludu* was not completely accurate. It was in Warsaw that the greatest number of people were injured<sup>46</sup>, but the largest demonstration, with the largest number of participants, took place in the cradle of Solidarity, that is, Gdańsk<sup>47</sup>.

In many cities, the clashes began around four o'clock in the afternoon and lasted until late at night<sup>48</sup>. The militia forces, which had been on a short leash two days beforehand, reacted with

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<sup>38</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.284, based on N.Szutnik, „Solidarność” w Regionie Toruńskim 13 XII 1981 – 31 VII 1984 [*Solidarity in the Toruń Region, December 13, 1981 – July 31, 1984*] (Toruń: 1988). Alongside Toruń, the ZOMO functionaries truncheoned a crowd of several hundred people in Bielsko-Biała, who did not disperse following the official parade.

<sup>39</sup> *Trybuna Ludu* devoted only a small note to the May 1 clashes. The note was composed by the official government news agency, PAP, and printed at the conclusion of a mighty article describing the official ceremonies. See: *Trybuna Ludu*, May 3, 1982, p.3.

<sup>40</sup> 301, mówią, że ci samochód spalili? Prawda to? “3 maja. Z radiowych meldunków milicyjnych,” *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 13, 1982, nr 18, p.2.

<sup>41</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, p.168 citing the *Tygodniki Mazowsze* [*Mazovian Weekly*], May 5, 1982.

<sup>42</sup> Spalek, p.42

<sup>43</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, pp.168-169, 178; Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.285-287, 288, 289, 290-291, 291-292.

<sup>44</sup> Ruzikowski, p.320.

<sup>45</sup> “Zajścia uliczne w Warszawie i kilku innych miastach” [“Street Clashes in Warsaw and a Few Other Cities”], *Trybuna Ludu*, May 4, 1982, p.6.

<sup>46</sup> Spalek, p.42.

<sup>47</sup> Paczkowski, p.179.

<sup>48</sup> For example: *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.2, k.21; Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.289.

uncommon determination on May 3. In witness to this it is worthwhile to cite a few fragments from the intercepted militia radio communications: *Wszystko co spotkasz po drodze do samochodów i na Stoleczną [...] Łap kogo się da i do samochodów! [...] Energiczne lanie, żeby popamiętali*<sup>49</sup> [“Everybody /lit.: everything/ you meet on the way, pack ‘em into the vans and cart ‘em off to Stoleczna /.../ Grab whoever you can and into the vans! /.../ Give ‘em a nice, energetic licking that they won’t forget”]. Bystanders too gave eyewitness accounts of the militia attacks as being more furious than usual: *Rozjuszeni swą akcją zomowcy mimo nawoływań dowódcy do odwrotu niechętnie dawali się odwołać i zwracali nadal w kierunku drobnych grup*<sup>50</sup> [“Enraged in the attack, despite their commanders’ calls to pull back, they retreated unwillingly, constantly turning back in the direction of the small groups /of protesters/”].

Both sides were perfectly prepared for longlasting clashes. The MSW called seemingly infinite numbers of security forces into the cities, supplementing them with formations of the Reserve Divisions of the Civil Militia (ROMO), who were chiefly soldiers having undergone a quick training in crowd-dispersal<sup>51</sup>, as well as cadets of the militia officers’ and subofficers’ academies. In Warsaw alone nearly eight thousand MO functionaries and more than two thousand agents in civilian dress were designated for pacification of the streets<sup>52</sup>. In Gdańsk, even armored formations were employed: four tanks appeared on the streets, shooting blanks from their turrets in order to spread terror<sup>53</sup>.

In order to increase the effectiveness of their actions, functionaries of the security forces dressed in civilian clothes invigilated the demonstrations, acting as provocateurs as well: *Wiarygodny świadek [...] widział jak z sukki milicyjnej wyskoczyło kilku młodych ludzi w dżinsach z jakimiś transparentami. Pobiegli w tłum*<sup>54</sup> [“A credible witness reported /.../ seeing several young people in jeans, carrying some sort of banners, leap out of the back of a militia van and melt into the crowd”]. Intelligence agents sprinkled among the protesters provided the Security Police with an additional source of information concerning the intentions of the demonstrators.

The protesters were also prepared for battle, although, of course, without comparable military means. They carried rocks in bags to throw at the security forces. They wore all sorts of protective masks and helmets; they covered their faces with scarves in order to frustrate identification and to give them some sort of defense from the gas<sup>55</sup>. On certain of the photos taken in Warsaw by Konrad Mieszko, one can even see a young man wearing a “Słoń” [“Elefant”] type gas mask<sup>56</sup>. As a result of the militia actions, more than 2,700 people were arrested in the cities in which street clashes occurred. There were hundreds of wounded, including both those who actively opposed the régime, and MO functionaries. Four people died as a result of brutal beatings and gas poisoning – three of them in Warsaw, and one in Szczecin<sup>57</sup>.

### **Radio ZOMO: Thrash ‘em hard, don’t tickle ‘em.**<sup>58</sup>

The May 3 demonstrations were the first demonstrations on a mass scale since December 1981. For the first four months of 1982, it was fairly calm in Poland; the régime considered the country pacified<sup>59</sup>. But the manifestations on the anniversary of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, along with their May Day prelude, had opened a Pandora’s box of sorts. From that time forward,

<sup>49</sup> “3 maja. Z radiowych meldunków milicyjnych,” *Tygodnik Wojskowy*, May 13, 1982, nr 18, p.2.

<sup>50</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.2, k.21.

<sup>51</sup> “Relacja szeregowca MO z 16.04.82” [“As Related by a private militiaman, April 16, 1982”], *Tygodnik Wojskowy*, May 1, 1982, nr 16, p.1

<sup>52</sup> Ruzikowski, p.322.

<sup>53</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.289.

<sup>54</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.2, k.17.

<sup>55</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.290.

<sup>56</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.2, folder 1.

<sup>57</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.284-292.

<sup>58</sup> *Pałować, nie patyczkować się, ostro*. *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.3.

<sup>59</sup> D.S.Mason, *Public Opinion and Political Change in Poland 1980-1982* (Cambridge 1985), p.210.

the streets of Polish cities again became the arena of clashes between those opposed to the government, and the faithful praetorians of the PZPR. An added stimulus for such a turn of events was the announcement by the TKK that strikes and demonstrations would now be held on the thirteenth day of each month<sup>60</sup>. This idea first arose before the end of April, in response to the continued internment of Solidarity operatives.

Already on May 13 the first such action took place. After Mass at St. Mary's Basilica in Kraków, people who exited the church and swelled the ranks of an already large demonstration on the Rynek Główny, were attacked by ZOMO forces. After the pacification, physicians who attended to those injured by the militia drew up a quasi-report that reads, in part: *Personel medyczny jest wstrząśnięty i oburzony wyjątkowym bestialstwem i okrucieństwem MO/SB i ZOMO z jakim pastwili się nad bezbronną ludnością Krakowa*<sup>61</sup> [“The medical personnel is shocked and moved to indignation at the exceptional bestiality and cruelty with which the MO/SB and ZOMO wreaked their ire upon the defenseless people of Kraków”].

In Warsaw, as part of the protests, private autos blocked the main traffic circle of the city for twenty minutes. In the evening, a crowd on the Plac Zamkowy was dispersed without the use of truncheons or gas. Strikes occurred in many workplaces<sup>62</sup>.

On the day before these demonstrations, Grzegorz Przymyk, the son of the poet Barbara Sadowska, was beaten to death in a Warsaw militia commissariat<sup>63</sup>. His funeral, which took place on May 19, swelled to a gigantic anti-government demonstration. Several tens of thousands of people followed his coffin through the streets of the capital, from St. Stanisław Kostka church to the Powązki Cemetery, in complete silence. The silent march was an eloquent expression of protest against the doings of the government, and the security forces did not intervene<sup>64</sup>.

A communiqué of the RKW-Mazowsze, published in the June 10 edition of the *Tygodnik Wojenny*, informed that *13. każdego miesiąca pozostaje dniem narodowego protestu przeciwko stanowi wojennemu*<sup>65</sup> [“The thirteenth day of each month is to remain a national day of protest against martial law”]. Still and all, the underground administration of Solidarity suspended all forms of protest used heretofore; the decisions as to the form that future protests would take was delegated to the RKWs on the voivodship level. As a result of this, actions on a wider scale took place only in Wrocław, Gdańsk and Nowa Huta<sup>66</sup>. The most active clashes with the militia took place in the evening in the capital of Lower Silesia [Wrocław]. Peacefully planned protests there were to conclude with a Mass. Yet the militia – certainly by accident – tossed a tear gas grenade into the church where the service was being held<sup>67</sup>. This was the spark that ignited the battle, the ferocity of which can be deduced from recordings of radio communications carried out between the security forces:

*Zaraz rozgonię to towarzystwo [...] 097 tu 047 pamiętaj, że wszystkie środki są dozwolone, oprócz broni, oczywiście zgodnie z przepisami [...] 097 działaj według swojego uznania, najlepiej rozpieprzyć tłum [...] nie patyczkować się, ostro*<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, p.169; Paczkowski, p.179; Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.292-293.

<sup>61</sup> Karta, sygn. AO IV/189.6, k.7.

<sup>62</sup> “13 maja: Kraków, Warszawa” [“May 13: Kraków, Warsaw”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 27, 1982, nr 20, pp.1-2; *Tygodnik Wojenny*, June 3, 1982, nr 21, pp.1-2.

<sup>63</sup> A.Swidlicki, *Political Trials in Poland, 1981-1986* (New York 1988), pp.348-349.

<sup>64</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, p.174-175.

<sup>65</sup> “Maj 1982. Dokument RKW Mazowsze” [“May 1982. Mazovian RKW Document”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, June 10, 1982, nr 22, p.2.

<sup>66</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p. 295

<sup>67</sup> “Wrocław – 13 i 16 czerwca” [“Wrocław – June 13 and 16”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, July 1, 1982., nr 25, pp.1-2.

<sup>68</sup> Karta, sygn. AO IV/189.3.

[“I’m gonna disperse those fellows /.../ 097 here: 047, remember, that all means are allowed save live ammo, of course, according to regulations [...] 097 do as you think best, give the crowd a good fucking over [...] no kid gloves, nice and hot”].

The clashes lasted from six o’clock in the evening until three o’clock the next morning.

In general, nearly seventy militiamen were injured in the battles of June 13; almost forty militia vehicles (including one BTR-152 armored transport, which was engulfed in a shower of Molotov cocktails) were destroyed. Over two hundred and fifty demonstrators were arrested<sup>69</sup>.

### **Radio ZOMO: Wait upon a decision!**<sup>70</sup>

The events that took place between the first and thirteenth of June inclined the TKK to call for a *zawieszenia strajków i masowych demonstracji ulicznych do 22 lipca 1982 roku*<sup>71</sup> [“suspension of strikes and mass street demonstrations between now and July 22, 1982”]. A few days after this, on July 1, on the pages of the *Tygodnik wojenny*, the TKK of the Silesia-Dąbrowski Region praised the “Świdnicka” method of protest, which *polega na gremialnym wyjściu na spacer w porze nadawania [Dziennika Telewizyjnego]*<sup>72</sup> [“is based on everyone deciding to go for a walk during the time when the /official/ newscast is broadcast on television”], in preference to street demonstrations and street clashes with the MO.

The TKK appeal was only partially followed. In some cities demonstrations were organized throughout the moratorium on active public gatherings. Larger or smaller-scale events took place in Poznań, Warsaw and Wrocław<sup>73</sup>.

Keeping the TKK appeal in mind, it is worthwhile to add a description of an interesting form of demonstration that took place on the anniversary of the June events, in Wrocław. So as not to provide the ZOMO forces with a pretext to pacify an illegal mass gathering, the participants queued up in lines at food stores and ice-cream shops. While waiting in line, they sang patriotic songs and chanted anti-régime slogans<sup>74</sup>. When the militia made the stores close for the day, the crowd dispersed.

After the July 22 holiday, the TKK called for peaceful demonstrations to be held on the next monthly remembrance of the initiation of martial law, i.e. August 13. In response to this, demonstrations took place in four cities: in Gdańsk, in the Nowa Huta section of Kraków, in Warsaw and in Wrocław<sup>75</sup>.

An interesting situation developed in the capital. The Security Police attempted – unsuccessfully – a provocation on the Plac Zwycięstwa. On the flowery cross, created on the spot where the altar had stood during the Papal Mass, *grupa mężczyzn [...] układa transparent z napisem „Solidarność”* [a group of men unfurled /.../ a banner bearing the name “Solidarity”]. There would be nothing unusual in this, if not for the fact that the “dissidents” had arrived in a militia radio van<sup>76</sup>. The provocateurs were whistled at and booed by the crowd until they ran off. The last authentic protestors laying flowers at the spot were dispersed in the early evening.

So as to frustrate the continued re-creation of the floral cross, the government decided to cordon off the entire square under the pretext of surface repairs. Three days later *plot już stoi. Elegancki: szary, w barwie mundurów zomowców [...] obwarowany zakazami: „nie wjeżdżać”* [“the fence was already up. Elegant: gray, the color of the ZOMO uniforms /.../ bristling with ‘keep out’

<sup>69</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.297-300.

<sup>70</sup> *Zaczekaj na decyzję!* “3 maja. Z radiowych meldunków milicyjnych,” *Tygodnik Wojenny*, May 13, 1982, nr 18, p.2.

<sup>71</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.300, citing *Od trzynastego do trzynastego* [From the Thirteenth to the Thirteenth] ed. P. Spiski (London: 1983), p.174-175.

<sup>72</sup> “Droga do porozumienia” [“The Path to an Accord”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, July 1, 1982, nr 25, p.3.

<sup>73</sup> Paczkowski, p.186-187.

<sup>74</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.300-301.

<sup>75</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.303.

<sup>76</sup> “Informacje. Warszawa 13.08” [“Information. Warsaw, August 13”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, September 2, 1982, nr 31-32, p.1.

notices”<sup>77</sup>. The fencing in of the square bears testimony to the cleverness of the régime. It is so much easier to cordon off a touch-point from the people, than to disperse again and again small groups of people arranging flowers and to destroy the crosses they make. But it was only half successful: the people stopped arranging crosses on the Plac Zamkowy, and began arranging the flowery symbol on the sidewalk in front of the university church of St. Anna, and, later, on the church’s courtyard. Such crosses were also arranged in several other places in Warsaw.

Along with the passing of the moratorium on moderate demonstrative activities (July 22), the second anniversary of the signing of the August Accords (August 31) was approaching with giant steps. On the pages of many underground newspapers, the TKK appealed for an energetic campaign of posters and leaflets. An appeal was also directed at all local groupings of the Solidarity union *do zorganizowania 31 sierpnia 82 pokojowych manifestacji pod hasłem przywrócenia działalności NZSS "S", uwolnienia internowanych, aresztowanych i skazanych, zawarcia porozumienia narodowego. Wzywamy wszystkich do udziału w tych manifestacjach*<sup>78</sup> [“to organize peaceful demonstrations on August 31, 1982, calling for the resumption of legal activities for the independent Solidarity union, the liberation of the interned, arrested and convicted, and the compacting of a national accord. We appeal to all to take part in these demonstrations”].

Preparations for the demonstrations were undertaken in the MSW as well. The number of militia patrols was increased nation-wide, beginning with August 19. ZOMO, ROMO; ORMO and even NOMO<sup>79</sup> were put on highest alert. General Jaruzelski even suggested mobilizing the Party action groups. Nearly two hundred people were detained in preventive arrest in the days leading up to August 30<sup>80</sup>. The actions of the régime suggested their belief that armed confrontations would come about: cordons of militia armed with automatic weapons guarded the headquarters of the PZPR Central Committee, as well as the Soviet embassy in Warsaw<sup>81</sup>.

Just as on May 3, the opposition also geared up for the confrontation. With the support of Zbigniew Bujak, grupy osłonowe [“security details”], were created, whose job was to come to the aid of the unarmed demonstrators and attack ZOMO divisions with gasoline-filled bottles<sup>82</sup>. Their presence and activity was intended to nullify the militia’s ability to break up the demonstrations swiftly.

In Warsaw, a system was created to facilitate communication between separate demonstrations, based on amateur radio operators. In practice, this turned out to be disadvantageous during the clashes. With the help of two medical doctors and several nurses, an initiative was set in motion by some elderly ladies to stock supplies of pain medicine and bandages<sup>83</sup>. Two “field hospitals” were set up while the street clashes were still going on. These were staffed by medical personnel belonging to Solidarity<sup>84</sup>.

Caltrops were forged in factory metal shops to be tossed on the street in order to puncture the tires of militia vehicles and disrupt the efficient transport of reinforcements<sup>85</sup>. They were tested out a day before the demonstrations, during a rehearsal manifestation in Ursus. They turned out to be ineffective: they were too small to damage the wheels of the ZOMO vehicles<sup>86</sup>. Still, when August 31 dawned, both sides were prepared for the confrontation.

<sup>77</sup> “Informacje. Warszawa 13.08,” *Tygodnik Wojenny*, September 2, 1982, nr 31- 32, p.1.

<sup>78</sup> “Dokumenty TKK. W rocznicę sierpnia ’80. Apel,” [“Documents of the TKK. On the Anniversary of August 1980. The Appeal”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, August 12, 1982, nr 29, p.1.

<sup>79</sup> NOMO: Nieetatowe Oddziały MO [Irregular Divisions of the Civil Militia] were divisions created from militia functionaries who were not attached on a daily basis to fixed subdivisions. They exist today under the title Nieetatowe Oddziały Prewencji Policji [Irregular Preventative Police Divisions]. Such divisions were used, for example, during the eviction of peddlers from the KDT in Warsaw on July 21, 2009.

<sup>80</sup> Paczkowski, p.187-188.

<sup>81</sup> Spalek, p.70.

<sup>82</sup> Spalek, p.80

<sup>83</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.308.

<sup>84</sup> Ruzikowski, p.323.

<sup>85</sup> Spalek, pp.78, 80-82.

<sup>86</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.305.

### **Demonstrators on the streets of Wrocław: *The ZOMO [troops] are high!*<sup>87</sup>**

The demonstrations, which filled the streets of Poland on the second anniversary of the signing of the August Accords, are described as the largest public street demonstrations in the entire period of the Polish People's Republic. They are also known for the very brutal manner of their pacification. Street demonstrations were held in sixty-six locations<sup>88</sup>; according to (most likely understated) estimates, some 120,000 people are said to have taken part in them. In the larger urban agglomerations, several tens of thousands of dissidents made up the demonstrations<sup>89</sup>. Although the manifestations were planned to be peaceful, as Andrzej Paczkowski writes, as a result of aggressive ZOMO actions, *atak nieodmiennie prowokował reakcję obronną tłumu*<sup>90</sup> [“/militia/ attacks invariably provoked a defensive reaction of the crowd”]. Pacifistic marches developed into chaotic battles.

The progress of the demonstrations of August 31, as well as the events surrounding them, are decidedly too broad and complex a topic to be treated justly in the space of one article. For this reason, let us concentrate here on the most essential elements of the clashes occurring in all cities.

The August demonstrations were stifled in a bloody manner. In several cities, the militia made use of live ammunition. In Lublin, Gdańsk and Wrocław, five people died from militia bullets. In general, eight people died of wounds sustained in the fighting<sup>91</sup>. Many more demonstrators were injured. Their wounds were the result of gunfire, as well as brutal beatings with truncheons and fists. There were cases of poisoning and suffocation caused by the chemical substances used by the militia to disperse the crowds.

The most notorious act of militia aggression is that concerning Jarosław Hyk, a student of the Wrocław Agricultural Academy<sup>92</sup>. Like many of his peers, Hyk took part in the demonstrations on the streets of the capital of Lower Silesia. In the fervor of battle, passing between the columns of militia vehicles, he tossed a rock through the window of one of the trucks. The heavy Star, which served to transport ZOMO troops to the place of action, charged at the defiant demonstrator, who was knocked down and drawn beneath its tires. He survived<sup>93</sup>, but was seriously injured, and sustained burns from contact with the hot tailpipe of the truck. The entire occurrence was registered by amateur filmmaker Wojciech Wójcik, whose film was later transmitted by many television stations throughout Europe<sup>94</sup>.

Several days after the clashes there appeared in the *Tygodnik Wojenny* several interesting reports presenting, in a realistic way, the reaction of the demonstrators to the aggressive behavior of the M.O. and its supporting forces. After being fired upon by the militia, the demonstrators threw themselves at the security forces with stones in hand, crying *Bij, zabij, hurraa!*<sup>95</sup> [“Beat them, kill them, hurraah!”]. In one of the Wrocław hospitals, the patients attempted to lynch a wounded militia officer brought in by emergency ambulance, in revenge for tear-gas grenades tossed into emergency medical areas by the ZOMO. If not for the alertness of the ambulance driver, who successfully sped the functionary out of the reach of the furious mob, the street slogan *dobij zomo!* [“Kill the ZOMO! Finish them off!”] might have become fact<sup>96</sup>.

Very aggressive behavior toward the ZOMO troops was ubiquitous. They were addressed in the foulest terms, pelted by stones and Molotov cocktails, and shot at with ball bearings

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<sup>87</sup> *Demonstranci na ulicach Wrocławia: ZOMO są na haju!* “Wrocław,” *Tygodnik Wojenny*, September 9, 1982, nr 33, p.3.

<sup>88</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.304-305.

<sup>89</sup> Paczkowski, pp.188-189.

<sup>90</sup> Paczkowski, p.190.

<sup>91</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.323.

<sup>92</sup> Viz. B.Maciejewska, M.Michalak, E.Lukierska, *Wrocław walczy o wolność [Wrocław Fights for Freedom]* (Wrocław: 2005).

<sup>93</sup> Budrewicz, *Dementi*, p.41.

<sup>94</sup> Budrewicz, *Dementi*, p.41.

<sup>95</sup> “Wrocław,” *Tygodnik Wojenny*, September 9, 1982, nr 33, p.3.

<sup>96</sup> “Wrocław,” *Tygodnik Wojenny*, September 9, 1982, nr 33, p.3.

launched from slingshots. Full flowerpots, bricks, and other objects transformed into deadly weapons by gravity, were dropped upon them from the windows of apartment buildings. Patrol cars were set afire, as were unmarked militia cars, Security Police vehicles, water cannon and armored transports<sup>97</sup>. There is nothing very surprising in all this, considering the fact that the demonstrators were reacting to the violence and cruelty perpetrated by the ZOMO.

The official propaganda, and interpretation of the events of August 31 in the Party-controlled press, is an exceptionally interesting topic<sup>98</sup>. The daily newspapers of the régime, the *Trybuna ludu* and the *Żołnierz wolności*, at first toned down the gravity of the protests. On September 1 it was stated that the demonstrations occurring on the last day of August were the work *przeważnie grup wyrostków*<sup>99</sup> [“of groups of punks, in the main”], and were not far-reaching. Both papers made of the largest demonstrations in PRL history the organized action of a handful of hooligans, which constituted merely *provokacją [...] opozycyjnych sił antysocjalistycznych* [“the provocation /.../ of antisocialist forces of the opposition”]<sup>100</sup>. According to the official propaganda, the slogans raised by the demonstrators did not meet with the approbation of the majority of the population.

These revelations were contradicted by the illegal periodical *Tygodnik Wojenny*. In its articles describing the development of the events, an allusion was made to the claim that the crowds of protesters were made up exclusively of youth: *wyłapywano młodych [...] i uczniów, by móc potem powiedzieć, że demonstracje były dziełem wyrostków*<sup>101</sup> [“Young people were nabbed /by the militia .../ as well as high school students, so as to be able to say that the demonstrations were the work of punks”]. According to eyewitnesses, it was people from broader age groups that took part in both the protests and the clashes with ZOMO. It cannot be doubted, as the otherwise unidentified engineer from Wrocław, who spoke with Kazimiera Kijowska claimed, that at the time *młodzież [była] ostra, porywczą*<sup>102</sup> [“young people /were/ sharp and rough, quick-tempered”]. However, that does not change the fact that elegant women, who had already passed fifty, also took active part in the battles. This is eloquent proof of the fact that, in spite of what the publicists of the Party papers might assert<sup>103</sup>, at each cry *Chodźcie z nami!* [“Come along with us!”] hundreds of volunteers joined the demonstrations.

The scale of the August events was unsettlingly large. Despite harsh fines, prison sentences and internments, the régime was unable to forestall or constrain further demonstrations. Protests were held on September 11, 13, 15, 18 and 30, as well as October 12, 13, 14 and 19. As Dudek and Marszałkowski write, these demonstrations *nie miały skoordynowanego charakteru*<sup>104</sup> [“were not of a coordinated nature”]. Some of them were marches. At other times, students pelted MO ranks with stones, as a result of which the ZOMO invaded the nearby dormitories, in which the students took shelter; they beat several of the residents, and gassed the premises<sup>105</sup>. October events in Gdańsk, Nowa Huta and Wrocław were also stifled by ZOMO. It is worth emphasizing the fact that – just as on May 3 and August 31 – students from the Higher School for Officers in Szczytno were enlisted for the breaking up of these protests. The future lieutenants were exploited as ZOMO divisions. In a conversation with a former militia officer

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<sup>97</sup> Compare the chapters dealing with the course of clashes in different cities, in *Walki uliczne w PRL, Wojna polsko-jaruzelska, Obraz codzienności w prasie stanu wojennego, Warszawska ulica w stanie wojennym*, etc.

<sup>98</sup> B. Międzybrodzki, “Ostatni wielki zryw Solidarności. 31 sierpnia 1982 roku na łamach prasy rządowej” [“The Last Great Spurt of Solidarity. August 31, 1982 on the Pages of the Government-Sponsored Press”] Internet article: <http://histmag.org/?id=3736>, posted February 15, 2010

<sup>99</sup> B. Międzybrodzki, *Ostatni wielki zryw*.

<sup>100</sup> Maj. A. Głowacki, “Społeczeństwo powiedziało NIE!” [“The People Say NO!”], *Żołnierz Wolności: Horyzont* [Soldier of Freedom: Horizon], September 4-5, 1982, p.1.

<sup>101</sup> “31 sierpnia: Warszawa, Wrocław” [“August 31: Warsaw, Wrocław”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, September 9, 1982, pp.1-2.

<sup>102</sup> J. Jędrzychowska (K. Kijowska), *Rozmowy niekontrolowane* [Uncontrolled Conversations] (Poznań: 1990), p.173.

<sup>103</sup> Głowacki, p.1.

<sup>104</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, pp.326, ff.

<sup>105</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.334.

I heard that, in those days, it was the universally-held opinion of militia functionaries that the Szczytno cadets were quite effective, and that *nie trzeba było po nich poprawiać* [“one didn’t have to do any fixing up after them”].

The last of the serious protests in 1982 took place on November 10. The TKK appealed<sup>106</sup> for an eight-hour strike to be held that day in workplaces, as a complement to the street demonstrations. As had become traditional by now, preventive arrests, internments, and call-ups to the army were set in gear. However, it wasn’t necessary this time. Strikes occurred in only thirty factories or so. The street demonstrations were also not very large<sup>107</sup>. Dudek and Marszałkowski even claim that *protesty 10 listopada okazały się największą porażką w działalności podziemnej „Solidarności”*<sup>108</sup> [“the protests of November 10 turned out to be the greatest failure in the underground activity of Solidarity”].

Somewhat larger demonstrations occurred in Wrocław and Nowa Huta. However, clashes with the militia were limited: the fierceness of the spring and summer events was lacking. In Warsaw, however, groundless cruelty and indeed stupidity of MO functionaries was noted. On the Krakowskie Przedmieście, one of the main boulevards of the city, a militia van approached a peaceful group of about one hundred people. From within, a flare-pistol was discharged directly at the crowd. As one eyewitness reported: *idący obok mnie młody mężczyzna zakrył twarz rękoma. Spod palcy widziałem wylatujące iskry, a po chwili dym*<sup>109</sup> [/suddenly/, the young man walking next to me covered his face with his hands. From under his fingers I saw sparks, and then smoke]. The projectile struck Władysław Kaszkiewicz in his eye-socket, as a result of which he lost his eye and suffered serious burns to his face<sup>110</sup>. In this same neighborhood, at a bus stop near Warsaw University, Stanisław Królik, a bystander not taking part in the demonstration, was brutally beaten by militia officers. He died six days later as a result of his injuries. The régime described his death as a *nieszczęśliwy wypadek*<sup>111</sup> [“unfortunate accident”].

Following the November demonstrations, J.A. Zgliszczak (whose memoirs are collected in the Opposition Archive “Karta”), wrote:

*Dopiero interwencja ZOMO jest dla [manifestantów] faktycznym spełnieniem. Demonstracja bez interwencji po prostu się nie liczy. Ludzie czują, że prawdziwy protest następuje dopiero w zetknięciu z siłą czerwonej władzy, czują że protestowanie za plecami władzy nie jest już tym samym. Poza tym tylko interwencja ZOMO powoduje, że zdarzenie dostaje się do środków przekazu, zarówno tych tutaj, jak i tych tam*<sup>112</sup>.

[/For the demonstrators/ only when ZOMO intervenes is the demonstration valid. A demonstration without intervention simply doesn’t count. People feel that the real protest begins only when contact is made with the forces of the red power; they feel that protesting behind the back of the government just isn’t the same thing. Besides this, ZOMO intervention guarantees that the event gets into the media, both here, and there].

It’s worth considering whether the ideas behind the demonstrations began to burn out only toward the end of 1982, or whether clashing for clashing’s sake was not the motivation for a certain number of demonstrators from the very beginning. For “brawlers” didn’t just appear in independent Poland: even before 1989 there existed aggressive groups for which battling with the representatives of the security forces was their one and only purpose.

<sup>106</sup> “Oświadczenie w sprawie działań poprzedzających strajk generalny” [“Declaration Concerning Activities Leading up to a General Strike”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*; November 4, 1982, nr 39, p.1.

<sup>107</sup> Ruzikowski, p.317.

<sup>108</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.336.

<sup>109</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.5, k.5.

<sup>110</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.5, k.8.

<sup>111</sup> Ruzikowski, p.324.

<sup>112</sup> *Karta*, sygn. AO IV/189.5, k.1. “Refleksje listopadowe 82” [“November Reflections, 1982”].

As a result of the failure of the strikes and demonstrations of November 10, the TKK called off the Week of Protests originally planned for December. True, three demonstrations occurred on December 16 and 17, in Gdańsk, Częstochowa and Szczecin. Yet they were small, and brief<sup>113</sup>.

Toward the end of 1982, many things changed. As a result of the May-August events, at the beginning of December the government introduced Article 282a to the Criminal Code. This read: *Kto podejmuje działanie w celu wywołania niepokoju publicznego lub rozruchów, podlega karze pozbawienia wolności do lat 3*<sup>114</sup> [“Whoever undertakes activity, the intended result of which is the elicitation of public unrest or disorders, will be subject to the punishment of imprisonment for up to three years”]. Armed with this, it was easier to effectively forestall demonstrations and punish their participants more sharply.

After a nearly year-long internment, Lech Wałęsa was released on December 14<sup>115</sup>. This was a calculated gesture toward the opposition, intending to smooth over tensions between the public and the régime. Finally, on December 19 it was announced that martial law would be suspended on December 31<sup>116</sup>.

1982 had been a year of intensified opposition. The public, pacified after the imposition of martial law, found itself in a lethargy for some half a year, interrupted only by a few demonstrations. Active opposition was not organized. When Gdańsk protested, Warsaw was silent. When the ZOMO in Warsaw was clubbing the opposition with truncheons, Wrocław was only gearing up for its next demonstration. It is an interesting fact that, if a demonstration did take place, it was more often than not in Wrocław. For reasons unknown to the author of the present article, the inhabitants of that city were among the most active dissidents.

In reading about the street demonstrations and the brutal ways in which they were pacified, one can get the feeling that the militia demonstrated an exceptional cruelty in the period following December 13, 1981. One must remember, however, that both before the imposition of martial law, and after its suspension, the uniformed forces did not just deal with the demonstrators or strikers in kid gloves. It is merely that this period of twenty intense months is more visible.

The experiences beginning with May 1 proved to the Polish public that the régime was opposed, not by a handful of dissatisfied rebels, but rather a large and – if only it were better organized – strong opposition. The mechanism described by Ryszard Kapuściński in reference to the Iranian Revolution of 1979 began to function here: *Człowiek z tłumu przestał się bać i [...] to właśnie początek rewolucji. Od tego ona się zaczyna*<sup>117</sup> [“The man in the crowd stopped being afraid and /.../ this, really, is the start of the revolution. From this it all begins”]. In Poland, the demonstrators, beholding their great numbers, stopped fearing their defeat. And began to fight again.

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<sup>113</sup> Dudek, Marszałkowski, p.340.

<sup>114</sup> Dziennik Ustaw 1982 nr 41 position 273.

<sup>115</sup> Muszyńska, Osiak, Wojtera, p.186; “Wałęsa wolny – i co dalej?” [“Wałęsa Free – Now What?”], *Tygodnik Wojenny*, November 25, 1982, nr 41, p.1.

<sup>116</sup> Dziennik Ustaw 1982 nr. 42 position. 275.

<sup>117</sup> R.Kapuściński, *Szachinszach [Shah-in-Shah]* (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 2008), p.130.