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12/14/82

## Neither Polish Nor a Solution

Yes, this is "it" — the long-feared suppression of the Polish people's rebellion against the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

For their acquiescence in defeat and cooperation in preventing bloodshed, Lech Walesa and Pope John Paul II might yet be able to soften the effects of the proclaimed martial law. For their willingness, even now, to keep on helping Poland, West Germany and the United States might obtain humane treatment for the fallen Solidarity leaders. There should be no doubt, however, that the Polish Government is now determined to decapitate the union opposition, to move against strikers with force and to summon the Polish army and, if it fails them, the Soviet army to put down insurrection.

The American leaders who found some initial comfort yesterday in the inactivity of Soviet tanks draw a pitiful distinction. This is no "Polish" solution. For months, the Soviet Union has demanded a crackdown, made to look exclusively Polish. But it could occur only with Soviet help. It requires the threat of Soviet intervention if Polish soldiers side with Solidarity. Only the rudeness of resisting Soviet forces may prevent massive civil disobedience.

Why, then, did General Jaruzelski wait until this moment?

Probably because he lacked a broad party consensus until some union leaders gave him the appearance of cause with new threats of political action. Mr. Walesa's overheard predictions of more "confronta-

tion" have been shrewdly exploited to portray the union as reckless against a patient and compromising Government. That may be enough to confuse a frightened Polish public and to give some credence to the General's overdrawn charge that "not days but hours separate us from a nationwide catastrophe."

But the evidence does not support his claim of crisis. It is true that in about half of Poland's provinces, union leaders were maneuvering to eject Communist officials from factory leadership positions. This winter's economic chaos, however, is more clearly attributable to shortages and inefficiencies than to strikes.

It is also true that a day of national protest had been called for next Thursday. But that was mainly a response to the Government's provocative threat to revoke the right to strike — the principal reform won by Solidarity at the start of its remarkable challenge 16 months ago.

The pretexts have an obvious propaganda value to the Government. Its actions, however, suggest weeks of careful planning. Nothing less could account for such details as military dress for television announcers, new censorship routines at the post office, the closing of gas stations and the proclamation of scores of regulations.

No doubt General Jaruzelski acted "with a broken heart." He is right to say that "none of Poland's problems can be solved by force." But force is what he has now invoked, challenging Poland to choose between bloody resistance and a demoralizing peace.

## A Cold Stare at the Garden Ice

Nothing about New York's Madison Square Garden, with its slick, tacky sheen, suggests permanence — but no one thought its owners would close the place after a mere 13 years. That's what the Gulf and Western Corporation now threatens, because of mounting losses.

If the Garden closes, New York City will have no arena for hockey or basketball, or the circus and the ice show. City Hall would like to save these symbols of urbanity, but the Mayor and his Corporation Council, Allen Schwartz, are right to be taking a very hard look at the price of ice.

The arguments for subsidizing the Garden with public funds are not frivolous. In winning seasons, the Knicks and Rangers, owned by the Garden, stimulate spending, generate sales taxes and enter-

tracks and other O.T.B. outlets, and leave them clamoring for a rescue. Boxing, with its small playing surface, is a television natural and its promoters no longer need to pay high Garden rentals.

Without other reliable sources of revenue, the city and state could not turn a losing private business into an affordable government enterprise. New York borrowed funds to keep two baseball and two football teams at Yankee and Shea Stadiums. One football team nonetheless moved away and the returns now do not even cover the debt service. The symbolic importance of keeping New York a two-team baseball city may justify a deal already made. The Garden's symbolic importance is much smaller.

Its losses reflect economic tides not easily reversed. The Meadowlands in New Jersey and the Nassau Coliseum reflect a national experience: an

To the Editor:  
Please spare us yet another simplistic "Japan Inc." and their application to the U.S. The Dec. 3 letter titled "Tech Needs a Command" waves again the blood of Japan's competitive challenge greater U.S. Government interest in the management of technology.

Those who lack public-sector experience in the policy process in Tokyo are generally fail to understand critical flaws in the "Japan rationale for U.S. Government intervention in American industrial

First, the Japanese Government is not the primary force in Japanese commercial and technological development. However comforting this may be for American managers, it competed unsuccessfully in Japan, it is simply not correct, it is extremely dangerous for U.S. to underestimate the strength of Japan's industrial strength in the Japanese private sector.

Second, given the enormous investments faced by American in managing technological change, it is absurd to suggest that the process could be better managed in Washington. Even more da- the suggestion that this role

## The Case of a C

To the Editor:  
Tom Wicker's two-part "Threatened Harvest" (Nov 27) makes a compelling case for tillage farming. I've been using a method for years on my patch at home and have almost no soil erosion. It also saves of manual tilling. Perhaps by this, my wife remains convinced. Reading Mr. Wicker's, however, I developed a burning curiosity to learn where all this eroded soil disappeared to. Soil loosened by conventional planting can either gully away and go into orbit or get washed away by rivulets and streams to the ocean. We will be fusion and fusion are not for work here. Assuming soil is a prisoner of war, windstorms must erode a large tribute eroded soil, so that far soil blows over to farmer B, versus. Some fraction — small, sumes — will escape if deposited in a river or stream, but can this

## Limits to the Green

To the Editor:  
In the chorus of protest from local and national officials, as well as the public, of hardships resulting from the administration's program of paring Federal aid programs and emphasizing upon the "new federalism," there is a strong implication that some Government has resour-

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# Waiting for Walesa

With Poland sealed off, one can only imagine the fateful conversations between General Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader he holds in "respected" custody.

J: I plead with you to plead with the people to go to work, to end the defiance of authority, to save us from bloodshed, to avoid testing the army's loyalty, to spare us from Soviet tanks. Help make Poland whole again.

W: I cannot plead with or speak for people with whom I am not allowed to communicate. You cannot invoke authority over workers with whom you refuse to negotiate. You can silence the people and arrest their leaders. You can force them, on pain of hunger, or death, to move their shovels and turn the machines. But that won't lift their spirits and make them productive.

J: We have exhausted what you call negotiation. No day has been free of strikes and new demands. You were not content to correct mistakes or improve the methods of petition. Election reforms were not good enough. Your hotheads demand political power, even supremacy over the Party. That is impossible. Poland is bankrupt. No reforms will have meaning until the people produce enough to sustain themselves.

W: Not Poland but the system is bankrupt. How can people produce when it yields them so little? How can the majority work well when the fruits go to a minority living in bourgeois elegance?

J: It is too late to debate the causes of this crisis. I blame both the chicken and the egg. I have detained not only your reckless associates but also the corrupt sponsors of evil in the previous regime. I implore you

now to bid the people to work, to accept authority and my promise of continued reform when conditions permit.

W: The Government does not lack for hotheads. It is too easy to blame extremists, on either side. The people will work well only if they have confidence in the leadership and in the plans for progress. And for that they need to have their chosen representatives read the ledgers and help make the rules. They will not believe in words, even mine.

J: The measures I have taken may appear extreme, but you must know that they are designed to head off worse. Solidarity is suspended, but not outlawed. Its leaders are detained, not arrested. The emergency can be temporary if patriots will pull together. Poland's destiny is Socialist and Soviet. But there is still time to avoid open conflict and foreign intervention. Go to work and, with your blessing, the West will sustain us through the winter and let us demonstrate that we can pay our way and build a new order—together.

W: Whatever I could say in these circumstances will appear to be a betrayal to save my skin. You ask for my trust, but you do not trust me and Solidarity. Ours is not a movement of agitators whose removal will clear the air. It is the working people who rebelled and recognized their power to influence their destiny. Do not misjudge their mood by their confusion of one day, or week.

J: I understand their frustration and their anger. That is why I beg you to speak out for order, before blood is spilled. Have you not heard the Pope's prayer? Do you not value mine? The people await your guidance.

# Limp Progress on Foreign Aid

The Reagan Administration deserves some credit for winning House passage of an \$11.5 billion foreign aid appropriation, and particularly \$725 million for the World Bank's soft-loan window. These compromise sums are far from adequate, however, to support America's wide-ranging objectives around the world.

At least the Administration has reversed its own initial hostility to foreign aid. The success in the House, against Republican opposition, should finally assure a regular appropriation for the first time in three years; stalemates in 1980 and 1981 led to "continuing resolutions" that limited aid spending to about the 1979 levels, despite inflation.

And the \$725 million for the International Development Association is crucial to stimulating \$12 billion in exports by 34 nations for interest-free 50-year

pledged. Thereafter they are likely to fall short of the \$5 billion to \$6 billion the World Bank seeks to offset inflation and encourage further development.

Recession and budget stringencies are used to justify U.S. cutbacks. But recession only increases the importance of foreign aid. Developing countries buy one-third of America's exports. Each dollar the U.S. gives to the I.D.A. evokes almost three from other donors and stimulates the world economy far more than domestic spending.

Yet the United States now ranks 13th among the 17 industrial democracies that give development assistance. As a percentage of gross national product, American aid has declined to one-fourth of 1 percent—half as much as was provided in the Eisenhower and Kennedy years and now exceeding only the contributions of Austria, Finland, Switzerland

alde Max Friedersdorf as general in Bermuda (new story) is not a demanding post and no harm there. His staff will work, and he can entertain politicians taking a well-deserved rest from the rigors of cutting well-merited, school lunches and the like.

Mr. Friedersdorf is not being a political "listening" post like war, a financial reporting post in Zurich or a commercial post in Amsterdam. A comfortable coast is a fine way for unwanted senior to start a "new career." Davy Crockett for Florence, and Richard for Bordeaux!

The career Foreign Service is important, among other things, to provide continuity and coherence in foreign policy, to avoid dramatic changes between one Administration and the next. Conservatives have forced the President to adhere to this concept (about 40 percent of his ambassadorial appointments have been from outside the career service, but he has moved adroitly).

As heir to the Johnson's Wealth at the Court of St. James's, a magnate in Belgium or an actor in Mexico are hardly likely to alter the course of United States

# Let Long Island Run Their Railroad

To the Editor:  
Your Dec. 5 editorial "Half-Fair Deeds on Transit" minutely illustrates what is wrong with Metropolitan Transportation Authority and its attitude toward the Long Island Rail Road.

You talk about Mayor Koch's on-again effort to take over day operations of the Transit Authority and criticize elected officials for giving credit for good service and blame for poor service. To the two State Assembly sponsors of the bill to split the L.I.R.R. from the M.T.A., your ignoring the Long Island legislators; both states, mirrors the M.T.A.'s attitude toward its poor stepchild; the L.I.R.R.

Other newspapers have numerous times that many officials and candidates for political office as well as commuter groups in Suffolk to run the L.I.R.R. from the M.T.A., which is presently interested in New York City subways. Those efforts have received attention from the M.T.A. and New York media.

We are most concerned about the appointment of an ombudsman. Koch to monitor the M.T.A. actions will mean increased attention at the Transit Authority and less for the railroad.

Recently, we held a public hearing on the subject, at which extremely money was presented about the neglect of its commuter service in Long Island. Mayor Koch and New York City officials vacillate on taking respon-

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a position taken by the Cardinal, who wrote the letter in his capacity as military vicar. The controversy also exemplifies the deepening concern over the arms buildup by Pope John Paul II and other prominent Catholics in Europe and the United States.

Among the supporters of the protest is the Intercommunity Center for Justice and Peace, a coalition of the 33 major

Continued on Page B5, Column 1

## J.N. Council Votes on Annexation Illegal

17 — Council Resolution 338, which was adopted after the 1973 Middle East War.

Resolution 338 referred to an earlier one, Resolution 242, which called for Israel's withdrawal from territories occupied in the 1967 war and supported the right of "every state" in the Middle East to live within secure boundaries.

Syria objected to this implicit recognition of Israel's right to exist. But, eager to gain American support, the Syrian delegation came up with a counterproposal that referred instead to "relevant Security Council resolutions." After a flurry of phone calls to Washington and Damascus, the proposal was accepted by the United States.

The resolution also called for the Council to meet again no later than Jan. 5 to consider "appropriate measures" if Israel failed to comply. Council members said these could include a cutoff in trade. But diplomats here do not believe

Continued on Page A3, Column 4

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# A Letter From Warsaw

## 'Fear Can Come Back as Quickly as a Door Slamming'

Following is a letter received yesterday from John Darton, Warsaw bureau chief of The New York Times, addressed to Robert B. Semple Jr., the paper's foreign editor. Normal communications from Warsaw have been shut by the authorities since Sunday.

Dec. 16, 1981

Dear Bob

At least twice in the past 24 hours the official Polish press agency has used the word "normalization" to apply to events here. For Poles and other East Europeans this is a dreaded code word.

"Normalization" is what happened to Czechoslovakia after a Warsaw Pact invasion crushed the "Prague Spring" of 1968. In the peculiar jargon of Communist officials, in which words can mean their opposite, it is the restoration of orthodox authority. To people it is the almost unbearably painful process of watching the dismantlement, piece by piece, of freedom and liberties painstakingly won.

A major part in that process is fear, and fear, it is clear, has become of the new military Poland. [As written.] It is strange; perhaps the one defining trait of the Polish "renewal" of the past 18 months was the absence of fear.

### A Calculated Campaign of Intimidation

With a massive show of manpower and equipment and a calculated campaign of intimidation, the military authorities here are trying to break the spirit of resistance of the workers' movement.

Yesterday evening, a caravan of 273 police cars, trucks, water cannons and other hardware moved slowly through the city at rush hour. Thousands of onlookers were forced back on the sidewalks, dark figures waiting on dirty snow banks and trees in the cold. It seemed a parade of brute force.

This morning at an early hour three secret policemen barged into the small apartment of a Polish journalist. They insisted that he sign a document asserting that he would no longer "act in a manner to oppose socialism in Poland." He resisted and was bundled

away. His wife pleaded with the policemen as they dragged him down the stairs. One of them responded, "Don't worry, we'll be back tomorrow for you to sign it."

The fear campaign is working in some respects. Already people open their doors just a crack, to inspect who is there. They play the radio loudly while talking, or set the water running — old devices from the Stalinist 1950's to foil the eavesdropper.

For someone who has lived here for almost three years, it is as if a door that was gradually opened has been suddenly shut.

### 'You're Being Observed'

"I can't see you now," whispers a Polish friend, as he answers his door and steps into the hallway, closing it behind him. "Didn't you hear? I was detained. I just got out. I'm sure you're being observed."

"We can't talk here," says another Polish friend standing in a stairwell, with a glance at a man nearby, who said he was a taxi driver waiting for a customer. He may, or may not, have been listening.

It takes a long time for fear to go away, weeks, or months even, in which people slowly learn that they can speak out or, emboldened by others, write more forcefully and honestly in the newspapers. But fear can come back as quickly as a door slamming.

### Overwhelming Show of Force

The full extent of the strike protest to the imposition of martial law cannot be determined with all communications down all over the country. But in areas where foreign journalists have been able to reach, factories in the Warsaw region, what broke the backbone of the protest was fear. The authorities mounted an overwhelming show of force — surrounding factories with tanks and armored cars and simply waiting for darkness and curfew to unsettle the demonstrators inside.

Workers who gave up said afterwards that they felt

Continued on Page A16, Column 1

jured when troops dis-  
trators.

### Tanks Reported

Kjell E. Stokkeland, electronic specialist with Lenin shipyard, in Gdansk when he left the city that 30 tanks were assembled in a refinery where workers were being driven out.

He and a Greek technician in the shipyard said they had gathered in for an installation were driven out Wednesday. "He was dropping it, and police gas masks were thrown

Continued on Page A

## INSID

### Mining Planned

The Interior Department is planning to open five national reserves to mining for minerals and oil and gas. Page A33.

### St. Patrick's Par

The St. Patrick's Day parade, after all, will be held on Feb. 17, the saint's day, the Sunday before. Page

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2/18

tion among the Soviet-bloc leaders will come over the next two days, when they gather here for the 75th birthday of Leonid I. Brezhnev on Saturday. Three of the guests — Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia, Janos Kadar of Hungary and Yumzhagin Tsedenbal of Mongolia — arrived today.

The degree of Soviet concern not to be

shown as a Polish initiative.

#### Kulikov's Visit to Warsaw Recalled

The Soviet press agency has also avoided commenting on reports out of Warsaw that Marshal Viktor G. Kulikov of the Soviet Union, who is the commander in chief of Warsaw Pact forces, was in the Polish capital last Friday.

shooting it through guns, the Greek said.

The two witnesses said that the troops and riot policemen had not used other force against the workers and that the workers fled after the tear gas barrage. This morning, Mr. Stokkeland said, the shipyard seemed empty of workers, the

## A Letter From Warsaw 2/13

Continued From Page A1

isolated, with no idea of what was going on in other parts of the country. They were worn down, sometimes hungry, and began thinking of their children. Women among them began weeping. When the troops and policemen burst in, they were offered a chance to leave unharmed, if they would separate themselves from their leaders.

"We really had no other choice," said one worker at the Huta Warszawa steel mill. "They had live ammunition and their guns were raised. They seemed as scared as we were."

In other regions, resistance is still going on and some workers are apparently determined to repel an armed attack. But what the outcome will be cannot even be guessed.

#### 'Will Have to Eat Their Words'

"Poles always called the Czechs cowards for not resisting in '68," said one foreign visitor here who travels frequently throughout Eastern Europe. "Now they will have to eat their words. The Czechs were invaded by five armies, the Poles did it all by themselves."

A major factor in the ease with which military rule has been established so far is the Polish love and respect for the army. The army, like the flag and church, is a symbol of nationalism.

"All this time we were all looking at the army and saying that because it is mostly made up of conscripts it might not be loyal to the government," said one European diplomat. "What we didn't see was the other side of the coin. Because the army contains so many sons and brothers, people were reluctant to move against it."

The most telling scene in the capital over the past three days, perhaps, occurred yesterday morning when busloads of soldiers moved into the Polish Academy of Sciences to break up a strike by some of the country's most eminent thinkers. The crowd was sul-

len and angry as the troops led away men in rumpled suits and spectacles and loaded them into a bus. But no one even threw a snowball. Minutes afterward, a truckload of soldiers goes past and, surprisingly, some of them waved to the crowd, for all the world like liberating soldiers, not agents of repression.

The military decree that was promulgated the morning after the army moved in was Draconian, and it was prominently displayed on posters and the two newspapers allowed to publish. Penalties range from two years to death, for seemingly minor infractions. It simply overwhelmed people.

Soldiers posted at intersections throughout the city turned cars away and let others through, rerouting traffic without any logical rhyme or reason. It was effective psychological harassment.

#### 'The Time for True Courage'

One Polish journalist, sitting at a cafe and talking to a foreign colleague with a nervous glance over his shoulder from time to time, displayed the demoralization and depression that most Poles seem to be feeling. It was, he said, the intellectuals who would feel the backlash. All his journalist friends, he said, were now out of work. One by one, he predicted, new newspapers would open up and one by one his friends would be offered jobs, if they were judged reliable. "Now comes the time for true courage," he said, "I wonder how many will measure up. It's either that or going to the work center for a job as a street cleaner."

"We are back to 1951 and '52," he continued, referring to the Stalinist years. "It would take us 20 years to rebuild what we had here."

Solidarity, he suggested, has talked a great line, but at no time over the past 16 months did the union really prepare a plan to counter a massive display of force. It was not envisaged that things could turn around so quickly, he said. Nor was it even thought that fear could come back so quickly.

Yours sincerely,  
John Darniton

Describing the clash at a mine near Katowice, the witness said "a group of irresponsible some of whom are not employed mine, organized a strike" and despite warnings from the Polish and from Government prosecutors. Security forces sent to the mine attacked with stones, crow axes, according to the Polish government broadcast. The radio said were employed "by troops, but no details. "Seven people were and 39 civilians were injured" attacked the representatives who were performing their duty.

Warnings of Swift Punishment. Other radio broadcasts today indicated that the authorities broken up strikes at a hosiery plant in Lodz, in central Poland; at a steel plant at Cracow, in southern Poland, and at a coal mine in eastern Poland, near the Soviet border. The Polish authorities stern warnings of swift punishment anyone who participated in demonstrations commemorating the 10th anniversary of riots in Gdansk and other cities. Those riots led to the downfall of Edward Gomułka as the Polish Communist Party leader in 1970.

The Roman Catholic Church, speaking out strongly today against the curtailment of rights under martial law. The radio said Polish bishops had the release of Lech Walesa, the Solidarity union, who has been held in isolation at a guesthouse on the southern edge of Warsaw. The bishops were having said Mr. Walesa was indispensable for national unity.

In a statement issued by Archbishop Jozef Glemp, who is the primate of Poland, and other bishops called for "the freeing of the people held by the Government."

Radio broadcasts from Warsaw indicated a suspension of normal civil procedures, a severe curtailment of civil rights, new restrictions and the rationing of electricity and other fuel.

A television broadcast de-

# Excerpts From Some Domestic Radio and Television Broadcasts

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17. — Following are excerpts from domestic Polish radio and television broadcasts as transcribed and translated from the Polish by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service, a United States Government agency.

## Seven Killed at Mine

6 P.M. Thursday  
(Noon Thursday, E.S.T.)

the unusually complex situation calls for the highest sense of responsibility. The requirements of martial law, the legal order that derives from it, should be, in the name of calm and the security of the state and citizens, strictly observed. Violation of this order leads to events which are tragic in their consequences. These casualties were unnecessary. Human life has too great a value for the instigators of unrest and disturbances to threaten it through actions which are irresponsible and contrary to martial law. An investigation into these affairs is being conducted by

were not looking for confrontation, for martial law was proclaimed for the very purpose of avoiding confrontation. Even when members of the forces of order began to fall with serious wounds under the blows of chains, kicks and stones, attempts were still made to appeal to reason. It was no longer any good. Firearms were only used when there was a clear need for self-defense.

The authorities will not retreat since there is nowhere to retreat. Provocation has no future in Poland. Socialism will not be overthrown but

## Economic Reforms

6 P.M. Thursday  
(Noon Thursday, E.S.T.)

The military council of the Salvation sets the Government's task of quickly adapting to the management system to that of martial law. It confirms its will to carry out a profound and comprehensive economic reformation in accordance with the directions of the S.E.J.M. of the Polish public. It stresses that the turn — not can there be

# The Cry From Poland

The unofficial news now trickling out of Poland speaks volumes. The Catholic bishops describe an "entire nation terrorized by military force." The Times's John Darnton writes of a social order shattered by palpable fear. The Polish people are suffering a new kind of "atomic" attack — the isolation of every individual from every other so that in lonely desperation, millions might yield up the liberties won only over decades.

The news not heard from Poland is equally revealing. Three or four days of parading his power was all that General Jaruzelski should have needed to prove himself Polish first and Communist second — to show the will and freedom to persuade moderate church and union leaders to help him restore a productive order. Lech Walesa and Archbishop Glemp would then have appeared at his side to counsel discipline and nonviolence. The roads of Poland would have been thrown open so that all could observe the regime's control, or at least the people's acquiescence.

Instead, the ominous blackout continues. Even in arrest and isolation, not a single leader of solidarity has been given terms or hope enough to be entrusted with a microphone, or even telephone. Their silence is an unmistakable cry to resist, at least in spirit and conscience. So is the church's remarkable manifesto calling the freedom of Mr. Walesa and other union leaders an "indispensable" condition of peace.

General Jaruzelski has lost the gamble that "Polish hands will not spill Polish blood." To demoralize his people further, he is reduced to boasting

about the loyalty of the security forces that finally opened fire. But for that, he must also advertise the fact of resistance. Now the contest is for the conscience of the soldiers. Yet even if they pass his test, what can the general expect of the workers when they sullenly carry their wrenches back to work? And if they do not sabotage his machines, how well can they perform under such duress?

President Reagan has eloquently expressed America's revulsion at these events. He is right to blame the Soviet Union first of all and to eliminate the distinction that his spokesmen had been making between Warsaw's massive repression and Moscow's direct intervention.

The President was also right to declare a moratorium on economic aid to Poland until civil and union rights are restored. The Warsaw radio had begun to crow about the applause of Western bankers, whose only concern this week seemed to be the \$30 billion that Poland owes.

The Polish economy is shattered and so is the pretense that new loans and rolling over old ones can prevent default. Aid to Poland from now on will be what it always should have been: a political instrument by which to keep encouraging evolutionary change in the Communist system.

The catastrophic failures of that system threaten not only the well-being of the Polish people. They inspire brutalities that jeopardize Poland's relations with all civilized peoples and, inevitably, the peace of Europe.

## A Haitian Freeze

A Christmas plum to Attorney General William French Smith. His Justice Department has not abandoned the idea of sending illegal immigrants who have fled Haiti to detention at Icy Fort Drum, N.Y. But now it says it won't do so, at least not during the dead of winter.

To hold poor, desperate people from the tropics in a camp near the Canadian border, where the temperature yesterday morning was 12 degrees, would be callous. "Siberia," some people say. So we're all for Mr. Smith's conclusion, even though we don't exactly follow his logic.

The Attorney General observes that 1,021 illegal Haitian migrants were caught entering the country in November 1980, while in November of this year the number was only 47. That, he says, shows that the Administration's policy of intercepting and detaining Haitians is "working remarkably well." And it means existing detention camps in Florida and elsewhere can handle all the Haitian illegals; the Fort Drum plan can be deferred.

But the numbers can also be read another way — not as a sign that the fear of freezing deters migration but that illegal Haitian entrants are struggling much harder to avoid capture. If they were caught in November 1980, nothing awful happened. They were

allowed to stay, even work, pending a hearing on whether they were legitimately entitled to refugee status. Now everyone who is caught is put in a detention camp.

There is another set of relevant new numbers. They show that in fiscal 1981 503 Haitians applied for asylum, as refugees. Compare that with 36,296 Cubans, 7,138 Iranians, 4,111 Nicaraguans, 1,670 Poles, 992 Ethiopians. All told, 63,202 foreigners asked for asylum.

Why make such a fuss over only a few hundred black Haitians, especially when doing so is sure to engender accusations of racism?

There are two answers. One is technical: most of the Haitians got here illegally and, when caught, are detained for fear of encouraging more illegals. Most of the asylum applicants from other countries came in legally, as students or visitors, but overstayed. That is a lesser transgression than sneaking in; they need not be detained.

Pending remedial action by Congress, there is another, less technical answer: make less of a fuss over the Haitians. The interim decision on Fort Drum is a welcome step in that direction.

## Melt the Garbage Mountains

states, such as Mali, Libya.

In any event, King Ha did not drive hundreds of Saharans from their vil in the initial stages of (1975-76), Moroccan tr patched to the country and return to their ho who had fled from the wa

If the Moroccan are fronted only by Polisar the Western Sahara would into insignificance

## What Byrne Did To South Jersey

To the Editor:

As you correctly state Byrne's Record" (editorial popularity is at rock bottom been a long time since higher in South Jersey. Florio's defeat has been part to his failure to put r between himself and Byrne fore failed to get the gre South Jersey votes he exp

However, if, as you say tax has stabilized proper must have done so in plac our town. In 1978, our tax \$1,250; they are now \$1,900 you call stabilization? We the same house all along, try to keep it maintained ability to do so has not be Mr. Byrne's accomplishment

Yes, he took over the bus cost \$42 million rather than lion we were told it would ments to service in South from very little to none at a pay a higher fare now. Philadelphia is \$2. Two yea \$1.35, and Transport of 1 then owned by Public Ser & Gas, paid taxes on its fac

If Mr. Byrne brought ski and integrity to Trenton, many, if not most of us, wh Trenton that he was su using those noble attribut the benefit of North Jerse certainly kept most, if no "benefits" of his regime y including Brendan Byrne Ar

JOHN F. Willingboro, N.J.

## Honored by Me

To the Editor:

A Dec. 9 editorial Topic John Reed is the only Ame in the Kremlin wall. This is least, two other Americans there: Charles E. Ruthe died in Chicago in 1977, and Haywood, who died in Mosc Ruthenberg was a founde Communist Party. Big Bi was a founder of the Indusu of the World (I.W.W.). In Haywood, half his ashes w in Waldheim cemetery, Chi

ARTHUR

# What to Do On Poland?

By Flora Lewis

PARIS, Dec. 17—The trickle of information from militarized Poland has been enough to make two things clear.

First, the coup was well prepared, even to timing. Reports from Gdansk show it began before Solidarity voted its last resolutions. Some people named by the Warsaw radio as arrested are actually in the U.S.; the list was an old one. Soviet "non-interference" is a myth. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski himself said he was acting to protect Polish sovereignty, a barely veiled admission of a Soviet ultimatum.

Second, the military dictatorship's promise of return to "renewal" of Polish society is empty. Of course the country cannot go back to pre-1980. It collapsed under 35 years of misrule. The regime's unwillingness and inability to deal with its people without force has been proved. Solidarity's early demands were modest, escalating when rulers showed they would respond to nothing but the most insistent pressure.

But neither have the generals, mostly Soviet-trained, brought room for reconciliation. Massive arrests, the banning of organizations that had nothing to do with the union, such as Catholic groups and the association of university rectors, reveal a will to destroy all popular representation.

When and if the military "terminates" its rule as pledged, to whom will it hand power? The fact that organs of repression remained fully in place, untouched by Solidarity's achievements, is now starkly highlighted. The union and its supporters built a parallel structure that was dazzling and aroused profound echoes among the people, but the oppressive power was never dismantled.

There remains the Communist Party—deeply shaken, self-purged by defection of the relatively moderate fraction, purged of a few discarded and discredited incompetents. Never before has a ruling Communist apparatus been taken over by its uniformed comrades. But where can that?

It appears that Jaruzelski's idea of "renewal" is simply renewal of the apparatus, replacement of one nomenklatura (the secret list of people eligible for responsible jobs) by another more vigorous but with the same goal of monopoly power.

Janos Kadar did manage a fairly effective renewal of his Communist Party after Hungary's 1956 revolution. But there are two key reasons why

ter century of Polish experience has killed illusions about the system's capacity for reform.

The other is alienation of intellectuals. Mr. Kadar's turning point came when he reversed the old Stalinist slogan of "He who is not with us is against us" to an acceptance of all who did not actively resist. Gradually, competent people agreed to seek improvements within the limits imposed, and indulgence of their efforts persuaded others to participate.

General Jaruzelski and his junta may enforce a dead "order," but there is no question of law. They cannot revive Poland's productive capacity without help from such people. Almost all have been swept into prison. However ardent his patriotism, the military ruler has turned against the well-springs of the nation's vitality.

What is the West to do? I would make a distinction between Government and public reactions, just as Poles have always had to distinguish between "reasons of state" and feelings. There should be no damper on widespread voicing of outrage. The more protests the better.

Woe to us all if fatigue and distraction are allowed to erode our instinctive revulsion. It is especially the duty of American and European unions to sustain sensitive attention to the Polish workers' call for "solidarity with Solidarity." In the fall of 1980 it was unwise for American labor, though well-intentioned, to speak more loudly than the Poles. Today Poles are muzzled. It is time to shout.

Western governments, and private bankers, should immediately suspend credits and aid to Poland, except for whatever foodstuffs and medicine can be distributed directly, not through the regime. The word is suspend, not cancel, for there is leverage only as long as a chance for easement exists.

The proper condition for restoring a flow of funds is cold self-interest: therefore in no way interference. The West cannot pour money into Poland until its leaders create conditions for its people to work productively—impossible with guns and bulging jails.

As for relations with the Russians, the fiction of Moscow's non-interference deserves a hard squint. There cannot be business and courtesies as usual, but again leverage should be preserved by judicious though initially limited measures.

Whatever happens, though, the nascent arms reduction talks with Moscow must be preserved. Reducing the danger of nuclear war, especially in time of crisis, is in everybody's interest. Excessive reliance on the nuclear deterrent is a major reason for Western impotence now. To extend it risks shattering the Western alliance. Poland should spur both Western Europe and the U.S. to concentrate more on conventional defense.

the homage to mankind's lousy ideas, in Poland all these positive, exemplary, copybook values were, quite unexpectedly, devalued. Out of the blue, they were prostituted and dragged the venerable corpse of the republic straight to the bottom like a millstone.

We're well aware of what happened and why. Our historiographers have taken precise soundings of the vertebral column of Polish history. They have brought to light all manner of defects, faults, and degeneration. We know that our "golden freedom" was our undoing. That fierce, mad adherence to the freedoms of the individual citizen, the autonomy and independence of the person. All our troubles stem from that unbri-dled freedom.

Like a bad pupil, like a dunce in the corner, like street hooligans, we are used as an example by the wise and bearded historiographers of our exemplary neighbors, who, instead of submerging themselves in freedom, making a god and a religion of it, build strong, despotic states based on tyranny, the staunch superiority of the state over the confused individual, a cult of crushing individuals in the name of the genocidal goals of mighty Molochs. Our history envies our beheaded neighbors with their lawless states, the ultimate captivity of the thinking beings called by biologists, our fellow historians, *Homo sapiens*.

But to bell with that unfulfilled career of despots and tyrants. To bell with that unrealized role of the gendarme in Europe. To bell with that abortive summoning of defenseless individuals and entire helpless nations to the hangman.

What is it that we should be asbamed of? A fondness for freedom? Even though it was a foolish, mad, total, anarchistic, provincial freedom, the freedom which leads to ruin.

I know, I know. I know full well those ominous examples of our golden freedom which gave rise to our nation's entire chain of misfortunes and tragedies, I see the immensity of the evil born out of old-time, Sarmatian, noble, selfish, nihilistic, unthinking, lone-wolf, egotistical Polish freedom. But had we been a disciplined; ordered; antlike society of the Anglo-Saxon variety, would we have been spared by acquisitive despots, would our aggressive, totalitarian neighbors not have quartered our corpse? For nobility will always succumb to villainy, virtue fall at the feet of crime, freedom perish at the hands of the unfree. Though one may equally say that righteousness will conquer sin, good be victorious over evil, freedom triumph over slavery. But let us remember that the good is free like a cloud in the sky and that evil is swift as lightning.

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Tadeusz Konwicki, a novelist, lives in Poland. These are excerpts from the forthcoming novel "The Polish Complex," translated by Richard Lounie.

12/18

Rendering of The Morgan Library c. 1902



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