# Fighting Solidarity

Fighting Solidarity (Polish: *Solidarność Walcząca*) was an underground anti-communist organisation operating in 1982-1992, founded in June 1982 in Wrocław, on the initiative of Kornel Morawiecki.

After 13 December 1981 K. Morawiecki was the organiser of the underground printing and distribution structure of RKS "S" Lower Silesia, editor of "Z Dnia na Dzień", as of May 1982 under RKS "S" Dolny Ślask. In June 1982, in connection with a disagreement with W. Frasyniuk about how they should proceed further, he resigned from membership in RKS Lower Silesia and founded Fighting Solidarity. Unlike Frasyniuk, he was an advocate of deep conspiracy and the organisation of street demonstrations.

The principles and rules of Fighting Solidarity were developed over several months. Initially, on 1 July 1982, the Fighting Solidarity Alliance was established. It was assumed that it would be a loose federation of groups and circles united under common ideals and one programme. This concept did

not work in practice. On 11 November 1982 the Alliance was transformed into a single organisation called Fighting Solidarity. It was headed by a Council, consisting of a dozen or so councilors. The council elected K. Morawiecki president of Fighting Solidarity. The members of the council changed. It included: Zbigniew Bełz, Paweł Falicki, Michał Gabryel, Jerzy Gnieciak, Maria Koziebrodzka, Cezariusz Lesisz, Hanna Łukowska Karniej, Kornel Morawiecki, Andrzej Myc, Zbigniew Oziewicz, and Jan Pawłowicz. Later on it was joined by Jerzy Kocik and Władyslaw Sidorowicz. The autumn of 1984 brought decisions to create the Fighting Solidarity Executive Committee, a narrower decision-making structure composed of: Kornel Morawiecki, Andrzej Myc, Wojciech Myślecki and Andrzej Zarach, followed by Andrzej Kołodziej, Ewa Kubasiewicz, Hanna Łukowska Karniej, Jadwiga Chmielowska, Roman Zwiercan, Zbigniew Jagiełło and Maciej Frankiewicz. Meetings of both structures took place in various compositions, sometimes with the participation of people who were not formally members.  Essentially, Fighting Solidarity was a cadre organisation. To become a full member it was necessary to take an oath. It was, however, possible to operate within the organisation without taking it. Kornel Morawiecki was the main ideologist of Fighting Solidarity and the author of most of its programme. In 1987, K. Morawiecki. W. Myślecki and A. Zarach prepared the "Ideological Principles and the Fighting Solidarity Programme". The programme essentially assumed the fight against communism and regaining independence. Free Poland was to be a parliamentary democracy following the example of Western European countries. Its own model of a social system, which was to be solidarism, was also proposed. The

compromise with the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) which was to be removed from power, was opposed,; the possibility of using force or armed struggle were not ruled out. The organisation of street demonstrations was of great importance.

Patriotic symbolism played a key role, especially the Fighting Solidarity anchor symbol painted on the walls, its shape referring to the symbol of Fighting Poland. On 3 December 1984, the Fighting Solidarity banner was consecrated in Wrocław. Counterintelligence activities were of major significance in the functioning of  Fighting Solidarity—these were the domain of Jan Pawłowski (observation, listening to the Security Services and Citizens' Militia radio stations). The organisation attempted to strictly follow the rules of underground operation—e.g. by conducting accurate self-observation, using pseudonyms, avoiding being tailed, duplicating key functions, avoiding horizontal connections, and eliminating deconspirated flats and contact points.

On 14 December 1983, Kazimierz Klementowski, organiser and coordinator of a section of the printing and distribution division was arrested. As a result of the investigation, a part of the printing house and

dwellings used for underground operations were exposed. More than 40 people were arrested. In the summer of 1984 (in two cases), 34 people were accused, and eventually the case was dismissed under an amnesty.

On 21 August 1983, a cooperation agreement was signed with the National Agricultural Resistance Committee, on 22 February 1985—with the Liberal Democratic Party "Independence", and in 1987 —with the Confederation of Independent Poland (no closer cooperation took place). From the middle of the 1980s, Fighting Solidarity also co-operated with the "S" Interfactory Labour Committee in Warsaw.

Apart from Wrocław, Fighting Solidarity also developed in other large cities, where its branches were established with far-reaching autonomy. Most often, these were grassroots initiatives that identified themselves with the programme and methods undertaken by Fighting Solidarity in Wrocław. Once every few months, meetings between the chairman and branch representatives were organised. The largest of them took place in: Poznan (from 1983, including Maciej Frankiewicz, Szymon Jabłoński, Szymon Łukasiewicz), Tri-City (from 1984, including Marek Czachor, Andrzej Kołodziej, Ewa Kubasiewicz, Zofia Kwiatkowska, Roman Zwiercan) and Katowice (from 1982, including Sławomir Bugajski, Barbara Kowalczyk, Lesław Frączek, Anna Gorgoń, Włodzimierz Lesisz, and from 1984 Jadwiga Chmielowska). The Fighting Solidarity departments were also active in: Rzeszów (from 1983, e.g. Andrzej Kopaczewski, Andrzej Kucharski, Janusz Szkutnik), Lublin (1983-1987 Krzysztof Duszkiewicz, Weronika Falicka, Andrzej Patyra), Kraków (from 1985, including Piotr Hlebowicz, Marek Biesiada,

Władysław Głowa, Zbigniew Nowak, Krzysztof Ochel, Marian Stachniuk, Ewa Tarnawska-Wiechaja, Piotr Warish), Warsaw (since 1987, including Adam Borowski, Mirosława Łątkowska, Zbigniew Jusis, Tadeusz Markiewicz, Jacek Mejsak, Krzysztof Wolf), Toruń (from 1986 Marianna Błaszczak, Elżbieta Mossakowska), Konin (1983-1984, 1989 Ewa Bugno Zalewska) Jelenia Góra (Chrystoforosz Tulasz, Władysław and Roman Niegoszow), Szczecin (from 1986, Krzysztof Korczak, Stanisław Janusz, Leszek Dobrzyński) , Zgorzelec (1982-1987, Ryszard Serwa, Jerzy Hendzel, Czesław Cechnicki), Piła (1983-1986, Jacek Grudecki, Jarosław Gruszkowski, Stanisław Przybył), Łódź (Włodzimierz Domagalski, Włodzimierz Strzemiński). Since the end of 1988, the structures were developed further. The Fighting Solidarity branches were created, among others, in Bialystok, Bielsko-Biala, Siedlce, Suwałki, Tarnów and Gorzów Wielkopolski.

Operations were initiated to create factory structures. The most powerful of them, founded by Edward Frankiewicz and Roman Zwiercan, functioned at the Shipyard in Gdynia. Solidarity structures also existed, among others, in the Hipolit Cegielski Poznań of the Gdansk Shipyard, as well as the Silesian and Wałbrzych mines.

Due to the underground nature of the organisation and the lack of member records, it is difficult to precisely determine its size. According to various sources, the number of sworn members is

estimated at several hundred to about 2 thousand at the end of the organisation's existence, and at double this number of non-official members.

Fighting Solidarity had its representatives abroad, responsible for collecting funds, the organisation and transfer of printing equipment, and the popularisation of the programme in the Polish comminity and in Western countries. From 1982 Tadeusz Warsza served in the United Kingdom, from 1984 Andrzej Wirga in Germany, from 1987 Rafał Gan Ganowicz in France, Jerzy Jankowski and Zbigniew Bełz in Norway and Jarosław Świątek in the USA. From 1988, Ewa Kubasiewicz was the coordinator of foreign representations. Fighting Solidarity also cooperated with emigration centres organising assistance to the country, including The Independent Polish Agency in Lund (Sweden), the Berlin-based "Pogląd" published in West Berlin, Solidarity with Solidarity in London, the Literary Institute in Paris, the "Pomost" Social-Political Movement in Chicago.

In 1982-1990, the publishing activity of Fighting Solidarity operated as part of the Fighting Solidarity Information Agency / the Fighting Solidarity Publishing Agency, consisting of printing and publishing groups, which branded their publications with AISW or AWSW. This was coordinated in its entirety by Zofia Maciejewska. Fighting Solidarity published over 100 press titles, the most important of which included: in Wrocław: "Solidarność Walcząca", "Biuletyn Dolnośląski", "BIS", "Replika"; in Katowice: "WiS. Wolni i Solidarni", "PIK. Podziemny Informator

Katowicki”; in Poznan: " Solidarność Walcząca” (Poznan branch), "Czas”, "Czas Kultury”; in Gdansk: "Solidarność Walcząca” (Tri-city branch); in Rzeszow "Galicja”, in Lublin "Solidarność Walcząca” (Lublin branch), in Szczecin "Gryf”. Some magazines cooperating with Fighting Solidarity were gradually taken over by the organisation—e.g. in Wrocław "Wiadomości Bieżące” (since 1987 a Fighting Solidarity magazine) Jednością Silni (since 1986) in Krakow "Solidarność Zwycięży”/ from 1989 "Solidarność Walcząca  Zwycięży”.  In Wrocław, Zgorzelec, Gdynia, Warsaw, Jastrzębie, Wałbrzych, the factory bulletins were published by Fighting Solidarity. In l988-1990, "Gazetka Uliczna" was also popular, in 1983-1986 Opnie / Nazory published in Czech, later transported to Czechoslovakia. From autumn 1988 to May 1990, the team headed by R. Lazarowicz and Piotr Bielawski developed the "Press Agency of Fighting Solidarity" (Polish: *Serwis Agencji Informacyjnej Solidarności Walczącej*), intended for the editorial offices of magazines published by the organisation. Less attention was paid to the printing of books that appeared, among others, under the name of Agencja Informacyjna SW / Agencja Wydawnicza SW, Warsaw's publishing house Prawy Margines (1987-1989) headed by A. Borowski, and Petit Publishing House (from 1988 inTri-City). In 1985-February of 1988 underground Fighting Solidarity stamps were printed by the Fighting Solidarity Mail, headed by Krzysztof Błachut.

In 1982 -1990 over 100 radio programmes were broadcast in Wrocław. The team of radio-specialists was headed by: R. Lazarowicz, (19 programmes) Krzysztof Tenerowicz (14) and Jan Krusiński (70). Apart from Wrocław, the largest achievements were

recorded by the Poznan branch in 1984-1985. Szymon Jabłoński and Maciej Frankiewicz prepared about 30-40 programmes. Since 1987, radio programmes were broadcast in Gdansk. The first broadcasts were organised by Andrzej Kołodziej, Ewa Stoja and Piotr Jagielski. In 1988-1990, the radio crew was led by Jan Białostocki.  Radio trials of lesser importance were also undertaken in Rzeszów, Szczecin, Łódź, Bytom and Jastrzębie Zdrój

In 1988, the Eastern Department, headed by Piotr Hlebowicz and Jadwiga Chmielowska, was created, in order to support the independence movements in Eastern Europe (training, supplies of printing equipment).

On 9 November 1987, K. Morawiecki and H. Łukowska Karnia were arrested as a result of breaking the rules of conspiracy. On 11 November Andrzej Kołodziej became the head of Fighting Solidarity, and after his arrest on 22 January 1988, he was replaced by Jadwiga Chmielowska.

In order to avoid the judicial process of the leaders of Fighting Solidarity, the authorities decided to send them abroad, without the right to return. A lie was spread about the alleged illness of A. Kołodziej. On 30 April 1988, they flew to Italy as a result of a scam. A few days later, Morawiecki made an unsuccessful attempt to return to Poland; he was detained at the airport in Warsaw and deported to Vienna. During this forced exile he visited, for example, Austria, the USA and Great Britain. On 30 August 1988, he returned to Poland illegally, and once again became the head of the organisation.

As of September 1988 Fighting Solidarity was of the opinion that the condition for starting talks with the authorities should be the legalisation of the Solidarity movement. In 1989, Fighting Solidarity was against the agreement at the Round Table, it demanded completely free elections, calling for a boycott of the elections scheduled for 4 June 1989. Fighting Solidarity was also against the election of General Wojciech Jaruzelski as president of the country.

In June 1989, Fighting Solidarity's public representatives were: M. Czachor, A. Kopaczewski, and W. Myślecki. In July 1990, Morawiecki emerged from the underground. The Freedom Party (Polish: *Partia Wolności*) was created on the basis of Fighting Solidarity, however, it was unsuccessful in the parliamentary elections of 1991.

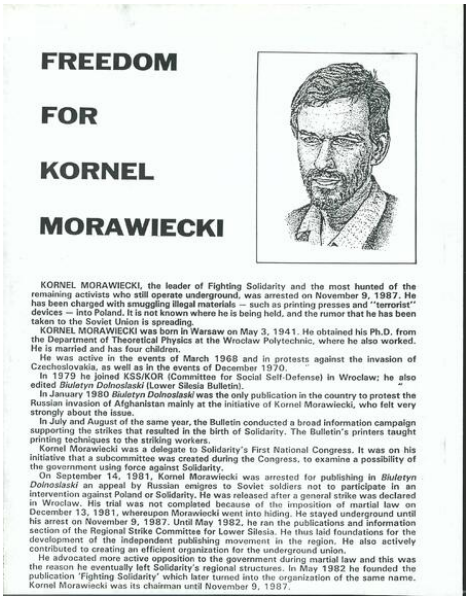
In 1991, Fighting Solidarity organised protests against the military intervention in Vilnius and Riga. In 1992, after the overthrowing of J. Olszewski's government, Fighting Solidarity distributed "Antoni Macierewicz’s list". Soon afterwards, upon the decision of Morawiecki, Fighting Solidarity was dissolved.

In the period between 1982-1986, Division III-1 KWMO / WUSW in Wrocław investigated the

activities of the management of Fighting Solidarity under the codename Tarantula. At the same time, operations were conducted against leading activists and the following agencies: codename Książka (Hanna Łukowska Karniej) codename Logos (Andrzej Myc), codename Koło (Wojciech Myślecki) codename Piskorz (Andrzej Zarach), codename Agora (Zbigniew Oziewicz), codename Krety (Fighting Solidarity Informational Agency). From 17 August 1985, throughout Poland the investigation into Fighting Solidarity was coordinated by Department III of the Ministry of Interior, and in 1986-1990 by the Studies Office of the Ministry of Interior under the codename Ośmiornica.

Grzegorz Waligóra

A collection of brochures and newspaper clippings on Fighting Solidarity submitted to the Institute of National Remembrance by former activists of the organization.



# FREEDOM FOR KORNEL MORAWIECKI

KORNEL MORAWIECKI, the leader of Fighting Solidarity and the most hunted of the remaining activists who still operate underground, was arrested on November 9, 1987. He has been charged with smuggling illegal materials — such as printing presses and "terrorist" devices — into Poland. It is not known where he is being held, and the rumor that he has been taken to the Soviet Union is spreading.

KORNEL MORAWIECKI was born in Warsaw on May 3, 1941. He obtained his Ph.D. from the Department of Theoretical Physics at the Wroclaw Polytechnic, where he also worked. He is married and has four children.

He was active in the events of March 1968 and in protests against the invasion of Czechoslovakia, as well as in the events of December 1970.

In 1979 he joined KSS/KOR (Committee for Social Self-Defense) in Wroclaw; he also edited *Biuletyn Dolnoslaski* (Lower Silesia Bulletin).

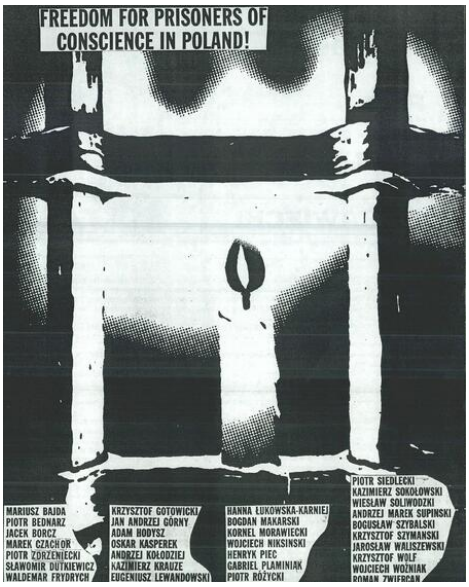
In January 1980 *Biuletyn Dolnoslaski* was the only publication in the country to protest the Russian invasion of Afghanistan mainly at the initiative of Kornel Morawiecki, who felt very strongly about the issue.

In July and August of the same year, the Bulletin conducted a broad information campaign supporting the strikes that resulted in the birth of Solidarity. The Bulletin's printers taught printing techniques to the striking workers.

Kornel Morawiecki was a delegate to Solidarity's First National Congress. It was on his initiative that a subcommittee was created during the Congress, to examine a possibility of the government using force against Solidarity.

On September 14, 1981, Kornel Morawiecki was arrested for publishing in *Biuletyn Dolnoslaski* an appeal by Russian emigres to Soviet soldiers not to participate in an intervention against Poland or Solidarity. He was released after a general strike was declared in Wroclaw. His trial was not completed because of the imposition of martial law on December 13, 1981, whereupon Morawiecki went into hiding. He stayed underground until his arrest on November 9, 1987. Until May 1982, he ran the publications and information section of the Regional Strike Committee for Lower Silesia. He thus laid foundations for the development of the independent publishing movement in the region. He also actively contributed to creating an efficient organization for the underground union.

He advocated more active opposition to the government during martial law and this was the reason he eventually left Solidarity's regional structures. In May 1982 he founded the publication 'Fighting Solidarity' which later turned into the organization of the same name. Kornel Morawiecki was its chairman until November 9, 1987.



A photo by Stanisław Składanowski depicting members of Fighting Solidarity during a demonstration in connection with the visit of US President George Bush to the Polish People's Republic in July 1989.

## ZOBACZ TAKŻE

Solidarność Walcząca

IPN's WEBSITE (EN)

"The Archive of the Institute of National Remembrance in Warsaw" (VIDEO)

The Archival Inventory (WEBSITE EN)

"The Unconquered". Riveting story of Poland in WW2 narrated by Sean Bean (VIDEO).

The Archive Full of Remembrance Project (WEBISTE EN)

Historia

Dokumenty

Foto i multimedia

Mapa