

## Dissenter's lore grows in absentia

By W. Joseph Campbell  
Associated Press

WARSAW — The underground words to the Polish national anthem go this way:

*Poland has not perished  
As long as we are holding out here.  
We shall fight our way to freedom  
With the cross and strikes;  
Lead us, Walesa.  
From the seacoast to Silesia  
Polish Solidarity will go and win victory.*

The stirring song of protest is intoned these days in moments of peaceful dissent, testifying to the enduring popular appeal of Lech Walesa, the national chairman of the suspended labor movement Solidarity, who has become a national hero. Walesa, 38, has now spent more than eight months in near-isolation, interned by Poland's martial-law authorities. He has not been forgotten. The "Walesa myth," the uncanny charm of a shrewd, emotional little man, has endured and deepened.

### Quiet defiance

Just as he was associated with the Polish challenge to Communist rule, Walesa now personifies the quiet defiance to rule by martial law, which was imposed during a sweeping military crackdown Dec. 13.

His photograph is placed regularly amid the floral crosses, common symbols of dissent fashioned at public places in Warsaw. His name is shouted during illegal street demonstrations that have flared this month in several Polish cities. His captivity is recalled on hand-lettered placards and banners that proclaim, "Lecha, we are waiting."

About 2,000 Poles joined in fervent prayer at a special Mass for Walesa in Gdansk on Aug. 13, the start of the ninth month of martial-law rule.

Yesterday, before 300,000 pilgrims at Czestochowa, Poland's holiest shrine, Archbishop Jozef Glemp demanded that Walesa be released.

Enforced absence "hasn't diminished Walesa in the eyes of the Poles," said one veteran Western diplomat in Warsaw. "Walesa was the spirit of the movement, the movement personified. ... Walesa made people believe in the possibility of achieving results, that things could be changed and improved. He won't be forgotten very quickly."

### 'Grave problem'

The regime, which is holding Walesa at a hunting lodge near the Soviet border in extreme southeastern Poland, acknowledges that Walesa's continuing internment presents what deputy premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski has called "a grave problem."

There are, however, no indications that Walesa would be freed soon. Rakowski has been quoted in an official newspaper as saying that the union leader would be held "as long as the situation requires."

Walesa, who was seized in the early hours of Dec. 13, has appeared alternately defiant and conciliatory — as mercurial as he sometimes seemed in the 16 months after the electrician climbed the Lenin Shipyard gates in August 1980 to lead the strike that gave rise to Solidarity.

Government sources said in March that Walesa insisted that the regime's stern and unflinching leader, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, "come crawling" to him as a condition for opening negotiations.

Several months later, an International Labor Organization official met with Walesa and reported that the interned leader acknowledged that "errors had been made," that Solidarity "had wanted to go forward at too fast a pace" and the right to strike could be suspended "for quite a long period" to promote social conciliation.

### 21-point accord

The right to strike and the right to form "independent, self-governing trade unions" were key provisions of the 21-point government-workers accord signed by Walesa on Aug. 31, 1980. "We will see to it that the new union will be independent, for the sake of Poland," he said at the time.

The agreement ended a wave of strikes that swept the Baltic coast; gave rise to Solidarity, union which ultimately claimed 10 million members, and cemented Walesa's position as the movement's leader.

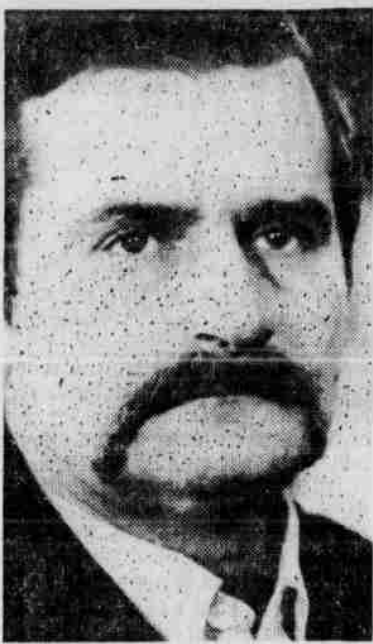
"There was never a second Walesa, someone waiting in the wings to step in," the Western diplomat said. "He was the embodiment of Solidarity, and there never was, really, anyone who could have replaced him."

That's not to say Walesa was never challenged. A moderate in relations with the government, he was often at odds with Solidarity's young radicals, who favored such steps as a national referendum about Communist rule in Poland and encouraged workers elsewhere within the Soviet bloc to form independent trade unions.

In the turbulent days before Jaruzelski imposed martial law, the regime tried to ascribe radical tendencies to Walesa. The hard-line army newspaper said he was "a great liar and provocateur" directing a group of "madmen" committed to create "anarchy and chaos."

These days, Walesa leads a sedentary existence, his isolation broken by periodic visits from his wife, Danuta, and their seven children, the youngest of whom, Maria Victoria, was born in late January.

Mrs. Walesa, returning from her most recent visit early this month,



Lech Walesa  
Popularity undiminished

said her husband shaved the full beard he had grown but kept his drooping, handlebar mustache. He takes walks and plays billiards with his guards, she said.

His spirits, she added, remain high, and his views unchanged.

## Release Walesa, archbishop urges

By Dan Fisher  
Los Angeles Times Service

CZESTOCHOWA, Poland — Archbishop Jozef Glemp called on Poland's military government yesterday to release Lech Walesa, the interned labor leader, as a step toward healing the nation's wounds.

At the same time, the archbishop, Poland's top church leader, urged his countrymen to confine their struggle to the negotiating table. He said Poland's streets had seen enough bloodshed.

The primate of Poland spoke out as his country approached what could be a turning point in its long political crisis.

Underground leaders of Solidarity, the independent trade-union federation that was suspended when martial law was declared in December, have called for demonstrations throughout the country on Tuesday, the anniversary of the so-called social accords that gave birth to the movement.

The military regime has said repeatedly, however, that it will not tolerate any open display of opposition. The interior minister, Gen.

Czeslaw Kiszczak, warned in a televised speech Wednesday night that the planned demonstrations may result in violence.

While the authorities presumably welcomed Archbishop Glemp's appeal for calm, his call for Walesa's release and other concessions may strike a less-sympathetic chord.

Archbishop Glemp also asked for freedom for more than 600 other internees, amnesty for those convicted of martial-law offenses, reactivation of the suspended trade unions, and a firm commitment to a date for a visit by Pope John Paul II.

It was the toughest line in months the primate has taken publicly against martial law, and it came amid growing criticism of him for what has been seen as his softness toward the regime.

Glemp spoke from an outdoor altar at the ancient Jasna Gora (Bright Mountain) Monastery here, Poland's most sacred religious shrine. A crowd estimated at 300,000 to 400,000, had assembled to mark the 600th anniversary of the cloister and an icon known as the Black Madonna of Czestochowa.

There had been plans for John Paul to visit here for the celebration, but the authorities said conditions were not right for it at present.

The Pope's picture was everywhere. A giant portrait hung from the monastery wall and another was centered in a heart made of red roses that stood behind the archbishop as he spoke.

A papal throne stood conspicuously to one side of the outdoor altar, empty except for a bouquet of yellow roses on the seat.

In a message read to the crowd, the Pope said that "a state can only be strong if it has social support. It cannot turn against the society, but must gain society's confidence."

Archbishop Glemp, in his sermon, dwelt on the people's anger over martial law.

"We will not list all the grievances we have suffered," he said. "We all know them."

He cautioned, however, that "anger is a poor adviser."

"On the coast two years ago a great thing transpired," he said, referring to Solidarity's creation, "a victory of

reason, maturity, wisdom and peace. It was a victory achieved not at street barricades but at a table of dialogue."

He said there was still hope for "reconciliation and agreement" despite martial law, but urged that Poles "finally learn something from history," which, he said, shows that past Polish uprisings have brought "annihilation, depression and destruction."

"Think seriously about the table of dialogue. The church has been continuously calling for this and asking for this. And the response [from the authorities] is that there aren't the proper conditions. Let us then start creating the conditions."

Archbishop Glemp said of his proposals, "I think they are feasible."

"First, free Lech Walesa, or at least ensure conditions so that he can speak freely for himself," he said. The crowd, ignoring his request that he not be interrupted, burst into sustained applause. There was more applause when he called for the authorities to "finally set the date for the Pope's visit."

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