

Solidarity's information drive gets fuel from U.S.

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WASHINGTON—The U.S. government has joined Polish emigres in a major effort to help Solidarity and the Polish underground smuggle publications, printing machinery, radio equipment and video-cassettes into Poland.

The publications include thousands of books and journals highly critical of the communist system and the Polish leader, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In addition, over the last three years, the United States has provided more than \$5 million in cash assistance to Solidarity and other groups opposed to the Warsaw government.

Poland has a huge underground publication network, much of it supported by the United States, though U.S. officials say the demand for such publications in Poland far exceeds the supply.

Some of the money is openly appropriated by Congress. Some is provided through the National Endowment for Democracy, a private, nonprofit corporation that receives almost all its funds from the federal government and seeks to encourage democratic institutions around the world. The endowment consults with the State Department on all grants.

Some of the support is channeled surreptitiously through Polish emigre groups in Paris, in Brussels and in Lund, Sweden, where Jozef Lebenbaum's Independent Polish Agency has organized dozens of shipments by truck into Poland.

The fact of U.S. support for Solidarity has been known, in general terms, for a few years, but a more complete picture emerged in recent weeks from an examination of government documents and interviews with U.S. officials and Polish emigres.

The Polish authorities are aware of the activity but have been unable to stop it.

They have intercepted a few trucks carrying books, printing presses, cameras and smoke grenades to the underground. They occasionally arrest people who print or distribute forbidden literature and confiscate their equipment. But U.S. officials say 500 to 600 periodicals are still being printed underground.

Lt. Col. Wieslaw Gornicki, a political adviser to Jaruzelski, charged in May that Lech Walesa, founder of the banned labor union Solidarity, was being paid \$1 million a year by the U.S. government.

Congress appropriated \$1 million for Solidarity in July last year and another \$1 million in December. The public nature of the grants was unusual; in the past, much of the U.S. support for opposition groups in communist countries was sent secretly by the CIA.

But Solidarity supporters say the

assistance is, in some ways, more effective if it is given openly because they are less vulnerable to charges of being tools of Western intelligence services.

Lebenbaum, the international coordinator for the Conference of Solidarity Support Organizations, uses a network of couriers and drivers to carry books, printing presses, ink, video equipment, photographic equipment, microfiches and microfiche readers, radios and electronic equipment to opposition groups in Poland.

In an interview in Washington, he said he had sent 32 shipments weighing a total of nearly 10,000 pounds in the last year.

His agency received grants of \$42,000 this year and an equal amount last year from the National Endowment for Democracy.

Peter Mroczyk, president of the Solidarity Endowment, which tries to cultivate support for Solidarity in the United States, said his group had arranged for the purchase of more than 20 offset printing presses and for their delivery to independent publishing houses in Poland.

In addition, he said, "We have provided transmitters and other broadcasting equipment to be used by Radio Solidarity," the clandestine stations run by Solidarity members throughout Poland.

Lebenbaum said his organization had also sent in electronic equipment that Solidarity members used to scan police radio frequencies and to communicate among themselves when they were surrounded by the police or when telephone lines were cut.

Ted Kontek, a founder of the Friends of Solidarity, in Washington, said Poland's underground press and publication network "has forced the government-controlled media to provide more accurate and objective information to the Polish people." In addition, he said, "The regime is aware that whatever it tries to hide from the people will eventually be revealed in the Solidarity press."

Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy, said the United States was supporting efforts by Polish opposition groups to build their own society, not controlled by the state but embracing all aspects of civil life: publishing, education, science, the arts, film and radio. This is sometimes called a second or alternative society.

Funds from the endowment, channeled through the Free Trade Union Institute, an arm of the AFL-CIO, have been used to pay for the legal defense of Solidarity members and to pay fines imposed on them for publishing without permission from the Polish government.