

# Solidarność

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One Dollar

## A Life Free From Poverty, Exploitation, Fear, and Lies

In September, ten months after the Supreme Court had officially registered the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity, the ten-million-member union held the first free national congress of workers in a Soviet-bloc country. The Congress, held in Gdansk, adopted the following declaration of principles. —Ed. note

The ultimate goal of Solidarity is to create dignified conditions of life in an economically and politically sovereign Poland. By this we mean a life free from poverty, exploitation, fear and lies, in a democratically and legally organized society.

Today the nation requires:

- 1) Improved food supplies through the establishment of control over production, distribution and prices, in cooperation with the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Individual Farmers, Rural Solidarity.
- 2) Economic reform through the creation of authentic workers' self-governing bodies, liquidation of the party nomenclature, and the introduction of effective economic mechanisms.
- 3) Truth through the public control of the mass media and the eradication of mendacity as a practice in Polish schools and culture.
- 4) Democracy through free elections to the Parliament and People's Councils.
- 5) Justice through the safeguarding of every citizen's equality in the eyes of the law, the release of political prisoners, and the full defense of those persecuted for political, and trade union activities, or for publishing independent texts.
- 6) Salvaging the imperiled health of the nation through the protection of the environment, increased health service expenditures, and safeguarding the social rights of the handicapped.

7) The production of enough coal for the populace and for industry by ensuring the miners' proper living and working conditions.

We shall attain these goals with an atmosphere of unity and solidarity among our members. Actions of those forces that create feelings of external threat will not destroy our determination to fight for the ideals of August 1980 and for the implementation of the agreements made at Gdansk, Szczecin, and Jastrzebie.

*Courtesy of the Information Centre for Polish Affairs, London*

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# Solidarność

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The *Solidarity Bulletin* is a joint project of the Polish Workers Task Force, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the Poland Watch Center. In it we publish articles and information from the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity.

The *Solidarity Bulletin* came about in response to the lack of detailed reporting and general lack of information about the developments of the first free trade union in a Soviet-bloc nation. We seek to inform our readers about Solidarity's activities, the problems facing the union and its members, its relations with the government, and the tendencies within the union's elected leadership. All notes, headlines, and choices of articles from Solidarity's press are solely the responsibility of the editor.

The *Solidarity Bulletin* does not serve to support any specific faction or set of positions within Solidarity. Instead it aims to gain support among Americans for the largest movement for freedom in the world today.

The Polish Workers Task Force, established last January by the AFL-CIO youth support group Frontlash, raises money and gains broad-based support for the Solidarity movement. Concentrating its activities among students and academics, the Task Force also works with trade unions, Polish-American and emigre organizations, and human rights groups. It has raised over \$50,000 through the sale of T-shirts and buttons, the proceeds going to the AFL-CIO Polish Workers Aid Fund to buy basic equipment and supplies that Solidarity needs.

The League for Industrial Democracy, established in 1905, is dedicated to the advancement of trade union, civil, and human rights both in America and abroad. In addition to conducting conferences and seminars, publishing pamphlets and books, and offering assistance to free trade union movements around the world, the LID is soon to begin a journal of information and analysis entitled *Workers Under Communism*.

The Poland Watch Center monitors information coming out of Poland from the Solidarity press and from uncensored, independent publications in Poland. It currently has an exhibit of independent publications in Poland since 1976 at the Archives of Widener Library, Harvard University. For more information, write to Tadeusz Walendowski at 5018 North Fourth Street, Arlington, Virginia 22203.

## "Solidarity Forever"

On behalf of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee, Lech Walesa invited President Lane Kirkland and an AFL-CIO delegation to the union's first National Congress.

The day before the Americans were to leave, they were informed that the Polish government would not grant them visas. Below is the text of the speech Lane Kirkland had prepared and intended to deliver to the Solidarity Congress in person. The speech was read by a Solidarity delegate and received several ovations.

—Ed. note

I am honored to stand before this assembly of brave men and women, and to express to you the warm fraternal greetings and deep admiration of your fifteen million brothers and sisters in the AFL-CIO.

You have not only brought "renewal" to Poland. You have renewed the spirit of workers throughout the world.

You have transformed the word "Solidarity" from a slogan to a living moral force that has galvanized the universal cause of free and independent trade unionism.

From the window of my office, I can look out over Lafayette Park, in front of the White House. There stands a statue of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who fought in the American Revolution—a revolution for democracy and independence, a revolution against colonialism and foreign domination.

Inscribed on that statue are these words: "And freedom shrieked as Kosciuszko fell." Freedom does not shriek today. It smiles on the land of Solidarity.

American labor owes a special debt to the workers of Poland, a debt incurred long before the American Revolution. The first strike in my country was conducted by Polish glassblowers in 1619, near Jamestown, Virginia. They struck for the right to vote in the election of the first American legislative assembly, where representation was decreed limited to "those of English stock." Their strike, 352 years ago, was successful. They won the right to vote, with far-reaching implications for the development of democracy in the New World.

Polish workers continue to teach the world.

For all who believe in peaceful relations among states, there is no task more urgent than unlinking human rights and freedom from the question of who owns the means of production.

Freedom of association, of assembly, and of expression are the indispensable means by which the people of each nation can decide for themselves which forms of social and economic organization are most appropriate to their needs, their traditions, and their aspirations.

Respect for workers' rights does not automatically flow from any economic system. It humanizes all economic systems. To the extent that this principle is reflected in the conduct of government, doors will open on broader avenues to peace, to normal intercourse among nations, and to more just allocations of resources.

The delegates to this Congress confront many difficult, even momentous questions. The AFL-CIO would not presume to advise you on the direction you should take. You alone understand the needs of Poland's workers. You alone are their authentic voice.

Let Poland's history be made by Poles.

To Solidarity, to the workers of Poland, we pledge—in the words of an old American labor song—solidarity forever.

## An Attempt at "Demolition"

One year after the general strikes that gave rise to Solidarity, a new grassroots movement developed as a result of the arbitrary food price increases, food shortages, and recurring instances of mismanagement of food distribution. Solidarity regions organized the scattered protests into targeted demonstrations. The Warsaw Region organized an official demonstration and motorcade that was to end in front of Party headquarters. While proceeding up the main thoroughfare leading to the Central Committee's offices, the demonstrators were stopped by the militia. This action resulted in a fifty-hour prolongation of the protest, which blocked Warsaw's main intersections.

Negotiations between the government and Solidarity had been at an impasse for some time. On August 2, the government responded to the new set of demonstrations by calling for the resumption of negotiations. During the ensuing period, Solidarity made efforts to moderate the protest actions, and in many regions they ceased.

The following article is an excerpted account of the resumption of talks, written by two members of the Solidarity delegation. It appeared in the August 14, 1981 issue of the national *Solidarity Weekly* paper.

—Ed. note

**A SURPRISING GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE ANNOUNCES THAT SOLIDARITY BREAKS OFF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT. SOME ASSERT THAT BOTH SIDES DECLARED WAR ON EACH OTHER.**

**WHAT HAPPENED AT THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS?**

by Jan Dworak and Jacek Zakowski

The affair began on Sunday, August 2. It then appeared that the talks between Solidarity and the government would finally take place. Walesa, who a week before had gone away for a rest, returned for the negotiations.

On that Sunday the Council of Ministers received a response from Solidarity concerning the beginning of the talks. Solidarity put forward only one condition: that regardless of the outcome of the talks, upon their completion, the government must allow a communique by Solidarity in the mass media.

When we drove to the Ministry, the city looked besieged. The streets were blue with the uniforms of the militia unit blocking the entrance to the government district. We ran into a column of cab drivers protesting food shortages and prices. After a while, our car was able to squeeze through the motorcade.

The talks took place in a small room of the large Council of Minister's Office. When our delegation arrived there were six ministers, including Vice-Premier M. Rakowski, and their advisors.

Each side stated its positions for several hours. In each side's statements, there were accusations of not fulfilling agreed-upon obligations, of blocking constructive actions, fomenting tensions, and blocking reforms. Then each side was to put forward its program for resolving the stalemate in negotiations.



Police block off street during the food protest in Warsaw.

Solidarity's demands were outlined in seven points. After the presentation of Solidarity's seven point program, the talks adjourned for two days.

### THE SEVEN POINT PROGRAM OF SOLIDARITY

1. Return to the agreed-upon version of the bill concerning labor unions.
2. Legally authorize Solidarity to establish a commission on the control of food distribution.
3. Establish a government office dealing with the food shortages.
4. Inform Solidarity about the possibility of importing meat in order to return to the level of meat rations agreed to in earlier negotiations.
5. End the government's press campaign against Solidarity's proposals on workers self-management.
6. Link the food price increases with a sweeping economic reform, preceded by nationwide debate.
7. Guarantee access to the mass media for Solidarity.

On Thursday morning the Solidarity leadership met, quiet having returned to the streets. The day before, the demonstration of bus and trolley drivers in the center of Warsaw, who were protesting food shortages and prices, had ended. Later that same day talks resumed between the government and Solidarity, this time lasting thirteen hours.

Vice Premier Chodowski, in a one-hour speech, described a catastrophic economic situation. He said that the government had given him three tasks to accomplish: to assure a minimum food level; to assure enough food

Continued on next page

## An Attempt at "Demolition"

Continued from preceding page

for apartments during the winter; and to assure a minimum amount of industrial products for the market. Each of these tasks, in recent times, had been very difficult to achieve. But all of them had to be achieved. The Vice Premier indicated that he expected and counted on the cooperation of Solidarity.

After Obodowski's presentation, Minister Lakomic, in another long speech, outlined the situation with respect to shortages and the high price of food. He indicated that the government did not expect any possibility of returning to earlier levels of meat rations before the fourth quarter of this year.

Finally the discussion began, lasting several hours. Without hesitation, it may safely be said that the talks opened a new chapter in the government's relations with Solidarity. The discussion revolved around the issue of Solidarity's authorization over the control of food production and food distribution.

The union representatives explained that the Solidarity commissions for food distribution had to be formed in order to convince the nation of the government's data on food supplies. One Solidarity representative pointed out, "There can be many types of food commissions, but the nation will only believe a Solidarity commission. In this way, Solidarity wishes to help the government to assure the minimum level of food supplies."

Vice Premier Rakowski presented the government's response:

"If I understood correctly, Solidarity proposes to form its own commission for controlling food supplies. I wonder what your motives are. I put your postulate in the context of the most recent events. Solidarity organized a series of demonstrations and strikes; and for the first time they failed. Public opinion was split on whether or not the demonstrations and strikes were necessary. Now, Solidarity shows up at these negotiations with these demands in order to tell the society that you gained something as a result of your strikes.

"Now, let me make a political observation. Those who control the distribution and production of food hold power. Mr. Kosmowski [a Solidarity delegate] told us that you want access everywhere—from the producer to the consumer. It is easy to see the real intentions behind such desires. It is a program for seizing power. I declare to you that we do not accept this program, because neither of us would last more than a few days if it were adopted. You may participate instead in a coalition commission on the food situation. Besides, it is necessary for you to control the theft of the deliveries, mostly your members. It is up to us to stop playing this sham and to note the differences in our views."

Then, the government opened the third part of the talks, during which it presented a thirteen-point program aimed at Solidarity. Especially evident were the political attacks on Solidarity, among them the warning against creating a political party, and the reproach for Solidarity's concern over political prisoners.

The reading of the thirteen points cooled the atmosphere of the talks. At that moment there was complete silence. Finally, Lesz Walenski declared, speaking deliberately: "It is an intentional demolition of Solidarity. Stop by stop, inch by inch. I wasn't sure at first what was going

## THE THIRTEEN POINTS OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT

1. Declare an end to strikes in periods of deep economic crisis, spread proper relations to work, and support the fight against demoralization.
2. Support the government's price increases.
3. Take part in the fight against the black market.
4. Speed up the work on the formulation of opinions on economic reforms, so that they can be enacted by January 1, 1982.
5. Support the government's actions on the increase of coal production.
6. Take part in the harvest and help to fully utilize the agricultural product.
7. Cease the spread of false information about alleged government sabotage of economic reforms.
8. Cease all political action.
9. Cease the unilateral campaign for bills concerning self-management of the workplace.
10. Condemn marches in defense of political prisoners.
11. Stop casting doubts upon the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party and about Poland's foreign alliances.
12. Stop attempting to create a new political party on the basis of Solidarity.
13. Clarify the union's foreign political activities and some of the public statements made by Solidarity activists during trips abroad.

on, but now that I have heard these points, it is clear."

Nevertheless, to avoid the appearance that the talks had been broken off, and in order not to increase national tensions, Solidarity decided to release a short communique about the negotiations and to call a meeting of the union's leadership. Delegates of the government were invited to attend the meeting. We certainly would not have invited such representatives if we had broken off negotiations.

When the Solidarity delegation returned to the negotiating room, Andrzej Celinski, Secretary of the KKP, read the communique. Again there was silence.

This time, Rakowski spoke. "It is not a joint communique. I will not sign it because I did not write it. Even so, you may publish it. I understand. The joint communique proposed earlier was accepted but General Jaruzelski and I made some corrections in it, keeping in mind state interests as we understand them. Good night."

Vice Premier Rakowski stood up to leave. Zbigniew Bajak, Chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw Region, also rose in order to protest against the house search of W. Kocik, which had taken place during the negotiations.

The Vice Premier interrupted his speech and said that he would not listen to any further protests. But, he said, he knew what was going on and he wanted to show the delegates what books had been seized at Kocik's home. He led everyone to a room where piles of books lay on the tables. "I wonder where you get the paper. Goodbye."

The next morning we learned, with great surprise, that according to the mass media, Solidarity had broken off negotiations.

Translated by Jeffrey Goldfarb

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

# Solidarity Congress Resolutions

## Free Access to Mass Media

Our union fights for the full implementation of the point in the Gdansk Agreements that clearly states that access to the mass media is an indispensable means of contact between the leadership of the union and the membership, and thus a condition for the proper functioning of the union. This agreement justifies the application of the most effective means of pressure to achieve this end. Solidarity members in radio and television are prepared to support the efforts of the National Coordinating Committee (KKP) in this respect through protest actions.

In response, the government in its resolution Number 185/81 has threatened heavy reprisals against persons taking part in such actions. This resolution goes against already agreed upon points. The First National Congress of Solidarity calls upon the governments to reconsider the matter and revoke resolution No. 185/81. The Congress moreover calls upon the government to resume talks on the implementation of point three of the Gdansk Agreements, and to hold them with a careful consideration for the social peace, which is of the utmost importance in these tense conditions caused by the bankruptcy of the present economic policy.

## Message to Workers of Eastern Europe

Delegates of the independent and self-governing trade union Solidarity, assembled at their first congress in Gdansk, send the workers of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Rumania, and all peoples of the Soviet Union words of greeting and support. As the first independent trade union in our post-war history, we are deeply aware of the community of our fate. We assure you that, regardless of the lies being spread in your countries, we are the authentic representative of ten million workers, the emergence of which resulted from workers' strikes. We support all of you who have decided to take this difficult road and struggle for free trade unions. We believe that soon your representatives and our representatives will be able to meet and exchange common union experiences.

### Makeup of delegates to the First National Congress of Solidarity

Region	Delegates	Social Background of Delegates		
		workers/peasants/intellectuals		
Silesia	106	60%	20%	20%
Lower Silesia	91	64%	16%	20%
Warsaw (Mazowsze)	92	27%	15%	58%
Crakow (Malepolska)	66	47%	17%	36%
Gdansk	53	46%	19%	35%
Middle-size regions	263	51%	24%	25%
Small-size regions	225	58%	16%	26%

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN



Delegates assemble at the first Solidarity Congress.

## "We Can Only Dream"

Several attempts have been made in recent years to let free trade unions in the Soviet Union, all of which have met with swift repression, arrests, and detentions in psychiatric hospitals for their members and leaders. The Founding Committee of Soviet Free Trade Unions sent the following internal message to the Solidarity Congress. —Ed. note

Greetings to the First National Congress of Solidarity from a country where the working class has never had independent trade unions that could tenaciously defend its interests. We can only dream of the amazing achievements of the Polish proletariat. Our own workers' movement has only just begun, but in the present state of events and ideas, a little spark is enough to make it break out into a big flame that will wipe out those who so mercilessly exploit the Russian people.

The struggle for the rights of ordinary people in Poland is also our fight. Everything you do to bring about the death of mendacity and hypocrisy, to satisfy the elementary needs of workers, weakens our exploiters' regime too. Poland will not be free as long as the USSR is not free. Only democratic changes on this side of the Bug river will make it possible for us and for you to build a free and flourishing country.

How very much we need a free Soviet workers' movement! How much we would like to give you our unconditional support! But the day will come, we firmly believe, that Polish and Russian workers will go arm in arm to meet democracy and progress. Today Solidarity is a signpost to us. At the cost of persecution, blood, and suffering, the Polish workers have broken the shackles of the regime's official trade unions. In view of your Congress, we Russian workers and members of the intelligentsia, though there are still only a few of us, solemnly vow to do in our motherland everything possible to help you, to spread the truth about you, to expose lies, and to defend you by all possible means.

Courtesy of the Information Centre for Polish Affairs in London.

# What Shall Solidarity Do Now?

## The Union Holds Debate Over Solutions to the National Crisis

In late July Solidarity's national body, the National Coordinating Committee (KKP), which is made up of over 100 elected representatives from the union's regional bodies, organized a general debate on the situation in the country and within the union. The debate centers around the national unrest over the economic crisis and over the continued mismanagement by the authorities.

This unique discussion by the KKP reveals the variety of opinions and the different perspectives within Solidarity itself on the nature of the free trade union.

In accordance with the wishes of the KKP, the full debate was produced in the *Solidarity Weekly* newspaper, from which we excerpt it here. —Ed. note

### ANDRZEJ CELINSKI

Secretary of the National Coordinating Committee (KKP)  
Gdansk

It seems that each of our successive crises with the government, all resolved by compromise, has progressively weakened our labor union. The Warsaw agreement in March gained the most for the union.<sup>1</sup> But I can also say with four months' hindsight that this crisis and the compromise we reached hurt us the most. Without doubt, society has lost patience with our compromises, and demands instead a resolute and systematic search for answers to the country's deteriorating economic situation.

By using the words "resolute and systematic," I mean to criticize how the union has abandoned one issue after another only half-finished. The union as a whole, including its entire leadership, has been mobilized to face certain crucial problems, but as soon as a new issue arises work is simply dropped on the previous problem, no matter how incompletely resolved. It is a shame that in a union of ten million members every matter must be attended to by all. All of us concern ourselves with the union's foreign relations, with the question of printing equipment, with free Saturdays, etc. This is plainly our handicap.

There is no need to mince words here, so I will turn to the most fundamental matter of all: the utter collapse of the basic organizational structure in Polish society,

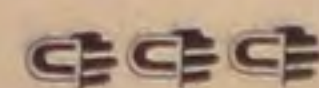
1. In March a national crisis arose over the use of violence by the Bydgoszcz police to break up a protest of Solidarity and representatives of Rural Solidarity, still not recognized by the authorities.

In response to the Bydgoszcz event and to the continued intransigence of the government over several issues, the union conducted a four-hour warning strike of four million workers and threatened a general strike. After heated debate within the union's leadership and with the government, Solidarity agreed to a compromise on its five demands, wherein the government agreed to prosecute those responsible for the attacks at Bydgoszcz, allow the registration of Rural Solidarity, and give Solidarity access to the mass media.

2. The term "expert" is used for a small group of advisors to the KKP who help to formulate the union's positions on various issues. The KKP invited a number of experts to participate in the debate.

its system of economic administration. This system is, simply put, falling apart. At the same time, the network of local governments is crumbling to a lesser degree, while the whole party structure is well on its way to collapse.

In my opinion, Solidarity lacks the organizational structure to fill the social vacuum created by the dissolution of these economic and political institutions. And I do not think that society can survive without some sort of internal organizational structure, without some program around which to organize itself. Neither the government nor Solidarity have yet presented such a program. I am convinced that this is the gravest danger facing us today. Although on the surface we seem to be in agreement, we are in reality falling apart.



### JACEK KURON

expert, Warsaw<sup>2</sup>

In my opinion, the totalitarian system of wielding power in Poland has ceased functioning. Of course, the Central Committee, Political Bureau members, and the government remain the same, but they are not functioning and cannot do so. I differ here from my colleagues because I stress the fact that the leaders are powerless: It is not that they do not want to exercise power, they simply can not.

The Party leadership has no way of working out a program with society. Previously, the government did not cooperate with society either. Nevertheless, it ruled through its monopoly of organization, information, and decision-making. We broke those three monopolies. Consequently, the system of executing power broke down as well. For that reason, the word *revolution* accurately describes our situation. This is a revolution which abolished the old order. But what then? Nothing else happened. We find ourselves in the dramatic situation of having overthrown the existing order without having made the slightest attempt to create a new one. We are thus living in a social wasteland: the economy and various institutions of social life are fast degenerating. And there is as yet no power capable of changing this state of affairs.

Why? In the past, revolutions were started for the sake of seizing power. After the abolition of the old order, the revolutionary leadership assumed the reins of the state. Immediately. Whether this was to the benefit or the detriment of the state and society I will not go into here. It is enough to state that this was the way it happened.

Many people think that since neither Solidarity nor anyone else can bring about the rehabilitation of the system, we should form a party to do so. I will speak to this question in a moment but here I would like to point out that this definition of the situation is the most dramatic and most fundamental statement of the problem, because our ship, the system, is sinking.

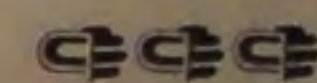
If we want to continue seeing ourselves as merely a trade union (which is what the government wants us

to do), we must remember what Zbigniew Bujak [chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw Region] said during the Warsaw conference. He pointed out that "if we are a trade union only, we are a trade union of sailors on a sinking ship." What should this union be doing? Fighting for shorter working hours? Demanding a bigger paycheck at the home port, if we make it that far? We can not ask for increased rations, because there is only so much to go around. We can only make sure that everybody gets an equal share, but it is foolish to concentrate on equal distribution while the whole ship is going down in the meantime. The question of equal distribution is distant from the basic problems facing Poland.

To my mind, the most important issue is whether or not we should limit ourselves. Should this revolution limit itself? My general position is that if we do anything that the leaders of the USSR read as a direct threat, they will invade. I have no doubts about this. Therefore, I believe that this revolution should consciously limit itself so as to avoid this danger. After that, any discussions about whether they invade or not are pure guesswork. Unfortunately, there is only one way to get a definite answer; and we cannot risk this path.

There is now the idea to form a political party that would struggle for free elections and prepare an electoral program. I do not believe we should embark on this venture for the reason I mentioned above, that is, self-limitation. We should also avoid such conflicts because in the present highly charged situation in Poland, the issue of free elections would put off the undertaking of more pressing and necessary solutions to our problems.

What then should we do? Since Solidarity cannot organize a new system itself, which would have to be organized by the whole society, we must build a new governing organization. It should not be a party but a movement of workers' self-management, which would rule over the overall economy, the regions' economic administration, and individual enterprises. The primary goal, then, ought to be self-management, whose program would be to save the country from its current crisis.

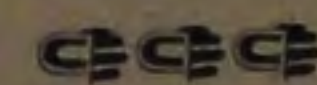


### JERZY MILEWSKI

Secretary of the Network of leading enterprises in Poland<sup>3</sup>

I should like to restate the Network's proposals to the National Coordinating Committee.

While the Network remains based on the fundamental Solidarity structure, i.e., the factory-wide commissions, it should assume the status of an instrument of the KKP. As such, it should seek to organize efforts to formulate a unified program for economic reform on behalf of the KKP. The Network also proposes that the union make high-level contacts with the Independent Farmers' Union, in order to encourage it to cooperate with the Network.



### MIECZYSLAW GIL

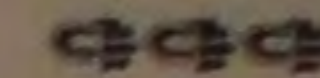
Chairman of the Solidarity Commission at the Lenin Shipyards Crakow

People were afraid of the proposals for self-management because we had some bad experiences with it in the 1940's. Then there were the attempts at workers' councils in 1956, and after that the so-called Conferences of Workers' Self Management.<sup>4</sup>

What kind of self-government should we promote, then? We answer that it must be authentic, and therefore, in our proposal workers themselves would nominate and recall managers and help formulate the production and development plans of individual enterprises.

In order to clearly describe how self-management would work in practice, we should begin a full-fledged information and publicity campaign.

Above all we must confront the government's plan for self-management. As we are all well aware, this plan has been submitted to the Sejm and will be considered shortly. Regardless of our other present commitments, we must take a stand against their proposals.<sup>5</sup>



### GRZEGORZ PALKA

Deputy Chairman of the Regional Executive Committee, Ledz

If the economic situation allows us three or four months of peace and quiet, we have a chance for success. However, a danger exists that public discontent may grow to such proportions that convention protest actions, such as demonstrations or strikes, will not be satisfactory to the people. Organs of self-management, which would be able to carry out these actions further, will not yet exist. Then we will enter a dangerous period, when self-managing councils will not exist but when the union will continue in its popular and accepted role, not taking direct responsibility for economic administration.

We need to have an idea what emergency measures should be taken if such a situation arises. During our last regional executive committee meeting, we discussed the hastening of self-management. We called for "a direct strike action." It caused a lot of controversy because it called for the continuation of production and distribution under the supervision of strike committees.

We may decide to go on strike for more food, but

3. The Network, officially called the Network of Leading Individual Enterprises in Poland, is an ad hoc committee made up of activists from the country's 14,999 largest factories and enterprises. It holds meetings and conferences in order to develop a consensus on a national economic program for Solidarity and to make legislative proposals for workers' self-management.

4. In 1956 a small nationwide movement of workers and intellectuals attempted to set up genuine workers' councils in factories and enterprises. These councils met with only mixed success, even though they were tolerated by the Party. In 1958 the Party replaced the councils and instituted the "Conferences on Workers' Self-Management," which were dominated by Party and official trade union representatives.

5. The government proposal under discussion called for the Ministries to retain ultimate control of the enterprise, implementing the central plans through a joint commission to establish a given "nationalized enterprise." The general manager was to remain accountable to this commission, dominated by the Ministry but also including workers' representatives. The commission was to arbitrate all conflicts between management and the advisory powers of the workers' council.

Under the network program, the commission would "wither away" after its founding work was done. The functions given to the commission in the government proposal would instead be entrusted to the workers' council. The Ministries, according to the Network plan, would retain control of the general economy through the central bank, taxation, export and import decisions, coordination of relations between enterprises in various sectors, and establishment of new enterprises.

the government will have no food to give us. What then? A few days into a strike, the question will arise, "What next?" There will be no food to win because the government will not have any. To continue the strike would make no sense at all since it would mean self-induced starvation. On the other hand, to call off the strike would be a total defeat for the union. This type of situation would require a different approach.

This is why I suggest that we should work out the technical details of an emergency "direct strike action." We need to know what to do if after two days of a general strike, the government has nothing to give us.

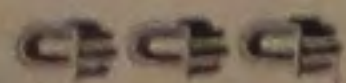


#### ANDRZEJ GWIAZDA

Deputy Chairman of the KKP, member of the Regional Executive Committee, Gdansk

Here we have to clearly understand what lies within our proper field of action, because in many of our appearances and speeches, our good intentions and long-term goals become confused with what actually lies within our jurisdiction. We have to realize that Solidarity as a union, or a movement—whatever you want to call it—has a specific field of action. That activity is limited to that which can actually be accomplished. As yet we cannot effect changes either in regard to the proposal for self-management or for the economic reform. But as a union we can influence the attitude of society. For example, the union can approve a particular form of electing self-managing councils in factories. I think we should be doing this now.

Most people in our country today want work crews to take full control over the economic planning of the factory. Opinions may vary, however, on the supervisory role of workers' councils. Questions arise over whether or not we can accept an appointed general manager, whether we can fire him, or whether he should be chosen in open elections. But these are not very significant questions. In all proposals, the power exercised by councils of self-management will be decisive. We have to realize that these will not be advisory bodies, as the government intends in its initial plan for "socialized enterprises." Workers' councils will not merely gain the power of veto over the managers' unpopular decision; they will have a significant voice in the enterprise's functions.



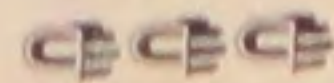
#### ZBIGNIEW BUJAK

Member of the presidium of the KKP  
Chairman of the Regional Executive Committee, Warsaw

We must realize that pressures on the union to solve every social problem, from beginning to end, have nothing to do with democracy in society at large, regardless of the union's extreme internal democracy. This pressure is nothing more than a simple reflection of the party's total monopolization and centralization of all forms of activity in the last thirty years. At the present time, when specific suggestions are made to the union, such as the Network's proposals, we do not have to take them all under the union's umbrella. The Network may come up with ten proposals, two of which may appeal to us and gain our support. We will probably not accept the other eight, among them the recommendation to form a political party. This should be the way the union interacts

with newly created social organizations, not with total acceptance.

As to the creation of workers' councils for self-management, I would point out that KOR did not register with city government; it simply came to exist. Similarly, our union did not first struggle for registration; it simply arose from the strikes. The workers' self-governments are not waiting for statutory permission either; they are now simply beginning to meet.



#### JAN RULEWSKI

Member of the presidium of the KKP<sup>6</sup>  
Chairman of the Regional Executive Committee, Bydgoszcz

I have the impression that it is 1917 and I am at rallies in Moscow and Petersburg where Lenin is appealing to workers' and soldiers' councils. As he did, we are taking power. We are finally fulfilling the slogans for which mankind has been waiting.

But it is 64 years later, and we stopped at one place along the way in 1956, when we saw the formation of authentic workers' councils in Poland. I can tell you this not only from the autopsies available but also from the accounts of people who formed those councils and who somehow managed to keep them in existence for as long as twelve to eighteen months. They even described them as genuine workers' councils. They didn't have any Party members.

They also said that they had wide ranging powers: nomination and discharging of managers, raising salaries and premiums, whatever they wanted. *Those 1956 workers' councils did not last.* Not because Moscow forbade them, or because Gomulka sent in the police. Not one person was beaten for defending the principle of self-management in 1956 or 1958. Yet the workers' councils did not last. One worker said that they fell apart because of the nature of working people. Workers are not people who strive to lead. They are condemned to work; their dignity is in the marketplace, where their work is judged by the value of the products they produce. Thus, workers' protests are never based on pseudo-social, pink or red ideas of attaining power but almost always simply on social inequalities.

Let us also bear in mind Yugoslavia—pointed to as an example of a real self-managed economy. I have talked to a few Yugoslavs, too. One said that he had been elected to self-governing councils from time to time for the past twenty years, but he still does not understand what they do. The achievements of the Yugoslav economy, much greater than our own, are based not on so-called self-management but on political and economic independence. This independence allowed Yugoslavia to expel, during one period of time, two million people to work in the West. It also makes it possible for Yugoslavia to re-absorb these people in its economy on better terms. The determining factor in the Yugoslav success is this independence rather than self-management.

Although we are forced to form self-managing councils on the basis of the workers themselves, these councils will be led above all by professionals. Unfortunately, economic administration does require professional ex-

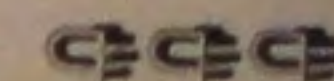
6. The presidium is the smaller acting body of the National Coordinating Committee, which meets between the gatherings of the KKP.

pertise. Workers' apathy will be even greater here than at union meetings, where it is hard to obtain a quorum. A conflict will then arise within the union itself.

Economic administration might force the self-managing councils to take hard immediate actions. For example, because of low productivity or previous mismanagement in airplane production, the workers' council will have to fire several thousand people in the name of the union. That is the kind of economic decision that will have to be made. It does not always coincide with the grand visions of social theory.

We are left with the stark economic situation, far more unyielding than discussions over democracy. We will leave economic matters up to various committees and meetings—besides it is easy to see how it will turn out: Large factories will soon be self-managing pork, sausage, and cigarettes for themselves, without any regard for others.

I am against struggling for self-management today while Solidarity is still between the first and second stops on its trip. I do not believe that we should form the workers' councils today, because we have not yet destroyed the government structures that ultimately determine and subordinate self-management. Self-management at the shipyards or the coal mines will soon find itself faced with the dilemma of trying to prevent the authorities from selling ships or coal too cheaply for export, as they will be forced to do.



#### KAROL MOZELEWSKI

Member of the Presidium, Wroclaw

The metaphor used by Bujak and repeated by Kuron about the labor union of sailors on a sinking ship is incomplete. If a ship is sinking, the sailors generally do not care about a labor union. We are on a ship with a competent labor union and a captain who is paralyzed and cannot speak. . . . In this specific situation the burden of saving the ship falls on the sailors themselves. It seems that there is no other way out of the dilemma: We must be responsible for ourselves. This marks a drastic change in the policies of our union. So, I can well understand Rulewski's extreme anxiety.

Now, Rulewski says that we should not turn our attention to matters of economic reform or self-management because they cannot be solved before settling what he considers the basic question, Poland's full national and state sovereignty. But we cannot continue to refuse all political responsibility for pushing through a program of action—I stress pushing through a program, not taking power. We can hope to emerge from the present crisis only by pushing a program of self-management. Not just through the general economic reforms implied in the program, but also through self-management itself.

However, we would be disloyal to the stance we rightly assumed earlier if we began to govern directly, except in emergency situations, described by our colleague Palka from Lodz. A highly charged situation might arise in which we would be forced into a "direct strike action" as was discussed earlier. With the exception of this situation, we cannot accept responsibility for governing, not even for governing through organs of self-management.

We have constituted ourselves as a social and political opposition movement, which arose in the form of a labor union, and we should maintain this profile to remain true to ourselves. We must not cease to be either

a social and political movement nor a labor union.

In this struggle, it is indispensable that we explain to people that food shortages did not ensue as a result of the August events, but that they reflect the failures of the system before August and that they may be remedied through reforms and the proposals for self-management.

I don't know where Rulewski got the idea that the self-managed workers' councils are a Bolshevik notion. I should like to remind you that the propagandistic arguments dragged out about the Network committee had already been used against Tito for promoting anarcho-syndicalism, "group ownership" as opposed to collective property, and the rest of that malarkey. All this needs to be demystified; we must show how false it really is and make clear that the real problem lies in the political patronage system called "nomenclature." If the enterprise is not in fact to be managed by edicts from central authorities, but rather to freely respond to the true economic situation, then there can be no reason for outside authorities to appoint and dismiss managers. But it is important from the point of view of the party's patronage system, in which the party apparatus appoints its own people to managerial positions. This system of party control is obviously incompatible with professional management of the economy. We have to make this clear to people: only self-management can break the party's hold.

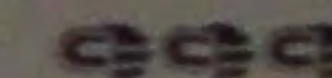


#### JAN WASZKIEWICZ

Member of the presidium, Wroclaw Solidarity

Most revolutions went through an initial stage of self-limitation, after which came its second, bloody stage, usually sparked by hunger demonstrations. Either the union can anticipate and control events that might burst upon us at any moment, or it will fail.

Although I do not think the unrest over hunger is serious yet, unrest does exist throughout Poland. It is important that the union prepare itself, in case of widespread protest, to take charge of food rationing and to prevent the mismanagement of food distribution. This will be unavoidable. No one would forgive us if we failed to take responsibility when mismanagement is causing the food to rot.



#### ANDRZEJ WIELOWIEYSKI

Expert, Warsaw

We are a labor union of a special sort, the only kind that could exist in a Communist country. We are organized on a factory-wide level, across occupational lines. It is open to all, thus possessing sufficient strength in all of society to confront the authorities. We have the power to be aggressive in negotiations and the power to defend ourselves. Because we represent all workers and their families, we must constantly battle the authorities over social policies.

Because we struggle with the authorities, often raising demands not directly related to the factories, we are accused of being a political movement. But these are all actions ratified by the mandate given us by our members' popular support and by our union statutes. Moreover, none of this exceeds our vision of what a labor union should be. In order to exist, we must secure the

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# An Open Letter to the Prime Minister

In January 1981 the Polish government announced that it owed the West \$24 billion in loans and credits. Although this was already widely known, this announcement appears to have been the government's first acknowledgement of it in the mass media. The following are excerpts from an open letter addressed to the Prime Minister, now also the First Secretary of the Party, Wojciech Jaruzelski, concerning the debt, the causes of Poland's indebtedness, and the state of the economy in general. This letter appeared in the September 4 issue of a cultural and informational bulletin published with the authority of the Solidarity Commission at the Gdansk shipyards. It was signed by 1,097 people. —Ed. note

Poland's current economic situation and its debts to Western countries comes as a great surprise to us, its citizens. How can one appeal to the people to work efficiently and productively when such a situation has been allowed to come about?

On the very immediate question of how these debts were incurred, the mass media are vague and generally unenlightening. We learn from an article entitled "Payment Must Be Made" that two-thirds of the loans from the West were used for "material supplies." The article, however, fails to specify the nature and purpose of these "supplies." We also learn from some correspondence from the USSR that appeared in the weekly paper *Polityka* that, during the construction of the Orenberg pipeline, the exchange rate for one ruble was 80-100 zlotys.

In this article "Myth and Reality About Trade With the USSR," its author is bent on convincing us that, without the Soviet Union, Poland would not be able to exist, and that trade with it is to Poland's advantage. On April 22, 1978, it was announced on the radio that Poland had built 200 modern plants in the Soviet Union and that every fifth Soviet ship is of Polish make.

We were able to learn from some televised economic discussions that our traders consider an exchange rate of 150-200 zlotys for one dollar advantageous in their transactions with the West. From some other television programs in recent years, it was revealed that Poland gives economic aid to Third World countries and par-

ticipates in space programs. Government representatives from Vietnam and Cambodia have appeared on television to express their gratitude to our authorities for their aid.

Currently on Polish radio and television, one may hear talk of Poland's helping to build the Chmielnicka nuclear power plant, as well as one in Siberia. Moreover, Huta Katowice, Poland's largest steel mill, was not an investment Poland needed—rather it met the economic needs of the USSR.

From the above-mentioned articles and programs, it can be deduced that Poland buys its building materials and machinery for projects in the USSR in dollars. This would mean that it must trade at an exchange rate of 230-380 zlotys for one ruble. It should also be mentioned that the interest paid by the Soviet Union on the capital used to build its pipelines amounts to 3 percent per annum, whereas in its transactions with the West, Poland must pay 10-15 percent interest.

In view of these economic circumstances, we demand that the government:

- 1) Require the USSR to make payment for all Polish investments in its territories in dollars, not rubles, at the 10-15 percent interest rates charged by the West.
- 2) Make known to the public for what purpose the loans from Western banks were used.
- 3) Withdraw Poland's participation from space programs and economic aid to Third World countries) such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Afghanistan, etc.
- 4) Fix the value of the zloty, so that transactions may be made in standard and exchangeable currency.
- 5) Withdraw from transactions with the Council for Mutual Economic Aid (COMECON) that make payments to Poland only in the form of raw materials and energy.
- 6) Dismiss people in the government who have been found incompetent at contracting and carrying out Poland's foreign transactions.
- 7) Inform the public about the amount and uses of Poland's Gross National Revenue.

—Translated by Agnieszka Kolakowska

## Debate on the National Crisis

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legal and political guarantees necessary for our proper function. Our vision should also guarantee a free flow of information, insure equal protection under the law, offer the possibility for change in social and political institutions, and above all guarantee the right for workers' councils and free elections to local government.



### BRONISLAW GEREMEK

Expert, Warsaw

We face the problem of changes in the legal statutes and we demand as well institutional changes. The question of workers' councils is directly related to these issues. If we concentrated on workers' councils as the only

problem, we would be exposing the Polish economy to the continued spread of anarchy. In our view, however, workers' councils are the means by which the pressure the state for a thorough economic reform, to transform state institutions and the central power apparatus controlling the economy. Without these changes, the state apparatus could turn against us.

There can be no doubt this issue is the principal area of confrontation because it impinges on the state and on the power of people who have for years "owned" the top positions. The self-management issue should indicate to us that state institutions must be transformed. While on the one hand we insist that we do not wish to take power and that we are not a political party, on the other hand we must pose demands in the areas of public affairs and state institutions. This in turn requires that we demand changes in the laws which up till now have restricted society's sovereignty.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

# The Solution to the Economic Crisis

This article is excerpted from a speech given by Stefan Kurowski on August 11 concerning a recent meeting of the National Coordinating Committee. It was printed in the September 13 issue of *Wladomosci Dnia* (*Daily News*), published by the Center for Social Studies, established in October, 1980, which prepares analyses of social and economic policy and offers alternative programs for Solidarity.

Eleven months after the historic agreements, ten months after the official registration of Solidarity, we are in the midst of an economic crisis greater than ever seen in the last one hundred fifty years. After hundreds of hours of negotiations with the government, we still have not reached a degree of trust that can let us believe that the Party will not use treachery and sabotage against us.

The time has come to recognize certain things from this state of affairs. It is time to acknowledge that at the time we negotiated with the government, there was a mistaken conception of the basic agreements in Gdansk.

## Our Errors

First of all, it was a typical mistake of wage earners and their union to believe that increases in salaries would solve our economic problems. This error was made because we assumed that certain principles used in the free market and privately organized economies could be superimposed onto a system of totalitarian state capitalism, which centralizes all production and distribution. Pay increases in this system did not change a thing. The structure of national production and the economic mechanisms used by the state remained the same.

The additional stream of money created by wage increases and increases in welfare redounded on the economy. It left us with the raised volume of paper money, supplied by the National Polish Bank, which could be used only to buy out the remaining goods at steep prices or to raise the prices of black market goods. This was obviously not what we expected.

The ration coupons formulated in the agreements did not work either. We had hoped that the cards would free us from the continual lines. Today we have both the coupons and the queues, and yet a smaller number of goods to buy.

The second major error was a political one. Perhaps not all, but many of us thought that we could separate the activity of the union from any political action. We had hoped that a certain pact of neutrality could be reached with the government, wherein the union's acknowledgement of the Party's leading role in the state would allow the party to accept our sovereignty over certain activities that would belong strictly to us. This illusion was based on the false premise that different aspects of the country's social life could be separated from each other and that the nation's social life itself could be

Professor Stefan Kurowski is one of the few independent economists in Poland, never having taken a position in the official political or social structures of the Polish Communist Party. He is a member of the executive board of the Center for Social Studies.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

completely severed from its political life. We also assumed, falsely, that political affairs could be left to themselves and that it would be possible to close ourselves into the union's activities, as if the economic demands of ten million workers could be separated from political affairs. We mistakenly superimposed onto the Polish situation the social and political relations of non-totalitarian systems.

## The Causes of the Economic Crisis

We must separate the crises of before and after the August agreements, since the crisis of the past year has distinct characteristics and is only partially rooted in the pre-August period.

The major reason for the decline in productivity in the present period is the obdurate insistence by the government in pursuing economic policies without the means to carry them out. Wanting to show that nothing had happened and hoping to keep large segments of the national economy's production and investment at the same level as before last year, the authorities cut production for consumer goods.<sup>1</sup>

## Why We Were Unable to Act

We were not able to change the government's economic policy partly because the union's leadership did not perceive, or did not want to perceive, the severity of the problem, and partly because we did not have the proper levers or institutions to effect change.

This was a result of our political mistakes. The post-August economic policy that caused the present crisis was hardened, because the system of control remained the same (even though the government kept changing hands). Power belongs to that group in society that makes policy.

Beginning with the first accords at Gdansk, we left the formulation of policy outside our realm of activity. If our mistake in August can now be forgiven, we must clearly understand that without political changes no economic changes benefiting the people will take place.

The hunger marches spontaneously organized by the populace after eleven months of Solidarity's existence should be interpreted above all as a condemnation of the union's policies.

## What Self-Management Will Not Do

The locomotive for economic change is now said to be workers' self-management in enterprises. I do not oppose self-management. But when one says that we will not discuss the issue of our economic sovereignty as a whole country, but only discuss the issue of workers controlling the decisions of an enterprise or factory, it is like saying that one must choose between having either one's hands or one's legs, but not both. We have to support the proposal for workers' self-management inside the factories, but we have to accept that it is also necessary to push for significant changes in the national economy.

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1. Two examples of the government's policy are the continuation of military production and the continuation of investment in and for the Soviet Union. —Ed. note

# Workers' Views On Solidarity, The Economy, and the Party

The following article appeared in the July 7 issue of *Wladomosci Dnia* (Daily News), published by the Center for Social Studies in Warsaw, which among other things conducts public opinion surveys, or "probes," for Solidarity.

by Ludwik Dorn

From June 5-20 the Center for Social Studies conducted an opinion poll of Solidarity members in the Warsaw region. It was a random representative survey.

Among other questions, we asked for an evaluation of the changes that have taken place in Poland since August. Out of the twelve changes given, the four cited as most important were:

- the initiation of legal action against those guilty of embezzlement and abusing the law.
- the increase of wages, social security, and pension benefits.
- the improvement of relations between the Church and the government.
- the increase of society's influence and pressure on the government's decisions.

These changes were chosen as the most important by 40 to 55 percent of those polled. In addition, the following were called "highly" important: the prospect for economic reform (39 percent), activating the Parliament (36 percent), and the improvement of information obtained from the mass media (36 percent). On the other hand, only 15 percent of the people chose "the rise of the 'renewal' movement within the Polish Communist Party" as an important change in Poland.

## The Problems Facing Solidarity

When asked about the problems that Solidarity should be concerned about, its members raised two major issues. The first, chosen by 58 percent, is that the union should make sure that the legal system is just and that all citizens are treated equally under the law. The second issue, chosen by 45 percent, is the swift legal action against those guilty of embezzlement and corruption. After that, those polled thought the next most important problem before the union is "shortening the time required to wait for an apartment."

The questionnaire did not include in its answers the improvement of food supplies. However, it is highly probable that union members would consider this problem to be Solidarity's most important task. It must be

*LUDWIK DORN, a 26-year-old sociologist, has been active in the democratic opposition since the mid 1970's. Since October he has directed the union center for surveying public opinion at the Center for Social Studies, and is also on the editorial staff of "Glos," an independent publishing house.*

noted that these issues are not typical union matters, indicating that union members expect their organization to help satisfy basic human needs not directly connected with their work. Moreover, union members assigned equal importance to improving the functioning of different parts of the union structure and to shortening the time for an apartment. Those polled also assigned equal importance to three issues: the struggle for the immediate economic interests of workers (wages, benefits, hours); the democratization of election procedures of the state; and economic reform. It should be noted that union members consider economic and political reform increasingly important while they consider pay raises decreasingly important.

## Economic Reform

We presented our sample of union members a choice between two contrasting views concerning the union's position on economic reform. Forty-four percent thought that Solidarity should concentrate its efforts to achieve reform that would improve the functioning of the economy over a long period of time, even though steep price increases would be necessary. Fifty-five percent considered it more important to achieve reform that would result only in minimal price increases.

As to the matter of the independence of enterprises, 39 percent chose the opinion that Solidarity should fight primarily for a law that would allow workers to elect their management. Fifty percent chose the view that Solidarity should concentrate on the prevention of unemployment resulting from the self-management reform.

## The Method of Government and Free Elections

Forty percent declared that the present system should be totally revamped; 31 percent said that a significant part of the governing structure should be changed. In contrast, 2 percent answered that the system should be wholly retained, while 20 percent said that there should only be moderate changes.

We asked what the position of Solidarity should be regarding elections to the Parliament and the Regional Councils.<sup>1</sup> The answers were:

- Solidarity should start cooperating with the National Unity Front and should propose its own candidates through the Front for Parliament and Regional Councils (9 percent).
- Solidarity should struggle for changes in the elec-

Continued on page 15

1. Regional Councils are the local governing structure in Poland, under the national body, the Sejm. Although they are nominally independent of the Communist Party, the Party actually determines the Councils' policy through its control of appointments to governorships and nominations of Council representatives. All candidates must run under the National Unity Front, which is controlled by the Party.

# Solidarity — A Struggle for Freedom

A CHRONICLE OF EVENTS: JULY 1980—SEPTEMBER 1981

## JULY 1980

Food prices increased. Strikes occur throughout Poland. Many local officials raise wages to resolve demands.

## AUGUST 1980

Strike begins at the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk on August 14. General strikes occur in Szczecin, Warsaw, and other major cities.

Interfactory Strike Committee (MKS) is formed in Gdansk, where over 200 factories are on strike. The MKS negotiates with government authorities.

Twenty-one demands formulated by the MKS.

August 23—Negotiations begin between the MKS, led by Lech Walesa, and the government commission, led by Vice-Premier Jagielski.

August 31—Agreement signed on the 21 demands, allowing for the first time independent and free trade unions, freedom of the press, and other fundamental rights.

## SEPTEMBER 1980

Stanislaw Kania replaces Edward Gierek as the first secretary in a shakedown of the Communist Party.

## OCTOBER

Rail workers in Wroclaw conduct a hunger strike for wage increases.

Court proceedings for the registration of the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity, begin. The provincial court in Warsaw adds a politically binding clause into the union's statutes that affirms the leading role of the Communist Party in the Polish state.

Solidarity appeals to the Supreme Court.

## NOVEMBER

Demonstrations by Solidarity and threats of strikes compel the Party and the Supreme Court to accept the Union's appeal for registration. The clause about the Party is removed from the union statutes.

Solidarity representatives meet the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, after the decision.

Provincial court in Warsaw refuses to register the Independent Self-Governing Union of Individual Farmers (Rural Solidarity). The farmers appeal to the Supreme Court.

Joint military maneuvers of the Polish and Soviet armies are conducted in Poland.

Police search Warsaw Solidarity headquarters. Two people are arrested and accused of distributing a document of the prosecutor general that made recommendations to officials on how to act against "anti-socialist" forces. Warsaw Solidarity declares a strike alert and formulates demands on the social control of police activities. Government releases the two but delays negotiations on police activities.

## DECEMBER

Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (Polish communist party) meets. Changes are made in the Political Bureau (Politburo). Former First Secretary of the Party, Edward Gierek, is expelled from the Central Committee.

December 16—A monument is erected in Gdansk on the tenth anniversary of the protests of 1970, commemorating the workers slain by police and army units.

Warsaw Pact leaders meet with Brezhnev in Moscow to discuss the Polish crisis. Soviet preparations for an invasion are reported to be complete.

## JANUARY 1981

The government declares that the Polish loans to the West at the end of 1980 amounted to \$23 billion. It is the first time that the extent of Poland's debt is officially made public.

A Solidarity delegation, including Walesa, visits Italy and meets with Pope John Paul II, as well as with the three Italian trade union confederations.

Strikes and protest actions occur in Ustrzyki Dolne, Rzeszow, and Radom over the registration of the farmers' union and the dismissal of corrupt local officials, among other demands.

Strike in Warsaw protests against the government decision that Saturday be considered a work day, which violates the Gdansk agreements.

An agreement is reached between Solidarity and the government concerning free Saturdays, although the wording remains ambiguous. Solidarity agrees to work one Saturday out of the month.

## FEBRUARY

General Wojciech Jaruzelski becomes Prime Minister of Poland after Jozef Pankowski is forced to resign. Jaruzelski appeals to workers for 90 "quiet days" without strikes.

Vice-Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski becomes the head of the government's commission to deal with Solidarity. Solidarity pledges not to strike as long as the authorities do not violate the Agreements.

The prosecutor's office declares its investigation against the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) is being carried out. In Moscow, the Twenty-Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union convenes. Kania and Jaruzelski attend. The Soviet Union stridently criticizes Solidarity, and Brezhnev pledges the defense of all "socialist" countries.

The government signs an agreement with the peasants in Rzeszow after seven weeks of protests, giving certain guarantees to farmers but without directly dealing with the creation of Rural Solidarity.

## MARCH

After a one-hour strike in the Lodz region, the army hospital re-admits five employees fired for organizing a Solidarity chapter. In Radom a "strike alert" is called over the union's demand that those responsible for the massacre and persecution of workers in 1976 be punished.

March 19—In Bydgoszcz the militia brutally evacuate the municipal building where a sit-in has been staged by Solidarity members and peasants demanding the registration of Rural Solidarity. The leader of Bydgoszcz's Solidarity chapter is especially badly beaten. The National Coordinating Commission of Solidarity (KRP) suspends all local negotiations with the government, declaring a national general strike alert. Walesa discusses the incident with Rakowski, the government sends a commission to Bydgoszcz to investigate.

Joint maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact begin, called "Soyuz '81," which means "unity" in Russian.

After several days of the strike alert, Solidarity conducts a national four-hour warning strike. Four million stop work. It is the single largest general strike in the post-war period of any industrial nation and the first such strike in post-war Poland. After several rounds of negotiations with the government the KRP calls off an uninitiated general strike when the government promises to punish those responsible for the Bydgoszcz incident, to speed up talks on general strikes in the mass media, and to register Rural Solidarity.

At the Ninth Plenum of the Communist Party (CP) some criticism

the "weakness" of the party's leadership, while others demand a full investigation of Bydgoszcz.

The Warsaw Pact maneuvers end after three weeks. The authorities announce the rationing of flour, cereals, and fats in addition to sugar and meat.

After months of negotiations, strikes and hunger strikes—supported by both the Episcopate and Solidarity—the peasants receive permission to register an independent union.

There is a new reshuffling of the leadership of the CP.

#### MAY

The traditional May 1 demonstration takes place in an untraditional form. For the first time party leaders walk with the rest of the people.

During negotiations the government opposes the idea of a Solidarity delegation attending the Congress of the International Metalworkers Union in Washington, D.C.

Several regional dignitaries are fired and arrested for corruption. After eight months of work, the government publishes a report on the state of the economy. It is criticized by both Solidarity and independent economists for its vagueness.

In Otwock, a brawl between two drunkards and the militia turns into a mob scene. The military precinct is burned down. Solidarity is responsible for quieting the people.

The Warsaw Court registers Rural Solidarity.

Prisoners strike in several prisons over conditions, demanding among other things that their food allowance be raised above the rations given to the militia's dogs.

#### JUNE

Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, Primate of Poland for over a quarter of a century, dies.

Solidarity and the government negotiate over the union's access to the mass media and the issue of industrial self-government.

Elections within Solidarity, begun in March, continue both for the selection of delegates to the first Solidarity Congress and for regional and local representation.

The Council of Ministers issues an unofficial statement directing managers of factories to prohibit use of xerox machines and other duplicating equipment.

The Commander-in-Chief, General Kulikov, visits Poland.

Open Letter of Bydgoszcz Police Officers to the City Party Council states that the violence used against Solidarity representatives was harmful to the nation.

Solidarity declares that the negotiations with the government are not progressing.

Lech Wałęsa and Solidarity delegation attend International Labor Organization Congress where the union leaders receive a long standing ovation.

In part as a response to reports of a movement for "democratic renewal" that has arisen during the selection of delegates to the Polish Party Congress, the Central Committee of the Soviet CP sends a letter to the Central Committee of the Polish CP criticizing the situation in Poland and warning against

any deviations from the socialist path within the party.

The trial of four leaders of KPN, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, begins in Warsaw. The KPN, established in 1979, calls for Polish independence and national sovereignty.

The employees of the Polish airline, LOT, elect their own director, but the government does not recognize his election.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Poznan workers' demonstrations, a monument is unveiled at a public rally.

#### JULY

Joint Polish-Soviet maneuvers are conducted in Poland.

Introduction of rationing of cigarettes, sweets and alcohol.

The Ninth Congress of the PZPR begins with reports of internal squabbling.

The employees of the state airline, LOT, conduct a four-hour strike in defense of their elected director. During the strike, the government names and installs an army general as director.

A one-hour strike of dock workers is held in protest over the impasse in negotiations over working conditions and hours.

Party Congress re-elects Kania and Jaruzelski. It is reported that elections to Central Committee and Politburo are held by secret ballot. The reconstituted Political Bureau includes three workers. Jaruzelski makes speech warning that prices will more than double. No new proposals to solve the economic crisis are proposed or discussed.

A two-hour strike of mass transit workers in Bydgoszcz results in dismissal of the manager.

Amid several strike threats over food shortages, Wałęsa appeals to the regions not to strike. The actions are called off.

#### AUGUST

Prices for staples like bread are increased up to 400 percent. Solidarity declares that the food price increases should be linked to sweeping economic reforms, as previously agreed to by the government.

Detergents are rationed and the meat ration decreased. The food shortages provoke "hunger marches" in several cities.

In the coal mining region of Silesia, Solidarity organizes a four-hour strike against the food shortages. Other regions conduct strikes and demonstrations. In Warsaw the authorities stop a motorcade of protesters from turning up the street leading to the Central Committee's offices. This action leads to a 50-hour blockade of the main intersection in the city.

The Warsaw region calls off a two-hour warning strike. While Solidarity mediates with the bus drivers to end the blockade, it also negotiates with the government over economic crisis.

Amid protests, government blames Solidarity for breaking off negotiations. Solidarity's KKP names a five-man decision body headed by Wałęsa to reopen negotiations.

Once again, the Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact visits Poland.

Rural Solidarity appeals to its two million members to donate their food coupons to the workers. Many factories buy food directly from peasants.

Solidarity and over a thousand journalists protest in an open letter against the anti-union propaganda campaign waged by the official mass media.

KKP appeals to Solidarity members to restrain from strikes and to work on eight of their free Saturdays, because of deteriorating economic conditions.

The Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners—after appeals from Solidarity and the Episcopate—suspends its "March on Warsaw" to protest the continuing detention and trials of KPN members and other political prisoners.

At Huta Katowice, Poland's largest steel mill, the prosecutor confiscates the union's copying machine for printing "anti-Soviet propaganda." The director sides with the prosecutor,

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#### Economic Crisis

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omy. We should struggle for self-management over the great "enterprise" that is our country. We clearly must realize that self-governing bodies at a given enterprise will not influence national or foreign economic policy, no matter how well organized the enterprise's self-government.

Until now, our union, although it possesses much greater power than a factory's self-governing body would have, could not affect the economy as a whole.

#### The Demand for Free Elections

In order to change the government's policies it is clear that we must formulate concrete political demands. Included in such formulations should be the demand for free elections to the Regional Councils and the Sejm [Parliament]—the highest self-ruling body in Poland. If we were to forego such political demands in the present situation, with all the strength and support the union has, we would only show our poor spirit, a simple narrow-mindedness, and a small-shop union mentality. Of course, I am against any use of violence to achieve these political goals or organizing any strikes or marches to support these demands. Nevertheless, this postulate must be placed in the union's program for action.

The demand for free elections to the Regional Councils and the Sejm requires that the society be ready for such political activity. It is not enough to announce, "We are proceeding with free elections!" So what? The union cannot manage the elections with all its other problems of managing union activities. Although we won't claim that the union should identify itself solely with the issue of self-management, it should not shoulder the burden of responsibility to organize free elections that normally falls on political institutions. Separate organizations must be created and they can take only one conceivable form: that of a political party. The union, for its own self-interest, should render full support for this new form of social activity. It will in this way guarantee the creation of its own allies and it would not be alone in confronting the present totalitarian structure.

By proclaiming a political program, the union can appeal with confidence to society for an increase in the hours of the workweek. Such an appeal—for the workers to increase their hours—by itself would only risk distrust of the union by its members. When such an appeal is part of a broad political program for free elections and other changes, however, the members can trust the union more.

—Translated by Ewa Wajnberg

#### A Struggle for Freedom

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and the workers call for a referendum to remove him. Other regions print the confiscated material. The prosecutor begins proceedings against the Huta Katowice Solidarity leader. In response to the anti-union propaganda, Solidarity declares a nationwide two-day strike of pressmen. The party and government must print their newspapers clandestinely. The Olsztyn printers continue their strike after false accusations of persecuting strike-breakers.

#### SEPTEMBER

The First National Congress of Solidarity opens in Gdansk. Resolutions are adopted on the proposal for self-government, access to the media, promoting free trade unions in Soviet bloc nations, etc. The anti-Solidarity propaganda campaign

#### Workers' Views

Continued from page 12

tion laws that would serve the union's interests and only then should the union cooperate with the National Unity Front (16 percent).

○ Solidarity should fight for the revamping of the election laws so that all other organizations and groups of citizens can propose candidates along with the National Unity Front (71 percent).

○ Solidarity should not state its position on the matter of elections (2 percent).

#### What Should Solidarity Do?

On the one hand, the members of Solidarity describe their organization purely as a trade union. On the other hand, the major goals pointed to by those polled (democracy, due process of the law, and economic reform) are not pure trade union matters.

We confront here a paradox not only among the members but also among the activists of the union. This double meaning in the answers of Solidarity members should be seen as a source of strength, however, rather than a weakness. It allows flexibility in union tactics and prevents the factionalizing between "radicals," "politicals," and unionists.

A very important matter for the union is its tactics and methods used to obtain its goals. In the questionnaire we asked how often the union should rely on different types of action from those used in the past in its negotiations with the government, particularly when the security of the union is not in danger. Fifty-three percent think that negotiations with the authorities should be used more often than before. Sixty-one percent consider cooperation with the party organization in enterprises and factories a tactic to be used more often, so as to better influence the decisions of the party (see table).

#### Conclusions

Do the above results justify the opinion, to which some people subscribe, that Solidarity is "softened" and that it is now possible to "fit the union" into existing political structures? Nothing of the sort is true. It appears from the poll that the goals put forward by the members of the union are radical and that their opinion of the Polish Communist Party and the National Unity Front is decisively critical. At the same time, they expect from the leaders of Solidarity an effective struggle for its members' interests and for the interests of the union.

—Translated by Alexander Wajnberg

accelerates after the first session of the Congress adjourns.

The Sejm adopts a compromise bill concerning self-government after several intimidating declarations by party leaders.

Joint maneuvers are again conducted in Poland. Over 100,000 troops are involved in the largest maneuvers by the Pact in the post-war period. General Jaruzelski joins other Warsaw Pact leaders observing the events.

Polish authorities refuse to issue visas for an AFL-CIO delegation, including President Lane Kirkland, to the second part of the Congress. Other free trade unionists also denied visas.

The second part of Solidarity Congress opens. After much discussion and criticism, the Congress adopts the compromise version on self-government.

Lech Wałęsa is re-elected for a ten-year term. In spite of protests by Solidarity, the government again raises prices and declares that more hikes in prices are to follow.



"Long live free trade unions."





# W O L N Y ZWIĄZKOWIEC

NR 30/81 (63)

14.08.1981 r.

CENA 5 ZŁ

These cartoons appeared in the Solidarity Information Bulletin at the largest steelworks in Poland, Huta Katowice. After their publication in the August 14 issue, the authorities confiscated the paper, shut down the union's publication, and arrested the chairman of the Solidarity union on the grounds of "anti-Soviet agitation." Although the union has resumed publication of the paper and the Solidarity Chairman has been released, the authorities' investigation and general harassment continue. Despite this action, cartoons and articles from this paper have appeared in the Solidarity publications of several regions as a sign of support for the Huta Katowice union and its right to a free press.



W MYSIE GO BOJMY. CIKUTKO CHODZIMY  
TAK SIĘ ZBUDZI TO NAS ZJE



**CHILDREN'S VERSION**  
"We are afraid of the bear  
and tiptoe quietly around him.  
If he wakes up, he will eat us!"

TAK SIĘ ZBUDZI TO...  
... NAM POMOC!



**MODERN PARTY VERSION**  
"When he awakens, he will save us."

Bulletin

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