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

INSIDE

“Solidarity Forever” .................. p. 2
AFL-CIO President sends message to Solidarity Congress after being denied visa.

An Attempt at “Demolition” ............ p. 3
The government resumes and then breaks off negotiations with Solidarity over economic crisis.

Solidarity Congress Resolutions ........ p. 5
Delegates adopt stand on the Mass Media and on Free Unions in the Eastern Bloc.

What Is To Be Done? .................. p. 6
The national leadership of Solidarity debates the union’s response to the economic crisis.

An Open Letter to the Prime Minister .................. p. 10
Over 1000 workers address the government.

The Solution to the Economic Crisis ........ p. 11
A leading Solidarity economist calls for democratic elections as an economic necessity.

A Poll of Polish Workers .................. p. 12
A survey of Solidarity members views on the union, the party, and the economy.

The Struggle for Freedom .................. p. 13
A chronicle of events: July 1980-September 1981
"Solidarity Forever"

On behalf of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee, Leonard Wolf issued President Lyndon B. Johnson and an AFL-CIO delegation to the union's first National Conference in 1969.

The day before the Americans were to leave, they were informed that the American delegation would not be allowed to remain. Below is the text of the speech Lyndon B. Johnson has delivered in front of the South. The speech was read by a Solidarity delegation, which refused to leave the United States. The text was published by Solidarity's press and is written by an unknown author.

I am honored to stand before this assembly of brothers and sisters, and to express to you the solidarity, the trust, and the loyalty of all those who are present tonight. With you, I extend the solidarity and the solidarity of Solidarity, of the working class, of the United States, of the Americas, of the world. The people of the United States will stand with us, and the people of the world will stand with us.

The Solidarity Bulletin is the official organ of the Polish Workers' Movement in the United States. It is published bi-weekly, and contains information about the activities of the movement, as well as articles on the history and politics of Solidarity. The bulletin is available online at the website of the Polish Workers' Movement in the United States.

An Attempt at "Demolition"

One year after the general strike that gave rise to Solidarity, the government's repression movement developed as a result of the arbitrary law and violent violence, food shortages, and repression against those who publicly opposed the regime. The Warsaw Government organized an official demonstration and a show trial that was to end in front of the government headquarters. While proceeding up the main thoroughfare leading to the Central Committee's offices, the demonstrators were stopped by the militia. The action resulted in a bitter battle for the defense of the protest, which blocked Warsaw's main thoroughfare.

Negotiations between the government and Solidarity had been at an impasse for some time. On August 27, the government responded to the new situation with calls for talks and negotiations. During the period of protest, Solidarity made efforts to moderate the protest actions, and in many regions they ceased.

The following article is an excerpt of the text about the situation of talks, written by two members of the Solidarity delegation. It appeared in the August 10, 1981 issue of the national Solidarity Weekly paper.

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 27. It is clear that the talks between Solidarity and the government have finally come to a halt. Walesa, who had agreed before the talks to continue, has now 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 the government immediately end the strike, and then, upon completion, the government must allow a communique by Solidarity in the mass media.

In response, the Ministry, the city looked besieged. The streets were blue with the uniforms of the militia block the entrances to the Solidarity district. We can only guess at the scale of events, but the government claims that they were able to squeeze through the lines.

The talks took place in a small room of the large Council of Ministers' Office. When our delegation arrived there were six ministers, including Vice-President M. Radziwill, and the Polish delegation was made up of Solidarity's leadership.

Each side stated its positions for several hours. In each side's statements, there were accusations of not fulfilling the conditions of the previous agreement, of blocking constructive actions, frustrating tension, and blocking reforms. Then each side set out forward for their program of resolving the stalemate in negotiations.

Solidarity Bulletin

The Solidarity Bulletin is a monthly publication of the Polish Workers' Movement in the United States. It is published in English and is available online at the website of the Polish Workers' Movement in the United States.

The Bulletin contains articles on the history and politics of Solidarity, as well as information about the activities of the movement. The bulletin is written by an unknown author and is available in print and online.
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 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 envisages the application of the most effective means of pressure to achieve this end. Solidarity members in radio and television are prepared to support the actions of the National Coordinating Committee (KRP) in this respect through protest actions.

In response, the government in its resolution Number 185/81 has threatened heavy penalties against persons taking part in such actions. This resolution goes against already agreed upon points. The First National Congress of Solidarity calls upon the government to reconsider the matter and revoke resolution No. 185/81.

The Congress moreover calls upon the government to remove 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, in the name of all the working people of Poland, Gdansk, send the workers of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Romania, and all peoples of the Soviet Union, greetings of peace and working solidarity.

When the Solidarity delegation returned to the negotiating room, Andrzej Czapski, Secretary of the KRP, read a communiqué. Again there was silence.

When the Solidarity delegation returned to the negotiating room, Andrzej Czapski, Secretary of the KRP, read a communiqué. Again there was silence.

The new Social movement is not just a joint campaign. I will not sign it because I did not write it. Even if you may publish it. I understand the joint communiqué prepared by the unions. But our Jacek Kszewski and I made some corrections in it, keeping in mind state interests as we understand them. Good night.

Vice President Rakowski stood up to leave. Zdzislaw Bujak, Chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw Region, stood up in order to speak. He made a speech about the house committee of W. Kowalczyk, which had taken place during the negotiations.

The message to the workers of Eastern Europe was clear. It was a call for solidarity with the workers of Poland.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

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Page 5

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Page 4

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Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 5

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 4

“Solidarity Congress Resolutions”

Page 5
What Shall Solidarity Do Now?

The Union Holds Debate Over National Crisis

ANDRZEJ CÉLINSKI
Secretary of the National Coordinating Committee (KKP)

It seems that each of our successive crises with the government, all resolved by compromise, has progressively weakened our labor union. The agreement in March gained the most for the union. But I can also say with four months' hindsight that this crisis and the compromise we reached hurt us in the most. Without doubt the decisive factor was our cooperation, and demands instead a resolve and systematic search for answers to the country's deteriorating economic situation.

By using the words "resolute and systematic," I mean to criticize the union's abandonment of one issue after another. Each union, we know, has its own difficulties, and demands instead a resolve and systematic search for answers to the country's deteriorating economic situation.

In my opinion, Solidarity lacks the organizational structure to fill the social vacuum created by the disappearance or weakening of the institutional space. And I do not think that society can survive without some sort of internal organization, which is what the Solidarity program around which to organize itself. Neither the government nor Solidarity has yet presented such a program. I am concerned about a great danger facing us today. Although on the surface we seem to be in agreement, we are in reality falling apart.

JACEK KURON
Expert, Warsaw

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 in the same situations as they are at present, but the system cannot do. 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 cannot.

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 on information and decision-making. We broke those monopolies. Consequently, the system of exercising 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 overturned 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 no way of changing this situation, this is a crisis of affairs.

Why? In the past, revolutions were started for the sake of exercising 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 cares about the rehabilitation of this country, we should look for another solution. I will speak to this question in a moment but here I would like to point out that this is the situation in which the state is in mortal and most fundamental trouble. We have to do with the problem, because our ship is sinking.

If we want to resolve the situation ourselves in purely economic terms (which is what the government wants to do), we must remember what Kazimierz Rzeźba (Chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw Region) said during the Warsaw conference: "If we are to realize our plans for the country's economy, we need to work on the assumption that in the 1960s, the West was the largest ship and that we had the ability to achieve our goals. Today, however, we have only the tools we have at our disposal and it is necessary to concentrate on economic development where the whole ship is going down in the meantime. The question of economic distribution is distant from the basic problems facing Poland."

To my mind, the most important issue is whether or not we can limit ourselves. Should this revolution be limited? My answer is no. But my question is what if we do anything that the leaders of the USSR read as a direct threat. For that reason, we should avoid any major confrontation with the government.

What then should we do? Since Solidarity cannot organize a revolution, we should 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 the people, which would rule over the economy, the region's economic administration, etc. The primary goal of the government should be to avoid the country's crisis with the terms it currently faces.
the government will have no food to give us. What then? A few days into a strike, the question will arise. "What is the union going to do if the government does not concede?" The union will not be able to win because the government will not have any. To continue the strike would mean that it would not last at all since it would mean social isolation. On the other hand, a new strike would be a total defeat for the union. This type of situation could result in the union's destruction.

This is why I suggest that we should work out the technical details of an emergency "direct strike action." We should know how to react if the new strike is not to produce a general strike, the government has nothing to give us.

ANDRZEJ GWIADZA
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 political and social situation of the country. For example, the union can approve a particular form of electing self-managing councils in factories. I think we should be able to do this.

Most people in our country today want work crews to take full control over the economic planning of the factories and other enterprises, replacing the supervisory role of workers' councils. Questions arise over whether or not we can accept an appointed general manager, whether Gwiazda really believes whether his people should be chosen in open elections. But these are not very significant questions. In all political and social aspects of self-management will be decided. We have to realize that these will not be advisory bodies, as the government intends for us. It's a 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.

ZBYGNIE BUJAK
Chairman of the presidential of the KKP, 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 not new. It is part of the trend toward the party's total monopolization and centralization of all forms of activity in the last thirty years. At the present time, when something seems to have come up which may have the potential to serve 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.

At the creation of workers' councils for self-management, I would point out that KOR did not consult with city management. It was obvious to us that our first task was to fight for registration; it simply arose from the strike. The workers' self-management councils are not waiting for any minister's permission either; they are simply beginning to meet.

JAN RULEWSKI
Chairman of the presidential of the KKP, member of the Regional Executive Committee, Gdansk.

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 shaking power. We are finally putting the slogans for which mankind has been waiting.

But it is 40 years later, and we stopped at one place along the way in 1966, 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 people. 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 1966 councils did not function because management forbade them, or because Gomulka sent in the police. Not one person was hanged for the defense of the principle of self-management. In 1966 there were no workers' councils, now there are a few hundred. There were no workers' councils in 1966; there will be no more in the future. It seems that there is no other way out of the dilemma we are in. We must be responsible for ourselves. This makes a drastic change in the policies of our union. So, I don't understand Rulewski's extreme anxiety.

Now, Rulewski says that we should not turn our attention to economic reform or self-management because they cannot be solved before settling what he considers the basic question. Poland's full national and social sovereignty. We cannot continue to finance all political responsibility for pushing through a program of economic reform. But we cannot continue to finance all political responsibility for pushing through a program of economic reform. We can hope to emerge from the present crisis only by pushing a program of self-management. This requires the full support of the people of our union. So, I don't understand Rulewski's extreme anxiety.

However, we would be loyal to the state if we admitted that we would continue to work directly, except in emergency situations, as described by our colleague Palka from Lodz. A highly charged situation might develop in which the workers would decide to take a "direct strike action" as was discussed earlier. With the exception of this situation, we cannot accept responsibility for economic reform. Even if we make recommendations for self-management.

We have constituted ourselves as a social and political opposition movement, which arose with the workers in the labor movement. We are not and will not be true to ourselves. We must not cease to be.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

Page 8

a social and political movement nor a labor union.

In this struggle, it is important to us to inform the people that food shortages did not result as a result of the August revolt, but in fact the food shortages were caused by the government. Before and after they may be reduced through reforms and the proposals for self-manage-

I don't know where Rulewski got the idea that the self-management will not work out. I should like to remind you that the programmatic argu-

ments are not decisive. If it is not possible to provide the people in the name of the union. That is the kind of economic situation that will have to be made. It does not always coincide with the government's expectations.

We are left with the stark economic situation, for more unforgiving than discussions over democracy. We will face up to various challenges in our work and meetings—just as we have to face the fact that we may not turn our attention to economic reform or self-management because they cannot be solved before settling what we consider the basic question. Poland's full national and social sovereignty. We cannot continue to finance all political responsibility for pushing through a program of economic reform. But we cannot continue to finance all political responsibility for pushing through a program of economic reform. We can hope to emerge from the present crisis only by pushing a program of self-management. This requires the full support of the people of our union. So, I don't understand Rulewski's extreme anxiety.

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SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

Page 9

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We have constituted ourselves as a social and political opposition movement, which arose with the workers in the labor movement. We are not and will not be true to ourselves. We must not cease to be.
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. This was already widely known, this appearance to the world, however, was a signal that the government was clearly aware of the seriousness of the situation. It was also the first such announcement in the media. The government has made a decision to express its gratitude to our allies for their aid.

Currently Polish radio and television, and particularly newspapers, are helping to build the Chmielnicki nuclear power plant as well as one in Cata. However, the crucial question is: how much will the Polish government invest in Poland needed—rather in 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 is to the exchange rate of 280-300 zloty for one rouble. It should also be mentioned that the interest paid by the Soviet Union on the capital used to build its power plants in Poland is paid in zloty, 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 payments to the public for what purpose the loans from Western banks were used.
3. Withhold 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 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 involved in at least one of the above-mentioned acts, or participating in Poland's foreign transactions.
7. Inform the public about the amount and uses of Poland's Gross National Revenue.

The solution to the Economic Crisis

This article is excerpted from a speech given by Stefan Kaczyński at the National Coordinating Committee of the Solidarity Movement. It was published by the Center for Political Studies and Solidarity Insight (Daily News), published in August 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 country's history. After months of serious negotiations with the government, we still have not reached a degree of trust that can let us believe that the government will be able to take action 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 all economic problems. A wage freeze was made in order to cause us to assume that certain principles in the free market and privately organized economies could be superimposed on 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 power and the economic mechanisms used by the state remained the same.

The additional stream of money created by wage increases was immediately redistributed back into the economy. It left us with the raised volume of paper money, supplied by the National Polish Bank, which could be used to create additional prices on the black market or to raise the prices of black market goods. This was obviously not what we expected.

The union congresses have compromised in the agreements did not work together. We had hoped that the cards would free us from the continual lines. Today we have both the unions and the queues, and yet another number of goods to buy.

The second major error was a political one. Perhaps not all, but a great part of the population could not separate the activity of the union from any political action. We had hoped that a certain political neutrality could be the basis for political action, whereas the union's activities were political. If the Party's leading role in the state would allow the party to accept our sovereignty over certain activities that would be strictly limited. This illusion was based on the false premise that each of us coming from a different background would be more other and that the nation's social life itself could be.

We have made a decision to express our gratitude to our allies for their aid.

The causes of the economic crisis

We must separate the crisis because of and after the August agreements, since the crisis of the past year has little to do with them and is only partially rooted in the pre-August period.

The major reason for the decline in productivity in the present period is the deliberate incitement by the government in pursuance of 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.

Why were we unable to act?

We were not able to change the economic government policy because the union's leadership did not respond to the problem, and partly because we did not have the proper leverage or institutions to affect change.

This was a result of our political mistakes. The post-August economic policy caused the present crisis to be shifted to the same time that the government kept changing hands. Power belonged to the group in society that made mistakes.

Beginning with the first accords at Gdansk, we left the formulation of policy outside our realm of activity. If our representatives discussed the problem, and must clearly understand that without political changes no economic changes can be achieved.

The hunger marches spontaneously organized by the populace after eleven months of Solidarity's existence should be treated 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 mean self-management. But when one says that we will not discuss the issue of our economic sovereignty as a whole, but only discuss the issue of workers' self-management in enterprises, I do not mean self-management. But when one says that we will not discuss the issue of our economic sovereignty as a whole, but only discuss the issue of workers' self-management in enterprises, 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 in enterprises, but we have to assume that it is all we can do.
Workers’ Views On Solidarity, The Economy, and the Party

The following article appeared in the July 7 issue of Windows on Solidarity, a publication of the Center for Social Studies in Warsaw, which among other things conducts public opinion surveys, or “probes,” for Solidarity.

by Ludwik Dorn

From June 5-30 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” by the survey: 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 ‘new wave’ 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 illlegal actions that are associated with the corruption of Solidarity.

After that, those polled thought the 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 problems 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 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 society, which is considered to be 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 the next few years. Thirty percent thought that 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 reformed; 31 percent said that a significant part of the governance structure should be changed. In contrast, 2 percent answered that the system should be wholly retained, while 2 percent said that there should only be moderate changes.

We asked what the position of Solidarity should be regarding participation in the Future Parliament and Regional Councils. The questions were:

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

Continued on page 15

JULY 1980

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

AUGUST 1980

Strikes begin at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk on August 14. General strikes occur in Szczecin, Warsaw, and other major cities.

September

Interfactory Strike Committees (MKs) are formed in Gdansk where over 200 factories are on strike. The MKs negotiate with the State. Twenty-one demands formulated by the MKs are accepted.

August 23—Negotiations between the MKs and the government break down, and a fourth round of strikes is called under the leadership of Grzegorz Jaroszewicz.

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 shakeout 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 rules that it is filing a class action against the state union’s statutes that affirm 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 Parliament to accept the Union’s appeal for registration. The clause about the state is removed from the union statutes.

Solidarity representatives meet the Prime Minister of Poland, Cardinal Wojciech Wyszynski, after the decision.

Provincial court in Warsaw refuses to register the Independent and 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 on charges of distributing a document of the secret police. A general that made recommendations to affordable housing construction is fired.

How to act against “anti-socialist” Solidarity in Warsaw? Solidarity declares a strike alert and formulates demands on the social and labor rights of police activities. Government releases the two detained police officers.

DECEMBER

Central committees of the Polish United Workers Party (Polish communist) meet. The government introduces the new policy of “Socialist Road”.

Bureau of the Polish United Workers Party, First Secretary of the Party, Edward Gierek, is replaced by the newly elected First Secretary of the Party, Edward Gierek.

December 16—A ceremony is held in Gdansk on the 25th anniversary of the protests of 1970, commemorating the death of strikers.

The deaths of Solidarity leaders in the Soviet Union, Nouveau movement’s struggle to stop the Polish crisis, Soviet preparations for an invasion are reported.

January 1981

The government declares that the Polish costs to the West at the end of the year will be 10 billion dollars. The goal is that the extent of Poland’s debt is officially made public.

A solidification agreement, including Warsaw, with Italy and Sweden, with Rome, and a loan with Italy.

The dollarization of the zloty continues.

December 16—A ceremony is held in Gdansk on the 25th anniversary of the protests of 1970, commemorating the death of strikers.

The deaths of Solidarity leaders in the Soviet Union, Nouveau movement’s struggle to stop the Polish crisis, Soviet preparations for an invasion are reported.

January 1981

The government declares that the Polish costs to the West at the end of the year will be 10 billion dollars. The goal is to stabilize the zloty, which is now almost 100% of the dollar.

A solidification agreement, including Warsaw, with Italy and Sweden, with Rome, and a loan with Italy.

The dollarization of the zloty continues.
Economic Crisis
continued from page 11
The struggle for self-management over the real estate that self-governing bodies no longer own is already causing trouble for political parties as well. In the long run, we should not expect that self-management bodies would not affect the economy as a whole.

The Demand for Free Elections
At the request of the government, the KPN agrees to free elections. The KPN, which is the main political force in Poland, has decided to conduct free elections. The KPN's leaders have agreed with the government that the elections will be free and fair. The government has also promised to respect the results of the elections.

Workers' View
continued from page 12
ion make the following demands: that the trade union movement should cooperate with the National Solidarity; that Solidarity should fight for the recognition of the strikes; that the government should guarantee the right of assembly and association; and that the government should respect the results of the free elections.

What Should Solidarity Do?
On the one hand, the leaders of Solidarity argue that the union movement is a trade union. On the other hand, the major political parties point to the dangers of demanding political changes and call for civil war. The main reason for this is the understandable fear that Solidarity might use its political power to change the system.

Conclusions
The above results justify the opinion, to which some people subscribe, that Solidarity is "stealing" and that it has a certain degree of control over the industrial consultations. Nothing of the sort is true. It appears that the government is willing to negotiate with the trade union movement for an increase in the hours of the workweek, although it is not clear how much the government is willing to offer.

A Struggle for Freedom
continued from page 13
and the workers call for a referendum to change the situation. The KPN is in favor of the referendum, but the government is against it. The government has promised to organize a referendum on the proposal for the referendum.

September
The National Solidarity Congress will discuss economic reforms related to the proposal for the referendum. The Congress will discuss the possibility of organizing a referendum on economic reforms and the possible consequences of such a referendum.

Long live free trade unions.
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.

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

MODERN PARTY VERSION
“When he awakens, he will save us.”

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