Bulletin

Solidarnosc

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Our Battle Continues
Chronicle of Resistance
A Trade Union Law?
Victims of War
Why Walesa Was Freed
Anatomy of a Strike

Our Goals: Independence and Democracy (Letter from Frasyjniuk)
STATEMENT OF PUBLICATION

Since the last issue of the Solidarnosc Bulletin was published in late August 1982, the communist-military regime in Poland has intensified its campaign to repress the workers' movement. Although a few demonstrations have been permitted in recent weeks, the work world is now facing the likelihood of renewed Solidarity activity. The Solidarity movement understands that its struggle will be long and difficult. (See Wladyslaw Frasyniuk's letter to union members, page 1, and "The Underground Society," page 4.) New ideas, strategies, and tactics are being discussed throughout the country.

At a time when the Polish people are struggling under the most grinding conditions to keep the cause of freedom alive, it is essential for the American public to be informed about their heroic resistance, and to continue their support for the Free and Independent Trade Union Solidarity.

The Solidarnosc Bulletin is published by the Committee in Support of Solidarity, which compiled the most complete documentation available in the United States on the situation in Poland. The Bulletin includes the underground Solidarity press, first-hand testimonies, and expert essays. The Bulletin is published in cooperation with the Labor Research and Development Center, which also publishes a journal of analysis, Workers Under Attack, in cooperation with the International Legal Program at Georgetown University.

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Readers are encouraged to write to the editors of the Bulletin at 4 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017.
Why the Strike Failed

On November 15, 1981, the Regional Coordinating Commission "R.K.W." of the Gdańsk region issued a statement announcing the strike of November 10, called to protect the existence of Solidarity, in the face of attempts by the authorities to dissolve Solidarity. The workers of the R.K.W. were: Bogdan Leszczyński and a member of the PLK; Bogdan Borucki, a member of the Gdańsk region from September 1972; and one of the founding members of Solidarity and the Solidarity trade union. The strike was called to protect the existence of Solidarity, in the face of attempts by the authorities to dissolve Solidarity. The workers of the R.K.W. were: Bogdan Leszczyński and a member of the PLK; Bogdan Borucki, a member of the Gdańsk region from September 1972; and one of the founding members of Solidarity and the Solidarity trade union.

The protest action called for by the R.K.W. was for November 10. It was the first such protest for Solidarity.

First: The regime took unprecedented preventive measures that included:

Drafting into the army and ZOMO police about 15,000 workers from the major shipbuilding factories in Gdańsk and Gdynia.

Second: The Strike was called to protect the existence of Solidarity, in the face of attempts by the authorities to dissolve Solidarity. The workers of the R.K.W. were: Bogdan Leszczyński and a member of the PLK; Bogdan Borucki, a member of the Gdańsk region from September 1972; and one of the founding members of Solidarity and the Solidarity trade union.

Third: A short amount of time passed between the spontaneous general strike in Gdańsk that took place right after the announcement of Solidarity on October 15 and the strike protest on November 10.

Under these conditions, it was extremely difficult to respond successfully to the T.K.K. appeal.

What Do We Fight for?

This is the 17th issue of The Solidarity Factory Commission at the ELWRO plant in Węgorzewo. This is the 17th issue of The Solidarity Factory Commission at the ELWRO plant in Węgorzewo.

Why Are We Fighting?

To defend the weakest among us and those who are suffering poverty, hunger, and unemployment.

To restore the civil and national rights that have been trampled upon.

So that we don't allow ourselves to be enslaved.

To remain faithful to the tradition of our forefathers: "For your freedom and ours."

To show the world that one can and must fight.

To show that we can't live in passive resistance.

To make a just social accord.

To preserve our dignity.

To live like free people.

To be able to say to the young generation that they are working for their country and for themselves.

That Poland may be brothers to each other, and not their exploiters.

For an independent, free, and self-governing trade union, scientific, artistic, cultural, and youth organizations.

The workers from the major shipbuilding factories in Gdańsk and Gdynia were ordered to report to work or were threatened with the following:

- Precautionary detention;
- Internment in military and police battalions within the former shipyard grounds;
- Threatening workers with harsh prison terms or dismissal from their jobs.
- Deploying police forces to the places designated by Solidarity as voting points for demonstrations.

Second: The Prime Minister took a negative stance against the workers by calling for a new round of talks with the authorities, a step undertaken by the government in the direction of a more or less authentic accord with Polish society.

On the other hand, the press spokesman for that very government (Terry Juskowsky) repeated again and again that Walea is a private citizen, that Jaruzelski has no intention of having any conversations with him, and that he was released because the authorities do not think he will trouble them. It seems that the government is closer to the truth than the spokesmen who wish that the Polish government could be regarded as solved.—or, if not solved, then at least progressing in the right direction.

It seems, however, that the authorities treat the free will of Walea as a tactical move, a prize to pay while bargaining with the Episcopalians. For months, the release of Lech Wałęsa has been one of the fundamental demands of society at the epicenter of the step back human rights.

The authorities decided it was worth the effort, the people were supposed to go on a trip to the Evening Market Square, and then be a first step toward defusing the situation is for the government, only an isolated move.

The publication of Walea's letter requesting talks [in the official press], was perceived by some as the authorities' intention to conduct such talks, however, in the context of a letter written by Wałęsa's meeting with Kaczyński [the Minister of Internal Affairs]. During his journey from Arkadia, where Wałęsa had been interrogated since June 1980, to Gdańsk, Wałęsa was merely instructed by public prosecutors what was permissible and what was not under the state of war, coldly calculated by "the forces of order, which deliberately intervened in order to prevent provocations"—according to the official communiqué.

After the crowd in the Market Square was dispersed, I found myself among a small group of people in the square behind the Small Church. With long hair, I still thought he had just staggered. With horror I saw his shirt torn. An arm was in the patrolling retreating the magazine—was it in the state of war, coldly calculated by "the forces of order, which deliberately intervened in order to prevent provocations"—according to the official communiqué.

On September 1, our children went to school. They saw, they heard, they knew. The knowledge is forever the song of the carrying.

So that we don't allow ourselves to be enslaved.

To preserve our dignity.

To live like free people.

To be able to say to the young generation that they are working for their country and for themselves.

That Poland may be brothers to each other, and not their exploiters.

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"Premeditated Murder"

The ZOMO killed at least three people in Gdańsk, in a copper-mine town in southwest Poland, during the August 31 demonstrations. An unknown number of people were said to have been killed or wounded in the town and at other places designated by Solidarity as voting points for demonstrations.

I walked through the post office, passing a patrol, which marched calmly by; nobody attacked it. When shots were heard, I was convinced they were blanks; even when I saw the scenes, when I saw a man falling down. I still thought he had just staggered. With horror I saw it without tears. I saw one man in the patrolling retreating the magazine—was it in the state of war, coldly calculated by "the forces of order, which deliberately intervened in order to prevent provocations"—according to the official communiqué.

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On September 1, our children went to school. They saw, they heard, they knew. The knowledge is forever the song of the carrying.
"In Poland Anyone Can Become a Prisoner"

Solidarity's Note

According to Solidarity and Church sources, close to 20,000 people are still in prison, where they have been held for anywhere from six months to more than 10 years. The prisoners are held in over 100 prisons scattered throughout the country.

In an Appeal for Political Prisoners

Today in Poland everyone can become a political prisoner. Prisoners held underground activists and demonstrations captured by the authorities, the activities of Solidarity's underground underground organizations, and Solidarity's underground networks.

The Committee of Support of Solidarity has compiled a list of over 50,000 political prisoners. They have been arrested under a variety of charges, ranging from minor offenses to serious crimes.

Prisoners are held in solitary confinement and often subjected to beatings, torture, and other forms of mistreatment. Many prisoners are not allowed to see their families or receive medical attention.

In response to the situation, Solidarity has called for international solidarity and has urged countries to pressure the Polish government to release all political prisoners.

"Our Battle Continues"

Ourik Radiators and Jean-Pierre, two Solidarity leaders, have called on the world to stand with Solidarity and support its struggle for freedom.

They, along with other Solidarity leaders, have been arrested and are facing trial in Polish courts.

Solidarity is a volunteer workers' union that has emerged in Poland since the fall of 1980. It is supported by millions of workers and is leading a massive pro-democracy movement in Poland.

Solidarity's call to action has sparked support from around the world, with thousands of people and organizations joining the struggle for freedom and democracy in Poland.

Translated by Zoltan Ambrus
Protests at the Lenin Shipyard:

Anatomy of a Strike

The Gdańsk Regional Strike Committee (R.K.W.) issued a statement of commitment upon the continuing of Solidarity and the repression of spontaneous worker strikes, which were marked by the workers of the Lenin Shipyard. The communiqué gives a detailed account of the military attacks and the severity of force on the workers.

October 12, 4 p.m.

The strike at 6 p.m. The military police street clashes by attacking people in Solidarity Square. This led to street fights, which continued until midnight in various districts of Gdańsk. The most intense fighting took place in the center of Wroclaw, near Solidarity’s headquarters. The battles raged for hours, and even late in the night ZOSO reinforcements were brought into Gdańsk. We know that at 7 p.m., a detachment of military personnel entered the city from the direction of Sopot. The strike initiated by the Lenin shipyard workers on October 12 is spreading. Other shipyards and the Gdańsk harbor are taking part, as well as other coastal factories, colleges, and secondary schools.

“The mood at gate No. 2 is reminiscent of the memorable August national and religious symbols, and flowers are hung on the gate...”

Since early morning the area of the Lenin Shipyard has been full of military detachments, but the strikers were making their stand. No serious incidents occurred, and at about 1 p.m. the militia left the vicinity of the shipyard. The strikes left the entire area, but the mood at the gates, especially at one of the shipyard gates, had not changed. At night the增强 presence of military detachments was evident all day. Radio Solidarity in Gdańsk aired for ten minutes on both Tuesday and Wednesday.

Today the spontaneous protest actions initiated by the Lenin Shipyard workers ended. As during August 1980, they showed determination and the will to fight. After the protests on August 15, a new round of the August protest—this is what the workers were doing—demands a general strike. The chief role is played by the socialists and the leadership of the Union, which is the leadership of the union.

The strike of October 12 marks the conclusion of Solidarity’s formation, and more specifically the resolution of the problem posed by the Solidarity’s formation. The strike was joined by the Solidarity’s leadership of the region and to all who act in Solidarity’s name.

However, it was not a defeat. The world was able to see it as a symbolic act of solidarity. The Polish people were united in their struggle, and they had a common goal. The Solidarity’s leadership of the region and to all who act in Solidarity’s name is not a defeat. Victory is our common aim.

Editor’s Note

After the imposition of martial law and the crushing of widespread strikes by the communist junta, Solidarity members and activists set out to build union structures underground, including factory committees, regional coordinating committees, and the T.K.R. (Trade Union Committee of Solidarity). The T.K.R. was established to coordinate actions of different groups in Poland that had disrupted and went on fighting. In April 1980, members of the T.K.R. arrested and imprisoned. Other members of the T.K.R. were arrested and imprisoned. The T.K.R. was closed down.

Five Times “No”

The July session of the Parliament is yet another proof that the authorities reject cooperation with society.

First, not only was the state of war not declared, but it has not been announced that it would be declared.

Second, none of the latest two thousand people who had been arrested were freed, but those who had been arrested were freed, some of them, including women, received a so-called temporary release, renewing their sentences. The authorities did not grant the chairman of Solidarity, Lech Wałęsa, the leadership of the union.

Today the strike of October 12 is being consolidated, and more specifically the resolution of the problem posed by the Solidarity’s formation. The strike was joined by the Solidarity’s leadership of the region and to all who act in Solidarity’s name.

Press, both national and international, was present. In the Solidarity, leadership of the region and to all who act in Solidarity’s name is not a defeat. Victory is our common aim.

Call to August Demonstrations

Two years will have passed on August 15 since the Interfactory Strike Committee of the Gdańsk shipyard announced a call for a general strike. The call was made in solidarity with the workers of the Lenin Shipyard in Wroclaw. The call was made in solidarity with the workers of the Lenin Shipyard in Wroclaw.

Fifth, no concrete plans for economic reforms have been announced since the last Polish workers are expected to continue to work despite the demands of Solidarity. The workers are not expected to work until 1983, and many workers have returned to work.

The Necessity for an Agreement

The demonstrations on the second anniversary of the Gdańsk Agreement show that the Polish nation is determined to fight for its rights. Whichever the demonstrations were not attended by the ZOSO police demonstrations were totally peaceful, in accord with the spirit of the Solidarity Agreement.

On August 15, guns were used against the demonstrators.
T.K.K. Statements continued from previous page

Protest the Outlawing of Solidarity

THE REGULATION OF ALL TRADE UNIONS IS AN EXHIBIT OF MAXIMIZATION OF AUTHORITARIANISM. UNDER the influence of the state wants to establish a legal and political framework for the development of trade unions, and to the extent that it is consistent with the interests of the state, to suppress all trade union activity. The independent trade union movement in Poland is an expression of the struggle for democratic rights and the protection of workers' interests. The state's attempts to suppress the trade union movement are a clear violation of the principles of freedom of association and the right to strike. The state's actions are intended to weaken the workers' movement and to prevent the development of a class consciousness that could lead to the birth of a workers' party and a class struggle.

The Underground Society

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WESTERN TOWNS AND VILLAGES OF WAR TEACH US THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR OUR RIGHTS REQUIRES THE UNAVERSAL PARTICIPATION OF A SOCIETY CONSISTING OF ITS IMMORTAL RIGHTS AND ORGANIZED FOR LONG-TERM ACTION. THE AUTHORITY'S MOVEMENT ON THE POLISH PEOPLE CONTINUES. ONLY THEIR TACTICS CHANGES. TODAY'S STRUGGLE CONCENTRATES AGAINST AUTHORITY. IN FACT, HOWEVER, THE STRUGGLE HAS NOT STOPPED, IT IS JUST FORMED IN A DIFFERENT WAY.

The underground society should be able to develop the society's capacity for organization and self-defence. It must be based on the spirit of solidarity and cooperation. The members of the underground society should be able to work together in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation to achieve their goals.

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Victims of War

Violence against demonstrators and activists in the Solidarity movement has resulted in an unknown number of killed and wounded. The lack of information has prevented the Solidarity movement from accurately reporting the scale of the violence. However, Solidarity activists, activists, and publications try to document the deaths resulting from police actions. The regime has admitted to only fifteen deaths as a result of clashes between demonstrators and police. Below is a list of thirty-five people killed by the police. for whom information is available. The actual number may be quite higher.

December 16, 1981

At the Wujek mine in the Silesia Region of Poland, striking miners clashed with armed ZOMO riot police. The workers used crude tools and weapons to fight the ZOMO, who were backed up by tanks. When the ZOMO attacked, seven miners were killed, and two were wounded. (See Solidarnosc Bulletin No. 2.) It is not known how many miners were wounded, nor what casualties were suffered by the ZOMO. The names of nine workers who are known to have died were listed in the nineteenth issue of an underground publication from Silesia, Przeczywiscie.

Josef Ciechalski
Josef Gis
Jozef Grada
Jozef Dydka
Jozef Kopecek
Andrei Pelya
Paweł Miłczak (first name unknown) with
Włodzimierz Zabielski

December 17, 1981

Antoni Bławaczuk, 23
Shot to death during street demonstrations and strikes in Gdansk.

-Tygodnik Mazowsze (Mazowsze Weekly), No. 20, October 31, reprinted from Solidarnosc Gdansk, No. 9, September 25.

March 3, 1982

Wojciech Cieleszko, 29, graduate of Poznan University. Died as a result of wounds suffered in a beating by the ZOMO police on February 13. He never regained consciousness. (Informacja Solidarnosci, Warsaw Solidarity Information Bulletin, No. 33, March 16.

April

Gluszak (first name unknown), soldier

He was shot dead near railroad tracks outside of Rzeszow in the beginning of April. It was determined that he had been handcuffed and beaten. Two days earlier, police stopped a taxi in which the soldier was riding from Babice to his home. The taxi driver said that the soldier had gotten impatient with the long search and told the policemen, “Your rule won’t last forever.” The police then took him away.

-Tygodnik Mazowsze, No. 15, May 27.

May 8, 1982

Adam Szalecki, 32;

On May 3, as he was on his way home from work, ZOMO police took him to their table and beat him over the head with a metal pipe. When taken to the police precinct, he was found the next day dead. He died five days later without regaining consciousness.

May 8, 1982

Miroslaw Radowalski, Przemyśl

He was beaten to death during interrogations at the Załuska detention centre. On March 25, he had been arrested on charges of distributing Solidarity publications.

-Informacja Solidarnosci, No. 55.

Sasudzik, Kot region

While returning home from a company meeting with retiring employees on March 31, he was stopped by a patrol of ZOMO police. A few hours later, he was found unconscious by uniformed police, who brought him to a hospital. He died from a blood clot.

A doctor there established that he had collapsed about five hours earlier. He was taken to the regional hospital, where he was found to have numerous broken bones, a broken jaw, a concussion, a damaged spine, and severe internal hemorrhaging. He never regained consciousness.

The prosecutor tried to force the doctors to sign a false death certificate but they refused. Mr. Kot was the father of two children.

April 13, 1982

Franciszek Ryter, 19

He died one day after street clashes in Krakow (Malopolska). He had tried to hide with other young people in a club called “Flipper” in Ryck. ZOMO police followed him and shot him dead.

-Tygodnik Mazowsze, No. 41, April 20.

June 3, 1982

Emil Barczynski, 17, first-year student at Boy High School in Warsaw

He was arrested by police on an undercover mission. He was severely beaten during interrogation. At his trial, he publicly testified on the use of torture to extract confessions. (See “Juvenile Confessions.” His body was found in the Vistula River on June 3.

-Tygodnik Mazowsze, No. 20, June 30

June 9, 1982

Andrzej Urbaniak, lived in Augustow, student in Warsaw

Detained on June 9. On June 16, his mother received a sealed envelope containing a note from the police who told her not to open the envelope. She informed her son and he came to Warsaw. He was arrested and interrogated by police.


July 13, 1982

Wladyslaw Lisicki, 67

Died as a result of damage to his liver caused by a beating from ZOMO police, who received two months earlier. The “officially” stated cause of death was cancer.

-Kronika Malopolska (Krakow Chronicle), No. 13, July 30.

August 1, 1982

Jacek Osmański, 27

He was beaten to death by a police patrol at a rock concert in Warsaw.

-Tygodnik Mazowsze, No. 20, September 9, and Tygodnik Solidarnosci (Forum Solidarity Information Bulletin), No. 29.

Solidarity Bulletin

August 21, 1982

Eight people were killed in a result of street demonstrations to support the Gdańsk Accord. (The authorities admitted to five deaths.)

Michal Adamowicz, 25, Lublin, married, electrician at the Electronics Enterprise.

He was shot in the head.

Maciej Pawlak, 25, married, worker at the Electrics Enterprise.

He was shot in the stomach.

Andrzej Tychonski, 22, Lublin, married with three children, mechanic.

He was shot in the head.

Kazimierz Mieczykowski, 27, Warsaw, married, two children, student at the Electronics University.

He died on September 2 as a result of injuries sustained three days earlier in the attacks of the police.

Tadeusz Wozniak, 40, Warsaw.

Died September 1 in a hospital in Warsaw. Doctors certified that the cause of death included a brain concussion, damaged large intestine, poisoning of the lungs with toxic fumes, and a heart attack. On August 31, he had left for work, but it is not known what happened to him on that day. On September 1, he asked for a day’s leave. His superior saw signs of Wozniak’s having been beaten, and told him to go to a doctor. Fellow employees took him to a hospital. He died a few hours later. The police refused to give the family his clothing and told them to bring fresh clothing to the morgue.

-Z Dnia Na Dzień (From Day to Day), October 8.

Wladyslaw Zadarek, 62, Nowa Huta.

The circumstances of his death are not known.

Piotr Sadowski, 22, Gdansk, employee, Lenin Shipyard.

Died from gunshot wounds received during demonstra-
tion-repression units.

Stanislaw Raczyk, 55, Kielce, watchmaker.

Died on September 7 as a result of beatings by the police on August 31.

-Tygodnik Mazowsze, No. 29, October 13

October 14, 1982

Boguslaw Wierzba, 24, worker, Nowa Huta.

Died from gunshot wounds received during demonstra-
tion-repression units.

"In memory of these who died and those who are being imprisoned and persecuted"
How Communists Organize Trade Unions

When the Parliament banned Solidarity and established new "trade unions," whose activities were to be strictly controlled, the trade-union apparatus was set up in the picture of the old trade unions. The regime hoped that, in time, the combined methods of coercion and the promise of rewards—for example, free vacations to a communist country of the worker's choosing—would succeed in winning many more of the old trade union members to the new non-union. Thus the regime will attempt to contain both the West and Polish society that Solidarity is no longer alive and that the government enjoys the support of the Polish working class. However, in a significant act of protest, many trade union workers have rejected the new official unions, despite considerable pressure on them to join. Many workers are estranging each other.

Various accounts have indicated that many of the new unions appear in underground Solidarity bulletins, some of which we excerpt below:

1. 
   **Setting up a "New" Trade Union at an Average Work Place:** Two days before the Parliament passed the trade union law banning Solidarity, the manager of an enterprise, following the instructions of the District Committee of the Communist Party (P.Z.P.R.), appointed a chairman of an initiating committee. Immediately after the law passed, the chairman of the former official trade union, who was also a party secretary and an active opponent of Solidarity, was dismissed.
   
   Three separate directives aimed at recruitment to the "new" trade unions were sent to employees at the workplace.
   
   - From the chief manager of the enterprise to directly subordinate deputy managers and chief specialists, who were threatened with sanctions, was raised.
   
   - From the executive party committee jointly with the management to all Party members, ordering them to sign up. At one meeting an objection was raised that this was lawlessness, and many party members are still considering not joining.

The results of the recruitment activity are reported, in accordance with instructions, twice a day to a District Committee of the party, including the number of new members, their past trade union and party affiliation, and their past work classification.

Activists of the former official trade union at the Polish State Railways (P.K.P.) are being instructed to join the initiating committee of the new union, with promises of salary raises and a six-week trip to a socialist country of their choice. The new union's constitution is presented as an official order. The next step is forming "independent" trade unions, giving the trade unionists at the workplace the name they desire, as long as they are presented with the official order in writing.

2. 
   **On October 14, a "working" meeting of the founding committee for the new union at the largest hall of our plant. A crowd of hard-line enthusiasts gathered: fifteen of them in all. They elected ten to the presidency of the founding committee. We should be very interested to know how the Krakow rag got the information that one hundred people from our plant belong to the new union.**

   **On Saturday, October 9, a meeting took place at the District Committee of the Communist Party. There was no room for discussion between party activists and the management of the large work places. Representatives of those work places were asked to sign the reaction to the new trade union law which should be:**

   - First, new trade unions had to be set up at all enterprises.
   - Second, members of the Communist Party (the P.Z.P.R.), the Z.S.M.P. (Union of Polish Socialist Youth), and other organizations must actively participate in the new trade unions.
   - Third, it was the management's responsibility to create founding groups and to be on their guard against the infiltration of their groups by uncertain and anti-party elements.

   Moreover, those attending the meeting, which took place twelve hours after the new trade union bill was passed, could equip themselves with a brochure, printed on good paper, entitled: The General Statute of the New Trade Union in an Enterprise. —From Słowa, No. 12

   **At the Nova Huta shipyard outside of Krakow, with over ten thousand workers:** The meeting was opened by the chief of this "council." Marian Zak, a retired manager, said that he is the leader of the group, since the organization needs a strong leader. The telephone number of these pioneers is 74-47; let's question them to uphold the spirits of these collaborating members and trade unions.

   When members of the trade force left the first shift hour about the meeting—which began at about two p.m.—they whisked and threw stones at the window of the "Vatican" (the party headquarters in Nova Huta) as they were going past. —From Nowa Huta, No. 31

   3. 
   **New trade unions are being established at the heat and power plant in Legnica by the party secretary Literaci and commune Rak, among others. The meeting after the announcement of their mission to organize the new unions, workers lined up in front of the telephone box.**

   The first telephone call was to the point. "It is a group of us here, and eight of us have already decided to join the union. But we don't know where to start and who to address us. They received an enthusiastic response from the party secretary, 'It is right that you should have come to this decision of your own accord... that this should come from you below.'

   From below: From below we can rip off your boy's leg—your son of a—" (Some of the telephone exchanges have not been translated.)

   **This was followed by another caller: 'Are you the son of a—? Who's forming the new trade unions?"**

   **After two hours, the last trade union members who telephoned rang yet again, this time from an innkeeper who had a relation about the new unions, the party secretary hyperbolically responded that no one was forming new trade unions there.**

   —From Kronika Młod酐se, No. 18

The Law on "Notorious Job Shirkers"

The Polish Parliament adopted on October 25 an "anti-poor-law" (expropriation law) common to the forcibly drafted or punished unemployed workers. The bill privates their jobs or who are being denied employment from any activity. The text of the law is instructive for use mechanisms used by the communist regime to legitimize their repression. A draft of the law had been expected for some time and had been prepared by the government in draft form in June. At that time Solidarity's Trade Union protested the adoption of the poor-law.

"Creating a Legal Basis for Repression"

Concerning the introduction in the Parliament of the government's draft of a law concerning persons who avoid employment, the Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarity declares.

The supposed purposes of the law are to introduce legal means that will induce all able-bodied persons to undertake work and that will make impossible for the unemployed to live on income from illegal sources.

The text, however, shows that it is not the authorities' purpose in drafting the law to deal with negative social phenomena of a group of people who live on illegal working.

The true aim of this law is to create a legal basis for the continued repression of people dismissed from their jobs for union activity or political opposition, of those who have been fired, and of those who have been brought to bear pressure on them to join. Many workers are estranging each other.

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The Text of the Job-Shirkers Law

**Article 1**

If any person has been dismissed for the ages of eighty, sixty-five, and fifty which one of its provisions has been revoked or registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administration in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

**Article 2**

The body defined in Article 1 does not apply to: 1) retired persons; 2) disabled persons; 3) persons who run not work or study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

**Article 3**

The administrative body decides the registration of the person who is without work or who does not study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

2. The administrative body decides the registration of the person who is without work or who does not study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

**Article 4**

The body defined in Article 1 does not apply to: 2) The administrative body decides the registration of the person who is without work or who does not study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

**Article 5**

The body defined in Article 1 does not apply to: 2) The administrative body decides the registration of the person who is without work or who does not study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

3. The Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs defines the details and procedures of such a registrar at the request of the interested parties. Local Economy, and Environmental Protection: the Minister of National Defence; and the Minister of Internal Affairs.

**Article 6**

The registered person who does not work or study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.

**Article 7**

The registered person who does not work or study at school for a period not registered with the labor exchange as looking for work, he must report to the mayor of his basic city to the administrative body in his permanent or temporary place of residence and explain why he is not working or studying. The body in question will henceforth be called administrative body.
A Trade Union Law?

Editor's Note

The Polish Parliament adopted a bill governing trade unions, thereby introducing the Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union, Solidarity—which until that time was merely a political association of workers—that made it possible to establish new trade unions. The new law, which replaced a compromise draft bill discussed in detail in Solidarity Bulletin on the government in 1981, provides for the control and restriction of trade union activity and virtually bars the right to strike by establishing complex and prohibitive strike procedures.

Along with the parasite law, the censorship law, and the special emergency powers not shared among others, the new law governing trade unions was adopted by the Parliament at the initiative of the Military Council for National Salvation (WZON), in order to give the government and the state party apparatus almost complete control over the lives of the Polish people.

The text of the law, which we excerpt below, is instructive in how the regime uses Poland's legal statute to legitimate its coercion and control of the workers. For example, although workers have the "right" to form "self-governing" unions, the repressive or local, civil, or circle courts have arbitrary powers to register or not to register these unions. The law never actually defines what a trade union is. It utilizes section 43 to make it necessary to represent a factory with as few as thirty worker members—no matter what the size of the factory. This makes it possible for a few employees to shirk the burden of representing the workers' interests.

Moreover, a court may determine at any time that a trade union is in violation of the trade union statute or against the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. Unions may be deprived of their trade union registration. (See Article 43.)

In addition, no trade union may be formed at a "militarized" work place, that is, any work place under the aegis of the Ministry of Defense or Internal Affairs. Under separate legislation not mentioned in this law, broad powers are given to the government to militarize any mine, shipyard, steelworks, or other establishment.

The right to strike is elaborately stifled as a result of the workers, but strikes are permissible only after the "union" follows arcane arbitration procedures that are intended both to forbid strikes and to serve the interests of management. Then, after the law lays down those arbitration procedures, it provides a long list of categories of workers, comprising perhaps more than half the total force, that are deprived of the right to strike from the start. (See Articles 35, 36, and 40.)

Another instructive feature of the law is that, although trade unions are given the opportunity to affiliate to the Polish People's Republic, a trade union party twenty years ago, they are not recognized in the law to represent Poland's foreign alliances, and to cooperate with many of its foreign interests.

Job Shirkers Law, continued from previous page

It is not clear when Poland's new law that penal proceedings against the workers in question are warranted for offenses, civil proceedings for avoiding tax obligations, and other proceedings, the administrative body inform the appropriate organs.

Article 15. In cooperation with the Minister of Administration, Labor, Economy, and Environmental Protection, the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Labor, Wage, and Social Affairs shall decide the procedure by which persons are called to public work, and the procedures and conditions of releasing persons from the law, the detailed principles of doing this work, the organization of regulations, and the supervision of such public work, and the supervision over such groups.

Article 16. A person who does not fulfill the duty defined in paragraph 1 or other provisions of the law is subject to administrative body as provided in Article 4, paragraph 3, will be imprisoned for up to three months or fined.

Article 21. A person who is included on the list of persons who are under attack in the law, and who fails to call to public work, shall face the penalty of imprisonment, and in all cases, the court will order those persons to make a statement about the source of his subsistence will be imprisoned for up to one year or will be fined. For a person who fails to report to public work, shall be imprisoned for up to two years or fined.

Article 22. This law comes into force as of January 1, 1980.
of work rules, standards for awards and promotions, and employee evaluation procedures.

5. Collective Disputes and the Right to Strike

Article 35. In the event of a strike, the employer must ensure the continued operation of the enterprise, and the administration shall be under an obligation immediately to enter into negotiations with a view to resolving the dispute.

Article 36. An employer shall be under an obligation to negotiate immediately to resolve the dispute, and to continue to negotiate while the dispute is pending.

Article 37. In the event of a strike, the employer shall be under an obligation to negotiate immediately to resolve the dispute, and to continue to negotiate while the dispute is pending.


Article 38. Whoever violates the provisions of this Act, or uses his position to nullify or obstruct the operation of the present Statute, shall be punished by a fine of up to 50,000 złoty.

Solidarity Bulletin


Article 38. Whoever violates the provisions of this Act, or uses his position to nullify or obstruct the operation of the present Statute, shall be punished by a fine of up to 50,000 złoty.

Solidarity Bulletin
Chronicle of Resistance

JULY 1982

JULY 14—At the Kwidzyn prison, where both prisoners and assistants are held, one hundred and twenty by ZOMD police and prison officials.

JULY 18—The Central Committee of the P.Z.U.W. (Communist Party) meets and replaces Jerzy Celka with Stanislaw Obrzycki as Poland's Prime Minister.

JULY 21—General Wojciech Jaruzelski announces to the Parliament that martial law will continue indefinitely as long as the government sees fit. The Polish Left claims that martial law is too expensive and ineffective.

JULY 26—The chairman of the Great National Committee, Wlodzimierz Kupinski, who was also the leader of the National Strike Committee in Gdańsk on December 31, in response to the imposition of martial law, is sentenced to three and a half years of imprisonment. He is the second highest ranking official from Gdańsk to be sentenced.

A.P.A. (Polish Press Agency) reports that industrial production has declined 7.6% despite an increase in capital investment of 16.6% over 1981. Living standards also declined by 26%, the cost of living increased by 15.4%.

JULY 28—The Temporary Coordinating Commission (T.K.K.) of the Great National Committee, which has been in an appeal for demonstrations throughout the month of August culminating in a nationwide protest on August 31, the second anniversary of the signing of the Gdansk Agreements.

JULY 30—Near Grodno, ZOMD police are trained for dispensing demonstrations at specially erected replicas of the Lenin Shipping and Railway station in Gdańsk, major centers of protest. In the coming months, soldiers are to be used in the reprisals, and they are dead-end 'Gettoized' at the ZOMD.

AUGUST

AUGUST 1—Ten thousand people gather at the Pankowski cemetery in Warsaw to mark the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Although the German occupation, following the Second World War, has ended, and demonstrators chant 'Solidarity' slogans and hold their hands in the sign of victory. A recorded voice is heard over the speakers, a message, it seems, a final struggle for Solidarity.

AUGUST 12—In Szczecin, a funeral for the son and daughter-in-law of the region's Solidarity leader, Marian Jurczak, becomes the scene of a large demonstration for Solidarity. Approximately 1,000 people, including Jurczak, who was released from prison three weeks ago, march through the streets of Szczecin and are dispersed by the police.

AUGUST 13—in the monopoly observance of the day on which 2,000 people demonstrated in Gdańsk, 6,000 in Kraków, and tens of thousands in other cities. Most police disperse the crowds with water cannons and tear gas. One of the symbolic areas of resistance, the vicinity of the Kopalnia, is surrounded by a forty-foot wall where the late Prime Minister Cardinal Wyszyński lay in state one year earlier.

AUGUST 19—The Polish Prime, Jaroslaw Cegielski, addresses the nation, more than 400,000 people are in the streets of Poznan. Solidarity has taken over the Protest Committees. In Poznan, Jerzy Kukuczka is arrested, and the media reports that the prominent figure is facing charges of violence.

SEPTEMBER

SEPTEMBER 1—The government reports that 4,053 people have been arrested for participating in August 13 demonstrations, and the Military Council for National Salvation orders the arrest of 2,000 people. An additional estimate of 4,000 were arrested during the month of August.

Zdzislaw WNesicki (Soldier of Freedom), the army daily, reports the composition of joint Soviet-Polish military intervention forces in Poland.

Wojciech Gomulka, who ruled Poland from 1956 until 1970, was the general secretary of the Communist Party, dies.

SEPTEMBER 2—The government brings charges against members of the Workers Defense Committee (KOP), who were arrested in 1976 and directed by its members at the Solidarity organization.

OCTOBER

OCTOBER 4—The former Polish ambassador to the U.S. Romuald Spasowski, is sentenced to death in Warsaw for the murder of a dissident.

OCTOBER 10—The Parliament passes a new trade union law, which abolishes the Independent and Social-National Union. Solidarity, the trade union in a Communist country.

OCTOBER 11—Three hundred thousand gather at Jubileum Palace to celebrate the 500-year anniversary of the Independence of the Romanian People.

OCTOBER 14—In his homily, Bishop Ignacy Twarog of the Diocese of Zhodzina, in front of the crowd, demands a new constitution, shows hope for the revitalization of the Church, and the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1791. The Bishop, the release of all prisoners, and an end to repression are the major aims of the newly formed Solidarity union.

OCTOBER 15—On the ninety anniversary of the foundation of the Czar's army, a newconstitutions are adopted.

OCTOBER 19—In the Soviet Union, a new constitution is adopted, which upholds the political system of the Soviet Republic of Poland. The text is read at the 15th Congress of the Communist Party.

OCTOBER 21—In Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev and his family, in front of the crowd, demand a new constitution, show hope for the revitalization of the Church, and the reinstatement of the Constitution of 1791. The Bishop, the release of all prisoners, and an end to repression are the major aims of the newly formed Solidarity union.

Communications with the Solidarity movement, including the release of all prisoners, have been halted by the Soviet government.
Chronicle of Resistance

Solidarity and marking the tenth-month anniversary of martial law take place in Wroclaw, Nowa Huta, and other cities.

October 14—A large crowd gathers at the site of Bogdan Wiski's murder, where people create a shrine of candles, crosses, and flowers. Demonstrations break out, and the crowd is dispersed by security forces.

October 15—Calls for work slowdowns and strikes are issued in the West and East. Unions appear on the streets and in the factories in numerous cities urging a boycott of the new trade unions being established by the government.

October 20—Between ten and twenty thousand people attend Bogdan Wiski's funeral in Nowa Huta. One of the banners carried says, "Bogdan died for us."

October 23—The Temporary Coordinating Commission calls for a new wave of walkouts and slowdowns and renews its call for a four-hour nationwide general strike on November 10.

October 24—An article in the Warsaw government newspaper, Rzeczpospolita, attacks "renegades" within the Communist Party and calls for the success of the new party policy to hold "accountability meetings" in order to purge the party of "careerists."

The government adopts a law to severely limit the sale and distribution of liquor, as well as a law on juvenile delinquency, which entrains families with court orders to forcibly pay to set against the claims of differing, including placing minors in a psychiatric institute.

October 25—In a continued wave of legislation designed to incorporate trade unionists into Poland's new trade union, the National Assembly, the government adopts an "anti-parasite" law for "notorious job strikers," which allows the arrest and forcible draft of anyone who has been a part-time unionist for more than three months or who cannot prove employment. The law is designed to repress those fired from work or unable to get work because of their union activities or sympathies.

October 26—At a meeting of the Central Committee of the P.W.U.P., officials concede that the Polish economy is in an "unprecedented breakdown." Januszewski asks the committee to come up with solutions.

October 29—Zygmunt Janiszewski attacks the United States in a speech to miners for withholding most-favored-nation status from Poland. "Poland is not the state of Texas and will not allow anyone to be locked up on a reservation like the Indians," he says.

October 30—The Ministry of Trade Unions is ordered to draft regulations regarding the assets of the free trade union Solidarity and redistributing them among the new official trade unions.

The Archdiocese of a local official on the visit to the Vatican, states that he is opposed to the call for a general strike on November 10, "primarily because of the sinister repercussions that such an action could provoke."

The Archdiocese also expresses the hope that arrangements can be made with the new Polish government to allow Pope John Paul II to visit Poland next year.

While instructions for conducting the general strike of November 10 are distributed and published on Radio Solidarity, the authorities make elaborate preparations for breaking the strikes and protests. Thousands of workers are drafted into the military and police forces and factory managers threaten workers with the draft if they participate in the strike. Workers are ordered to report to special military camps, where they are guarded by security forces. ZOMO police are stationed inside factories so as to make it easier to break up any sit-ins and strikes.

November 4—P.A.P. (Polish Press Agency) reports that in October, miners in Silesia struck for 25 days, while in southern Poland, an industrial strike involving 899 factories and 46,000 workers began.

The program included messages from Pope John Paul II and the President, who called on workers to participate in strikes and protests on November 10.

November 10—On the day designated by the T.K.K. for strikes and protests, fifteen thousand workers demonstrate in Wroclaw after having a sit-in for eight hours. Strikes and protests take place in Warsaw, Czestochowa, and other cities. However, the heavy deployment of security police inside and outside major industrial centers prevent widespread participation.

Six hundred workers from the New Huta steelworks are drafted into the police force as they are going to work. Managers and policemen threaten similar action against those who participate in protests.

November 11—P.A.P. announces that martial law authorities will release Lech Walesa, he has been isolated for ten months. It is also announced that Parliament will meet on December 13. This announcement comes only after a report of Leonid Brezhnev's death, which has been kept secret by the Soviet Union.

November 14—Lech Walesa, whose whereabouts were unknown for three days after the announcement of the martial law, returns to Gdansk, where a crowd of 1500 greet him. From the window of his apartment, Walesa tells the crowd that he will be "faithful to the agreements made in Gdansk in August." He praises Solidarity for its fight against martial law and tells the crowd that the spirit of Solidarity is invincible.

November 15—The trial of Wladyslaw Frasyniuk begins at the civil court in Wroclaw. He is accused of organizing union activity and strike and protest actions, both violations of the decree of the state of war. He is sentenced to six years in prison on November 24.

Two other Solidarity activists, Jerzy Szumawa and Andrzej Klonowski, are arrested during a anti-military strike demonstration in Dohowa Gorka near Wroclaw, on October 13.

An old man, a crane operator at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, whose dismissal in August caused a strike there, is reported to have been transferred from an internment camp to a mental hospital. Except for a brief period 13 months after he was interned, he had been imprisoned on November 14—Foreign Minister Stefan Chodzko returns from a state visit to India, where he met with India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and, among others, to take talks to improve bilateral relations.

November 18—A fourth radio transmitter of Wroclaw's "Radio Solidarity" is seized by police during a five-minute program that included a recording of a Communist Party meeting, during which a Polish radio host stated that special emergency powers would be granted a civilian government if martial law is lifted. The transmitter that the police seize is connected to a tape recorder, the operators escape.

November 20—Lech Walesa arrives in Warsaw to meet with Foreign Minister Ignacy Jan Paderewski.

Zygmunt Warszawski (Life of Warsaw) reports that martial law may soon be lifted, which corresponds to similar statements by other government papers and statements by government officials.

November 23—Grzegorz Kuczyk, the wife of Solidarity activist Tadeusz Kuczyk, returns to Wroclaw after being released from prison during a January hunger strike. She was released along with her husband and son, remaining until May despite a serious illness.

November 26—The government press agency announces that Parliament will convene on December 13 and 14 in compliance with the military law for National Salvation. Discussions are to be held on a series of fifty new laws, most of which incorporate the decrees of martial law into Poland's statutes.

A front group for the Ministry of National Salvation and the Communist Party, known as the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, calls for lifting the martial law and for the formation of a new government.

November 27—P.A.P. announces that all new trade unions have been registered and that 1,630 applications have been rejected by the courts which have the extension of the strike and protest applications for one year.

November 28—The ministry announces that all unions have joined the new union, Solidarity. The underground Solidarity bulletin reports a widespread boycott of the new union.

November 29—Thirty-two hundred policemen are removed from internment. Many of them have been in internment since December 13. About twenty thousand legal cases are still internment.

November 30—A new year-long boycott of Polish television, which had been a fight against martial law, but the other unions wanted to retain the union's ban on "clerical" activities, is released and able to "talk freely." The boycott is lifted in all of Warsaw's five hundred districts. The new Polish TV is to show old programs and programs with political content.

SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

December 1—The Association of Polish Theater, Television, and Film Actors, ZSPTT, begins a strike in protest of Poland's decision because of ZASPT's boycott, which is valid to this day.

P.A.P. reports that membership in the founding committees of the new trade unions is "modest" but that interest is increasing. At the time of the report, the new union has 1,200 members out of 12,000. However, unreported Solidarity bulletins from Gdańsk put the number at 750 members, most of them retired workers and party members.

December 2—The Military Prosecutor's office announces that investigations of 108 civilians have been begun and that another 117 civilians have been indicted for violations of martial law. They do not say how many have been sentenced by military courts, nor are figures released on how many have been discharged, arrested, or sentenced by civilian courts, which are independent from the military courts.

December 3—A P.A.P. report for the first time on a mining disaster in Bytom, a city in the Silesian region of Poland. Several workers and others involved in rescue operations died and many more were severely injured. The Bytom disaster is one of several accidents at mines since martial law was imposed.

December 7—An interview with the underground Warsaw Solidarity journal, Tygredzka Mowcowana, Zgubiony, says that the workers' widespread boycott of the new trade unions, in the face of coercion, is the Solidarity movement's greatest achievement since martial law was imposed.

December 12—General Jaruzelski states in a radio and television address that the military law for National Salvation will continue until such time as the "extremes of martial law" are removed. The government will be kept. The proposals fail to clear up what government media and spokesmen have been left to do.

December 13—Lech Walesa, the leader of the团结 movement, says that the agreement between the government and the Solidarity movement is not enough to satisfy the needs of the country.

December 14—The Parliament passes legislation allowing the government to control the media. The legislation allows the Council of State to regulate martial law at any time, instead of the Polish Constitution. The new law allows the government to control radio, television, newspapers, and magazines. The government can also control the media with extraordinary powers, including the Polish Constitution's provisions of reporting on news and information, and continues the full powers of martial law. Poland remains in a state of emergency.