



Solidarność

**REPORT OF IMF MISSION
TO POLAND**

3-11 DECEMBER 1980

PREFACE

The events in Poland have stirred the world. The struggle and achievements of Polish workers since the first wave of strikes in late summer 1980 have marked one of the historic victories of working class organisation this century. It does not matter what our political outlook may be, there is no trade unionist in the world who has not been fully committed to the fight for independent, democratically accountable trade unions in Poland.

1980 will go down in history as the year of Lech Walesa. But as any trade unionist knows successful trade union organisation is far more than one individual. Reporting of what is happening in Poland has tended to concentrate on Warsaw and Gdansk and ignore the broader picture of Solidarity's development all over Poland.

That is why a member of the IMF secretariat in the course of a visit to Poland went to towns and workplaces to talk to workers and others to try and assess what is happening in trade union terms inside Poland. The mission was carried out between 3 and 11 December at a time when there was great tension about a possible Soviet intervention. That threat will not go away but neither will the determination of Polish workers to build their own trade union organisation. Events in Poland move fast but this report gives a useful indication of the state of trade union development in Poland by the middle of December 1980. It also suggests areas where Solidarity may need to concentrate in order to strengthen its organisation. Most important the IMF now has a clearer idea of what useful contribution our affiliated unions can make based on requests from the Polish workers themselves. The workers in Poland know that we are watching what they are so marvellously doing with care, with anxiety, with friendship and with practical support. They know they can always rely on our solidarity.

Herman Rebhan
General Secretary
International Metalworkers Federation

TIMETABLE

3 December	.....	arrive Warsaw
4 December	.....	Walbrzych, Wroclaw
5 December	.....	Wroclaw, Unitra Electrical Factory Katowice
6 December	.....	Cracow, Lenin Steel Works Cracow, Solidarity Art Auction
7 December	.....	Warsaw
8 December	.....	Warsaw, Fiat Polski Factory Warsaw, Ursus Car Factory Radom
9 December	.....	Szczecin, Warski Ship Yards Szczecin
10 December	.....	Gdansk
11 December	.....	return Geneva



MKS	Inter-Factory Strike Committee
MKZ	Inter-Factory Organisational Union Committee
MKR	Inter-Factory Workers Committee
	Thus at the time of the August strikes areas that went on strike formed MKSs and they either kept that name or changed it to MKZ or MKR.
NSZZ	Independent self-governing trade union
	The most important NSZZ is NSZZ "Solidarnosc" (Solidarity) which is the legally registered name. Some regional or plant unions within Solidarity call themselves MKS (or Z or R) – NSZZ Solidarność and will drop the prefix MKS once regional elections are held and they consider themselves fully constituted.
CRZZ	the old national centre, now dissolved
WRZZ	regional sections of CRZZ
	Many of the old unions have changed their name now to NSZZ.
Wojewoda	Regional Prefect
Wojewodztwo	Region
	There are 49 regions in Poland and the Wojewoda has considerable power.
Praesidium	Executive Committee or Board
PZRP	Polish United Workers Party (Communist Party)

Lech Walesa	President, National Solidarity
Andrzej Gwiazda	Deputy President, National Solidarity
Jacek Kuron	KOR founder, National Solidarity's chief adviser
Ryszard Kalinowski	Vice-President, National Solidarity; President Elblag Solidarity
Kasimir Switon	Katowice Solidarity, former Amnesty International prisoner of conscience
Witek Luczywo	Chief Printer, Solidarity Warsaw
Janusz Bilinski	Walbrzych Solidarity
Karol Biaszrayk	Walbrzych Solidarity
Franciszek Gostomoryk	Walbrzych Solidarity
Jurek Wojcech	Walbrzych Solidarity
Jan Litynski	KOR adviser to Walbrzych Solidarity
Krzysztof Turkowski	Vice-President, Wroclaw Solidarity
Barbara Nabzdyk	Unitra Lamp Factory, Wroclaw
Czeslaw Koztowski	Unitra Lamp Factory, Wroclaw
Radoslaw Obst	Unitra Lamp Factory, Wroclaw
Janusz Gorny	Katowice Solidarity
Adam Czerwinski	Katowice Solidarity
Andrzej Cyran	Vice-President, Cracow Solidarity
Sonik Boguslaw	KOR lawyer, Cracow Solidarity
Kasimir Kubowicz	Lenin Steelworks, Cracow
Jerzy Wlodarski	Lenin Steelworks, Cracow
Andrzej Hudosek	Lenin Steelworks, Cracow
Tadeuz Witacz	Fiat Polski auto factory, Warsaw
Janusz Onyszkiewicz	Solidarity, Warsaw
Jan Pytas	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Andrzej Daumas	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Jacek Jesz	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Janusz Skalski	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Andrzej Sobieraj	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Edmund Chojnacki	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Ryszard Stakowski	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Wlodzimierz Cichy	Member of Solidarity Praesidium, Radom
Maciek Stolwiski	Ursus Tractor Factory, Warsaw
Miroslaw Latka	Jednosc (Unity) journal, Solidarity, Szczecin
Jerzy Debniak	Jednosc (Unity) journal, Solidarity, Szczecin
Luzia Plaugo	Szczecin Solidarity
Kasimierz Kostrzewski	Warski Shipyard, Szczecin
Bogdan Batura	Warski Shipyard, Szczecin
Alexander Krystosikia	Parnica Ship Repair Yard, Szczecin
Christopher Bobinski	Financial Times correspondent, Poland
Helena Luczywo	Editor, Robotnik

INTRODUCTION

A general impression is that Solidarity (the full title is NSZZ "Solidarnosc" — Independent Self-Governing Union "Solidarity") is extremely well established. It has membership, income, premises, expert advice, work to do and a tremendous sense of determination if not a completely clear sense of purpose beyond "getting Solidarity fully organised". The commitment to the Catholic religion is very strong. The hatred of the Soviet Union and bitter contempt for the Polish Communist Party is also clearly evident, though never publicly expressed. Although Solidarity leaders at all levels have a ritual statement about not being involved in politics, merely being "defenders of workers rights", it is clear that many of their demands, — concerned with an end to censorship, the opening to public scrutiny of the security services and bringing to justice of security men involved in acts of repression, the exposure of corruption, the call for joint regulation of public amenities such as transport, and information on arms expenditure — go far beyond simple trade union economic demands. As one Solidarity leader in Katowice put it: "We have to fight to restore citizens' rights and human rights because without those there are no trade union rights".

All the Solidarity members I spoke to had a sharp sense of the external pressures resulting from their geo-political situation. Most condemned the West's obsessive media interest in a possible Soviet invasion. Although the general response was that such an invasion was unlikely, no one completely discounted the possibility. In historic terms strikes are seen as a continuation of Poland's national struggle for independence from the many countries that have subjugated her. Many of the Solidarity bulletins devote considerable space to accounts of past battles or events in Polish history which celebrate striving for freedom. An intense nationalist-religious feeling is evident after even a few minutes' conversation with a Solidarity member, no matter his or her age, or work. Each Solidarity office is incomplete without a union poster or banner, a Polish eagle and a crucifix.

Although I travelled to many different parts of Poland, talked to old and young workers in a wide assortment of jobs, I was struck by the similarity of points of view and cannot report any wide divergences as between regions or between representatives of different industries or professions. Obviously as in all trade unions there are those with a more moderate and those with a more militant outlook but to a visitor the sense of unity is stronger than any sense of divergence.

Solidarity would appear to have about 80 per cent of Poland's workforce adhering to it. Membership lists are kept, I examined one set for about 140 plants in the Solidarity office in Cracow. As yet, no membership cards are issued.

"Solidarity" works on a regional basis, roughly corresponding to the Wojewodztwo (regional authority) districts. The regional committees seemed to me to be dominated by representatives from the professional, technically well-qualified jobs — civil

engineers, computer specialists, school teachers or lawyers. Manual workers I spoke to said they had complete confidence in such people and said that they had put forward white-collar technicians from their own plants as candidates in the Solidarity elections because they were better able to negotiate with management and state authorities. Efforts had been made to include manual workers on the temporary MKS (Interfactory Strike Committee) regional committees which have been constituting the institutionalised presence of Solidarity until the elections taking place at plant level (December – January), followed by elections at the regional level (January – February) produce the formally constituted organs of Solidarity in the regions. There are 49 Wojewodztwo and it appears that there will be a regional Solidarity organisation in nearly all of them with a leading role taken by the major cities, in terms of being centres for training and publication.

They are determined to stick by the regional structure and I found no sympathy at any level for an industrial structure. Partly this is explained by the fact that the old unions were organised industrially and there is a hatred for anything associated with the old unions. There is an impressive commitment to the idea of solidarity – i.e. strong groups of workers like steelworkers or miners helping weaker groups such as health service workers. Examples were given of shipyard and steelworkers refusing extra payments and insisting that the money was given to hospital workers.

Solidarity is also putting forward demands relating to the community – public transport, education, the environment etc. which have to be negotiated with the Wojewoda. Considerable economic and social power rests at the regional level and as a consequence Solidarity is mirroring the actual power structure in Poland. At the same time however, there are committees being set up linking together different plants in the same industry – notably an inter-plant steel industry committee which meets about every 18 days and which has already had one meeting with the Minister of Steel and Heavy Industry and the Polish parliament's committee on heavy industry. Although I suggested that in the future there might be very difficult tensions between different sets of workers from separate work environments grouped together under regional Solidarity organisations I was firmly told that the essence of Solidarity was co-operation between all workers to secure an extension of their rights and betterment of their conditions on a "one-for-all, all-for-one" basis.

With the state owning all industry, one of the key factors that justifies industrial trade unionism in the West, unity for workers in an industry to tackle divided employers, does not exist in Poland. Furthermore within large plants like auto-plants or electrical factories there is a common committee for which workers from different divisions elect delegates. There is no profusion of unions (save for the "old – new" remnants) according to job functions within the plant itself.

Solidarity's income comes from the 1. per cent of members' wages which was the legal basis for the old unions' income. 70 per cent is kept at plant level and 30 per cent given to the region. There is no clear policy on how to spend this money. Solidarity at plant level will continue to use much of their income for social purposes – organising fishing clubs and excursions and to help workers who suddenly need cash for operations. There was a marked reluctance to spend the income on administration, decent premises, staff and equipment, for fear that in so doing, they would be copying the old unions. Solidarity has the right under existing Polish labour legislation for one full-time trade union worker (paid for by the employer) per 1000 employees. They hope to maintain that right in the new trade union bill currently being considered.

Solidarity has obtained offices in most towns, often they have taken over the old union offices and in one case, Katowice, they have a luxurious gothic villa which during the war was the Gestapo headquarters and since has been used as a private club by a local top management federation. As Solidarity becomes more steadily implanted it is moving into bigger offices, usually given by the Wojewoda. Most of those I visited

still had a somewhat makeshift air to them reminding me of a cross between regional strike headquarters and student union offices. Offices have telephones, one in Wroclaw had a telex, but there are very few typewriters, filing cabinets or other office equipment.

All Solidarity regions and some plants produce a bulletin, usually an A5-size of 4 to 12 pages. These vary in technical quality but none is of a higher level than an average student journal produced in the West. They are duplicated or produced on an off-set machine but are poorly typed and laid-out and are printed on very poor paper. Publication is irregular with bigger Solidarity regions aiming for weekly appearance.

The single biggest demand from all the Solidarity offices is for better printing equipment. They have the money to buy it, but simple off-set machines are not available for purchase in Poland. There is also a great shortage of paper and what paper there is, is likely to be unsuitable for over-sophisticated Western printing machines. Table-top offset machines, technically unadvanced photo-copiers, typewriters, staples and staplers, are all desperately needed as gifts from Western trade unions.

Whatever the influence of KOR* in the period leading up to the Gdansk shipyard strike in August 1980 and in the events following the 21 point Gdansk settlement it is clear that now workers are creating the new union by themselves with advice but not direction from KOR members.

Solidarity regional offices in the bigger towns and cities, especially those with universities, will usually have a KOR member on the praesidium but his advice is not

*KOR: Committee for Workers Self Defence was set up in 1976 by opposition intellectuals in order to help workers persecuted after the repression of the 1976 food price demonstrations. It has 35 full members and about 200 collaborators.

always listened to and his role is that of an intellectual expert. In one important mining and construction engineering centre, Walbrzych, a KOR collaborator was dismissed from the Solidarity preaesidium. At plant level there is no involvement of KOR members, the plant organisation of Solidarity is done by workers themselves. The attacks on KOR in the East German and Czechoslovakian newspapers — describing them as “anti-socialist” are nonsense. With the possible exception of a strike at the Warsaw steel plant (Huta Warszawa) the influence of KOR experts has been to moderate and cool down workers’ demands for action. In Western terms KOR members can be seen as the responsible moderates exercising a restraining influence on the more hotheaded and less thoughtful people at the base. At the same time the driving force behind KOR is a desire to see a general democratisation and liberalisation of Polish society. Solidarity represents the only force strong enough to achieve such openings and changes and therefore KOR activists will continue to ask Solidarity to take up issues step by step which will produce changes in Polish society. The relationship between Solidarity and KOR has been and probably still is symbiotic. Whether it remains so indefinitely is an open question.

In each Solidarity regional office several lawyers are employed (some of them paid modest fees from Solidarity’s income) to advise on drafting and to sort out legal problems presented by workers and the public. One problem faced by Solidarity is that individuals with grievances often stretching back for years are coming to the Solidarity regional offices asking for help and advice. Solidarity feels it has to take up such cases in order not to lose credibility with the public.

Poland’s economic situation is accepted as catastrophic and unlikely to get better for some years. At Nova Huta (New Steelworks) outside Katowice, Solidarity have called for a complete halt to further investment in this 1970’s showpiece. It has been producing steel inefficiently which has been sold at below production cost prices to the Soviet Union or dumped in the West.

Long queues standing patiently in sub-zero temperatures outside all sorts of shops are a commonplace sight in all towns and cities. Meat and butter rationing has been announced. Peasant markets are very poorly stocked and there are shortages of everything ranging from toilet paper to sugar. Attempts are being made to launch a peasant Solidarity which would have its main demands the right to own and pass on land, equal treatment with state farms for allocation of agricultural machinery and fertilisers, higher prices to encourage production, and an equitable system of old age pensions for peasants.

Until the late autumn Poland’s 3 million peasants were working on the land and were not involved in Solidarity save for worker-peasants in some areas. (A worker-peasant is a worker who owns a small land-holding, has a regular industrial job and leaves his wife and older relations to look after the land while he is at work). Winter time is the traditional period for peasants to organise themselves. It may well be that peasant Solidarity becomes an important force in the months ahead, though no one seemed to have the faintest idea how such an organisation could (or should) be integrated into Solidarity proper.

Workers I spoke to accepted that the economic situation would get worse and that a further period of belt-tightening was ahead. They would not take action against this provided they could carry on the work of establishing and organising Solidarity. At one level there is a kind of trade-off between Solidarity and the authorities which takes

the form of an unspoken understanding whereby Solidarity agrees to present no more wage or holiday demands beyond those granted in the Gdansk settlement and to help maintain labour discipline while in exchange the authorities do not harrass Solidarity’s organisational work though they do not go out of their way to aid it. Equally workers believe that the existence of Solidarity will put an end to inefficient or corrupt management to which the authorities and the party had previously turned a blind eye. In an electrical factory in the suburbs of Wroclaw workers said that they hoped to establish some system of self-management inside the plant so that managers would have to discuss their plans jointly with workers representatives.

Solidarity is an established fact in Poland and, in my view, a genuine, fully representative, independent, democratic organisation of workers. Solidarity badges are worn openly by hotel receptionists, airline staff, taxi drivers and one can visit any factory without prior appointment and talk to plant Solidarity representatives. They welcome statements of support and visits from trade unions in the West. The French CGT has sent a delegation which caused considerable anger in some places by calling on the local communist party headquarters before coming to Solidarity. Everyone insisted that economic support from the West, credits, financial and technological aid (at the Lenin steelworks near Cracow I was asked if any Western steel union could sell them some up-to-date steel equipment!) was vital, should continue and that Western unions should put pressure on their government to continue and step up such aid. Some, though not all, asked that in giving such aid Western government should try to get the Polish government to commit itself to a full honouring of the Gdansk agreement and that the aid should be used efficiently and not as one electrician put it “to build new offices for the security police or to buy Western bugging equipment in order to survey us.”

The top need — and this was said spontaneously no matter whom I asked — is for equipment and materials for technically undemanding printing. They would also like books and pamphlets, preferably translated into Polish, on how trade unions in the West function — their structure, voting procedures, descriptions of collective bargaining and agreements, relationship with the law, arbitration and grievance procedures.

Two major problems confront Solidarity. The first is that the regional and national unions are taking on far too much. People with a wide assortment of complaints turn to Solidarity for help as it is the only organisation which appears to be independent and powerful enough to take up their claim. In particular there is a strong sense in some regions of the need to bring to justice those responsible for the repression of 1970 and 1976. Many of the leading intellectuals associated with Solidarity, although exercising a moderating influence as far as strikes are concerned and further acknowledging the leadership role of workers themselves, see Solidarity as a means of re-ordering of Polish society along more open, democratic lines. Where “trade unionism” end and “politics” begins is in any society a difficult and perhaps a false question but from a Western trade union point of view Solidarity is being asked to undertake tasks that would not normally be considered trade union work in democratic countries.

The second problem that Solidarity needs to overcome is getting to grips with structure and organisation. The dislike of the operating style of the old unions and the continuing presence of enthusiastic volunteers, many of them students or young intellectuals, is obscuring the need to develop proper organisational systems. Lines of decision are not clear and the ultra-democratic systems currently being rather loosely operated can easily play into the hands of demagogues.

Bearing in mind that at the time this report was written the whole movement was barely 4 months old and had been official and legal for only a few weeks it is extraordinary to see the progress made.

IMF unions with their democratic traditions and wealth of experience have a major role to play in helping Solidarity develop into a firmly based, independent and democratic organisation that can work efficiently to serve the workers of Poland.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND TO THE AUGUST 1980 STRIKES

The 1970s was a decade of extraordinary political and economic change for Poland. The arrival in power of Edward Gierek, the technological and consumption orientated leader from Silesia saw a massive investment in heavy industry in Poland. Half of Poland's capital has been formed since 1970, most of it in the shape of massive loans from the West and the Soviet Union.

Poland now owes \$24 billion to the West and it is thought that the total value of Poland's exports to the West in 1981 will not fully cover her interest payments on this massive debt. In 1971 the Soviet Union lent Poland \$100 million, in 1976, \$1.3 billion and late in 1980, \$1.35 billion. This massive indebtedness has clear implications for Western policy as well as being an important factor in Russia's handling of the situation. However, to get the debt in perspective it should be remembered that at the end of 1979 Yugoslavia had a foreign debt of \$15 billion, almost twice the per-capita debt of Poland. In the early 1970s foreign money, especially from US banks, flowed into Poland, partly under the influence of detente policies. There was a massive rise in central investments — 7 per cent in 1971, 23 per cent in 1972, 25 per cent in 1973. Even after the 1973 oil price rise shock investment in Poland continued at a high level.

Salaries rose very quickly — by 45 per cent between 1971 and 1976. Although there was a heavy increase in consumer goods, cars and television sets, the net result was too much money chasing too few goods. This produced a black market for the middle classes and those with privileged access to such purchases by virtue of jobs held or party membership. At the same time the working class was left out of this consumer boom. The use to which the loans were put was never effectively controlled by the lenders and millions were wasted on buying equipment which could not be used or were diverted into building luxurious offices for the party or security police and even into building dachas for regional officials.

In 1976 Gierek tried to go into reverse with a slowing down of heavy industrial investment, an increase in consumer goods production and a 40 per cent rise in the state controlled food prices. These produced demonstrations in Warsaw and Radom which although harshly put down by the police and army were sufficient to revoke the food price increases. There were also widespread though unreported sit-down strikes.

The problem of food production in Poland has never been resolved. Three-quarters of the land is still in the hands of peasants — there are 3 million separate farms or plots of land. The state has tried to collectivise some farms or persuade peasants to lease, sell or leave their farms to the state by means of inducements such as offering state pensions to those willing to surrender land or by making great difficulties in obtaining tractors or fertilisers for unco-operative peasants. The peasants' response has been to cut down production to what can be sold on peasant markets and what is needed for personal family subsistence. All efforts by the state to reform the farming system have been viewed with great suspicion.

Although Gierek came into power with the reputation as a technological reformer he in fact slowed down decentralising economic reforms which had been cautiously introduced by Gomulka in the late 1960s. Gierek also purged the PZPR (Communist Party) removing 140,000 members by the end of 1971. New members were under much more centralised control.

Obviously information on specific internal policy developments in Poland in the 1970s is not easily available but from the data we have we can see that a massive influx of Western money led to immense waste, uncritical investment in heavy industry, the development of a consumer market that excluded workers while at the same time purges inside the party led to a middle layer of leadership dependent on patronage and unable or unwilling to criticise the economic mismanagement of the country. The tensions thus created could not be resolved without some kind of rupture, the first and most decisive stage of which was the strikes from July onwards in protest at food price rises which gradually became transformed into the strike, occupation and agreement between workers and the government at Gdansk in August 1980, followed by the creation of Solidarity.

Meeting with Ryszard Kalinowski, Chairman of Solidarity in Elblag, a small industrial town (working population of 160,000 in the region, of which 120,000 are in Solidarity) on the Baltic coast. He is 28 years old and a skilled turner. Before the August strikes in Gdansk he had not been active in any kind of official or unofficial trade union movement. He had been an active member of the Party Youth organisation in the plant but had withdrawn after "I saw how it was working".

"We supported the Gdansk strikes; first of all it was the public transport depots that stopped and then most of the factories in Elblag which is about 60 km from Gdansk. We were the first to go on strike outside Gdansk itself. I was sent as a delegate to Gdansk and stayed there 2 weeks. We had a relay of messengers using side roads to take material from Gdansk to Elblag. Once men were stopped by the police and one of them had to swallow his Gdansk shipyard pass."

Following the Gdansk agreement Kalinowski has divided his time between working in Gdansk — he is officially a Vice-President of the national union and for two months was running the national secretariat under Walesa — and directing the work of his local Solidarity office in Elblag. He is still paid by his factory and has a good relationship with its director who has even provided him with a car. The local office is in a shopping arcade, 200 square meters, consisting of two big halls, four rooms and a photographic dark room. They have used their shop window to advantage placing in it criticisms of local managers who have refused to meet plant Solidarity representatives.

"Sometimes we just tell a manager that he might appear in the window and, very quickly, he becomes willing to meet us and discuss our grievances", he said. "Our biggest problem is the scarcity of information both in terms of what we receive and what we can send to our members. We need more duplicators, telephones, telexes."

Each week Kalinowski presides over a meeting of representatives from the different factories and workplaces where Solidarity is organized. A praesidium of 14 members oversees the regional Solidarity work. It was elected at the time the original MKS (Inter Factory Strike Committee) was set up in August. Once the regional elections for Solidarity are held in February the old ad-hoc praesidiums will be replaced by more fully representative praesidiums.

Kalinowski sits on the committee of the national union that has to deal with the structure of the new organisation. At some plants elections are being held to produce committees of varying size half of whose members will be elected on a section or divisional basis and half on a general all-workforce basis. In others a kind of giant sized Works Council is elected on the basis of one delegate per 100 workers or one delegate per section and the Works Council (or "workers' parliament" as some people described it) will elect an Executive Committee of manageable size.

Kalinowski believes that there should be regular elections for all posts, and a steady turnover of officers in elected positions so that no one can stay and become too powerful. He himself seems a natural leader with a steady, friendly authority.

But he said he would stand down after two or maybe four years. When it was pointed out that it would be illogical to deprive Solidarity of his services in a couple of years' time ("if", he interrupted with a smile, "we survive that long!") just when he was becoming very knowledgeable and experienced he shrugged and said that the time-serving style of the old unions must be avoided at all costs.

This is a common theme in talking to Solidarity representatives — a desire to have the most ultra-democratic egalitarian system possible even at the cost of practicability and effectiveness. At the same time Solidarity is not afraid to use its authority, most notably when Walesa has spoken out against strikes and at a lower level in sorting out problems before too much excitement is generated at the plant level.

Says Kalinowski: "If the regional union goes along and makes a suggestion it is usually accepted because for 35 years people have not been taking decisions for themselves and don't yet fully know how to".

He would like information about how trade unions in the West are structured and how they deal with employers and governments. He would also like to see as many visits as possible from representatives of trade unions in the democratic countries.

Workers pay approximately 10 per cent of their income to rent apartments of 2 or 3 rooms plus kitchen and bathroom which includes the price of heating and hot water. The finished quality of housing is poor despite winter temperatures of -10°C .

Apartments are poorly furnished with a piece of cloth pinned up as a curtain. The waiting list for apartments is 15 years with parents entering their children as members of housing cooperatives. Newly married couples often have to live in a single room in their parents' apartment. It is possible to rent privately at a cost of 3-4,000 zlotys a month (5,700 zlotys = average monthly wage).

The official exchange rate — December 1980 — is US\$1 = 31 zlotys.

The average Polish wage is 5,700 zlotys (US\$186) a month with a cleaning woman in a factory earning 3,000 zl (US\$98) while a skilled machinist would earn 8,000 zl (US\$258) and a qualified engineer 15,000 zl (US\$484).

Many prices are fixed at artificially low levels. Meat (when available) is 60 zl a kilo, apples 20 zl a kilo, a bus ride anywhere in Warsaw is 1 zl. A meal for two in a good restaurant can be had for 200 zl. Clothes are expensive, a good pullover costs 1,200 zl, a warm sheepskin overcoat 20,000 zl.

A Fiat 126 Polski, i.e. the smallest car in Europe, costs 180,000 zl. But the same car can be bought for US\$2,000, less than the selling price in West Europe.

The dollar is the ubiquitous second currency of Poland and has a black market value of 100 – 120 zl, three times the official exchange rate. Taxis, restaurant bills can be openly paid for in dollars and taxi-drivers, waiters, receptionists plus gentlemen always hanging around hotel entrances openly offer to sell zlotys at the black market rate. The dollar economy buys all sorts of goods (cars, fashionable clothes, tickets to the West) which are very expensive in zlotys. There are dollar shops in which goods can only be bought with dollars.

The government is eager to obtain as much hard currency as possible and turns a blind eye to the widespread currency trading. One of the clauses of the Gdansk agreement was that food should no longer be sold for dollars. But for industrial workers with very little access to dollars purchases such as cars are formidably expensive.

Walbrzych, a mining and construction engineering centre, in lower Silesia. The local working population is 250,000, including 30,000 miners, almost all of whom are in Solidarity. There are 25,000 workers in factories producing pre-fabricated parts for the construction industry. The Solidarity offices are a hall and a couple of rooms in a community centre but they are soon to move to the 3-story building vacated by the old unions. In the corner of one room a Solidarity officer gives an interview to an elderly woman complaining about an old injustice. On the wall is a chart explaining union elections in large enterprises with carefully defined responsibilities for each level, e.g. only a full meeting can vote for a strike, while it is the factory committee's task to put forward claims.

4 December is a holiday for workers as it is St Barbara's Day — St Barbara is the patron saint of the miners. The chairman of Walbrzych Solidarity was talking to the local Wojewoda about the distribution of meat at Christmas. I talked to four members of the Walbrzych Praesidium, Janusz Bilinski, 32, secretary of the praesidium, Franciszek Gostomoryk, 47, Jurek Wojchech, 31, a construction worker and Karol Biaszrayk, 38, a miner and a member of the Polish United Workers Party, the communist party.

What are their main demands? "To have enough to eat", replies Biaszrayk who takes a leading role in the discussion. "Solidarity has to get organized properly as soon as possible. We need to have genuine leadership. We can only appeal to people and mobilize them but we cannot directly force change ourselves. We are interested in democratic reform. Our plans are realistic, they are not paper plans. We must remain inside the socialist system."

A major victory won by Polish miners following the Gdansk agreement was the abolition of the hated four brigade system. This was a rotating shift system involving 6 days work a week at irregular times of the day and night. Although miners were given their rotas several months in advance it normally meant that their rest periods and day off did not co-incide with moments when either their families or friends were free to spend time with. Now miners work a 5-day week and as a result coal output has dropped. Poland will lose US\$250 million in foreign exchange because of failure to produce sufficient coal to sell abroad in 1981.

Each week they distribute 2,000 copies of an information bulletin produced on an old electric duplicator given to them by the Wojewoda.

The old unions have changed their name to NSZZ. About 10 per cent of workers, mainly administrative and clerical staff still belong to them. The old WRZZ head-quarter is a 3 story building with two conference halls. The Solidarity praesidium are not sure if they really want to move into it, "because we will drown in arm-chairs".

Like other Solidarity regional offices there is a strong voluntarist effort in running it. The only full-time people are two printers, one accounts clerk and one secretary. "Once we are set up as a properly constituted regional organisation we will employ more people", said Bilinski.

Their dream they said is a good printing machine on which to produce their own journal. They had tried to use the state-owned printing houses but the local censorship authorities had wanted unacceptable changes in their copy.

"We feel a bit ashamed asking for help. We have our dignity. But we need printing machines, ink and paper. At the moment wholesale and retail paper merchants are putting paper to one side for us, but this is technically illegal", Bilinski said.

Baiszyak, the party member, refused to answer a question on a possible Soviet invasion and the others kept silent. But they all agreed that economic help from the West was important. "Poland needs such help and loans should be given without conditions. We know the economy is in a mess but we believe that there is no democracy without bread and no bread without democracy", he declared.

In the car from Walbrzych to Wroclaw I spoke to Jan Litynski, a 34 year old sociologist from Warsaw and an active member of KOR set up in 1976. Since the Gdansk agreement Litynski has been based in Walbrzych helping to set up Solidarity.

"Before August 1980 the only opposition element was Jacek Pilchowski, a technician who together with a group of people distributed *"Robotnik"*. But frankly, they were not very influential. There had been some strikes and unrest which simply was not reported. As well as working very long hours workers were angry over corruption and terrible mismanagement. For example, brand new spare parts would be scrapped in order to fulfil the quota for replacements that year. Expensive equipment was brought from abroad, but it turned out to be impracticable and of no use," he said.

"The early MKS demands were simply the 21 demands of Gdansk. A later demand was for the removal of the regional party secretary, which did in fact take place. In September there were strikes in small plants over delays and cheating in the Gdansk agreement's wage rises. To begin with workers here supported Solidarity's involvement and action for political motives, e.g. political prisoners or censorship. But I think there would be less support now. The leadership here all come from specific workplaces. Jacek Pilchowski was a member of the MKS Praesidium to begin with, but he was dismissed from it after they became angry because he had gone to the Wojewoda for a meeting without reference to the praesidium. After he had been dismissed the police said he could not return to his old job but the electronics factory where he worked voted to go on strike to defend him and the police backed off. The plant elections are substantially changing the composition of the old ad hoc MKS plant committees. About half the old people had been replaced and the newcomers are better. The workers are getting rid of people who were shouters. But it is too early to say if the new committees are more radical than the old MKS committees", he added.

Litynski is small, intense and energetic, dressed casually in jeans and a leather jacket. He has managed to win the respect of workers' leaders locally, but there is no doubt that they are in the driving seat of Solidarity in the region.

For the first time since 1945 the miners of Walbrzych were able to celebrate St Barbara's day, 4 December, with a traditional religious service instead of the speeches, medal presentations and banquets under the old dispensation.

By 4 p.m. the large church in this mountainous mining town was packed full of workers and their families. High mass is said by the Archbishop of Wroclaw who preaches a sermon invoking the Polish struggle of independence against the Russians in the 19th century. He invokes the steadfast "solidarity" of St Barbara who died rather than forswear her faith. He gave thanks to the present day Solidarity and urged parents to teach their children the Polish traditions.

A procession of miners dressed up in traditional costumes and sporting Solidarity badges wound its way through the church and peoples' eyes were wet as the mixture of catholicism, nationalism and working class pride — all in this case tightly interwoven and mutually supportive — wound its way to the climax as the procession poured into the streets with flags held high.

The service ended with lighthearted banter between the Archbishop and a miner as they chatted on the high altar and exchanged the archbishop's mitre for a miner's hat. Several party members took part in the procession which carried tiny statues of St Barbara, each destined for a Walbrzych pit.

Wroclaw is one of Poland's key industrial cities. There are 433,000 workers in the region of whom 80 per cent are in Solidarity. There are 1800 plants and factories covering general engineering industries, locomotives, armaments, electronics, domestic appliances, machine tools, and Poland's fourth biggest shipyard. It is also a major academic centre with 12 universities and polytechnics. Wroclaw's polytechnics employ 10,000 people on permanent staff.

Apart from the national centre at Gdansk, Wroclaw Solidarity seem to have the best organized and equipped offices including Solidarity's first telex. They have one floor of a big building in Red Square with 15 separate offices divided up for different purposes — praesidium, editorial, collation, legal advice, education services, interview rooms, etc.

The influence of academics and lawyers is strong in Wroclaw Solidarity. There is a permanent team of 40–50 lawyers who participate in plant meetings advising on elections and drafting statements. There is also a considerable legal aid service given by lawyers to workers who consider themselves unjustly treated by plant or regional administration.

An important figure in Wroclaw is Karol Modzelewski. In 1964 he co-authored with Jacek Kuron, the highly critical "*Open letter to the Communist Party*" which is seen as the launch point for what became the Polish opposition. Modzelewski gave up active opposition work some years ago to devote himself to academic life, but was brought back to work on the MKS praesidium in September 1980.

According to Krzysztof Turkowski, a 26 year old historian who is deputy chairman of the Wroclaw praesidium, the workers to begin with were anti-intellectual, but this feeling disappeared. "Workers fully identify with KOR", he said. He had become involved because he had distributed several thousand leaflets listing the 21 Gdansk demands.

Bus drivers in Wroclaw had gone on strike in August and he became the press spokesman and later the deputy chairman of the MKS. Turkowski said that the praesidium was still basically the old MKS and people who had joined from major plants in Wroclaw. It has 17 members, but only 12 could be called really active. It met twice a week with a printed agenda and minutes were kept of what was agreed. They have not suffered a problem of wild-cat strikes in the region and they have a reasonable relation-

ship with the local party. The regional party newspaper is more readable and more pro-Solidarity. Nevertheless, they do not have any formal dialogue with the party, even its youth section. In fact Wroclaw Solidarity were forming their own youth section inside work places aimed at taking over the functions of the party youth movement.

On the other hand, they do have a good relationship with the local Wojewoda and there is a joint standing committee with the regional authority to investigate demands for facilities from each industry. They have a bank account with several million zlotys in it, but that does not solve their single biggest headache which is lack of access to printing facilities. They cannot go and buy a printing machine. In Wroclaw there are eight centralized printing enterprises, all of them state-owned. In 1944 Wroclaw had 211 printing plants. They have two duplicators, an access to one offset machine at a printing works with which they produce 50,000 Solidarity bulletins a week. The quality of the paper they print on is extremely poor and they would welcome gifts from Western trade unions such as table top offset printers, paper ink, typewriters, cassette recorders and cameras.

The regional office is trying to assert authority at plant level with the creation of a special election committee to supervise plant elections. It has refused to approve several elections and had to disband one newly elected committee because the first thing it did was to organize the distribution of special coupons for the committee members entitling them to a cheap purchase of motor cars. "There are problems with elections. The number of candidates is not limited. People come to nomination meetings in a great holiday spirit. If someone's name is put up there is great applause. Important questions that should be put to the candidates simply aren't asked."

"Candidates do not put up a program, they simply say 'they want honestly represent people who elect them'", said Turkowski. The plant elections are following the pattern set by Solidarity at national level of having half the membership of a general board electing according to work place, sections or divisions and half elected by a general meeting of delegates. The general board then elects its praesidium and chairman.

Wroclaw Solidarity receives a steady stream of foreign trade union visitors including a delegation from the French CGT that caused great anger because they called on the local communist party before visiting the union.

There are no new demands being advanced locally. Instead importance is attached to securing the full implementation of the Gdansk agreement, particularly the clause referring to the qualifications and competence of managers. So far, 100 managers in the Wroclaw region have been removed and there is a continuous investigation into corruption and mismanagement.

There are 70 people working in or based at the Solidarity office in Wroclaw. Apart from volunteers there are 32 delegates on paid leave from their plants and 8 people are paid by Solidarity. But the final question of how many full-time employees they would have would have to be settled by the national committee. Many educational courses had been organized involving several thousand workers and this had also attracted Solidarity activists from surrounding regions.

WROCLAW. In the suburbs of Wroclaw I visited a small electric factory making lamps and switching equipment. It was part of the *Unitra* group and employed 2,000 people, 75 per cent of whom are women. Although no warning was given of the visit there was no problem in getting into the factory. A call from the front office brought a Solidarity representative who quickly arranged with the management for the necessary passes to enter the plant. Just inside the works entrance were large glass covered notice boards on which were placed the photographs and biographical details of the 66 candidates for the 10 member plant committee elections. Some of them were PRZP members. Only 6 were women.

I spoke to Radoslaw Obst, 49, a computer data supervisor and chairman of the MKS in the factory, Barbara Nabzdyk, 37, an assembly line supervisor and Czeslaw Koztowski, 34, an economist.

90 per cent of the workforce are Solidarity members. They organised themselves in August after hearing about the Gdansk strikes. "Workers were unhappy here. They wanted more money. Often there were shortages of materials which caused stoppages and meant lower take-home pay", said Barbara Nabzdyk. "But there won't be any more wage demands. Common sense must prevail", she added.

Although three quarters of the workforce is female there are only 3 women on the MKS praesidium and only six candidates for the plant election. "I know there are only three of us", said Ms Nabzdyk "but our opinions are listened to very keenly." At that moment the economist, Czelaw Koztowski entered the room followed a few minutes later by the MKS chairman Radoslaw Obst. From then on the two men dominated the conversation, often cutting into something that Ms Nabzdyk had started to say.

The MKS committee has representatives in 59 sections (circles was their word) inside the factory who talk to workers without stopping production. These 59 sections will elect representatives to a general board which will meet once a month, to supervise the work of the praesidium.

They use the offices of the old union and have not yet decided what to do with the income they receive. "We will keep some of it for social benefits — certain illnesses, accidents, child births. We haven't yet decided what we will spend on administration. Workers are used to the idea that some of their union dues are used for social benefits and we will have to keep up that tradition", explained Obst. He was in an extremely well paid post, earning 15,000 zl, three times the monthly average.

He said he was interested in involving workers jointly with management in trying to resolve the problems in the factory. He would like to know about the West German system of industrial democracy. "We need to look at the products we are producing

and the prices we are charging. After all we are the co-owners of this plant under our system. We should be visiting the best plants and asking ourselves why can't we produce as efficiently as they do. Our biggest problem over the next six months will be to implement economic reforms at all levels. Here we are desperately short of information. It is still difficult to express the solutions as we see them", he said.

They are firmly committed to the territorial or regional organisation of Solidarity and each fortnight send a representative to attend a kind of general conference of 500-600 plant or enterprise representatives within the region. An ad hoc committee linking together workers in factories producing electrical goods has been set up and Barbara Nabzdyk was a member of it. The previous Sunday she had been in Warsaw talking to workers at a radio factory. "Under the old CRZZ metalworkers union there were too many different industries grouped under the metalworkers' heading", claimed Koztowski, "we are trying to bring together enterprises with similar production profiles".

In both Upper and Lower Silesia the effect of industrial pollution on the environment is causing great concern. The Unitra workers know that their plant pollutes a local river but are not yet sure what to do about it.

Another problem is that of the well-being of pensioners who have to survive on 1,300 zl (US\$42) a month. "Old workers who used to be employed in the factory are in Solidarity and we have to defend their rights", said Obst.

At that moment Koztowski took out some kind of speech or statement which he had written down on paper for some other meeting and started to read it out. "Our aim is justice, honesty, and the well-being of all our members. We need to know what work we are doing, for whom we work, why we produce what we do produce, and why we always have to queue. We have to say what we think and declare that no one has the right to take away our personality from us."

They said that they listened to foreign radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe and that Polish television news was now much more interesting. But they strongly condemned Western media reports emphasizing that a Russian invasion was just around the corner. "Of course we talk about it. But what we need now is peace, quiet and freedom. The reforms are accepted by everyone, both the workers and the authorities", said Obst.

He also advocated a more cautious line towards bringing to justice those responsible for the repression in 1970 and 1976: "People should be made to account for their activities but not now when everyone is very emotional".

The long journey from Wroclaw to Katowice was suddenly punctuated by the sight of seven light tanks along the edge of a snow-covered field. Everyone gasped but on closer examination they turned out to be a Polish squadron and the soldiers looked frozen half to death. A few kilometers down the road we were waved down by a police car. Three policemen examined our papers, saying they were looking for stolen cars.

Polish joke: *Question:* Why do Polish policemen always go round in groups of three? *Answer:* One can read. One can write. And the third keeps an eye on the two intellectuals.

Bridges crossing the roads leading into Katowice had slogans such as "Armaments, no. Negotiations, yes". This refers to SALT talks not to a possible military repression of Solidarity.

In Katowice a huge wall is covered by a Polish and a Soviet flag side by side. Superimposed on the flags are two hands shaking each other and beside this image is the slogan "Eternal alliance, brotherly friendship, comprehensive cooperation". But I was told that in general there were far fewer slogans on public view in Silesia than before August 1980.

Katowice is the steel and mining centre of Poland. It is a dark, gloomy city where heavy industrial pollution can visibly dirty clothes in a couple of hours. Solidarity has an organized presence in 750 plants or mines and claims 80 per cent of the 500,000 workforce in the region. The new steelworks (Nova Huta) were developed in the 1970s with a mix of Soviet cash and Western technology. They have proved formidably expensive, produce steel inefficiently which then is impossible to sell at profitable prices. The works are still not fully completed according to the original plan. Solidarity has called for a halt to any further investment in Huta Nova. One of its workers acknowledged that the steelworks was used as a symbol of the disastrous investment policies of the Gierk era but pointed out that it was very important locally as a major source of employment.

I spoke to Adam Czerwinski, 33, a welder and Janusz Gorny, 25, a computer technician at the Solidarity headquarters which is a large 3 story house set back from the road and decorated in a mock baronial style. During the war it was the local Gestapo headquarters and afterwards was used as a reception centre and private club for senior managers of enterprises in the region.

A key local figure is Kazimierz Switon (see next section) who went on hunger strike to protest a decision by the regional governor to build a road cutting across the processional path to the most important Polish religious shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa, near Katowice. In 1977 Switon, a television repairman, founded a committee for Free Trade Unions which distributed leaflets among Katowice workers. He was arrested in 1978 and imprisoned after being accused of attacking four policemen. He was adopted as an Amnesty International prisoner of conscience. There were hunger strikes and demonstrations in protest at his jailing. He was released in March 1980.

Like elsewhere Katowice became involved in the August strike movement at Gdansk. 20,000 steel workers went on strike and threatened to completely close down the major blast furnaces if the Gdansk agreement was not settled. They forced government representatives to negotiate with strikers in Katowice in order to make clear that the Gdansk agreement would apply all over Poland.

"In spite of obstacles from the Party we have got Solidarity organized. Inside plants they made access to internal radios, photocopiers and printers very difficult. They tried to dismiss Solidarity activists and raised objections to people who wanted time off for Solidarity activities", said Czerwinski. "Another trick was to get Solidarity in some plants to sign an agreement jointly with management and the now defunct committees for self-management calling for better productivity. At this stage we are not going to be made co-responsible for production. The Party also circulated leaflets or cartoons purporting to come from Solidarity which, in fact, would have damaged as if they were taken seriously", he added.

He showed one of the sheets which was a crude cartoon of a grasping hand, each finger-tip of which had the face of a leading Solidarity activist in Katowice and beside it a line describing him as a "drunkard" or a "hooligan" and other insults.

What are their demands? "Firstly, that Solidarity is left alone to get itself properly organized. Secondly, an end to censorship. Thirdly, that certain buildings for the party or the security police are converted into schools or hospitals. Fourthly, that there is respect for the dignity of the worker as a human being", replied Gorny.

They would not support any more investment in Huta Nova. It had previously been a top priority but truck loads of cement or steel destined for the works would be stopped on the road and diverted to build party or police buildings. Sophisticated equipment bought from the West for the plant had been diverted into private hands. They are now trying to get committees to investigate what happened to the resources that were meant to have been invested in Huta Nova. 50 per cent of their production goes to the Soviet Union. "But our prices are too low", said Gorny. "We get 99 kopeks for a dollar's worth of steel. If we had to compete at fair prices that would be a spur to efficiency."

An important question in the region is that of the environment. Solidarity has created committees in every plant to try and control safety and pollution problems. In a notoriously dirty aluminium plant they have forced the management to install filters to protect the environment.

Although refusing all talks with the communist party they are talking to the regional administration (Wojewoda). In each town in the region there is a co-ordinating committee to discuss issues like public transport. They are also taking up many individual cases: in some instances, they say, people have been waiting 20 years to have their problems taken up.

What do they consider to be their achievements since September 1980? "We have been dismantling social and political collectives — the party, the youth movement, other party controlled organisations", they replied. "These had tremendous power — promotions, cars, apartments were all obtained through them. Now we have stopped the arbitrary distribution of apartments. We are being consulted about changes in the plants. We are making management take responsibility as individuals for their plants". But, they argued, they still don't have enough data on which to make real decisions. "We know Poland is in an economic mess", said Gorny, "but if we don't know how much is spent on the health service or how much is spent on internal security or even what the national income really is, how can we decide what our economic priorities should be?"

Would they support the five demands raised by the Warsaw steel plants concerning the bringing to justice of those responsible for the repression of workers involved in the 1970 and 1976 events? "Solidarity must fight for citizens' rights in order to develop workers' rights. If basic human rights are violated then everything is compromised", they said.

Katowice Solidarity produces 90,000 copies of their local bulletin a week. 20 people are in full-time employment, though most of them are lawyers. They are trying to collate information and demands from plant Solidarity unions to decide what the final bureaucratic structure should be. They said they welcome visits from Western trade unions.

"I sleep in the Katowice Solidarity office and get up at 6 a.m. to go to wash. Afterwards I have breakfast with my wife and family and I return here. I try and visit one factory a day. There are always organisation problems inside factories. The most important thing now is to get consolidated and strong. Once we are strong we can solve our problems. To be honest we don't have enough experience; after all, how many of us know how to make a trade union.

"In Silesia we have no objections to the Gdansk leadership. When they are properly constituted the regional Solidarities will be strong enough to operate independently. But we wouldn't strike independently. A strike is the ultimate weapon. A strike now would lead to catastrophe. I don't believe an invasion is likely but no one can exclude the possibility.

"After visiting enterprises I return to my office here. The door never closes. There always seem to be people who want to see me. It can be social problems like I have just had to find a place in the mountains for a 12 year old girl with pneumonia or another problem just given to me is what to do with a juvenile delinquent whose father has left home and whose mother is very ill.

"Before August 1980 people who had contact with me, especially in connection with the Free Trade Union Committee were harassed by the police. Some were fired, others were refused their legal benefits, while the children of some were not allowed to continue their studies. Now these people are coming to me asking for justice.

"It is difficult to get away to have lunch and I have no time to read the newspapers or watch television. I believe that trade unions outside Poland should put pressure on the ILO and demand that ILO conventions are respected. They could also influence their governments so that when they lend Poland money they ask that the loans are used for consumer investment, not for arms manufacturing. I go on writing letters and seeing people right through the evening and get to bed between 1 and 2 a.m."

Poland's productive capacity takes a further slump downwards with the legal introduction of a 5 day week on 1st January 1981.

The free weekends were part of the Gdansk agreement and have had to be conceded nationwide though a government minister has said they may have to be re-negotiated. One problem is that shop assistants have asked for Saturdays off as well which means that many shops are shut on Saturday.

I asked Katowice steelworkers if they would be willing to return to a 6 day week if there was an appeal to them to do so in order to help the Polish economy. "Certainly not", was their reply, "we worked 6 days and more before and the economy was still disastrous. The answer is to be found in better management and equipment, not in working the Polish worker to death."

Domestic and other buildings in main cities and towns in Poland are heated by means of steam pipes organized centrally at city-wide heating plants.

On 10th October 1980 workers at six such plants went on strike, mainly for more pay. I talked to one of them, a 30 year old woman: "There wasn't any Solidarity organisation at the plant. We just had a meeting and put forward our demands. But no one competent came to talk to us. I suppose you could say that our reserves snapped and we stopped the heating, but not to hospitals and kindergartens. Then someone came down and agreed wage rises and also a new system of wages to be introduced on 1st January."

"We now have Solidarity in the plant, but it's not too well organized. The old union is still there and their representatives are very clever in taking up some of our demands. As a result of the strike we have now linked up with similar plants all over Silesia. You know what made us really mad — after the strike the papers said that the breakdown in central heating was caused by an act of sabotage. We were really angry over those articles."

Silesia, Poland's industrial heartland, has a rival union to Solidarity. It is based in the small region of Jastrzebie and claims for its membership range from 25,000, mainly miners, to over 1 million workers in all parts of Silesia.

The secretary of this organisation is a senior member of the regional PZPR and it is thought to be one of the communist party spearheads for the fight with Solidarity for workers' loyalty.

The NSZZ Jastrzebie has been given publicity in Polish newspapers and magazines, especially for its criticisms of Lech Walesa and its accusations that Solidarity is taking on too political a character.

A clearer picture of exactly how much support it and other "old — new" unions have vis-à-vis Solidarity will be available once the plant elections are finished in January and the regional elections in February 1981.

Again Solidarity is housed in a slightly ramshackle but very busy office. On Saturday morning there is a constant coming and going and all the telephones ringing non-stop. The 3-story building given to them by the city authorities had 29 rooms and 6 telephones and they hoped shortly to move to larger premises. Although best known as a beautiful university city Cracow is an important industrial centre with 750,000 workers in the region. The Cracow Lenin Steelworks employs 40,000 workers and there are important aluminium, heavy engineering and metalworking plants in the region.

I spoke to Andrzej Cyran, Deputy President of Cracow Solidarity, a civil engineer and to Sonik Boguslaw, a lawyer, KOR collaborator and member of the local Solidarity praesidium. They said 500,000 workers were in Solidarity and they had organised presence in 1,400 plants. Membership lists, each in its own file, were kept in the office.

"Our main priority is to exist. There won't be many more members. We now have to get ourselves properly organised." They are setting up health and safety committees in plants and calling for the closure or modernisation of plants causing pollution. "Getting a decent printing machine is a top priority. We also want to launch training courses and lectures for workers", said Cyran. Every fortnight there is a meeting of Solidarity plant representatives and a senior Cracow representative goes to Gdansk for the weekly national committee meeting.

They have not had major problems with the party. "This was one of the few regions where there were not great tensions. We are trying now to have a system of two powers. This can be good for exposing the faults in the system", explained Cyran.

They saw as their program the full implementation of the 21 Gdansk demands plus an investigation into the events of 1970 and 1976. "Everything we do has political significance. You can't avoid it. But at least now the authorities are more accustomed to strikes. The word "political" was used to frighten workers. But one should compare the losses caused by the strike with the losses caused by bad organisation inside plants".

There are five steelworkers in a praesidium of 20 people. They claimed that efforts had been made to push forward manual workers to take up positions at the regional level "but workers are still nominating the better qualified people in the plants".

The catholic church, they said, gives them moral support and also provides an example of how an institution can guard its independence within the system. KOR had been important in August and September distributing leaflets and acting as an information centre.

Their main needs are for printing equipment, typewriters and paper. They think it would be possible to invite Solidarity members to visit the West, but such invitations should come from unions "without an ideological background". They refused to be more specific on that point but further suggested that church organisations could also issue such invitations for Solidarity activists who could thus be involved in programs on how democratic trade unions are structured and operate. They would also welcome deeper analysis in Western media of what is happening in Poland and how Solidarity is establishing itself.

Niezależność

Pismo Niezależnego Samorządnego Związku Zawodowego SOLIDARNOŚĆ - region Mazowsze

LIST OTWARTY

Pańko Premierze,
 Kiedy koszykierzy masze pięknie
 wspaniale śpiali Pan Gitynko, Go Ry -
 "Solidarności" - ofiarujecie nam, Tę-
 dowie, który Pan reprezentuje? Nie
 miałem sporowadzi wypełniać oświade-
 czeń przedstawicieli "Solidarności",
 pozwałał więc sobie uszytych to podro-
 żać na łamach naszego pisma.
 Sierwikie latotym faktem jest
 powstrzymanie wielu procesów w gospo-
 darce i życiu społecznym przychają -
 cych kraj w kryzys i chaos.
 Stworzona została możliwość wyro-
 wadzenia reformy gospodarczej i spła-
 cenia jej na szychich funduszach be-
 dowanych przez nas zwiaszek, odróżne
 nia się ajicie społecznego i antyety-
 cznej odpowie'żalności społecznej -
 atwa sa oblicze naszego Kraju.
 Istotny jest też fakt, że srodziska
 nie społeczną kontrola, powstrzymać
 skłócełajki proceder wielu dyspa-
 ray. Społeczna kontrola u-
 defraudatów, do wszelki-
 niegola ich od wza-
 stępną krok -
 Spram
 nie

Realizacja podwytek uwzględnianych
 w Porozumieniu Gdańskim jest tamtem
 Oporowemie opartego na wstępnaj ana-
 lizie 300 ankiet wydziałowych przez
 przedstawicieli tki "Solidarności"
 regionu Mazowsza. Pracę wykonał Odr-
 sek Szadad Szkołecznych przy "Mazowsze"
 /autorcją jest Irene Wójcicka/.

Wzrost Procentu Gdanskim
 Wzrost procentowy 1.07.80. /u to-
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 nierówności płacowych między
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 Choćbyś Po-
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 powiedz, że

Jak dzielili się podwytki w zakładach
 Oporowemie wydziału przy sposobie
 dzielnicia podwytki a/ wazny przy-
 wazy doszają tyle samo, b/ niskie
 płace wstrząsają bardziej niż wysokie
 /warianł dekretywny/, c/ niskie płace
 powiększają się z większą amą niż
 wysokie /warianł progresywny/.

WIKI ANKIETY

Imiej tu ankiety jest wykasnie.
 Użoi są w więzieniu przeciw-
 stwot przegranyemu, opowiadają
 że sa podziałem równy albo -
 wstetaj - na poprawę sytuacji il
 waznych najgorszej sytuacji -

lato jest, że przy tak szyb-
 kach wrodzicie om i tak fa-
 ktywizacji podwytki mogą
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 równania wzrostu wzrostów
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 y zakładów,
 inny wariant

będą siewie-
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 waz

PROTEST
 m.w. Sawicka
 Ludzie Wybrzeża, Kopalni, Hut,
 Wszyscy, których polaczył trud,
 Którzy ujęczyli - Polakę zwią-
 i okupili własną krwią.
 Przeciwko złu
 Protestujemy!
 Chwały historii prawdę znać,
 Przekształcić milczący straszyc, zgad.
 Odrata się opowai braci,
 Niech kobiety pozna świat.
 Przeciwko klamstwu
 Protestujemy!
 Zabrakło też, zabrakło słów,
 Kordywe serca sierot, wdów,
 Kto wędził poczrzy, kto ich rat ?
 Kto łunowiczą z ławych lat ?
 Przeciwko zbrodni
 Protestujemy!
 i kto współdziałał z nią - pod 54d i
 Niech przewziodzi czarnie woski stad.
 że na kim szych bratnia k wu,
 tego nie winie ludu griew.
 Przeciw bezprawiu
 Protestujemy!
 Niech pomnik stanie w Gdańsku - tam,
 gdzie padł u swej stoczni brzo.
 Dajcie nam dziś nas lepszy los.
 Dajcie nam dzisiaj łącząc głos
 Przeciw Narodu zdradzie
 Protestujemy!

 Kraków, Nowa Huta, dnia 27 listopada 1980 rok

WIEZALÉŻNY SAMORZĄDNY ZWIĄZEK ZAWODOWY
Solidarności
 Biuletyn informacyjny
 Hutników
 DZIA 1.11.1980 r.
 KRAKÓW - HUTA IM. LENINA - NR 5

Top: Warsaw region Bulletin
 Bottom: Cracow Lenin Steelworks Bulletin

In Wroclaw Solidarity produces each week an A5 size, 8-12 page bulletin. The typeface is small and that combined with poor offset printing and low grade paper makes it not very inviting to read by Western standards.

The issue of 21 November 1980 led with an editorial written by an intellectual on the importance of plant elections. The basic purpose of Solidarity, he wrote, was to create democratic freedoms. Solidarity was committed to truth which will be its contribution to governing the country. The worst danger is that the union will be taken over by careerists and opportunists. Solidarity's main concern is the problems faced by workers in the enterprises. He then went on to defend the territorial structure of Solidarity and touched upon the question of self-management.

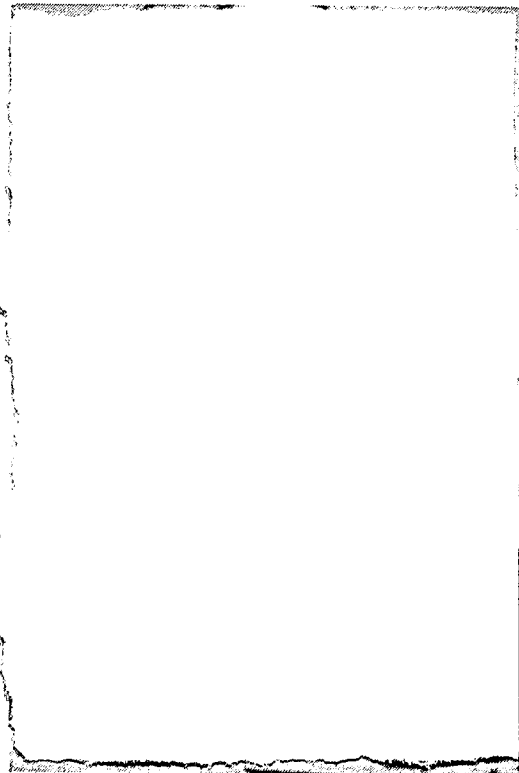
There was a report on the negotiations in Gdansk between the authorities and Health Service workers. This was followed by a report of the Independence Day (11 November) celebrations in Gdansk. The final article was a lengthy analysis of the moral and political role of the union.

The issue of 29 November was entirely devoted to the 1830 uprising against the Russians.

A general problem with all the Solidarity bulletins that were read was the absence of articles and reports about specific problems relating to working life and union organisation. Accounts of what is happening inside factories are rare. Bulletins seen that were being produced in December 1980 were improving in this respect.

The front page of the Cracow Solidarity Bulletin of 22 November reproduced a report of the 1830 uprising against the Russians. This was followed by an article on how to go about plant elections, an extract of a speech from a teachers' meeting, a list of the demands raised by secondary school teachers, an article on environment protection, an article on current economic-political problems, two letters to the editor and a statement from the Warsaw region of Solidarity about the arrest of the printers in connection with the secret Prosecutor General's document on harassing Solidarity and KOR members.

The building of this large plant, which employs 40,000 people and symbolises the change in Poland since 1945 from an agricultural society to an industrialized society, began in 1954. Without prior appointment, it was possible to visit the plant Solidarity offices situated in a kind of large gate-house beside the works' entrance. The PZPR plant group also have their offices in the same building and the brand new Solidarity sign stands alongside the PZPR sign beside the building's front door.



The Solidarity office in the Lenin Steelworks, Cracow

Inside the Solidarity office, I spoke to Kasimierz Kubowicz, an internal transport driver, Jerzy Wlodarski, an electrician and Andrzej Hudoszek, a worker in the wire division. They were all extremely interested in trade unions in the West and wanted to know if it was possible for the plant Solidarity to affiliate to the IMF.

They claimed a 96 per cent membership for Solidarity with 1,000 people left in the old union. They were on strike for 6 days in August. They have divided the plant into 26 sections, each one of which elects its own section committee. There is a plant board consisting of one delegate per 800 workers and this chooses its own praesidium. They produce a weekly bulletin.

Their main demands in addition to the Gdansk demands are for an investigation into waste and mis-management in the steelworks. They have asked for the Supreme Audit Court to make an investigation but, so far, have received no reply.

Together with other steel plants, they have formed a steel industry committee which meets every 18 days and examines general problems relating to the entire steel industry, as well as being the body that goes to talk to the government about the collective agreement covering steel.

The committee has had meetings with the Minister responsible for steel as well as with the Polish parliament's commission on heavy industry. As a result of the meeting with

the Minister, he agreed to appoint a special commission, composed of experts and technical directors from steel plants charged with the following mission:

- 1) To prepare an analysis of working conditions inside steel plants;
- 2) To report on the effects steel plants have in polluting the environment;
- 3) To examine ways and means of ending inefficiency in the industry;
- 4) To report on working methods which might be dangerous and to make proposals about a reduction in working time for steelworkers involved in heavy or dangerous work.

SOLIDARNOŚĆ

KOMITET ROBOTNICZY HUTNIKÓW
ORGAN ZAŁOŻYCIELSKI NIEZALEŻNYCH
SAMORZĄDNYCH ZWIĄZKÓW ZAWODOWYCH
KOMBINATU HUTA im. LENINA

*Związkowe pozdrowienia
dla International Metalworkers
Federation.*

*Komitet Robotniczy
Hutników
O.S.Z.Z. „Solidarność”
Huta im. Lenina Kraków*

*Włodarski
Hudoszek
Kubowicz*

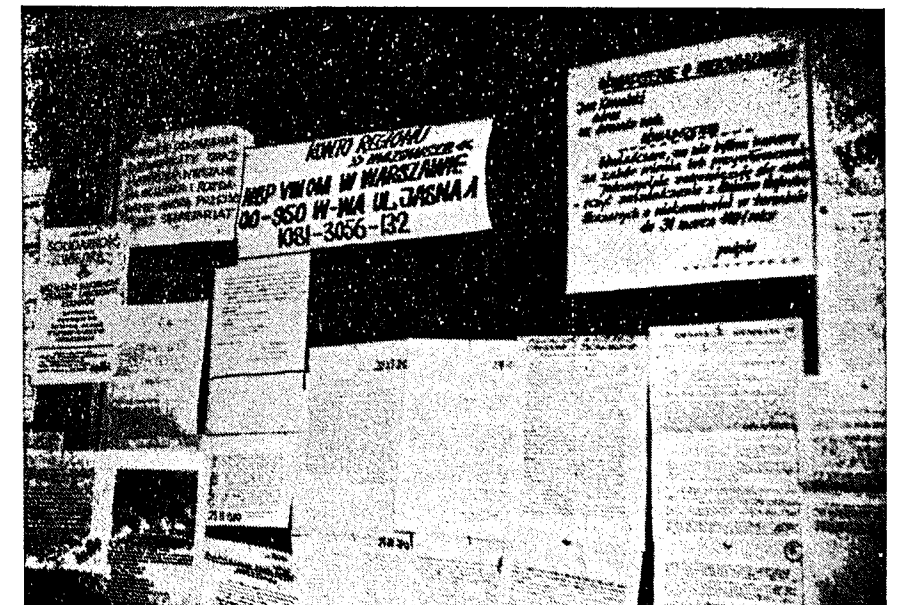
Greetings to the IMF from Solidarity in Cracow

A novel method of raising money for Solidarity has been to hold art auctions to which Polish artists either donate or sell for a nominal fee paintings and sculptures. Two such auctions in Warsaw raised 2,5 million zlotys (US\$81,000).

I attended one in Cracow which was openly advertised with posters around the city. A large hall was packed with a well dressed, middle class crowd. The bidding was fast and the prices generous. Some of the paintings seemed of extremely limited quality and one had a sense of artists thankful finally to sell pictures that otherwise would have stayed against a studio wall for many years. But no one seemed to mind the questionable artistic quality and several hundred thousand zlotys were raised. The auction was an open public event with many people coming and going.

The Warsaw region of Solidarity has 600,000 members organized in 2,000 workplaces. They have a greater number of manual workers by comparison with office workers. I spoke to Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the Warsaw region's official spokesman. Solidarity has a 3-story building in the centre of Warsaw. It has an extremely busy reception hall where queues form to buy the regional bulletin as well as badges and tee-shirts. Other rooms are used for interviews while down in the basement are the printing machines.

Perhaps even more so than in provincial cities, one sees fewer workers in the Solidarity office in Warsaw by comparison with the large number of professionally qualified people or those connected with the universities. "This is quite true", replied Onyszkiewicz. "Here you see intellectuals and white collar workers. But on the praesidium there is a majority of workers. We used to have a lot of workers helping in the office but they hated paperwork. Now they sit on what we call the 'intervention commissions', kind of trouble shooters who go down to plants to sort out problems."



Notice Board in Solidarity office, Warsaw

He said that the region was against having workers organized on an industrial basis "because then Solidarity will become just a federation of unions. There will be coordinating committees for various industries but these will not have permanent secretariats, nor will they have any executive power. They can discuss problems but any specific action can only be undertaken with the authorization of the regional or national Solidarity."

Instead, he said that they were discussing the idea of setting up craft sections within Solidarity e.g. linking together all the drivers or electricians to see if a common pay agreement could be formulated. But he stressed that these ideas were only at the discussion stage.

To give some indication of the kind of tension and pressure under which Solidarity operates, just at that moment a woman rushed in to call Onyszkiewicz away. He came back a few moments later to say that the Russian news agency TASS had put out a story saying that in the southern Polish town of Kielce workers belonging to Solidarity at the Iskra factory which makes spark plugs had stormed the local party offices and occupied them. Telephone calls to Solidarity in Kielce established that the TASS report was wholly false and the Polish government itself quickly put out a denial. Nevertheless, the Iskra story shows the way in which the Soviet Union deliberately provokes tension aimed at spreading the idea that things are out of control in Poland. Nonetheless, Onyszkiewicz condemned what he called the Western media's "sabre-rattling. But there is nothing we can do about it. We have to keep our nerve. The West should report objectively what is happening here."

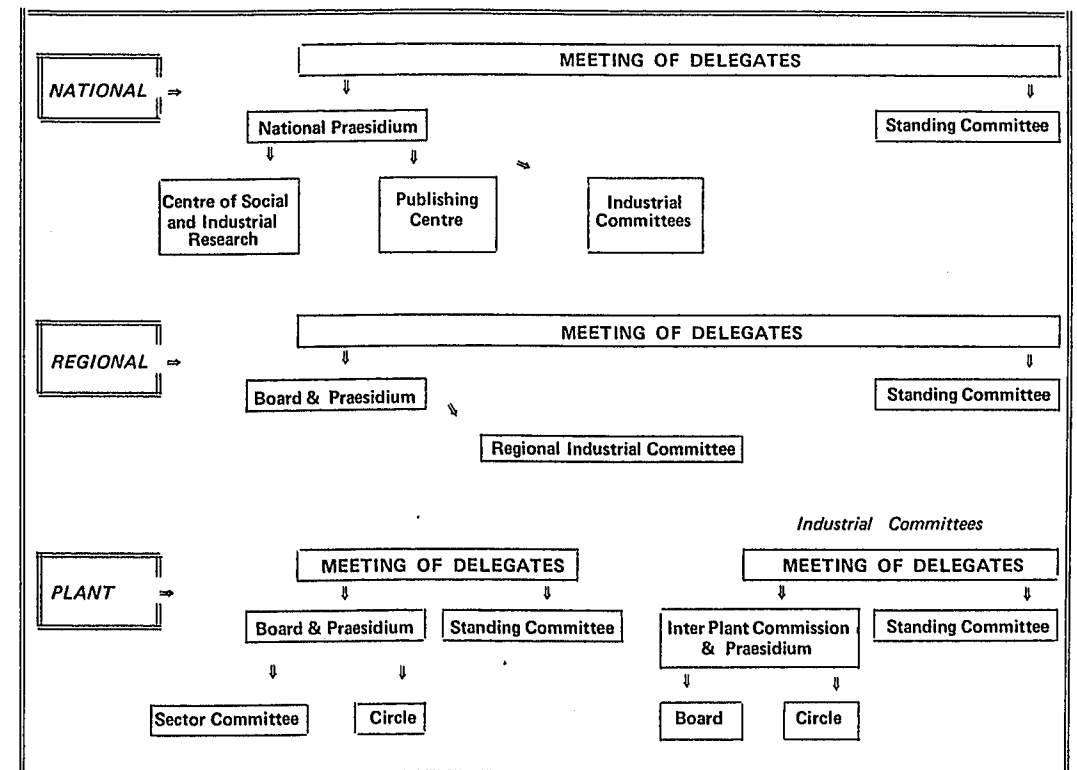
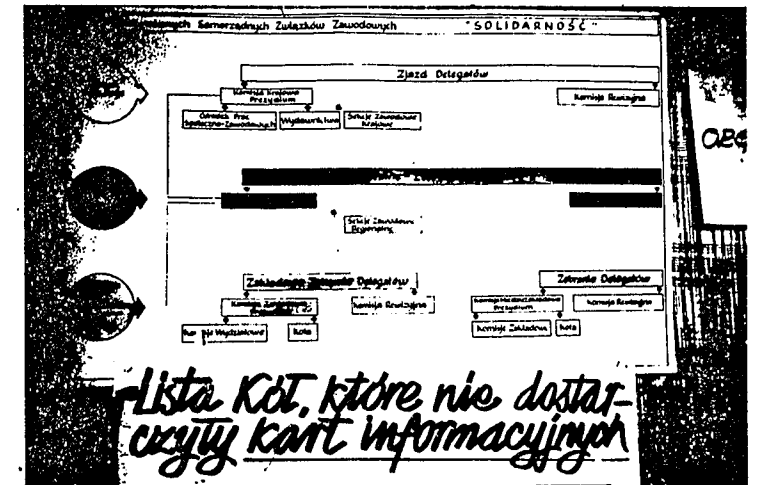
Onyszkiewicz predicted an end to strikes in the Warsaw region. What then, of the strike a few days previously at the Warsaw Steelworks over 5 demands concerned with bringing to justice those responsible for the repression in 1970 and 1976. The strike subsided after Lech Walesa and Jacek Kuron were flown to the plant in a government plane and they persuaded the workers to return to work in return for a government promise to investigate the 1970 and 1976 events. Wasn't this an explicitly political strike? "They were not political demands. A political demand is that the structure of the country be changed. What we are asking for is that the law be observed," said Onyszkiewicz.

"We are taking too much on our shoulders. Expectations are too high. People see Solidarity as a panacea for everything. It's a difficult position as people expect us to go beyond purely trade union activities. It is very convenient for us to have the national centre at Gdansk. We would collapse if we had to process national problems as well," he said.

Warsaw Solidarity has begun to employ people but the majority of activists are still volunteers. Onyszkiewicz himself, for example, is a mathematics lecturer at Warsaw University. "We must start to employ professional staff to handle the paperwork," he said.

He cited three major needs. Firstly, more printing equipment, including an IBM composer, as well as chemicals and stencils. Secondly, more contact with trade unions outside Poland, including if possible exchange visits. Thirdly, the West should try to help Poland economically.

**SOLIDARITY'S
STRUCTURE**



Visit to FSO car factory in the northeast suburbs of Warsaw. The 16,000 workers in this factory produce the Fiat Polski 125 and the Polenez, a family saloon car.

In the bright, clean plant canteen I talked to Tadeusz Witacz, a 53-year-old turner who had been working there 29 years.

Warsaw (the city and region around it is known as the Mazowsze region) is Solidarity's problem area. Firstly, because it has proved difficult to recruit and organize the many office workers who work directly for the government and, secondly, everything that Warsaw Solidarity does comes under intense public, media, party and government scrutiny. Several people suggested that had any other region published the Prosecutor General's document on harassing Solidarity that led to the arrest of two Solidarity people involved as well as a major strike at the Ursus tractor factory and Warsaw steelworks until they were released, the authorities' reaction would not have been as strong.

At both factories I visited in Warsaw (the Fiat Polski factory and the Ursus tractor factory) the Solidarity representatives I spoke to, although friendly and welcoming, gave the impression of being more tense than their colleagues in Wroclaw or Cracow. At the Fiat Polski plant, for example, Witacz said that he would be able to talk more freely in three months' time once the plant and regional elections were over.

Again the spur to organisation was the Gdansk strike. Different sections of the factory met spontaneously and elected committees and these elected a delegate to a general board.

They have not pushed forward any major demands, concentrating rather on getting organized. They claim 13,000 (81 per cent) members in Solidarity. They know this figure because people have had to sign forms in order for 1 per cent of their wages to be given to Solidarity.

"The 'old-new' unions are trying to behave in a more democratic way. They are better organized than before. They still have an office and produce their own bulletin while we contribute to a general plant newspaper," he said.

No formal committee seems to have been set for the Polish car industry although there has been one meeting with Solidarity representatives from car plants and components' factories to discuss the implementation of wage increases under the Gdansk agreement.

The workers work a regular overtime of 20 hours a month (1,5 x for first two hours, 2 x for remainder) and he claimed (though this could not be independently checked) that on occasion workers can do 150 hours overtime a month.

Visit to Ursus tractor factory, in a suburb to the west of Warsaw. The Ursus factory which employs 16,500 workers is well known because of its involvement in the 1976 workers' manifestations against the rise in food prices. As well as going on strike, workers at Ursus ripped up railway lines and police retaliation against them was particularly brutal. As at the Fiat Polski plant, it was easy enough to go to the factory and ask to speak to a Solidarity representative but it was not possible to enter the plant itself as the manager whose permission was necessary for a foreigner to enter the plant was not available.

I spoke to Maciek Stolwiski, 30, a turner. Ursus workers had been on strike five times in 1980: in July over food price rises, in August over Gdansk, in October over pay and twice in November over the registration of Solidarity and then the arrest of the two printers. "But now, we are tired of strikes. I think that if we were asked to strike again we wouldn't unless it were of exceptional importance."

Stolwiski claimed that 90 per cent of Ursus workers were Solidarity members with 100 per cent membership amongst manual workers. They have a complicated system of elections which results in a general assembly of 326 people. The election of delegates is weighted to try and cover all crafts and divisions. In turn, this assembly of delegates elects a board of 89 people, again weighted proportionately, which meets once a month. This body elects a chairman, deputy chairman and together with the chairmen of four sub-committees these form the praesidium. A small number of delegates were PZPR members but no one on the praesidium.

Solidarity in Ursus will have 13 people working full-time, 10 paid by Solidarity and 3 on paid leave from the plant. He said that the old metal union had 140 staff in the factory as well as luxurious offices. He admitted openly that he could not give precise figures for membership. Only now were workers being asked to sign forms so that 1 per cent of their pay could be deducted at source for Solidarity. On December 1, 1980, they opened a bank account. On January 11, 1981, the plant computer would be able to tell them how much money they were receiving on check-off. In mid-September, they had signed an agreement with the old CRZZ metal union whereby that union continued with some of its social functions pending the full establishment of Solidarity.

One of the major problems in the plant was mismanagement. Materials would often be over-ordered and then stored in the open air without proper protection and, thus, were ruined. Machinists would be given disproportionately large pieces of metal from which to make small cylinders and there was considerable waste as they ground away the excess metal. Assembly lines were often halted because parts did not arrive in time.

"We have set up a special commission which is examining all these examples of waste,

with careful documentation. In fact, Solidarity is already having an effect as workers simply refuse to perform a job in the old, highly inefficient way," said Stolwiski.

Stolwiski sits on a joint Ursus—Radom (the two locations for the 1976 demonstrations which were brutally repressed) commission investigating the 1976 repression and trying to get jobs back for sacked workers and financial reimbursement for wages lost.

A final interesting point Stolwiski made was on the question of sabotage. A few days previously, there had been a mysterious fire in an area where a floor was being relaid. Also, a conveyor belt had been switched on during the night and machines on it had crashed off at the end. Who was responsible? "Anti-socialist forces," he replied and would expand no further. Other Solidarity people not connected with Ursus said that such sabotage was most likely caused by security people or hard-line party members in order to create tension and smear Solidarity's name.

Radom is a small industrial city about 80 km south of Warsaw. It became famous in 1976 after workers at one of Poland's main armaments factory stopped work and demonstrated against food price rises. The suppression of the strike was particularly brutal with workers being made to run the gauntlet in police stations, there were mass dismissals and the local party organized mass meetings in a football stadium at which workers involved in the 1976 strike were forced to "confess" their "crime" against the socialist state while the meetings went on to condemn such "hooligans".

On the evening I visited Radom, a regional Solidarity Praesidium meeting was taking place. Participating were Andrzej Sobieraj, chairman, 31, a metalworker; Jacek Jesz, 37, electronics technician; Janusz Skalski, 25, transport worker; Edmund Chojnacki, 42, engineer; Ryszard Stakowski, 35, decorator; Wlodzimierz Cichy, 33, assembly line worker. The secretary, Andrzej Daumas, 34, was an archeologist. Other people came in and out of the room where the praesidium meeting was taking place and sometimes contributed to the discussion. There was no formal written agenda and discussion tended to veer here and there during the part of business I attended. They sat informally in chairs in a semi-circle around the chairman, while the secretary sat at a side table taking minutes. The chairman handled the discussion well, allowing everyone to have a say and then, where necessary, succinctly summing up at the end.

They currently occupy the former CRZZ regional offices but had organized a sit-in and a short protest strike 10 days previously because they wanted to get their own premises. Now they have been offered new premises but they suspect the city administration is giving them a badly constructed building and that they will be charged a very large sum to put it right.

"We won't take just what they want to give us. It is going to have to last for years and years," says one of them. The secretary says that if they refuse the offered premises or put forward unacceptable conditions, Solidarity will be criticized and smeared as irresponsible. But if, on the other hand, they accept the premises, they may be given a huge bill for putting everything in order. The chairman sums up this part of the discussion: Radom Solidarity will accept the premises offered by the city but only if the following conditions are fulfilled:

- 1) The premises should be properly plastered and painted;
- 2) Heating costs should be at the night tariff;
- 3) Four telephone lines should be installed at the city's cost;
- 4) A telex should be installed;
- 5) Documents guaranteeing the structural solidity of the building should be made available.

At this point cups of tea arrive, brought in by a young women who together with another woman are busy typing and stuffing envelopes in an adjoining office.

Without any specific announcement about an item on the agenda being reached, they start talking about problems that might arise if the security police suddenly move against them. They discuss the idea of choosing shadow members of the praesidium so that if they are arrested following a Soviet intervention, there is still a Solidarity organization in force that can convey information to the plants. "Even if all the telephones are cut off, we can still maintain communications," says one. Another says that a list should be made of reliable Solidarity people. "It does not matter if it falls into police hands. They know who we are and where we are to be found."

At that point, someone comes in who is an expert on food distribution and the meeting immediately changes subject and starts talking about the meat and sausage ration for Christmas. They decide that two praesidium members must visit the Wojewoda to discuss the problem.

- "We need to have 2 kilos of meat and 2 kilos of sausage. We cannot give up more than 1/2 kilo of meat and the sausage ration must be kept up."
- "Yes, but supposing he offers only 1 kilo of meat?"
- "But our children are already starving, we cannot let them starve any longer."
- "But if he only offers 1 kilo of meat?"
- "We break off discussions and tell him to stop exporting meat from the region."

The chairman then comes in.

- "You must insist on 2 kilos of meat. But maybe we could take 200 grams less."
- "No, you can't do that. The workers have insisted on 2 kilos. You must go back to them."
- "O.K." says the chairman. "It's agreed. The Wojewoda will be told that he cannot go below 2 kilos of meat and 2 kilos of sausage without reference back to the workers."

They then return to the question of maintaining Solidarity's organization in the event of a crackdown. The chairman says he will try and stay in the office as often as possible. They mention names of other leaders who should maintain close contact with the office. "There may be moments when decisions will have to be taken very quickly," says the secretary. "O.K. We know whom we need here. We know the plants we can rely on. Let's leave it at that," replies the chairman.

Discussion then turns to a small town in the region which has its own MKZ. Should they be allowed to have their own bank account? "No," says one person firmly. "Well, what is the relationship between an MKZ in a town and the regional Solidarity office?" asks another. "We should persuade them to work with us, advise them but if they want to maintain their own identity and have their own bank account, we cannot stand in their way," says the chairman.

The secretary asked about the business for the next meeting and was told that he should issue a press communiqué thanking people who contributed, via Solidarity, to the Italian earthquake fund.

They decided to re-examine what education programmes they could undertake. "We must have a second course on the labour code. Also, we should organize courses for workers in the plants rather than expect them to come into Radom," says one.

Another adds, "Look, we must get economists to give some courses. We are forming all these commissions inside plants to assess management past and present performance and our representatives on them must have some knowledge of economics.

A small group were leaving for Gdansk the next day to participate in the national committee meeting and to try to obtain some printing equipment from national Solidarity. There is quite a heated discussion on whether they should go by car or by train and to the evident annoyance of those going to Gdansk, the meeting, on a show of hands (the first formal vote during my presence there), voted to send them by train.

Business terminated with the secretary reading out a draft of his minutes of the meeting which was accepted by those present.

The Solidarity office in Szczecin (the region has half a million workers) is over a fire-brigade station right opposite the Warski shipyards where 12,000 workers produce a variety of ships as well as machinery used in ships. Giant posters showing the increase in tonnage produced since the 1950s exhort the workers on their way into the shipyard. On 17th December a new message greeted the workers — a simple plaque beside the main entrance. It commemorates workers shot dead by security police in the food price rise demonstrations of 1970. Like at Gdansk the memory of the 1970 deaths is often mentioned in Szczecin and photographs from 1970 showing the party office on fire as crowds and armoured cars mingle in the streets are pinned up on the Solidarity notice board.

I spoke to Bogdan Batura, 30, a welder at the Warski shipyard, Kasimierz Kostrziewski, 36, a machinist at the Warski shipyard, Alexander Krystosikia, 58, a plumber at the Parnica Ship Repair Yard which employs 1,000 workers and to Luzia Plaugo, a despatch department supervisor.

The development of Solidarity in Szczecin is very similar to other regions. They went on strike and occupied the shipyards at the same time as the Gdansk strike and signed an agreement with a government minister on 30th August. Since then they have only been on strike once — the one hour warning strike at the time of the dispute over Solidarity's registration.

They claimed 90 per cent membership in the Warski shipyard and 98 per cent in the Parnica ship repair yard. There were no new wage claims that they wanted to put forward. "Our main demands are for the re-instatement of people victimized in 1970, for more food and to get enough building and working materials into the yard. Up to now we have had too many people sitting around with nothing to do. It wasn't corruption, more a case of bad management. They appointed people who didn't know what they were doing. Frankly, we haven't got an answer to that problem. To obtain materials or to get something done you had to know the right people or else you bullied those below you or crawled up to your superiors. All this has to change.

"In October, for example, we were running out of tin and it looked as if this would halt production in certain departments. So the MKZ at Szczecin phoned direct to the MKZ at Czestochowa where an important tin plant is situated and we found some which allowed work to continue. But we are still suffering from the effects on the Baltic ports' strike in August which disrupted the delivery of raw materials and parts," said Batura.

Elections to a Solidarity plant committee at the Parnica Ship Repair yard had already taken place. 156 candidates had been proposed for a plant committee of 8 people and on a secret ballot the top 8 names were elected. All of them had been members of the ad hoc MKS (strike committee) set up in September. According to Krystosikia

"We co-exist with the party group in the yard. Four months is much too soon to talk of real changes. What we have won is some calm in the yard."

As well as poor management, workers in the Warski complain that they have to work with out-of-date machinery, including 20 years old lathes according to Kostrziewski. Another major complaint is health and safety. Polish law permits a worker to refuse to perform a job he considers unsafe or dangerous for his health, but this law is widely ignored, especially as the piece-rate system common in Polish manufacturing industry need to have production interrupted as little as possible.

In the Warski shipyard workers have changing and shower facilities and everyone is obliged to wear a safety helmet. "However, we don't have enough protective clothes, especially masks. Painters would be spraying in one area of a ship and nearby other workers would be doing other work without face masks. The fumes from the paint are highly dangerous and often workers have been poisoned by the paint fumes. Often welders have to work in extremely confined or narrow spaces and they don't always have direct extraction equipment to suck away welding fumes from the point of the operation. The masks welders wear come from the Soviet Union and are made out of a cloth material. They become very dirty", said Batura.

Solidarity had set up a health and safety committee in the shipyard but had no joint relationship with the management to resolve the problem. "We hope that the existence of Solidarity will help improve human relations and that it will make for better management in the yard", commented Batura.



AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL
IS LAUNCHED IN SZCZECIN

Szczecin is the home of Solidarity's most ambitious and professional-looking journals and bulletins. A group of people, mainly education college lecturers and students produce a weekly paper "JEDNOSC" (Unity) which is typeset and professionally printed. They also produce a weekly Solidarity bulletin and multi-coloured leaflets. The reason for the professionalism of their production is that they use a state-owned printing house unlike other Solidarity regional offices which either cannot have access to the state printing facilities because of obstacles placed in their way or who won't use such facilities partly because it can involve a censorship process and partly because they want to develop a wholly independent printing facility for Solidarity work.

According to Miroslaw Latka and Jerzy Debniak, two of *Jednosc's* editors they work very closely with the Solidarity Praesidium but there is no formal institutional structure which places them under the union's control. In January they hope to re-launch *Jednosc* as an 8-12 page tabloid printing 200,000 copies a week. (By comparison *Polityka*, Poland's best selling national political weekly has a print-run of 450,000 copies.)

They displayed a highly professional masthead and said they were collecting material for the first issues. They said that there would be 4 paid full-time people working on *Jednosc* plus twelve voluntary workers. This remarkably small team for such an ambitious venture would also produce 50,000 copies of a Solidarity bulletin for the region. "Our aim is to provide the real voice of working people. In big enterprises we have a worker who will provide information for us or write an article himself. We are in touch with leading intellectuals all over Poland but we will be independent and critical of what they write."

They said that the Warsaw authorities had given the go-ahead for *Jednosc* and that they had a reasonable relationship with the Wojewoda's censorship officials in Szczecin. It remains to be seen, however, whether the authorities would allow 200,000 copies of a wholly independent political trade union journal to be made available for sale each week.

It also remains to be seen whether such a tiny group without wide professional journalistic, printing or distribution experience can maintain a successful journal on a weekly basis. Finally the exact link between *Jednosc* and Solidarity is hazy and it is not clear whether one is witnessing the birth of an independent political journal taking advantage of the openings created by Solidarity since August 1980 or a trade union journal which will serve Solidarity's ends and be under its political control.

Solidarity's national headquarters and the office for the union in the Gdansk region are in the Hotel Morski in a busy shopping street 4 km from the shipyards where the August strikes began. The hotel has five floors each of which has several rooms now used as offices. On the ground floor is a conference hall where the national committee of Solidarity meets every second Wednesday (though more frequently if the situation demands it). Representatives from the Solidarity regions take part in the meeting. There were about 60 people present on the afternoon I was there sitting in rows of chairs. At the back of the hall were press reporters and people wandered in and out during the session.

On the platform sat Solidarity's Deputy Chairman, Andrzej Gwiazda and the secretary of the national committee, Andrzej Celinski. The latter, a KOR member seemed to be doing most of the chairing of the meeting, introducing subjects, calling speakers and bringing people to order. There was no formal printed agenda and the rules of business, as practised by Western trade unions, were totally absent. Speakers from the floor made contributions in a haphazard fashion and at one moment Jacek Kuron was speaking from beside the platform leaning casually against the table and then a few seconds later he had taken a seat on the platform itself and was summing up the debate in which he had participated moments before. Nonetheless business is got through even though the atmosphere is more like a mass meeting than a methodical working through of an agenda. The most important decision that day had been taken earlier in the morning with the publication of a statement announcing the setting up of a commission to defend prisoners of conscience.

After delivering a short message of support from the President, General Secretary and Executive Committee of the IMF, I listened to the national committee discussions for 90 minutes. The first item was to do with how money collected in smaller plants should be dealt with — who should control it etc. There was a flow of cross talk between representatives from the floor and the platform. Finally Jacek Kuron summed up the debate and his summing up and recommendations were agreed without a vote.

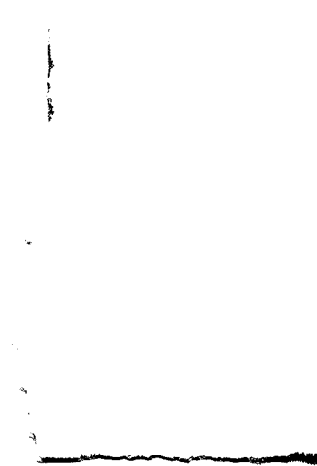
The next item concerned the film "Workers 80" which had been made by Polish filmmakers about the strike and negotiations in August 1980. Although more than 70 copies of the print had been made and distributed and the film had been seen extensively at private viewings in universities and clubs and had even gone on public showing in Gdansk the government had announced that the film could not be shown publicly on a national basis. People who had seen it told me that it was an extremely dramatic evocation of the August strike. From the floor Karol Modzelewski, the Wroclaw based intellectual who signed the Open Letter to the Communist Party in 1964 with Jacek Kuron, rose to propose a statement condemning the government's ban. He argued that showing the film would demonstrate that the state authorities were willing fully to adhere to the Gdansk agreement. By not showing it they would make the crisis even deeper.

A representative from one of the Solidarity regions then rose to propose an amendment saying that the national committee would not approve of strikes or demonstrations over the banning of the film. The discussion then wandered off into whether there had been cuts made in the final print of the film before it was distributed. Someone stands up saying that he is speaking on behalf of the world famous film school at Lodz where students are staging a protest sit-in. They would like to make a film about the events of 1956 and 1970 and would be coming to Solidarity for help.

Celinski, the secretary, calls them to order and asks them to make a decision. Other speakers say that Modzelewski's statement is enough — they should not say what they are not prepared to do, only what they are willing to do. A vote approving the statement is taken and rather than have a negative vote against the other proposal there is a call to move to next business which is agreed.

Other items discussed were the membership of the commission to defend prisoners of conscience, the problems posed by NSZZ Jastrzebie, and the arrangements for security and crowd control at the unveiling of the monument to Gdansk workers killed in 1970.

Despite its lack of structure the National Committee of Solidarity appears a genuinely representative organ and takes decisions that conform to the wishes of its members after open debate. On the eve of each meeting a smaller group of some dozen people — the senior Solidarity leaders and their advisers — meet to discuss the next day's business. At the meeting many delegates record key parts of the proceedings on cassette recorders in order to replay them to Solidarity activists in the regions. As well as being a decision taking organ the national committee serves a useful purpose in allowing regional representatives to exchange ideas and experiences on the development of Solidarity in their own areas.



**INTERVIEW WITH ANDRZEJ GWIAZDA,
shipyard worker and Deputy President of National Solidarity**

To begin with, can you give some idea of what the National Committee has been discussing today?

Firstly, we have been having a general review of the political and economic situation. We have issued a statement which says: "The state and political authorities have said that the fulfilment of the obligations which arise out of the country's set of alliances and the international situation is fully guaranteed . . . Public opinion, and that includes the trade union movement, fully shares this conviction."

The second point was setting up the Committee for the defence of prisoners of conscience. There was further discussion on organizing new commissions and what should be created to coordinate workers in the same industry. How we will be spending the members' money — 60 per cent remains with the union, at plant level, 15 per cent in the plant unions as a reserve fund and 25 per cent goes to the regional and national offices.

How much income will this give to Solidarity?

There are about 10 million members and the average wages are 5,700 which means 5.7 million zlotys per month. So this, I think, should be enough to pay for different kinds of research and also paying the experts who are now volunteers, and to pay the work inspectors. This is, however, for the future as there is still not enough money.

What is the current relationship with the unions that have changed their name to independent self-governing unions?

We are urging them to collaborate with us instead of being aggressive. Of course, we would like to have some kind of cooperation and it is in the interest of both parties.

Around the country there seems to be a great fear of having full-time officials, of having a bureaucratic structure of secretaries and filing clerks, but

it would appear to any Western trade unionist impossible to organize efficiently all your members without that kind of structure.

Well, if it is to work properly, and we do what must be done, there will no longer be these fears. Of course, we have two offices and staff but, you know, Solidarity has to watch out for Parkinson's Law like anyone else.

What are the relationships with respect to the authorities of being able to print your own material? Is the access to the media getting better or worse?

The authorities' policy is the same, to give us as little as possible.

What has happened to the idea of Solidarity publishing its own paper?

Well, this was part of the Gdansk agreement. We are assembling a staff and working out an editorial policy and we hope we can launch it by the middle of January. In Szczecin, they are already publishing *Jednosc*.

Is there any pressure that Solidarity can put on the Polish authorities to make official visits to trade unions outside Poland?

We have very many invitations but really it is impossible to leave Poland because of our work here. We have two members who are currently visiting Madrid and South America and we shall be seeing the Italian unions when we go to Rome to visit the Pope in January. But we are so busy here.

Would it be a help for Western trade unions to try and invite not necessarily the top leadership but cadres who can see the structure and organization and methods of operation of trade unions outside Poland?

Most certainly. We have so little an idea of how you operate. There are myths here, you see, concerning the West, the conditions of work there, and so on. The people who have gone before have produced doctored official versions of what life in the West is like, so we need to visit to see for ourselves.

Is there any possibility of Solidarity, or even individual parts of it, being able to affiliate to any of the trade union federations outside the communist world?

We think about this possibility but it will depend on the political situation.

**INTERVIEW WITH JACEK KURON,
Founder member KOR (Committee for
Social Self-Defence, set up in 1976),
now senior adviser to National Solidarity**

Kuron: It is impossible to speak of the political situation of Solidarity now. The economic situation of the country as a whole is disastrous. Working people want wage increases, but this is not possible at this stage because there is not enough money. On the other hand, the standard of living is decreasing rapidly. There isn't enough food and other products. They think that somehow with more money they can manage more easily. Some workers will have money to buy goods, but those with much less won't be able to buy anything because goods will have disappeared. This makes for a growing inflation and a deteriorating crisis. Pressing the authorities for higher wages means there will be strikes going on everywhere and, thus growing tension.

But everyone I have spoken to says that Solidarity doesn't want to go for more money, that wage demands are no longer an issue.

Well, if they say it, it doesn't mean they think it. And you were speaking with people active in Solidarity. You haven't actually spoken with the ordinary worker who is not an active member of Solidarity. Also, demands for a wage increase can be symbolic if you can't ask for other things. Before July, I was trying to convince all the foreigners with whom I was talking that money was not one of the more important issues, but now one sees that it nevertheless counts.

The situation is such that the whole business can be split because of the wage demands. The National Commission made a statement telling people to stop striking and to stop demands for wage increases, that they must wait. So now, they are preparing a program for a wage policy. Of course, due to the situation, we shall have to require a minimum from this program, but at the same time, it will be a guarantee for the State — by giving them the money — of being able to get out of the economic crisis.

Well, one thing that is striking is that Solidarity is being asked to do far more than any trade union organization in the West would be asked to do in terms of solving social problems, bringing to justice people responsible for 1970—1976, and so on.

Actually, at this moment, Solidarity is responsible for not only what you say but for the whole situation in Poland in these difficult times. What must happen here and what people wait for is the rebuilding of the social structure, because, without this, the economic crisis will not be overcome. People expect this to happen, the rebuilding of the society.

At the same time, the authorities don't want it, because they don't know how to do it; they don't have enough power. So Solidarity which is the only independent force that can do something will have to make the authorities restructure society. At the same time, of course, it cannot become a government, that is a political party. It is now working not only on laws concerning the trade unions but also on laws dealing with censorship, participating in commissions regarding food supplies and the whole system of bonuses. And, it is actually participating in the preparation of economic reform and knows it will have to push certain things here.

Take coal, for example. There is not enough coal and the situation is presently so bad that at any moment the state energy system may just fall apart. What we have to do is be prepared to switch from a national system to a regional one and also find out what has happened to our coal, because, as we cannot buy it, we must know where it is.

It is not, therefore, intellectually inaccurate to describe Solidarity simply as a trade union, given that it is having to take on the most enormous social and political responsibilities?

Actually, it is a trade union, but a trade union which is forced to do all these other things. And what we will be trying to do is make certain social groups become more independent and take over these additional responsibilities.

For instance, today it organized a committee for the defense of people imprisoned on grounds of conscience, political prisoners if you like. Now this committee is linked with Solidarity, and there are many people participating who are well known personalities. We shall be trying to make the committee more independent and stand on its own feet.

What do you think of the media coverage in the West?

We are extremely angry about the Western press that describes the situation here as one of panic. The people here in Poland, which is supposedly in danger, are quite calm.

What is the medium-term role at the regional level of the experts, like the lawyers and teachers, who are working as volunteers for Solidarity?

It's varied. Actually, these people do not perform as experts; they just work as additional staff. They carry out research and in given situations must make immediate decisions after consultation with the workers.

How long will Solidarity carry on in this ad hoc, voluntary way, based so much on amateur enthusiasm?

I believe it will be until trade unions become a fully accepted institution.

Can we come back to the specific problem of the 1970–1976 repressions, where on the one hand to get people back their jobs is absolutely essential, but then there is a fantastic concentration on bringing those responsible to justice and exposing their wrongdoings. Can you build a new system on the basis of revenge?

It does not mean that we want revenge on certain people. But we shouldn't forget that there is still a power structure which certain people are involved in that is very dangerous and can do a great deal of harm to Solidarity.

MEETING WITH LECH WALESZA We only had time for a brief discussion as he had just returned from the Wojewoda's office where he had been having a discussion with Mr Jedynek, a government minister, on the problem of the new trade union bill. There was a long queue of people waiting to see him as he had been away from the office all day. However, he made them wait a few moments in order to greet me. I expressed to him the best wishes of the President, General Secretary and Executive Committee of the IMF and the solidarity greetings from the IMF. "Good", he said, "if there is solidarity from the IMF that makes two solidarity organizations for the workers."

**Lech Walesa talks
to representatives
of factories during
the August strike**

He is a pleasant, easy-going man with a gift of putting people at their ease. He is of slightly under medium height with thick wavy hair, wearing a cheap suit with a badge of the Blessed Virgin Mary on it. His office consists of an ante-room with a secretary and a kind of body-guard keeping an eye on the people milling around and his own room, of 12 square meters, with a washbasin in a corner, a table and a couple of chairs, a wardrobe with a map of Poland pinned to it and a crucifix, and the Polish eagle on the wall.

I said that IMF unions were full of admiration for the struggle and achievements of the Polish unions and wanted to express their solidarity in practical ways. "We need more than your solidarity. We need to share your ideas and experiences. We need frank criticisms. You have to tell us what is wrong and tell us what we should be doing", he said.

They expressed an interest in participating at the next IMF Congress. "Obviously it depends on the circumstances at the time. We are so terribly busy in Poland but, in principle, I would like to come. But I would like to be accompanied by metalworkers in Solidarity so that they could exchange experiences", Walesa stated.

I then presented him with an IMF lapel badge which he put on his jacket and he asked me to convey his thanks and best wishes to the IMF.

As can be seen from the rest of this report Solidarity's printing ability is at a fairly primitive level. At the Gdansk headquarters for example there are two printing machines (Ricoh-Auto Printer 2600 and a small rotary/flat-bed Multigraphics 1850 N) which they cannot use partly because they have received no training (the manuals were not written in Polish) on how to operate them and partly because certain parts are missing. A similar problem exists with an OCE 2100 plate-making machine. In Warsaw and Gdansk a couple of simple table-top offset machines are the sole means of printing bulletins etc. Material is type-written which means poor quality reproduction. At Gdansk there is a shortage of ink for a Rex Rotary 850 electric duplicator.

According to Witek Luczywo who runs Solidarity's printing operations in Warsaw the need at the moment is for simple, technically undemanding printing equipment and materials. It is possible, for example, to send IBM electronic compositors via the IBM office in Warsaw and paid for in Austria. Solidarity regional offices visited said that equipment could be sent to them directly and would pass through customs. In addition to simple off-set machines the following are urgently needed — duplicating ink (Rex-Rotary Original DupInk and Gestetner 460 ink in a tube), thinning liquid for plate cleaning, stencils and stenciling paper, staples and large (variable measure) stapling machines, typewriters and cassette recorders with cassettes. Smaller gifts (staplers, cassette recorders, ink) could be sent direct to Solidarity regional offices. The sending of bigger equipment needs to be co-ordinated to avoid duplication. There is a co-ordination office being set up in Stockholm.

This protocol was signed on behalf of the strikers by Lech Walesa (President of the MKS, Andrzej Kolodziej and Bogdan Lis (Vice-Presidents), Mr and Mrs L. Badkowski, W. Gruszewski, A. Gwiazda, S. Izdebski, J. Kmiecik, Z. Kobylinski, H. Krywonos, S. Lewandowski, A. Pienkowska, Z. Pzybylski, J. Sikorski, L. Sobieszek, T. Stanny, A. Walentynowicz, and F. Wisniewski.

It was signed for the governmental commission by: President Mieczeslaw Jagielski (Vice Prime Minister), M. Zielinski, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the PUWP, T. Fiszbach, President of the Party committee of Gdansk Voivod, and the Mayor of Gdansk, J. Kolodzieski.

The governmental commission and the Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS), after studying the 21 demands of the workers of the coast who are on strike, have reached the following conclusions:

On POINT No. 1 which reads:

“To accept trade unions as free and independent of the party, as laid down in Convention No. 87 of the ILO and ratified by Poland, which refers to the matter of trade union rights”, the following decision has been reached:

1) The activity of the trade union of People's Poland has not lived up to the hopes and aspirations of the workers. We thus consider that it will be beneficial to create new union organisations, which will run themselves, and which will be authentic expressions of the working class. Workers will continue to have the right to join the old trade unions and we are looking at the possibility of the two union structures cooperating.

2) The MKS declares that it will respect the principles laid down in the Polish Constitution while creating the new independent and self-governing unions. These new unions are intended to defend the social and material interests of the workers, and not to play the role of a

political party. They will be established on the basis of the socialisation of the means of production and of the socialist system which exists in Poland today. They will recognise the leading role of the PUWP in the state, and will not oppose the existing system of international alliances. Their aim is to ensure for the workers the necessary means for the determination, expression and defence of their interests. The governmental commission will guarantee full respect for the independence and self-governing character of the new unions in their organisational structures and their functioning at all levels. The government will ensure that the new unions have every possibility of carrying out their function of defending the interests of the workers and of seeking the satisfaction of their material, social and cultural needs. Equally it will guarantee that the new unions are not the objects of any discrimination.

3) The creation and the functioning of free and self-governing trade unions is in line with Convention 87 of the ILO relating to trade union rights and Convention 97, relating to

the rights of free association and collective negotiation, both of which conventions have been ratified by Poland. The coming into being of more than one trade union organisation requires changes in the law. The government, therefore, will make the necessary legal changes as regards trade unions, workers' councils and the labour code.

4) The strike committees must be able to turn themselves into institutions representing the workers at the level of the enterprise, whether in the fashion of workers' councils or as preparatory committees of the new trade unions. As a preparatory committee, the MKS is free to adopt the form of a trade union, or of an association of the coastal region. The preparatory committees will remain in existence until the new trade unions are able to organise proper elections to leading bodies. The government undertakes to create the conditions necessary for the recognition of unions outside of the existing Central Council of Trade Unions.

5) The new trade unions should be able to participate in decisions affecting the conditions of the workers in such matters as the division of the national assets between consumption and accumulation, the division of the social consumption fund (health, education, culture), the wages policy, in particular with regard to an automatic increase of wages in line with inflation, the economic plan, the direction of investment and prices policy. The government undertakes to ensure the conditions necessary for the carrying out of these functions.

6) The enterprise committee will set up a research centre whose aim will be to engage in an objective analysis of the situation of the workers and employees, and will attempt to determine the correct ways in which their interests can be represented. This centre will also provide the information and expertise necessary for dealing with such questions as the prices index and wages index and the forms of compensation required to deal with price rises. The new unions should have their own publications.

7) The government will enforce respect for Article 1 of the trade union law of 1949, which

guarantees the workers the right to freely come together to form trade unions. The new trade union will not join the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ). It is agreed that the new trade union law will respect these principles. The participation of members of the MKS and of the preparatory committees for the new trade unions in the elaboration of the new legislation is also guaranteed.

On POINT No. 2 which reads:

"To guarantee the right to strike, and the security of strikers and those who help them", it has been agreed that:

The right to strike will be guaranteed by the new trade union law. The law will have to define the circumstances in which strikes can be called and organised, the ways in which conflicts can be resolved, and the penalties for infringements of the law. Articles 52, 64 and 65 of the labour code (which outlaw strikes) will cease to have effect from now until the new law comes into practice. The government undertakes to protect the personal security of strikers and those who have helped them and to ensure against any deterioration in their conditions of work.

With regard to POINT No. 3, which reads: *"To respect freedom of expression and publication, as upheld by the Constitution of People's Poland, and to take no measures against independent publications, as well as to grant access to the mass media to representatives of all religions", it has been added that:*

1) The government will bring before the Sejm (Parliament) within three months a proposal for a law on control of the press, of publications, and of other public manifestations, which will be based on the following principles: censorship must protect the interests of the state. This means the protection of state secrets, and of economic secrets in the sense that these will be defined in the new legislation, the protection of state interests and its international interests, the protection of religious convictions, as well as the right of non-believers, as well as the suppression of publications which offend against morality.

The proposals will include the right to make a complaint against the press-control and similar institutions to a higher administrative tribunal. This law will be incorporated in an amendment to the administrative code.

2) The access to the mass media by religious organisations in the course of their religious activities will be worked out through an agreement between the state institutions and the religious associations on matters of content and of organisation. The government will ensure the transmission by radio of the Sunday mass through a specific agreement with the Church hierarchy.

3) The radio and television as well as the press and publishing houses must offer expression to different points of views. They must be under the control of society.

4) The press as well as citizens and their organisations, must have access to public documents, and above all to administrative instructions and socio-economic plans, in the form in which they are published by the government and by the administrative bodies which draw them up. Exceptions to the principle of open administration will be legally defined in agreement with Point No. 3 para 1.

With regard to POINT No. 4, which reads: *"To re-establish the rights of people who were sacked after the strikes in 1970 and 1976 and of students who have been excluded from institutions of higher education because of their opinions, (b) to free all political prisoners, including Edmund Zdrozinski, Jan Kozlowski and Marek Kozlowski; (c) to cease repression against people for their opinions", it has been agreed:*

(a) to immediately investigate the reasons given for the sackings after the strikes of 1970 and 1976. In every case where injustice is revealed, the person involved must be re-instated, taking into account any new qualifications that person may have acquired. The same principle will be applied in the case of students.

(b) The cases of persons mentioned under

point (b) should be put to the Ministry of Justice, which within two weeks will study their dossiers. In cases where those mentioned are already imprisoned, they must be released pending this investigation, and until a new decision on their case is reached.

(c) to launch an immediate investigation into the reasons for the arrests of those mentioned (the three named individuals).

(d) to institute full liberty of expression in public and professional life.

On POINT No. 5, which reads:

"To inform the public about the creation of the MKS and its demands, through the mass media", it has been decided that:

This demand shall be met through the publication in all the national mass media of the full text of this agreement.

On POINT No. 6, which reads:

"To implement the measures necessary for resolving the crisis, starting with the publication of all the relevant information on the socio-economic situation, and to allow all groups to participate in a discussion on a programme of economic reforms", the following has been agreed:

We consider it essential to speed up the preparation of an economic reform. The authorities will work out and publish the basic principles of such a reform in the next few months. It is necessary to allow for wide participation in a public discussion of the reform. In particular the trade unions must take part in the working out of laws relating to the enterprises and to workers' self-management. The economic reform must be based on the strengthening, autonomous operation and participation of the workers' councils in management. Specific regulations will be drawn up in order to guarantee that the trade unions will be able to carry out their functions as set out in Point No. 1 of this agreement.

Only a society which has a firm grasp of reality can take the initiative in reforming the economy.

The government will significantly increase the areas of socio-economic information to which society, the trade unions and other social and economic organisations have access.

The MKS also suggests, in order that a proper perspective be provided for the development of the family agricultural units, which are the basis of Polish agriculture, that the individual and collective sectors of agriculture should have equal access to the means of production, including the land itself, and that the conditions should be created for the recreation of self-governing co-operatives.

On POINT No. 7, which reads:

"To pay all the workers who have taken part in the strike for the period of the strike as if they were on paid holiday throughout this period, with payment to be made from the funds of the CRZZ", the following decision has been reached:

Workers and employers participating in the strike will receive, on their return to work, 40 per cent of their wages. The rest, which will add up to a full 100 per cent of the nominal basic wage, will be calculated as would holiday pay, on the basis of an 8-hour working day. The MKS calls on workers who are members to work towards the increase of output, to improve the use of raw materials and energy, and to show greater work discipline, when the strike is over, and to do this in cooperation with the management of the factories and enterprises.

On POINT No. 8, which reads:

"To increase the minimum wage for every worker by 2000 zlotys a month to compensate for the increase in prices", the following has been decided:

These wage increases will be introduced gradually, and will apply to all types of workers and employees and in particular to those who receive the lowest wages. The increases will be worked out through agreements in individual factories and branches. The implementation of the increases will take into account the specific character of particular professions and sectors. The intention will be to increase wages through

revising the wage scales or through increasing other elements of the wage.

White collar workers in the enterprises will receive salary increases on an individual basis. These increases will be put into effect between now and the end of September 1980, on the basis of the agreement reached in each branch.

After reviewing the situation in all the branches, the government will present, by 31 October 1980, in agreement with the trade unions, a programme of pay increases to come into effect from 1 January 1981 for those who get the least at the moment, paying particular attention to large families.

On POINT No. 9, which reads:

"To guarantee the sliding scale", the following decision has been reached:

It is necessary to slow down the rate of inflation through stricter control over both the public and private sectors, and in particular through the suppression of hidden price increases.

Following on from a government decision, investigations will be carried out into the cost of living. These studies will be carried out both by the trade unions and by scientific institutions. By the end of 1980, the government will set out the principles of a system of compensation for inflation, and these principles will be open to discussion by the public. When they have been accepted, they will come into effect. It will be necessary to deal with the question of the social minimum in elaborating these principles.

On POINT No. 10, which reads:

"To ensure the supply of products on the internal market, and to export only the surplus",

and POINT No. 11, which reads:

"To suppress commercial prices and the use of foreign currency in sales on the internal market",

and POINT No. 12, which reads:

"To introduce ration cards for meat and meat-based products, until the market situation can be brought under control", the following agreement has been reached:

The supply of meat will be improved between now and 31 December 1980, through an increase in the profitability of agricultural production and the limitation of the export of meat to what is absolutely indispensable, as well as through the import of extra meat supplies. At the same time, during this period a programme for the improvement of the meat supply will be drawn up, which will take into account the possibility of the introduction of a rationing system through the issue of cards.

Products which are scarce on the national market for current consumption will not be sold in the 'Pewex' shops; and between now and the end of the year, the population will be informed of all decisions which are taken concerning the problems of supply.

The MKS has called for the abolition of the special shops and the levelling out of the price of meat and related products.

On POINT No. 13, which reads:

"To introduce the principle of cadre selection on the basis of qualifications, not on the basis of membership of the party, and to abolish the privileges of the police (MO) and the security services (SB), and of the party apparatus, through the abolition of special sources of supply, through the equalisation of family allowances, etc." we have reached the following agreement:

The demand for cadres to be selected on the basis of qualifications and ability has been accepted. Cadres can be members of the PUWP, of the SD (the Democratic Party, which draws its membership from small private enterprises), of the ZSL (the Peasant Party — these three parties make up the National Front) or of no party. A programme for the equalisation of the family allowances of all the professional groups will be presented by the government before 31 December 1980. The governmental commission states that only employees' restaurants and canteens, such as those in other work establishments and offices, are operated.

On POINT No. 14, which reads:

"To allow workers to retire at 50 years

for women and 55 for men, or after 30 years of work for women, and 35 years for men, regardless of age", it has been agreed that:

The governmental commission declares pensions will be increased each year taking into account the real economic possibilities and the rise in the lowest wages. Between now and 1 December 1981, the government will work out and present a programme on these questions. The government will work out plans for the increase of old age and other pensions up to the social minimum as established through studies carried out by scientific institutions; these will be presented to the public and submitted to the control of the trade unions.

The MKS stresses the great urgency of these matters and will continue to raise the demands for the increase of old age and other pensions taking into account the increase of the cost of living.

On POINT No. 15, which reads:

"To increase the old-style pensions to the level paid under the new system", it has been agreed:

The governmental commission states that the lowest pensions will be increased every year as a function of rises in the lowest wages. The government will present a programme to this effect between now and 1 December 1981. The government will draft proposals for a rise in the lowest pensions to the level of the social minimum as defined in studies made by scientific institutes. These proposals will be presented to the public and subject to control by the unions.

On POINT No. 16, which reads:

"To improve working conditions and the health services so as to ensure better medical protection for the workers", it has been agreed that:

It is necessary to immediately increase the resources put into the sphere of the health services, to improve medical supplies through the import of basic materials where these are lacking, to increase the salaries of all health

workers, and with the utmost urgency on the part of the government and the ministries, to prepare programmes for improving the health of the population. Other measures to be taken in this area are put forward in the appendix.

Addendum to Point 16:

1. To introduce a "Charter of Rights for Health Service Employees".
2. To guarantee supplies for sale of an adequate amount of protective cotton clothing.
3. To refund health service workers for the purchase of work clothes from the material expenditure fund.
4. To provide a guaranteed wage fund that would make possible rewarding all those who have performed outstanding work in accordance with the theoretically existing possibilities.
5. To set up funds for additional payments upon the completion of 25 and 30 years of work.
6. To establish additional payment for work under difficult or harmful working conditions, and to introduce additional pay for shift work by nonmedical employees.
7. To restore additional payment to those attending patients with infectious diseases or to those handling contagious biological material and to increase pay for nurses on night duty.
8. To recognize spinal diseases as occupational for dentists.
9. Allocation of good quality fuel to hospitals and nurseries.
10. To recognize additional payment for years of service to nurses without secondary school diplomas, to bring them up to the earnings level of graduate nurses.
11. To introduce a seven-hour work day for all skilled workers.
12. To introduce free Saturdays without the requirement of making up the time otherwise.
13. Sunday and holiday duties to be paid by a 100 per cent increase in wages.
14. Making medicine available free of charge to health service workers.
15. Making it possible to make a partial refund of housing loans from the social fund.

16. To increase the allocated apartment space for health service workers.
17. To make it easier for nurses living alone to be allotted apartments.
18. To change the award fund into a 13th monthly salary.
19. To give a six-week vacation to health service workers after 20 years of service and to make it possible for them to receive an annual paid vacation for health reasons, as is enjoyed by teachers.
20. To give people working for their M.D.s four-week vacations and those working for specialized degrees two-week vacations.
21. To guarantee a doctor the right to a day off after night duty.
22. To give workers in nurseries and kindergartens a five-hour schedule, as well as free board.
23. To introduce allocation of cars for basic health service workers and a mileage limit or a lump sum refund for business travel.
24. Nurses with higher education should be recognized and paid the same as other workers with a higher education.
25. To create specially trained repair groups in the ZOZs (factory health centres) to protect health service buildings from further deterioration.
26. To increase the per capita standard allowance for medicines for hospital patients from 1,138 zloty to 2,700 zloty, since the latter is the actual cost of treatment, and to increase the nutrition allowance as well.
27. To set up a system of food vouchers for the bedridden.
28. To double the number of ambulances — this being a real need today.
29. To take steps to guarantee purity of air, soil, and water, especially coastal seawater.
30. Along with being provided with new housing developments, citizens must also be provided with health centers, drug-stores, and nurseries.

On POINT No. 17, which reads:

"To ensure sufficient places in creches and play schools for the children of all

working women", it has been agreed that:

The government commission is fully in agreement with this demand. The provincial authorities will present proposals on this question before 30 November 1980.

On POINT No. 18, which reads:

"To increase the length of maternity leave to 3 years to allow a mother to bring up her child", it has been decided that:

Before 31 December 1980, an analysis of the possibilities open to the national economy will be made in consultation with the trade unions, on the basis of which an increase in the monthly allowance for women who are on unpaid maternity leave will be worked out.

The MKS asks that this analysis should include an allowance which will provide 100 per cent of pay for the first year after birth, and 50 per cent for the second year, with a fixed minimum of 2,000 zlotys a month. This goal should be gradually reached from the first half of 1981 onwards.

On POINT No. 19, which reads:

"To reduce the waiting period for the allocation of housing", the following agreement has been reached:

The district authorities will present a programme of measures for improving the accommodation situation and for reducing the waiting list for receipt of accommodation, before 31 December 1980. These proposals will be put forward for a wide-ranging discussion in the district, and competent organisations, such as the Polish town-planners association, the Central Association of Technicians etc. will be consulted. The proposals should refer both to ways of using the present building enterprises and pre-fabricated housing factories, and to a thorough-going development of the industry's productive base. Similar action will be taken throughout the country.

On POINT No. 20, which reads:

"To increase the travelling allowance

from 40 to 100 zlotys, and to introduce a cost of living bonus", it has been agreed that:

An agreement will be reached on the question of raising the travelling allowance and compensation, to take effect from 1 January 1981. The proposals for this to be ready by 31 October 1980.

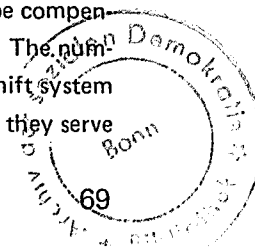
On POINT No. 21, which reads:

"To make Saturday a holiday in factories where there is continuing production, where there is a four-shift system. Saturday working must be compensated for by a commensurate increase in the number of holidays, or through the establishment of another free day in the week", it has been agreed that:

The principle that Saturday should be a free day should be put into effect, or another method of providing free time should be devised. This should be worked out by 31 December 1980. The measures should include the increase in the number of free Saturdays from the start of 1981. Other possibilities relating to this point are mentioned in the appendix, or appear in the submissions of the MKS.

Addendum to Point 21:

1. Change the Council of Ministers' decree concerning the method of calculating vacation pay as well as sickness benefits for those working under the four-shift system. At present, an average of 30 days is used (while they work 22 days in a month). This method of calculation decreases the average day's wages during short sick leaves and lowers the vacation equivalent.
2. We demand regularization, by one legal act (a Council of Ministers' decree), of the principles governing calculation of earnings for periods of absence from work in individual cases. The obscurity of the rules at the moment is used against workers.
3. The lack of Saturdays off for workers on the four-shift system should be compensated for by additional days off. The number of days granted in the four-shift system is higher than anywhere else, but they serve



as additional periods of rest after exhausting work, not as real days off. The administration's argument that such compensation should be granted only after the number of working hours in both systems have been made the same does not seem justified.

4. We demand all Saturdays off every month as is the case in other socialist countries.

5. We demand removal of Article 147 from the Labour Code, which permits extending the working time to 9 hours a day in a week preceding additional days off, as well as Article 148. At the moment, we have one of the longest working weeks in Europe.

6. Upgrade the importance of agreements concerning remuneration by introducing appropriate changes in the Labour Code. These should specify that both changes in individual salary grading or in other components of pay, and also a change in method of payment (from daily wage to piecework) require notification by the employer. One should also introduce the principle that the system under which individuals are classified for purposes of setting piecework rates be made to cover basically all types of work performed by the worker. It is also necessary to systematize the ways in which young workers are made use of, in

keeping with their qualifications, so that the above settlement does not become an additional obstacle to their professional advancement.

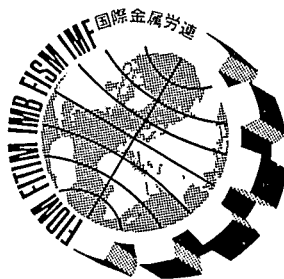
7. Employees working night shift should be granted up to a 50 per cent supplement if under the daily wage system and 30 per cent more real pay if under the piecework system.

After reaching the above agreement, it has also been decided that:

The government undertakes:

- . to ensure personal security and to allow both those who have taken part in the strike and those who have supported it to return to their previous work under the previous conditions;
- . to take up at the ministerial level the specific demands raised by the workers of all enterprises represented in the MKS;
- . to immediately publish the complete text of this agreement in the press, the radio, the television, and in the national mass media.

The strike committee undertakes to propose the ending of the strike from 5.00 p.m. on 31 August 1980. □



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