

# NEWS

# SOLIDARNOŚĆ

B.D.I.C

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COMMUNIQUE Lech Walesa and the Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) met on 19-20 November to discuss the recently announced price increases, due to become effective at the beginning of next year. The price hikes were denounced as, first, not contributing to the resolution of the country's economic problems and second, as causing a dramatic and further decline in the living standards of the working people; meaning, in fact, that most Polish families will not be able to meet their most basic needs. The price increases are unacceptable to the working people, and the union is responsible for organising the defense of their interests. Other aspects of the present situation in Poland were also discussed, and a course of action for the near future was approved. The communique, dated 20 November, is signed by Lech Walesa, NSZZ "Solidarnosc" president and TKK members: Zbigniew Bujak, Mazowsze region; Tadeusz Jedynek, Slask-Dabrowski region; Bogdan Lis, Gdansk region; Eugeniusz Szumiejko, Dolny Slask region.

KONRAD BIELINSKI has joined "Solidarnosc" Regional Executive Commission (RKW) for the Mazowsze region. The announcement was made on 15 October in a written statement signed by Zbigniew Bujak, TKK member in the same region. Bielinski began his work with "Solidarnosc" in August '80 on the staff of the Strike Bulletin in the Gdansk Shipyard. He later became chief editor of the Mazowsze region paper Independence. Interned on 13 December '81, he escaped from Bialoleka camp on 14 September '82 and continued to work in the "Solidarnosc" underground. (KOS no. 42)

"THE UNDERGROUND CAN BE EFFECTIVE and visible only if all of society, including enterprises, institutions, professional and social groups, remain committed to the principle of self-organisation", writes TKK member Bogdan Lis in an article entitled "There will be no miracle", published in October. In assessing the role of the underground and of society in the ongoing struggle for basic civil rights and self-determination, Lis says the struggle has passed through various stages during the 22 months since the state of war was imposed on 13 December '81. He notes that mass protest demonstrations have diminished due to harsher police repression and a lack of visible effects from this kind of action. But he warns against expecting miracles from the underground union leadership. Self-organisation on the local level, he says, can take on various forms such as the formation of a small group with a mini-program, or more concrete activity such as the publication of a bulletin or the organisation of discussion groups. With respect to national and regional "Solidarnosc" structures, Lis writes that their primary task is to prepare broad guidelines for activities and to initiate mass actions which will be announced in clandestine union publications and the underground press. He concedes, however, that spectacular actions are needed sporadically in order to maintain the social climate at an appropriate level. But he says, "let no one believe that because the underground exists, persons not in direct contact with it are released from the obligation to act". Although "the underground cannot be a mass organisation", victory will be secured "if society identifies with it". Formal support should be

accompanied by a readiness to take certain risks connected with carrying out instructions from the underground leadership. But the risks involved decrease proportionately as society accepts the discipline of action and the principle of self-organisation. Success, he writes, will, to a large extent, depend on whether society is able to maintain and to build-up self-organisation; whether, aside from strikes and demonstrations, people are able to learn as well as to teach others; whether they will prove capable of carrying out activities which may not be spectacular, but which are more effective in the long run. Such activities may, however, be more time-consuming and require steadfastness, perseverance and the ability to act and to wait simultaneously. In conclusion, Lis notes that social resistance has continued for the past two years: this he qualifies as a clear success, adding, however, that "all of us should know that victory will not be achieved quickly and easily, and that it will largely depend on whether we are able to maintain our organisational structure".

DEATHS DUE TO WORKPLACE ACCIDENTS rose 4.2% and the number of accidents rose 7.7% in 1982 over 1981 despite lower production, reported I. Madeyska, a leading expert at the Ministry of Labor, Salaries and Social Services, in the July-August issue of Labor Services. 1203 deaths were officially reported in '82, including 243 in mining and energy; 156 in farming; 136 in communication; 112 in steelworks. At the same time, the State Labor Inspection Office acknowledged that safety and health conditions were not improved and that expenditures declined on such installations as air-conditioning, ventilation and clean air equipment. (Tygodnik Mazowsze no. 67)

THE OFFICIAL UNION AT the Municipal Transportation Enterprise (MTE) in Warsaw refused employment to Dominik Tyburski, president of the "Solidarnosc" Founding Committee (KZ) for taxi drivers and member of the Regional Executive Council. Tyburski had come out of hiding after several months in the underground and was warmly greeted by his colleagues when he reported for work. (Tygodnik Mazowsze no. 67)

JANUSZ JAZDZIN, released from prison under the July amnesty, was denied a job at the leather factory where he had worked for ten years as an electrician. In September, he was hired at a farming machinery factory, but was dismissed after two weeks despite a shortage of experienced electricians at the factory. (Tygodnik Mazowsze no. 42)

LECH KARNICKI, a trucker in Bydgoszcz, cannot find work after serving a year-long sentence for union activities. The director of the Voivod Transportation Enterprise (WPK) refused to employ him, stating that Karnicki "has dangerous views, and the truckers profession is especially susceptible to such influences". (AIS no. 12)

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ANDRZEJ SLOWIK, a bus driver and NSZZ "Solidarnosc" chairman of the Lodz region, was interviewed by the underground press in late October while on leave from Barczewo prison to attend his father's funeral. Arrested on 13 December 1983 and tried for advocating a general strike, he was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment. The sentence was reduced to 3 years after the 22 July amnesty.

Q: You'll have to return to Barczewo in a few days...

A: I'm not afraid to go back and I'm not resisting it. First, because I've gotten used to life in prison, or rather I've adapted to it because 'getting used to it' implies resignation, and I don't feel resigned. Second, I've organised myself so as not to feel later on that it was a complete waste of time.

Q: Was it like that from the beginning?

A: At first, I thought it was the end of the world. It was a shock for me, I felt broken and even guilty for the failure of "Solidarnosc". I was in isolation on Rakowiecka (Warsaw prison), I had no contact with my friends - I was placed together with prisoners who hadn't been in "Solidarnosc". And I was worried by the lack of news from my family.

Polish prisons are horrible, especially those for criminals. No one ever talks about them. Sometimes they have to sleep on the floor because there aren't enough beds and health conditions are terrible. The prisoners earn next to nothing for their work. But living conditions aren't even the most important thing. Prisons aren't set up to rehabilitate people, but to demoralise them.

It took time to accept prison, to adapt to conditions there. I've gained some distance now, I can afford to see the lighter side. ...

It's possible to survive in prison. The main problem was organising my time. I started to learn English, to read books. Switching from physical work to studying and reading for a few hours every day is difficult, especially for people who aren't used to sitting over books everyday. But soon it becomes a habit, then a need and even a necessity. I have list of books which I want to read. My time in jail has also become a period for reflecting about what "Solidarnosc" did and for coming up with new ideas.

The most important thing is to leave prison in at least the same condition as when you came in. You can't let yourself be humiliated. You have to bring moral and ethical values with you into prison and not accept the prison morality. You can even become a better person in prison, more aware and sensitive to the injustice that you see around you.

Q: We heard that conditions in Barczewo are very bad, and that you were harassed...

A: They began to bring us here in September. I was brought from Potulice on the 8th. That same night Baluka was brought in from Koronowo. On the 9th, Kropiwnicki was brought in from Hrubieszow; Bednarz and Kosmowski from Strzelino. Frasyniuk was brought in last. We were placed in separate cells in the XIV unit, the punishment and isolation section. There's no plumbing there, only in one 6-person cell. At first, we were given a bucket of water twice a day for the whole cell. There was nowhere to throw out the dirty water after washing. They shaved us by force. They said all of this was according to regulations, that we all had to be treated alike. But the regulations were interpreted very loosely, and we saw no reason to give up what we had gained in other jails, like contact between cells, to be able to hear Masses, long walks, and permission to have lessons. It seemed that they were using the regulations in order to break us. Perhaps they thought they could get away with it because there were fewer people in prison after the amnesty.

From the very beginning, we demanded that we be placed together in the same cell. I was with Kosmowski, Kropiwnicki was with Bednarz and Baluka was alone. I tried to find out what had happened to

Baluka, whom I hadn't seen since his arrival. But I was told to mind my own business. We also demanded contact with the KPN (Confederation of an Independent Poland) people, who were taken out for walks separately. We demanded a room with a blackboard and tables to read and study, and normal sanitary conditions. But the prison authorities didn't react to any of our demands.

Q: And then the hunger strike began...

A: It began on 13 September. Frasyniuk wasn't there yet, he joined in later. At first they didn't want to remove our food from the cells, so that Urban (government spokesman) could say that we had our own food during the hunger strike, I suppose. A medical assistant visited us for the first time after eight days. We had our blood pressure measured. Then they made some test, checked the albumin level in our urine and the acetone in our blood. The next day a doctor told us we would be force-fed. We said that we would protest and told them to prepare a good supply of bandages and splints.

The first attempt at negotiation began a week before the hunger strike ended. The head warden tried to tempt us by partially meeting our demands, for example, to transfer us to a cell with plumbing. But we refused to accept improvements for ourselves at the cost of the other prisoners.

Now, thanks to us, plumbing is being installed in the entire unit, even though we were told it was impossible.

The 15th and 16th days of the hunger strike were critical for me. I was too weak even to take a walk. After eighteen days, we ended the hunger strike. It was an historical moment when we drank the bouillon with egg we prepared for ourselves.

Q: What did you achieve with the strike?

A: Quite a lot. First, we were all placed in one cell. It's not a big cell - 15 square meters - but we're supposed to be moved to 2-person cells after the plumbing is done, and we were promised that we would have contact with the others. A study room is being prepared for all the prisoners. A TV was brought into our cell for the time being, and we prepare news reports for each other every night. We've recently received a few newspapers.

However, we weren't guaranteed that we would have light after 9pm, but we now have an additional lamp by which we can read at night. We also have a cassette recorder with language tapes. They've hung up a screen made of sheets in the infirmary, something so basic we shouldn't have had to ask for it at all. We are now allowed to have scissors and shavers in the cell. Besides the prison uniforms, we can wear our own underwear, sweaters, scarves and gloves. They've returned almost everything we had when we came to Barczewo. It seems that this is permitted, after all.

The warden has not kept his word to the end. The prison chaplain was to visit us every week. Right now, Mass is celebrated just for the 6 of us, though we had insisted that it be for everyone. This demand was met during the negotiations.

I think we gained a lot as a result of the hunger strike. They've changed their attitude towards us. We showed them that we wouldn't accept the regulations which enforced the use of uniforms by all prisoners and identical cells. This is humiliating and makes people feel inferior. We don't get up for roll-call, we lay on our bunks during the day and we refuse to fold up our clothing at night. Since we don't have contact with the KPN people, we take turns talking to them through the window everyday.

A person's greatest enemy is his fear of standing up for his rights. Despite the dismal conditions which greeted us at Barczewo, we found that by taking a determined stand we could change conditions not only for ourselves, but for the other prisoners as well. We hope that everything we've gained will be guaranteed for those who come after us, so they won't have to start the battle over again.

THE COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL AFFAIRS, an independent group working under the auspices of the "Solidarnosc" Temporary Coordinating Commission, began publishing its own bulletin at the end of October. Called Gazeta Niecodzienna (Not An Everyday Gazette), the bi-weekly covers a wide range of subjects, includes short commentaries and is designed to counter official propaganda. (KOS no. 42)

THE POLISH AUTHORITIES recently forced through their own candidate, Roman Artymowski as the new rector of the Fine Arts Academy (ASP) in Warsaw. The Senate voted 25 to 5 for Stefan Gierowski, but the position went to Artymowski, the first professor appointed to the ASP during the state of war. (KOS no.42)

A DONATION OF 7,000 zlotys from a private farmer in the Ciechanow area (north-western Poland) was placed at the disposal of the recently-formed independent fund for needy artists. The farmer explained his contribution as follows: "I decided to begin with my own money before collecting among members of NSZZ "Solidarnosc" Private Farmers Union whom I know well. I also intend to approach richer farmers to take up collections for the artists, who are building Polish culture under very difficult conditions". (Kultura Niezalezna no. 13)

BARBARA LABUDA was detained in Wroclaw on 15 November three hours before she was to defend her doctoral thesis. She was held for seven hours by the security police (SB). Also detained at that time was Bronislaw Geremek, member of Labuda's thesis committee. Labuda was a member of the Dolny Slask "Solidarnosc" Regional Executive Commission; she went into hiding after 13 December '81, was arrested in October '82 and subsequently released under the July '83 amnesty. Geremek was senior advisor to "Solidarnosc". (Informacja "Solidarnosc" Mazowsze region no. 173)

SAILORS APPLYING FOR WORK on foreign ships must obtain a recommendation from the Polish Sailors' Union (PZM). However, the government-sponsored union issues these recommendations only to its members. (Z podziemia no. 13/28)

MINERS RELEASED FROM PRISON under the July '83 partial amnesty are being denied work by the Director of the 'Manifest Lipcowy' coalmine in Jastrzebie. The Director claims he is under instructions from the security police (SB). Miners who took part in the December '81 strike at the 'Wujek' mine, in which 7 miners were killed, are also being denied re-employment, despite mediation by the local parish pastor and Church representative. (AIS no. 12)

COORDINATING OFFICE MEMBERS, Jerzy Milewski, Seweryn Blumsztajn and Slawomir Czarlewski met with French trade union leaders in Paris 24-25 November to discuss the present situation in Poland and support activities for NSZZ "Solidarnosc". Meetings were held with CFDT, CFTC, and FO representatives.

THE TEMPORARY COORDINATING COMMISSION (TKK) sent a letter of thanks to Jan Kulakowski, Secretary General of the World Confederation of Labor (WCL). The text reads as follows:

"Though repression continues in our country; though trade union organisations particularly NSZZ "Solidarnosc", which are independent of the authorities are not allowed to exist legally, our trade union has not in fact been abolished, as shown by the work carried out by "Solidarnosc" activists and members. Further evidence is the sustained cooperation between "Solidarnosc" in the underground and numerous trade union organisations and their headquarters across the world.

The WCL, which you head, has not accepted the formal delegatisation of "Solidarnosc". On the contrary, it has taken a very determined stand in its support for the Poles' struggle for independent trade unions, as well as in support and assistance to "Solidarnosc" in Poland and its offices abroad.

On many occasions, we have expressed our thanks to all those who have granted their disinterested political, moral and material help.

Now we send special and warm thanks to all the working people associated with the WCL. Your support for the cause and the ideals of "Solidarnosc", Mr. Secretary General, has greatly influenced the form and extent of this support. We hope that you will let all the members of your organisation know how very much their help is needed today. Our struggle continues as Poles unite around the ideals represented by "Solidarnosc". Unity is now particularly significant. The "Solidarnosc" cause unites the international trade union movement as well. We also view this as an important element of our struggle. Yet the international union organisations directly engaged in aiding "Solidarnosc" have the most to say in this respect.

This October it will have been one year since "Solidarnosc" was unlawfully dissolved; in December, two years will have passed since the Jaruzelski junta forced Poland's largest labor organisation into the underground. These two years of struggle and of international solidarity are etched on the consciousness of Polish unionists. The WCL has also earned a permanent place in their memories.

We wish you, Mr. Secretary General, and the members of your organisation, every possible success in the struggle for the trade union's place in the world, and in the struggle for the future of trade unions.

We believe that cooperation will bear fruit which will be reaped by the entire world of labor."

Gdansk, 30 October 1983  
/ / Bogdan Lis, on behalf of the TKK

AS THE DECEMBER HOLIDAY SEASON draws near in many of the countries where our News is read, we ask that during the season of goodwill our readers remember especially all the "Solidarnosc" members and leaders struggling for trade union and civil rights in Poland. For them, this will be the third Christmas under the state of war.