

THE GDANSK AGREEMENT¹

TEXT OF PROTOCOL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE
GOVERNMENT COMMISSION AND THE INTER-FACTORY
STRIKE COMMITTEE CONCLUDED ON
31 AUGUST 1980 AT THE GDANSK SHIPYARD

Having examined the twenty-one demands submitted by the striking work forces, the Government commission and the Inter-Factory Strike Committee adopted the following decisions:

With regard to point one which says: Accept free trade unions independent from the Party and employers as provided for by ILO Convention 87, which was ratified by the Polish People's Republic and which concerns trade union freedom, it was agreed:

1. The performance of trade unions in the Polish People's Republic does not fulfil the hopes and expectations of employees. It is considered expedient to establish new self-governing trade unions that would genuinely represent the working class. No one will have his right to remain in the present trade unions questioned and it is possible that the two trade union movements will establish Cooperation in the future.

2. In view of the establishment of new, independent and self-governing trade unions, the Inter-Factory Strike Committee declares that they will observe the principles laid down in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. The new trade unions will defend the social and material interests of employees and do not intend to play the role of a political party. They approve of the principle that the means of production are social property – a principle that is the foundation of the socialist system in Poland. Recognising that the PZPR plays the leading role in the State and without undermining the actual system of international alliances, they seek to ensure for the working people suitable means of control, of expressing their opinions and of defending their interests.

The Government commission declares that the Government will guarantee and ensure full respect for the independence and self-government of the new trade unions both as regards their organisational structure and their performance at all levels of activity. The Government will ensure for the new trade unions every opportunity to fulfil their basic functions in defending the interests of employees and implementing their material, social and cultural needs. At the same time, the Government guarantees that the new trade unions will not be subjected to any discrimination.

3. The establishment and activity of the independent, self-governing trade unions are consistent with ILO Convention 87 which concerns trade union freedoms and the defence of trade union rights, and ILO Convention 96 which concerns the right of association and the right to collective negotiations. Both Conventions have been ratified in Poland. The diversity of trade union and employees' representation will entail suitable legislative amendments; in connection with this the Government pledges itself to making legislative proposals, particularly concerning the law on trade

unions, the law on workers' self-government and the labour code.

4. The established strike committees can, if they wish, transform themselves into bodies for the representation of factory employees such as workers' committees, employees' committees, workers' councils or the founding committees of the new self-governing trade unions. As the founding committee of those trade unions, the Inter-Factory Strike Committee is free to choose the form of a single union or association within the coastal region. The founding committees will function until new authorities are elected in accordance with the statutes. The Government pledges itself to create the conditions for the registration of the new trade unions outside the register of the Central Trade Union Council.

5. The new trade unions should enjoy genuine opportunities to evaluate publicly new decisions which affect the working people's working conditions: the principles for dividing the national income into consumption and accumulation; the distribution of the social consumption fund for various purposes – health, education, culture; the basic principles of remuneration and the lines of wage policy – particularly the principle of an automatic adjustment of wages under conditions of inflation; long-term economic plans, investment policy and changes in prices. The Government pledges itself to ensure conditions for the exercise of these functions.

6. The Inter-Factory Committee is establishing a centre for social and labour studies, whose task will be to analyse objectively the employees' situation, the working people's living conditions and the ways of representing employees' interests. The centre will also prepare specialist opinions on the wage and price indices and will propose forms of compensation; it will also publish the results of its research. The new trade unions will also have their own publications.

7. The Government will ensure that the provisions of Article one Paragraph one of the 1949 Trade Union Act, which stipulates that workers and employees are guaranteed the right to voluntary association in trade unions, are observed in Poland. The new trade union will not join the association represented by the Central Trade Union Council. It is agreed that the new law will preserve this principle. At the same time, representatives of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee or of the committees that will found the self-governing trade unions and representatives of other workers' bodies will be ensured participation in formulating this law.

With regard to point two, which says: Guarantee the right to strike and guarantee security for strikers and for persons helping them, it was decided: The right to strike will be guaranteed in the trade union law which is now in the course of preparation. The law should define the conditions under which a strike is proclaimed and organised, the methods of settling disputed issues and responsibility for violating the law. Articles 52, 64 and 65 of the Labour Code cannot be applied with regard to the participants in a strike. Also, the Government guarantees strikers and persons helping them personal security and the maintenance of their present working conditions until the law is passed.

With regard to point three, which says: Observe freedom of speech and the printed word, that is, not to repress independent publications and to make the mass media available to representatives of all religions, it was decided:

1. Within three months the Government will introduce in the Sejm a draft law on control of the press, publications and entertainment which will be based on the

following principles. Censorship should protect the interests of the State. This means the protection of State and economic secrets, the extent of which will be more closely defined by legal enactments, and the protection of the State's security matters and important international interests. This also means protecting religious beliefs and, at the same time, the convictions of non-believers and preventing the dissemination of morally harmful material. This draft law would also deal with the right to appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court against the decisions of the organs responsible for control of the press, publications and entertainment. This law will be put into force by amending the Administrative Procedure Code.

2. Denominational groups will be given access to the mass media for religious purposes through agreement between State bodies and the interested religious associations on substantive and organisational problems. The Government will ensure that the radio will transmit a Sunday mass under a detailed accord with the Episcopate.

3. Radio, television, the press and publications should be used to express a plurality of ideas, views and opinions. This use should be subject to social control.

4. Like citizens and their organisations, the press should have access to public documents, especially administrative documents, socio-economic plans and so on, issued by the Government and its administrative bodies. The exceptions to the principles of the openness of the Administration's activities will be defined in the law as stipulated in point one.

With regard to point four, which says:

- (i) Restore the former rights of people dismissed from their jobs for the strikes in 1970 and 1976 and of students banned from higher schools for their convictions;
- (ii) Free all political prisoners (including Edmund Zadrozynski, Jan Kozlowski and Marek Kozlowski); and
- (iii) End the persecution of people for their convictions;

it was decided:

- (a) To examine immediately the propriety of the job dismissals after the strikes in 1970 and 1976. In all cases, if irregularities are ascertained, immediately to restore the people concerned to their jobs, provided they want to return, and to take into account the qualifications they have acquired in the meantime. A corresponding procedure will be used in the case of the students banned from higher schools.
- (b) To refer the cases of the persons mentioned above to the Minister of Justice who will examine them and will within two weeks institute the necessary proceedings: in the cases in which the listed persons have been deprived of freedom, their punishment will be interrupted until proceedings have been completed;
- (c) To examine whether their detention is justified and to release those mentioned in the supplement;
- (d) To observe fully the individual's freedom to express his convictions in public and professional life.

With regard to point five, which states: Publish in the mass media information about the establishment of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee and publish its demands, it was decided: This demand will be fulfilled by publishing this protocol in the national mass media. With regard to point six, which says: Take genuine action to

extricate the country from its state of crisis through (i) fully informing the public about the socio-economic situation, and (ii) enabling all social communities and sections to participate in the discussion about the reform programme, it was decided:

We deem it necessary greatly to accelerate the work on economic reform. The authorities will outline and publish the basic tenets of this reform within the next few months. It is necessary to ensure that public discussion of this reform is extensive. In particular, the trade unions should participate in formulating the laws on socialist economic organisations and on workers' self-government. The economic reform should be based on radically increased self-dependence of enterprises and on genuine participation in management by the workers' self-government groups. The necessary enactments should guarantee the fulfilment by the trade unions of the functions defined in point one of this agreement.

Only a nation that is aware of its problems and that has a sound perception of reality can sponsor and implement a programme for streamlining the economy. The Government will radically expand the range of socio-economic information available to the nation, the trade unions and economic and social organisations.

In addition, the Inter-Factory Committee demands that: lasting prospects be created for developing peasant family farms, which are the foundation of Polish agriculture; all sectors be ensured equal access to all means of production, including land; and conditions be created for the rebirth of rural self-government groups.

With regard to point seven, which says: Pay wages from Central Trade Union Council funds for the duration of the strike and for annual leave to all those who are striking, it was decided:

Employees in the striking work forces will receive for the period of the strike an advance payment of 40 per cent of their normal remuneration and, after they have resumed work, they will receive the outstanding balance of their remuneration, calculated as for a period of annual leave based on an eight-hour day. The Inter-Factory Strike Committee appeals to the work forces associated within it that — after the strike has ended and in co-operation with the managements of factories, work enterprises and other institutions — they should take action to increase productivity, economise on materials and energy and enhance conscientiousness in every job.

With regard to point eight, which says: Increase the basic wages of each employee by 2000 zloty a month in compensation for the present price rises, it was decided:

Gradual increases will be effected in the wages of all groups of employees, above all in the lowest wage groups. It was agreed in principle that wages will be increased in individual factories and in groups of branches. These increases are being implemented and will be implemented in keeping with the specific characteristics of trade, professions and branches, the aim being to raise all salaries by a single increment or to increase other elements of remuneration or of the wage group. As for office workers in enterprises, their remuneration will be raised by a single increment in their personal wages. Pay rises now under discussion will be completed by the end of September this year in accordance with branch accords.

Having analysed all branches, the Government, in co-operation with the trade unions, will by 31 October this year present a programme for increasing, as of 1 January 1981, the wages of the lowest paid, giving special consideration to families with many children.

With regard to point nine, which says: Guarantee an automatic increase in wages parallel to increases in prices and deterioration in the value of money, it was decided:

Increases in the prices of staple goods must be checked by increasing control over the socialised and private sectors, in particular by stopping so-called creeping price rises. In keeping with the Government's decision, research will be conducted into the development of living costs. This research will also be conducted by the trade unions and scientific institutes. By the end of 1980 the Government will work out the principles of compensation for increases in the cost of living. These principles will be subjected to a public discussion and, when agreed upon, will be implemented. They should take into account the issue of the social minimum [minimum subsistence level].

With regard to point ten, which says: Ensure adequate supplies of food for the domestic market and only export surpluses; and to point eleven, which states: Abolish commercial prices and sales for hard currencies under the scheme of so-called internal export and to point thirteen, which states: Introduce the rationing of all meat – food coupons – (until the market situation is mastered), it was decided:

Meat supplies to the public will be improved by 31 December this year by various measures, including: increased profitability of farm production, restricting meat exports to the necessary minimum, and additional meat imports. Within the same period a programme will be presented for improving meat supplies to the public and for eventual meat rationing through coupons.

It was agreed that the Pewex shops [selling for hard currencies] will not sell those staple consumer goods produced in Poland that are in short supply. The nation will be informed by the end of the year about the decisions and measures concerning supplies to the market. The Inter-Factory Strike Committee has asked for the ending of commercial shops and for the streamlining and standardisation of meat prices at an average level.

With regard to point twelve which says: Introduce the principle by which leading and managing cadres are selected by virtue of their qualifications not their Party affiliations, and abolish the privileges of the citizens' militia, the security service and the Party apparatus by equalising family allowances, ending special sales and so on, it was decided: The demand is accepted that leading and managing cadres should be consistently selected according to qualification and ability, both among members of the Party and non-Party people. The programme for equalising family allowances for all trade groups will be presented by the Government by 31 December 1980. The Government commission states that, as in other work establishments and offices, there are only staff restaurants and canteens.

With regard to point fourteen which says: Lower the retirement age of women to fifty and of men to fifty-five, or thirty years worked in the Polish People's Republic by women and thirty-five years by men regardless of their ages, it was decided: The Government commission regards this demand as impossible to fulfil now in view of the country's present economic and demographic situation. The issue can be discussed in the future. The Inter-Factory Strike Committee has asked that this issue be examined by 31 December 1980, and that consideration should be given to allowing employees doing strenuous jobs to retire five years earlier, after thirty years for women and thirty-five for men, and in the case of particularly strenuous jobs [to advance retirement] by at least fifteen years. This should take place only at the request of the employee.

With regard to point fifteen which says: Equalise the pensions and annuities of the so-called old scheme so that they are equivalent to the pensions and annuities of the

present scheme, the Government commission declares that the lowest pensions and annuities will be increased annually, consistent with the country's economic potential, and will take into account increases in the lowest wages. The Government will present an implementation programme by 31 December 1980. The Government will propose that the lowest pensions and annuities be raised to the level of the so-called social minimum determined by research carried out by the appropriate institutes, presented to the public and controlled by the trade unions. The Inter-Factory Strike Committee stresses the extreme urgency of this issue and maintains its demand that the pensions and annuities of the old and new schemes should be at the same level and that increases in the costs of living should be taken into account.

With regard to point sixteen which says: Improve the working conditions of the health services so as to ensure complete medical care for working people, it was decided: It is considered necessary to increase immediately the investment capacities of the health services, to improve the supply of medicines through additional imports of raw materials, to increase the wages of all health service workers (to change the wage structure for nurses) and to draw up urgently Government and departmental programmes for improving the state of the nation's health. Other measures in this field are listed in the supplement to point sixteen.

1. To implement the Charter of Health Service Employees' Rights.
2. To ensure suitable quantities of cotton protective clothing for sale.
3. To pay from the material costs fund an amount equal to the cost of work clothing.
4. To secure such a wage fund as to make it possible to award the necessary extra payments to all people who distinguish themselves in their work – to award them in keeping with theoretically valid considerations.
5. To set increasing additional payments for completion of twenty-five and thirty years work.
6. To set additional payment for work under conditions that are a strain or harmful to health, and to introduce additional payment for shift work for non-medical employees.
7. To re-introduce additional payment for working with patients with infectious ailments and for handling infectious biological materials, and to raise the wages for overnight nursing.
8. To recognise spinal ailments as an occupational disease of dental surgeons.
9. To ensure supplies of good quality fuels for hospitals and creches.
10. To equalise service benefits for nurses without full secondary education with benefits for nurses with diplomas.
11. To introduce a seven-hour working day for all specialist employees.
12. To introduce free Saturdays without the need to work them off later.
13. To pay double rates for Sunday and holiday work.
14. To provide free medicines for Health Service employees.
15. To make possible a partial repayment of housing loans from social funds.
16. To increase the size of apartments for Health Service workers.
17. To enable single nurses to obtain apartments.
18. To convert the bonus fund into a thirteen-month wage.
19. To grant six weeks leave to Health Service workers after twenty years of service, and to make it possible for them to obtain paid annual leave to improve their health, as is the case for teachers.
20. To ensure paid leave of four weeks for those studying for a doctor's degree and of two weeks for those specialising.
21. To ensure the right to a day off after a spell of duty as a physician.

22. A five-hour working day for employees in creches and kindergartens, and free food.
23. Cars for employees of the basic health services and kilometre allowances or lump payments for official trips.
24. Nurses with higher education should be treated and paid as are other personnel with higher education.
25. To set up specialised repair teams in the factory trade union organisation (ZOZ) in order to protect Health Service installations against further depreciation.
26. To raise the standard allowance for medicine for hospital patients, from 1138 zloty to 2700 zloty, since this is what treatment actually costs; to raise the food allowance.
27. To issue food coupons for the bedridden.
28. To double available medical transportation because this is a pressing need.
29. To ensure the cleanliness of air, soil and water, especially of the coastal waters.
30. Parallel with the completion of new housing settlements, to complete facilities such as out-patient clinics, chemists and creche.

With regard to point seventeen which says: Ensure the necessary vacancies in creches and kindergarten: for working women's children, it was decided: The Government commission fully agrees with the importance of this demand. The provincial authorities will present the necessary programme by 30 November 1980.

With regard to point eighteen which says: Grant maternity leave for three years in order to raise a baby, it was decided: By 31 December 1980 an analysis will be made – in cooperation with the trade unions – of the national economy's potential and the length of maternity leave and the amount of monthly payment will be determined for women (now unpaid) to take care of their babies. The Inter-Factory Strike Committee demands that such an analysis should consider a payment equivalent to the full wages in the first year after the baby is born and that 50 per cent of these wages be paid in the second year, but that these should amount to not less than 2000 zloty a month. This demand should be met gradually, beginning with the first six months of 1981.

With regard to point nineteen which says: Cut the period of waiting for apartments, it was decided: By 31 December 1980 the provincial authorities will present a programme for improving the housing situation in order to cut the waiting time for apartments. This programme will be extensively discussed by the people of the province who will consult with the appropriate organizations: the Association of Polish Town Planners – TUP; the Association of the Architects of the Polish Republic – SARP; the chief technical organisation – NOT; etc. The programme should also consider the present utilisation of the existing plants manufacturing housing components and the further development of the construction trades' production base. The same measures will be taken nationwide.

With regard to point twenty which says: Increase daily travelling allowances from 40 zloty to 100 zloty and increase the family separation allowance, it was decided: As of 1 January 1981 travel allowances and the separation allowance will be increased. Proposals regarding these will be presented by the Government by 31 October 1980.

With regard to point twenty-one which says: Make all Saturdays work-free, and compensate employees working round the clock or on a four-shift pattern with

increased annual leave or by other paid days off, it was decided: We will work out and present by 31 December 1980 principles and methods of implementing the programme for paid work-free Saturdays as well as other methods of regulating a shorter working period. This programme will provide for a larger number of paid work-free Saturdays by as early as 1981. Other measures in this regard are contained in the supplement listing the demands of Inter-Factory Strike Committee.

Having made the aforementioned decisions, the following agreement was reached: The Government pledges itself: to ensure personal security and honour the present working conditions of the participants in the present strike and of the persons helping them; to examine at ministerial level the specific problems of the branches as submitted by the workforces of all the striking factories that are associated with the Inter-Factory Strike Committee; to publicise immediately the full text of the protocol of this agreement in the national mass media – the press, radio and television.

The Inter-Factory Strike Committee pledges itself to end the strike at 1700 hours on 31 August 1980.

[Signed]

The Presidium of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee:

Chairman Lech Walesa; Vice Chair man Andrzej Koloziej, Vice Chairman Bogdan Lis; members: Lech Badkowski, Wojciech Gruszewski, Andrzej Gwiazda, Stefan Izbański, Jerzy Kwiecik, Zdzisław Korylinski, Henryka Kizywonos, Stefan Lewandowski, Alina Pienkowska, Jozef Przypylski, Jerzy Sikorski, Lech Lobieszek, Tadeusz Stanny, Anna Walentynowicz, and Florian Wisniewski.

The Government commission:

Chairman Mieczysław Jagielski, Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; members: Zbigniew Zieliński, member of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat; Tadeusz Fiszbach, Chairman of the Provincial People's Council in Gdansk; Jerzy Kolodziejki, Provincial Governor of Gdansk.

SUPPLEMENT TO POINT TWENTY-ONE:

1. To change the decree issued by the Council of Ministers on the methods of calculating payments for annual leave and sickness benefits for workers working the four-shift system; the present method is to use an average of thirty days (whereas the workers work twenty-two days). This method of calculation reduces the average working day when workers are on short sick leaves and lowers the equivalent for the annual leave.
2. We demand that a single legal enactment – by the Council of Ministers – should streamline the method by which payments are calculated in individual cases for a given period of absence from work. The vagueness of the present regulations is used against the employees.
3. Workers working the four-shift work system should be compensated by an additional leave allowance for their work on Saturdays. The fact that these workers are given more days off than others on different work systems does not mean that they can enjoy real days off. Their present days off are just an opportunity to take a rest after very strenuous work. The arguments submitted by the administration, maintaining that real days off should be granted only after the amount of hours worked under the two work systems is the same, are not correct.
4. We want all Saturdays work-free every month as is the case in other socialist countries.
5. We want Article 147 of the Labour Code to be abolished. This Article allows for extending the average work norm by nine hours a week when additional days off are due. We also want Article 148 to be abolished; our work norms are among the longest in Europe.
6. To increase the importance of the contracted decisions concerning payments by making changes in the Labour Code, namely that not only a change in a worker's own wage group or in other elements of his remuneration, but also changes in the methods of payments (from daily wage to piece work) must be notified by the employer. It is also necessary to introduce the principle that all jobs done by a worker on a piece work basis should be paid for in accordance with his actual wage group. At the same time, it is necessary to sort out the issue of employing young workers in keeping with their qualifications so the aforementioned decision does not become an obstacle to professional advancement.
7. To introduce in the shift system an increase of 50 per cent in the allowance for night work in the day system and to increase by 30 per cent the actual earnings under the piece work system. We also want an allowance for work during the afternoon shift (as is the case in the chemical industry). We want the Government to examine these demands by 30 November 1980.

AN OPEN LETTER¹

To the President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, A. P. Alexandrov

Dear Anatoly Petrovich:

The immediate reason for this letter was your conversation concerning my state of affairs with the president of the New York Academy of Sciences, Joel Leibowitz. [That conversation took place on April 15 but] only now has a transcript of it become available to me. Irrespective of that, I consider it important to state my position on questions of principle in my case, to respond to certain public accusations and also to assess the positions taken by my colleagues in the USSR and, in particular, by the Academy of Sciences and its directors.

My life has been such that for two decades I found myself among those engaged in scientific-military and military construction projects in which I myself took an active part and then, for more than twelve years, I have been among those people who have set before themselves the task of a nonviolent struggle for the observance of human rights and legality. My fate has thus forced me to perceive with especial acuity the questions of war and peace international security, international trust and disarmament, and the questions of human rights and open societies, and to give intense thought to these problems in all their interdependencies. That was how my position evolved. In many respects it proved unorthodox, at odds with the official line and with my own assessments of previous years. In the final analysis all this has completely changed my life, my goals and my ideals.

Quite early on I came to the conclusion that despite the entire people's passionate desire for peace and the government leaders' unquestionable desire avoid a major war, they are, in the practice of their foreign policy, frequently guided, in my opinion, by an extremely dangerous, geopolitical strategy of force and expansion, and by their striving to stifle and corrupt their potential enemies. But in corrupting an enemy we corrupt as well the world in which we live. So, as early as 1955, I recognized that our Near East policy was taking a sharp turn, the aim of which was to create a situation of oil dependency for the countries of the West. In the years following, thin shift brought great calamities to the peoples of that region – the Arabs, Israel, Lebanon – and has also served to intensify the energy crisis throughout the world. As the military capabilities of the USSR increased, that sort of policy became increasingly dominant and dangerous, destroying with one hand that which the other hand was attempting to construct. Afghanistan is the latest and most tragic example of the harm done by this expansionist geopolitical mentality.

I am convinced that the prevention of a thermonuclear war threatening mankind is our most important problem, having absolute priority over all other problems. The means to a solution are political, politico-economic, and involve the creation of

¹ Gorky, 20 October 1980. The editor (of the original publication) wishes to thank Mr. Peter B. Reddaway for making this material available for publication in THE SAMIZDAT BULLETIN. Translated from Russian by Richard Lourie.