

# STRIKE!

FOR SOLIDARITY

INSTRUCTIONS

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## RULES OF STRIKE

NUMBER OF PLAYERS: 2-5

AGES: 12+

GAME DURATION: 30-60 minutes

GAME DESIGN: Karol Madaj



*Before August, I was known as a simple worker, one of many union members (...). Now I jump to the front, I act independently, I take the leader's role, I impose my role on the group...*

## INTRODUCTION

In the game “Strike”, you get the chance to step into the shoes of Lech Wałęsa (pronounced “va-WEN-sa”) and direct the activities of the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee (mks) in the Vladimir Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk in August 1980. The time of the sympathy strike and negotiations of the 21 Demands with the government delegation, completed by signing the August Agreements and the emergence of Solidarność (the Solidarity movement), is the period when Lech Wałęsa scaled the shipyard fence and became not only the leader of the opposition, but also a front-page public figure. Because of the strike, he became the head of Solidarity, received the Nobel Peace Prize, and was elected President of the Republic of Poland.

You begin the game with only your quick wit and gift of the gab. Will you be able to win over the crowd, gain favor in the eyes of the world, and lead the strike to victory?



*No one can make a plan for something like a strike. A strike is like a crowd which reacts unpredictably, in its own way.*

## SCENARIO

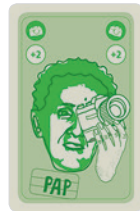
Everybody in turn controls the actions of Lech Wałęsa, gaining support for the strike in the shipyard. You use *walking* and *running* cards to move Wałęsa around the board. You use *speech* cards to win over the workers and residents of Gdańsk. With them on his side, Wałęsa draws the attention of foreign correspondents. Press interviews inform the entire country of the shipbuilders' struggle, which causes other groups to join the strike, and the shipyard is visited by delegates of mks (*Międzyzakładowy Komitet Strajkowy*: the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee) and the mks Committee of Experts under Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Being certain of support from the delegates and experts, you can attempt to negotiate the strike demands. The winner is the person who, as Lech Wałęsa, is the first to gain 2 demand cards.



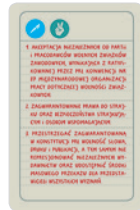
110 cards



14 *running* cards



14 correspondent cards



6 *demand* cards





Every detail of the shipyard operation during the strike was important. The people themselves created the routine; the strike process was clear to everyone, and it was visible from the first moment one entered the shipyard...

## game preparation

Place the game board at the center of the table and put the Wałęsa token on the space with a cross behind the shipyard fence. Sort the playing cards according to type (as described in “Game Components”). Then put the cards face down on the board as follows:

workers are stationed in these 3 areas: Department 1, Department 2 and Department 3 – put 5 **worker** cards onto each of the 3 departments

strike leaflets are printed here, and foreign correspondents wait behind the fence – put the 14 **correspondent** cards here



Turn the top card of each deck face up, except for the demand deck.

delegates of the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee from other plants will arrive here, when the media report on the sympathy strike – put the 8 **delegate** cards here

here in the BHP Hall (safety training hall), Wałęsa negotiates demands (the goal of the game) – put the 6 **demand** cards here

Gdańsk inhabitants gather here in front of gate 2 – put the 15 **resident** cards here

experts arrive here from the railway station – put the 8 **expert** cards here

this square has a cross commemorating the shipyard workers killed in December 1970, giving Lech Wałęsa more motivation to act – put 4 **running** cards here

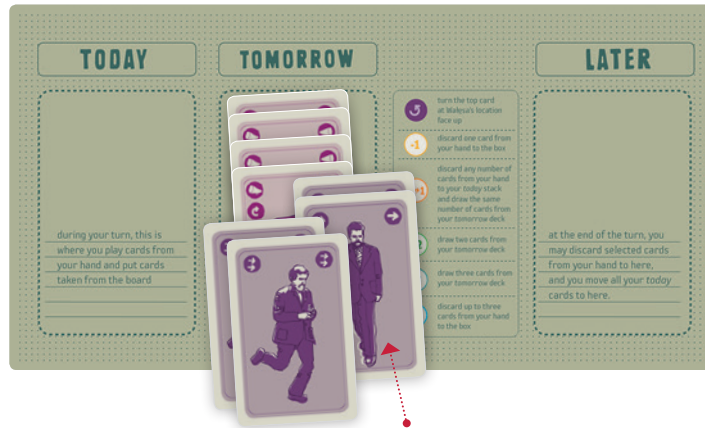




*Gdańsk is becoming a Mecca attracting delegations from workplaces across the country with words of support and declarations of readiness to strike.*

Each player receives a player board and 4 speech cards, 2 walking cards and 2 running cards. Each player shuffles their cards and puts them in a face down stack on the center space (*tomorrow*) of their player board to create their initial *tomorrow* deck.

Your own cards will move among 4 places during play: your hand, and 3 stacks (*today*, *tomorrow*, *later*) on your player board.



cards on your player board

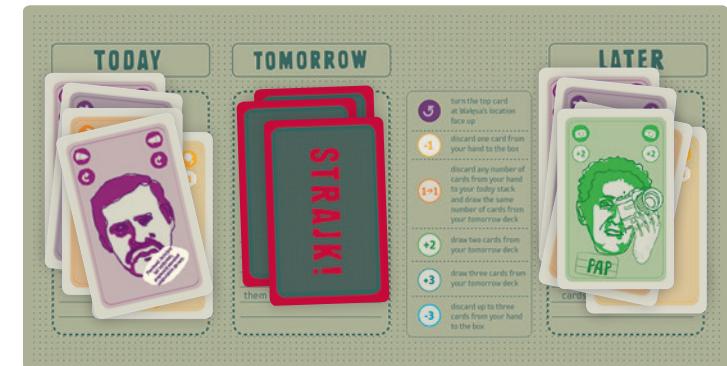
<i>Today</i> represents	<i>Tomorrow</i> represents	<i>Later</i> represents
current meetings;	future meetings;	postponed to "some day";
you play cards from your hand onto this stack, face up	you draw your cards from this face down deck	at the end of your turn, you move your played cards from <i>Today</i> to <i>Later</i> , face up.

In a game with fewer than 5 players, return the unused cards to the box.







Finally everyone draws 5 cards from their *Tomorrow* deck. Whoever drew the fewest *speech* cards is the starting player (using youngest player as a tie-breaker.)

## sequence of play

Players take turns in clockwise order. During your turn, you play as many cards as you wish from your hand to your player board. You will use your cards frequently: drawing, playing, shuffling and drawing again.



By playing cards from your hand, you move Wałęsa on the main game board and gain cards of higher and higher levels. Instead of gaining cards, you can also do special actions. Going through all the levels and gaining 2 demand cards ends the game.

card levels			
I	 <u>SPEECH</u>	 <u>WALKING</u>	 <u>RUNNING</u>
II	 <u>WORKER</u>	 <u>RESIDENT</u>	
III	 <u>CORRESPONDENT</u>		
IV	 <u>DELEGATE</u>	 <u>EXPERT</u>	
V	 <u>DEMAND</u>		



*Thank God that all this shuffling, the shifting arrangements between us, this entire personal aspect of the strike and its leadership, was in the shadows of the main movement*

### player turns

At the start of your turn, you draw cards from your *tomorrow* deck until you have 5 cards in your hand (see [DRAWING CARDS](#)). Then you play cards from your hand, doing actions (see [GAINING CARDS FROM THE BOARD](#) and [SPECIAL ACTIONS](#)). You always place the cards you play and the new cards you gain onto the *today* space on your board.

When you can no longer perform actions, or choose to stop, you may keep any cards you like in your hand (never more than 5) and discard the rest to your *today* pile.

Finally you move all your *today* cards to your *later* stack. Finally turn the top cards face up on those board locations where there are face down cards (because you took cards from there). (See “end of turn”.)





*It was really not as rosy as everybody imagines today. I ran from department to department (...), I made speeches, we turned off machinery, and when there was no other way, we began to sing “Boże, coś Polskę” (God Save Poland)...*

### gaining cards from the board

To take a card from the main board, Wałęsa must be at the board location with the card you want. You can move Wałęsa from location to adjacent location by using *walking* and *running* cards. *Walking* moves Wałęsa 1 location, and *running* moves Wałęsa 1 or 2 locations.



Each board space has a stack of cards. The icon next to a stack indicates which cards you must play there to gain a new card.

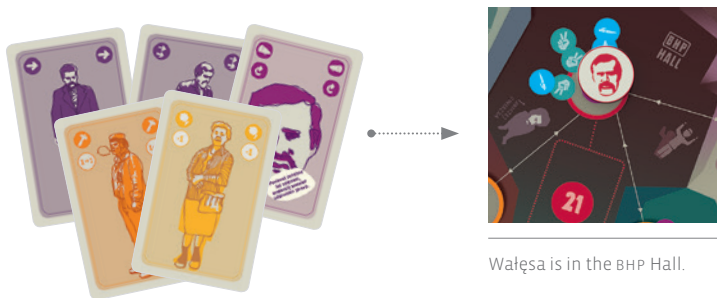


With Wałęsa at the appropriate space, play the necessary cards from your hand to take the face up card from that space's stack. If you want to take another card from a space where you've already taken a card this turn, then you must do the special action of playing a speech card to turn the stack's new top card face up.

**NOTE:** If the last action of your turn is walking or running, then you cannot leave Wałęsa on a space with no cards. (Your turn can end with Wałęsa on an empty space if your last action was not walking or running — for example, if you took the last card from the space after moving him there!)



**ILLEGAL:** you can't move here and end your turn



Wałęsa is in the BHP Hall.

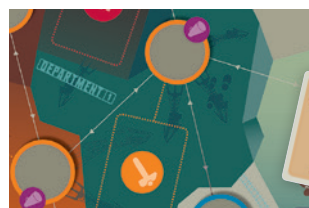
Marta has in her hand the following cards: *walking, running, speech, resident, worker.*



She moves Wałęsa to Department 1.



There she plays her *speech* card...



... in order to take the face up *worker* card, which she moves from the main board to her player board's *Today* stack.

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continued from page 18



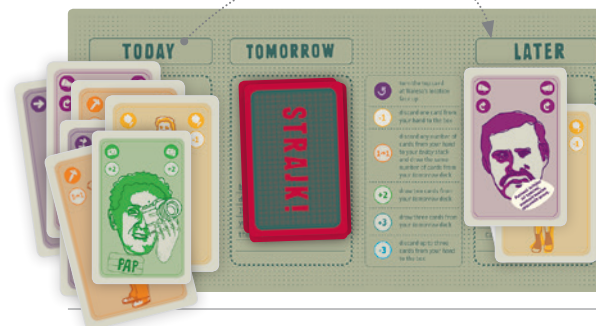
Marta plays her *running* card...



...and moves Wałęsa 2 locations, through Department 2, to the printing office.



There, she plays her *resident* and *worker* cards to take the face up *correspondent* card, which she moves to her *Today* stack.



Now she has played all the cards from her hand, so her turn must end. She moves all her *Today* cards to her *Later* stack.



*It's true that from the beginning of the strike I had influence on people.*

## special actions

To do a special action, Wałęsa does not have to be on any particular board location (except for playing a speech card). You just play the card onto your Today stack and perform the card's special action.



**SPEECH** – turn the top card at Wałęsa's current location face up



**RESIDENT** – discard 1 card from your hand to the box (out of the game)



**WORKER** – discard as many cards as you like from your hand to your *today* stack, then draw the same number of cards from your *tomorrow* deck



**CORRESPONDENT** – draw 2 cards from your *tomorrow* deck



**DELEGATE** – draw 3 cards from your *tomorrow* deck



**EXPERT** – discard 3 cards from your hand to the box (out of the game)



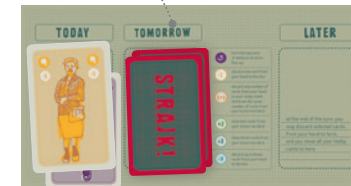
Michael has in his hand the following cards: *walking*, *running*, *speech*, *resident*, *worker*.



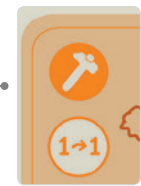
Wałęsa is in the BHP Hall. Michael knows that he owns a *correspondent* card and he wants to draw it.



**SUCCESS!**  
He drew a *correspondent* card and a *speech* card.

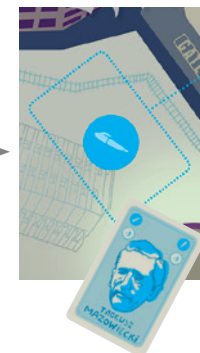


... and discards 2 cards (*walking* and *resident*) from his hand to his *today* stack, then he draws 2 cards from his *tomorrow* deck



So he plays his *worker* card as a special action...

Now Michael plays his *running* card and moves Wałęsa through Department 1 to Gate 3. There he plays his *correspondent* and *speech* cards to take an *expert* card from that space, placing the expert onto his *today* stack.



He has no good use for his last card (*speech*) and he doesn't want to keep it for next turn, so he discards it to his *today* stack. Finally he moves all of his *today* cards to his *later* stack.

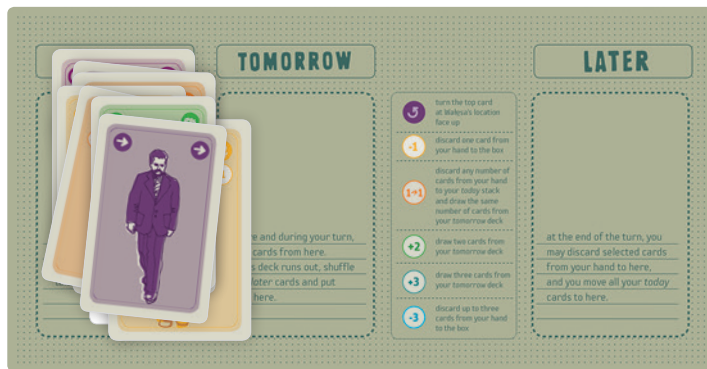


The audience includes several journalists from the Gdańsk magazine “Czas”, three Finns (one of whom is constantly taking pictures), a correspondent from the “Financial Times”...

## drawing cards

As a result of doing certain special actions (mainly the *correspondent* card), you can draw cards. You always draw cards from your *tomorrow* deck. If this stack runs out during your turn, shuffle your *later* stack and move it to *tomorrow* to make a new face down *tomorrow* deck. If all these cards run out as well, then you cannot draw more cards this turn. You can still play cards from your hand and finish your turn as usual.

**NOTE:** You move cards from your Today stack to your Later stack only at the end of your turn. Thus you can never play the same card twice in a turn.



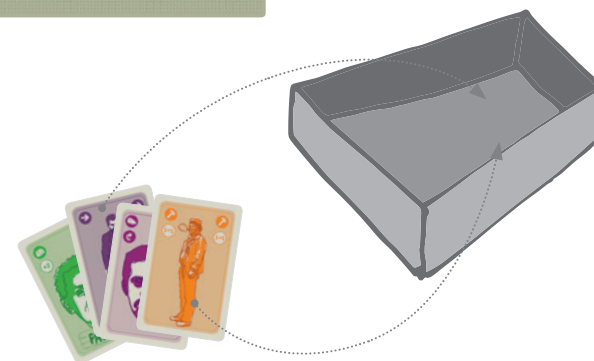
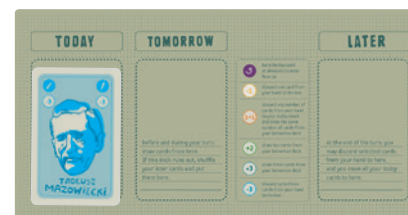
no more draws are possible



I am faced with difficult choices (...), in such situations, I leave matters to take their own course. Whoever keeps up is with me, and I with him (...) If more and more obligations delay reaching the goal, I do not say anything to anyone, I just “speed up” and look for a new rhythm.

## discarding cards out of the game

Two special actions let you discard cards from your hand out of the game. You play a resident or an expert card to your *today* stack and then choose which card or cards to discard from your hand to the box. These cards are permanently out of play and cannot return to the game.







It's possible to play for a whole day, ten hours, but that's a bit too much of that game. That's why I propose settling the issue quickly.



So, strategy about discussions and tactics for dealing with specific points were essential. (...) They give confidence in a game with such high stakes.

### end of turn

At the end of your turn, you can keep up to 5 cards in your hand. Discard any unwanted cards to your *today* stack. You can't keep more than 5 cards.  
Then move all of your Today cards to your *later* stack.



If any decks on the board have a face down card on top (because you took cards during your turn), then turn those top cards face up now. (Exception: don't turn the top demand card face up.)  
If you took the last card from a deck on the board, nothing special happens. That location is empty from now on.  
Now the turn goes clockwise to the next player.  
**NOTE:** Once you are comfortable playing the game, you can save time by drawing cards for your next turn (to fill your hand to 5 cards) while other players do their turns.

### negotiating demands and the end of the game

If you have at least two blue cards (*delegates* or *experts*) in your hand, you can move Wałęsa to the BHP Hall and begin negotiating demands with the government delegation. Demand negotiation begins by playing a *speech* card from your hand, to turn the top *demand* card face up and checking which cards are needed to negotiate the demand:

		DELEGATE + DELEGATE
		DELEGATE + EXPERT
		EXPERT + EXPERT



*Because today's talks failed, we'll postpone the session till tomorrow.*

### failure:

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If you do not have both necessary cards in your hand, then Wałęsa failed to negotiate the demand. This causes the end of your turn. (As usual, you can keep up to 5 cards in your hand, discarding the rest). Set the unsuccessfully negotiated demand aside face down, next to the board.

**NOTE:** If the demand deck runs out before the game ends, then take the unsuccessfully negotiated demands from beside the board and shuffle them to create a new face down demand deck.

*Yes or no. If no – we'll rest. We can rest, we have time.*

### success:

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If you have both necessary cards in your hand, then play them as usual to your *today* stack. Then take the demand card, read its text aloud, and put it face up on the table in front of you as a trophy. You're half way to victory! You can continue your turn as usual, perhaps even revealing another *demand* card by playing another *speech* card.

Whoever gets 2 *demand* cards first is the winner.



*"We know what we want," I told Mazowiecki and Geremek (...) The idea is not to get tricked, and you have to help us out.*

### advice of the Committee of Experts

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- Try to collect an appropriate mix of card types.
- Don't take too many workers and residents.
- If your deck is too big and you rarely draw the cards you want, then use *resident* or expert cards to discard less useful cards from your deck. This will help you succeed more quickly.
- Use the special actions of *worker*, *correspondent* and *delegate* cards to get more cards into your hand. The more cards in your hand, the more possibilities you have. Try to draw all your cards, leaving no cards remaining in your *tomorrow* and *later* stacks.
- Try to remember the demands which have already been seen, so you can predict which cards you will need in your hand to successfully negotiate future demands.





"33" Export. On peut rester actif  
après une bonne bière.

**vacances**  
hier au point de vue  
sur cette saison estivale

**vsd**  
vendredi Samedi Dimanche

**DE D'ART**  
MORT D'ARTISTE  
MORT D'ARTISTE  
MORT D'ARTISTE

**P**  
ceux qui  
reculer



*previous page:*

August strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard.  
Lech Wałęsa among shipbuilders.

## STRIKE

author: Dr Grzegorz Majchrzak

The events that took place in Poland in the summer of 1980 not only changed our country, but were also a turning point in post-war Europe. It is not surprising that the Polish August and the signing of agreements between the government and the workers striking in Gdańsk and Szczecin were recorded in history books around the world.

It all started with another price increase. In the People's Republic of Poland (PRL) price increases were a frequent cause of social protests, including the most tragic and bloody ones in December '70 in Gdańsk. In 1980, the government formally (in fact the decision was made by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party) changed (i.e., raised) the prices of "certain types of meat", effective July 1, 1980. In the People's Republic of Poland, prices were determined by the authorities, and not as a result of market processes. The new regulations were even more severe, because they also included workplace buffets and cafeterias. In Świdnik, a worker picked up a meatball and angrily stated that not only was it more expensive than ever — now it was even smaller! The anecdote became a legend, and it perfectly exemplifies the prevailing mood in the summer of 1980.

However, before the workers in Świdnik went on strike, the protests spread through many plants and cities in Poland. The first strikes (by the PRL propaganda defined as "breaks from work") took place the very day of the price increase announcement.

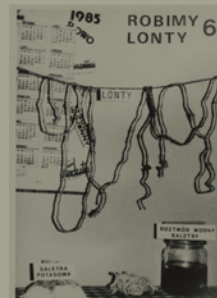
According to data collected by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and handed over to the leaders of the PRL, on July 1 about 270 people did not come to work the first shift at the Department of Injection Equipment of the Communication Equipment Factory in Mielec, and at Pomet's Department of Mechanical Metallurgy in Poznań, it was about 220 employees. In the following days, protests involved more factories and establishments across the country. The authorities "quelled" them with social and economic compromises. However, they did this so ineptly that it did not bring the desired results. For example, sometimes salary increases (or compensations, popular in the PRL) at a factory were promised only to employees of the striking department, which — as one might expect — led to protests by those employed in other departments. Overall, in July 1980, more than 80 thousand people in nearly 180 locations throughout the country went on strike (according to — probably incomplete — data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs). The principal strike area in July 1980 was the Lublin region (Świdnik, Lubartów, Puławy, Kraśnik). Lublin, where the general strike took place, was the center of these protests. Interestingly, the first agreement between striking workers and the authorities was signed there (July 11). However, it was only local in nature and did not affect the development of the situation in the country. In the following days and weeks, strikes were held in many industries throughout Poland, though at a lower intensity than at the beginning.

On August 14, 1980, there was a breakthrough – the protest at the Gdańsk Shipyard had begun. It was the first strike, which was planned (originally for the day before, but the timing was changed due to organizational reasons) and carried out by persons acting in opposition, mainly by Bogdan Borusewicz, an activist of Free Trade Unions and the Workers' Defense Committee. The protest was

initiated by young shipyard workers, who cooperated with Free Trade Unions of the Coast: Jerzy Borowczak, Ludvig Prądyński and Bogdan Felski. Later they were joined by (late by a few hours) Lech Wałęsa, who assumed leadership of the strike. Thanks to Wałęsa's determination, the shipyard authorities failed to end the protest immediately. The strike was preceded by poster and leaflet campaigns. Several thousand leaflets were printed by Piotr and Maciej Kapczyński with Zbigniew Nowek, and a few posters were prepared by Grzegorz and Tomasz Petrycki.

The workers demanded, among other things, reinstatement of Anna Walentynowicz (an FTU activist dismissed a week earlier due to her opposition activity, five months before reaching retirement age), and Lech Wałęsa (fired in 1976). They also demanded a memorial for the victims of December '70, a wage increase of 2000 PLZ (Polish zloties), family allowances equal to those paid to employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Polish Army, and a guarantee of security for the strikers.

Negotiations with the strike committee by the directors of the Gdańsk Shipyard ended after two days (August 16) with the signing of the agreement (consent to reinstatement of Anna Walentynowicz and Lech Wałęsa, a wage increase of 1500 PLZ, a special "cost-of-living allowance" for the shipbuilders, and placing a plaque in honor of those killed in December '70). Since an agreement was reached, Lech Wałęsa, on behalf of the strike committee, announced the end of the strike. Meanwhile, the situation changed dramatically — the protest was joined by other small protests at coastal workplaces, which, if left unsupported, would be in a difficult situation. Most of the shipbuilders had already left to go home, but several hundred were persuaded to stay in the shipyard (largely due to the efforts of Alina Pienkowska, Anna Walentynowicz and Ewa Ossowska). Given the situation, Wałęsa



1. printing
2. drying
3. cutting
4. rolling
5. packet
6. making fuses
7. collection
8. distributing
9. recipients



previous page and above:  
Illegal printing and distribution of leaflets.



Gdańsk Residents supporting the striking shipyard workers.

changed the decision of the strike committee and announced a sympathy strike to show solidarity.

During the night of August 16, mks (*Międzyzakładowy Komitet Strajkowy: the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee*) was created (originally called the Municipal Strike Committee). At first, mks included 28 workplaces. It was headed by Lech Wałęsa, and Bogdan Lis (from the Elmor factory in Gdańsk) became the vice president, later the position of the second vice president was occupied by Andrzej Kołodziej (the co-organizer of the strike at the Paris Commune Shipyard). The presidium also included: Andrzej Gwiazda (of Elmor), Joanna Duda-Gwiazda (cto Ship Design and Research Center), Henryka Krzywonos (Provincial Transport Company in Gdańsk) and Anna Walentynowicz (Gdańsk Shipyard). The composition of mks underwent changes in the next few days – it was supplemented by representatives of the subsequent protesting companies from across the country (on August 18 at 9:30 the number of such plants was 40, at the end of the day already 156, on August 20 already 304, and on August 28 over 600).

Meanwhile, on Sunday, August 17, with the approval of the authorities, an outdoor mass was celebrated by Fr. Henryk Jankowski at the Gdańsk Shipyard. It was similar at other workplaces in Tri-City (Gdańsk, Gdynia, Sopot). In Gdynia — without appropriate approval — mass was celebrated by Fr. Hilary Jastak. These masses had a major psychological impact — they comforted and united the strikers and reinforced their faith. A similar role was played by hanging a portrait of Pope John Paul II at Gate 2 (the main entrance to Gdańsk Shipyard).

On the night of August 17, the *Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee* formulated the 21 *Demands* (21 *postulatów mks*). The most important was point 1: “Acceptance of free trade unions independent from parties and employers, in accordance with Convention No.





Slogans painted on a wall at the Gdańsk Shipyard during the August strike:

*Only Solidarity and patience will ensure victory /  
Justice and equality for the whole nation.*

87 of the International Labor Organization concerning freedom of association.” The protesters were well aware of the fact that with no authentic representation — which they did not have — all the gains of the strike would be temporary and unstable. In the subsequent sections they demanded, among others: freedom of speech, restoration of rights of the people fired after December ‘70 and June ‘76 and of the students expelled from universities for their beliefs, release of political prisoners, selection of management staff on the basis of qualifications, not party affiliation, and abolition of privileges for the *Milicja* (state police) and the party apparatus. In addition to the political demands, there were also a number of economic and social demands, such as: ensuring an adequate number of places in nurseries and kindergartens for children of working women, the introduction of a three-year paid parental leave, reduction of waiting times for an apartment (in PRL, homes were not a market commodity), lowering the retirement age (for women to 50 years, and for men to 55, or after working for 30 and 35 years respectively, regardless of age) and the introduction of free Saturdays and “food coupons for meat and meat products (until the market stabilizes)” (i.e., until the end of the food shortage).

At first, the communist authorities were not willing to talk with the Gdańsk mks. Even on August 16, in the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party (which actually had the power in the country), a Team Coordinating the Activities of the Central Authority in Quelling Strikes was appointed. Next, the Ministry of Internal Affairs created a special staff “to coordinate the intensified activities of units within the Ministry to provide security, law and order in the country”. Their goal was not at all an agreement with the strikers. The Ministry of Internal Affairs even made (on August 26) a proposal to use force to stop the protests, but the



ВНР Hall in Gdańsk Shipyard.  
From left to right: Henryka Krzywonoś,  
Andrzej Kołodziej, Anna Walentynowicz

*next page:*

As a sign of solidarity, people supporting the strike offered food to the shipyard workers.





Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party rejected this approach because the strike was so widespread in the country. It is no wonder that initially the communist authorities decided not to talk to the workers. On August 19, a government committee (headed by the Deputy Prime Minister Tadeusz Pyka) entered into negotiations, but without the Strike Committee in Gdańsk. Despite the far-reaching concessions from the government, discussions with representatives of several companies ended the next day in failure. In this situation, Pyka was replaced by another deputy — Mieczysław Jagielski, who initially tried to continue the strategy of his predecessor. However, a day later, he began talks with MKS.

The strike at the Gdańsk Shipyard and other facilities enjoyed great support from residents of the Tri-City — crowds gathering in front of the shipyard were a regular thing that August. The protesters could also count on food and material aid, and not only from the inhabitants of Gdańsk. For the benefit of MKS and for construction of the monument to the shipbuilders killed in December '70, over five million dollars were received. The strikers also received the support of opposition activists and intellectuals, as demonstrated by the example of the so-called Appeal 64 (signed by persons connected with the Society for Academic Courses, the discussion club "Experience and Future", and the Club of Catholic Intellectuals) of August 20. It included, among others, support for the protesting workers and a call to the authorities and the strikers for a compromise. "All of us — the ruled and the rulers — must be guided by the good of Poland (...) History will forgive nobody who would reach for solutions other than the path to such an agreement. In the belief that there is nothing more important now to Poland, we appeal to you to enter this path, we call for caution and imagination," wrote the authors of the document. In the next few days





Photojournalists follow the deliberations of the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee in the BHP Hall.

*next page:*

Leaflets reach waiting hands in front of Gate No. 2 of the Gdańsk Shipyard.

the appeal was signed by an additional 200 people. The strike was also supported by actors and artists, for example by a Baltic Opera and Philharmonic concert and performance by the Coast Theater actors in the shipyard.

On the other hand, the protesters could not count on the support of national journalists, of course. In the media, which were under total control of the PRL government, reliable information about the course of the strikes was not possible. Initially, there was an attempt to pass over the workers' protests in silence. When this proved impossible, the media mentioned the "breaks from work" but minimized the importance of the events, while at the same time highlighting the economic losses which they caused. It is no wonder that the 21 demands called for, among other things, presentation of the information about the creation of the Gdańsk MKS (Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee) and publication of their demands. Nonetheless, there were some national journalists willing to honestly report on the strikes, and they visited the Gdańsk Shipyard. In a special statement on August 25, they protested against the false image of events presented in the press, radio and television.

The global press (except in socialist countries) referred to the strikes with sympathy, but regarded the events in Poland with some anxiety. It wondered how the protests would end and whether they would increase tension in the world. Despite being hindered by the communist authorities, journalists from capitalist countries reported on the strikes extensively. Through western radio stations such as Radio Free Europe, information about the course of the protests reached Poland, despite attempts to jam the "enemy" programs.

Of course, the opposition also informed about the progress of the strikes in its press and leaflets. But its options were very limited.



The strikers themselves also thought about informing the public. Already on August 16, the Strike Information Bulletin (in the form of leaflets) was distributed by the Gdynia Shipyard Free Press. It contained a message about the creation of MKS and its tasks. A week later appeared the first issue of the Strike Information Bulletin "Solidarity", edited by Konrad Bieliński, Mariusz Wilk and Krzysztof Wyszowski. By the end of the strike a total of 14 issues appeared. The negotiations starting on August 23 between MKS and the government commission were not easy. They were quickly postponed, because the officials did not want to accept the basic conditions of the protesters, i.e., unlocking telephone communications and halting the repression against people supporting the strike. The talks were resumed after three days.

An important role was played in the talks by experts. On the night of August 22, Bronisław Geremek and Tadeusz Mazowiecki reached the Gdańsk Shipyard to present Appeal 64 to the strikers. As a result, the MKS Presidium entrusted Mazowiecki with the task to create a Committee of Experts, which was to support the strikers' representatives during the negotiations with the government. It was created on August 24. It included: Bohdan Cywiński, Bronisław Geremek, Tadeusz Kowalik, Waldemar Kuczyński, Jadwiga Staniszkis and Andrzej Wielowieyski. Later, Jerzy Stembrowicz was added to it. The strikers were also supported by consultants who were not members of the Committee of Experts (e.g., Lech Kaczyński, Romuald Kukołowicz, Andrzej Stelmachowski and Jan Strzelecki).

Negotiations between MKS and the government committee continued through August 28, 30 and 31. The government officials quickly accepted most of the demands, especially the economic and social benefits. Point 1 remained the main matter of difference, i.e., the problem of the creation of free trade unions. Ultimately,

however, due to the persistence of the strikers, and the spreading of the workers' protests throughout the country (they reached, among other regions, Upper Silesia, the home of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek), the government commission was forced to make concessions. The PRL leaders chose "the lesser evil", as they considered an agreement with the strikers and acceptance of independent unions to be.

The agreement ending the strike in the Tri-City was concluded on August 31 in the BHP Hall. On behalf of MKS it was signed by the MKS Presidium members: Lech Wałęsa, Andrzej Kołodziej, Bogdan Lis, Lech Bądkowski, Wojciech Gruszecki, Stefan Izdebski, Jerzy Kmiecik, Zdzisław Kobyliński, Henryka Krzywonos, Stefan Lewandowski, Alina Pienkowska, Józef Przybylski, Jerzy Sikorski, Lech Sobieszek, Tadeusz Stanny, Anna Walentynowicz and Florian Wiśniewski, and from the government: Mieczysław Jagielski, a member of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Zbigniew Zieliński, the president of the Regional Supervisory Board in Gdańsk, Tadeusz Fiszbach and the Gdańsk Voivode Grzegorz Kołodziejewski. The text of the Gdańsk agreement was much more straightforward and beneficial (especially in the case of the political demands) than the agreement signed in Szczecin the day before (in August 1980, Szczecin was the second most important strike center after Gdańsk). Under the agreement, new independent self-governing trade unions were to be created. MKS Gdańsk became the founding committee of the new unions, which were to be registered outside of the registry of the Central Council of Trade Unions. They were given the right to review the key socio-economic decisions (such as rules of distribution of national income) and to have their own publishing houses. Unlike the agreements in Szczecin, freedom of repression against the strikers was not



Poster of the Norwegian organization Solidaritet Norge-Polen, showing Lech Wałęsa in Gdańsk, dated December 12, 1981.

subject to any conditions. Importantly, this rule also included those who supported the strike. Moreover, the authorities recognized the right to strike — an entry regarding the conditions of strike organization was to be introduced into the Law on Trade Unions (and the new union was guaranteed participation in the creation of this new rule). The government also pledged to introduce within three months to the Parliament a draft law to significantly limit the scope of censorship and introduce a judicial appeal procedure against censorial decisions. Moreover, the government agreed to broadcast Sunday holy mass on the radio. The workers fired after the strikes of December 1970 and June 1976 were to be reinstated, as well as the students expelled from the university. In addition, the authorities agreed to review decisions in the political processes, and pledged “full respect of the freedom to express one’s beliefs in public and professional life.” The strikers were also assured that the selection of the managerial staff will be determined by qualifications and competence, and not by organizational affiliation. The government undertook to gradually increase wages, especially the lowest ones, and to annually increase the lowest pensions — “accordingly to the capability of the country.” And for their part, the strikers declared that the new trade unions would observe the rules set out in the Constitution of the People’s Republic, defend the social and material interests of workers and would not act as a political party. They were also to be based on “the principle of social ownership of the means of production, which is the basis of the existing socialist system in Poland”, to recognize the leading role of the Polish United Workers’ Party, and not to undermine “the established system of international alliances.”

In this situation, Lech Wałęsa could declare: “My friends, we go back to work on September 1st (...) Have we achieved everything we wanted, desired, dreamed of? (...) Not everything, but we all know



that we have received much (...) We will achieve the rest as well, because we have the most important thing: our independent, self-governing trade unions. This is our guarantee for the future (...) I declare the strike to be finished.” And photos and videos of Wałęsa signing an agreement with the authorities with his big pen with a picture of Pope John Paul II and later announcing the success of the workers and the end of the protest traveled around the whole world (at least, the whole free world).

The signing of agreements in Gdańsk and Szczecin did not stop the largest wave of strikes in the history of Poland — according to the Ministry of the Interior, in August a total of about 700 thousand people in 750 companies went on strike. Protests continued for the entire first half of September. They ceased only after the establishment (on September 17) of the nationwide organization — the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union *Solidarność* — Solidarity. This association included almost 10 million people just over a year later. To a large extent, this was a result of the strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard. As a result, not only was the first trade union independent from the communist authorities established, but also its leader, who Lech Wałęsa had become in August 1980. Although Solidarity survived only 16 months, even the declaration of martial law did not block the Polish road to democracy. It was Poland, in particular Solidarity, that launched the Autumn of Nations: the Revolutions of 1989, the destruction of the Berlin Wall, and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Without the strike at the Gdańsk Shipyard in August 1980, none of this would have been possible, and our country would still be the Polish People's Republic, with its so-called socialist democracy (for how much longer?), and not a democratic Republic of Poland. And an old Soviet joke would still be relevant: “A chicken is not quite a bird; Poland is not quite a foreign country”...

## THE 21 DEMANDS

- 1. Acceptance of free trade unions independent from parties and employers, in accordance with Convention No. 87 of the International Labor Organization concerning freedom of association.**
- 2. A guarantee of the right to strike and the security of strikers and strike supporters.**
- 3. Compliance with the PRL's constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, the press and publication, including freedom for independent publishers, and making the mass media available to representatives of all faiths.**
- 4. A return of former rights to:**
  - People dismissed from work after the 1970 and 1976 strikes.**
  - Students expelled because of their beliefs.****The release of all political prisoners (including Edmund Zdrożyński, Jan Kozłowski, and Marek Kozłowski. A halt to repressions for personal beliefs.**

5. Informing the public through mass media about the formation of the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee and its demands.
6. Taking real steps to bring the country out of its crisis situation:
  - a) fully informing the public about the socio-economic situation.
  - b) enabling all communities and social classes to take part in discussions about the reform program.
7. Compensation for all workers taking part in the strike for the period of the strike, treated as vacation days, paid from the funds of the Central Council of Trade Unions.
8. An increase in each worker's monthly salary by 2000 PLZ, as compensation for the price increases.
9. Guaranteed salary raises, based on price increases and the declining money value.

10. A full supply of food products for the domestic market, with exports limited to surpluses.
11. The abolition of commercial prices and sales for Western currencies in the so-called internal export companies.
12. Selection of management personnel on the basis of qualifications, not party membership, and elimination of privileges for the state police, security service, and party apparatus by:
  - equalization of family allowances,
  - elimination of special sales, etc.
13. The introduction of food coupons for meat and meat products (until the market stabilizes).
14. Lowering the retirement age for women to 50, and for men to 55, or (regardless of age) after working for 30 years (for women) or 35 years (for men).
15. Recalculation of old pensions according to the current payment formulas.

## PROTOCOL

of the agreement entered into by the government commission and the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee on August 31, 1980 at the Gdańsk Shipyard

- 16. Improvement in working conditions of the Health Service, which will provide full medical care for working people.**
- 17. Assurances of an adequate number of places in nurseries and kindergartens for children of working women.**
- 18. Introduction of three years of paid maternity leave for raising children.**
- 19. Reduce waiting times for apartments.**
- 20. An increase in travel allowances from 40 to 100 PLZ and the family separation allowance.**
- 21. Make all Saturdays free from work. Workers in brigade systems or round-the-clock jobs are to be compensated for the loss of free Saturdays with more holidays or other paid time off.**

The government commission and the Inter-Enterprise Strike Committee, having considered 21 demands of the striking Coast workers came to the following decisions:

Concerning the first point, which is: "Acceptance of free trade unions independent from parties and employers, in accordance with Convention No. 87 of the International Labor Organization concerning freedom of association", the following was established:

1. Activities of Trade Unions in the People's Republic of Poland have failed to fulfill the hopes and expectations of workers. So it has been decided to create new, self-governing trade unions, which would authentically represent the working class. No one's right to remain in existing trade unions is questioned, and there is a possibility of establishing cooperation among trade unions in the future.
2. In creating the new independent self-governing trade unions, MKS states that they will observe the rules set out in the Constitution of the PRL. The new trade unions will defend the social and material interests of workers and will not act as a political party. They stand on the basis of social ownership of the means of production, which is the basis of the socialist system existing in Poland.



Recognizing the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party and without undermining the established system of international alliances, the new trade unions shall aim at providing working people with appropriate control, the ability to express opinions, and defense of their interests. The government commission declares that the government would guarantee and ensure full respect of the independence and autonomy of new trade unions, both in terms of their organizational structure and their functioning at all levels of activity. The government will secure for the new trade unions a full possibility to fulfill their basic functions to defend their workers' interests and to meet their material, social, and cultural needs. At the same time, it ensures that the new trade unions will not be subject to any discrimination.

3. The creation and operation of the independent, self-governing trade unions is in accordance with Convention No. 87 of the International Labor Organization concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organize and No. 98 concerning the right to organize and collective bargaining, which were ratified by Poland. The appearance of additional trade unions and worker unions will require an appropriate new law. Therefore, the government is committed to legislative initiatives, in particular regarding the Law on Trade Unions, the Law on Worker Autonomy, and the Labor Code.

4. The created Strike Committees have the possibility to transform into worker representation groups, such as the Workers' Committees, Staff Committees, Workers' Councils or Founding Committees of new, self-governing trade unions. MKS, as the Founding Committee of these unions, is free to choose the form of one single union or a Coastal association. The Founding Committees will operate until the statutory election of new authorities. The Government is committed to create the conditions for registration of new trade unions outside the register of the CRZZ (Central Council of Trade Unions).
5. New trade unions should have a real possibility to publicly express opinions on critical decisions that determine the living conditions of working people: the principles of distribution of national income for consumption and for saving, distribution of the social consumption fund for various purposes (health, education, culture), the basic principles of wages and directions of wage policies, and in particular the principle of automatic correction of wages in an inflationary environment, long-term economic plans, investment trends and price changes. The Government is committed to provide the conditions to fulfill these functions.

## MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF EXPERTS

6. MKS will establish a center for social and professional studies, whose task is an objective analysis of the employment situation, the living conditions of working people and the method of representation of the interests of workers. This center will also perform an evaluation of the index of wages and prices, and will propose forms of compensation. This center will also publish the results of their research. In addition, the new trade unions will have their own publishing houses.

7. The Government will ensure the observance in Poland of the provisions of Article 1 Point 1 of the Law on Trade Unions of 1949, which states that workers and employees are guaranteed the right to voluntarily associate in trade unions. Newly emerging trade unions will not enter into the association represented by CRZZ. It is confirmed that the new law will maintain this policy. At the same time, the participation of MKS representatives and the founding committee of self-governing trade unions and other workers' representatives in the development of that new law will be guaranteed.

Bohdan Cywiński  
Bronisław Geremek  
Tadeusz Kowalik  
Waldemar Kuczyński  
Tadeusz Mazowiecki (chairman)  
Jadwiga Staniszkis  
Jerzy Stembrowicz  
Andrzej Wielowieyski

## MEMBERS OF THE MKS PRESIDIUM

**Lech Wałęsa** president – unemployed (electrician)

**Andrzej Kołodziej** vice president – Paris Commune Shipyard (welder)

**Bogdan Lis** vice president – Elmor (manual laborer)

**Lech Bądkowski** – writer

**Joanna Duda-Gwiazda** CTO (engineer)

**Wojciech Gruszecki** Gdańsk University of Technology (Dr. Eng. chemist)

**Andrzej Gwiazda** Elmor (engineer)

**Stefan Izdebski** Port of Gdynia Authority (docker)

**Lech Jendruszewski** Paris Commune Shipyard (fitter)

**Jerzy Kmiecik** Northern Shipyard (hull builder)

**Zdzisław Kobyliński** PKS O/Gdańsk (warehouseman)

**Henryka Krzywonos** WPK (tram driver)

**Stefan Lewandowski** Port of Gdańsk (crane operator)

**Józef Przybylski** Budimor (locksmith)

**Jerzy Sikorski** Repair Yard (fitter)

**Lech Sobieszek** Siarkopol (locksmith)

**Tadeusz Stanny** Gdańsk Refinery (chemical technician)

**Anna Walentyłowicz** Gdańsk Shipyard (gantry crane operator)

**Florian Wiśniewski** Electroassembly (electrician)

## BIOGRAPHIES

**KONRAD BIELIŃSKI** (b. 1949) – as of September 1976 associate of **KOR** (the Workers' Defense Committee); as of October 1977 member of **KOR's** Committee for Social Self-Defense; as of September 1977 associate of the independent publishing house Nowa (from 1978 a member of the editorial board); in August 1980 participant of the strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of August 23, 1980 publisher & editor of the Strike Information Bulletin "Solidarity"; as of March 1981 head of Solidarity's Committee of Information and Media of the Mazowsze Region; from April to November 1981 editor in chief of "Niezależność" (Independence).

**BOGDAN BORUSEWICZ** (b. 1949) – as of November 1976 a member of the Workers' Defense Committee; as of 1978 activist of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast; editor of "Robotnik" (Worker) and "Robotnik Wybrzeża" (Coastal Worker); in August 1980 the main initiator and co-organizer of the strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard, co-author of the 21 demands; from October 1980 to July 1981, a member of the Presidium of Solidarity's Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee; in December 1980 and March 1981, he developed the Union's strategy against external intervention or a state of emergency.

**BOHDAN CYWIŃSKI** (born 1939) – essayist, historian of ideas, social and Catholic activist; as of 1978 co-founder and member of the Society for Academic Courses (member of the program committee and spokesperson); in August 1980 signatory of the appeal of 64 intellectuals to the authorities and the striking Coast workers; member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of September 1980 member of Solidarity; helped set up trade union structures

in Gorzów Wielkopolski, Jastrzębie, Lublin and Warsaw; as of March 1981 deputy editor of “Tygodnik Solidarność” (Solidarity Weekly); in October 1981 he went to Italy.

**JOANNA DUDA-GWIAZDA** (b. 1939) – engineer; from 1971 to 1999 employee of **CTO** (Ship Design and Research Center) in Gdańsk; as of 1977 co-worker of the Workers’ Defense Committee; as of April 1978 activist of Free Trade Unions of the Coast; in August 1980 member of the **MKS** Presidium in Gdańsk Shipyard; co-author of the 21 Demands; as of September 1980 member of the Presidium of Solidarity’s Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee and member of the editorial board of the Information Bulletin “Solidarity” published by the Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee; from July to November 1981 member of Solidarity’s Regional Board of Gdańsk (member of the Program Committee).

**BRONISŁAW GEREMEK** (1932-2008) – from 1965 to 1985 academic worker of the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (from 1965 to 1980 head of the Institute of Cultural History of the Middle Ages); in 1978 co-founder of the independent Society for Academic Courses (as of June 1980 a member of the program committee); in August 1980 co-author and signatory of the appeal of 64 intellectuals to the authorities and the striking Coast workers; member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of September 1980 advisor to Solidarity’s Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee and National Coordinating Committee (later called National Committee); as of January 1981 chairman of the Advisory Board of the National Coordinating Committee’s Center for Social

and Professional Studies; from September to October 1981 chairman of the Program Committee at the First National Congress of Solidarity Delegates; co-author of the union’s political program “Self-Governing Republic” approved by the National Congress of Delegates.

**ANDRZEJ GWIAZDA** (born in 1935) – from 1973 to 1981 engineer in the Elmor Marine Electrical Equipment Plant in Gdańsk; as of April 1977 co-worker in the Workers’ Defense Committee; as of April 1978 co-founder and activist of Free Trade Unions of the Coast; in August 1980 initiator of the strike in Elmor and member of the **MKS** Presidium in the Gdańsk Shipyard; co-author of the 21 Demands and participant in discussions with the government commission; as of September 1980 vice president of Solidarity’s Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee and vice president of the National Coordinating Committee; as of December 1980 chairman of Solidarity’s Working Group for industry sectors; from February to April 1981 vice president of Solidarity’s Provisional Bureau; in March 1981 member of the National Strike Committee; from July to November 1981 member of Solidarity’s Regional Board of Gdańsk; as of October 1981 member of Solidarity’s National Committee.

**HENRYK JANKOWSKI** (1936–2010) – Catholic priest; from 1976 to 2004 parish priest of St. Bridget’s parish in Gdańsk; in August 1980 he led Holy Masses for the workers on strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard and was afterward closely associated with Lech Wałęsa, the president of Solidarity; in 1980-1981 chaplain of Solidarity (by formal decree of Primate Stefan Wyszyński of April 1981).

HILARY JASTAK (1914–2000) – Catholic priest; from 1949 to 1984 the parish priest of the Sacred Heart of Jesus parish in Gdynia; as of the late 70's supported the activists of Free Trade Unions and of the Young Poland Movement; on August 17, 1980, without waiting for government approval, he celebrated an outdoor mass during the strike in Paris Commune Shipyard and in the Gdynia Port; as of 1980 honorary member of the Social Committee for Building Monuments for the Victims of December ,70 in Gdynia; in autumn 1981 supported (by supplying food and sanitary articles) a strike proclaimed by the Independent Students' Association at the University of Gdańsk.

ANDRZEJ KOŁODZIEJ (born in 1959) – as of August 1980 worker at the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia; as of 1978 an associate of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civic Rights and activist for the Free Trade Unions of the Coast; in August 1980 organizer of the strike in the Paris Commune Shipyard; chairman of Strike Committee at the Paris Commune Shipyard and vice president of **MKS** in the Gdańsk Shipyard; participant in the discussions with the government commission and one of the signatories of the Gdańsk agreement; until July 1981 vice president of Solidarity's Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee in Gdańsk; as of January 1981 organized smuggling of independent publications to Czechoslovakia; in October 1981 was arrested in Czechoslovakia after illegally crossing the border.

TADEUSZ KOWALIK (1926–2012) – from 1963 to 1992 researcher at the Institute of History, Science, Education and Technology at the Polish Academy of Sciences; as of 1978 co-founder and member of the program committee of the independent Society for Academic Courses; in August 1980 signatory of the 64 intellectuals' appeal to the authorities and the striking workers of the Coast; member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts at the Gdańsk Shipyard; from 1980 to 1981 advisor of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee; as of January 1981 member of the Advisory Board of the Center for Social and Professional Studies.

HENRYKA KRZYWONOS (born in 1953) – as of October 1979 tram driver in the Provincial Transport Company in Gdańsk; in August 1980 participant in the public transportation strike in Gdańsk; on August 16, 1980 among the people who helped encourage and sustain the protest, including a sympathy strike in solidarity with other facilities on the Coast after the Strike Committee and the shipyard director signed an agreement; in August 1980 member of the **MKS** Presidium at the Gdańsk Shipyard; participant in the talks with the government commission and was a signatory of the Gdańsk agreement; as of September 1980 member of the Presidium of Solidarity's Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee.

WALDEMAR KUCZYŃSKI (born in 1939) – economist; as of 1978 co-founder and member of the program committee of the independent Society for Academic Courses; in August 1980 co-organizer and signatory of the 64 intellectuals' appeal to the authorities and the striking workers of the Coast; member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts at

the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of 1980 member and advisor of Solidarity; from 1981 to 1982 member of editorial staff of “Solidarity Weekly” (as of June 1981 deputy editor in chief); as of January 1981 member of the Advisory Board of the Center for Social and Professional Studies.

**BOGDAN LIS** ((born in 1952) – from 1972 to 1981 machinist at the Elmor Marine Electrical Equipment Plant in Gdańsk; from 1975 to 1981 member of the Polish United Workers’ Party; as of 1978 activist in Free Trade Unions of the Coast activist; in August 1980 co-organizer of the strike and chairman of the Strike Committee at Elmor and vice president of **MKS** at the Gdańsk Shipyard; co-author of the 21 Demands; participant in the talks with the government commission and one of the signatories of the Gdańsk agreement; as of September 1980 vice president of Solidarity’s Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee, member of the National Coordinating Committee; as of December 1980 member of Solidarity’s Working Group for industry sectors; as of July 1981 member of the Presidium of Solidarity’s Regional Board of Gdańsk; as of October 1981 member of the Presidium of Solidarity’s National Committee.

**TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI** (born in 1927) – from 1975 to 1981 vice president of the Club of Catholic Intellectuals in Warsaw; as of 1978 co-founder and member of the program committee of the independent Society for Academic Courses; in August 1980 co-organizer and signatory of the 64 intellectuals’ appeal to the authorities and the striking workers of the Coast; chairman of the **MKS** Committee of Experts at the Gdańsk Shipyard; participant in the talks with the government commission; as of September 1980 advisor to Solidarity’s National

Coordinating Committee / National Committee and to Lech Wałęsa; as of January 1981 member of the Advisory Board of the Center for Social and Professional Studies; from January to December 1981 editor in chief of “Solidarity Weekly”.

**EWA OSSOWSKA** (born in 1961) – newspaper seller, co-worker of the Young Poland Movement; in August 1980 participant of the strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard; on August 16, 1980 among the people who helped encourage and sustain the protest, including a sympathy strike in solidarity with other facilities on the Coast after the Strike Committee and the shipyard director signed an agreement; worker at the office of chairman Lech Wałęsa of Solidarity’s Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee.

**ALINA PIENKOWSKA** (1952–2002) – nurse; as of 1974 employee of the Department of Industrial Health in Gdańsk (through 1978 in the clinic in the Gdańsk Shipyard; later transferred to the clinic at Elmor; in May 1979 transferred by court ruling back to Gdańsk Shipyard); as of June 1978 activist of Free Trade Unions of the Coast; in August 1980 chairwoman of the strike committee at the shipyard clinic; on August 16, 1980 among the people who helped encourage and sustain the protest, including a sympathy strike in solidarity with other facilities on the Coast after the Strike Committee and the shipyard director signed an agreement; member of the **MKS** Presidium at the Gdańsk Shipyard; co-author of the 21 Demands; participant in the talks with the government commission and one of the signatories of the Gdańsk agreement; as of September 1980 member of the Presidium of Solidarity’s Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee; as of

autumn 1980, chairperson of the National Healthcare Section; from July to November 1981 member of the Presidium of Solidarity's Regional Board of Gdańsk.

**JADWIGA STANISZKIS** (born in 1942) – sociologist and political scientist; in 1981 reinstated to work as a researcher at the Institute of Sociology at the University of Warsaw after her firing in March '68; in August 1980 member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts in the Gdańsk Shipyard; advisor to Solidarity; in April 1981 entrusted by National Coordinating Committee to create a second group of experts (independent from the Center for Social and Professional Studies) to advise the union; lecturer at Upper Silesia University in Katowice, Trade Union University in the Mazowsze and Toruń regions, "Solidarity" Trade Union University in the Opole region, and others.

**JERZY STEMROWICZ** (1919–1989) – lawyer; as of 1961 researcher at the University of Warsaw, member of the independent discussion club "Experience and Future"; in August 1980 member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts in the Gdańsk Shipyard; from 1980 to 1981 advisor of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee / National Committee; as of January 1981 member of the Advisory Board of the Center for Social and Professional Studies; from 1981 to 1983 member of the Institute of Law Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

**ANNA WALENTYNOWICZ** (1929–2010) – from 1950 to 1991 (with breaks) welder and gantry crane operator in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of 1978 activist of Free Trade Unions of the Coast; on August 7, 1980 (five months before reaching retirement age) fired — her dismissal was

the direct cause of the strike which began on August 14, 1980; on August 16, 1980 among the people who helped encourage and sustain the protest, including a sympathy strike in solidarity with other facilities on the Coast after the Strike Committee and the shipyard director signed an agreement; in August 1980 member of the **MKS** Inter-Enterprise Presidium in the Gdańsk Shipyard; participant in talks with the government commission and one of the signatories of the Gdańsk agreement; from September 1980 to April 1981 member of the Presidium of Solidarity's Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee; from September 1980 to November 1981 member of the Presidium of the Factory Committee in the Gdańsk Shipyard; in November 1981 co-founder of the Autonomous Republic of Poland Clubs "Freedom – Justice – Independence".

**LECH WAŁĘSA** (born in 1943) – as of June 1978 activist with Free Trade Unions of the Coast; associate of **KOR**'s Committee for Social Self-Defense; from 1979 to 1980 employee of the electrical company "Elektromontaż" in Gdańsk; in September 1980 reinstated in the Gdańsk Shipyard (his reinstatement was one of the demands of the striking shipyard workers); in August 1980 chairman of the Strike Committee in the Gdańsk Shipyard and chairman of **MKS**; co-author of the 21 Demands; participant in the talks with the government commission and one of the signatories of the Gdańsk agreement; as of September 1980 chairman of Solidarity's Founding Inter-Enterprise Committee in Gdańsk; as of September 1980 chairman of the National Coordinating Committee; as of December 1980 member of the nationwide Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience; as of March 1981 the first to manage the National



Coordinating Committee's bank account; as of July 1981 chairman of Solidarity's Regional Board of Gdańsk; as of October 1981 chairman of Solidarity's National Committee; as of November 1981 manager of the National Committee's bank account.

ANDRZEJ WIELOWIEYSKI (born in 1927) – lawyer, from 1972 to 1981 secretary of the Club of Catholic Intellectuals in Warsaw; as of 1978 one of the initiators and volunteers of the independent discussion club “Experience and Future”; in August 1980 he was a member of the **MKS** Committee of Experts in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of September 1980 advisor of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee / National Committee; as of January 1981 director of the Center for Social and Professional Studies; from 1981 to 1985 member of the Primate's Social Council.

MARIUSZ WILK (born in 1955) – as of 1977 member of student committee named Solidarity, which he represented in the informal Council of Unity, in which Wrocław opposition activists were trying to establish a common position on the political situation in the country; in August 1980 participant of the strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of August 23, 1980 publisher / editor of Strike Information Bulletin “Solidarity”; as of September 1980 member of the bulletin's editorial board, member of the Presidium of Solidarity's Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee; as of April 1981 responsible for the materials to be published; editor in chief of the periodical “Solidarity”; in 1981 member of the editorial board of “Autonomy”.

KRZYSZTOF WYSZKOWSKI (born in 1947) – as of 1977 associate of **KOR**'s Committee for Social Self-Defense; as of April 1978 co-founder and activist of Free Trade Unions of the Coast; in August 1980 participant in the strike in the Gdańsk Shipyard; as of August 23, 1980 publisher / editor of Strike Information Bulletin “Solidarity”; in 1981 managing editor of “Solidarity Weekly”.

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*Let's hold out for one more night! –*

LECH WAŁĘSA

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The game was created as part of an educational campaign  
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