

Polish Solidarity
dialogue list

10:00:00

International heading of the Grassroots series.

10:00:04

Bird's eye view of Gdańsk and the Lenin shipyards. The Monument of Three Crosses mounting over the shipyards and commemorating three shipyards workers who died in December 1970.

10:00:06

Commentary: *Gdańsk is a very important place in the modern history of Poland. Here in the Lenin shipyards in 1970 workers protested against the drastic increase in prices and demanded respect. They left the shipyards for the streets and blood was shed. The victims of the massacre were commemorated only 10 years later when the so-called people's authorities let build three symbolic crosses after the next shipyard workers' protest*

10:00:17

Archival materials of 1970. Protest of the shipyards workers in the streets of the Tri-city /Gdańsk - Sopot - Gdynia/. Dead body of a killed man carried on the door.

10:00:51

Gdańsk shipyards. Twenty five years after formation of "Solidarity". Jean Michel Jarre's concert organised in the Gdańsk shipyards, in the place of historical events of the August strike of 1980. The concert will be the leitmotiv of the film. Archival materials show working shipyards workers.

10:00:54

100% Jean Michel Jarre - *Good evening Gdańsk. 25 years ago this shipyards was a real space of freedom. I would like to thank the workers of this shipyards. Due to their courage it was possible to end one of the biggest mistakes of the XX century - Soviet communism - without violence.*

10:01:08

Jarre's words will be illustrated with the pictures of the shipyards workers.

10:01:31

100% Jean Michel Jarre - *I am proud that I can greet Mr Lech Wałęsa on stage.*

10:01:36

An elderly man - Lech Wałęsa enters the stage.

10:01:40

Jarre and Wałęsa embrace each other.

10:01:47

100% Lech Wałęsa - *Let me get back for a while to the Lenin shipyards from before 25 years ago. Then there were 15000 of us working here, now there is less than 3000 people employed. Almost entire Poland - filled with solidarity and hope - was with us. Freedom turned out to be difficult and for the shipyards itself - unjust. Europe and the world tuned out to be less solidary. But I want to believe that like 25 years ago walls will collapse, the walls that separate us from each other, walls of indifference, injustice, unfriendliness and misunderstanding. May Europe learn from Gdańsk how to build solidarity - then all walls will come down.*

10:01:55

Fragments of the film "August".

10:02:47

Fragment of the concert "Tear the bar teeth out of the walls, tear the shackles out, I am calling you, and then the walls will come down, come down and they will bury the old world." A DOMINO with archival materials appears with Jarre's concert in the background showing: Polish Solidarity, collapse of the Berlin Wall, Velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia, collapse of the Soviet Union, revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine.

10:03:06

Shots of Gdańsk - decorated with a poster version of a domino. IT ALL STARTED IN GDAŃSK.

10:03:36

Gdańsk. Inside the house of Bogdan Borusewicz, who lights a fire in the fireplace. His daughter and stepson play with the dog. Flames in the background - archival materials: B. Borusewicz has become the speaker of the Upper House of Parliament.

10:03:36

Commentary - *Bogdan Borusewicz. Here is the man who organised structures of the illegal, independent trade unions and initiated the historical strike of 1980 in the Gdańsk shipyards. After 25 years of being in opposition he has reached for the highest office in Poland, he becomes the speaker of the upper house of Parliament - senate.*

10:03:52

Archival materials: Bogdan Borusewicz opens the meeting of the senate - the upper house of the Polish Parliament.

10:04:02

100% Jerzy Borowczak - *We are at the exhibition called "The roads to freedom". We are in a shop. Such shops existed in the time of the marshal law. At the butchers' one could see only bare hooks because meat was sold under the counter for chosen friends only or in militia or military shops. In our shops, in our Polish reality there was only vinegar, mustard, cheese of poor quality available... That's what the reality of the 80s looked like, that's what the socialism looked like."*

10:04:18

Archival materials. Reality of the Polish People's Republic. Crowds in the streets.

10:04:38

100% Jerzy Borowczak - *Many Polish people quickly forgot about these empty shops, bare hooks, vinegar and mustard. Some people miss the old system because there was no unemployment in Poland, the authorities used to take care of the citizens from the very day they were born to the day they died. The authorities decided who will study and who will not, who will work and who will make a career and who will not. There was brainwash and people were devoid of any initiatives. Workers stood up against that on 14 August 1980.*

10:04:44

Fragment of the film "August". Leaflet distribution.

10:05:10

Fragment of the concert of Jean Michel Jarre in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:05:24

100% Jerzy Borowczak - *August 1980 began thanks to the illegal trade unions operating on the Coast whose members were: Lech Wałęsa, Bogdan Borusewicz,*

Anna Walentynowicz, Andrzej Gwiazda and Joanna Gwiazda. Thanks to that organisation we could operate in the shipyards, act in defence of the workers, stand up for their rights and Anna Walentynowicz was such a member. When she was dismissed from work on disciplinary grounds for defending other people's rights we, the members of the independent trade union, decided to stand up for her. This decision that we will defend Anna through strike was taken on 8 August.

10:06:01

100% Anna Walentynowicz: *I was known by the shipyards crew because I used to distribute an illegal paper "Worker" in the shipyards. When I was dismissed from work people stood up for me.*

10:06:12

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *It was me who decided on August strike but the decision was carried out by a group of young people. They had to be prepared in the right way. There were teams which distributed leaflets on the main routs to work before the strike began. They were very young people, 20 - 21 years of age. There were a few of them.*

10:06:44

100% Jerzy Borowczak - *We began strike at 6 a.m. in one of the shipyards department - K5. At the beginning there were only three demands: first - get Anna Walentynowicz back to work, second - increase in salaries by 1000 zlotys, third - allowances for rising cost of living. Prices in Poland were soaring up and we thought that such a demand should be written down on a banner. The demands passed the test. People accepted them. When at 10 o'clock Lech Wałęsa arrived we already had 10 000 people at the rally in the shipyards who answered the call from the independent trade unions and supported the request for workers' rights.*

10:07:08

Fragment of the film "August". Wałęsa arrives to the shipyards premises.

10:07:27

Commentary: *The shipyards management quickly and without any protest agreed to accept the first workers' demands. Lech Wałęsa was ready to end the strike but delegations from other plants of the Coast began to come down to the shipyards. A solidarity strike began.*

10:07:43

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *I was the most dark character for the communist regime because I was a member of the illegal Workers' Defence Committee (KOR) and it was a problem for the authorities - to accept also a member of KOR. That is why I remained in shadow and that is why later me and my friends were victimised.*

10:08:18

Fragment of the concert of Jean Michel Jarre in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:08:24

100% Andrzej Gwiazda - *It was formulated by one of the elderly - a grey - haired worker. He came up to me during a break in the negotiations and said: Andrew, the rest you may ignore. The most important demand is to have independent trade unions and press that writes the truth.*

10:08:38

Fragment of the film "August". Scenes from the strike. Workers read world news press cuttings.

10:08:38

Voice says through a loud - speaker: *The strike is on. We want to thank you for your warmth and support.*

10:08:44

Commentary: *Behind the shipyards gate there is created a space of freedom. The word strike is prohibited from the state media. Officially things are commented upon as stoppages at work but journalists from all over the world come to the striking workers and they spread the news. There is no censorship in the shipyards. Words of support come from all over the country although the phone lines to the Coast have been cut off. The striking people drew conclusions from the past and they do not leave the shipyards premises. They know that the regime cannot be abolished in the streets without blood being shed. They want evolution of the system not a revolution.*

10:08:58

Leaflet copying.

10:09:15

Wałęsa explains to the workers that people abroad support them.

100% - *I suppose they want to...*

off - *For sure.*

10:09:18

- *Yet, maybe they do not care so much because it spread all over the country. And that is why they are completely hopeless. We are in a better situation than the regions of central Poland. We may get food supplies sent by ships from England or Sweden, so we are not in such a bad situation.*

10:09:40

Fragment of the film "August". The governmental delegation arrives to the shipyards.

10:09:41

Commentary: *When protests spread all over the country the authorities grow milder. Instead of the expected military landing operation the party and government representatives with the deputy prime minister - Mieczysław Jagielski arrive to the shipyards. Lech Wałęsa is the leader of the striking people. Negotiations begin. They are transmitted through the shipyards radio. The workers know that basic human rights have not been respected in Poland.*

10:10:05

Workers hold discussions with the inhabitants of Gdańsk through the shipyards fence.

10:10:05

A worker 100% - *He /the deputy prime minister/ has not confirmed up to now that things like that exist in Poland. He says that the constitution secures things and everything is in compliance with the constitution while in practice it is not.*

10:10:15

A woman 100% - *They knew that the working class people are no illiterate masses of the XVIII century who can only write their names. Workers are educated, most of them finished technical schools, part - time courses, evening schools, vocational training courses. And the authorities want to keep people still in darkness and stupor?*

10:10:30

Off Lech Wałęsa - *I would like to welcome the prime minister and the governmental commission to the Gdańsk shipyards at the meeting with the Inter - Plant Strike Committee. Having already talked to us you could see that we do not fight with the socialist system but for independent trade unions. This is our due right like our other rights.*

10:10:52

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *People did not go on strike for a human face of the socialism. This is a mystification. There were no such ideas. We did not go on that strike to protect socialism, we went on strike to blow up the system. It was obvious*

that independent free trade unions, structures built nearby the state authorities would burst this system. It was a conscious action. We did not say that we wanted to destroy the system. I even crossed out the demand for free elections which meant: give us power back. Because what did free election in those days mean? I knew that the game in the shipyards was not only against Warsaw but also against Moscow. That's why I crossed out the any anti-Soviet elements, I moderated things because I knew that from the moment this strike for increase in wages and for Anna Walentynowicz turned into a strike for these 21 demands it would become something unprecedented, absolutely not known in that part of Europe. It would be an unprecedented situation in Poland which could change Poland. It has changed whole Central and Eastern Europe.

10:12:18

Fragment of the film "August". Tables with the 21 demands.

10:12:18

Commentary - Social demands are the majority of the 21 demands attached to the shipyards gate but for the striking people the most important are their political demands: abolition of censorship, the right to strike, and first of all, the right to form independent from the government trade unions.

10:12:34

A prayer for the people on strike.

10:12:34

Off - Like every day we will pray together. We will pray out loud for the striking people, their families, people who help them, and first of all for a successful solution to our matters.

10:12:48

Father...give us each day our daily bread, forgive us our sins, for we also forgive everyone who sin against us. And lead us not into temptation.

10:13:02

Lech Wałęsa carried by the workers on their shoulders.

10:13:02

Commentary: Lech Wałęsa - a worker fired 4 years earlier from work for inciting the shipyards workers to protest gets an informal trust credit from the shipyards crew and he has experience of 1970 when a similar strike was suppressed by force in a bloody way. The later Nobel Peace Prize winner, an excellent speaker - he becomes a true charismatic leader during the hard negotiations with the government.

10:13:22

Lech Wałęsa announces the decision on signing the agreement with the authorities to the crowds of the inhabitants of the Coast who gathered in front of the shipyards gate.

10:13:22

Lech Wałęsa 100% - The most important point has been settled as we all wanted. It was definitely worthwhile because apart from the so far existing trade unions we have independent self-governing trade unions.

10:13:48

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - When the strike was getting to an end in 1980 almost all members of the Workers' Defence Committee (KOR), who did not take part in the strike were in prison.

10:13:56

The crowd asks: *Off - What about the political prisoners?*

10:13:59

Lech Wałęsa 100% - I have got it signed that they all will be released from prisons. I do not sell people. I am not interested in one's membership. I am interested in law

and order, we do not care who supports what. If the person is innocent the person should be released.

Fragment of the concert of Jean Michel Jarre in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:14:19

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - Free trade unions - It was clear that free trade unions meant introduction of an element that would blow up this system. Why did the government agree? I think that they hoped that they would be able to contain the protest to the area of the Coast.

10:14:22

Fragment of the film "August". Official signing of the agreements between the workers and the authorities. Satisfied striking workers leave the shipyards premises in the mood of victory, being convinced that they won!!!

10:14:47

Commentary: The shipyards workers leave the strike as winners. A carnival of freedom begins in Poland that lasts 16 months. The trade unions activists are unaware that the government has already started preparations for the use of force.

10:15:00

Fragment of the concert of Jean Michel Jarre in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:15:02

Year 1981. Archival materials. The first official congress of Solidarity.

10:15:02

Commentary: At the first congress of Solidarity the delegates formulate shocking for the communist regime message to other working people in Eastern Europe. They express support for the suppressed organisations in their difficult fight for independent trade unions. Moscow took it as an attempt to interfere with the social and economic life of the so-called fraternal countries.

10:15:02

Year 1981. Archival materials. Introduction of the marshal law. General Wojciech Jaruzelski: *Today at midnight the State Council acting in compliance with the constitution introduced the marshal law on the territory of the whole country.*

10:15:31

100% Borusewicz with his wife at home - I met two frightened she-neighbours in the doorway. They said that there was the marshal law and there was a round - up, they came after me and I should run away. I climbed down the lightning-conductor. Two shots were fired. I ran away to the town and hid in the shipyards. There I administered the second strike in the shipyards. When we got surrounded I said to my friends - gentlemen, I am off, I am running away.

10:15:40

Army in the city streets. Empty shops.

10:15:56

Commentary: Army takes over power in the country. Borders get closed, phone lines are first blocked, then the phone calls are controlled, censorship and war economy are in force. Basic food products are rationed. There are long queues in front of the shops. They are compared by those malicious to long queues in front of the Lenin's mausoleum.

10:16:18

Commentary: Lech Wałęsa and the majority of the Solidarity activists are interned. Those who managed to hide start underground opposition. Bogdan Borusewicz is among them.

10:16:29

Street fights of the young people with the militia troops.

10:16:32

Commentary: *Solidarity is again illegal but it organises street protests, underground publications, press, radio and television all the time. From time to time there are street riots and workers strikes all over the country. Many Polish people emigrate.*

10:16:46

Fragment of Jean Michel Jarre's concert in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:16:51

Commentary: The Pope John Paul II visits Gdańsk and celebrates the mass at the estate of blocks of flats where Lech Wałęsa who has been released from the internment lives. Official television avoids showing the banners of illegal trade union Solidarity. Polish people could not see these pictures on TV. They were reserved for export only.

10:16:54

Year 1987. Visit of the Pope John Paul II. Mass in Gdańsk, in Zaspka borough.

10:17:08

The Pope John Paul II 100% - *Every day I pray for my homeland, I pray for the working people and I pray for this particular heritage of Polish solidarity.*

The crowd repeats: *Solidarity, Solidarity.*

10:17:32

The Pope John Paul II 100% - *Let the Pope speak since He wants to speak about You, and in some sense, for You. Solidarity means One and the Other, and if there is a burden - it is a burden carried together within a community. So never One against Another, Ones against Others.*

10:18:12

Year 1988. Occupational strikes in the Gdańsk shipyards. The crowd sings: *We bring our begging in front of your altar, Lord, please, be kind for us and give us a free country, oh Lord.*

10:18:32

Among the acting activists there is also Bogdan Borusewicz.

Bogdan Borusewicz 100% a scene from a strike - *Hold on, hold on! It is very important that you do not end the strike.*

10:18:39

Commentary: *The marshal law aftermath lasts till the year 1988 when the Gdańsk shipyards becomes a place of yet another huge strike. Lech Wałęsa and Bogdan Borusewicz are active again.*

10:18:47

Crowd repeating Off - *There is no freedom without Solidarity.*

10:18:54

Borusewicz 100% - *So the whole shipyards complex is on strike/all shipyards of the Coast/. Seven thousand people. It is an occupational strike.*

10:19:02

Victorious walk out of the workers from the shipyards. Collective shouts: *there is no freedom without "Solidarity."*

10:19:15

Fragment of Jean Michel Jarre's concert in the Gdańsk shipyards.

The year 1989. Archival materials. The round table talks.

10:19:23

Commentary: *Representatives of the Government, Opposition and the Church sat together at the Round Table. Radical activists of Solidarity have always regarded the compromise achieved then with the communists as betrayal of the August ideals. Negotiators achieve agreement on making the trade union Solidarity legal again and on first semi - free election to the Parliament.*

10:19:42

First semi-free election in Poland.

10:19:59

Commentary: *Solidarity election campaign is supported by the world film stars and artists. Communists are surprised by the level of support for the opposition coming from the citizens. Defeat in election of the regime dependent on Moscow starts a slow process of democratic changes. Solidarity won but nobody took the decision on decommunisation and lustration. The government led by the prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki cut itself off from the past.*

10:20:19

Winning of Solidarity. Defeat of the communists.

10:20:47

100% Joanna Szczepkowska - *Ladies and gentlemen, on the 4 June 1989 the communism ended in Poland.*

10:20:55

100% Joanna Szczepkowska years later - *We had no idea what will happen THE DAY AFTER. We only knew that something had ended. I always repeat that I said that the communism was over but I did not say that the paradise opened.*

10:21:08

Year 1990. Archival materials. The symbolic statue of Lenin is driven out of the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:21:10

Decline of the shipyards. The shipyards workers again demonstrate in the streets.

Commentary: *The symbol of the past epoch - the statue of Lenin leaves the shipyards.*

A shout from the crowd - *The last communist bastard!!!*

10:21:18

Commentary: *The government led by the first Solidarity prime minister tries to save the shipyards by changing its legal status to the joint stock company.*

10:21:26

But the birthplace of Solidarity is on the decline. The following governments cannot solve the economic problems of the plant. Due to lack of orders the rebellious shipyards gets into debts and finally it is put into the state of liquidation...Workers of huge communist plants who in August 1980 stood up for the democratic changes become the victims of the capitalist economy.

10:21:44

Dark clouds gather over the heads of the decreasing in numbers shipyards workers.

10:21:56

Jean Michel Jarre's concert in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:21:58

Solidarity protests in Warsaw.

10:21:59

Commentary: *The trial to form own party - Solidarity Election Action - ends up in the loss of face and the party quickly disappears from the political stage. The*

organisation Solidarity goes back to the declared at the very beginning role of a trade union that defends workers' rights as it is everywhere else in the world.

10:22:18

100% Lech Wałęsa - *The shipyards has fallen. Don't you feel sorry for the shipyards?*

10:22:19

I feel sorry but the shipyards had its production sold to the Soviet Union for 10-20 years in advance. The Soviet Union ceased to exist and what one could do with the shipyards production? The West does not want it, this is the drama of the shipyards. Now there is no solution but tomorrow there will be one.

10:22:40

100% Władysław Bartoszewski - *If for many of us, that includes me too, the results are not as we dreamt of, one has to ask a general question: what is the relation between the dreams and the reality.*

10:22:53

100% Jerzy Borowczak - *The people who most contributed to the subversion of the communism lost most. Revolution has eaten up its own children. Only people with initiative, those who managed to adapt to the market economy and who realised that nobody will do things for them, nobody will dictate what they should do, profited from the change.*

10:23:30

Jean Michel Jarre's concert in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:23:31

100% Lech Wałęsa - *Despite the condition and the price that we had to pay I am convinced that our generation started an epoch which must bring advantages. The epoch which eliminated divisions, blocks, systems. Europe has got a chance for unity, peace and welfare. Our generation accomplished that.*

10:23:43

Bogdan Borusewicz comes to the terrace of the one-storey house with his daughter and the dog. Both of them comb the dog.

10:24:15

Borusewicz Off - *We were successful at the minimal cost. Blood was not shed in Poland as it was in Rumania and the changes are of that sort that if somebody woke up after 40 years of hibernation he would not know where he is. And these changes are for better not for worse.*

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *Poland is free, democratic and independent. We can decide about our own fate. This is a great value. Not mentioning such details as abolition of the censorship, political police, liquidation of the police state.*

10:24:29

Trick map with the changes in the neighbouring countries to Poland.

10:25:05

Inside the flat. 100% B. Borusewicz's daughter - Kinga - *Dad, what is the difference between making a choice today and in the Polish People's Republic?*

10:25:12

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *The difference between now and the then choices is like that between an electric chair and an ordinary chair. Both are chairs only from their names but they serve different purposes.*

10:25:28

100% Sebastian Borusewicz /a stepson/- *What is left for us from that "August", from that "Solidarity", for us - young people?*

10:25:30

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *What is left for me from those days, from Solidarity, from August? First of all you, Kinga and Sebastian. And this is a very important thing in man's life.*

10:25:42

100% Bogdan Borusewicz - *That Polish People's Republic where I spent my youth was not man-friendly, it was not friendly towards individualism. I had to fight, I was in prison but I met many brilliant people - two of them became the presidents of Poland, I met my wife Alina, we fell in love. I do understand nostalgia of some people for that period when they were young, beautiful and great.*

10:26:44

Twenty five years after formation of "Solidarity". Concert of Jean Michel Jarre in the Gdańsk shipyards.

10:26:45

Commentary: *After a lapse of years Solidarity stopped playing the role of mass social movement initiating democratic changes. Today it has become just one of the many active trade unions. But the outcome of the famous Solidarity protest in August 1980 exceeded the boldest dreams of the former opposition. Soviet troops left Poland, the neighbours of Poland have changed, money regained its value, economy began to develop, Poland joined NATO and the European Union. Citizens began to understand that the fate of their country is in their own hands and it depends on the voting card only.*

10:26:46

Archival materials. Domino trick effect: in turn - "Solidarity" strike in Poland, velvet revolution in the Czech Republic, collapse of the Berlin Wall, dismantling of the Soviet Union, revolution in Georgia, orange revolution in Ukraine. Film shots from the celebration when some of the most important participants of the first strike: Anna Walentynowicz and Andrzej Gwiazda are decorated with orders by the President of Poland - Lech Kaczyński.

Fireworks ending Jean Michel Jarre's concert in the Gdańsk shipyards. Final inscriptions.