

Streszczenie w języku angielskim pracy doktorskiej Artur Brożyniak, *NSZZ „Solidarność” i inne ugrupowania niezależne w województwie przemyskim w latach 1977–1990.*

Dissertation abstract Artur Brożyniak, *Trade union „Solidarity” and other independent groups in the Przemyśl voivodeship in 1977-1990.*

The dissertation presents the history of anti-communist opposition activities from the formation of the first groups to the seizure of power in Poland. The research area encompassed the Przemyśl voivodeship, where historical processes and research problems relating to the general national scale were concentrated.

Since the end of World War II, Poland has found itself in the sphere of influence of the Soviet Union. The communist regime was imposed on the country. In the mid-1970s, the formation of opposition groups against the communists then in power began. The economic crisis and deterioration of living conditions led to massive workers' protests in 1980. The authorities had to enter into talks with society. The communists ruling Poland at the time gave in and allowed the formation of independent trade unions, which was a major break in their system of governance. A mass movement arose around the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union “Solidarity” which led to a peaceful revolution and the overthrow of the communist system.

The Przemyśl voivodeship had an agricultural and industrial character. However, due to the local bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk's unyielding stance against communism, Przemyśl was an important center of opposition in Poland. In the late 1970s, the city was home to the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights, KOR Committee for Social Self-Defense, Przemyśl Self-Defense Committee of Believers. There were attempts to create structures of the Confederation of Independent Poland. In total, the opposition groups numbered only a dozen people. The Security Service kept track of group members and harassed those involved in opposition activities.

In the summer of 1980, the Security Service prevented strikes that local oppositionists wanted to call. However, spontaneous grassroots protests were not prevented. Strikes in the Przemyśl region began in late August and lasted until the end of September 1980. The Security Service recorded protests at more than 40 plants. The strikers put forward wage, social and political demands.

After the signing of the Gdansk Accords, initiative groups of independent trade unions were formed at workplaces. Attempts were then made to create a structure at the inter-company

level. On September 29, the Inter-Enterprise Founding Committee, which used the abbreviation MKZ, was established in Jarosław. On October 7, the Committee was formed, founding of the Przemyśl Voivodeship, which informally used the name MKZ Przemyśl. The formation of Trade union „Solidarity” structures of the Southeastern Region began. On October 27, the Provisional Inter-Union Founding Committee was established in Lubaczów.

Very soon there was internal friction, and on November 4, 1980, the Jarosław MKZ withdrew from the structures of the “Solidarity” Founding Committee of the Southeastern Region. The trade unionists from Jarosław feared the domination of Przemyśl in the Region's authorities, and thus advocated the creation of structures covering the former large Rzeszów voivodeship. The trade unionists of Przemyśl advocated a Region within the boundaries of the small Przemyśl voivodeship. The company structures of “Solidarity” clustered around two strong inter-company centers: the Przemyśl-Lubaczów one (leader Czesław Kijanka) and the Jarosław-Przeworsk one (leader Kazimierz Ziobro). Rural Solidarity and the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union “Solidarity” of Individual Crafts were also established in the Przemyśl province. Support for the creation of “Solidarity” was provided by the local Catholic Church and Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk. In mid-1981, there were about 74,000 members of the workers' “Solidarity” in the Przemyśl voivodeship (MKZ Przemyśl 42,000 and MKZ Jarosław 32,000). Internal elections of delegates were held in the Trade Union “Solidarity”. In the summer of 1981, the First General Meeting of Delegates of the Trade Union “Solidarity” in the Przemyśl province was held. At the beginning of the meeting, there was a split, most of the representatives of the Jarosław MKZ left the room. The session was completed after a few days without the participation of Jarosław representatives. The delegates elected the Board of the Southeastern Region. On August 29, 1981, the Jarosław MKZ was admitted to the Rzeszów Region. The split continued until 1989.

The period of overt Solidarity activity in 1980-1981 was a time of relative freedom in the political and social life of the Polish People's Republic. A strong anti-communist opposition community gathered around the Solidarity movement, which at the time numbered about 10 million people nationwide. “Solidarity” was a peaceful movement that rejected violence in accordance with Christian ethics. It brought together various circles from leftists, syndicalists and conservatives to extreme nationalists. For trade unionists, Christian roots and fighting the atheization of society imposed by the Communist authorities were important.

In the fall of 1981, there was a growing desire to confront the authorities with the social side. “Solidarity”, in preparation for the so-called ‘forceful solution’, hid money, prepared a general strike, in Przemyśl and Jarosław designated a backup leadership of the structures.

The Communist authorities introduced martial law on December 13, 1981, to destroy the Solidarity movement. Its leaders were interned. An attempt to call a general strike failed. "Solidarity" went underground, a large part of society undertook spontaneous resistance. In Przemyśl, clandestine "Solidarity" structures were set up in workplaces and a Provisional Regional Commission coordinating their activities. Its members included Stanisław Żółkiewicz, Marek Kamiński, Zygmunt Majgier, Stanisław Trybalski, Jan Zrajko and Ryszard Bukowski. The Provisional Regional Commission in Przemyśl considered itself the legal successor to the authorities of the Southeastern Region of the Trade Union "Solidarity". Autonomous underground groups were formed in Jarosław, Przeworsk and Lubaczów. In Jarosław, they gathered around the person of Kazimierz Ziobro - the chairman of the local Trade Union "Solidarity" structures. The underground "Solidarity" printed leaflets and independent press, organized demonstrations and patriotic church services. The authorities in late 1982 declared victory over the opposition. In connection with this, a gradual normalization of the situation in the country was announced. Under these conditions, martial law was suspended at the end of 1982. Most of the remaining activists were released from internment. The following year, on the occasion of the July 22, 1983 holiday, martial law was formally lifted.

The authorities have not restored a significant part of the civil liberties suspended under martial law. The communist regime imprisoned oppositionists. The activities of Solidarity, as a trade union, were considered illegal by the state authorities. The underground Solidarity movement persisted and sought new forms of action. In 1983-1988, the opposition developed a new tactic of action, which was described as the "long march." Its purpose was to prepare cadres for open activity within the limits of the law of the time. The Provisional Regional Commission in Przemyśl was transformed into the Regional Executive Commission. Its membership included Marek Kamiński, Stanisław Żółkiewicz, Stanisław Trybalski and Zygmunt Majgier. Underground groups continued their activities in Jarosław, Przeworsk and Lubaczów. In the Przemyśl voivodeship, the underground structures of the All-Poland Farmers' Resistance Committee developed considerable activity. In the initial period (1983-1985), activities were carried out in conspiracy. The authorities and the Security Service undertook repressions and their intensification occurred in 1983 and 1985. From 1986 there was a period of semi-secret activity. During this time, the position of the communist authorities was severely weakened by the economic crisis. There was also a loosening of the ties of dependence on the Soviet Union, which was implementing the reconstruction of the communist system known as perestroika. In 1988, a wave of further protests swept through Poland. The above conditions led

to talks between the communists and the social side, whose representative became the Solidarity movement.

The years 1988-1989 saw the transition of the anti-communist opposition to overt activity and the construction of a civil society. An important stage was the elections of June 4, 1989. Candidates from outside the power camp were able to fight in free elections for 35 percent of the seats in the Sejm (the lower chamber of the Parliament) and 100 percent of the seats in the newly created Senate (the upper chamber of the Parliament). Representatives of the Solidarity Citizens' Committees won almost all possible seats in parliament. The elections highlighted the true extent of support for communist rule. They were followed by a process of disintegration of the coalition that had provided the communists with decisive influence over the government in Poland for years. Deputies representing the Solidarity movement entered the new government coalition and the Polish United Workers' Party found itself outside it.

The structures of the Solidarity Trade Union were rebuilt, but the number of members in the Przemyśl region was only 15,700. In the years 1989-1990, the Rural Solidarity, Solidarity Citizens' Committee, the Confederation of Independent Poland, the Polish Socialist Party - Democratic Revolution, the Federation of Fighting Youth, the Polish People's Party - (called the Wilanów Party) and Fighting Solidarity were also openly active in the Przemyśl voivodeship.

Since September 1989, the Solidarity movement began to take power in the Przemyśl region. The Polish United Workers' Party dissolved. In mid-1990, after local elections, some of the leadership in the state administration was replaced. However, internal disputes and shortages of properly prepared civil servants and state functionaries manifested themselves in the Solidarity movement. The repression apparatus was dismantled, but Security Service officers managed to destroy much of the key documentation. The growing social and economic crisis and the deterioration of living standards led to a decline in public support for the Solidarity movement.