

Warsaw, 21 Nov. 1990

"Solidarity" - a Popular Movement

1. Polish tradition of national solidarism.
2. Political might of industrial workers;
consciousness of the link between "bread" and "freedom".
3. Political initiatives of the '70ies.
4. Defence of human dignity; the role of John Paul II.
5. The summer of 1980; forming of the independent trade union; its structure.
6. Strong movement - trade union cum national uprising - and loose ideology.
7. Contradictions:
 - not aiming at political power (forbidden by communists!)
 - but a representation of national political aspirations
 - a trade union - but representing all social groups
 - principle of non violence - and aim of changing a system based on brute force
8. Martial law of December 1981: the trial by fire
9. The union underground, but with a tradition of open action; amateurish conspiracy; personalization of structures; excessive role of advisors; the leadership of Lech Wałęsa.
10. Victory and its challenges.
11. New paradoxes:
 - trade union - for economic reform and the market
 - unity - for the sake of diversity
 - the leader - taming the union (Wałęsa about the "standards of 'Solidarity'")
12. The role now: THE political base of the government, which wants to have democracy without alternatives and without canvassing consent.
13. A nursery of modern democracy and a repository of conservative, revidincating attitudes; luckily - we have the post-communist trade unions.
14. The future??