

POLAND'S SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT: NEITHER EASTERN COLLECTIVISM NOR WESTERN INDIVIDUALISM

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"At the same time social bonds, the natural solidarity that is created through shared national experience and common everyday existence, were disintegrating. Replacement of authentic organic communities with mass ideological organizations and the party apparatus caused a sense of isolation and apathy of the individual, and, in consequence, of practically the entire society.

As a result of psychological pressure which in modernly organized ideological states substitutes for direct terror there developed a conviction that nothing could be done in this system and that progress was impossible. "It is better to be reconciled with injustice because I can't do anything by myself anyway; 'They' are just waiting for me to reveal my convictions". These were the most widespread opinions at the time. Over the years, precisely such a mentality of enslavement had been shaped."
Lech Walesa, 1983 [1].

"When We speak of the reform of the social order it is principally the state We have in mind. Not indeed that all salvation is to be hoped from its intervention, but because on account of the evil of "individualism", as We called it, things have come to such a pass that the highly developed social life which once flourished in a variety of prosperous institutions organically linked with each other, has been damaged and all but ruined, leaving thus virtually only individuals and the state. Social life lost entirely its organic form. The state, which now was encumbered with all the burdens once borne by associations rendered extinct by it, was in consequence submerged and overwhelmed by an infinity of affairs and duties." Pius XI, 1931 [2].

SOLIDARITY DEFIES THE COMMUNIST STATE

The Solidarity movement in Poland has captured wide attention and support around the world as the strongest challenge to the communist socio-economic order from within the communist bloc in the last 35 years. In large measure, Western commentators have reported the movement from the operating premise that, with regard to blueprints for economic systems, there are only two clear options: Eastern collectivism or socialism and Western individualism or capitalism. In effect those commentators argue that since it defies the communist state Solidarity would move Poland in the direction of capitalism.

This association of Solidarity with capitalism in the media is reinforced in certain scholarly and university publications. Note the following examples.

The Solidarity Union was irrepressible in flaunting its Christian-democratic character, as inimical to Marxism as the circumstances could permit. But the Polish proletariat's sympathy, inclination, even affinity to capitalism has a more rudimentary underpinning - a consuming hatred of communism, a term that has been completely discredited in the Polish working class's consciousness for perhaps centuries to come [3].

By way of introduction, it is useful to note some of the emerging "contradictions" affecting Marxist states such as Poland. According to many political scientists, the two most important models for modernity are Western style democratic capitalism and Marxist, people's democracies. And, although there are many intermediate variations, in a broad sense this view is useful. As long as modernity is the goal, there is a tendency to develop according to one or the other of the two models [3a].

In the media Solidarity repeatedly is referred to as a labor union. For sure, Solidarity has expressed great concern about wages, hours, and working conditions and in that regard behaves like a Western labor union. However, Solidarity has demonstrated far greater concern for the more fundamental issue of control over production, distribution, and consumption and in that sense is more than a labor union. Solidarity's authentic nature is revealed in the resolutions adopted by the First National Congress of Solidarity held in Gdansk in September 1981.

1. The system for transmitting orders for the control of economic life, which makes rational management impossible, must be abolished. Under this system, all economic power is concentrated in the hands of the Party and bureaucratic apparatus. The organizational structure of the economy, serving the command system, must be smashed. The economic administrative organs must be organized separated from political power. The dependence of enterprise directors on ministers for service must be eliminated and appointments on the basis of the Party nomenclature must be given up. Reform will be achieved only when society is organized into independent self-governing units. The network of Solidarity organizations at leading enterprises is an example of such a movement. The network has initiated a wide self-governing movement.

2. A new organizational structure must be built for the economy. The socialized enterprise should be the basic organizational unit in the economy. It should be controlled by the workers' council representing the collective and should be run by a director appointed and recalled by the council. The socialized enterprise will use all people's property entrusted to it in the interests of society and of its collective. It will act independently on the basis of economic consideration. The state should influence its activity through regulations and economic means -- prices, taxes, interest rates, credits, currency exchange rates and so forth. [4].

Plainly, Solidarity is the child of John Paul II who is credited with energizing the movement during his first visit to Poland in June 1979.

...One major problem that anyone faced in trying to see the Pope during his visit was a lack of information...The government made no announcements. Nevertheless, it had prepared well for the huge crowds that turned out anyway by providing additional police, sanitary facilities, food, and medical services. The Church authorities, on the other hand, had no access to the public media and also urged the elderly, the very young, and the unwell to stay at home out of fear that the crowds would be uncontrollable. Yet, everything went remarkably smoothly. This in itself became a source of pride and self-confidence. Despite the difficulties, especially the lack of information, millions managed to see their Polish Pope. Their numbers and their orderliness gave them a feeling of strength and unity, a unity in the name of an ideology that their government officially opposed and had with varying degrees of intensity tried to suppress for some thirty years [5].

The profound sense of oneness that Solidarity evokes in the hearts of tens of millions of Poles is expressed in part through symbols that are drawn directly from the Polish Catholic Church: the cross, the crucifix, and Poland's most revered icon -- the Black Madonna.

Just as plainly, John Paul II's second visit to Poland revitalized the outlawed Solidarity movement. Indeed, the separate domains of the Church and of Solidarity overlapped to such an extent as to make it difficult to clearly differentiate a religious gathering of the faithful from a mass meeting of the movement.

Solidarity's close ties to the Church and to John Paul II are explicitly acknowledged in the declarations and programs outlined in the First National Congress.

Because it was Christianity that brought us into our wider motherland Europe, because for a thousand years Christianity has in a large degree been shaping the content of our culture, since in the most tragic moments of our nation it was the Church that was our main support, since our ethics are predominantly Christian, since, finally, Catholicism is the living faith of the majority of Poles, we deem it necessary that an honest and comprehensive presentation of the role of the Church in the history of Poland and of the world should have an adequate place in national education.

.....
Our national and social rebirth must be based on the restored hierarchy of those goals. While defining its aims, Solidarity draws from the values of Christian ethics, from our national traditions and from the workers' and democratic traditions of the labor world.

John Paul II's encyclical about human labor is for us a new stimulus to work. As a mass organization of the working people, Solidarity is also a movement for the moral rebirth of the people [6].

Further, in an interview in early 1981 Solidarity head Lech Walesa underscored the dependence of the union on the Church.

... This is not easy for you Westerners to understand, I know. The Church has never been for you what it has always been for us a symbol of struggle, I mean, the only institution which never submitted to the oppressors. And when we examine the factors which led to what is happening today in Poland, it is not enough to mention the workers' uprisings in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976. It isn't even enough to consider our contact with foreigners, I mean the fact that we have been traveling abroad very much in these years and that we have seen how you live in your countries. We also have to consider the election of Pope Wojtyla, his travel to Poland and the continuous obstinate smart work of the Church. Without the Church nothing could happen, my case itself would not exist, and I would not be what I am. I'll say more: if I hadn't been a believing soul, I wouldn't have resisted... [7].

What we have said so far is common knowledge among regular observers of current affairs in Poland even among those who rely heavily on the media for their information. What follows is an attempt to prove the proposition that Solidarity not only has close ties to the Church and is inspired by John Paul II but also is directed by a 1931 papal encyclical on social reconstruction and is instructed in the general features of that blueprint by the Polish Pope.

Further, the 1931 blueprint was the creation of the German Jesuit economist Heinrich Pesch who wrote prolifically on questions of social order during the first quarter of this century. Finally, we attempt to demonstrate that this blueprint provides an authentic third way, known as solidarism, to reconstruct the social order. Surely the close parallel between names is no mere coincidence.

Our proof is more preliminary sketch than finished painting because the author has not been able to draw near enough to Solidarity for a faithful rendering. Our preliminary sketch draws heavily from a small number of sources: "Solidarity: A Documentary History," *World Affairs*, Summer 1982; *Laborem Exercens*, 1981; "Remarks of Lech Walesa Prepared for Presentation at the 332nd Commencement Exercises, Harvard University, June 1983; Lech Walesa's interview with Oriana Fallaci, February 1981; *Quadragesimo Anno*, 1931; Mulcahy's *The Economics of Heinrich Pesch*, 1951; and Schumpeter's "The Future of Private Enterprise in the Face of Modern Socialistic Tendencies," *History of Political Economy*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1975.

The English-language evidence is thin for two reasons. First, relatively little scholarly research regarding Solidarity is available in English-language publications. Second, only a very small portion of Pesch's work has been translated into English. Mulcahy is Pesch's premier English-language commentator. In all of this, our hope is that this preliminary sketch reveals enough of the central features of the proof to be convincing

SOLIDARITY'S NEW SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORDER

The very first demand (thesis) adopted at the First Solidarity Congress in September 1981 is "...democratic reform and self-management at every administrative level, and a new socio-economic order that would combine elements of central planning with those of self-management and the demands of the market" [7]. By including both central planning and the market system in its new socio-economic order, Solidarity rejects pure socialism at the same time it refuses to embrace pure capitalism.

Establishing a new socio-economic order means restructuring control over decision-making. Becker lays out the problem succinctly and instructively.

The problem of organizing society is ultimately, like most problems, an aspect of the One-Many dichotomy. To achieve the ends of society men must choose to act as individuals, and therefore as Many, or to act as a group, and therefore as One. This basic choice recurs on three levels, which in logic represent successive choices but which in practice are often simultaneous.

The first choice is whether to make use of the group technique at all, that is, whether to allocate a given function of society to a group or to leave it to individuals. If the function is to be allocated to a group, the next choice is whether to use a private group or the public group called the state. The third choice is whether to have much or little democracy within whatever group is used, that is whether to give members of the group much or little participation in the decision-making processes of the group [8].

Diagrammatically, the choices look like this:

I. Is decision-making control in the hands of:

- a. individuals?
- b. group?

II. If control is in group hands, is the group:

- a. private?
- b. public (the state)?

III. In decision-making do group members participate:

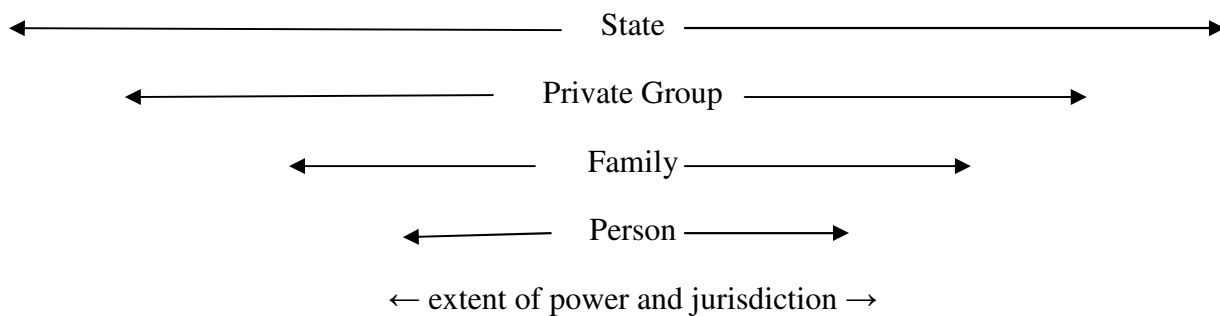
- a. much?
- b. little?

To choose Ia is to opt for capitalism. Socialism is represented by Ib + IIb. The communist social order in Poland today is represented by Ib + IIb + IIIb. Our proposition is that Solidarity would change the locus of control, not to Ia, but to Ib + IIa + IIIa.

The social order is built upon four basic elements or units: the state, the private group (or association, or community), the family, and the individual. Of the four, the state has the widest jurisdiction and the greatest power. The individual has the narrowest jurisdiction and the least power. Figure I shows these four basic units of the social order in a way that graphically demonstrates the superior power of the state.

Figure 1.

The Four Basic Elements of the Social Order:
A Graphic Demonstration of the Superior Power of the State



Referring to the two epigrams selected for this paper, we see that Walesa's comments mean that, in Poland today, private associations ("authentic organic communities") have been wiped out by statism, that is, by putting too much control in the hands of the state. Pius XI's statement means that prior to the 1930's private associations ("prosperous institutions organically linked to each other") had been eliminated by individualism, that is, by putting too much control in the hands of the individual. Anarchy followed from individualism in Pius XI's time just as tyranny followed from statism in Walesa's time. Both men would remove twin scourges by relocating control in revitalized private associations.

Organizations independent of the authority of the state, Solidarity proclaimed publicly, are critical to a reconstructed social order [8a]. Freedom to form trade unions and private associations was included in Solidarity's nineteenth demand (thesis).

Our union is open to cooperation with various social movements, above all with the other unions that were set up after August 1980 and belong to the common movement of Solidarity -- the Solidarity of private farmers, the Solidarity of craftsmen, the Solidarity of private transport drivers, and the Solidarity of those groups of employees who, because of the regulations in force have not been able to join Solidarity. Those

regulations should be changed. The freedom to form trade unions and the employee's freedom to choose his trade union is of fundamental importance to the trade union law, which should guarantee these freedoms.

Our union has close lines with the "Patronat", the Independent Union of Students, the independent scout movements, and other organizations that help implement the August agreements and Solidarity's statutory tasks. Those organizations and associations are encountering difficulties in their activities and in obtaining registration. That is why we think it necessary to pass a new law on associations to ensure the full freedom of citizens to form associations [9].

Significantly, John Paul II also asserts the right of association, specifies the scope of this right in the socio-economic order, and identifies its origins.

All these rights, together with the need for the workers themselves to secure them, give rise to yet another right: the right of association, that is to form associations for the purpose of defending the vital interests of those employed in the various professions. These associations are called labor or trade unions. The vital interests of the workers are to a certain extent common for all of them; at the same time however each type of work, each profession, has its own specific character which should find a particular reflection in these organizations.

... this does not mean that only industrial workers can set up associations of this type. Representatives of every profession can use them to ensure their own rights. Thus there are unions of agricultural workers and of white-collar workers; there are also employers' associations.

... It is characteristic of work that it first and foremost unites people. In this consists its social power: the power to build a community. In the final analysis, both those who work and those who manage the means of production or who own them must in some way be united in this community. In the light of this fundamental structure of all work -- in the light of the fact that, in the final analysis, labor and capital are indispensable components of the process of production in any social system -- it is clear that, even if it is because of their work needs that people unite to secure their rights, their union remains a constructive factor of social order and solidarity, and it is impossible to ignore it [10].

The Holy Father's words are a ringing endorsement of Solidarity's right to exist and its role in the social order. In addition, the state is warned that it cannot brush aside this right willy-nilly.

The Polish government was fully aware of Solidarity's threat to its control of economic decision-making as indicated in the following statement made by Vice Premier M. Rakowski to Solidarity officials on the day negotiations broke off in August 1981.

Now, let me make a political observation. Those who control the distribution and production of food hold power. Mr. Kosmowski [a Solidarity delegate] told us that you want access everywhere -- from the producer to the consumer. It is easy to see the real intentions behind such desires. It is a program for seizing power. I declare to you that we do not accept this program because neighbor of us would last more than a few days if it

were adopted. You may participate instead in a coalition commission on the food situation. Besides, it is necessary for you to control the theft of the deliverers, mostly your members. It is up to us to stop playing this sham and to note the differences in our views [11].

In Poland today the only strong, "authentic organic community" above ground is the Church. It alone has the strength to lift the oppression of the state from the shoulders of the Polish people. However, the Church has no effective jurisdiction in economic affairs. Only another private association like Solidarity which is designed specifically to operate in the domain of economic matters can reduce the tyranny in the socio-economic order that derives from the centralization of control in the hands of the state. This difference in jurisdiction or domain between the Church and Solidarity is made plain in the following statement from an article in an underground publication.

Another answer to the question of how to fight is the awareness that the underground Solidarity movement can work parallel to the Church, but it cannot follow the Church in joining efforts in the day by day struggle. The aims of the Church are eternal, ours are earthly. The Church is expected to last through generations. If Poland is to survive -- every generation has to renew its sacrifice.

We should not blame the Church for defending its power and its interests. But we cannot surrender the independence of our social movement in the name of unity of action. We cannot subordinate ourselves to the Church.

The Church welcomes a setting in which it maintains an unquestionable authority over souls without losing any of its influence. In revolutionary situations, it can achieve this only by trying to make the society refrain from struggle -- this was precisely the message of Cardinal Wyszynski's homily in Jasna Gora on the eve of the signing of the Gdansk Agreements in August 1980, and this also seems to be the policy of Primate Glemp. If the Church preserves its moderation and we our radicalism, then both sides -- acting independently of each other, but parallel to each other, in the same direction -- will make it more difficult for the government to continue its policy of terror [12].

Under Solidarity's program to reconstruct Poland, the economic order would be distant from the political order. Nomenclature -- the practice of appointing managers and planners on the basis of party loyalty rather than competency -- would be abolished.

The economic administrative organs must be separated from political power. The dependence of enterprise directors on ministers for service must be eliminated and appointments on the basis of Party nomenclature must be given up [13].

The end of nomenclature is so crucial that it is included in the first part of Solidarity's four-part initial demand (thesis). The reason is that nomenclature is a barrier to the operation of private associations at the level of the individual enterprise (firm).

Reform will be achieved only when society is organized into independent self-governing units. The network of Solidarity organizations at leading enterprises is an example of such a movement. The network has initiated a wide self-governing movement [14].

Thus independence from state authorities at the level of the individual enterprise is the first condition laid down by Solidarity for the reform of the economic order.

Direct control of the individual enterprise would be in the hands of the workers' council, a private association of the firm's employees. Instead of responding to assigned suppliers and customers, the enterprise would act "on the basis of economic consideration" [15], that is, supply and demand. Thus, under Solidarity's program of reform, the firm would function free of direct political control in the marketplace under the management of a private association called a workers' council. These features are characteristic of the solidarist enterprise and not the capitalist firm.

It is not clear how the workers' council is to be formed. However, since free elections are critical to reform of the political order and are one of Solidarity's demands in that domain, it appears that the workers' council would be formed democratically perhaps in elections that are supervised by Solidarity.

Solidarity claims that the firm's operations would be directed toward the common good, but is somewhat vague as to how the means of production are to be held legally. Stewardship, as opposed to private ownership, seems to be its position: "The socialized enterprise will use all people's property entrusted to it in the interests of society and of its collective" [16]. For sure, private ownership is critical to capitalism. On the other hand, it is not essential to solidarism where the emphasis is on private-association control of the enterprise.

Above individual enterprises in the economic order would be "territorial self-governing bodies" that would "take over social facilities at enterprises and develop their social activities, hitherto under the enterprise management". The purpose of this reform is to equalize social services across enterprises and regions [17]. These boards, it appears, would form "special employment commissions" to reform the wage structure. The commissions would be organically linked to the various enterprises below them in the economic order [18].

The bodies or boards appear not to have control over production in the region generally or in certain industries specifically. It is not apparent how these territorial self-governing bodies are to be formed. In particular, we do not know whether the regional boards are made up of persons from workers' councils or some other source(s). Clearly, "self-governing" indicates that these bodies are independent private associations and are not to have government members

Above territorial self-governing bodies in the reformed economic order would be the Social Council for the National Economy that would "assess the economic situation and economic laws, and ...initiate moves necessary in those fields" [19]. Solidarity's First National Congress was not explicit as to how this Council is to be established. It seems the Council is to be characterized by control that it shared by the Sejm (the national legislature), the people's councils (sub-national legislatures), and by "workers' self-managing bodies" [20].

Apparently, Solidarity would make the Council responsible for central planning [21]. It is not clear how this planning activity would affect the territorial self-governing bodies below the Council and the individual enterprises with their workers' councils below the territorial bodies. Further, Solidarity was vague as to whether the Council would have a role in deciding such issues as taxation, currency exchange rates, credit, and interest rates or whether these functions would remain entirely in state hands. In addition, because of widespread problems with the distribution of food supplies in Poland, Solidarity proposes a nationwide network of trade union commissions for the affairs of the market and food and a center for their coordination. Those commissions must cooperate with the organizations of Rural Solidarity [22].

Solidarity did not say whether such commissions for the distribution of food supplies are an emergency measure or a permanent reform. Even so, by drawing together (and presumably unifying) producers *and* consumers this proposal would establish another "authentic organic community" of the type mentioned by Walesa in his remarks at Harvard.

In the political order, in addition to calling for free elections, Solidarity demands more autonomy (legal, organizational, and financial) for the people's councils so as to disperse the power of the state and of the communist party [23]. Also in the political order, the union demands self-managed cultural institutions, such as publishing houses and theaters, in order to promote and guarantee freedom of expression which, in turn, serves man's spiritual development [24]. There is even a demand for "self-governing bodies in the judiciary" [25].

As regards the organizational structure of the union itself, Solidarity would establish units at the enterprise level, the regional level, and the national level. Further, there would be an "intermediate echelon" between the factory-level unit and the regional unit. These intermediate echelons are to help Solidarity organizations at the enterprise level.

The intermediate echelons' main task is to *assist* the factory commissions in information, advisory service, training and so on, as well as in setting up centers of union life, defending the interests of local communities and influencing local power and administration bodies [26; emphasis added].

Thus the union itself had internalized the principle of subsidiarity -- a key principle of Catholic social teaching which was first articulated by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*.

...just as it is wrong to withdraw from the individual and commit to the community at large what private enterprise and industry can accomplish, so, too, it is an injustice, a grave evil and a disturbance of right order for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself functions which can be performed efficiently by smaller and lower bodies. This is a fundamental principle of social philosophy, unshaken and unchangeable, and it retains its full truth today. Of its very nature the true aim of all social activity should be to *help* individual members of the social body, but never to destroy or absorb them [27, emphasis added].

To sum up briefly, Solidarity's program for a new socio-economic order in Poland rests squarely on the independent or autonomous private association intermediate between the powerful state and the powerless individual and family. The private association, or self-managing body, is to be established in the economic order as a prerequisite to its establishment in the political order. The private association is to place the common good before the good of the individual and the good of the group and is to assist the less prosperous parts of society first.

Note the parallels in John Paul II's statement in *Laborem Exercens* regarding the reconstruction of social order.

We can speak of socializing only when ... on the basis of his work each person is fully entitled to consider himself a part-owner of the great workbench at which he is working with everyone else. A way towards that goal could be found by associating labor with the ownership of capital, as far as possible, and by producing a wide range of intermediate bodies with economic, social and cultural purposes; they would be bodies enjoying real autonomy with regard to the public powers, pursuing their specific aims in honest collaboration with each other and in subordination to the demands of the common good, and they would be living communities both in form and in substance, in the sense that the members of each body would be looked upon and treated as persons and encouraged to take an active part in the life of the body [28].

SOLIDARISM: A THIRD SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Pius XI introduced the concept of the "vocational group" (a private association in the workplace, but not a union) in *Quadragesimo Anno*, making it a key element in Catholic social teaching.

The aim of social legislation must therefore be the re-establishment of vocational groups. Society today still remains in a strained and therefore unstable and uncertain state, being founded on classes with contradictory interests and hence opposed to each other, and consequently prone to enmity and strife.... the demand and supply of labor divides men on the labor-market into two classes, as into two camps, and the bargaining between these parties transforms this labor market into an arena where the two armies are engaged in combat. To this grave disorder which is leading society to ruin, a remedy must evidently be applied as speedily as possible. But there cannot be question of any perfect cure, except this opposition be done away with, and well-ordered members of the social body come into being anew, vocational groups namely, binding men together not according to the position they occupy in the labor market, but according to the diverse functions which they exercise in society.

For as nature induces those who dwell in close proximity to unite into municipalities, so those who practice the same trade or profession, economic or otherwise, combine into vocational groups. These groups, in a true sense autonomous, are considered by many to be, if not essential to civil society, at least its natural and spontaneous development [29].

Central to the establishment of vocational groups is a proper balance between the wages of different workers and the prices of different products.

A reasonable relationship between different wages here enters into consideration. Intimately connected with this is a reasonable relationship between the prices obtained for the products of the various economic groups; agrarian, industrial, etc. Where this harmonious proportion is kept, man's various economic activities combine and unite into one single organism and become members of a common body, lending each other mutual help and service. For then only will the economic and social organism be soundly established and attain its end, when it secures for all and each those goods which the wealth and resources of nature, technical achievement, and the social organization of economic affairs can give [30].

Solidarity's "special employment commissions" to reform the wage structure, along with its explicit concern for prices in its sixth demand (thesis), are consistent with this papal insight as to the importance of wage and price differentials in fostering or deterring the establishment of economic community.

In all of this, according to Pius XI, the common good is paramount.

...in these associations the common interest of the whole group must predominate; and among these interests the most important is the directing of the activities of the group to the common good [31].

The real architect of *Quadragesimo Anno* was the German Jesuit economist Heinrich Pesch who developed the socio-economic system known as solidarism: "Almost every contribution of the latter encyclical may be found in Pesch..." [32]. Pesch's principal English-language commentator, Mulcahy, fleshes out the concept "vocational group".

The vocational groups may be described in general as vocational communities: organizations embracing all engaged in a particular profession or performing a particular service for the nations. All with the same function in society, even though they have different interests between themselves, belong to the same group. The vocational communities are organs of society, which operate as the representatives of the interest of the group and as self-governing authorities for the particular profession of industry. For the perfect fulfillment of their task they must cooperate with other vocational groups and with organizations within their particular profession which are concerned with their own particular interests, e.g., employer and employee organizations.

.....
...Pesch offers merely the bare skeleton of the framework of the vocational organizations. Three levels are indicated: a local substructure, a district organization in which employers and employees meet together, and a supreme national economic council. Though the

national organization is called the high point of the vocational development, it is recognized that "it will never be easy to attain in centralized form the effective union of all vocational groups" [33].

Pesch is most emphatic that solidarity is more than organizational restructuring.

.. [solidarism] is a wider concept than this; and in a two-fold sense. First, it stresses "the whole regulative and constructive significance of the solidaristic principle for the ordering and shaping" of the economy. This has reference to the action of the state, of the vocational and other groups, and of individuals in the ordering of economic life. Second, more fundamental and considered more important, the Peschian system is founded on, embraces, and requires a "spirit" -- an ideology, aspiration, or attitude -- without which neither this economic system nor any other can succeed.

This spirit, essential to the success of the economy, is the desire for the common good based on the organic concept of society. A three-fold solidarity is implied -- that of mankind in general, of the citizens within a given state, and of all engaged in particular vocation. The intangibility of the notion of "spirit" does not make it less important [34].

No less an authority on comparative economic systems than Schumpeter asserted that solidarity is the only option to capitalism and socialism.

...This system of ideas [economic liberalism or individualism], developed in the eighteenth century, recognizes no other regulatory principle than that of individual egoism...this philosophy expresses only too well the spirit of social irresponsibility which characterized the passion, and the secular, or rather secularized, state in the nineteenth century. And in the midst of moral confusion, economic success serves only to render still more serious the social and political situation which is the natural result of a century of economic liberalism.

Will the solution to this grave problem spring from authoritarian statism, which may doubtless assume more than one form but of which the perfect example is bolshevism? Not at all. Does it come from democratic socialism? Again, no. But where then is it necessary to look? It will be necessary to turn to corporate organization in the sense advocated in *Quadragesimo Anno* ... The corporate principle organizes but it does no regiment. It is opposed to all social systems with a centralizing tendency and to all bureaucratic regimentation; *it is, in fact, the only means of rendering the latter impossible* [35, emphasis added].

Schumpeter drives home the point that solidarity requires moral reform.

...corporatism of associations is not a mechanical thing. It cannot be imposed or created by legislative power. It does not tend to materialize by itself. It can be brought to birth only by the action of free men and by the faith which inspires them. To establish it and to make it succeed, will power, energy, and a new sense of social responsibility are required. It will have to struggle against formidable obstacles, and this in a world whose largest part is dominated by a bolshevik dictator. But its main problem, as well as its

glory, is summed up in the fact that, *more than an economic and social reform it implies a moral reform* [36; emphasis added].

Observe, finally, how Solidarity perceives itself as a movement.

...While defining its aims, Solidarity draws from the values of Christian ethics, from our national traditions and from the workers' and democratic traditions of the labor world. John Paul II's encyclical about human labor is for us a new stimulus to work. As a mass organization of the working people, *Solidarity is also a movement for the moral rebirth of the people* [37, emphasis added].

A BRIEF SUMMING UP

Although suppressed for more than four years, Solidarity still is recognized as the strongest internal challenge to the communist socio-economic order since the end of World War II. The easy premise that because Solidarity defies Eastern collectivism it necessarily embraces Western individualism falls apart under close scrutiny. The Polish people, for sure, are not unmindful of the importance of or the need for greater individual freedom and responsibility in their society. They are, however, more mindful of the need for effective control of daily economic decisions through self-managing groups or self-governing bodies that are private, voluntary, and independent of the state and that focus primarily on the common good and not the good of the individual member.

Solidarity is explicitly about building a sense of oneness or community in the workplace because, as Lech Walesa asserts in our first epigram, the bonds that hold the Polish people together have disintegrated under the oppression of the communist state and the party apparatus. The Polish ideology is not to stand alone defying the forces of oppression but to stand together. It is an ideology that pre-dates not only the Industrial Revolution but the Protestant Reformation as well. It explains why Solidarity is neither Eastern collectivism nor Western individualism.

ENDNOTES

1. Walesa, L., "Remarks of Lech Walesa Prepared for Presentation at the 332nd Commencement Exercises," Harvard University, June 9, 1983, p.3.
2. Pius XI, "Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XI on Social Reconstruction (*Quadragesimo Anno*)," in *The Encyclicals of a Century*, Derby, N.Y., Daughters of St. Paul, Apostolate of the Press, circa 1950, pp. 223-224.
3. Tyrmand, L., "Notes on the Polish Question," *Policy Review*, Spring 1982, p. 100.
- 3a. "The Economics of the Polish Workers' Revolution," (editor's note)," Los Angeles, *Business and Economics*, Spring 1981, p.5.
4. "The First Solidarity Congress," *World Affairs*, Summer 1982, p. 29.

"Party nomenclature" is the system of appointing managers and planners on the basis of party privilege rather than on qualifications. The "network", officially called the Network of Leading Industrial Enterprises in Poland, was an ad hoc committee made up of activists from the country's fourteen thousand largest factories and enterprises. It held meetings and conferences to develop a consensus on a national economic program for Solidarity and to make legislative proposals for workers' self-management.

5. Kulczycki, J., "The Beginnings of the Solidarity Movement in Poznan, 1980-1981," *The Polish Review*, Vol. XXVII, Nos. 3-4, 1982, p. 158.
 6. "The First Solidarity Congress," op. cit, pp. 23, 26.
 7. "Poland Will Never Go Back," two-part interview with Lech Walesa by Oriana Fallaci conducted in Warsaw on February 22 and 23, 1981 and published in *The Chicago Tribune*, March 15 and 16, 1981.
 8. Becker, J.M., *Shared Government in Employment Security: A Study of Advisory Councils*", New York, Columbia University Press, 1959, p. 3.
- By "state" Becker means the organization whose jurisdiction is universal (extends to all who belong in a given geographical area), supreme recognizes no legal superior), and coercive. If its jurisdiction extends to all the functions of society, the state is also absolute.
- 8a. "The First Soidarity Congress," op. cit., p. 27.
 9. "The First Solidarity Congress," op. cit., p. 44.
 10. John Paul II, "Encyclical Letter of His Holiness Pope John Paul II on Human Work (*Laborem Exercens*), Boston, Daughters of St. Paul, St. Paul Editions, 1981, pp. 48-49.

11. Rakowski, M., quoted in "An Attempt at 'Demolition'," *Solidarity Bulletin*, October 1981, p.4.
12. Poleski, M., "Thoughts on a Dialogue with the Terrorist (martial law-communist regime)," reprinted in English in *Committee in Support of Solidarity Reports*, November 25, 1982, p. 12.
13. "The First Solidarity Congress," op. cit. p. 29.
14. Ibid., p. 29.
15. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
16. Ibid., P. 29.
17. Ibid., p. 34.
18. Ibid., p. 35-36.
19. Ibid., p. 32.
20. Ibid., p. 32.
21. Ibid., p. 30.
22. Ibid., p. 34.
23. Ibid., pp. 44-45.
24. Ibid., p. 24.
25. Ibid., p. 47.
26. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
27. Pius XI, op. cit., p. 224.
28. John Paul II, op. cit., p. 37.
29. Pius XI, op. cit., pp. 225-226.
30. Ibid., pp. 222-223.
31. Ibid., pp. 226-227.

32. Mulcahy, R., *The Economics of Heinrich Pesch*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1951, p.8.
33. Ibid., pp. 179-181
34. Ibid., pp. 179.
35. Schumpeter, Jr., "The Future of Private Enterprise in the Face of Modern Socialistic Tendencies," reprinted in *History of Political Economy*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1975, p. 297.
36. Ibid., p. 298.
37. "The First Solidarity Congress," op. cit., p. 26.