

Enduring Impact of Civil Resistance on Democratization and Democratic Sustainability

Polish Solidarity Movement and its Legacy

Face evil without imitating it
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Analytical and Empirical Inquiries

Question:

- Is there a connection between civil resistance and a democratic outcome?

If so...

- how do we study the *impact* of residual effects of civil resistance on political processes after the struggle ends (analytical inquiry)?
- what are the residual/long lasting effects of civil resistance? (empirical inquiry)?

Assumption:

- Practice of civil resistance determines trajectories of how a country undergoes democratization and achieve democratic sustainability

Analytical and Empirical Quandaries

- Challenges in analyzing impact of civil resistance on democratization:
 - Factors other than CR that might have influenced democratization
 - Mechanisms/carriers by which CR makes an impact
- Dominance of structural (long-term horizon) and elite-based (short-term horizon) explanations of democratization
- Civil resistance as cause of democratization and effect of democracy: transition and transformation

Impact of Nonviolent Resistance on Democratization: First Study

- 50 out of 67 (75%) transitions in the last 33 years: the force of civil resistance was a significant factor

Top down transitions (14 countries):

- only 2 of these countries are free (14%), 8 are partly free and 4 are not free
- 50% experienced moderate/high economic growth*

Bottom up transitions (50 countries):

- 32 of these countries are free (64%), 14 are partly free and only 4 are not free
- 80% experienced moderate/high economic growth*

Note of Caution

- Out of 32 countries that went through bottom-up transition and are now classified as free, 14 of them come from Central and Eastern Europe: its democratic transformation could have been influenced by factors other than the legacy of civil resistance.

Impact of Nonviolent Resistance on Democratization: Second Study

- 323 major violent and nonviolent conflicts between 1900-2006. The use of civil resistance increases chances for democracy and civil peace after the struggle ends
- Probability that a country will be democracy 5 years after the successful nonviolent campaign is 51% versus 3% for the successful violent campaign
- Probability that a country will relapse into civil war after successful civil resistance is 28% versus 43% for the violent campaign

Understanding Civil Resistance

- CR is not a mechanized tactics/strategy formula of how to wage a nonviolent struggle or merely a physical contest between oppressed and an oppressor
- CR can be viewed as an ‘incubator of democracy’; a laboratory within which liberty and democracy are practiced; an equivalence of a rule of law; a ‘force of (associational) life’
- Civil resistance is thus seen as a set of *interactions* between people as well as an *institution* with its own rules and norms and its own autonomous and non-ephemeral impact on the environment

Civil Resistance as Social Capital

Elements of social capital (Putnam, Coleman)

- Values, norms, principles, codes of behavior, procedures (institutions)
- Human relations (interactions)

Types of social capital

- Bonding Social Capital (getting involved with people like us)
- Bridging Social Capital (getting involved with people who are not like us)
- Linking Social Capital (interacting with people in power to win them over)

Civil resistance facilitates formation of all types of social capital

Size of Social Capital and Civil Resistance Tactics

Acts of Commission

(e.g. strikes, demonstrations, building parallel alternative institutions)

- Acts of sizable collectives with denser human interactions
- Acts of more durable and sustainable constructions
- More material resource needed and mobilized

Higher index of civicness

Acts of Omission

(e.g. conscription or election boycotts, tax refusal, boycott of government-controlled media)

- Acts of individuals with a thinner web of human interactions
- Acts of immediate effects with less institutionalization involved
- Less material resources needed and mobilized

Lower index of civicness

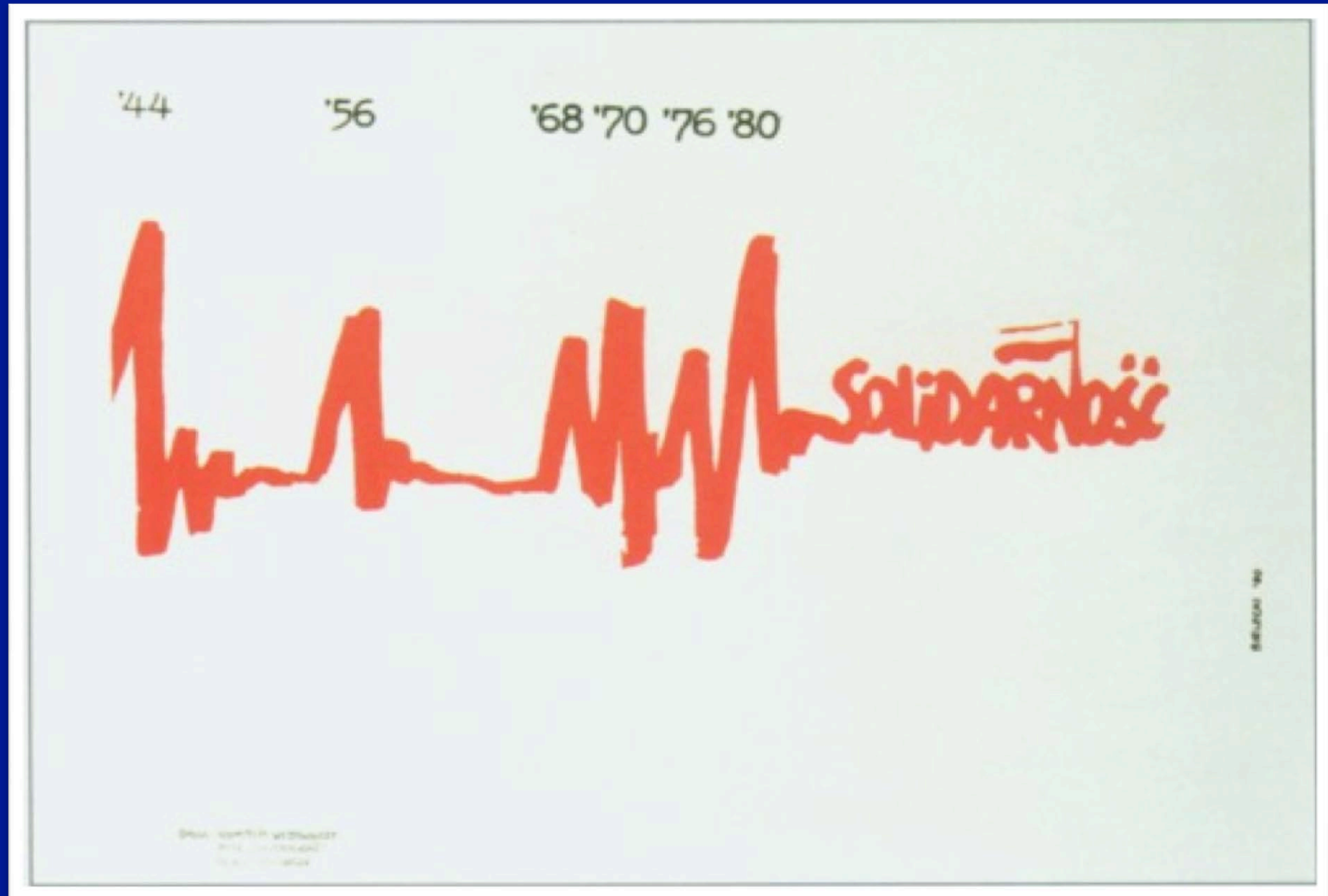
What Propitious Social Capital Can Civil Resistance Generate?

- Social capital (SC) of decentralized and pluralistic governance: a template for future power arrangements/redistribution of political power;
- SC of self-organization: a template for future institutionalized practices in civic realm;
- SC of individual and group empowerment: a template for civic activism and/or economic entrepreneurship;

What Propitious Social Capital Can Civil Resistance Generate?

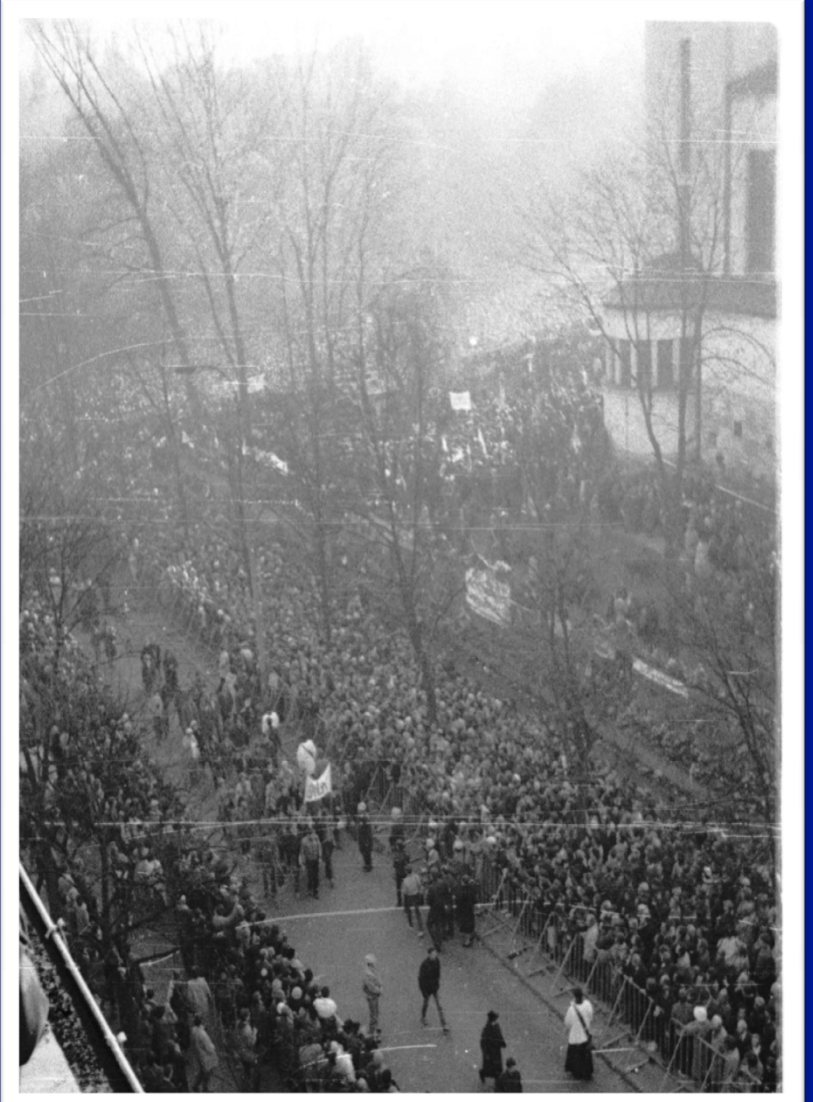
- SC of collective actions: a template for waging nonviolent actions in the future;
- SC of a contentious but self-limiting behavior: a template for moderation in political contention;
- SC of worldviews: a template for outward-oriented collective identities.

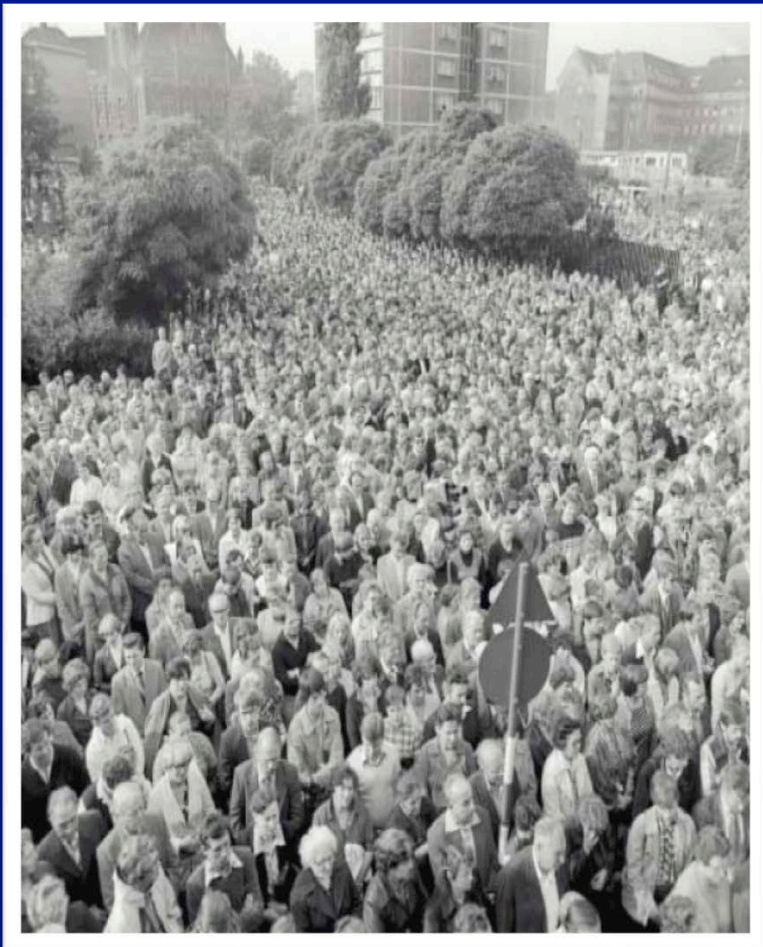
Historical 'Cardiogram' of Civil Resistance in Poland



1970s: The Rise of Organized Nonviolent Resistance in Poland

- “Set up your own committees instead of burning down party committees” – building a parallel polis – underground society liberated from the control of the government without overtly and directly challenging it
- Growth of organized mass opposition: intelligentsia, workers, priests, peasants, students, professional groups
- Catalytic events: constitutional amendments in 1975; workers’ strike in 1976; a killing and a funeral of a 21-year old student; election of the Polish pope, Helsinki process
 - Committee for the Defence of Workers
 - Movement for the Defence of Human and Civil Rights
 - Association for Academic Courses (underground flying universities)
 - Independent Student Association
 - Autonomous peasants ‘ associations





zbiórka na rzecz Zwycięstwa w Warszawie 2. CZERWIEC 1979 r. (Historia gółżond w 1979 i zarzewi publikacji). (For
Patriotyzm - CAI)



1980-81: The Rise of Solidarity

- Aug 1980 – workers' strikes & citizens' protests
- Sep 1980 – legalization of Solidarity
 - 9-10 million people joined
 - Solidarity in state institutions
 - Communist party loses 2-3 million members

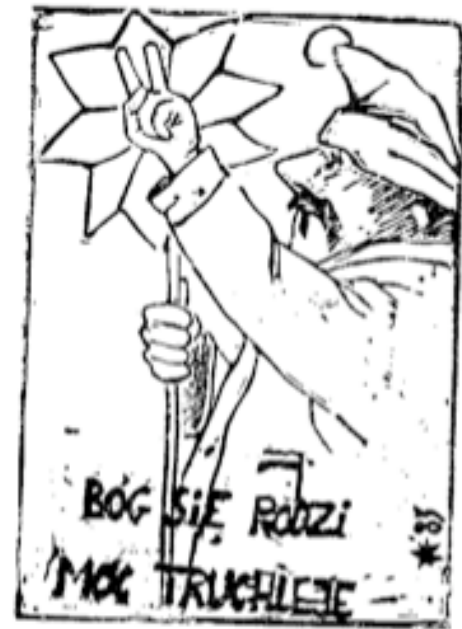


Phenomenon of Solidarity

- Solidarity – a **collective experience of living within the truth**
 - mutual responsibility, trust, loyalty
 - decentralized self-organizing, democratic and participatory decision-making, local autonomy
 - egalitarianism, individualism, solidarism
 - Independence, liberation tradition
 - internalized nonviolent discipline
 - supreme confidence in ultimate victory

Walesa- soft leadership

- Walesa as everyoneman



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Richness of strategies and tactics of nonviolent resistance (some examples):

- protest, leaflets, protests, marches, funeral, catholic masses
- slow-downs, occupation strikes with a catholic mass, hunger strikes, “Polish strikes”
- civil disobedience (e.g. against media censorship; communist holidays)
- underground socio-cultural institutions: radio, alternative music, films
- underground education: ‘flying university’ and libraries
- underground press: 2000 regular samizdat publications with millions of copies distributed, literature on how to strike, protest, and scheme/plot,
- commemoration of banned anniversaries,
- humor, jokes about security forces, and communist regime
- internationalization of Solidarity struggle
- emigration

1981-89: Developments Continue

- Dec 1981 – martial law – Solidarity goes underground (3000 arrested; 10.000 in ‘preventive detention’)
- 1983-86 – Solidarity leaders released
- 1982-89 –deterioration of economic situation
- 1987-88 – ongoing anti-communist civil resistance: strikes, demonstrations
- 1989 – round table discussions (Feb 6 – Apr 5)

Round-Table Talks: February 6 – April 5, 1989



Civil Resistance Capital

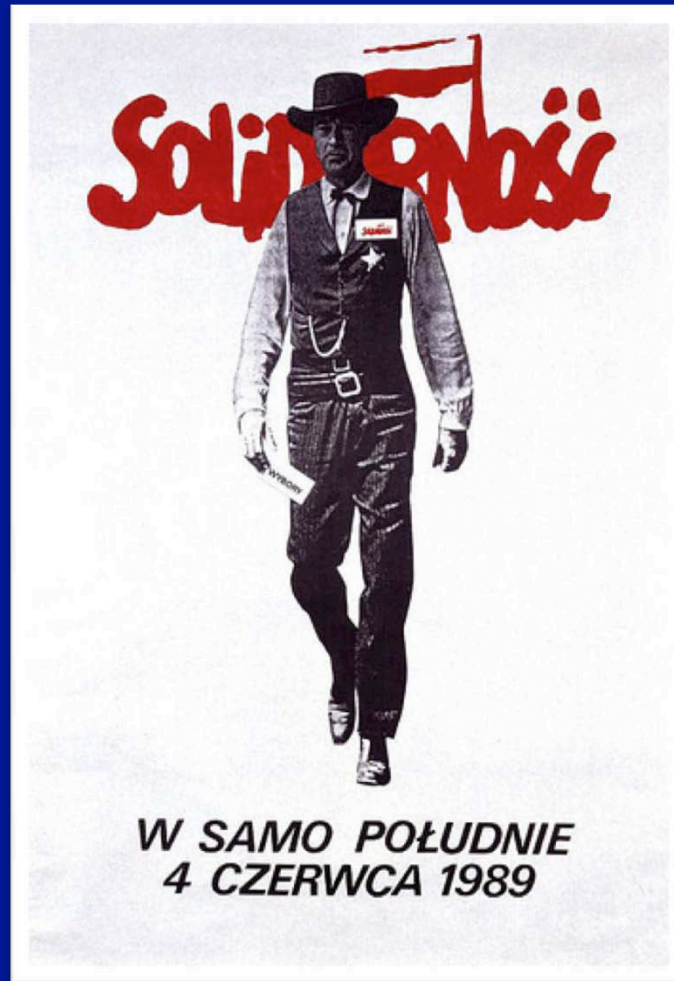
Moderation and Self-Limitation

- Nature of Solidarity rooted in coalition building, compromise, dialogue, and negotiations: led to a pacted transition initiated by a round-table talk (Feb-Apr 1989)
- Solidarity gave a hope to those on the government side that there is a life for them after communism

Self-Organization

- first open election campaign since 1945. Importance of self-organizing experience from civil resistance, including writing/publishing/marketing skills in winning parliamentary elections on June 4, 1989

High Noon – June 4, 1989



Civil Resistance Capital

Individual Empowerment and Entrepreneurship

- Societal desire for economic freedoms (a sizeable second economy under communism)- push for free market economic reforms in 1989/1990 and its eventual success
- High public support for market economic reforms throughout the painful transition: democratization did not unleash anti-marketization forces
- Poland considered more liberal in its economic outlook than France and Germany when it joined the EU in 2004

Civil Resistance Capital

Collective actions and their moderate nature

- Emergence of a self-limited “Rebellious Civil Society” in Poland after 1989
- 1989-1993 – the largest number of protests among all Central and Eastern European states – weak conventional means of channeling public views (parties & interest groups)
- Self-limited nature- a moderate, nonviolent character of the protests that did not challenge legitimacy of new political system or direction of general economic reforms but aimed at specific policies and its outcomes. They were *reformist protests* by large.
- Solidarity-dominated government was remarkably tolerant, selective and soft in the use of more coercive measures against protesters

Civil Resistance Capital

Decentralized Governance & Decision-Making

- The 1989 decentralization reform and the establishment of self-governing rural and urban communes with important local competencies and later regional consolidation. A civic organization was made responsible for training and education in governance of local representatives

Political empowerment and central power diffusion

- Fragmented political scene - 29 parties after the 1991 elections
- Fragmentation did not weaken democracy but strengthened it by increasing a political space for representing/voicing diverse interests
- Semi-presidential system: popularly elected president but his powers are limited and do not take precedence over the PM/government prerogatives

Civil Resistance Capital

Civic empowerment and self-organization

- A rapid rise of a number of civil society organizations: from 50 per year in the 1980s to 300 annually at the beginning of the 1990s
- Solidarity empowered women - women's growing engagement in opposition after 1981. Foundation for a rapid rise of the Polish feminist movement in after 1989.

Civil Resistance Capital

New Worldview: Poland's European Identity

- Solidarity – a return of Poland to the European community of democratic nations; a thousand year of a cultural linkage with Europe
- 1989- re-discovering of a new Polish identity within the European one - a strong European direction in the Polish foreign policy
- Solidarity surmounted a narrow-ethnic Polish nationalism by a wider appeal to more universal principles such as freedom, human rights, international peace, solidarity and community of democratic nations

QUESTIONS?

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