

Table 2. Applying the Strategy Web to Poland Solidarity Movement vs. Chinese Pro-Democracy Movement

Movements	1989 Polish Solidarity Movement	Score	1989 Chinese Pro-Democracy Movement	Score
Attributes				
Unity	Strong consensus among movement members concerning movement leadership, movement demands, and methods used	6	Weak consensus among students concerning movement leadership, movement demands, and methods used	1
Discipline	Nonviolent discipline was widespread and difficult to pierce through by radical flanks or agent provocateurs	6	Nonviolent discipline persisted for most of the struggle though it was not widespread; killing of soldiers occurred and agent provocateurs or movement members called to violence against security forces on the Tiananmen square	4
Repression management	Movement managed to turn regime repression against itself and increased movement momentum	6	Movement failed to turn regime repression against itself, which led to its demise	1
Participation/mobilization	Millions joined the movement estimated to constitute 20% of the total labor force, including workers, intellectuals, peasants and various professional groups	6	Predominantly students and intellectuals joined and participated in the movement with limited participation from workers and no involvement of peasantry	2
Geographical reach/control	Movement spread out to hundreds of cities and small towns across the country	6	Even though the protests occurred in more than 80 cities it did not spread to the countryside and movement efforts largely concentrated in and focused on the capital and its symbolic square Tiananmen	2
Public discourse	Public discourse in the country infused with demands for change and rights	6	Public discourse in the country was a mixture of demands for change and rights eventually drowned in the state discourse around stability, security, and order	3
Loyalty shifts	Millions of members of the communist party joined the Solidarity movement though military remained loyal to the regime	5	Failure to induce systemic and lasting large-scale shifts among civil servants, military and police or workers in key sectors such as communication, transportation or heavy industry in favor of the movement though some early limited defections or loyalty shifts among military units stationed in Beijing and even some members of the Communist Politburo did occur	2
Diverse actions	Movement adopted a gamut of nonviolent actions, from disruptive, constructive, to symbolic resistance	6	Movement embraced one major nonviolent action: an occupation of a symbolic space in the heart of the capital thus exposing itself to possible regime repression and limiting its repertoire of nonviolent actions	1
Legitimacy	Majority of people in the country perceived the movement as representing them	6	No visible majority of people that would include the largest social group in China - peasants - perceived the movement as representing them	3

Source: Bartkowski, Maciej. "The Strategy Web: A Tool to Visualize Civil Resistance-Led Conflict." *Minds of the Movement Blog*, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, July 1, 2019. https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/blog_post/the-strategy-web-a-tool-to-visualize-civil-resistance-led-conflict