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**On Evolution of Political Thought of “Solidarność” in Years 1980-1981.  
An Attempt at Model**

The purpose of lecture is an interpretation of ideological evolution of “Solidarność” in the light of theory of power in non-Marxian historical materialism authored by Leszek Nowak. In the first part, I will present main assumptions of materialistic-consciousness model of power in this theory. In the second part, I will concretize this model conceptualizing the influence of the critical discussion on the ideological evolution of the movement. In the third part, I will present mechanisms of ideological evolution of Solidarność movement in years 1980-1981.

Proposed concretization may be presented in the form of the following theses:

- in given social conditions a social class undertakes collective action in order to realize its social interest;
- ideological representatives of the class elaborated alternative ideological doctrines and programs postulating a strategy of realization of social interest;
- in result of critical ideological discussion, this program and doctrine will be accepted which contains the best justified strategy of realization social interest;
- if results of class action inspired by ideological doctrine will be convergent with the interest of this class, then a chosen ideological doctrine dominates the social consciousness of the class;
- if results of class action appear to be divergent from the interest of the class, it stimulates a next cycle of critical discussion in which the dominant doctrine will be modified (i) or replaced by another one which hitherto existed on the margins of the class consciousness but contained better justified strategy of action (ii).

Proposed concretization allows for interpretation of mechanisms of evolution of political thought of “Solidarność”. It is possible to distinguish three overlapping phases in its development: unionist, reformative-economical and cooptative-political. In the first phase (since September 1980 until February 1981) “Solidarność” was going to realize purposes which were typical for the trade-unions: struggle for rise of income, improvement of labor conditions, etc. However, it was appeared that in conditions of the totalitarian state-employee, this strategy was inefficient: rise of incomes led to inflation and shortage in the market. In the second phase of the ideological evolution (since February to October 1981), “Solidarność” proposed own projects of economical reforms. The critical discussion proved that reforms of socialist economy are impossible without reforms of political system (free elections, Social Council of National Economy, etc). Projects of political reforms were characteristic for the third phase of ideological evolution (from October to December 1981) of “Solidarność”.