Solidarity

The Great Workers Strike of 1980

Michael Szporer

Foreword by Mark Kramer
Contents

Acknowledgments ix

1: Introduction 1

Solidarity Songs 3

1 The Solidarity Movement, as Viewed from the Inside and the Outside 7
by Mark Kramer

2: The Strike 13

2 “The People Were the Hero”: Conversation with Jerzy Borowczak 15

3 The Making of a Solidarity Revolution: Conversation with Bogdan Borusewicz 23

4 Hoeing the Moon: Conversation with Bogdan Felski 41

5 Moments of Conscience: Conversation with Andrzej Gwiazda and Joanna Duda Gwiazda 47

6 A Time for My Convictions: Conversation with Aleksander Hall 61

7 The Morality of Truth: Conversation with Adam Hodysz 69

8 Looking for Alternatives: Conversation with Piotr Kapczyński and Anna Mlynik 79

9 “We Were All Equal at the Shipyard”: Conversation with Zenon Kwoka 87

10 The Revolution that Evolved: Conversation with Bogdan Lis 99

11 Solidarity of Attainable Goals: Conversation with Jacek Merkel 109

12 Woman of Iron: Conversation with Anna Walentynowicz 127
Contents

13 The Price of Freedom: Conversation with Lech Wałęsa 147
14 The Soup that Became a Downpour: Conversations with Krzysztof Wyszkowski and His Older Brother Błażej Wyszkowski 161

3: The Democratic Opposition 181
15 The Making of NOWA: Conversation with Grzegorz Boguta 183
16 The Fringe of the Possible: Conversation with Andrzej Celiński 195
17 The Godfather of the Polish Opposition: Conversation with Jacek Kuroń 207
18 The Spirit of Gazeta Wyborcza: Conversation with Adam Michnik 219
19 The Solidarity of My Generation: Conversation with Henryk Wujec 229

4: The Experts 247
20 The Berlin Wall Started Falling in the Gdańsk Shipyard: Conversation with Bronisław Geremek 249
21 Lining Up Democracy: Conversation with Tadeusz Mazowiecki 259
22 Always Right: Conversation with Jadwiga Staniszkis 271

5: Assessments 281
23 The Controversy over Lech Wałęsa: A Review 283
24 Managing Religion in Communist-Era Poland: Catholic Priests versus the Secret Police 287
25 Anna Walentynowicz and the Legacy of Solidarity in Poland 293

6: Appendix 305
26 Chronology 307
27 Declassified Documents from the Russian State Archive of Recent History 327
   Translated and Introduced by Mark Kramer 327

Works Cited 337
Index 341
About the Author 345