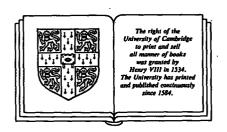
# PROFESSIONALS, POWER AND SOLIDARITY IN POLAND

A critical sociology of Soviet-type society

#### MICHAEL D. KENNEDY

Assistant Professor of Sociology, The University of Michigan



### **CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Cambridge New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney

## Contents

	List of tables pag Acknowledgments List of abbreviations  Introduction	ge x xi xiii
PA I	RT I SOLIDARITY AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION	
1	The historical genealogy of Solidarity Poland, socialism and the communist movement From world war to cold war Polish Stalinism Revisionism's promise and failure New struggles Workers, Gomulka and Gierek Gierek's economic and social transformation The religious prelude to Solidarity Conclusions	11 14 18 22 25 29 34 37 43 46
2	The nature and causes of Solidarity The immediate conditions of Solidarity The structural peculiarities of Poland in 1980–81: Solidarity as outcome A sociology of historicity: the meanings of Solidarity Structure and action: class analysis and resource mobilization Points of departure	49 49 57 64 72 81
3	The Solidarity movement as emancipatory praxis The evolutionary logic and choices of Solidarity Self-organization as self-defense Self-organization to self-management	84 86 87 102 vii

		4 -	_	• -
- 1 7	on	TP	n	ts

viii

Solidarity's strategy and praxis	109	
	Conclusions	113
	RT II SOLIDARITY AND THE THEORY OF SOVIET-TYPE CIETY	
4	Solidarity, modernization and class	121
	Industrialism, functionalism and normative commitments	121
	Marxism, class and democracy	128
	Trotsky, bureaucracy and democracy	131
	A new ruling class	140
	Self-management as praxis and utopia	142
	A new foundation for class relations	148
	The new praxis	154
	Reflections on Marxist critiques of Soviet-type society	158
5	Solidarity, culture and civil society	161
	The conceptual transformation of totalitarianism	162
	Cultural foundations of the independent society	165
	Sociological foundations of an independent culture	168
	Independent society as civil society	171
	Civil society and class in critical discourse	174
	The limits of civil society in social transformation	178
-	Classical liberalism as critical sociology	181
	The limits of culture in emancipatory transformation	184
	Reflections on independent-society critiques of actual	
	socialism	189
-	Theoretical foundations for a critical sociology of	
	Soviet-type society	191
6	A theory of power relations in Soviet-type society	. 196
U	Power resources	197
	Organizational hegemony and substantive rationality	202
	Organizational hegemony and economic development	207
	Delegated and autonomous power resources	209
	The power elite	212
	Vassalage	215
	Uncertainty and inertia	218
	Power and privilege in Soviet-type society	221
	Conclusions	227

Contents ix

PA	RT III PROFESSIONALS AND SOLIDARITY	
7	Professionals, power and prestige	237
	Intelligentsia and professionals	238
	Professional prestige	243
	Culture, prestige and power	246
	Gender, professionals and power	248
	Male professionals as a status group	250
	Prestige and status as power	254
	Conclusions	257
8	Engineers in Solidarity	259
	Engineers' alliances	<b>26</b> 0
	Solidarity and engineers	265
	Non-managerial engineers	269
	Managerial engineers	274
	Engineers and self-management	281
	Conclusions .	286
9	Physicians in Solidarity	290
	Professional authority and consumers' markets	291
	The development of socialist health care	292
	The development of a health crisis	<b>29</b> 5
	Physicians, power and privilege	301
	Solidarity and the health sector	309
	Physicians and Solidarity	323
	Solidarity health-section activities during 1981	330
	The transformation of socialist health care	333
	Conclusions	337
PA	RT IV CONCLUSION	
10	Critical sociology and Soviet-type society	343
	Professionals, power and Solidarity in Poland	343
	Civil society in the USSR and Poland	349
	Western Marxism	353
	Cultural identities and conflicts in civil society	359
•	Gender and emancipation in Soviet-type society	365
	Socialist–feminist pragmatism and the future of Soviet-type	
	society	368
	Notes	375
	References	391
	Index	414

## **Tables**

3. I	Selected occupations and union membership page	99
6.1	Position according to various economic indicators for	
	selected enterprises in Poland's "Fortune 500"	226
7.1	Prestige hierarchy of occupations in Poland, 1975	244
7.2	Criteria of occupational prestige	247
7.3	Pre-war and contemporary esteem rankings of occupations	
	by Warsaw inhabitants	252
7.4	Income, housing conditions and socio-occupational groups	
	in 1972 and 1982	255
8.1	Kind of social self-identification among workers, engineers	
	and a national sample of Poles	267
8.2	Ratio of engineering/technician wages to workers' wages in	
	industry	273
8.3	Social origin, occupation and self-evaluation of social	
	position and wages in the intelligentsia	274
8.4	Upper-level occupational groups and possibilities for	
	personal profit from workplace	276
8.5	Socio-political activity of managers at different stages of	
	their careers	277
9.1	Average net monthly earnings of physicians, middle-level	
	health-care personnel, mechanical engineers and the	
	average in the national economy and industry	303
9.2	Proportions of physicians reporting financial difficulties	304
9.3	Registered health-care personnel, and gender	308
9.4	Occupation, age, gender, party and old union membership	
	and officialdom in the health-care committees	311
9.5	Health-care strike-committee representatives	317
9.6	Solidarity signatories to the final agreement	322