

The Cycle Theory of Polish Revolution.

(A sketch)

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Abstract

The Cycle Theory of Polish Revolution is formulated to provide a fresh look upon the events 1944 – 2004 in Poland. The proposed theory develops further the idea of revolutionary cycles observed by Adams, who in the History of United States During the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison discovers the 12 year long cycles framing the American Revolutionary Period, and by Trocki in his History of the Russian Revolution.

We rediscover the 12 years long cycles within different Polish uprisings during the Polish Revolutionary period, together with new cycles of different durations. We show the correlation between the periodicity of different cycles and the social class, which bore the brunt of the particular series of uprisings.

To understand the subtle structure of Polish Revolutionary cycles, we use the Piaget and Garcia theory of a triad, which describes the historical development of a mathematical or scientific concept. We show that the development of revolutionary consciousness as manifested by the development of themes of different uprisings can be understood with the help of that same theory. Finally, guided by the role of 12 years long cycles during the revolutionary periods we postulate the nature and timing of the next revolutionary event.

Introduction. This year's events in Poland, in Hungary, Czech, even in Greece suggest that globalization efforts in Europe start touching more sensitive components of socio-economic milieu of new Europeans. Something is not entirely right. For the first time in 17 years the ex-leaders of the Polish Solidarity movement such as recently deceased Kuron, "apologize publicly for Balcerowicz", like Modzelewski who in the recent statement talks about the sense of the betrayal of the movement that took place in 1989-1991. It becomes equally painfully clear that such a betrayal and consequent transformations could have taken place only because of the absence of a theoretical point of view on the left, which could become the basis for the development of social, political and economical strategy. The presentation is seen as the attempt in this direction. Accordingly to the conclusions coming from this theory, the time is short, one should expect the next revolutionary act no later than 6,7 years. It would be good to be prepared this time.

The first draft of this presentation was written exactly 24 years ago, in the Spring and Summer of 1982, when, exactly like at the present time the Israeli tanks had been rolling through the plains of Lebanon.

Half a year earlier, in December of 1981, a beautiful and unique workers movement of Poland, called Solidarity had fallen forced underground by the military action of then the last communist leader of Poland Gen. Jaruzelski.

The second draft was written around 1989 when, through the re-birth of workers movement in Poland of 1988, through the coalition government of 1989, which ultimately had betrayed the aspirations of the Solidarity movement¹, the stage was prepared for a very rapid dismantling of the Soviet Communist empire. One of the essential statements of the proposed framework is that collapse of the Soviet communism had taken place during the Polish Revolutionary period, and consequently is its bi-product.

The third draft was written in 2001, when my daughter said, Daddy, I want to go to my roots. While driving through Poland exploring the roots of my daughter, it became clear that expanding the theory to take into account events starting in 1920, when during so-called miracle on the Vistula, Polish soldiers had stopped the westward advance of the Red Army undermining the general plan of the World Revolution, will help to see significantly more of that class that didn't yet play its full role and that is Polish peasantry. Applying the cycle theory to these events one rediscovers the nature of the peasant cycle. The role of agriculture and Polish peasants had been underlined thoroughly during the entry of Poland to EU, and what's more during the current government crisis in Poland.

Methodology of work.

1. We take into consideration all Polish uprisings of the communist era in Poland till 1980: that is 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976 and 1980. We state the class participation of every uprising together with the main themes/ideas which had been expressed in each uprising by the particular class. Graphing this information on the time axis, we obtain fascinating regularities which will govern the next step of analysis, from 1980 till present as well as back in time from 1944 till 1920, showing the consistence of the principles formulated in the first step. We take 1944 as starting point of the analysis because that is when officially the communist power had been formed in Poland, and the content of this discussion are the uprisings against that power

B) Using different colors we indicate graphically which social classes, had led and participated in each uprising. We find out that whereas in 1956 all social classes had taken part, workers, intellectuals, peasants and church as an institution, in 1968 only intellectuals, 1970, 1976 only workers, and finally in 1980, again all social classes were in action.

C) Using the first of the attached graphs, whose horizontal axis is the axis of time, let's indicate the main themes expressed in each of these uprisings. In 1956 we have the National theme, workers Self-government theme, peasant Land Distribution theme and the theme of Catholic religion. In 1968 we have the pure National idea exemplified by the immediate pretext of the uprising- cancellation of the famous 19 century romantic play "The Elders", which takes place during the Russian occupation of Poland at the time. In 1970 & 1976 we have the theme of "Meat" that is of deteriorating standards of living. Finally, in 1980 we have the Union theme, workers Self-government, the National and Catholic themes again as well as the peasant theme. The national theme had for the first

¹ Only recently first, clear cut statements of leaders of Solidarity give the evidence to the manner and degree of betrayal.

time expressed itself through the Responsibility for the Nation concept (Theses for the Congress of NSSZ “Solidarnosc”, Solidarnosc Weekly #29).

Looking carefully at the diagram, one can make the following observation: a distinct difference in the density of uprisings takes place during the 1968-1980. It coincides with the new Polish generation entering onto the national, socio-cultural stage: the generation of the sixties, the first Polish generation raised in the absence of war and during the communist power. The uprising 1956 was led by the older, previous generations of workers and intellectuals. The notion of the generation as the unit of historical analysis has been formulated in the eighties, as Schlesinger Jr. mentions in his Cycles of American Politics. It makes sense then, while looking for unambiguous patterns, to focus one's attention on the series of uprisings within that one generation.

Thematic Triples and their cycles

Focusing attention on the series of uprisings, one can distinguish first thematic triple brought forward by the workers' uprisings of 1970, 1976, 1980: in 1970 – the opposition to the increase of meat of prices was the immediate cause for the strikes in Gdansk at that time, in 1976 – in Radom and Ursus/Warsaw, similarly it was the demand to roll food prices back, whereas in 1980 we see the demand for the creation of the independent workers' union as, amongst others, the guarantee against the encroachment of communist power upon the standard of living. The success of 1970 and 1976 uprisings lay in the enforced roll back of the prices; their failure was in the lack of any institutional guarantees against the repetition of the attempts to lower the workers standard of living, to which the demand of the creation of the independent union was the proper response.

- We see here the development of interesting relationship between different themes: two attempts in the given direction followed by the third attempt, manifesting higher organizational structure, higher consciousness of the political situation and self-awareness of one's own political power - a triple of events within a theme and with workers as its bearers. We call it the workers triple. Note that the cycle of the workers' thematic triple within one generation is 6 and 4 years, showing the “acceleration” in the process of formation of revolutionary consciousness.

- The second thematic triple reveals itself within the larger time span of the Polish post war history 1944 – 1980, which, in distinction with the unequal periods of workers triple divides the time into 12 years long equal intervals: 1956, 1968 and 1980. We call it Polish national thematic triple, because in the course of these uprisings Polish national idea of independence from oppressions of the system had been at the explicit forefront of the demands. Moreover, It is important to note that the possibility of distinguishing the national theme as an independent structure not connected with other social and economic issues is the uprising of 1968 – the only uprising when this national theme was the only theme of the uprising. Again we see in the reasons, demands and results of the uprisings two attempts at the correction of the situation by (1956) forcing the change in the communist leadership towards Polish national stance expressed then by the leadership of Gomolka, (1968) rebelling against the cultural national oppression by the Soviet oriented power structure, and finally, assuming the responsibility for the nation expressed by the congress of NSSZ Solidarnosc in 1980. The last move taken, the responsibility for the nation is again on a higher level of national consciousness than the previous two attempts. The most important conceptually aspect of the national triple is its equidistant time division into 12 years. Finally let's point out that the first step in the creation of the

communist system in Poland took place in 1944 – creation of the Lublin government in July, followed by the Warsaw uprising in the September of 1944 against German occupation-both events of national significance, we see that the whole length of 36 years between 1944 and 1980, is divided, by the national theme of Polish uprisings into 12 years long intervals of time. Below we point to the striking similarity of this, equidistant in time series of national uprisings to the cycles of the revolutionary periods in US (United States) and SU (Soviet Union).

In fact, the twelve years long cycles between critical events of the revolutionary periods are not rare in history. A brief look at the American and Russian revolutions will convince us that they were framed by similarly distanced cyclical events. Henry Adams, an American historian at the end of 19 century, writes in the History of the United States During the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison (NY1989-1891): “A period of about twelve years measured the beat of the pendulum. After the Declaration of Independence (1776) twelve years were needed to create the efficient constitution (1787-1788), another twelve years of energy brought the reaction against the government thus created, (1800) _ Jeffersonian revolution, first peaceful change of the governing elite considered first successful confirmation of the American experiment, and the third period of twelve years (1812) war was ending towards still greater energy.” Further analysis of cycles in American history done by A.Schlesinger, Sr. (Path to the Present,1949) suggests strongly that the twelve years long cycle is indeed a characteristic of the Revolutionary period only. Later periods as distinguished by the author are 17,12,20,7,32,18,12,16 with the average of 16.75 years-quite away from the twelve years long ones as well as from their precision. How many such periods do frame the revolution? Adams mentions only those periods, which span the republic, we are interested in those that span the revolutionary period, which we may conjecture starts before the creation of the republic. Thus we add the date of 1763 – the end of French and Indian wars. The thirteen years long interval of 1763-1776 was the time during which the quest for the American republic had entered upon its victorious path.

Short recall of Russian history shows that the Russian revolution is framed by similar series of important dates: 1905 – First revolution, 1917 – Second revolution, 1929- collectivization, 1941 – war with Germany, 1953 – death of Stalin. We could add to those dates another one, namely 1892-1894, the time during which Lenin wrote his book “What the friends of the people are and how they fight social democrats”, where for the first time the Russian Marxist idea had been formulated. Similarly here the 12 years long intervals are characteristic of the revolutionary period only. Before 1892-1894 the most significant socially oriented decision was taken 30 years earlier, 1863-1864, to abolish serfdom in Russia. Interestingly, another 30 year long cycle in Russian history has emerged on the other end of the revolutionary cycle: the period 1956-1986, framed by the rise of Khrushchev and Gorbachev. Thirty years long cycles are present along other national and social domains: in US it's the cycle of inflation, in Poland it was the cycle of national uprisings in 19 century: Kosciuszko – 1794, November uprisings 1830/1831 and January uprising of 1863. The data strengthens the hypothesis that 12 years cycle is the unique characterization of the Revolutionary period in a given nation. Consequently, observing the similarity of 12 years long cycles of the national theme in Poland with that of American and Russian revolutions, we can conclude that Poland has been going

through the Revolutionary period, and that events in Poland have been of significantly different origin than those in Hungary in 1956 or those in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

- The third thematic triple with the similar inner structure can also be distinguished in the moves of the communist power: 1956 – appearance of Gomolka as the communist leader, 1970 – change from Gomolka to Gierek, and finally change from Gierek to, ultimately Jauzelski with the imposition of the military dictatorship in 1981. The first two attempts to hold power are on a lower level as compared with the military takeover, which brought the power to the higher level of exercised oppression upon the society.

- Important note: among the themes that did not occur three times but only twice in the history of uprisings during this period is the theme of workers Self-government and the Peasant theme both visible in 1956 and 1980. Both of the themes look like unfinished triples, possibly with the period of duration of 24 years. The events of 2004, Polish entry to EU with the particular difficulties of Polish agriculture in accommodating to the requirements of Europe seems to fit the conclusions from the proposed theory. If so, then today's government in Poland, which includes peasant Self-defense party might be exactly the final realization of the peasant triple; what's missing is the equivalent of workers Self-governments at the present time².

Initial Summary

1. Taking into account the precision of 12 years long periods of the national triple in Poland, and comparing with exactly the same precision characterizing both American and Russian revolutions, we assert that Poland has gone through the revolution of similar type as the other two.
2. Each main class and/or social group had associated itself with a certain theme within that revolution. Every theme has a characteristic period, after which the theme repeats itself. An interesting regularity can be observed governing the occurrence of the theme: it occurs twice on the similar level of intensity and organization, the third time it does so on a significantly higher level. Does it have to occur three times? No, the minimum number of occurrences is two, when it can develop either through the conscious action taking into account the experience and lessons one can draw from the first two cases, or it will develop through the third uprising. In fact during the Spring – Summer of 1988 one could observe a confirmation of the assertion. The proposal for the negotiations between L. Walesa and Gen. Kiszczak, the leader of Internal Security Forces at the time, arrived not after the first series of strikes, but already after the second in the Summer. Clearly the communist power in Poland learned through its own experience that the third

² At this moment we can make a contact with the question of K. Modzelewski, one of the leaders of the Solidarity movement, who is recently asking (Chory i pienia, 2006) “Why do we see such a dangerous undermining of social ties? It's only a quarter of a century passed from the time when Solidarity movement joining together intellectuals, with workers and peasant unions around the common goals. How come today they are so separate as if they have nothing in common?” From the point of view of the presented framework the answer is simple. Comparing the composition of the events taking place in 2004, where we see the completion of two triples as well, the national one and the peasant triple (1956, 1980, 2004), with the composition of the events of 1980, we also see the absence of one theme, that of Workers Self-government, for whom 2004 would have been the event completing this thematic triple. It's missing, and together with that the notion of Social Justice, which was embodied in the Self-government theme is missing as well. Equally missing are the bearers of this theme, the workers of large industrial enterprises with its vision and the self-awareness of their strength.

- time the fight would have gone on a higher level and it was safer to draw the lesson earlier. Hence the triples, one may suggest, represent stages in learning, in the development of consciousness.
3. It is important to observe differences in the periods of the cycles which might suggest different time periods of reaching revolutionary consciousness; taking 1956 uprisings as the first in the series where all classes participated, the intelligentsia and the national theme it took 12 years to develop, for workers, 14 years and for peasants 24 years. We want to also note the difference of time between the defensive action of workers leading to the creation of the independent union, which, with the third occurrence, was the culmination of the “meat” triple, and the Self-government theme which in 1980 occurred only 2nd time.
 4. Finally, as a digression special for the physics audience of this presentation, I would like to point out to the unusual similarity of the first two attached diagrams to...the spectrum of the atom of hydrogen! Could it be that what is being investigated here is the spectrum of the Atom of the Spirit of Polish Nation?! Note the high precision of the periods of the cycles, which metaphorically, might correspond to the series of Balmer, Paschen and Lyman.

The nature of the thematic triples? structure has been difficult to nail down. Originally, the only guide had been a familiar observation that in many fairy tales, the rule of three is one of the main rules operating in the story, where the first two events are either unsuccessful or neutral, with the third one being the final when the hero (heroine) has to make the victorious attempt. In other words, the first two contain certain hint the discovery of which helps in finding the right move. The help in deciphering the meaning of the structure came with the book published for the first time in 1983, that is around the time when the ideas here were formulated, called *Psychogenese et Histoire des Sciences* by Piaget and Garcia, from where a similar conclusion can be formed about the role of the triple. The authors formulate a very simple, quite well known to the practitioners, yet very profound mechanism of thinking underlying the conceptual development of a scientific idea (or of mental schema of a concept), called the Triad of Piaget and Garcia. This mechanism, to large degree also a result of cognitive AI approaches, states, in a telegraphic shorthand, following principles and stages of the concept formation:

Definition: A schema of a concept is the network relationships between different components of the underlying concept. Piaget and Garcia assert that the development of such a schema proceeds along the following stages:

Intra stage is characterized by a focus on individual items in isolation from other procedures and mathematical objects of a similar nature.

Inter stage is characterized by the construction of some relationships between different processes and objects.

The trans stage is characterized by the individual having constructed a full structure underlying the relationships discovered.

Piaget and Garcia invoke the concept of reflective abstraction as the mental tool with the help of which a learner progresses along that path of development; the reflection upon the individual objects in the Intra- stage, their similarities and differences allows to construct the relationships between mathematical objects, the nodes of the schema and to enter the Inter- stage, while the reflection upon the formed relationships of the Inter stage helps to proceed to the Trans stage in discovering the overall structure.

Note that only two individual objects, or instances of the concept are necessary to start the development sequence. Already between the two isolated instances a relationship between them can be formulated, through which the elementary synthesis of the instances can be formed. Note that this case is unique also in that the Inter and Trans stage coalesce into one stage, third stage of synthesis. Consequently, we re-cover the triples of the Polish Revolutionary cycles in the sequence of two individual instances followed by their elementary synthesis as the third instance. This argument suggests that the thematic triples discussed here indeed represent the formation of revolutionary consciousness through the development of the adequate concepts following Piaget and Garcia description.

Consequently, KOR could have happened only after 1976 uprising and not before; similarly Gen. Kiszczak's approach to Solidarity in 1988 could take place only after the second series of uprisings in the Fall of that year. Finally, the graph of Polish Revolution – that is its spectrum reveals in a new context a very special role played by an individual person, JP II. The analysis of his role is very important because it allows to understand the spontaneous, correct in my opinion, message of the Polish Revolution.

Everything what was stated till now, the whole analysis could be stated purely in terms of concepts of the social class and development of its consciousness. JP II's unexpected assumption of the papal throne in 1978 and his subsequent arrival to Poland in 1979 introduces a purely individual element into the framework developed so far. And what's equally important, it became the second element in the catholic triple, the third being the degree of self-awareness as catholic nation reached Poland in 1980.

Consequently, from a larger perspective we see the strength of Solidarity of 1980 as the manifestation of the completion of three independently developing triples of consciousness', workers standard of living/union triple, intellectuals/ national triple, and the catholic triple.

Because of this correlation, it's clear that the role of Wojtyla as an individual assumes exactly the same structural nature and strength as the parallel manifestations of social Forces. Why is it important to underline it here? Noting another individual whose death delineated the last one of the precise cycles of Russian revolution, the role of Wojtyla as an individual in the formation of the catholic triple in Poland suggests that Individuals as well as Social forces play essential role in the formation of the revolutionary period.

Having stated that, we can ask finally the fundamental question. What was the Polish revolution about? Was it purely a national rebellion, was it purely a socially class inspired event, what was it and what is its message?

American revolution, the first one characterized with 12 years long periods was the revolution of the individually based democracy and market capitalism, Russian revolution, the second one characterized by 12 years long periods was the revolution for class-based social justice. One talked a lot in the end of eighties and the beginning of nineties] quite correctly about the spontaneous, purely anticommunist nature of Polish

revolution. From the philosophical point of view, the presented theory suggests a different interpretation. First, while definitely being spontaneous, Polish Revolution has had a very precise structure, which has been revealed in the midst of spontaneity of Polish uprisings; this structure has a social class theme as well as the individual theme. Hence, I want to suggest that Polish Revolution, in its internal structure the inheritor of both previous revolution fights for the constructive and fruitful composition of two rival ideas, two rival systems, that of the individual freedom and that of the social justice. The recent dissatisfaction manifested in the countries of Eastern Europe which joined EU with its market oriented philosophy and practice, suggests that the introduced new structures do not correspond to the state of development of these societies. According to the presented point of view, the new political and economical structures are inadequate because they do not represent the composition of two rival systems, one based on individual freedom, and another based on the principle of Social Justice.

Predictability and falsifiability of the theory

Every point of view, which claims the rank of a contemporary scientific theory has to be able to fulfill the condition of falsifiability, that is it needs to state its predictions, which can either be verified or shown incorrect. On the basis of the analysis performed till 1980, as it actually was done in 1982, one can formulate several general predictions:

1. If the periodization of the national theme is indeed 12 years as claimed here, the next moments of the future history when the national theme will occur should take place in 1992 and in 2004. In fact that what happened; in 1992 there was a short lived highly nationalistic government of Olszowski in Poland, while 2004 witnessed a fundamental event of national character that is entry of Poland to EU. What's equally interesting is that this significant event was immediately followed by the next victory of the nationally oriented present government.
2. If indeed the periodization of the peasant triple is 24 years, then after events of 1956 and 1980 when Polish peasants with their demands were actively present in the uprisings, their time is also at 2004. In fact one of the main issues connected with the entry of Poland to EU was exactly the role of the Polish agriculture and the fate of Polish peasants. The presence and the fundamental role of the Self-Defense (Samoobrona) peasant party in the contemporary government can be seen as the culmination of the peasant triple.
3. It is important to notice that, similarly, if workers Self-government has the period of 24 years than its culmination should also be shown in 2004. This theme has been painfully absent in 2004, and the leaders of the movement more openly than ever start talking in Poland about the act of betrayal of Polish workers which had taken place during the negotiations of the Round Table of 1989. In fact, one can say that the revolutionary theme had left Poland exactly at that time. Only recently I realized that the period of twelve years counting from that time had ended in the year 2001. Consequently, the events of 9/11 might be seen as the first cycle of the new revolutionary period, this time the revolutionary period of the World at large. Pushing this idea to its completion we can attempt to predict the time of the next event characterizing the revolutionary period of the World to take place around the year 2012/2013.

There is one last comment to be stated here. One could ask a question, whether a similar period of 12 years with the national theme can be found before 1944. Surprisingly, I

found that whereas there was no uprising of the national character, there was a purely peasant uprising in 1933 in Lichmanowa, near Lodz, which in the words of Davis, the historian of the modern Polish history, can be characterized as the peasant guerilla war. The re-discovery of this uprising reinforces the claim that peasant theme occurs every 24 years during the Polish modern history. If we realize that the event in 1933 is exactly 13 years after the year 1920 – the formative year of Polish Nation, then we obtain a very interesting theme diagram, which indicates the alternation between purely national theme events and the events with peasant themes, whose meaning waits to be clearly understood.

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