Chapter 13

The Extension of Solidarity and the Polish Role in Ukrainian Refugee Management

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ABSTRACT

Russian aggression has been once again triggered towards Ukraine after 2014 but this time it has come with a more catastrophic collapse of a democratic country. Russia attacked Ukraine on 24 February 2022 resulting in a mass migration of Ukrainian citizens towards Polish borders and other European nations. As to data, most war refugees fled to Poland, and the Polish government and its citizen welcomed most of them. This chapter explores the Polish role in the management of Ukrainian refugees and in providing them with facilities for immediate integration into society. Although Poland is frequently regarded as a country that wants to be a 'solidarity superpower', the article also analyses the status of Polish facilitation of Ukrainian war refugees. Recently, the Polish government regarded its vision on migration and refugee accommodation as 'flexible solidarity'. Likewise, qualitative content and discourse analysis are applied to generate Poland as a 'solidarity superpower'. The initial finding indicated that Poland has gained more advantages in being a regional player in Europe.

INTRODUCTION: THE CONCEPT OF SOLIDARITY

The word 'solidarity' is defined as unity, harmony, unification, or/and agreement between individuals which means showing support for a cause or a joint responsibility for the consequences. But the term 'solidarity' originally derived from the Latin word '*soliditas*' and the modern meaning inspired by the Latin 'in soldium' meaning 'in entirety' from Roman Law that expressed as joint payment responsibility of family members (Grosse & Hetnarowicz, 2016, p. 37). Its sense is also found in the French word

'*solidarité*' as per Encyclopaedia in 1765 and Napoleon's Code Civil in 1804. The term was widely started using by the international labour movement and adopted in German and English to be politicised. This world becomes popular in social science, especially in sociology, political science, and international affairs (Laitinen & Pessi, 2014, p. 1). French social philosopher Émile Durkheim was one of the first that brought the concept of solidarity into social science as a sociological understanding in his writings as solidarity, mechanical, and organic solidarity. He frequently refers to 'collective representations and solidarity.' Mainly, his mechanical solidarity understands that he 'sees people as they group together in a social unit or in an association' (Mechtraud, 1955, p. 23-24). In the 19th century, solidarity became a liberal meaning of social integration and started to be used by sociological and political thought in France. In the 19th and 20th centuries, it started as the prototype for labour movement solidarity as an application of concepts like brotherhood, fraternity, and unity (Stjernø, 2011, p. 156, 158-159).

Hannah Arendt brought a clearer picture in her political thought as 'collective responsibility' on solidarity that "people establish deliberately and, as it were, dispassionately a community of interest with the oppressed and exploited" (Bernauer, 1987, p. 43). Reshaur (1992, p. 726) viewed solidarity mainly as a "political since national identity usually has political as well as cultural significance". Solidarity as a concept was also conceived through Catholic social teaching across Europe over the last century. The purpose is to provide a social norm in the form of the social obligations of individuals, communities, institutions, and nations. Pope John Paul II referred to that "solidarity helps us to see the 'other' — whether a person, people or nation — not just as some kind of instrument" (Beyer, 2014, p. 8-9). He extended the concept, which became a key value for the Church as a form of social teaching about solidarity, especially in Poland. His Polish origin and deeply rooted in polish society, his association with the labour struggle in Poland. John Paul II also wrote about wages and social issues, including health care and social insurance in 1981. Lech Wałęsa became a very influential leader in the labour union struggle and he worked for worker solidarity (Stjernø, 2011, p. 164).

In the 1980s, solidarity (Polish *Solidarność*) started practically using by the Polish trade union, which was suppressed by the soviet bloc Polish government. It all started with a strike over rising food prices, poor economic conditions, and labour rights as resistance to the communist Polish government at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk. Lech Wałęsa who was an electrician by trade, became a voice for freedom of religious and political expression, and Gdańsk become the home of the solidarity movement. Solidarity was formally founded by the delegates of 36 regional trade unions under the name of '*Solidarność*' on September 22, 1980 (Britannica, 2020). After that, the solidarity movement has been speeded up and spread very fast not only in Poland but also in other parts of central and eastern Europe as a demand for freedom from the dependence on the Soviet Union. Then, 'S' was accepted as a permanent element in Polish society (Friszke, 2011). The solidarity movement was one of the factors behind the disintegration of the Soviet Union along with Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) in the late 1980s. In the second phase of Solidarity, it re-emerged to push a revolution against the Soviet Union, and solidarity becomes a symbol of the group of public dissatisfaction. In the results, solidarity was legally recognised as the political party and it defeated the Communist Party in the first free election of the Senate in 1989. It was only possible after the Round Table Agreement between independent labour unions and the communist government. The solidarity-based party won 99 per cent of the seats in the Polish Parliament, and Poland become a democratic republic (Shvangiradze, 2022).

However, Hayden (2020) perceived it as the solidarity umbrella which "sheltered all political persuasions – anti-communists, communists who rejected Soviet communism, nationalists, neo-Marxists, Trotskyists and soon-to-be liberal marketers of all shades". At that time, Solidarity was shaped as the

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