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In God's Playground

Lucifer Unemployed

by Aleksander Wat,
translated by Lillian Vallee,
foreword by Czeslaw Milosz.
Northwestern University Press,
123 pp., \$17.95; \$8.95 (paper)

Killing the Second Dog

by Marek Hlasko,
translated by Tomasz Mirkowicz.
Cane Hill Press, 117 pp., \$8.95 (paper)

Missing Pieces

by Stanislaw Benski,
translated by Walter Arndt.
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich/A Helen
and Kurt Wolff Book, 160 pp., \$19.95

Bohin Manor

by Tadeusz Konwicki,
translated by Richard Lourie.
Farrar, Straus and Giroux,
240 pp., \$19.95

Rondo

by Kazimierz Brandys,
translated by Jaroslaw Anders.
Farrar, Straus and Giroux,
265 pp., \$19.95

The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman

by Andrzej Szczypiorski,
translated by Klara Glowczewska.
Grove Weidenfeld, 204 pp., \$16.95

John Bayley

Joseph Conrad once wrote to an English friend enquiring, rather querulously, "What is all this about Jane Austen?" Conrad could not see the point of Jane Austen, nor was his friend able to enlighten him: indeed, it sounds rather as if the skepticism of the great Polish-English novelist made the friend himself begin to wonder whether there could really be anything in Jane Austen's novels after all. No other literary form is so instinctively and involuntarily national, perhaps because nationalism was a growing force when the novel entered its dominant period.

But the novel's brand of nationalism is not a simple matter. It often seems to contradict or undermine the national archetype. John Bull and Jane Austen have nothing very obviously in common. Yet there is a certain logic in the fact that the novel in Poland should concern itself with philosophical and metaphysical questions, with the question, "What should we do, if?"—with extreme situations, hypothetical or actual. Poland's very existence, historically, might seem to depend on such a query. Being Polish has often in the past been a state of mind and spirit rather than a matter of topographical belonging. Conrad remained haunted by the fact that he had "jumped": that like his own Lord Jim he had abandoned ship, in his case the native country. It made him a novelist who asked the basic questions—How does one survive? By what does one live? His nationality, put into works of fiction, expressed itself in abstract terms. Life, the destructive element, had to assume in his novels the plots and places that fiction requires, but its cold reality cannot be localized, even in relation to the sea. No wonder he could not understand Jane Austen, for whom a house, a village, a family, were the essential beginning and end of any fictional enterprise.

Polish fiction is of course rich and varied, but it may be that all of it is at least touched by the ultimate bareness and extremity of intellectual perception that is so marked in Conrad. Aleksander

July 19, 1990

Wat, one of the most original Polish writers of the postwar era, gave his own fantastic version of it in *Lucifer Unemployed*, a series of wholly bizarre stories first published in Warsaw in 1927. The second, "Kings in Exile," begins with a sentence that might make us think we are back in the sea world of Conrad's *Nigger of the Narcissus*. "The first mate of the English ship *Cromwell* peered at the horizon...." But in another second

death. Wat had had an eventful career and Milosz's tape machine did not lack for material. Wat had been locked up by the Polish authorities for being a Communist in the Twenties, had escaped to the Russian zone after the German occupation of Poland, was again arrested, and subsequently did time in what he calculated to be as many as fourteen prisons.

After the war he returned to Poland from Soviet Central Asia, where he had been searching for his wife and son, who

Tadeusz Konwicki



we are engulfed in an anarchic world in which nothing makes sense even though all the ingredients seem familiar and recognizable, the sort of world which surrealists and futurists had perceived as coming into objective existence after the chaos of the Great War. Wat was one of the writers who rose to the challenge and tried to find his own correlative fictional world to express what had happened.

He wrote about the nature of that world in *My Century*, a book of memoirs published in London in 1977, and by the University of California Press at Berkeley eleven years later, with the subtitle *The Odyssey of a Polish Intellectual*.

What I put together in *Lucifer* was a confrontation of all humanity's basic ideas—morality, religion, even love.... But that cerebral questioning and discrediting of love was thorough, taken right to the end. The discrediting of the very idea of personality... everything in general brought into question. Nothing. Period. Finished. *Nihil*.

Czeslaw Milosz put on a tape-recorder many of Wat's recollections at Berkeley in the two years Wat visited there (he died in Paris in 1967), and his collected poems were published in Polish after his

had been deported there. He was soon in trouble with the new Polish regime and forbidden to publish his books, and although things improved in 1956 a serious illness forced him to emigrate soon afterward.

Wat's poems and prose writings made him a cult figure in Poland, even to the younger generation who had grown up after the war, but as with many cult figures it is not easy for the outsider today to see what all the stir was about. Wat's own comments on *Lucifer*, as quoted, have a decidedly passé sound about them. Yet he remains an archetypal man of his time, a figure, as Milosz says, "sorely tried by history," who did not live to see the collapse of communist dogmas "considered untouchable in his day." Wat is interesting on the dialectic he analyzed in himself, the desire that burned in the intellectual, not in the man in the street, for that single "global answer to negation" that communism represented. Like Conrad's destructive element, the deep sea itself, it seemed the only medium that could keep the intellectual afloat.

There is a certain irony in the fact that *Lucifer Unemployed*, which was first published in 1927, takes as its key figure the Christian devil, who is searching for an appropriate occupation. He

certainly found it in the message and method of the new Party. Wat compares his early experience to a Graham Greene short story in which some young hoodlums destroy for a joke the whole interior of a man's house: when he returns it looks perfectly normal from the outside but the inside is a void. He compares himself to those young thugs who have stripped the house, "throwing the key into the Vistula," and throws himself upon the only faith that can now exist. The lasting impression of the black joke in *Lucifer Unemployed* lies in its intuition, below the book's conscious level, of what was ultimately to become of that faith.

Fantasy remains a favorite form among Polish writers, although its texture and technique have altered. Swift or Voltaire would be familiar with Wat's satiric vision, which indeed depends in some degree on the reader's own recognition of their traditional way of making fun of things, as when *Lucifer*, the only being left in the universe who believes in God, nonetheless offers his services to an atheist magazine. That kind of irony would be ignored by Marek Hlasko and his readers, who have, as it were, moved into a world in which the literary medium has become as random, and almost as meaningless, as what it is saying. *Killing the Second Dog* reads like a film script, with the same kind of unpointed and inconsequential dialogue, and many of Hlasko's short novels became films, such as *Next Stop—Paradise*, even though they had been refused publication by the Warsaw censorship.

After leaving Poland, where his rise to fame as a writer had been meteoric, he ended up in Israel, working as a truck driver and manual laborer. Israel is the setting of *Killing the Second Dog*, which has a certain zest as an account of pimping and boozing in Tel Aviv, but whose aimless improvisation becomes predictable and soon begins to pall. Hlasko had led an equally rough and tough life in Poland when young, and he died, worn out, of an overdose of sleeping pills in Wiesbaden in 1969. He was only thirty-five.

Stanislaw Benski's delightful stories, *Missing Pieces*, are very different. They were written, the author remarks, in order to preserve the memory of the last Jews in Poland. Benski, who died in 1988, was the director of a nursing home for old people in Warsaw, and many of his stories have to do with Jews whom he met under his care, invalids in mind as much as in body, who still feel imprisoned in the ghetto or the extermination camp. The author's understanding of their psychology, and the ways in which they still strive in their last years to come alive again, is profoundly moving. In a perceptive introduction to *Killing the Second Dog*, in which he observes that it can be "read" like a film, which may account for its contemporary appeal, Professor Thompson Bradley also compares Hlasko's "phantasmagoric vision of the grotesque reality of everyday life" with the work of Bruno Schulz, who was killed on the street by a Gestapo officer during the war. Certainly Schulz's stories—*The Street of Crocodiles* and *Under the Sign of the Hourglass*—present their own kind of phantasmagoria, but it is, so to speak, a phantasmagoria of coziness and domesticity, not the harshly alienated world of modern Polish fantasy.

And so Schulz for me is more like

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Benski than he is like Glasko, and particularly more like these touching tales by Benski of Jews enclosed in their own past, the "missing pieces" of present day diasporic memory. Benski tells us that he writes "about the last residents of small villages, the *shetlach*, about the pious and impious, the honest and dishonest, the intelligent and the simple, about those who are forever seeing the ghetto walls and the chimneys of the crematoria." Neither Schulz nor Benski is in the least like Kafka or Gogol, the other two writers Professor Bradley mentions in connection with Hlasko, for theirs is the central and by now wholly cosmopolitan way of looking at the world through the eyes of a matter-of-fact incredulity. The specifically Polish version of this vivid incredulity draws both on the traditions of the movies and of abstract philosophy, the two reinforcing each other unexpectedly. In Tadeusz Konwicki's romance, *Bohin Manor*, a third element is added, that of historical fantasy: figures and periods of the past are sandwiched together in the enclave of a small Lithuanian estate presided over by Helena Konwicka, the author's reconstructed, or rather reimagined, grandmother.

Again the movie camera seems the medium that persuades us of the possibility, the absolute normality indeed, of every anachronism that comes within its focus. It may be the rear end of a Polish Fiat, unexpectedly projecting from the hay barn of the manor in the years that followed the subjection of the 1863 uprising against Russia, or the appearance of a heavily mustached, Josef Dzhughashvili (the real name of Stalin) in the role of the local chief of police. There is also a man-eating monster roaming the Lithuanian woods called Schicklgruber—the real name of Hitler. The titles themselves, of Konwicki's previous novels—*A Dreambook for Our Time*, *Anthropos-Specter-Beast*, *The Polish Complex*—convey the kind of element in which his imagination works. A recent film of his, *Lava*, which was based on Mickiewicz's poem *Forefathers' Eve*, was shown at the 1989 Moscow Film Festival.

The weird and wonderful qualities of *Bohin Manor*, which never loses its readability as well as its "seeability," make unsurprising Neal Ascherson's statement that Konwicki is the most popular writer in Poland today. But he is also highly exportable. The love story he tells—of Helena's betrothal to a neighboring gentleman and her falling for a strange and fascinating Jewish visitor—gives the book the kind of romantic suspense of which Walter Scott and Sienkiewicz were masters. But of course Konwicki is much more conscious and sophisticated in his manipulation of the complex strands of Polish history and society. In an introduction to his excellent translation, Richard Lourie emphasizes the coolness and evenhandedness with which Konwicki depicts and

imagines his historical fantasy. The strange Jewish figure who roams the world, suffering, dying and returning to life, finding a brief incongruous resting place in the boudoir of the lady of Bohin manor, reminds us that the Poles too have had their perpetual diaspora; and that, as Andrzej Szczypiorski, author of *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman*, puts it, "Poland without its Jews is no longer the Poland it once was."

Nor is Konwicki indulgent toward the old Polish magnates themselves, the Radzivils and Potockis who once ruled their provinces with a rod of iron. Meanwhile a nice boy, who will afterward become Lenin, is growing up in the house of a school inspector; and Konwicki boldly improvises a prose poem by the young Adam Mickiewicz, whose verse epic set in Lithuania, *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), is, as Richard Lourie points out, even more central to Polish literature than are Pushkin's poems to Russia. Pushkin's son himself is a character in *Bohin Manor*, seeking to atone for his father's poem "To the Slanderers of Russia," dashed off after the Polish-Lithuanian uprising of 1831, and still relevant today for its imperious claim that all "Slav streams" should merge in the "Russian sea."

"Count us out," the Lithuanians might say, as they are saying today. Speaking the oldest Indo-Germanic language in Europe, they are not Slavs at all, and they only accepted Christianity in the fourteenth century, when their dynastic leader formed the alliance with Poland that resulted in the conquest of half of Russia. But so many great Poles—the poets Mickiewicz and Milosz, the liberator Marshal Pilsudski—have come from Lithuania that the Poles have a traditional affection for a country whose native inhabitants are in fact as much anti-Polish as anti-Russian. This awkward fact is as familiar to Milosz, who speaks of it in his marvelous memoir *The Issa Valley*, as it is also to Konwicki.

It happens that Pilsudski, the guff warrior who preserved the new Polish state from Lenin's invasion in 1920, is also a hero behind the scenes in *Rondo*, whose narrator, Tom, is rumored to be his natural son. This produces an ironic situation, for Tom has little or no interest in politics but is anxious to capture the attention of a leading actress in the Warsaw theater, who is in turn only interested in him as a figure who represents, under the German occupation, the heroic traditions of Polish resistance. Tom's attempt to meet her expectations of him ends in disaster, especially after the war, when his supposed connection with right-wing politics leads to his persecution and imprisonment by the Communist party.

Both *Rondo* by Kazimierz Brandys and *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman* by Andrzej Szczypiorski are novels about recent Polish experience, told in a more straightforward and realistic manner

than seems common among Polish writers today, although both Brandys and Szczypiorski are subtle narrators whose celebration, like that of Conrad, is key to the dramatic action and adventure which make up their stories. The beautiful Mrs. Seidenman is a young Jewish widow whose blonde hair and blue eyes, together with a set of false papers, save her in the war years from the Germans' extermination of Polish Jews, until she is betrayed by an informer. She is rescued from the Gestapo only to be forced to flee Poland again twenty years later, when the Communist regime has begun a campaign of anti-Semitism against the small national Jewish population left over from the Holocaust.

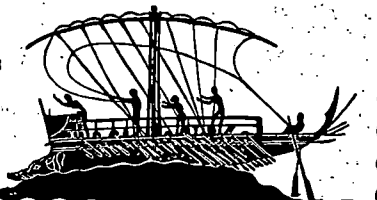
Szczypiorski, who was born in 1924, took part in the 1944 Warsaw uprising and was lucky to end the war in a German concentration camp. He then became one of the most popular and celebrated novelists of the new Poland and served as cultural attaché in Denmark, also becoming head of the Polish Authors' League. He was arrested and interned in 1981, after martial law and the troubles which produced Solidarity. In 1989 he was elected to the Polish Senate, remarking that "politics is a boring profession created for ambitious people with no talent—still, I have never declined my civic duty and I won't now." He and Kazimierz Brandys are perhaps the two most respected senior contemporary Polish novelists, although Brandys still lives in France, a self-exile as so many Poles have been, after he had been exiled in earnest after his work for Solidarity, a time chronicled in his *Warsaw Diary: 1979-1981*, and in *Paris/New York: 1982-1984*.

The strengths of both Brandys and Szczypiorski lie in their experiences, which have made them, as artists, experts in sobriety and in a certain sort of realism. What happens to young Tom; and to the beautiful Mrs. Seidenman, is wholly believable, and carries the full impact of historic truth, both in relation to the war and to the Russian-imposed regime that succeeded it. The alternative response where the Polish novel is concerned is represented by Aleksander Wat and by Witold Gombrowicz, two pioneers in the native idiom of fantasy who have exercised a potent influence on their contemporaries and successors. Gombrowicz's "mad" novel, *Ferdydurke*, and his diaries written when self-exiled in Argentina during the war, can still be apprehended through some of the more recent Polish literary personalities, and in their narrative style—not only that of Brandys and Szczypiorski but of Konwicki as well. What strikes one about these novels, however, is their richness and variety, the breadth of experience one encounters in them. "God's Playground," as the old *Respublica* used to be called in its heyday, is still a magic setting for literary enterprise. □

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The New York Review

Country Profile: Poland

Official Name: Republic of Poland



► Geography

Area: 312,680 sq. km. (about 120,725 sq. mi.); about the size of New Mexico.
Cities (1988): *Capital*—Warsaw (pop. 1.7 million). *Other cities*—Lodz (851,500), Krakow (743,700), Wroclaw (637,400), Poznan (586,500), Gdansk (461,000).
Terrain: Flat plain, except mountains along southern border.
Climate: Temperate continental.

► People

Nationality: *Noun*—Pole(s).
Adjective—Polish.
Population (1990): 37.8 million.
Annual growth rate: Negligible.
Ethnic groups: Polish 98.7%, Ukrainian 0.6%, Byelorussian 0.5%, Jewish 0.05%.
Religions: Roman Catholic 95%, Eastern Orthodox, Uniate, Protestant 5%.
Language: Polish.
Education: *Years compulsory*—8. *Attendance*—97%. *Literacy*—98%.
Health (1989): *Infant mortality rate*—13/1,000. *Life expectancy*—males 68 yrs., females 77 yrs.
Work force (1988): 17 million. *Agriculture*—28.5%. *Industry and construction*—36.5%. *Trade, community services, transport, communications*—18.2%. *Government and other*—16.8%.

► Government

Type: Republic.
Independence: 1918.
Constitution: October 1990 (as amended).
Branches: *Executive*—chief of state (president). *Legislative*—bicameral National Assembly (lower house)—*Sejm*, upper house—Senate.
Judicial—Supreme Court, provincial and local courts.
Administrative subdivisions: 49 provinces (*voivodships*).
Political parties: Almost all freely elected seats in the present parliament are held by members who were supported by Citizens Committees organized by Solidarity before the June 1989 elections. These *Sejm* deputies and senators formed the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP). As plans are made for parliamentary elections in which all seats will be freely contested, many new parties are emerging.
Suffrage: Universal over age 18.
National holiday: Constitution Day, May 3.
Flag: Two equal-sized horizontal bands of white (upper) and red (lower).

► Economy

Growth rate (1989 est.): -1.6%
Per capita GNP: \$4,565 (purchasing power parity estimate).
Inflation rate (1990): 4.9%. (November 1990; equals 60% annually).
Natural resources: Coal, sulfur, copper, natural gas, silver, lead, salt.
Agriculture: *Products*—grains, sugarbeets, potatoes, livestock, oilseed.
Industry: *Types*—machine-building, iron and steel, extractive industries, chemicals, ship-building, food-processing, glass beverages, textiles.
Trade (1989 est.): *Exports*—\$28.5 billion: machinery and equipment, coal, minerals, metals. *Imports*—\$24.4 billion: machinery and equipment, fuels, minerals, metals, agricultural and forestry products.

► Membership in International Organizations

UN and several specialized agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the World Bank (IBRD); General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Government and Politics. Poland has the largest population in Eastern Europe (37.8 million). The government was communist from 1947-89, when, after 9 years of strikes and struggle, the labor union Solidarity, led by electrician Lech Walesa, helped form a government led and dominated by non-communists. In January 1990, the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party dissolved itself, creating in its place the new party of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland. Most of the property of the former Communist Party was turned over to the state.

Local elections in May 1990 were entirely free. Candidates supported by Solidarity's citizens committees won most of the races they contested. In October 1990, the constitution was amended to allow election of the president by general suffrage and, curtail the term of President Wojciech Jaruzelski. In December 1990, Lech Walesa became the first popularly elected president of Poland.

The present government structure reflects compromises made in an agreement between the former communists and the opposition. The bicameral legislature (the National Assembly) comprises the 460-member *Sejm* (lower house) and the 100-member Senate (upper house). The president nominates a prime minister who, together with his cabinet members, must be approved by the *Sejm*. A new constitution is being drafted, and a new parliament will be elected in 1991, probably in October.

Judicial proceedings are carried out through a Supreme Court and provincial and local courts.

The Economy. Poland is undergoing a profound transformation as the government rapidly introduces a free-market system to replace the centrally planned economy of the communists. During 1990, economic reform stopped hyperinflation, stabilized the currency, brought an end to chronic shortages of consumer goods, and produced a sizable trade surplus. At the same time, however, the economy suffered a recession, with sharp declines in industrial production and real incomes and steadily increasing unemployment. The United States and other Western countries have been supporting the growth of a free-enterprise economy by providing direct economic aid, restructuring the debt, rescheduling payments, and encouraging private investment in Poland.

Poland is a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, has applied to join the Council of Europe, has a trade and cooperation agreement with the European Community (EC), and wants to join the EC by 1995.

Foreign Trade and Debt. Poland had a current account surplus of more than \$1.8 billion for the first three quarters of 1990, but its trade balance suffered during the fourth quarter because of rising oil prices and other factors. Oil deliveries from Iraq (made to offset Iraq's \$500 million debt to Poland) stopped in August 1990 in keeping with UN sanctions, while at the same time Soviet deliveries fell below projected levels. With the unification of Germany in October 1990, traditional Polish trade ties with East Germany, one of Poland's major trading partners, were disrupted.

Poland's external debt exceeds \$46 billion, and its debt-service ratio (the ratio of hard debt-service obligations to hard-currency earnings) is one of the world's highest, even after successive reschedulings by Poland's commercial and official creditors. Scheduled debt-service payments in 1989 amounted to \$5.2 billion (equivalent to about 60% of the value of total exports in hard currency), but only about \$1.5 billion was paid. Most of Poland's foreign debt (about \$33 billion) is owed to Paris Club governments

(official bilateral creditors including the United States), which extended to Poland a rescheduling agreement in 1990. The fifth rescheduling since 1981, the 1990 agreement included a temporary moratorium on debt-service payments.

At a March 15, 1991, meeting, Paris Club members agreed to a minimum 50% reduction of the Polish debt they hold (individual creditors can offer a larger reduction if they choose). They also agreed to a restructuring of Polish debt that will reduce interest payments due over the next 3 years by 80%.

Defense. Poland is reducing armaments to levels agreed upon in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, signed in Paris in November 1990. About 50,000 Soviet troops remain in Poland under Polish-Soviet agreements, mainly to provide logistical support to Soviet troops stationed on the territory of the former East Germany. Negotiations are underway on their withdrawal and on terms for the transit through Poland of Soviet forces being withdrawn from Germany.

Foreign Relations. Poland is developing a new, independent foreign policy, while strengthening friendly ties to the United States and other Western countries. Poland now has a permanent observer at NATO headquarters and is pursuing associate status in the European Community. Poland took part in the Two-Plus-Four meetings concerning the borders of unified Germany. A Polish-German border treaty confirming existing frontiers was signed in November 1990 and awaits ratification by Germany.

US-Polish Relations. The birth of the Solidarity labor movement in 1980 raised US hopes that progress would be made in Poland's foreign relations as well as in its domestic development. US policy throughout the Solidarity period had two goals:

- To encourage greater respect for human rights and individual freedom; and
- To avoid interference in Poland's internal affairs.

Toward this end, for example, the US government provided \$765 million of agricultural assistance during 1981.

The United States responded to gradual human rights improvement in Poland in 1983-84 by easing sanctions. After an amnesty for political prisoners was declared in September 1986, the United States began a re-engagement that led to the lifting of sanctions in February 1987, when President Reagan restored Poland's most-favored-nation tariff status. In 1988, the United States and Poland upgraded their diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors.

President Bush, who visited Poland as vice president in 1987, paid a state visit in July 1989, shortly after the parliamentary elections in which Solidarity candidates scored an overwhelming victory.

After Walesa's visit to the United States in November 1989, Congress passed the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act, which authorized a \$928 million assistance program for Poland and Hungary. Key provisions of the act were a \$200 million contribution to the \$1 billion international fund to stabilize Poland's currency and a \$240 million grant to create an enterprise fund to promote development of Poland's private sector.

The Polish-American Enterprise Fund supports training and technical assistance, primarily in Polish-owned companies, Polish-American joint ventures, and occasionally in subsidiaries or affiliates of US companies with business operations in Poland. The fund focuses on small and medium-sized companies. These and other SEED programs were designed to support the Polish government's economic-reform program and the country's rapid transition to a free-market economy.

During Mazowiecki's visit to Washington in March 1990, the United States and Poland concluded a business and economic agreement to promote closer economic and trade ties. The Senate has ratified the agreement, which is awaiting action by the *Sejm*.

Poland is reorienting its political and economic relations to pursue an independent foreign policy and to develop a competitive free-market economy. As it does so, the close cooperation that exists in US-Polish relations is expected to continue. ■

THE VIEW FROM POLAND

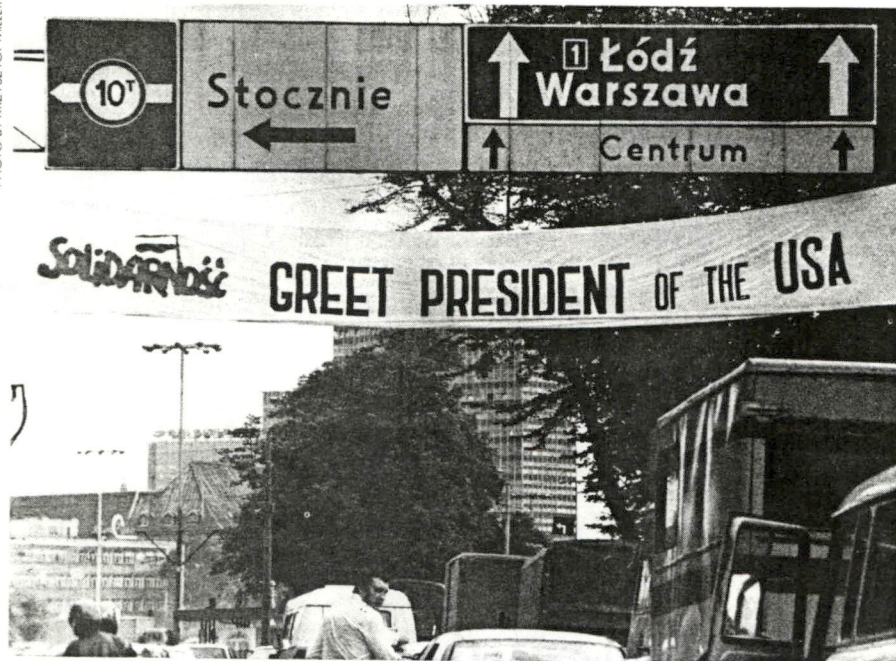
Ameryka

My

America

BY ERNEST SKALSKI

PHOTO BY KRZYSZTOF MILLER



WARSAW

THE DOMINANT chants at the compulsory demonstrations of my youth were silly sing-songs attacking President Truman for using the atomic bomb. Invariably, after looking around to make sure no informant was within earshot, the loudest chanters would then recite sotto voce an equally silly verse, calling on President Truman to drop that bomb because life here was so unbearable.

The idea of an America as good as it was mighty could not be uprooted from the minds of fascinated Poles. The Communist authorities tried vilifying jazz and pointing to the racial discrimination in the U.S., to no avail. They closed down the Information Center at the U.S. Embassy and executed two young men who were frequent visitors for allegedly planning a murder under its influence, but those scare tactics didn't work either. Even an announcement that the

potato bug (Colorado beetle) was being dropped from American planes onto Polish farms did nothing to undermine the Poles' admiration for the U.S.

Americans aware of their country's weaknesses are irritated by this admiration, just as we were annoyed by Western Leftists who, until recently, came to Poland looking for confirmation of their utopias. Nevertheless, I am not going to make the usual qualifications. For several generations now, America has lived up to Polish expectations by fulfilling our two fundamental needs: bread and freedom.

Let me start with bread, since it is the more obvious matter. Masses of people from my poor country have been streaming across the Atlantic over the last hundred years. It is a difficult expedition, but it pays. Ready to take any job, a Pole soon finds work in America and earns more than he ever could at home. He also has the chance to become rich, to make a stunning career. Although few Polish immigrants achieve that kind of success, they all can hope for it. They could not hope for anything before.

ERNEST SKALSKI, a previous NL contributor, is a senior editor of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the independent Polish daily. This article was translated by Anna Husarska.

Simply making the pilgrimage to America, to an advanced civilization, immediately improves a Pole's standing in his countrymen's eyes. Photographs of his home and car will dazzle those left behind. So will the Western gadgetry he might send to his family, and the dollars.

Should he decide in time to return to Poland for good, he will similarly enjoy a new status. Formerly, he would have had to work most of his life to save enough money for some minor comforts. After just a few years in the U.S., he can buy himself a well-equipped house and a good car. Moreover, the dollars in his account, or hidden under his floor, will afford him not only a standard of living but a sense of security otherwise unattainable.

No wonder the average Pole perceives America as a paradise. Neither the consul at the U.S. Embassy who humiliates him by repeatedly denying a visa, nor the immigration officer who might not let him stay can spoil his dream. Paradise is never easy to get into.

But this one is a rather frightening place at first. While the Pole longs to go to America, he has been warned most of his life that the wolfish laws of capitalism are especially cruel in the U.S. where everyone is out for himself. He soon discovers, though, that the reality is very different.

To begin with, the other Poles he meets have not grown fangs. They cannot solve all his problems, yet they do what they can to help him take his initial steps. As for the Americans, they may compete vigorously in business or on the job, but they do not scream at each other. They do not fight over a piece of merchandise in the store; there is enough for everyone.

The new arrival quickly learns, too, that if he becomes gravely ill, a doctor may well forgo payment. If he suffers a serious accident and lacks insurance, there are always people who will help tide him over. In short, it turns out that the United States is quite hospitable after all.

Now about freedom. America has held out the greatest promise of liberty here since the days when Poland was under the exploitative domination of one

foreign emperor after another. A Pole would leave behind the protective structures of family, community and church to start over in the U.S. True, once there he tended to seek out the old dependencies in the Polish ghettos. Still, he felt more liberated than he had ever been. He could make his own choices—he was free, for instance, to escape from freedom.

After World War II, political principles spurred departures more than material concerns. The first wave of post-war emigrants would have stayed to help rebuild their impoverished and devastated country, but they could not abide being enslaved by the Communists. Neither could those who fled martial law in the 1980s.

The painful irony is that consequently many in Poland who have never been to the U.S. are better off. Goods and dollars sent or brought from the other side of the Atlantic improve the general living conditions. Indeed, they have become part of Polish everyday life. You buy a used car, for example, with dollars, not zlotys. Debts are calculated in dollars, even if the money is borrowed and returned in zlotys...

But I'm speaking about bread again, when I am supposed to be speaking about freedom. The point I mean to make is that thanks to America, Poles feel freer in their own country.

ALL THE WORLD KNOWS that at Yalta President Roosevelt sold us down the river to Stalin. In Poland, however, we also know that the deterrent of American bombs and missiles prevented the spread of Communism. America's blunders, even its crimes, do not taint its benevolent deeds in our eyes. Poles regard the anti-Americanism of the Germans, the Dutch and the Japanese—who owe their freedom, security and prosperity to the U.S.—as a mental aberration. Or as a conspiracy directed from Moscow.

It is therefore not surprising that Poles consider Ronald Reagan the greatest American President. Every American President is for us by definition great, but Reagan—viciously portrayed on Communist posters during martial law,

as Truman and Eisenhower were under Stalinism—ranks at the top. It was he who staunchly said No to Communism. It was he who forced Mikhail S. Gorbachev to give up missiles in Europe, who obtained from the Soviets genuine concessions on disarmament.

Reagan never visited Poland. George Bush did, and was received with proportionately less enthusiasm than would have greeted his predecessor. The average Pole did not seem to mind, though, that the President promised relatively little aid. He did not believe America would disappoint him.

Such a tenacious faith in the U.S. can be vexing, and not only for Americans critical of their own country or for Western Europeans critical of America. In Poland, as well, many people, particularly intellectuals, are exasperated by this attitude. But they are unable to influence the vast majority of their fellow citizens. The man in the street knows what he knows. And who can say if he is right or wrong? More often than not America fulfills our expectations.

Aside from its tangible value, that fulfillment adds to Polish self-esteem. The Poles are a proud people, but they are also insecure. They praise themselves, they think of themselves as being important, yet at the same time they are not altogether sure of their place among the nations. They need to have their worth attested by others.

So one can imagine the powerful emotions news of Lech Walesa's trip to the U.S. inspired in Poles. Here was this most important country about to acknowledge us in the person of an electrician from Gdansk. Acknowledge us in the most official and ceremonial way possible. The President himself—second only to the Polish Pope in the national affections—would decorate Walesa with the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest honor a civilian can earn.

We do not remember Yalta—Yalta is falling to pieces, anyway—we do not remember the years of waiting. Today we feel only the self-respect America has helped to restore to us, and its returning Poland to a position of significance in the world.

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About Men

BY MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN



PAUL COX

Kissing Customs

I returned not long ago from from a three-year assignment in Poland, where men kiss the hands of women as a matter of course when they meet. When I first arrived in Warsaw, I did not think this was such a great idea. At the time I thought of myself as a democratic kid from the streets of New York, and the notion of bending over and brushing my lips over the back of a woman's hand struck me as offensively feudal and hopelessly effete. Each time some perfectly fine woman offered me the back of her hand to kiss, I stammered my apology, saying something like, "Gosh, no offense intended, but where I come from we don't carry on like this, and while I respect you

enormously, can't we make do with a simple handshake?"

I was at the time mindful of what my feminist friends back home might have said. I do not think they would have wanted me to kiss the hands of all women simply because they were women. They would have, rightly, seen this as a sexist custom, pointing out that not even in the grip of the most obsequious compulsions would anyone kiss the hand of a man.

But then I began to realize that the Polish custom had one particularly subtle and attractive aspect. After 40 years of living under an unpopular Communist Government that sought to restrict society to the proletarian standard of some concocted Soviet model, the Poles were

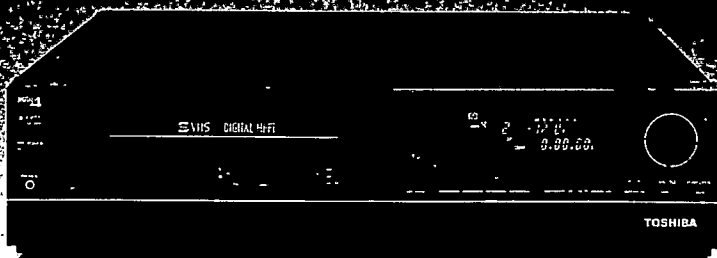
once urged them to do, Poles intuitively responded by assuming the manners of dukes and barons. In such circumstances it was pleasant and instructive to watch factory workers, mailmen, soldiers, peasants and high-school students kiss the hands held out to them while the Communist Party people, often identifiable by their wide ties and out-of-date suits, maintained stiff though ideologically correct postures.

Under this kind of social pressure, I kissed. At first it was tricky. There was nothing in my Upper West Side of Manhattan public-school education that prepared me for the act. I had to experiment. I think my first attempts were perhaps too noisy. They may also have been too moist. I realized that

Michael T. Kaufman

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The real advantage of hand-kissing was that it provided a ritual that enriched the routine of everyday life. I was struck by how few such rituals exist in my own society.

aristocrats take the hands extended to them and swoosh down without making real contact. I was trying for slightly more commitment.

Eventually, I got it right. And, to my surprise, I liked it. Each new encounter became a challenge. I found I needed to make subtle little alterations in technique as the situations demanded. For instance, if the woman was younger, I would bring her hand to my lips. If she was older, I would bring my lips to her hand. When I could not tell if she was younger or older, I went on the premise that she was younger. Sometimes you could play out little dramas. It was nothing serious or marriage-threatening, but you could, by kissing with more than normal pressure, make yourself noticed — and you could notice yourself being noticed. Or you could imagine you were somebody else, which, at least in my case, can be pleasant.

The real advantage of hand-kissing, I came to realize, was that it provided a ritual that enriched the routine of everyday life. Whenever I returned to the West on holidays I was struck by how few such rituals existed in my own society. Hardly anyone shook hands, let alone kissed them. Instead, waiters would tell me their names before taking my order and wish me a good day as they took my money. But I never felt they really cared. I would be called by strangers who wanted to sell me something over the phone, and they would address me as Mike. I would try to squelch them with what I thought was chilling irony and say, "Make that Mr. Mike." No one got it, but some said, "That's cute: Mr. Mike."

In this cultural context, I doubt that the United States is ready for hand-kissing. We

feminists and getting your nose broken. And, to our credit, we have limited tolerance for lah-di-dah.

Still, I think it would be good to have some gesture or ritual that signifies at least minimal mutual respect. The idea would be to affirm something less than intimacy but more than passing acquaintance. What I have in mind would be useful for both intersexual and intrasexual contacts. It would replace the exchange of monosyllables like "hi" and "yo."

My suggestion is that we shake hands every day with the people we hold in esteem. The practice, as common in Poland as hand-kissing, is, I realize, not unknown here. But in America it is sporadic and all too casual.

Since returning from Poland, I've renewed many acquaintances. Among them was a person whose actions had once offended my sense of ethics. We chatted civilly enough, talking of our families and our recent experiences, but I did not offer him my hand. I did this as a point of honor — and to send a message. Had I been talking to a Pole, he might have reddened, stammered or walked away. But my old acquaintance didn't even notice. In this country, the symbolism of such a small act is lost. Of course, I could have thrown a rock through one of his windows, or cursed his parentage, or even turned abruptly from him, but all that would have been overkill for the graveness of his offense.

As for kissing the hands of women, my reflex, unfortunately, is waning. Under the social pressures of democracy, the Polish impulses that would have me turn wrists and kiss are growing fainter and fainter. The kid from the streets of New York

times, the most important and absolutely necessary element of a decision is to say "no to a friend."

Our society has many small "c" corruptions. They are the subtle sins, the vague vices.

I have always been intrigued by the concept of the seven deadly sins which, as you remember, included such things as sloth and gluttony. Let me, with a nod to Ghandi who first attempted to rewrite the seven deadly sins, give you mine. They are:

SEVEN DEADLY SINS (REVISED)

Wealth without conscience.

Success without sharing. Health without empathy.

Price without humility.

Knowledge without wisdom.

Pleasure without moderation.

Luxury without sharing.

Beware of the sins that sneak up on you while you think you are out "doing good." Beware of the corruption of the small "c's."

AMENDMENT V — "The ultimate challenge of a nonprofit organization is to create a good society."

You ultimately cannot have a successful organization in a corrupt society. Nonprofits must not only work for successful specifics — they must work for a successful society.

Winston Churchill once said,

"We built our buildings and then they built us."

I am convinced that is true. All you need to do is see the English school children going to look at Westminster Abbey and other English institutions with awe to recognize how tradition inculcates people with patriotism, morality, and even chivalry. It clearly applies to ethical behavior. One scholar stated it this way:

"We all know if only from experience that to be human means being born and reared in families and as part of neighborhoods and communities with whom we share a way of life instead of habits and beliefs — a system of values. Without those concrete and specific values, few individuals could long survive. A common life together in the United States depends upon habits and attitudes we do not have to think about: concern for the welfare of children, a sense of lawfulness, and a respect for property."

Our institutions are clearly part of a larger culture and com-

munity, and we must keep in mind that ultimately we have an obligation not only to serve our clients, but to build a just and stable society.

I am intrigued about the relationship between the word "integrate" and the word "integrity." One author states:

"The noun 'integrity' is derived from the verb 'to integrate.' If we are going to think and behave with full integrity, then we must learn how to integrate our different ways of perceiving the world so as to develop a multi-dimensional integrated world view. To behave ethically is to behave with integrity."

I believe that it is of immense importance that we try our best to integrate the great complexity of human experience into our daily lives. I believe a nation remains great only as long as it remains moral. Arnold Toynbee, after spending a lifetime in the study of decline of nations, says:

"The autopsy of history is that all great nations commit suicide."

Numerous historians, including Toynbee, traced the decline of nations to a growth of hedonism, self-indulgence, and loss of values. The role of the national character has forever been a contributor to the rise and fall of nations.

The United States is just faced down its greatest external enemy. And, today, our greatest dangers are not foreign enemies, but internal inadequacies. It is greed, over indulgence, selfishness, hostility, arrogance, carelessness, and narcissism.

Saul Bellow, the Nobel laureate novelist from Chicago, observed recently that

"the excess of liberty in American culture is as serious as the deprivation of liberty in the Soviet Union."

I believe we have an excess of liberty in the U.S. In attempting to be tolerant, we wiped out all the rules. I saw someone the other day referred to as "a Catholic lesbian feminist nun." It is hard these days to find a standard to which we can hold people. We live, as one author put it, in "the Golden Age of Exoneration." Everything is relative. Our moral compasses gyrate wildly — there is no true north. But history shows that is not a sustainable trait in a society.

So I commend you not only on the good work you do for Colorado — which is immense — but also because you are asking tough questions about "tough choices." Thank you.

Free Enterprise

EASTERN EUROPE'S FUTURE

By KEVIN J. PRICE, *Executive Director, Free Enterprise Education Center*

Delivered before the Rotary International and the Rotary Club of Warsaw City, Warsaw, Poland, May 12, 1991

I AM pleased to be with you here today and to share with you the free market discussion. This topic is important, because many of the activities that are part of the free market — marketing, capitalization, etc. — cannot be done without a free enterprise system. In this session we will examine the elements of the free market, the role of government in a free society, and other aspects of the free enterprise system. *The U.S.: Not Always Free*

America did not just get a successful free enterprise system by magic or luck. The United States rose out of revolution to gain the freedoms we all enjoy today. We empathize with you

as a nation that has had a similar experience. We have seen you struggle for many of the same ideas, beliefs, and desires that made the U.S. possible.

Just over 200 years ago, the American colonies was in a serious conflict with a tyrant of its own. This dictator was not Marxism, but monarchy. Yet, the list of grievances we had were very similar to those of Eastern Europe towards their own leaders.

The Declaration of Independence made the following charges against England:

— The King prevented free elections.

—He kept “standing armies” from a foreign land among us, without consent of the people.

—He taxed us without our consent.

—England used us as a colony for their economic benefit.

These offenses are only a small part of the total case made by the colonies towards the monarch.

I am sure this list sounds familiar, because I saw most of them in our newspapers in relationship to Eastern Europe.

Like you in Eastern Europe, our Revolutionary War required individuals to put their careers, families, and personal well-being at risk. The result of this effort was one of the most prosperous and free nations in history. This did not come simply from overthrowing a dictator. It was important for our nation to develop a government that would cultivate a free society: economically, socially, and politically. In a moment we will examine the elements of the American system of government, particularly those elements that have allowed the U.S. to be so successful economically.

But first, I would like to note that the people of Poland have long respected the importance of a free society. This fact is reflected in your great Constitution that went into effect two hundred years ago this month.

I have had an opportunity to study it while here in Poland and have been impressed with its commitment to individual freedom as reflected in the following quote:

“We publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people.”

I believe this is an excellent objective, one that should be pursued by the people of Eastern Europe today. It may have been too progressive for Europe in the 18th century. But it is an excellent goal as we approach the 21st century. Now, let's examine the U.S. system.

The U.S. Constitution

The founding fathers of the U.S. forged together a government built on a Constitution that assured individual liberty. It is a small document that gives very specific powers to the federal government, leaving the rest of the powers to the fifty states of the Union and the people.

It is not my belief that the people of Poland must have a Constitution identical to ours to have a successful, free market, economy. It is obviously very important that your government is sensitive to your own particular culture. It is interesting to note, however, that the German and Japanese Constitutions are extremely similar to ours, since we helped them establish their governments after World War II. This has allowed both of them to enjoy incredible economic growth since that time. Therefore, it does seem that our Constitution has qualities that are successful in any culture. The most important of those qualities is the respect of the individual. Two very important elements of our Constitution are:

—The role of government in business is to assure that the business environment is fair and to prohibit corrupt practices. Essentially, government's role is to protect individuals from other individuals.

—Although our government is largely “democratic,” it is described as a “republic.” A republic has two important characteristics:

—It means that those in office are accountable to all of the people

—It means that the U.S. is a nation of law.

This last point is very important. This means that all opinion and beliefs are protected under the law — even those views

that are unpopular with the majority. Democracies have allowed for the majority to harm the minority, Republics protect everyone.

These are just a few of the important elements of government in a free society. Again, the American system is not necessarily perfect for every country. However, it has enjoyed a track record that is unprecedented.

When Will Eastern Europe Prosper?

When Eastern Europe will prosper is a question on the hearts and minds of virtually every person in this part of the world. So much has already been accomplished towards creating an environment conducive for you to succeed; but, in light of enormous unemployment and inflation, you want to know when things will turn around for you.

It is a legitimate question and one that needs to be addressed. However, it would be impossible for me to simply put a time frame on it. Much of it depends on the type of government Poland forms.

We can make an assessment of what it will take for Eastern Europe to experience a turn around by taking a look at other nations that rose out of economic despair. We could spend a whole day doing this. Chile had the worse inflation of any country in the world twenty years ago, today it is among the lowest. West Germany was in total economic ruin after the war, today it has a very powerful economy, even with the challenges raised by reunification. However, when we look around the world for a prosperous country, virtually everyone notes the enormous success of Japan.

Following World War II Japan was in ruin, two of its largest cities were flattened by atomic bombs, the infrastructure was virtually non-existent, it was in a terrible state. According to economists James Gwartney and Richard Stroup in their book *Economics: Private and Public Choice*,

“The Japanese people in 1950 were poor and their methods of production primitive. Forty-two percent of the Japanese labor force was employed in agriculture, compared with 12 percent in the U.S.”

The individual earning of the average Japanese was one-eighth that of the average American.

The authors state that “the transformation of the Japanese economy during the last three decades is the success story of the postwar era. Today the Japanese economy is the third largest in the world. Adjusted for inflation, the GNP of Japan grew approximately 9.5 percent annually between 1950 and 1980. During that period, the income of the typical Japanese family measured in dollars of constant purchasing power, doubled every eight years.”

How did they do it? Gwartney and Stroup list three major factors that have led to Japanese success. Each of them are grounded in the belief that the free enterprise system is the best way for economic growth.

—Japanese management and workers cooperate as a team to succeed in the market place, rather than oppose one another as in the case of labor unions. This is reflected in the fact that the Japanese have company unions rather than labor unions. Company unions are inclusive, when they say “us against them” they mean competitors. When labor unions say “us against them” they mean management. These subtle differences are crucial in the success of Japanese corporations.

—There is great emphasis on savings and investment. The typical Japanese laborer in urban areas saves approximately 20 percent of his income.

KEVIN J. PRICE

Finally, the tax system encourages economic growth by staying very low. In fact, their taxes are the lowest of any industrialized country in the world.

The Japanese began to notice a dramatic change in their economy immediately after the war. The average salary of the typical Japanese worker doubled in the period of 1950 to 1960 alone. I believe that the lesson to be learned from most countries that have enjoyed great prosperity is that government has played a limited role and has allowed the free market to prevail.

Foundations of a Free Enterprise System

Texas A & M University is one of the leading schools in the United States in the field of economics. The University founded an institute on economics called the Center for Education and Research in Free Enterprise. That organization has established five "Foundations" of the free enterprise system. According to the Center, these foundations are essential for any economy to succeed.

Private Property: Private property is wealth and power. Private ownership disperses power and conserves resources.

Economic Freedom: Freedom of choice for individuals and businesses.

Economic Incentives: Rewards: profit, high income, job satisfaction. Punishments: losses, failure, low income, unemployment.

Competitive Markets: Markets provide information and promote cooperation. Competition protects consumers and workers. It encourages product variety and low prices.

Limited Government: Rule-maker and umpire to protect property and freedom, and to promote competition.

These foundations are very important and, I believe, they help provide for us freedom in a nutshell. Let's discuss these in more detail. Each of these foundations have one thing in common: they provide for an economic system that serves the people, not the other way around.

Private Property. Private property is more than land or real estate, it is all kinds of personal possessions. It includes food, clothing, cars, and money. In a free society, property rights have three characteristics.

- 1) The owner's right to determine how his/her property is used.
- 2) The owner's right to transfer ownership to someone else.
- 3) The owner's right to enjoy income and other benefits that come his way as a result of his ownership of the property.

To enjoy all of the aspects of ownership, requires that the owner has the right to exercise each of these rights. What are the benefits of private property? The Center brings out two important points.

—Allowing private property allows for power to be dispersed. Since ownership of property is the same as the ownership of power. Property dispersed among the people, makes the people powerful. Property concentrated in the government makes the government powerful. Private property, thus, prevents power and property from being abused.

—Private property encourages the conservation of our resources, because when property is privately owned it is naturally better taken care of. The Center notes,

"If property is mistreated and loses value, the individual owner loses some wealth. If we do not have these rights of ownership, we have little reason to maintain or take care of property."

In sum, property is wealth. The rights of private ownership

of property encourages us to work hard and be productive so that we can own property, leading to economic growth, which increases opportunities for everyone.

Economic freedom. In America, economic freedom is generally considered one of the many freedoms we enjoy; such as freedom of speech and religion. There are, in a free society, freedoms for both businesses and individuals. Let's examine the economic freedoms of businesses first.

- The right to start or discontinue businesses.
- The right to purchase resources that they can pay for.
- The right to choose technology.
- The right to produce products and to offer it for sale at any price.
- The right to invest and save in any way.
- You also are allowed to fail in a free society.

Individual economic freedoms include

- The right to buy any good or service available provided he can pay for it.
- The right to offer his services for any type of job.
- The right to quit any job.
- The right to use his own resources in whatever way he wishes, consistent with the rights of others.

Again, these rights do not include the guaranteeing of success. That is up to the initiative of the individual. This initiative is linked to the next point of our discussion, and the third foundation, economic incentives.

Economic incentives. Economic incentives for businesses and individuals include the following:

- Businesses seek high profits.
- Property owners want the highest price for their resources.
- Workers want the highest salary as possible.
- Consumers want the lowest prices and highest quality.

The free enterprise system comes closer to meeting these desires than any other system, because individuals have reason to believe that their situation will always improve.

Although businesses seek high profits, they make sure they are not so high that they cannot compete. Although property owners want high selling prices for their resources, they will keep that price reasonable to make a property more competitive. Workers in a free market will tend to cooperate with their employers to establish salaries that do not hurt a business's ability to compete, since wages is one of the biggest expenditures of most businesses. The big winner in the free enterprise system is the consumer — each and everyone of us — because each of these other parts of the free enterprise machine work together to accommodate customers.

Rewards for economic activity include money, better benefits, better facilities and more. These are all positive incentives.

But there are also negative incentives, or punishments. In a free enterprise system, punishments take the form of losses: loss jobs, profits, opportunities, etc. In a free market economy, it is the responsibility of the business and the individuals in a business, to succeed or fail. This is why a work ethic is very important in a free market economy. In a command economy, where government authorizes the production of goods and competition does not exist, there is little incentive among individuals to produce beyond the minimum necessary. Economic incentives allow for great success, both personal and economic, in a free market. They also allow for failure, if individuals and businesses fail to compete successfully.

The work ethic. In the free market, the work ethic plays an

important role in keeping the economy productive. Every individual has a work ethic, the only question is whether or not it is a good work ethic. A positive work ethic has the following characteristics:

- great importance is placed on personal productivity
- individuals sacrifice, even personal time, to aid the growth of the business they work for
- an attitude of cooperation prevails, both among employees and employers

Employees and employers know that if they do not produce maximum, a competitor will, and that could result in the loss of jobs and companies. That is one of the most important elements of the free market economy: each individual is responsible for his own economic destiny. His or her ability to succeed depends upon the individual and the individual alone. In a command economy, the government determines:

- where an individual works,
- who an employer hires,
- and the grounds for one being fired.

In a capitalist economy, the market determines all of these factors. Therefore, an individual is completely responsible for his or her economic well being. If an individual does not produce in a way necessary to maintain his job, he could be replaced. More important than this list of negative reasons for having good work habits are the numerous benefits:

- greater profits for your business
- higher profits lead to higher salaries and more benefits
- greater productivity leads to more products and better choices for the whole economy

The benefits of a good work ethic are tremendous and far outweigh any benefit to be derived from a bad work ethic.

Ethics in business. In addition to a work ethic, which provides an incentive for individuals to be productive, business ethics provides an incentive for individuals to work honestly.

Business ethics have become a positive force in economics. It is more than just preventing businesses from doing wrong, it means doing all that is possible to satisfy customers. The belief in a good business ethic is expressed as the major theme of many businesses:

- Avis rent-a-car says "we try harder."
- Ford car company says "Quality: job one."
- Other more generic slogans include:
- customer is king
- service with a smile
- customer is the employer

It is true that laws exist in every country to make sure businesses work ethically; however, in the free market, other forces seem to have a stronger impact on business ethics. These include organizations like the Better Business Bureau, the media — which reports on bad business practices, and other competitors. On this last point, businesses are always quick to point out the flaws — either in price or quality — that exist in a competitor's product. Simply put, in a truly competitive economy, bad business ethics will not work. Companies and individuals that do not maintain a high standard of business ethics will face terrible consequences for their behavior, because so many forces keep them in check.

Although it is true that people have made a "profit" through unfair business practices, the typical result in the U.S. for such behavior is that these businesses go under financially or the owners face stiff criminal penalties.

Therefore, one of the most important elements of a suc-

cessful free market economy, is a strong commitment to business ethics. Good ethics makes the difference between winners and losers.

Competitive markets. The individual or customer is king in the free market. The free market acknowledges the fact that quality means different things to different people. With this in mind, the economy will provide numerous products in an effort to create a larger market. In a free market, each individual has his own votes, and those votes come in the form of money. Unlike political systems, where there is only one winner in a majority vote; in a free market election we are all winners because there are plenty of competitors who are more than happy to broaden their share of the market place. We see how such "voting" works, when a consumer chooses a Coke over a Pepsi. This sends a message to both products, potential success for one and potential problems for the other.

It is in competitive markets, that prices are kept to a minimum and quality to a maximum. Each of the businesses are competing for your "votes" or money to outdo one another. The beneficiary of all this competition is the consumer, every individual who seeks out products to improve the quality of his life.

Efforts to reduce costs by finding better means of production leads to greater innovation and technological progress. Furthermore, a large number of suppliers and employers prevents any single firm from exploiting individual consumers and workers.

Competition serves as one of the best regulatory forces in an economy. Companies will keep a close eye on one another to make sure that each company's products are safe and beneficial to consumers.

The most attractive aspect of the free enterprise system is that it is beneficial to all. Individuals are not forced to be involved in business dealings, such as buying and selling, in a free market. Instead, all economic activity is conducted on a voluntary basis. Free enterprise is a true economic system, meant for the country as a whole and not for a few aggressive individuals.

Finally, let's discuss the role of government in the free market. Government in a free market plays two very specific and limited roles. They are:

- Rule Maker: government makes and enforces laws governing the conditions under which voluntary transactions are made. Such laws are designed to protect the rights to private property and individual freedom and to preserve and promote competition.

- Umpire: government acts to settle disputes resulting from conflicting interpretations of the rules.

This is very similar to a basketball game, where rules are made by a committee, but are enforced by referees. However, you will not have officials taking free throw shots to help a team that is behind in the free market game. There is no other major economic responsibility for government in a free society, it should never play a parental or coercive role of granting certain benefits to individuals or groups at the expense of others.

To sum up the assessment of free enterprise from this institute; the free market is designed to serve the individual, not the state, through these five basic foundations.

That is why free enterprise is so beneficial to society as a whole. Individuals working together to benefit themselves cre-

ates an economic system of winners. After all, individuals and groups enter into voluntary exchange because they will be better off by making the trade. Economic incentives encourage voluntary exchange and the continued growth of the economic pie.

Megatrends 2000 states that Poland could be a major economic influence by the 21st century.

One of the most popular books in the U.S. today is *Megatrends 2000*, which projects the trends of where the world is going as we approach the 21st century. The authors have a chapter on free market socialism that does an overview of how the government's role in traditionally command economies is declining. One of the bright spots, and a subsection of the book is Poland.

According to the authors, Poland is enjoying a renaissance in its society. Economic and social reforms are largely from the people up, rather than the government down. The importance to this is that the society as a whole is already receptive to the challenges that come with true economic reform. Electoral reform that is the envy of Eastern Europe has already been instituted, to allow individuals to impact the way their government behaves. According to the government's plans, 90 percent of all state-owned factories and businesses will be auctioned off to private owners. The Polish government has

decided to "support a radical restructuring of the economy, including a strong emphasis on free-market mechanisms and private enterprise."

Furthermore, Poland's Communists have "surrendered their monopoly of power. In another era it would be a political earthquake; but today it is the direction the world is going." One specialist with Poland's State School of Planning has gone so far as to say,

"The dream of an economic system better than capitalism is dead. There is no third way, no model between Stalinism and capitalism that works well."

All this is to say that Poland is on its way to becoming economically influential. It is obvious that it has made important progress in being a leader for Eastern Europe and, I believe, a future player in the world economy. It is true that there is much to be done, but progress is notable.

The significance to *Megatrends 2000* is that it is a very popular book among American readers in general and those in business in particular. Many are exploring the prospects of business opportunities and investments throughout Europe, this important book makes the case that Poland is a viable location to do business.

In closing, I believe that the prospects for Poland are good. It is simply up to you. Your future is in your own hands.

In Praise of Teaching

THOSE WHO CARE, TEACH

By DANIEL J. ESTES, *Associate Professor of Bible, Cedarville College*

Delivered upon Receiving the Sears Foundation Award for Distinguished Teaching, Cedarville, Ohio, May 21, 1991

OUR lives are often punctuated by proverbs. From the time we are young we are told, "A penny saved is a penny earned." "Look before you leap." "Sticks and stones may break your bones, but names will never hurt you." "Early to bed, and early to rise, makes you healthy, wealthy and wise."

When proverbs like these enter the collective memory of a society, they become accepted as unquestioned axioms. In reality, proverbs are short-cuts to thinking. They derive their potency from being concise and memorable, but often this power is purchased at the price of precision. For example, in times of high inflation saving may actually result in diminished buying power. If we look too long before we leap, then we come to realize that he who hesitates is lost. Regardless of what I was told, sticks and stones never hurt me as much as the cruel taunts of other people. And, alas, many a young man has learned that early to bed and early to rise means that the girls go out with the other guys!

Nevertheless, even though proverbs may be imprecise, they are as deeply rooted as dandelions. I would like to re-examine a proverb which has come to be regarded as a truism by much of our American society. I first heard it during my senior year of college, and most recently I read it in the May 8 issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. No doubt most of us have heard it, and many of us may have said it: "Those who can, do; and those who can't, teach."

The cynical depreciation of teachers reflected by this proverb is seconded by many voices in our society. In recent months

several best-selling books have attacked the teaching profession for harboring irrelevance, indolence, and incompetence. At the present time our country faces a glut of lawyers, but a widespread shortage of teachers in critical areas. Governmental assistance to all levels of education is being cut, and local tax levies are defeated nearly three out of every four attempts. Not only are teachers paid a fraction of the salaries of other professionals with equal education and experience, but it is not at all uncommon for a recent graduate to accept an entry-level position in industry with compensation greater than that of his professors. At best, teachers are viewed as harmless lightweights. More commonly, they are scorned as underworked eccentrics who couldn't hold down a real job. After all, as the proverb says, those who can, do; and those who can't, teach.

To be sure, many of us could no doubt relate anecdotes and horror stories of teachers who did not teach, classes in which no learning occurred, and courses which were largely a joke. As in every line of work, there are teachers who admirably fit the denegrating caricature drawn so frequently in our society. However, to point to individual cases of patent ineptness does not justify categorical criticism of teachers. It is my contention that when the facts are scrutinized, the popular proverb does not stand.

Metaphors and similes are pictorial proverbs. They use pictures to communicate general truths in concise and memorable ways. Many such figures have been used to illustrate what a teacher is and does. Socrates pictured the teacher as one

POLAND

- 1905 Pilsudski begins revolutionary activity in Russian-occupied areas; forced to flee.
- 1905 Germans create puppet government as Russians retreat; Pilsudski and others oppose it.
- 1916 Polish National Committee formed in Switzerland is recognized by Allies.
- 1917 As Germans and Austrians surrender, republic is proclaimed; first Polish state since 1772.
- 1918 Pilsudski abandons attempt to form socialist government in favor of Paderewski, who becomes first premier.
- 1919 Treaty of Riga ends war with Bolsheviks; gains Poland much territory.
- 1921 Construction of new port begins at Gdynia.
- 1924 Severe depression; Russian-German treaty causes fears; Pilsudski seizes power and institutes limited dictatorship.
- 1935 Pilsudski dies; military government continues.
- 1939 Secret Nazi-Soviet agreement leads to invasion from West, then East; first shots of World War II fired at Danzig (Gdansk).
- 1941 Nazi death camp at Auschwitz/Birkenau begins extermination of between one and three million Jews, Gypsies, Poles and others.
- 1943 Graves of 4,300 Polish officers found in Katyn Forest; Soviets blame Nazis; at Teheran Conference, Roosevelt and Churchill secretly agree to Stalin's demand for Poland.
- 1944 Soviet army delays entering the capital until Warsaw Uprising is crushed by Germans; 200,000 die.
- 1945 Boundaries shifted west at Potsdam Conference; U.S. and Britain recognize Soviet-installed government.
- 1949 Government, now openly communist, begins period of severe Stalinist repression.
- 1956 Worker protests crushed; Gomulka assumes power and begins limited Stalinization.
- 1970 Strikes at Gdynia and Gdansk lead to Gomulka's ouster.
- 1979 Visit of Polish-born Pope John Paul II stirs religious and nationalist feelings.
- 1980 Czeslaw Milosz wins Nobel Prize for literature; strikes in essential ports and coalfields force legalization of unions; Solidarity, a union of all trades, is formed; electrician Lech Walesa becomes leader.
- 1981 With up to 10 million Solidarity members demanding free elections, General Jaruzelski imposes martial law and arrests union leaders.
- 1983 International sanctions lead to lifting of martial law but contribute to rapid decay of Polish economy; Solidarity continues underground; Nobel Prize for peace to Walesa.
- 1988 As economy crumbles, wave of strikes questions communist ability to govern.
- 1989 Solidarity relegalized; Jaruzelski agrees to sweeping changes: free-market economy, elections, press freedom; Solidarity gains control of new parliament; Mazowiecki becomes first noncommunist prime minister in Eastern Europe since 1945.
- 1990 Communist Party disbanded; republic proclaimed; Solidarity splits as Walesa defeats Mazowiecki for presidency; many Poles express dissatisfaction with Solidarity and ruined economy by voting for maverick Polish-Canadian businessman Tyminski; Soviets admit Katyn Forest massacre.

of the Field (1963). In 1967 he played leading roles in three hits: a schoolteacher in inner-city London in *To Sir, with Love*; a black detective from the North investigating a murder in the deep South in *In the Heat of the Night*; and a man about to enter an interracial marriage in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*. In the 1970s he directed and costarred in several films with Bill Cosby. After an absence from the screen, he reemerged in 1988, directing and starring in the chase thriller *Shoot to Kill*.

For further reading:

Bergman, Carol. *Sidney Poitier*. New York: Chelsea House, 1989.

Marill, Alvin H., *The Films of Sidney Poitier*. New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1978.

Poland. Eastern European nation bordered on the north by the Baltic Sea, the east by the SOVIET UNION, the south by CZECHOSLOVAKIA and the west by GERMANY. Divided among Russia, Prussia and AUSTRIA after 1795, Poland did not gain independence until 1918 under the leadership of Jozef PILSUDSKI, who had led

Polish forces in WORLD WAR I for Austria against Russia. In 1920, taking advantage of Russia's internal upheaval, Poland fought for and regained additional territory, which was ceded in a 1921 treaty. In August of 1939 NAZI Germany and the U.S.S.R. signed a treaty containing a covert agreement to divide Poland between them. In September the German invasion

of Poland was quickly followed by a Soviet invasion from the east. Poland fell and WORLD WAR II began. Wladyslaw Raczkiwicz formed an exile government in Paris, which moved to London when France was occupied in 1940. In 1941 Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. and took all of Poland. Polish communists fought alongside the Soviets. The Poles formed



Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski (left) and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa sit together during the first session of Poland's newly created senate (July 3, 1989).

an alternate government in 1944, the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which the Soviets recognized. Declaring itself the Provisional Government of Poland, it moved to Lublin, where it was joined by some of the exiled government from London. The Allies recognized it at the YALTA CONFERENCE in 1945. A 1944 treaty between Poland and the U.S.S.R. established their border at the CURZON LINE, but Poland gained territory from Germany to the west in an Allied agreement after the war, so the country was effectively shifted westward and millions of Poles resettled. Elections in 1947 established a "people's republic" in Poland, and in 1952 a new constitution was adopted, thus beginning a repressive, STALINIST government with close ties to the U.S.S.R. Poland's government also sought to abolish the Roman Catholic church. In 1956, following strikes and riots over food shortages and Soviet control, Wladyslaw GOMULKA was elected leader of the United Workers Party. Gomulka eased restrictions on private farming and released Cardinal Stefan WYSZYNSKI, who had been imprisoned in 1953. Strikes again broke out in 1970, and Gomulka was succeeded by Edward GIEREK. Opposition to his government mounted through the decade and peaked in 1979 after the first of three visits by Polish-born Pope JOHN PAUL II. In 1980 a strike that started in the Gdansk shipyards spread to all industries, and the government conceded workers' the right to strike. Lech WALESA formed the SOLIDARITY (*Solidarność*) union. It sought workers' rights and liberties. In 1981, following a national strike for a five-day work week, Premier Pinkowski was replaced by General Wojciech JARUZELSKI. Martial law was imposed, Solidarity banned and its leaders arrested. The U.S. responded by initiating economic sanctions. In 1982 curfews were eased and further rioting occurred. Lech Walesa was released from prison and martial law suspended. Following another conciliatory visit by the pope in 1983, the government granted amnesty to political prisoners, releasing 35,000 of them in 1984 on the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic, the remainder were released in 1986. The U.S. loosened its sanctions, which were lifted in 1987. Martial law ended in 1984, but many restrictions were still in force. Food shortages continued, and opposition to the government grew. Following widespread strikes in 1988, the government was forced to recognize Solidarity and allow it to participate in elections in 1989, when Solidarity-backed candidates won overwhelmingly in parliament. The Polish government, still facing shortages, has announced programs to restructure the economy, including plans to privatize industries. Walesa was elected president in 1990.

Polanski, Roman (1933-). Polish actor and director. Polanski is widely considered one of the most original and disturbing film directors of his generation; both his movies and his personal life have generated much controversy. Born in

Paris, Polanski grew up in Crakow, Poland. A survivor of the HOLOCAUST, he later attended the Polish Film School at Lodz (1954). During the late 1950s he wrote, directed or acted in several short films. His first feature, *Knife in the Water* (1962), brought Polanski international notice. He subsequently moved to England, where he directed *Repulsion* (1965) and *Cul de Sac* (1966). His first HOLLYWOOD film was *The Fearless Vampire Killers* (1967), a horror film spoof. It was followed by *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), a suspense thriller about witchcraft in New York City that became a popular hit and is regarded as a classic of its genre. The following year Polanski's wife, actress Sharon Tate, was murdered by Charles MANSON. The sensationalism and publicity surrounding the case drove Polanski to seek refuge in England, where he directed a controversial adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1971). Polanski's *Chinatown* (1974), starring Jack NICHOLSON, was an acclaimed mystery in the FILM NOIR style. *The Tenant* (1976), in which Polanski also acted, was a morbid psychological drama. Shortly thereafter Polanski was arrested in California for statutory rape. While awaiting trial he jumped bail, fled the U.S. and settled in France. His subsequent relationship with actress Nastassia Kinski, whom he directed in *Tess* (1981, an adaptation of Thomas HARDY's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*) also caused considerable comment. His later films include *Pirates* (1986) and *Frantic* (1988).

For further reading:

Wexman, Virginia W., *Roman Polanski*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985.

Police. U.K. rock group; formed in 1976 by bassist Sting (Gordon Sumner), guitarist Andy Summers and drummer Stewart Copeland. They stirred little interest in the then punk-dominated music scene until all three dyed their hair blond. Their music was more cerebral than that of their peers, with a pronounced THIRD WORLD influence. Their breakthrough album, *Outlandos d'Amour*, included the hit "Can't Stand Losing You." Although they claim to still exist as a group, all have pursued solo careers since the early 1980s. Their last number-one hit as a group was "Every Breath You Take" in 1983. Sting's solo career included a critically dismissed Broadway appearance in *Threepenny Opera* and film work in *Dune* and *The Bride*. He has made many concert appearances on behalf of Amnesty International, as well as ecological causes.

political correctness ["pc"]. A controversial concept, and the term used to describe it, that surfaced in many American universities in the late 1980s and early 1990s. "Political correctness" or "pc" was especially prominent in humanities departments at Duke and Stanford universities, among other institutions. Faculty members who advocated "political correctness" generally saw the classroom as a forum for instilling "progressive" or "correct" political ideals in their students. PC advocates criticized traditional courses in Western literature and civilization as

biased, and instead favored a "multicultural" approach to history and literature. Political correctness aimed at a larger criticism of Western society, which was viewed as controlled by white males at the expense of women and minorities. On some campuses, faculty members whose courses did not conform to so-called "politically correct" ideologies were denounced as racist or sexist and were often denied tenure. Critics of political correctness viewed it as a latter-day left-wing version of MCCARTHYISM. The term was used derisively by those who saw it as an art extremist attempt to rewrite history and stifle intellectual debate. President George BUSH weighed in against the idea of political correctness in an address at the University of Michigan in the spring of 1991.

For further reading:

Kimball, Roger, *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education*. New York: HarperCollins, 1990.

Pollard, Fritz (Frederick Douglas) (1894-1986). American athlete and coach. In 1916, after a sensational season as a halfback for Brown University, Pollard became the first black to be named to an all-American college football team. He was the only black head coach of an NFL team, until Art Snell was named a head coach in 1989.

Pollock, Jackson (1912-1956). American painter. After finishing school in the West, Pollock moved to New York City and enrolled in the Art Students League (1930-33). Pollock was interested in abstract art. His paintings became splotches and splashes and drippings and textures, said by some critics to be thoroughly controlled. His paintings started the art movement that later became known as the "action school." Beginning in 1973 his paintings brought the highest prices ever paid for contemporary art. His *The Search* was sold in 1988 for \$4,840,000.

For further reading:

Frank, Elizabeth, *Jackson Pollock, 1912-1956*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1983.

Naifeh, Steven, *Jackson Pollock: An American Genius*. New York: Crown, 1989.

Pol Pot (born Saloth Sar) (1928-). The notorious leader of the Cambodian KHMER ROUGE was born in Kompong Thom province, the youngest of seven children in a family that could be classified as "rich peasants." He attended a Catholic primary school in Phnom Penh and Norodom Sihanouk High School in Kompong Cham City. In 1949 he received a scholarship for a two-year technician's course at the Ecole Francaise de Radioelectricite in Paris. There Pol Pot joined a small group of Cambodian students in the "Marxist Circle." He returned to Phnom Penh in 1953 and later joined the Vietnamese-Khmer UIF cell in the eastern zone. In 1955 he returned to Phnom Penh and became involved with the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party or KPRP. Throughout the 1950s he gained increasing control over party activities in the city. After the murder of party leader Tou Samouth in 1962 (perhaps by the Pol Pot

POLAND

Michener's Harsh Reading

James Michener specializes in long books with short titles that almost always end up on the best-seller list. "Poland,"* the 76-year-old author's latest *magnum opus*, is no exception. Like its predecessors "Hawaii," "Chesapeake" and "Space," "Poland" is the result of years of research, travel and just plain hanging out by the author, who made a dozen visits to the country since he began working on the novel in 1977. Michener interviewed everyone from the archbishop of Cracow—now known as Pope John Paul II—to survivors of Maidanek, a Nazi concentration camp where hundreds of thousands of Poles, Jews and Gypsies were exterminated. But as English-language copies of the book begin to make their way into Poland itself, some Poles are saying that Michener got it wrong.

The critics include both government officials and their detractors. "Michener is sympathetic toward Poland," said Stanislaw Glabinski, director of the government-run Interpress news agency. "But liking and understanding the country are two different things." Krzysztof Sliwinski, the former head of Solidarity's foreign department in Warsaw, says that Michener "wants to say that all Poles are good patriots. [That's a] terrible oversimplification."

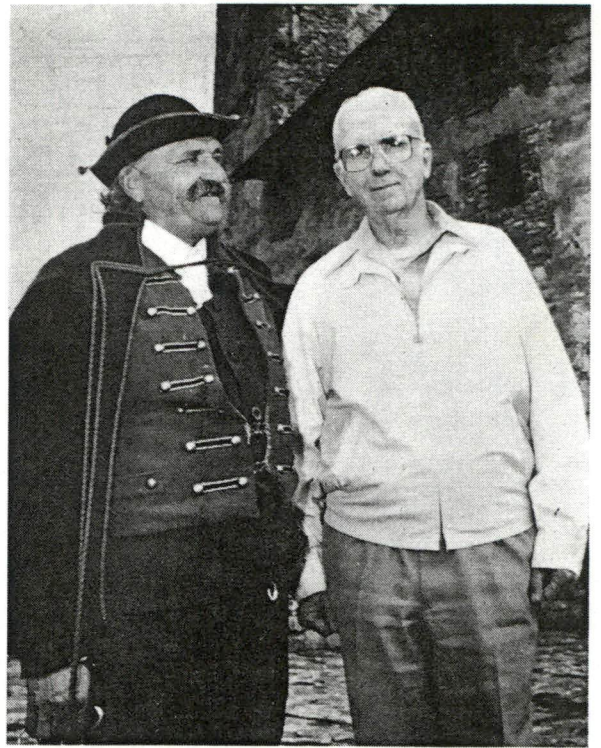
Neglect: The novel is a compassionate account of the Polish people's long struggle against oppression. It begins and ends in 1981 with a confrontation between rebellious farmers and the Polish minister of agriculture. In between, Michener sandwiches 700 years of Polish history, told from the viewpoint of three families. All the characters end up being related to each other, but it isn't Michener's novelistic invention that bothers the Poles. It's what he leaves out. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance. Michener "seems honestly lacking in an

*Random House. \$17.95

understanding of the church," says Sliwinski, who faults the book for neglecting the church's primary place in Polish history. Sliwinski said that Michener committed another "stunning" oversight when he skipped Poland's 19th-century uprising against Russia—a clash that many believe is central to Polish attitudes toward its powerful neighbor.

Michener also draws fire for his neglect of Poland's Jews. The 1944 Warsaw uprising gets only a passing glance, and the pogroms that were a regular part of 17th- and 18th-century Jewish life in Poland are covered in a single sentence: "Animosities did sometimes flare." His Polish critics find Michener's treatment of the Soviet Union ideological to a fault. "The book is permeated with anticommunist, anti-Soviet outbursts," Glabinski wrote in the newspaper *Polityka*. A highly placed government adviser complains that Michener "tends to interpret the postwar period as if it was all imported on Soviet bayonets." Even former Solidarity official Sliwinski pummels Michener's version of Polish history: "All that is bad is attributed to evil power in the East, and that is a very simple philosophy."

Michener defends the accuracy of his novel. He admits excluding important historical events, but says that in the case of the Warsaw uprising his rural setting ruled out any extensive treatment. Polish critics leave Michener unfazed. "In any divided country," he said, "there's a divided reception." And "Poland" does have Polish defenders. "Even with its mistakes and misunderstandings, there is pretty good infor-



Stanislaw Moszuk

The author (right) in Poland: Did he get it wrong?

mation," said Andrzej Werner, a critic at the Institute for Literary Studies.

Michener would like the book to be published in Poland, but he has yet to receive a firm offer. If a deal goes through, Michener could be paid in Polish zlotys. He says he doesn't mind: "I'd go there and spend them." The book would probably be censored, but that doesn't seem to bother Michener either. "I wouldn't be a party to it but it's what a vigorous writer expects to happen."

In the meantime, a Polish-American group is negotiating for the rights to distribute a Polish-language translation in the United States, a project Michener supports. One reason, of course, is that when the translation is published, copies will undoubtedly reach Poland—and the only omissions would be Michener's own.

D. D. GUTTENPLAN with DOUGLAS STANGLIN in Warsaw and TESSA NAMUTH in Houston

The Godfather Game

The object is to gain control of Sicily—its airports, real estate, construction projects, banks and, most important, its billion-dollar drug trade. But the players use dice, not guns. From Milan to Messina last week, a board game called Mafia was becoming Italy's answer to Monopoly. The rules call for each Mafia "family," abetted by henchmen, to move around a map of Sicily selling heroin and eluding the police. The state fights back with two policemen, a secret agent and a *prefetto*, or provincial governor. Mafiosi increase their luck when they draw cards giving them a "mole in local headquarters" or a "hired gun from Las Vegas." They lose points to the state for such peccadil-

loes as "10 bodies at the bottom of the bay."

Not all of Italy thinks it's fun. The real Mafia was involved in crimes that took 280 lives in Sicily last year. Sociologist Pino Arlacchi says that to make a game of the mayhem is "in appalling taste." Father Ennio Pintacuda, who works with a social-studies center in Palermo, agrees: "Children should be educated into revolt and rejection of the Mafia," he says. For the defense, Sergio Battista, a representative of toy sellers in Rome, replies, "That a child identifies with the robbers in a game doesn't mean that he is going to become one." Score one for enterprise. But it left unanswered another unsettling question: whether kids or godfathers are playing, what chance do the real police have for winning the game?





Mazowiecki and Walesa: a warning not to question the legitimacy of government

POLAND

A cabinet shakeup

The prime minister bows to Walesa's demands

In recent weeks, the coalition government of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has had to grapple with a major rail strike. It also dispatched police to break up two protests by angry farmers demanding guaranteed prices for their produce. But Mazowiecki's most serious problem was a potentially ruinous power struggle between workers and intellectuals in Solidarity, the once-banned trade union movement whose dramatic rise to power last September inspired democratization throughout Eastern Europe. Its leader, former shipyard electrician Lech Walesa, has accused "eggheads" in the Solidarity-led government of destroying Poland's "beautiful revolution" with austere economic policies and collusion with former Communists. In turn, supporters of Mazowiecki have accused Walesa of "despotic" behavior. But last week, under fire from his former ally, Mazowiecki waved the white flag.

In a major speech to parliament on July 6, the prime minister attempted to restore momentum to his government's flagging reform program by bowing to Walesa's key demands. He announced the resignations of several cabinet ministers, including three of the four former Communists who remained in the government as the old regime's price for Solidarity coming to power last fall. He also urged more rapid privatization of state enterprises and proposed that presidential and parliamentary elections be held "significantly earlier" than next spring. But, at the same time, Mazowiecki issued a warning to Walesa. "I see danger on the

peaceful Polish road to democracy," he said. "At a time of great change in our part of the world, Poland cannot afford for the legitimacy of the legislative authorities to be questioned."

Mazowiecki's supporters have been outspoken in their opposition to Walesa's ambitious plans to replace former Communist leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski as president. The war of words turned into action last month, when 63 top intellectuals resigned from Solidarity's 200-member Citizens' Committee, signalling a fundamental break within the union.

Observers said that Mazowiecki's concessions last week were an attempt to keep Solidarity from disintegrating and to gain Walesa's crucial support as Poland struggles to create a free-market economy. To that end, he won parliamentary approval to fire the ministers of interior, defence and transport, all former Communists, and the minister of agriculture, who is a member of a party formerly allied to the Communists. In an embarrassing reversal for Mazowiecki, however, the parliament, where ex-Communists still hold two-thirds of the seats, refused to back the firing of the communications minister.

With the cabinet shuffle, Mazowiecki appeared to have won some measure of political peace. But it could well be short-lived. At week's end, the country's 2.5 million farmers threatened nationwide roadblocks to protest the government's economic austerity.

ANDREW BILSKI with BOGDAN TUREK
in Warsaw

SAUDI ARABIA

Pilgrimage to tragedy

Catastrophe strikes in Islam's holy city

It was sweltering hot, nearly 44° C, as devout Moslems attending the last days of the annual haj, or pilgrimage, surged through the 550-m-long pedestrian tunnel connecting Mecca to a tent city in Mina last week. Without warning, Saudi officials said later, a railing on a bridge above the tunnel gave way, sending seven pilgrims tumbling to their deaths on top of people below. Some witnesses said that the air-conditioning system had also failed, adding to the panic as people gasped for breath in the airless tunnel. A stampede ensued. As the frightened pilgrims pushed and shoved their way to exits, hundreds of people were trampled to death. Many more suffocated. "It was an unbearable sight," said one survivor from his hospital bed. "I lay on a heap of more than 20 bodies." In all, at least 1,426 people died, and scores more were seriously injured.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd described the July 2 tragedy as "the will of almighty God." Said Fahd: "Perhaps it was their fate to become martyrs." But, to Iranian leaders, the accident showed that the Saudis were not fit to administer Islam's holiest shrines around Mecca, which is the birthplace of Mohammed, the seventh-century prophet and founder of Islam. "This is a bitter incident which cannot be taken lightly," said Iran's President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. Iran boycotted the haj for the third year in a row to protest a Saudi ban on political protests and a quota limiting the number of pilgrims from each country. When Iran last allowed its nationals to attend the haj, in 1987, pilgrims staged anti-Western demonstrations, and 402 of them, mostly Iranians, were killed in clashes with security forces.

Most of the two million pilgrims who come to Mecca annually are frail and elderly, making the once-in-a-lifetime haj demanded of Moslems. The Saudi government provides medical care, builds tented pilgrim cities and distributes free umbrellas and cold water. Soldiers patrol the sacred sites, and plainclothes security men mingle with the crowds. Despite all those efforts, hundreds of pilgrims die each year from sunstroke, occasional epidemics—or violence. But while Moslems around the world mourned last week's disaster, their grief was tempered by their belief that pilgrims who die during the haj go straight to paradise.

MARY NEMETH with correspondents' reports

Embassy Counterpart List

Warsaw, Poland
April 30, 1992

President's program/schedule: Michael Hornblow, DCM

Tentative Events Officers:

- Arrival: Col. Gardewin, Air Attache
- Meeting with President: Michael Anderson, POL Officer
- Meeting with Prime Minister: Chris Doherty*, POL Officer
- ~~*~~-Paderewski Ceremony: Alec Mally, ECON Officer
- ~~*~~-Speech: Mark Canning, Information Officer
- Departure: Col. Gardewin, Air Attache

Security: ARSO Jack Hurley/RSO Burley Fuselier

Baggage: Elizabeth Molinar, GSO

Communications: Kirk Ingvoldstad, CPO

Accommodations/Transportation: Phyllis Powers/Tim Harley, GSO

Protocol/Gifts: John Boris, POL Officer

Control Room: Linda Erskine/Jonathan Cebra, PER

Military Liaison: Sue Bembers, DAO

Medical Liaison: Elizabeth Wesoloski, FSNP

Thank you Letters: Beverly Berg, Consular Officer

First Lady Control Officer: Baxter Hunt, Consular Officer

Secretary Program/Schedule - Tom Brennan

*Change from cabled list

Mtg.
April 30
Am Emb Warsaw

advance team ar.
6/20 or 21 W, Pol.

visit: 4-5 hrs. Sun. July 5th (ten.)
arr. noon-

4 events, maybe 5

- 1) visit w/ Pres. (@ his Residence)
- 2) church service - remains of Paderewski remains
- ★ 3) address outdoors to the Polish people (500,000)
- 4) meeting w/ Polish-Am. bus. community
- 5) mtg. w/ P Minister

Today's

5:30 pm - counterpart mtgs. @ hotel

TBD Am. comm. gr.
Peace Corps event

Royal Castle
in ~~Castle~~ square, Statue of King ~~Zygmunt~~ Zygmunt
(ys?)
Carrying cross upon
Shoulder

no remarks, though

Cathedral - old town

↓
Bazylika Archikatedralna Sw. Ja
(St.)

Cathedral of St. John the Baptist

Paderewski memorial at Cathedral

pianist, statesman, a believer in
God & country

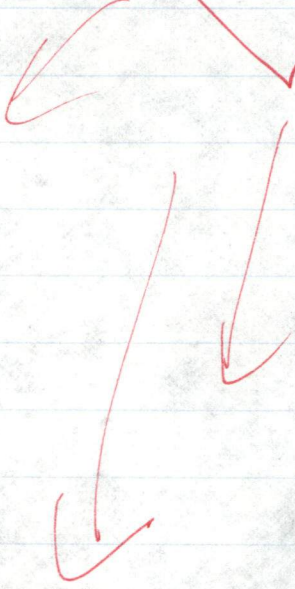
← Street to Cathedral

Stage

Shops

Royal Castle

Zygmunt
Statue



background notes

Poland



United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

June 1991



Official Name:
Republic of Poland

PROFILE

Geography

Area: 312,680 sq. km. (120,725 sq. mi.); about the size of New Mexico. **Cities** (1988): *Capital*—Warsaw (pop. 1.7 million). *Other cities*—Lodz (851,500), Krakow (743,700), Wroclaw (637,400), Poznan (586,500), Gdansk (461,000). **Terrain:** Flat plain, except mountains along southern border. **Climate:** Temperate continental.

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Pole(s). *Adjective*—Polish. **Population** (1990): 38 million. **Annual growth rate:** Negligible. **Ethnic groups:** Polish 99%, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Jewish. **Religions:** Roman Catholic 95%, Eastern Orthodox, Uniate, Protestant. **Language:** Polish. **Literacy:** 98%. **Health** (1989): *Infant mortality rate*—13/1,000. *Life expectancy*—males 68 yrs., females 77 yrs. **Work force:** 17 million (1988). **Agriculture**—28%. **Industry and construction**—37%. **Trade, community services, transport, communications**—18%. **Government and other**—17%.

Government

Type: Republic. **Constitution:** July 22, 1952 (as amended).

Branches: *Executive*—chief of state (president). *Legislative*—bicameral National Assembly (lower house—*Sejm*, upper house—Senate). *Judicial*—Supreme Court, provincial and local courts.

Administrative subdivisions: 49 provinces (*voivodships*).

Political parties: Almost all freely elected seats in the present parliament are held by members who were supported by Citizens Committees organized by Solidarity before the June 1989 elections. These *Sejm* deputies and senators formed the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP). As plans are made for parliamentary elections in which all seats will be freely contested, many new parties are emerging. **Suffrage:** Universal over age 18.

National holiday: May 3.

Flag: Two equal-sized horizontal bands of white (upper) and red (lower).

Economy

GNP: \$172 billion. **Per capita:** \$4,600 (purchasing power parity estimate, 1989). **Economic growth rate** (1989 est.): -1.6%. **Inflation rate:** 249% (retail prices of consumer goods and services, Dec. 1990 vs. Dec. 1989).

Natural resources: Coal, sulfur, copper, natural gas, silver, lead, salt.

Agriculture: *Products*—grains, sugar beets, potatoes, livestock, oilseed.

Industry: *Types*—machine-building, iron and steel, extractive industries, chemicals, shipbuilding, food processing, glass, beverages, textiles.

Trade (1989 est.): *Exports*—\$28 billion (f.o.b.): machinery and equipment, coal, minerals, metals. *Imports*—\$24 billion (f.o.b.): machinery and equipment, fuels, minerals, metals, agricultural and forestry products.

Exchange rate (Jan. 1991): 11,200 zlotys=US\$1.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and several specialized agencies, including International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (IBRD); General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).



518048 4-76

GEOGRAPHY

Poland is located in Eastern Europe in the same general latitude as southern Canada. Natural barriers form its boundaries on the north (the Baltic Sea) and the south (the Carpathian Mountains along the border with Czechoslovakia). In an east-west direction, the country is part of a continuous plain that starts in Central Europe and continues to the Ural Mountains.

The climate is temperate, with moderately severe winters and mild summers. Annual rainfall varies from 50 centimeters (20 in.) in most of the

country to 122 centimeters (48 in.) in the mountains.

Poland is the largest country in Eastern Europe. The pre-World War II, easternmost territories (181,300 sq. km./70,000 sq. mi.) were incorporated into the Soviet Union after the war. As a result of the 1945 Potsdam agreement, some 103,600 sq. km. (40,000 sq. mi.) of former German areas in the north and west were placed under Polish administration and have since been incorporated into the Polish state. Poland and West Germany signed a treaty in 1970 accepting existing frontiers. After German

unification, the Polish and German foreign ministers signed a border treaty in November 1990; it awaits ratification early in 1991.

PEOPLE

Poland has the second largest population in Eastern Europe (after the Soviet Union). Today it is ethnically almost homogeneous (98% Polish) in contrast with the pre-World War II period, when there were significant ethnic minorities—4.5 million Ukrainians, 3 million Jews, 1 million

Byelorussians, and 800,000 Germans. The majority of the Jews were killed during the German occupation in World War II, and many others emigrated in the succeeding years. Most Germans left Poland at the end of the war, while many Ukrainians and Byelorussians lived in territories incorporated into the USSR.

HISTORY

Poland's historic record begins with the reign of Mieszko I, who accepted Christianity for himself and his kingdom in AD 966. The Polish state reached its zenith under the Jagiellonian dynasty in the years following the union with Lithuania in 1386 and the subsequent defeat of the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald in 1410. The monarchy survived many upheavals but eventually went into a prolonged decline, ending with the final partition of Poland by Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1795.

1918 Through World War II

Independence for Poland was one of the 14 points enunciated by President Woodrow Wilson during World War I. Many Polish-Americans enlisted in the military services to further this aim, and the United States worked at the postwar conference to ensure its implementation. However, the Poles were largely responsible for achieving their own independence in 1918. The United States established diplomatic relations with the newly formed Polish Republic in April 1919.

A turbulent period of parliamentary democracy lasted from 1919 to 1926, when Marshal Jozef Pilsudski installed an authoritarian regime. The invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany in 1939 marked the onset of World War II. The country remained under either German or Soviet occupation until the end of the war but had a government-in-exile, first in Paris and later in London. The government-in-exile and Soviet authorities negotiated the organization, evacuation, and deployment in the west of an army of 110,000 Polish prisoners-

of-war captured after the Soviet invasion of Poland on September 17, 1939. The number of armed Poles reached about 600,000 during World War II—400,000 in an army formed in the Soviet Union under Soviet command and 200,000 fighting on western fronts in units loyal to the Polish government-in-exile.

The Soviet Union broke relations with the exiled Polish government in April 1943 on the pretext that the Poles had insulted the USSR by requesting that the Red Cross investigate mass graves of murdered Polish army officers found by German military authorities at Katyn.

In July 1944, the Soviet Union installed a communist-controlled "Polish Committee of National Liberation" at Lublin, in the area of Poland that advancing Soviet armies had brought under their control. In January 1945, the USSR recognized this committee as the Polish government.

Meanwhile, the Polish underground staged an unsuccessful uprising against the Germans in Warsaw (August-October 1944). After suppressing the uprising, the Germans evacuated the surviving population and leveled the city as they retreated in January 1945.

Following the Yalta Conference of early 1945, a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity was formed in June 1945; the US recognized it the next month. Although the Yalta agreement called for free elections, those held in January 1947 were controlled by the Communist Party. The communists then established a regime entirely under their domination.

Communist Party Domination

In October 1956, after the 20th ("de-Stalinization") Soviet Party Congress at Moscow and riots by workers in Poznan, a shake-up in the communist regime returned Wladyslaw Gomulka to power as first secretary. Gomulka, a former head of the Polish Communist Party, had been ousted in 1948 and later imprisoned for "nationalist tendencies." While retaining most traditional communist economic and social aims, the Gomulka regime liberalized Polish internal life.

In 1968, a reverse trend set in when student demonstrations were suppressed and an "anti-Zionist" campaign initially directed against Gomulka supporters within the party eventually led to the emigration of much of Poland's remaining Jewish population.

In December 1970, workers' discontent erupted into riots on Poland's Baltic coast. Disturbances and strikes in the port cities of Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, triggered by a price increase for essential consumer goods, reflected deep dissatisfaction with living and working conditions in the country. Gomulka was replaced as first secretary by Edward Gierek.

Gierek improved economic conditions by increasing real wages, easing food distribution problems, providing more and better consumer goods, and modernizing Polish industry, for which much of the equipment and technology came from the West. Fueled by large infusions of Western credit, Poland's economic growth rate was one of the world's highest during the first half of the 1970s. But much of the borrowed capital was misspent, and the centrally planned economy was unable to use the new resources effectively. The growing debt burden became insupportable in the late 1970s, as recession in the West and inflation and market problems at home became more severe. Economic growth slowed and actually became negative by 1979.

In October 1978, the Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, became Pope John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church. Polish Catholics rejoiced at the elevation of a Pole to the papacy and greeted his June 1979 visit to Poland with an outpouring of emotion.

The Gierek regime continued to try to stop the spiraling economic decline by borrowing from the West. In July 1980, with the Polish foreign debt at more than \$20 billion, the government made another attempt to increase meat prices. A chain reaction of strikes virtually paralyzed the Baltic coast by the end of August and, for the first time, closed most coal mines in Silesia. Poland was entering into an extended crisis which would change the course of its future development.

The Solidarity Movement

On August 31, 1980, workers at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, led by an electrician named Lech Walesa, signed a 21-point agreement with the government which ended their strike. Similar agreements were signed at Szczecin and in Silesia. The key provision of all these agreements was the guarantee of the workers' right to form independent trade unions and the right to strike. After the Gdansk agreement was signed, a new national union movement—"Solidarity"—swept Poland.

The discontent underlying the strikes was intensified by revelations of widespread corruption and mismanagement within the Polish state and party leadership. At the sixth Central Committee Plenum of the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party (PZPR) in September 1980, Gierek was replaced by Stanislaw Kania as first secretary. Other changes in the party and state bureaucracies continued during the following months, and some initial attempts were made at economic and political reforms in the midst of continuing worker unrest.

Alarmed by the rapid deterioration of the PZPR's authority following the Gdansk agreement, the Soviet Union proceeded with a massive buildup of its forces along Poland's border in December 1980. In February 1981, Defense Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski assumed the position of prime minister as well, and in October 1981, he also was named party first secretary. At the first Solidarity national congress in September-October 1981, Lech Walesa was elected national chairman of the union.

The collapse of talks among party, union, and church leaders on a front of national understanding in November 1981 was followed by a call from Solidarity for democratic elections and a referendum on the Communist Party's continued dominance of the state. On December 12-13, the regime declared martial law under which the army and special riot police were used to crush the union. Virtually all of the Solidarity leaders were arrested or detained, as were many affiliated intellectuals. In

October 1982, the *Sejm* (parliament) adopted a new law abolishing Solidarity and all other unions.

The United States and other Western countries responded to the declaration of martial law by imposing economic sanctions against the Polish regime and against the Soviet Union. Unrest in Poland continued for several years thereafter.

In a series of slow, uneven steps, the Polish regime ended many of the extraordinary repressive measures associated with martial law. In December 1982, martial law was suspended, and internees were released; a large number of political prisoners continued to be detained. Martial law formally ended in July 1983 and, while a general amnesty was enacted, several hundred political prisoners remained in jail.

The abduction and murder of pro-Solidarity priest Father Jerzy Popieluszko by the security police in October 1984 shocked and angered the Polish people. Four security officers were tried for the murder and in February 1985 were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms. Although their trial was marred by the government's efforts to use it as a vehicle for anti-clerical propaganda, it was an unprecedented event in Poland and in the communist world.

In July 1984, another general amnesty was declared, and 2 years later, the government had released nearly all political prisoners. The authorities continued, however, to punish dissidents and Solidarity activists by assessing severe fines and confiscating private property, such as automobiles. Solidarity was still proscribed, and its publications were banned. The independent publications that were tolerated were subject to censorship. The security police continued to harass those citizens whose attempts to exercise the rights of free speech and free assembly were seen as threatening to the communist regime.

The implausible claim made by the authorities that Solidarity had ceased to exist after the imposition of martial

law reinforced the government's lack of credibility. For the majority of Poles, the communist regime lacked legitimacy and was simply the creation of a powerful neighbor.

Roundtable Talks and Elections

The government's inability to forestall Poland's economic decline led to waves of strikes across the country in May-August 1988. In an attempt to take control of the situation, the government gave *de facto* recognition to Solidarity, and on August 31 Interior Minister Kiszczak began talks with Lech Walesa. These talks broke off in October, but in February 1989 a new series began—the "roundtable" talks. Agreement was reached in April providing for partially free elections to a bicameral National Assembly. By the terms of the agreement, the June election produced a *Sejm* (lower house) in which one-third of the seats went to communists and one-third went to the two parties which had hitherto been their coalition partners, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. The remaining one-third of the seats in the *Sejm* and all those in the Senate (upper house) were freely contested; virtually all of these were won by candidates supported by Solidarity, working at the local level through newly established Citizens Committees.

The failure of the communists at the polls produced a political crisis. The roundtable agreement called for a communist president, but on July 19, the National Assembly, with the support of some Solidarity deputies, elected Gen. Jaruzelski to that office by a single vote. Two attempts by the communists to form governments failed, however. On August 19, President Jaruzelski asked journalist/Solidarity activist Tadeusz Mazowiecki to form a government; on September 12, the *Sejm* voted approval of Prime Minister Mazowiecki and his cabinet. While the communists retained responsibility for national defense, internal affairs, and some other ministries, for the first time in more than 40 years, Poland had a government led and dominated by non-communists.

In December 1989, the *Sejm* considered the government's reform program to rapidly transformation the Polish economy from a centrally planned system to a free market, and it amended the constitution to eliminate references to the "leading role" of the Communist Party and renamed the country the "Republic of Poland."

The Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party dissolved itself in January 1990, creating in its place a new party, Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland. Most of the property of the former Communist Party was turned over to the state.

The May 1990 local elections were entirely free. Candidates supported by Solidarity's Citizens Committees won most of the races they contested, although voter turnout was little over 40%. The cabinet was reshuffled in July 1990; the national defense and interior affairs ministers, who were hold-overs from the previous communist government, were among those replaced.

In October 1990, the constitution was amended to curtail the term of President Jaruzelski. In December, Lech Walesa became the first popularly elected president of Poland. At year's end, talks were underway to form a government that would serve until the 1992 parliamentary elections.

GOVERNMENT

The present government structure reflects compromises made in the roundtable agreement between the former communists and the opposition.

The bicameral legislature, the National Assembly, is made up of the 460-member *Sejm* (lower house) and the 100-member Senate (upper house).

The constitution was amended in September 1990 to allow election of the president by general suffrage. The president nominates a prime minister who, together with his cabinet members, must be approved by the *Sejm*. A new constitution is being drafted and must be approved by the parliament elected in 1991.

Judicial proceedings are carried out through a Supreme Court and provincial and local courts.

Principal Government Officials

President—Lech Walesa
Prime Minister—Jan Krzysztof Bielecki
Minister of Finance—Leszek Balcerowicz
Minister of National Defense—Piotr Kolodziejczyk
Minister of Foreign Affairs—Krzysztof Skubiszewski
Ambassador to the US—Kazimierz Dzierzanowski
Ambassador to the UN—Stanislaw Pawlak

Poland maintains an embassy in the United States at 2640 - 16th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009 (tel. 202-234-3800/3801/3802); the consular annex is at 2224 Wyoming Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20008 (tel. 202-234-3800). Poland has consulates in Chicago, New York City, and Los Angeles.

Travel Notes

Entry Requirements: Effective April 15, 1991, Poland discontinued visa requirements for visitors of 90 days or less.

Tourist Attractions: Poland's major tourist attractions include the winter resort area of Zakopane, near the Czechoslovak border; the Wawel Castle, medieval Cloth Hall, and St. Mary's Church in Krakow; the magnificently restored Teutonic fortress of Malbork; the coastal resort of Sopot; and the reconstructed portions of Gdansk and Szczecin (two Hanseatic cities) in the north. Favorite attractions in metropolitan Warsaw include Chopin's birthplace at Zelazowa Wola, Gen. Pulaski's birthplace and museum at Warka, the Wilanow and Lazienki palaces of the kings of Poland, and the painstakingly restored "Old Town."

National Tourist Office (ORBIS): 500 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10110 (tel. 212-391-0844).

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The political scene in Poland reflects the growth of pluralism since the advent of the Mazowiecki government in September 1989. While most leading political figures are identified with the anti-communist opposition of the 1980s, the Solidarity forces have begun to split into groupings of the center-left and center-right. In addition, the Polish Peasants Party has shown political strength by identifying itself with the interests of the country's large rural population. Many other parties have also formed; the 1991 parliamentary elections will show which of them will play a role in the future political life of Poland.

Freedoms of the press, association, and assembly were restored by the Mazowiecki government, and the censor's office was abolished. Constitutional changes are planned to give formal recognition to the human rights which are now respected in practice by the Polish state.

ECONOMY

Poland is undergoing a profound transformation as the government rapidly introduces a free-market system to replace the centrally planned economy. During 1990, the economic reform program stopped hyperinflation, stabilized the currency, brought an end to chronic shortages of consumer goods, and produced a sizable trade surplus. At the same time, however, the economy suffered a recession, with sharp declines in industrial production and real incomes and steadily increasing unemployment. The United States and other Western countries have been supporting the growth of a free enterprise economy by providing direct economic aid, restructuring the debt and rescheduling payments, and encouraging private investment in Poland.

Agriculture

Nearly 30% of Poland's work force is engaged in agriculture. Unlike the industrial sector, Poland's agricultural sector remained largely in private hands during the decades of communist rule. Private farms occupy three fourths of the land and account for about four fifths of agricultural employment and production. These 2.8 million private farms, however, are small—average 5.5 hectares each—and often fragmented. In contrast, the roughly 5,000 state farms average nearly 900 hectares each.

Production of wheat, feed-grains, vegetable oils, and protein meals is insufficient to meet domestic demand. However, Poland is the leading producer in Eastern Europe of potatoes, rapeseed, sugar beets, grains, hogs, and cattle. Attempts to increase domestic feed grain production are hampered by the short growing season, poor soil, and the small size of farms.

While the government's economic reform has generally resulted in sharp price increases to the consumer, the costs to farmers for their inputs have risen faster than the prices they can demand for their products. State monopolies still control agricultural procurement, processing, and distribution. The price for bread is subject to government controls. On the other hand, fertilizer and pesticide prices have risen rapidly, and energy costs have increased several fold.

Implementation of the government's privatization program in the agriculture sector—specifically the breakup of the state monopolies in procurement and distribution—will help bring the costs of inputs and production into balance, but the small size and often fragmented nature of land holdings and the large portion of the population engaged in farming will limit profitability.

Industry

Before World War II, Poland's industrial base was concentrated in the coal, textile, chemical, machinery, iron, and steel sectors. Today it extends to fertilizers, petrochemicals, machine tools, electrical machinery, electronics,

and shipbuilding. Accordingly, exports have become more diversified, including those to hard-currency markets; meat, coal, and copper remain important export commodities.

Poland's industrial base suffered greatly during World War II, and much of the investments in the 1950s were directed toward reconstruction. The need to rebuild existing capacities and the orthodox communist economic system imposed on Poland in the late 1940s resulted in the intense centralization of industries. Large and unwieldy economic structures operated under detailed central command. In part because of this systemic rigidity, with the emphasis on central planning, the economy performed poorly even in comparison with other economies in Eastern Europe.

In 1989, the Mazowiecki government began a comprehensive reform program to replace the centralized command economy with a free-market system.

Economic Reform Program

The *Sejm* passed enabling legislation in December 1989 on the government's economic reform program. The reform program resulted in a drop in the inflation rate from 78.6% in January 1990 to 4.9% in November, and it stabilized the currency. At the same time, however, industrial production fell by 25%, average real incomes dropped by more than 20% and average real wages by almost 30%. By the end of 1990, unemployment grew from a few thousand to more than a million (6.1%, according to the Polish Central Planning Office).

A vital element of the economic reform is the privatization of state-owned enterprises. Enabling legislation was passed by the *Sejm* in July 1990. A Ministry of Ownership Transformation has been created to oversee the conversion of state enterprises into private firms and prepare guidelines for the creation of a stock market. The challenge facing the Polish government is how to privatize thousands of state enterprises, while preventing profiteering and cushioning the work force against unemployment as many large, unprofitable state firms face bankruptcy.

Foreign Trade

Before 1990, Poland's trade was divided about equally between hard currency markets and CEMA countries, where goods and services were traded at artificial CEMA prices, and the transferable ruble was the unit of account. Trade with CEMA countries declined during 1990, and as of January 1991, trade with all these countries switched to world market prices and hard currency settlements. Poland had a current account surplus of more than \$1.8 billion for the first three quarters of 1990, but its trade balance suffered during the final quarter due to rising oil prices and other factors. Oil deliveries from Iraq (made to offset Iraq's \$500 million debt to Poland) stopped in August 1990 in keeping with UN sanctions, while at the same time Soviet deliveries fell below projected levels. With the unification of Germany in 1990, traditional trade ties with East Germany, one of Poland's major trading partners, were disrupted.

Poland's external debt exceeds \$43 billion, and its debt service ratio (the ratio of hard debt service obligations to hard currency earnings) is one of the world's highest, even after successive reschedulings by Poland's commercial and official creditors. Scheduled debt-service payments in 1989 amounted to \$5.2 billion (equivalent to about 60% of the value of total exports in hard currency), but only about \$1.5 billion was actually paid. Most of Poland's debt (about \$28 billion) is owed to Paris Club governments, which in 1990 extended to Poland a rescheduling agreement; the fifth rescheduling since 1981, the 1990 agreement included a temporary moratorium on debt-service payments. The 1991 agreements with the Paris Club reduces Poland's official debt by a minimum of 50%.

Consumer Supplies

As a result of the economic reform program, prices for consumer goods have risen in response to market forces. Demand has been dampened by falling real wages, whose growth is tied to increases in productivity. The serious consumer shortages that were once endemic to the Polish economy have now largely disappeared.

DEFENSE

Poland's armed forces number 305,000. Career soldiers make up about one-third of the army. Men are required to serve a 12-month period of basic military service.

Poland is reducing armaments to levels agreed upon in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), signed in Paris in November 1990. As of the end of 1990, Poland had 2,850 tanks, 654 fighter planes, 2,377 armored personnel carriers, 40 combat helicopters, and 2,300 heavy artillery pieces and missile launchers. Further reductions are planned in order to conform with CFE obligations.

Warsaw Pact members met in early 1991 and disbanded the organization on March 31. Polish officials have begun to restructure the military to increase civilian control and de-politicize its ranks.

At the end of 1990, less than 50,000 Soviet troops were in Poland under Polish-Soviet agreements, primarily to provide logistical support to Soviet troops stationed on the territory of the former German Democratic Republic. Negotiations are underway on their withdrawal and on terms for the transit through Poland of Soviet forces being withdrawn from Germany.

US Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney visited Poland in December 1990 at the invitation of Minister of National Defense Kolodziejczyk. Their talks included the role of visits and training programs in expanding the US-Polish relationship.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Poland is developing a new, independent foreign policy, while strengthening friendly ties to the United States and other Western countries. Although still a member of CEMA—an organization whose future is in question—Poland has a permanent observer at NATO headquarters and is pursuing associate status in the European Community.

Poland took part in the Two-Plus-Four meetings on the borders of the unified Germany. A Polish-German border treaty was signed in November 1990.

US-POLISH RELATIONS

After Gomulka came to power in 1956, Poland appeared ready to follow policies of increased internal liberalization and greater autonomy in foreign affairs. Consequently, relations with the United States began to improve. However, during the 1960s, erosion of internal liberalization and reversion to a policy of full and unquestioning support for Soviet foreign policy objectives caused those relations to stagnate. In 1968-69, an anti-Semitic campaign in Poland contributed to a further deterioration.

The atmosphere for US-Polish relations improved significantly after Gierek succeeded Gomulka as first secretary of the Communist Party, and the new Polish leadership expressed its interest in improving relations with the United States. President Nixon visited Warsaw May-June 1972, when a consular convention was signed. Visits to the United States later that year by the Polish foreign minister and the Minister of Foreign Trade led to the Polish government's decision to settle the question of defaulted pre-World War II bonds with American bondholders.

Edward Gierek visited the United States in October 1974. This visit, the first by a Polish leader, underlined the considerable progress that had been made in US-Polish relations. During this period, several important agreements were concluded to promote cooperation in science and technology, health research, commerce, and other areas. The continued improvement in bilateral relations was reflected by visits to Poland by President Ford (1975) and President Carter (1977).

The birth of Solidarity in 1980 raised the hope that progress would be made in Poland's external relations as well as in its domestic development. US policy throughout the Solidarity period had two goals: to encourage greater respect for human rights and

individual freedom, while at the same time carefully avoiding interference in Poland's internal affairs. Toward this end, for example, the US government provided a total of \$765 million in agricultural assistance during 1981.

In response to the 1981 imposition of martial law, President Reagan introduced a number of sanctions against the Polish regime, including suspending trade credits and food aid, refusing to negotiate the rescheduling of Poland's debt, and restricting the export of advanced technology to Poland. In October 1982, the US suspended most-favored-nation (MFN) status for Poland in response to the Polish government's decision to ban Solidarity.

The United States responded to the gradual human rights improvements in 1983-84 by easing the sanctions and opening a dialogue with Poland. After the amnesty for political prisoners was declared in September 1986, the United States began a re-engagement with Poland which led to the lifting of sanctions in February 1987, as President Reagan restored Poland's MFN tariff status. In June 1987, the United States renewed participation in the Poznan International Fair. In 1988 the US and Poland agreed to upgrade their diplomatic relations and ambassadors were exchanged.

President Bush, who had visited Poland as vice president in 1987, paid a state visit to Poland in July 1989, shortly after the parliamentary elections in which Solidarity candidates scored an overwhelming victory. With the formation in September 1989 of a government dominated by Solidarity, relations between the US and Poland entered a new phase.

Following Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's visit to the United States in November 1989, the Congress passed the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act, which authorized a \$928 million assistance program for Poland and Hungary. Key provisions of the act were a \$200 million contribution to the \$1 billion international fund to stabilize Poland's currency and a \$240 million grant to

create an enterprise fund. These and other SEED programs were designed to support the Polish government's economic reform program and the country's rapid transition to a free-market economy.

During Prime Minister Mazowiecki's visit to Washington in March 1990, the US and Poland agreed to conclude a Business and Economic Agreement to promote closer economic and trade ties. As of June 1991, the agreement was before the *Sejm* awaiting ratification.

President Walesa made a state visit to Washington in March 1991 and signed with President Bush a joint declaration on relations between the two countries.

Poland is rapidly reorienting its political and economic relations in order

to pursue an independent foreign policy and to develop an internationally competitive free-market economy. As it does so, the close cooperation existing in US-Polish relations can be expected to continue and to intensify.

Principal US Officials

Ambassador—Thomas W. Simons, Jr.

Deputy Chief of Mission—Michael Hornblow

Political Counselor—Daniel Fried

Economic Counselor—Paul Wackerbarth

Press and Cultural Affairs Counselor—Stephen Dubrow

Consul General—Anthony Perkins

Principal Officer, Poznan—J. Christian Kennedy

Principal Officer, Krakow—Michael Barry

The US Embassy in Poland is located at Aleje Ujazdowskie 29/31, Warsaw (tel. 628-3041-9). The consulate at Poznan is at Ulica Chopina 4 (tel. 595-86, 595-87); at Krakow, Ulica Stolarska 9 (tel. 577-93, 597-64). ■

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FACT SHEET: POLAND - POLITICAL

- o On December 22, 1990, Lech Walesa became the first popularly elected president of the Republic of Poland.
- o In December 1991 Jan Olszewski was appointed Prime Minister as head of a center-right minority coalition. His cabinet includes Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, a holdover from the previous two governments.
- o Poland's first fully democratic parliamentary elections were held on October 27, 1991, with a number of parties from a wide political spectrum participating. Until that date, two-thirds of the seats in the Sejm, or lower house, were held by the former communists and their allies.
- o The best known political parties emerging from the old Solidarity movement are the Christian Democratic Center Alliance (led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski) and the Democratic Union (led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki). Solidarity itself fielded candidates for the 1991 parliamentary elections, but remains primarily a trade union.
- o A new constitution is being drafted for adoption by the new parliament.
- o Walesa has firmly supported Poland's economic reform program and the new government is expected to continue the reforms, perhaps with some modifications.
- o The Warsaw Pact's military structure was disbanded April 1, 1991.
- o Poland and the former Soviet Union agreed on dates for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, with most troops leaving by November 1992 and the remainder by the end of 1993. Financial compensation problems still remain.
- o Poland, like other Warsaw Pact countries, now has a liaison mission to NATO through its embassy in Brussels. President Walesa visited NATO headquarters in June 1991.
- o The leaders of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary signed a declaration at the Visegrad summit on February 15, 1991, pledging cooperation on matters of common concern.
- o A Polish-German treaty recognizing the Oder-Neisse border was signed in November 1990. Poland and Germany also signed a comprehensive bilateral friendship treaty on economic and other matters in June 1991. Both sides recently ratified these treaties.

UNCLASSIFIED

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND

- o Economic conditions vary throughout Poland. They are generally better in Warsaw and other large urban areas. In predominantly rural southeast Poland and in the northeast conditions are worse with unemployment approaching 20%.
- o The burden of transition, especially frustration with declining living standards, rising unemployment, and uneven income distribution have hampered support for reform.
- o Poland remains in a recession as production continues to fall and unemployment increases. These conditions are expected to continue in 1992. The GOP is estimating zero growth, which may be optimistic.
 - In 1991 Poland suffered a decline in GDP of 8-10%. Overall industrial production decreased 11.9%, although the private sector posted a gain of 25%. Inflation ran 60-70%, unemployment nation-wide hit 11.4%.
- o The industrial sector is problematic. In the first quarter of 1991 only 10.2% of the state-owned firms were profitable. By the end of the year only 6.2% were profitable.
- o The budget deficit is a key problem. Collapse of trade with former CEMA partners led to a serious drop in government revenue. In 1991 the deficit was 6% of GDP. Without stringent budgetary measures, the deficit could reach 15% in 1992.
- o In 1991 Poland ran a trade surplus of \$182 million. Overall exports dropped 1.4%, the first decline in 10 years, as exports to former CEMA partners fell 42%. Hard currency exports increased 18.3% to \$14.2 billion, while hard currency imports jumped 72.6% to \$14.3 billion.
 - Trade is skewed toward the EC, Germany by far the largest trading partner. In 1991 42.9% of Polish exports went to the EC, up from 36.1% in 1990. In 1991 57% of Poland's imports were from the EC, up from 51.3% in 1990.
 - In contrast, in 1991 2.4% of Poland's exports went to the US, down from 2.5% in 1990. Poland's imports from the US were 3.1% of total imports in 1991, down from 3.2% in 1990. (US figures for 1991 are for 7 months.)
- o The association agreement with the EC offers potential for increased exports. In order for Poland to take full advantage of the opportunity, Polish firms must produce goods which are competitive in western markets. Products in which Poland has an advantage and account for nearly 40% of exports to the EC - textiles, steel, agriculture - will face barriers for at least five years.

- o Poland's market is generally open. However, in August 1991 a new tariff schedule with higher rates was introduced to establish a higher base for negotiations with the EC, to raise government revenues, and to protect domestic industry from an expected flood of imports. As the association agreement is implemented these high tariffs could disadvantage US exporters.
- o Poland has been actively entering into economic agreements with Hungary and CSFR and with neighboring CIS republics.
 - The troika countries are beginning talks aimed at creating a free trade area among themselves which would be more liberal, especially in agriculture, than the association agreements with the EC.
 - Poland negotiated a \$2.8 billion barter deal with Russia in December 1991, exchanging foodstuffs, coal, and pharmaceuticals for oil and natural gas. Russia has not delivered the expected amounts of energy - most likely because of technical and administrative glitches and payment disputes - and Poland is renegotiating the agreement.
 - The troika signed on February 16 a border agreement with Ukraine aimed at facilitating trade and promising mutual assistance in the case of mass emigration from CIS. The troika has no plans at present to include Ukraine as a member of the troika, however.
- o Foreign investment in Poland has been disappointing. It totals about \$700million: the US with about \$80 million is second-largest investor after Germany. In great part, this reflects an ambiguous investment climate and slowness by the GOP in making decisions.
- o Poland made progress in reform under its IMF program, controlling inflation and creating necessary frameworks for market economies. While privatization of small firms proceeded quickly, privatization of large enterprises has been sluggish.
 - Poland has only privatized 10.5 % of its large industrial firms. The GOP is attempting to implement a mass privatization program involving investment funds and vouchers, but it will not begin until 1993.
- o Poland should get back on an IMF program so it can take full advantage of benefits from the Paris Club debt reduction agreement and some IBRD lending. Poland also needs to reach agreement with its London Club creditors.

- o On March 23 the GOP presented its 1992 budget to Parliament. Finance Minister Lutkowski, a protege of former Finance Minister Balcerowicz, resigned in February over the program, believing that it risks reigniting inflation and could threaten Poland's transition to a market economy. New Finance Minister Olechowski is well known to international financial institutions.
- o US economic relations with Poland are good. We have encouraged Poland to maintain the pace of economic reform and improve the investment climate, including adequate protection of intellectual property.
 - IPR concerns regard copyright protection for software and two patent issues, compulsory licensing and protection during a transition period. Until these are resolved, we cannot bring the Business and Economic Treaty into effect because Poland's current laws are not compatible with its obligations under the Treaty.
 - The GOP is addressing our copyright concern and an adequate law may be ready to present to the Sejm in the near future. We are still working on the patent issues.

POLAND

363

Words by
JÓZEF WYBICKI (1747-1822)
 Translation by
MARTIN SHAW

Composer unknown

Allegretto vivace

1. Jesz - ce Pol - ska nie zgi - nię - ła, nie - dy my zgi -
 1. Po - land still is ours for ev - er, Long as Poles re -

- je - my, co ran: ob - ca prze - mca zsię - ła,
 - main; Chains the foe bound on her sev - er -

szab - łą, od - bie - rze - my. Marsz, marsz, Da - brów - ski;
 Shall the foe re - tain. On! On! Da - brów - ski!" from

This song, first sung in 1795, was a favourite with the Polish Legions in the Napoleonic wars. It has been sung all over Poland since 1912; in 1927 it was authorised as its National Anthem by the new Polish republican government.

* General Dąbrowski (1755-1818) commanded the Polish Legions.

General Wybicki was among those who organised and led the Legions. He was also a poet and a member of the Polish Parliament.

The melody is the same as that of the National Anthem of Yugoslavia.

cresc.

szle mi zło - skiej do Poi - ski! Za tzo - in pro -
I - ta - lys fair plain! Lead us on ta

cresc.

ritto

- ro - dan: zia - tym się e me - ro - dan.
greet our home - land, Lead us back a - gain!

2. *Przejdziem Wisię, przejdziem Wartę,
będziem Polakami,
aż nam przykład Bonaparte
jak zwyciężać mamy.
Marsz, marsz, Dąbrowski*

3. *Jak Czarniecki do Poznania
po szwedzkim zaborze,
dla ojczyzny ratowania
wrzucił się przez morze.
Marsz, marsz, Dąbrowski*

2. Vistula and Warta over,
Poles we'll ever be;
And from Bonaparte discover
Paths to victory.
On! On! etc.

3. When the Swede had forged our chain,
The Fatherland to save,
Czarniecki, Poznan town to gain,
Plunged into the wave.
On! On! etc.

Words:
HENRI

APR-22-92 MED 16:57

MUSIC A/P

FAX NO. 2027070065

P. 04

First ph

- ¹ Wicked poisons lurk in sweet honey. (Inpia sub dulci melle venena latent.)
 OVID, *Amores*. Bk. i, eleg. 8, l. 104.
 See also SWEETNESS: SWEET AND BITTER.
- ² I know too well the poison and the sting
 Of things too sweet.
 ADELAIDE ANN PROCTER, *Per Pacem ad Lucem*.
- ³ Poison is drunk from cups of gold. (Venenum in auro bibitur.)
 SENECA, *Thyestes*, l. 453.
- Poison is poison though it comes in a golden cup.
 THOMAS ADAMS, *Works*, p. 705. (1630)
- ⁴ I bought an unction of a mountebank,
 So mortal that, but dip a knife in it,
 Where it draws blood no cataplasm so rare,
 Collected from all simples that have virtue
 Under the moon, can save the thing from
 death
 That is but scratch'd withal.
 SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*. Act iv, sc. 7, l. 142.
- Then, venom, to thy work.
 SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*. Act v, sc. 2, l. 333.
- ⁵ In poison there is physic.
 SHAKESPEARE, *II Henry IV*. Act i, sc. 1, l. 137.
- Sweet, sweet, sweet poison for the age's tooth.
 SHAKESPEARE, *King John*. Act i, sc. 1, l. 213.
- ⁶ They love not poison that do poison need.
 SHAKESPEARE, *Richard II*. Act v, sc. 6, l. 38.
- ⁷ Let me have
 A dram of poison, such soon-speeding gear
 As will disperse itself through all the veins
 That the life-weary taker may fall dead
 And that the trunk may be discharg'd of
 breath
 As violently as hasty powder fir'd
 Doth hurry from the fatal cannon's womb.
 SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet*. Act v, sc. 1,
 l. 59.
- ⁸ Oh! you do bear a poison in your mind
 That would not let you rest in Paradise.
 CHARLES JEREMIAH WELLS, *Joseph and His
 Brethren*. Act iii, sc. 1.
- ⁹ He kissed her cold corpse a thousand times
 o'er,
 And called her his jewel though she was no
 more;
 And he drank all the pison like a lovyer so
 brave,
 And Villikins and Dinah lie buried in one
 grave.
 UNKNOWN, *Villikins and Dinah*. George Au-
 gustus Sala (*Autobiography*) states that this
 ballad is older than the age of Elizabeth;
 modern version interpolated by Henry May-
 hew in his *Wandering Minstrel*.

POLAND

- ¹⁰ Hope of the half-defeated; house of gold,
 Shrine of the sword and tower of ivory.
 HILAIRE BELLOC.
 Mr. Belloc has put the Polish ideal into lines ded-
 icated to a great Polish shrine.
 CHESTERTON, *Generally Speaking*, p. 53.
- ¹¹ She, like the eagle, will renew her age,
 And fresh historic plumes of Fame put on,—
 Another Athens after Marathon,
 Where eloquence shall fulmine, arts refine.
 THOMAS CAMPBELL, *Lines on Poland*, l. 30.
- ¹² He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.
 SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet*. Act i, sc. 1, l. 63.
- ¹³ The heart of Poland hath not ceased
 To quiver, tho' her sacred blood doth drown
 The fields, and out of every smouldering town
 Cries to Thee.
 TENNYSON, *Poland*, l. 3.

POLICE

- ¹⁴ Ah, take one consideration with another—
 A policeman's lot is not a happy one.
 W. S. GILBERT, *The Pirates of Penzance*. Act ii.
- ¹⁵ A fiend, a fury, pitiless and rough;
 A wolf, nay, worse, a fellow all in buff;
 A back-friend, a shoulder-clapper, one that
 countermands
 The passages of alleys, creeks and narrow
 lands;
 A hound that runs counter and yet draws dry-
 foot well;
 One that before the judgement carries poor
 souls to hell.
 SHAKESPEARE, *The Comedy of Errors*. Act iv,
 sc. 2, l. 35.
- ¹⁶ Thou art pinch'd for't now.
 SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest*. Act v, sc. 1, l. 74.
- ¹⁷ Policemen are soldiers who act alone; soldiers
 are policemen who act in unison.
 HERBERT SPENCER, *Social Statics*. Pt. iii, ch. 21,
 sec. 8.
- ¹⁸ A lidless watcher of the public weal.
 TENNYSON, *The Princess*. Pt. iv, l. 306.
- ¹⁹ You'll be copped, then.
 THOMAS TERRELL, *Lady Delmar*. Act i.
 There were cries of "Coppers, coppers!" in the
 yard.
 THOMAS TERRELL, *Lady Delmar*. Act i.
- POLICY, see Cunning
- POLITENESS, see Courtesy, Manners

GERMANY AND THE GERMANS

I—National Songs

1
This is the German's Fatherland,
Where wrath pursues the foreign band,
Where every Frank is held a foe,
And Germans all as brothers glow;
That is the land!

All Germany's thy Fatherland!
(Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,
Wo Zorn vertilgt den wälschen Tand,
Wo jeder Franzmann heisset Feind,
Wo jeder Deutsche heisset Freund—
Das soll es sein!

Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!)
ERNST MORITZ ARNDT, *Des Deutschen Vaterland*. (c. 1808)

O Germany! bright Fatherland!
O German love so true!
Thou sacred land, thou beauteous land,
We swear to thee anew!
Outlawed, each knave and craven shall
The crow and raven feed!
But we will to the battle all—
Revenge shall be our meed.
(O Deutschland, heil'ges Vaterland!
A deutsche Lieb und Treue!
Du hohes Land! Du schönes Land!
Dir schwören wir aufs neue;
Dem Buben und dem Knecht die Acht!
Der füttrt Krähn und Raben!
So ziehn wir aus zur Hermannschlacht
Und wollen Rache haben.)

ERNST MORITZ ARNDT, *Vaterlandslied*. (c. 1808)

2
Germany [stands for me] above all, above all
the world! (Deutschland, Deutschland über
Alles, über Alles in der Welt.)

A. H. HOFFMAN VON FALLERSLEBEN, *Deutschlandlied*. (1841) The melody was composed by Joseph Haydn, and is that of the old Austrian Imperial Anthem, the *Kaiserhymne*. It was first played 12 Feb., 1797. Popular as a marching song during World War I, it is amusing to recall that they also marched to "Weit ist der weg zurueck ins Heimatland, Weit, weit, weit," exactly the same meter and tune as the British soldiers' "Pack your troubles in the old kit bag and smile, smile, smile." "Austria above all" (*Oesterreich über Alles*) was the title of a pamphlet written in 1684 by P. W. von Hornich, and "Prussia above all" (*Preussen über Alles*) came from an unknown author in 1817. The third stanza of the *Deutschlandlied*, beginning "Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit (Unity and Right and Freedom), was proclaimed the official Anthem of the Federal Republic of Germany by President Theodore Heuss, 2 May, 1952. It runs as follows:

Unity and Right and Freedom
For the German Fatherland!

For this let all fraternally
Strive each with heart and hand!
Unity and Right and Freedom
Are the pledge of happiness.
Bloom in splendor of this happiness,
Germany, our Fatherland.
(Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Für das deutsche Vaterland!
Danach lasst uns alle streben
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Sind des Glückes Unterpfand.
Blüh im Glanze dieses Glückes,
Blühe, deutsches Vaterland!)

3
French and Russian they matter not,
A blow for a blow and a shot for a shot! . . .
We have one foe and one alone, England!
(Wir haben nur einen einzigen Feind,
England!)

ERNST LISSAUER, *Hassgesang Gegen England*.
(1914) For fuller quotation see 2299c:4.

3a
I had a faithful comrade,
None better could you find;
The battle drum beat gaily,
He marched beside me daily,
And never fell behind.
(Ich hatt einen Kameraden,
Einen bessern findst du nit.
Die Tromme schlug zum Streite,
Er ging an meiner Seite
In gleichem Schritt und Tritt.
LUDWIG UHLAND, *Der Gute Kamerad*. (1915)

4
Dear Fatherland, no danger thine.
Firm stand thy sons to watch the Rhine!
(Lieb Vaterland, magst ruhig sein,
Fest stet und treu die Wacht am Rhein.
(1840)

II—Germany: Some Familiar Phrases

6
Our next war will be fought for the highest
interests of our country and of mankind. . . .
"World power or downfall" will be our rallying
cry. (Weltmacht oder Niedergang.)

FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI, *Germany and the
Next War*. Ch. 3. (1914)

7
Just for the word "neutrality," a word which
in wartime had so often been disregarded—
just for a scrap of paper, Great Britain is going
to make war on a kindred nation who
desires nothing better than to be friends with
her.

THEOBALD VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, German
Foreign Minister to Sir Edward Goschen,
British Ambassador, 4 Aug., 1914. (Despatch
by Sir Edward Goschen to British Foreign
Office. *War Encyclopedia*, Govt. Printing Office,
Washington, 1918)

I will do my duty as I see it, without regard to scraps of paper called constitutions.

KING WILHELM I of Germany, *Speech*, to the Prussian Diet, which had refused to grant appropriations. (*Harper's Weekly*, 26 March, 1887.)

For what this whirlwind all aflame?
This thunderstroke of hellish ire,
Setting the universe afire?
While millions upon millions came
Into a very storm of war?

For a scrap of paper.
(Pourquoi cette trombe enflammée
Qui vient foudroyer l'univers?
Cet embrasement de l'enfer?
Ce tourbillonnement d'armées
Par mille milliers de milliers?
—C'est pour un chiffon de papier.)
PÈRE HYACINTHE LOYSON, *Pour un Chiffon de Papier*. (Edward Brabrook, tr.)

1
Let us put Germany, so to speak, in the saddle! you will see that she can ride. (Setzen wir Deutschland, so zu sagen, in den Sattel! Reiten wird es schon können.)

BISMARCK, *Speech*, in the Parliament of the Confederation, 11 March, 1867.

We are not going to Canossa. (Nach Canossa gehen wir nicht.)

BISMARCK, *Speech*, in the Reichstag, May 14, 1872. It was to Canossa that Emperor Henry IV went to do three days' penance, barefoot, bareheaded, in the snow, before Pope Gregory VII, in January, 1077. Bismarck used the phrase at the beginning of the "Kulturkampf" contest with the Pope in 1872, to indicate that the revived German Empire would not surrender to the Papal claims. In the end the Pope won.

We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world. (Wir Deutschen fürchten Gott, sonst aber Nichts in der Welt.)

BISMARCK, *Speech*, in the Reichstag, 1887.

BLOOD AND IRON, see WAR: DEFINITIONS.

2
German fury. (Furor teutonicus.)
LUCAN, *De Bello Civili*. Bk. i, l. 255.

Destroyed by German fury, rebuilt by American generosity.

WHITNEY WARREN, *Inscription*, for library at Louvain, Belgium. Removed, c. 1926, as the result of German pressure.

3 I beg that the small steamers . . . be spared if possible, or else sunk without a trace being left. (Spurlos versenkt.)

COUNT KARL VON LUXBURG, Chargé d'Affaires at Buenos Aires, *Telegram*, to the Berlin Foreign Office, 19 May, 1917.

If neutrals were destroyed so that they disappeared without leaving any trace, terror would soon keep seamen and travelers away from the danger zones.

PROF. OSWALD FLAMM, *Berlin Woche*. (See *New York Times*, 15 May, 1917.)

4
Der Kaiser auf der Vaterland

Und Gott on high, all dings gommand,
Ve too, ach; don'd you understandt?
Meinself—und Gott.

ALEXANDER MACGREGOR ROSE, *Kaiser & Co.* St. 1. First published in the *Toronto Herald* in 1897; recited by Captain Joseph Bullock Coghlan at a banquet at the Union League Club, New York, 21 April, 1899, on his return from the battle of Manila. Usually called, "Hoch der Kaiser." (See Stevenson, *Famous Single Poems*, p. 32.)

5
Shout! Let it reach the startled Huns!
And roar with all thy festal guns!
It is the answer of thy sons,
Carolina!

HENRY TIMROD, *Carolina*. Written in 1865, referring to Sherman's army. "Huns" became the popular name for the Germans in 1914.

6
Our German Fatherland to which I hope will be granted . . . to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was, and that, just as in the old times they said, "Civis romanus sum," hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say, "I am a German citizen."

WILHELM II, *Speech*, Oct., 1900.

What was the old formula of Pan-Germanism? From Bremen to Bagdad, wasn't it?

WOODROW WILSON, *Address*, St. Louis, Mo., 5 Sept., 1919.

7
The Emperor's will is law. (Des Kaisers Wille ist des Gesetz.)

WILHELM II of Germany. (DAVIDSON, *Imperialization of Germany. Forum*, xxiii, 252.)

If any man dares impugn our right, then drive in with your mailed fist! (Dann fahre darein mit gepanzerter Faust.)

WILHELM II of Germany, to his brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, at Kiel, on the eve of the latter's departure in 1897, in command of the German expedition against China. See *Wilhelm II*, vol. ii, p. 80.

It will now be my duty to see to it that this place in the sun shall remain our undisputed possession.

WILHELM II, *Speech*, on the acquisition of Kiaochow, China, 18 June, 1901. Lebensraum (living room or space) became the equivalent Hitler slogan.

"That dog is mine," said those poor children; "that place in the sun is mine." Such is the beginning and type of usurpation throughout the earth. ("Ce chien est à moi," disaient ces pauvres enfants; "c'est là ma place au soleil." Voilà le commencement et l'image de l'usurpation.)

PASCAL, *Pensées*. No. 295.

A German quarrel. (Querelle d'allemand.)
A French phrase for an unjust quarrel.

III—Germany: Praise and Criticism

8
Germany is the only country I have visited

where the hands of the men are better cared for than the hands of the women.

PRICE COLLIER, *Germany and the Germans*, p. 280.

The Germans since 1870 have taken the place of the English as the boors of Europe.

COLLIER, *England and the English*, p. 429.

¹ The wee wee German Lairdie.

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM, *Jacobite Song*. Claimed by some authorities to be a traditional Scottish song long antedating Cunningham.

² The Germans want to be governed. (Die Deutschen wollen regiert sein.)

THOMAS DAVIDSON, *The Imperialization of Germany*, quoting "the very patriotic rector of one of the chief German universities." (*Forum*, xxiii, 248.)

The German's wit is in his fingers.

GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

³ They say ve for we, and wisy wersy.

THOMAS HOOD, *Up the Rhine*.

⁴ Think of the man who first tried German sausage.

J. K. JEROME, *Three Men in a Boat*. Ch. 14.

⁵ Little things make Germany a lovely place: Small square fields where cabbages grow red, Fire glowing golden on blue tiles, Flowered cloth around a feather bed.

JOSEPHINE MILES, *Germany*.

⁶ If a man were drowning to-day he would have to shout for help in German.

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, *Speech*, 1931. At a time when Germany was pleading for the cancellation of reparations.

⁷ It was a dictum of Porson, that "Life is too short to learn German"; meaning, I apprehend, not that it is too difficult to be acquired within the ordinary space of life, but that there is nothing in it to compensate for the portion of life bestowed on its acquirement.

THOMAS LOVE PEACOCK, *Gryll Grange*. Ch. 3.

⁸ Germans are honest men.

SHAKESPEARE, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, iv, 5, 73.

⁹ Ah, a German and a genius! a prodigy! Admit him.

SWIFT, his last words, referring to Handel.

¹⁰ Germany, the diseased world's bathhouse.

MARK TWAIN, *Autobiography*. Vol. i, p. 219.

GHOST

See also Spirits, Vision, Witch

¹¹ Great Pompey's shade complains that we are slow,
And Scipio's ghost walks unaveng'd amongst us!

ADDISON, *Cato*. Act ii, sc. 1.

¹² Then, like the last priest of a vanished nation,
The Shadow drew the cowl about its head,
And with a web-like hand made salutation,
And went back to the Dead.

HERVEY ALLEN, *Shadow to Shadow*.

¹³ Ghosts, like ladies, never speak till spoke to.
R. H. BARHAM, *The Ghost*.

¹⁴ Horrid apparition, tall and ghastly,
That walks at dead of night, or takes his stand
O'er some new-open'd grave; and (strange to tell!)

Evanishes at crowing of the cock.

ROBERT BLAIR, *The Grave*, l. 67.

¹⁵ Where Entity and Quiddity,
The ghosts of defunct bodies, fly.

BUTLER, *Hudibras*. Pt. 1, canto 1, l. 145.

¹⁶ Are we not Spirits, that are shaped into a body, into an Appearance; and that fade away again into air and Invisibility? Oh, Heaven, it is mysterious, it is awful to consider that we not only carry a future Ghost within us; but are, in very deed, Ghosts!

THOMAS CARLYLE, *Sartor Resartus: Natural Supernaturalism*.

¹⁷ He flits across the stage a transient and embarrassed phantom.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, *Endymion*. Ch. 3.

¹⁸ By midnight moons, o'er moistening dews,
In habit for the chase arrayed,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter and the deer—a shade!

PHILIP FRENEAU, *The Indian Burying-Ground*. (1787)

Now o'er the hills in chase he flits,
The hunter and the deer a shade!

THOMAS CAMPBELL, *O'Connor's Child*. St. 4. (1809) Campbell's appropriation of Freneau's line is one of the most barefaced in literary history.

Fond man! the vision of a moment made!
Dream of a dream! and shadow of a shade!

EDWARD YOUNG, *Paraphrase on Part of the Book of Job*, l. 187.

A hunter of shadows, himself a shade.

HOMER, *Odyssey*. Bk. xi, l. 574. Referring to Orion. See also under SHADOW.

¹⁹ At first cock-crow the ghosts must go
Back to their quiet graves below.

THEODOSIA GARRISON, *The Neighbors*.

²⁰ O'er all there hung a shadow and a fear;
A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said as plain as whisper in the ear,
The place is Haunted.

THOMAS HOOD, *The Haunted House*.

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t: THE HOME BOOK
OF
QUOTATIONS

Classical and Modern

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY
BURTON STEVENSON
Editor *The Home Book of Verse*

I can tell thee where that saying was born
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*
Act i, sc. 5, l. 9

TENTH EDITION

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK

TED MILLS and STEVEN WHITE

- 1 In every building of Paris there is a concierge, to serve as a human watchdog. Whoever you are, she knows about you.
Maurice Chevalier's Paris NBC TV 6 Mar 57
- 2 She knows all your friends. She does not like them. She talks about you secretly, and only to other concierges. The tell each other all they know. There is a good deal to tell.
ib
- 3 Without her, Paris could no more be Paris than it could be Paris without its art . . . and artists.
ib

NICHOLAS MONSARRAT

- 4 The marvelous maturity of London! I would rather be dead in this town than preening my feathers in heaven.
Breaking In, Breaking Out Morrow 66

BRIAN MOORE

- 5 As always on this boulevard, the faces were young, coming annually in an endless migration from every country, every continent, to alight here once in the long journey of their lives.
On Boulevard Saint-Michel in Paris. *The Doctor's Wife* Farrar, Straus & Giroux 76

DALE MORGAN

- 6 Great Salt Lake is an ironical joke of nature—water that is itself more desert than a desert.
Quoted by Rick Gore "No Way to Run a Desert" *National Geographic* Jun 85
- 7 Moody and withdrawn, the lake unites a haunting loveliness to a raw desolateness.
ib

JAMES MORRIS

- 8 There is a lull to the very air of the place, the creaking of the tall teak forests, the lapping of the canals, the gentle swaying of the little kingfishers who sit like neat blue idols on almost every telegraph wire.
On Thailand. *The Road to Huddersfield* Pantheon 63
- 9 The gentle, empty, haunting faces of the young prostitutes, in virginal white and vicarage embroidery.
On Addis Ababa. *Cities* Harcourt, Brace & World 64
- 10 A scent of jasmine and a rasp of sand.
On Algiers. *ib*
- 11 The gray, immense and unmistakably Central European sky. . . . air slightly perfumed with petrol and boiled potatoes.
On Warsaw. *ib*
- 12 Seduction but in a slightly medicinal way.
On Stockholm. *ib*
- 13 [New Delhi] is trying to show that greatness can be voted into office, if applied for in triplicate, through the proper channels.
ib

JAN MORRIS (James Morris)

- 14 There it stands, with a toss of curls and a flounce of skirts, a Carmen among the cities. . . . the last of the Middle Eastern fleshpots. . . . a junction of intrigue and speculation.
On Beirut. *Among the Cities* Oxford 85

- 15 Its origins are ancient but it burgeons with brash modernity, and it lounges upon its delectable shore, halfway between the Israelis and the Syrians, in a posture that no such city, at such a latitude, in such a moment of history, has any reasonable excuse for assuming.
ib

- 16 To the stern student of affairs, Beirut is a phenomenon, beguiling perhaps, but quite, quite impossible.
ib

- 17 Brooded over by mist more often than swirled about by cloud, drizzled rather than storm-swept, on the western perimeter of Europe lies the damp, demanding and obsessively interesting country called by its own people Cymru . . . and known to the rest of the world, if it is known at all, as Wales.
The Matter of Wales Oxford 85

- 18 Its smallness is not petty; on the contrary, it is profound.
ib

VERN MORTENSON

- 19 Have you listened still on a desert hill
At the close of a bitter day,
When the orange sun in wispy clouds
Has sat in a greenish haze?
In a cold white world the deepening drifts
That would cover the land like a pall,
Then the plaintive bawl of a hungry cow,
Is the loneliest sound of all.
"Range Cow in Winter," quoted in Hal Cannon ed *Cowboy Poetry* Western Folklife Center 85

H V MORTON

- 20 [The rain] descends with the enthusiasm of someone breaking bad news.
On Wales, quoted in *NY Times* 28 Jul 84
- 21 The exquisite steps of Rome . . . steps of marble and travertine; shallow Renaissance steps; steps curving left, right and center from Piazza di Spagna, as if to show what steps can do if given the chance; noble steps up to Santa Maria d'Aracoeli; elegant steps of the Quirinal Palace; majestic steps to St Peter's Basilica.
ib 3 Aug 86

PATRICIA MOYES

- 22 Suffolk . . . has something more than the coziness of Kent and Surrey. There is a hint of wildness in its tamed beauty, and the tang of the North Sea is never far away.
Night Ferry to Death Holt 85

V S NAIPAUL

- 23 I came to London. It had become the center of my world and I had worked hard to come to it. And I was lost.
An Area of Darkness André Deutsch 64
- 24 It was a good place for getting lost in, a city no one ever knew, a city explored from the neutral heart outward, until after many years, it defined itself into a jumble of clearings separated by stretches of the unknown, through which the narrowest of paths had been cut.
ib

RELIGION

POPE JOHN PAUL I

- 1 You know that I try to maintain a continuous conversation with you. I take comfort in the thought that the important thing is not for one person to write to Christ but for many people to love and emulate [you]. Fortunately, despite everything, this still occurs today.

Letter to Jesus Christ, in volume of letters to historical figures published when he was patriarch of Venice, recalled on his death 28 Sep 78

POPE JOHN PAUL II

- 2 There are people and nations, Mother, that I would like to say to you by name. I entrust them to you in silence. I entrust them to you in the way that you know best.
Prayer at Shrine of Mary, Jasna Gora Monastery, on return to Poland after election as pope, *Time* 18 Jun 79
- 3 This people draws its origin from Abraham, our father in faith . . . The very people that received from God the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" itself experienced in a special measure what is meant by killing. It is not permissible for anyone to pass by this inscription with indifference.
On visiting Auschwitz concentration camp that he called "the Golgotha of the modern world," *ib*
- 4 Do not abandon yourselves to despair. . . . We are the Easter people and hallelujah is our song.
Address in Harlem 2 Oct 79
- 5 When you wonder about the mystery of yourself, look to Christ, who gives you the meaning of life. When you wonder what it means to be a mature person, look to Christ, who is the fulfillment of humanity. And when you wonder about your role in the future of the world . . . look to Christ.
To 19,000 students in NYC 3 Oct 79
- 6 Social justice cannot be attained by violence. Violence kills what it intends to create.
To workers in São Paulo, Brazil, news summaries 4 Jul 80
- 7 Humanity should question itself, once more, about the absurd and always unfair phenomenon of war, on whose stage of death and pain only remain standing the negotiating table that could and should have prevented it.
On arriving in Buenos Aires near end of conflict between Argentina and Great Britain over the Falkland Islands, 11 Jun 82
- 8 [I kiss the soil] as if I placed a kiss on the hands of a mother, for the homeland is our earthly mother. I consider it my duty to be with my compatriots in this sublime and difficult moment.
On arriving in Poland during period of martial law, *Time* 27 Jun 83
- 9 What we talked about will have to remain a secret between him and me. I spoke to him as a brother whom I have pardoned and who has my complete trust.
On visiting the imprisoned Mehmet Ali Agca, who wounded the pope in a 1981 assassination attempt, *Time* 9 Jan 84
- 10 In the context of Christmas and the Holy Year of Redemption, I was able to meet with the person that you all know by name, Ali Agca, who in the year

1981 on the 13th of May made an attempt on my life. But Providence took things in its own hands, in what I would call an extraordinary way, so that today . . . I was able to meet my assailant and repeat to him the pardon I gave him immediately.

ib

LYNDON B JOHNSON, 36th US President

- 11 In our home there was always prayer—aloud, proud and unapologetic.
To Washington prayer breakfast, quoted in *Time* 3 Apr 64

JIM JONES

- 12 To me death is not a fearful thing. It's living that's cursed.
Final words tape-recorded before his death and mass suicide of his followers at Jonestown, Guyana, 18 Nov 78

CARL JUNG

- 13 I could not say I believe. I know! I have had the experience of being gripped by something that is stronger than myself, something that people call God.
Time 14 Feb 55
- 14 Our heart glows, and secret unrest gnaws at the root of our being. . . . Dealing with the unconscious has become a question of life for us.
ib
- 15 I have treated many hundreds of patients. . . . Among [those] in the second half of life—that is to say, over 35—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook on life.
ib
- 16 In my case *Pilgrim's Progress* consisted in my having to climb down a thousand ladders until I could reach out my hand to the little clod of earth that I am.

Letter to a former student on reassessing religious values outlined to Sigmund Freud a half century earlier, quoted in Gerhard Adler ed *Letters, Vol 1* Princeton 73

- 17 Knowing your own darkness is the best method for dealing with the darkneses of other people.
ib

YASUNARI KAWABATA

- 18 Because you cannot see him, God is everywhere.
Quoted by Susan Cheever *Home before Dark* Houghton Mifflin 84

HELEN KELLER

- 19 I can see, and that is why I can be happy, in what you call the dark, but which to me is golden. I can see a God-made world, not a manmade world.
Reply to question, "Can you see a world?" in 1955 documentary *The Unconquered*
- 20 It gives me a deep comforting sense that "things seen are temporal and things unseen are eternal."
On reading the Bible daily, news summaries 26 Jun 55

JOHN F KENNEDY, 35th US President

- 21 I know there is a God—I see the storm coming and I see his hand in it—if he has a place then I am ready—we see the hand.
Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln in notes on program for prayer breakfast, *NY Times* 15 May 64

1 The human brain can soften as a result of incessant listening to music with an intent to commit prose.

On reviewing, "When Inspired Awfulness Becomes Interesting" *ib* 31 Aug 86

2 The more disastrous the mishaps the simpler the reviewing task.

ib

3 Perhaps no hall of comparable size anywhere has served so nobly as a spawning ground for young talent and, it must be said, as a graveyard for the hopes of the mediocre.

On renovated Weill Recital Hall in Carnegie Hall, *ib* 6 Jan 87

4 [It] will never be mistaken for a high school gymnasium or a meeting room in a Midwestern motel.

ib

STEPHEN HOLDEN

5 You can get caught up in the visceral charge of its engines, sing along with its chunky tunes and dream its romantic dreams and still feel the cold wind of the history blowing through its pages.

On *Bruce Springsteen & The E Street Band Live/1975-85*, *NY Times* 9 Nov 86

BERNARD HOLLAND

6 [The work] resembles a breech delivery—one which is expressed in rhythmic lurches, stabs of phrase and vocal ornamentation designed to express agitation rather than decorative grace.

On Michael Tippett's composition "The Mask of Time," *NY Times* 9 Apr 84

KATHRYN HULME

7 The awesome antiphon swelled in the dark and expanded.

On music at early morning mass in her convent. *The Nun's Story* Atlantic-Little, Brown 56

PAUL HUME

8 Miss Truman is a unique American phenomenon with a pleasant voice of little size and fair quality. . . . There are few moments during her recital when one can relax and feel confident that she will make her goal, which is the end of the song.

On concert by Margaret Truman, *Time* 18 Dec 50

CLIVE JAMES

9 Disco dancing is . . . just the steady thump of a giant moron knocking in an endless nail.

London *Sunday Observer* 17 Dec 78

POPE JOHN PAUL II

10 I have a sweet tooth for song and music. This is my Polish sin.

Listening to folk-rock hymns on visit to Poland, *NY Daily News* 7 Oct 79

DENA KLEIMAN

11 A sea of red coats and white trousers, in perfect step, the airs of the Republic blasted with particular gusto, the kind of sing-along oom pah pah of which patriotism is made.

On US Marine Band, *NY Times* 14 May 85

JON LANDAU

12 I saw rock 'n' roll future and its name is Bruce Springsteen.

Quoted by Dave Marsh *Glory Days* Pantheon 87

PHILIP LARKIN

13 The chromatic scale is what you use to give the effect of drinking a quinine martini and having an enema simultaneously.

Required Writing Farrar, Straus & Giroux 84, quoted in *Newsweek* 25 Jun 84

MADELEINE L'ENGLE

14 Her hands were broad and strong; the true pianist's sledgehammer hands, they had been called. They still moved to her bidding. . . . No matter to what she likened them—turnips, carrots—they were still as nimble as ever. The notes came clear and true.

On heroine of *A Severed Wasp* Farrar, Straus & Giroux 83

CLAUDE LÉVI-STRAUSS

15 [Contemporary serial music] is like a sailless ship, driven out to sea by its captain, who is privately convinced that by subjecting life aboard to the rules of an elaborate protocol, he will prevent the crew from thinking nostalgically either of their home port or of their ultimate destination.

Quoted by Howard Gardner *Art, Mind and Brain* Basic Books 82

GODDARD LIEBERSON

16 Show me an orchestra that likes its conductor and I'll show you a lousy conductor.

Quoted by Herbet Kupferberg *Those Fabulous Philadelphians* Scribner's 69

LIFE MAGAZINE

17 Debonair, exultant, amused, he has imparted to the tap dance an elegance and mobility. He is the number 1 exponent of America's only native dance form.

1941 comment on Fred Astaire, recalled in special issue Fall 86

RUSSELL LYNES

18 [Ragtime] was a fanfare for the 20th century.

The Lively Audience Harper & Row 85, quoted in *Christian Science Monitor* 18 Nov 85

MELVIN MADDOCKS

19 Giving jazz the Congressional seal of approval is a little like making Huck Finn an honorary Boy Scout.

On resolution to designate jazz as a US national treasure, *Christian Science Monitor* 24 Dec 86

EDNA ST VINCENT MILLAY

20 The Englishman foxtrots as he fox-hunts, with all his being, through thickets, through ditches, over hedges, through chiffons, through waiters, over saxophones, to the victorious finish; and who goes home depends on how many the ambulance will accommodate.

Recalled on her death 19 Oct 50

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