

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S; 2014-1017-F

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13694
Folder ID Number: 13694-006

Folder Title:
Lech Walesa-Medal of Freedom 11/13/89 [OA 6344] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	4	7

POLAND WATCH CENTER
MARCIN ŻMUDZKI
SECRETARY

P.O. BOX 18216
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

~~(301) 231-9849~~

703/276-7069

NAME STUDENTS FOR SOLIDARITY

TELEPHONE NO. (202) 994-7284

ADDRESS BOX 13A, MARVIN CTR.
G.W.U.
WASH, DC 20036

ROLODEX CORPORATION

REFILL NO. S30 & SB31
PATENTED

Medal of
Freedom
11-13-89

new world records for five miles, ten miles, 15,000 meters, and 20,000 meters; bettered her 10,000-meter mark by fifteen seconds; and again finished first among women in the New York Marathon, with an improvement of two minutes and twenty-five seconds in her time. Her clocking in the 1980 marathon would have beaten all the men who finished in the 1970 marathon, including Gary Muhrcke, who won in 2:31:38, and all male Olympic marathon gold medalists before 1952.

On May 30, 1981 Mrs. Waitz won her third consecutive L'eggs Mini-marathon, covering the 10,000 meters in thirty-two minutes and forty-three seconds, well over a minute slower than the record she set in 1980. "I didn't go for any record because it was much too hot," she explained to Al Harvin of the *New York Times* (May 31, 1981). "I don't like to run all the time against the clock. I just wanted to run to win today."

Mrs. Waitz usually trains twice a day, one hour early in the morning and one hour late in the afternoon, but she says that she "listens to [her] body," and if it tells her to go easy she will limit herself to one hour a day for perhaps one or two days a week. Her training is mostly speed work, with some medium-distance runs thrown in. "I never train more than ten kilometers at once," she explained when Lesley Visser interviewed her on the occasion of her being selected "sportswoman of the year" by *Women's Sports* (January 1981). "To be honest, anything more is boring. I train only for the 3,000." She said that the 3,000-meter limit held true even before marathons, and that she viewed the twenty-mile practice runs of many marathon trainees as extremely ill-advised. "The main difference between me and the other girls is simply that I have more speed, more tempo. Girls training now don't do enough speed or track training. They are running long all the time." She has no special training diet, although she places importance on the ordinary Norwegian practices of a light lunch (rather than a heavy hot meal) at noon and the eating of dark hardtack rather than white bread (the one dietary proscription she mentions in interview after interview).

Alluding to the Eastern European system of "total sport," her husband has said that Mrs. Waitz is "not easily molded." "She wouldn't have thrived in any more structured system. Hers must be as normal a life as possible. She is very bright, she always got the best marks in school and was the youngest applicant accepted for the teachers' college. She prepared for teaching as carefully as for running, and it [was] just as important to her." Her independence of spirit was demonstrated when she turned down a stipend from the Norwegian Amateur Athletic Federation because she did not want to feel under any pressure to perform well other than that of her own desire to win. "I race to win," she has said, "not to set records."

Jack and Grete Waitz, who were married in 1975, live in a modest apartment on a hill (her favorite training ground) in the Oslo suburb of Romsaas. Outside of the traveling that they reluctantly accept as a necessary part of an international running career, they are homebodies, content with each other's company, with watching some television, and with entertaining friends. "We do not like to go places where people will point at me," she told Lesley Visser in the interview for *Women's Sports*. "I do not need publicity. The travel and publicity is sometimes hard. It has meant that I spent Christmas in California, spring in New York, and hours on the telephone. And it makes it difficult to keep my nine o'clock curfew." Miss Visser found her to be "refreshingly demure" in a world where athletic celebrity is usually accompanied by an outsized ego.

Blond, blue-eyed Grete Waitz is five feet seven inches tall and weighs about 116 pounds. When she is running, her face is the impassive register of a drive and concentration that transcend pain, and at other times it is usually solemn and thoughtful. Because, as she has observed, she is "not always smiling and laughing," people mistakenly think she is sad. "I'm not sad . . . maybe a little cool . . . controlled. That's the word. Controlled." As for the future, she will take it a year at a time: "I'll never stop running, but the hard training and the competition call for intensity. Once you know international racing, you can't just ease off a bit. It has to be one or the other; as hard as you can, or just for fun."

References: N Y Times III p8 O 22 '79; People 14:36 D 29 '80 por; Sports III 51:42+ O 22 '79 pors; Women's Sports 1:32+ Ja '79 pors, 2:15+ Mr '80 pors, 3:35+ Ja '81 pors

Wałesa, Lech (va-wenz'a lek)

1943(?) - Polish labor leader. Address: b. Morski Hotel, Gdansk, Poland

When labor unrest erupted into massive strikes in Poland in July 1980, Lech Wałesa was an apparently obscure unemployed electrician known to authorities as an incorrigible labor "troublemaker." A mere three months later, as the organizer and chairman of the only independent trade union in the Communist world, Wałesa had become one of the three most powerful men in his country, on a par with the First Secretary of the Communist party and the Primate of the Roman Catholic church. Speaking the simple language of the workingman and identifying himself as a faithful son of the church, he has drawn 10,000,000 of Poland's 17,300,000 workers into his union, known as Solidarity. His achievement has alarmed the

who were married in apartment on a hill (ground) in the Oslo side of the traveling except as a necessary running career, they t with each other's some television, and . "We do not like to will point at me," she interview for Women's publicity. The travel es hard. It has meant in California, spring on the telephone. And keep my nine o'clock id her to be "refresh- l where athletic cele- nized by an outized

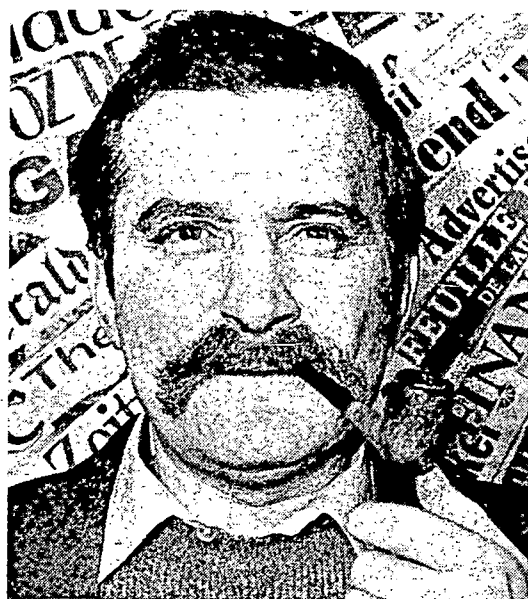
e Waitz is five feet ghs about 116 pounds. face is the impassive l concentration that er times it is usually Because, as she has always smiling and nly think she is sad. a little cool . . . con- Controlled." As for it a year at a time; but the hard train- call for intensity. nal racing, you can't is to be one or the an, or just for fun."

8 p8 O 22 '79; People ill 51:42+ O 22 '79 + Ja '79 pors, 2:15+ ors

'a lek)

. Address: b. ind

into massive strikes ech Wałesa was an employed electrician n incorrigible labor three months later, man of the only in- ie Communist world, of the three most try, on a par with e Communist party an Catholic church. age of the working- lf as a faithful son vn 10,000,000 of Po- to his union, known ent has alarmed the



Lech Wałesa

rulers of the Soviet bloc because it is an implicit contradiction of the Communist party's claim to be the sole legitimate representative of the working class. But Wałesa wisely never makes the contradiction explicit, and by skillfully steering a course between militancy and moderation, he has succeeded thus far in satisfying the basic demands of Poland's aroused workers without provoking intervention by the Soviet Union, which naturally fears that the Polish example might inspire other Eastern bloc nations to do likewise. As one observer has quipped, "Wałesa has surpassed Wałenda in pulling off the biggest tightrope act in history."

One of eight children of a carpenter, Lech Wałesa was born in Popow, Poland during the German occupation of World War II. After his father died, his mother married her brother-in-law, Stanisław Wałesa. While visiting relatives in the United States with her second husband in 1973, Mrs. Wałesa was killed in a traffic accident. The stepfather, a lumberman, remained in the United States and now lives in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Wałesa attended a state vocational school in Lipno, near Popow, and after graduation he moved to Gdansk on the Baltic Coast to work as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard there. In December 1970 the government's raising of food prices sparked violent protests in and around Gdansk. During the "bread riots" strikers at the Lenin Shipyard moved into the streets, where fifty-five of them were massacred by the police. As the violence continued for four days, Władisław Gomułka was forced to resign as First Secretary of the Polish Communist party and was succeeded by Edward Gierek, who made concessions to the workers.

The improvement of conditions under Gierek proved to be only temporary. By overextending itself in its plan to modernize industry, the Gierek regime ran up unexpectedly high international debts. At the same time, in an effort to right the balance of trade and to build up buying power with the West, it increased the export of goods, including such prized meat and meat products as Polish ham, and those commodities, accordingly, became scarcer at home. Worker discontent seethed, finally erupting in strikes and violent demonstrations at Ursus, near Warsaw, and Radom, in east central Poland, when Gierek attempted to end the five-year freeze on meat and other food prices on April 1976. To avert escalation of the crisis, the First Secretary quickly restored the freeze.

Gdansk was not directly affected by the events of April 1976, but Wałesa was fired from his job at the shipyard for his boldness in protesting the erosion of the concessions made to workers six years before. In the following years he lived inconspicuously, providing for his family as best he could despite successive job losses and jailings resulting from his labor agitation.

Although he was by comparison a moderate, Wałesa's development as a labor leader was strongly influenced by his contact with the radical Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). That organization was founded by the disaffected Communist sociologist Jacek Kuron and other dissident intellectuals to give medical, legal, and material aid to workers—and the families of those workers—who were fired, jailed, or under attack for having taken part in the April 1976 strikes and demonstrations. Partly through its clandestine bulletins and newspaper *Robotnik*, KOR came to serve an even more vital purpose—that of an information clearinghouse and communications system giving a sense of unity to workers who would otherwise have been isolated in their plight. It also served as an educational agency, a school of formation for an incipient labor leadership generally more moderate than its own leadership. While stressing the difference between his labor movement and KOR—"KOR does not direct us, it helps us"—Wałesa later came to the defense of KOR on those occasions when the state tried to suppress its "anti-socialist" activities.

Two major events in recent Polish history favored the progress of Wałesa's work as a labor leader. One was the Soviet decision, following the signing of the Helsinki agreements of 1975, to make the most of the incorrigibility of Poland, the *enfant terrible* of the Eastern bloc, and let the country become a "showcase of détente." The other was the election in October 1978 of Karol Cardinal Wojtyła of Poland as the first Slavic pope in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. As Pope John Paul II, Wojtyła returned to his native country for a remarkable nine-day visit in June 1979. The joyous, and sometimes tearful, popular

reception accorded the Pope contrasted dramatically with the grudging protocol extended by the government. An international television audience suddenly saw a demoralized nation renewed in spirit, a whole people daring to assert a patriotism symbolically inseparable from religion and therefore in defiance of the Communist state. All that the solidarity needed was a capitalization of the "s."

Wałesa's cofounding of an embryonic free trade union on the Baltic Coast was signaled in January 1979 by the first issue of the bimonthly *The Worker of the Coast*, subtitled "the organ of the founding committee of the free trade unions." The following July he was among the signers of a charter of workers' rights published in *Robotnik*. Among the demands listed were an end to censorship, an eight-hour day, improved job safety conditions, higher wages, and legalization of the right to strike. But the most important statement in the charter was the following: "Strikes are useful short-term weapons, but free and independent trade unions are necessary to ensure that the gains won through a strike are not later lost. Only they will give us an equal footing in negotiations, a power the authorities cannot ignore."

When the Polish government, plagued by an enormous foreign debt and serious food shortages, doubled meat prices on July 1, 1980, scattered work stoppages followed in factories across Poland as workers demanded higher wages to compensate for the increased prices. On August 14 the Lenin Shipyard was seized by strikers, who immediately demanded and won the reinstatement of Wałesa and two other dismissed workers. Scaling the fence to join the workers occupying the yard, Wałesa became the leader of the strike, which differed from earlier ones in that the workers were making political as well as economic demands, including the right to form trade unions free of party control and greater freedom of expression. Wałesa was ready to call off the strike on August 16, when the management of the shipyard conceded two points—the rehiring of other fired union activists and raises in pay—but changed his mind when radicals on the strike committee insisted on continuing until the free union movement was recognized.

With the strike spreading across the Baltic Coast, an inter-factory strike committee headed by Wałesa was established on August 17. A week later Prime Minister Edward Babiuch and three other Politburo members were dismissed in a party shakeup, and party leader Gierek promised democratization of the official unions. But Wałesa articulated the strike committee's primary goal in his response to Gierek: "A change in personnel does not interest me. What I want is the freedom of the unions, and I don't care who negotiates that."

As the strike expanded beyond the Baltic region to involve over 300,000 workers, a government committee headed by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczysław Jagielski began

negotiating with the strike committee led by Wałesa. On August 31 Wałesa and Jagielski signed an accord, known as the Gdansk agreement, granting workers the right to form independent unions and to strike, the first time such rights had ever been conceded in a Soviet bloc country. The government also pledged to grant wage increases and social benefits, relax censorship, open the state-controlled media to a wide variety of opinion, broadcast Roman Catholic Mass on Sundays, and release jailed members of KOR. The unions, in turn, acknowledged the supremacy of the Communist party in Polish society and accepted Poland's military alliances within the Soviet bloc.

Wałesa demonstrated his organization's strength and discipline when, on his order, workers in Poland's major cities staged a one-hour warning strike on October 3 to protest government procrastination in granting wage increases and greater press freedom as well as its obstruction of union organizing. Next, Wałesa successfully faced down the government on the issue of registration of the independent unions as legal entities. On October 14 a Warsaw court granted the unions the right to register as a single national entity known as Solidarity. But the tribunal added to the proposed charter clauses recognizing the leading role of the Communist party, affirming Poland's alliance system, and abjuring any intent of becoming a political party. Arguing that such items did not belong in a union charter, Wałesa threatened strike action while appealing to the Supreme Court. On October 31 he began discussions with Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski, and on November 10 the court ruled in the union's favor. With Solidarity registered as a legal organization, party leader Stanisław Kania on November 14 met for the first time with Wałesa, the chairman of the union's national commission. The meeting was generally regarded as a formal indication of the government's acceptance of Solidarity as an integral part of the Polish socialist system.

When political arrests in Warsaw on November 21 prompted that city's Solidarity chapter to call for a general strike, a probe of the police, and a slashing of the state prosecutor's budget, Wałesa flew to Warsaw and warned workers that if extreme demands goaded the Soviet Union to intervene, "we might lose everything." After talks, the authorities released the arrested men and promised to discuss the other issues, and Wałesa called for a six-week moratorium on strikes.

Labor peace prevailed in December as the Soviet Union began a military buildup that put fifty-five divisions near Poland's borders. But in January 1981 worker militancy developed around the government's failure to implement its promised agreement, made in Gdansk, to establish a five-day work week by granting free Saturdays. Wałesa had no choice but to go along with a boycott of work on Saturday,

committee led by Wałesa and Jagielski the Gdansk agree-right to form in-rike, the first time n conceded in a government also reases and social open the state-variety of opinion, Mass on Sundays, rs of KOR. The ed the supremacy Polish society and alliances within

is organization's en, on his order, r cities staged a October 3 to pro-ation in granting er press freedom f union organizing. iced down the gov-egistration of the entities. On Octo-ited the unions the gle national entity he tribunal added lauses recognizing Communist party, system, and abjur-; a political party, d not belong in a tened strike action reme Court. On ssions with Prime and on November ion's favor. With legal organization, ia on November 14 Wałesa, the chair-l commission. The arded as a formal nt's acceptance of part of the Polish

Warsaw on Novem-Solidarity chapter e, a probe of the : state prosecutor's arsay and warned ands goaded the "we might lose he authorities red promised to dis-Wałesa called for trikes.

December as the itary buildup that : Poland's borders. militancy developed ilure to implement ade in Gdansk, to week by granting I no choice but to work on Saturday,

January 10. Following a visit to Italy (which included a private audience with the Pope), he himself started another such boycott, on January 24. Wildcat strikes on the issue helped persuade the government to meet with Wałesa, and under a pact concluded on January 31, workers were granted three out of four Saturdays off, and a five-day work week was planned for 1982. In addition, Solidarity was granted weekly radio and television time.

Except in regions of the south, the southeast, and the southwest, wildcat strikes by factory workers and coal miners on other issues ended with an agreement reached by the government and Solidarity early in February 1981. Agitation for full union recognition for Rural Solidarity was defused on February 10, 1981, when the Supreme Court issued a compromise ruling to the effect that the farmers had the right to register as "associations."

Amid increasing signals from Moscow that Warsaw must toughen its labor policy, General Wojciech Jaruzelski replaced Jozef Pankowski as Premier of Poland on February 9, 1981. Wałesa persuaded striking workers in the southwest as well as student strikers to give the new government a chance, but his own patience wore thin when that government began prosecuting some militant unionists and dissidents, including leaders of the nationalist Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN). On March 10 he began talks with Premier Jaruzelski on the prosecutions, which he, Wałesa, viewed as "reprisals."

The largest organized protest in the history of Communist Poland occurred on March 27, 1981 when most of Poland's 13,000,000 industrial workers held a four-hour strike to protest the beatings of union activists in Bydgoszcz eight days before. Protests over food shortages erupted nationwide in late July and early August, and the national congress of Solidarity in its first session, in September, called for free elections in Poland and more workers' rights and urged other Soviet-bloc workers to form free unions. Despite the dissatisfaction of radical unionists with his moderation and "autocratic" rule, Wałesa was reelected chairman of Solidarity during the second session of the congress, on October 2.

With a mandate for tough action, General Jaruzelski became party leader—in addition to premier—on October 18, 1981. In a counter show of strength, Polish workers held a one-hour nationwide walkout on October 28 to protest food shortages and harassment of Solidarity members. In the first summit session of its kind in Poland, General Jaruzelski, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, and Wałesa met to seek a solution to the national economic crisis on November 5, 1981.

Denying charges that he is opposed to the Communist system, Wałesa answers, "We don't want to bring down this government or any other government." Reluctant to talk about politics, he describes himself as "a union man" who is simply trying to deal with workers'

problems. "Those who brought us to this present situation in our country are anti-socialist. We in the unions are the upholders of socialism." What he is opposed to is any system that "makes people forget they are human beings."

Speaking the simple, sometimes ungrammatical language of the common man, Wałesa has won the loyalty of millions of Polish workers, who at mass rallies follow the song "God Save Poland" with chants of "Long live Wałesa" and "May he live 100 years." Although he is not a powerful speaker, his direct, low-key, anecdotal style appeals to his audiences, as does his combining of nationalism with religion. A crucifix is displayed wherever he speaks and he always wears a lapel medallion of the Virgin Mary in her identity as the Black Madonna of Czestochowa. "These are not only symbols of devotion," Anna Wlentinowicz, another Solidarity leader, has explained. "These symbolize Poland reborn, the Poland of the movement."

Lech and Mirosława Wałesa were married in 1969. They have four sons and two daughters and have been reported to be expecting a seventh child. The gravelly-voiced Wałesa is five feet seven inches tall and has reddish brown hair and moustache and impish brown eyes. Although unpolished in his ways and informal in his manner, he is an adroit politician and diplomat, always well-groomed and polite in his confrontations with government leaders, delivering the harshest of criticism in the gentlest of voices. With his followers, he can be louder and sharper but, regardless of the occasion, his good humor is usually as unflinching as his air of authority.

The Solidarity leader has a union salary of equivalent to \$333 a month, about the same as that of a shipyard worker. He admits that he is sometimes tempted by the offers of automobiles, villas, and other luxuries made by government officials who would perhaps like to corrupt him. "But then I go to church and pray and I'm able to reject them." (He is a daily communicant.) He has, however, accepted help and gifts from followers, including supplies of cigarettes and food. He now has four suits in addition to the rumpled suit he constantly wore when he first emerged on the world scene, and he has moved with his family from a two-room flat into a six-room apartment.

Wałesa always travels with two carloads of bodyguards, and more than arrest he fears death in an automobile "accident." Although he professes to be a reluctant leader, his wife has been quoted as saying "Leszek [little Lech] has always-believed he is destined by God for something big."

References: N Y Times p16 Ag 31 '80 por; National R 33:32+ Ja 23 '81; Newsweek 96: 42+ D 8 '80 pors; People 14:28+ D 29 '80 por; Time 116:31 D 29 '80 pors, 117:38 Ja 5 '81 por; U S News 89:19 D 15 '80 por; International Who's Who, 1981-82

THE WOMAN BEHIND THE MAN



Clockwise, top left: Leditur/Sygnma; Jacek Pakiewicz/Gamma; Nogués/Sygnma; Jacek Pakiewicz/Gamma; Keler/Sygnma; Gamma.

The Journal visits Mrs. Lech Walesa in Poland

By Christine Sutherland



Editor's note: As we celebrate this Independence Day and face another election, reading about the life of a political leader's wife in a country very different from our own will make us cherish our freedom.

Their apartment in Gdansk, Poland, seems worlds away from the homes of our own political leaders. A few goats wander about outside the building scratching for food, and the vista is gray and forbidding. But for a Polish worker, the six small rooms inhabited by Lech Walesa, the courageous leader of Solidarity, his wife, Danuta, and their seven children, are grand indeed. Located on the outskirts of the city, in a huge workers' housing development, the apartment includes a kitchen, a bathroom, a

small shower and several tiny bedrooms (with bunk beds to conserve space) for the children. Thirty-five-year-old Danuta even has her own washing machine, she says proudly, though she is baffled when I ask if she also has a dryer. "What is that?" she asks. "I've never seen such a machine, but it *sounds* marvelous."

A modest woman who has been thrown into the spotlight by her husband's leadership, Danuta Walesa has a foot in two worlds. She is, in many ways, "an ordinary wife and mother" whose experiences are little wider than her own neighborhood. Up at five every morning, she makes breakfast for her husband, sees her older children off to school, cleans house and prepares dinner for Lech's return from work at two-thirty. The couple never eat at restaurants, and it wasn't until last winter that she watched her first professional theatrical performance.

But because of circumstances,

Danuta has been able to see and do more than she probably ever dreamed. In December 1983 she traveled to Oslo, Norway, to accept her husband's Nobel Peace Prize. In a private audience with King Olav in Oslo, on center stage at the awards ceremony and later at a press conference, she handled herself with dignity as well as *(continued)*

When Danuta and Lech Walesa married fifteen years ago (top left), they knew little of what was in store for them or their country. Here, in family and press photos, Danuta can be seen with one of her children (bottom left), on a march with Lech (center), in prayer (top right) and holding her youngest child, Maria-Victoria (bottom right) who was born while Lech was still in jail.



Inset photos: Simon/Franco/Orion/Gamma.

V
T

MRS. WALESA
continued

charm and made her husband proud of her. ("I have fallen in love with you all over again," Lech was reported to have said as he watched a live broadcast of her speech from Poland.) In fact, through the last three difficult years her personal strength has won the admiration of many in Poland. "I have watched her grow as a person and acquire amazing dignity, which impressed everybody in Oslo," says a woman Solidarity member from Gdansk. "In a way, she really has become Poland's First Lady, though she never had such ambition. Her courage as a wife and mother is amazing."

When I met Danuta at her home, she was dressed in a dark sweater and a short woolen skirt and looked thinner and paler than she had appeared in Norway. In her crowded living room, she was just setting up a playpen for the youngest of her children, a rosy-cheeked, curly-haired toddler named Maria-Victoria. Nearby, two other flaxen-haired girls—Anna, four, and Magdalena, five—were playing happily. "I'm going to be an actress," Magdalena told me and danced a little jig in my honor. "My girls are used to people and seem to like them," Danuta says, smiling.

Indeed, the children were born into a house that is frequently full of visitors

and into a family that is a magnet for attention from friend and foe alike. Given the events of recent years, raising them has not been easy. Little Maria-Victoria was ten months old before her father finally saw her for the first time. The day of her birth—January 23, 1982—came five weeks after Lech went to prison.

Like a recent nightmare, the details of her husband's imprisonment are etched in Danuta's memory.

On the night of December 12, 1981, a Saturday—the day before martial law was declared—Lech returned home late from a meeting in the shipyard, where he works as an electrician. Danuta and the children were awakened at two in the morning by a friend bearing the news that police were arresting people on the night shift.

"Lech had anticipated the events, but he was incredibly tired and wanted to go on sleeping," Danuta recalls. "He also did not want to alarm me. So he said that nothing could be done at this hour and that he would cope with it in the morning. We tried to sleep, but half an hour later I heard furious banging on the door. I jumped out of bed, and looking through the spy hole, saw five uniformed policemen and three sinister-looking civilians standing in front of our entrance. They carried long metal rods, obviously preparing to break in, and shouted they had come for my husband. I still refused to open the door and told them they must wait until Lech had had time to get dressed.

"At this point, Lech decided to get up; he put a few essentials in a suitcase, looked in on the sleeping children, made a cross on each of their foreheads and finally came out to meet the intruders. He was told that martial law had just been proclaimed as of midnight throughout the country and that he would be taken to Warsaw for 'consultations.' But that was a lie. There were to be no consultations, just internment. Leaning out of the window I saw them escort my husband into a white Fiat and drive away. The time was twenty minutes after five in the morning. I was eight months pregnant."

Was she afraid she might not see her husband again? "I could not allow myself to think that," she says quickly. "I could not have carried on without faith. But I had moments when I was terrified to be alone and to have to live without him at my side. The first weeks in particular were the worst; all the telephones were cut off, and it was dangerous for friends and colleagues to visit me. I felt totally isolated."

Danuta was allowed to visit her husband in his place of detention—an isolated villa in the country—but their exchanges... (continued on page 128)

"Sandwich-Mate.®

It's better than American Cheese!"

MORE NUTRITIOUS!

TASTES GREAT!

MELTS SMOOTHLY!



MRS. WALESA

continued from page 60

were limited by the secret police always hovering in the background, and Lech rightly suspected the presence of microphones in the room. But the most odious experience for a pregnant woman was the body searches conducted before each visit by callous, cynical members of the "zomos" (militiamen).

Although she was comforted by the presence of her mother and sister, Danuta was at her lowest during the week before the baby was born. "We had enough to live on, thanks to help from the Church and packages from abroad, but life without Lech seemed to be stretching ahead like a succession of gray days without end," she remembers. It was her deep faith that pulled her through this period. "Both Lech and I were brought up in very religious families; prayer is a daily habit with us. I know that Lech likes to converse with God as if He were a friend; he tells Him his plans for the day, asks advice; it is a close, intimate relationship, which has become essential to his makeup and adds much to his strength. I feel the same way, only I am not as articulate as my husband! I prayed a lot after Maria-Victoria was born, asking God to return her father to her. Then one day I just set a date for her christening, some way off, the last Sunday in November. I just *knew* that by then Lech would be back. And so he was—released in the middle of the week, on a Wednesday."

Nothing in her humble childhood and early youth had prepared Danuta for such trying experiences. She was born in a small village in central Poland into a family of nine children. Her education was limited, and at an early age she had to go to work. When her eldest sister married and moved to Gdansk, Danuta decided to try her luck in the same city. She found a job in a florist's shop and likes to tell how one day Lech Walesa came in "not to buy flowers, but to get some change for a bus." They exchanged a few words, and to her surprise he returned the next day and kept coming in "again and again."

Gdansk offered few attractions to a penniless young couple, but there were the sea, the beaches and the forest walks along the seashore. In November 1969, they were married at a local church; one year later, their first son, Bogdan, was born. After Bogdan, a child came every two years—first three more boys, then three girls. "We were permanently short of space and kept moving from one rented room to another. We even lived in a hotel for a while, then in a tiny apartment on the outskirts. Four years ago, we ended up

in this place. And after Lech was elected to head Solidarity, we needed more space to cope with the endless stream of visitors," Danuta says. "His colleagues from the shipyard took down a wall between us and the apartment next door, which gave us two more rooms. Thanks to Solidarity, the children have sleeping quarters of their own."

Like her husband, Danuta is completely committed to Solidarity, the great civic movement, which, though now illegal, still enjoys the overwhelming support of the Polish nation—including workers, intellectuals and peasants. But being connected to Solidarity is very risky. The dreaded zomos keep a constant watch on Walesa's movements, and their hostile sur-

“When we were in the police station, thirteen-year-old Bogdan felt thirsty. A policeman brought him a drink. Bogdan hesitated, then shook his head. It might be poisoned, thank you. I'd better leave it.”

veillance casts a sinister shadow over the life of the entire family. It hampers the normal activities of the day and has ruined countless social occasions, summer picnics, and skating expeditions with the boys. Even christenings and weddings have become an embarrassment when friends have to submit to police interrogation after being seen in the company of the Walesas. "It is like being weighted down," remarks one of Danuta's friends.

Attacks on the Walesa family aimed at destroying their popularity regularly appear in government papers. Petty harassment never ceases. Danuta was greatly excited when an anonymous German admirer presented the family with a small Volkswagen bus for their own use. She took driving lessons and passed the test. The prospect of piling seven children into the van and taking off for the beach seemed like a miracle. But not for long. The excitement quickly faded when she discovered that the zomos were following the van everywhere. She was constantly stopped for alleged driving offenses, hauled in for interrogation, queried about gas coupons. The new

tires developed mysterious punctures, and finally Lech decided that they could not keep this generous gift. Several months ago, Walesa donated it to the Church's Children's Benevolent Fund.

With conditions what they are in Poland today, such pinpricks are considered part of the daily pattern of life, and most people shrug them off with a mixture of resignation and contempt. Much worse is the pervading insecurity that comes from living in a police state. Lech's Nobel Prize award, while greatly enhancing his stature, has by no means ensured his personal safety. Mysterious accidents do happen. And while Lech does have bodyguards who accompany him to and from work each day, they are not with him all the time, and Danuta must fear for her husband's—and indeed her whole family's—safety. She does, however, maintain a brave front. "I am very, very busy, so I don't have much time to brood over things. I have learned to take every day as it comes," she explains. "The only times I worry are when I come up against people's ill will or their intent to do mischief. I find that frightening. I worry about the consequences it might have for all nine of us."

One of Danuta's big problems is how to secure a normal upbringing for her children in the general atmosphere of mistrust that prevails outside the home. Polish children, too, have to learn to cope with life in a police state. We hear about their feelings from letters that have recently drifted from Poland to the West. Listen to Adam, aged ten: "Daddy told me to shut up and be careful, so I won't tell anyone anything now, not even what we have for supper. He says everything now must be a secret. Daddy even sleeps with his eyes open. I swear it."

Or Ianek, aged twelve: "Our teacher, who is married to a policeman, said that during the martial law it is the children of the policemen who are most miserable, because their fathers are on active service. But I told her that my little cousins are the most miserable because my uncle is in prison in Ilawa. My teacher began to shout and told me to shut up or else I, too, would go to prison. And she added that Solidarity people must be exterminated like ticks. Our teacher is a Party Secretary; nobody loves her or even likes her. In our class, everyone's parents are in Solidarity, and it was horrible to hear her threats. But one day she just stopped shouting and burst into tears . . . it was very strange."

In thirteen-year-old Bogdan's class the majority of children come from Solidarity, but being older, they've already learned how to put up with certain teachers or classmates. In *(continued)*

The Tappan Electric Range. It's the perfect marriage of beauty and durability.



There's more to a Tappan electric range than classic styling, and the beautiful way it cooks. To discover the real beauty of a Tappan, raise the Lift 'N Lock® top and see how easy it makes cleaning. Open the recessed oven door for a view of a spacious, self-cleaning oven that's designed to bake evenly. Everywhere you look you'll find quality construction. Which is part of the reason a Tappan is such a beautiful buy. See your dealer today.

TAPPAN IS QUALITY COOKING™

TAPPAN APPLIANCES, MANSFIELD, OHIO 44901

MRS. WALESA continued

school, it is the younger boys who worry Danuta. At the time of Walesa's imprisonment, her sons Slawek, Yurek and Pshenek were threatened with expulsion when their friends mounted an indignant protest and organized an attack against the sons of Party members. In elementary school, the problems of a nation were translated to: "Your father put Yurek's daddy in prison, you scoundrel. . ."

"I find it terrifying," says Danuta, "but how do you explain to a six-year-old not to use force when all around him in the streets he sees swarms of militiamen armed with batons and ready to pounce on the people?" In Lech's absence, Danuta was hard-pressed to deal with her sons' diffi-

culties. "I had to try corporal punishment," she sighs. "But that seldom works. It only creates resentment."

The situation has improved since Lech's return, but the effects of a difficult couple of years have not entirely disappeared. Bogdan, particularly, has become introverted and silent. "His father's imprisonment and the constant surveillance have had an effect upon him," says Father Jankowski, the parish priest of the local fourteenth-century church of St. Bridget and the Walesas' family friend.

He told me how, after Danuta's return from Oslo, he set off with the Walesas and young Bogdan for the Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa to deposit the Nobel Peace Prize medal at the shrine of Our Lady, Poland's most holy place. "On our way back we were virtually hounded by the zomos; they kept stopping us for

questioning and document checks, which made for a very slow journey. As we were sitting in one of their dreary police stations, Bogdan complained of feeling thirsty. A policeman brought him a glass of water with 'sok,' a kind of fruit juice. Bogdan hesitated a moment, then shook his head. 'It might be poisoned, thank you. I had better leave it.' The guard shrugged his shoulders; Danuta looked away sadly. The drink was probably all right, but the incident revealed Bogdan's troubled young mind. What courage must a mother possess in order to bring up children in such circumstances!"

It also must take courage, or, at the very least, patience, for Danuta to deal with the constant traffic through her apartment. For one thing, politics is not of great interest to her. "I've been thrown into it. I try to inform myself," she explains, "but what I want to do most is to lead a normal, ordinary life. Sometimes I feel ours is not an ordinary life. It is not normal to have so many people around us!" Does she resent it? "Has Solidarity ever come between you and Lech?" I ask. "Of course, I long for a normal life, as do most women. And I don't agree with Lech on everything, but I share his commitment, so I know there have to be sacrifices—even the children understand."

And while Danuta was delighted with the Nobel Prize—"Not so much for my sake or the family, but for Poland"—she does admit to some misgivings about the increased attention and publicity. Her first reaction, she says, was to think that there would be even more visitors, and "When would I have time for the children?"

Then, too, she worries about her husband's health. ("He has ulcers, and ought to take it easy, but he is a difficult patient and never follows doctors' orders," she says.) And she can't help noticing "those telltale little lines" that have recently appeared around her own eyes. "I feel very much older, and I'm permanently tired," she confides. "People ask me what I would do if things were different. They want to know if I have a hobby or something I particularly enjoy doing. But all I can think of is how nice it would be to take it easy for three whole days . . . so that perhaps I could lie down and relax." With the memories of Oslo still fresh, Danuta also thinks of traveling more—perhaps to the United States. "I would love to go there and see how people live. It would be wonderful for the boys to have that opportunity. . . . But at the moment, it all seems like a dream."

Still, despite such longings, Danuta stands by her husband steadfastly, and it's obvious that theirs is a warm, loving marriage. Affectionately, she talks about the private side of Lech. He is not

F
P
le
N
K
S
P
tr
U
E
P
ar
st
sh
Cr
Ph
pa
Av
NY
Pa
We
jug
An
fat
NY
"T
SF
Pa
lib
Ha
eae
100
PC
Pa
rin
Pa
Per
Cot
rin
Elli
pe.
Pa
ras.
able
Berl
Pa
Kan
Safe
Snal
Shos
Earr
GRE
GLC
left:
leaf
platt
Top
from
nika
SAM
"Hib
Wood
howl
Mika
LAS
tern,
cham
Baska
W. 57
Ave.,
patter
cham
"Stra
Made

one, she says, to turn away from a festive occasion. "He likes birthdays and celebrations," she laughs, "and you receive the Nobel Prize only once in a lifetime, so of course that called for a celebration!"

More seriously, she talks of her respect for him and his abilities. "I am not afraid of anything my husband might undertake," she says firmly. "I believe in fate and pray that everything will turn out well."

Given all their problems, I wonder whether the Walesas ever considered leaving Poland. But Danuta is shocked at the very thought. "Never," she insists. "Neither Lech nor I would even contemplate it for a moment. We belong here. How could we abandon our country and the people who depend on Lech's leadership? And nothing would please the government better than to see all nine of us emigrate; getting rid of Lech would indeed solve many problems for them. Oh, no! The Walesas are definitely staying!" **End**

Journal Shopping Center

FIFTY AMERICAN HEROINES

Pages 86-87: All photos, Black Star Photographers. top row, left to right: Clark Mishler; Jay B. Mather; Mark Tuschman; Nancy J. Pierce. Middle row, left to right: Nik Wheeler; Gil Kenny; Kip Brundage. Bottom row, left to right: Steve Leonard; Steve Hopkins; George Ceola; Herman Kokojan.

Pages 88-91, 137-144: All flags from the fifty states illustrated on these pages are reproduced from *The Flag Book of the United States*, copyright ©1975 Whitney Smith.

ELEGANCE IN BLOOM

Pages 92-93: "Chambord" 5-piece place setting by Villeroy and Boch Tableware, Ltd. "King Edward" 5-piece place setting in sterling by Gorham. "Slane" glasses in goblet and white wine size, 8-inch salad bowl (used for centerpiece) all by Waterford Crystal, Inc. Antique Adam open-arm chairs (c. 1780) from Hyde Park Antiques, Ltd., 836 Broadway, NYC 10003. "Summer Picnic" painting by Robert LaHotan from Kraushaar Gallery, 724 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10019. All flowers by ZeZe, 398 East 52nd Street, NYC 10022.

Pages 94-95: All floral arrangements by ZeZe. Antique Wedgwood platters, dish and porcupine; Faience glazed monkey jug; Child's Punishment chair in wicker all from Trevor Potts Antiques, Inc., 1011 Lexington Avenue, NYC 10021. "Pendleton" fabric in natural, by Hinson and Company; 979 Third Avenue, NYC 10022.

*Through decorators.

SPARE PARTS

Pages 98-101: White chair and matching footrest table. Albert Pink bikini, Barbara Lasky. White robe on chair, Ariel for Hays Design. Beach cotton underwear, Calvin Klein. Pink futon exercise mat from The Futon Shop, 178 West Houston Street, NYC 10014.

DOS & DONTS OF SUMMER DRESSING

Page 102: Do: Dress, Nancy Heller. Cuff, James Murphy. Earrings, Alexis Kirk. Shoes, Perry Ellis. Hose, Dim.

Page 103: Dos: top photo: Earrings, Barry Kieselstein-Cord for Perry Ellis. Jacket and shirt, Tallia by Enna Vides. Middle photo: Cotton-knit dress and jacket, Dianne B. for Cygne Designs. Earrings, James Murphy. Cuff, Kruger Gallery, NYC. Shoes, Perry Ellis. Hose, Berkshire. Bottom photo: White linen pants, Giuseppe. Shoes, Manolo Blahnik. Hose, Berkshire.

Page 104: Do: White linen jacket and pleated skirt, Andrea Karas. Pink linen shirt, Calvin Klein. Earrings, Ted Muehling, available at Artwear, NYC. Pearls, Marvella. Shoes, Palizzio. Hose, Berkshire.

Page 105: Dos, top row: Black and white swimsuit, OMO Norma Kamali. Black, white and blue swimsuit, Michaela Vollbracht for Sofere. Dos, lower row: White swimsuit with blue sash, L'Ondine. Snakeskin-patterned swimsuit, Wavelengths. Bottom row, do, left: Shoes, Manolo Blahnik. Skirt, Giuseppe. Hose, Dim. do, far right: Earrings, Detail, NYC. Striped dress, Nancy Heller.

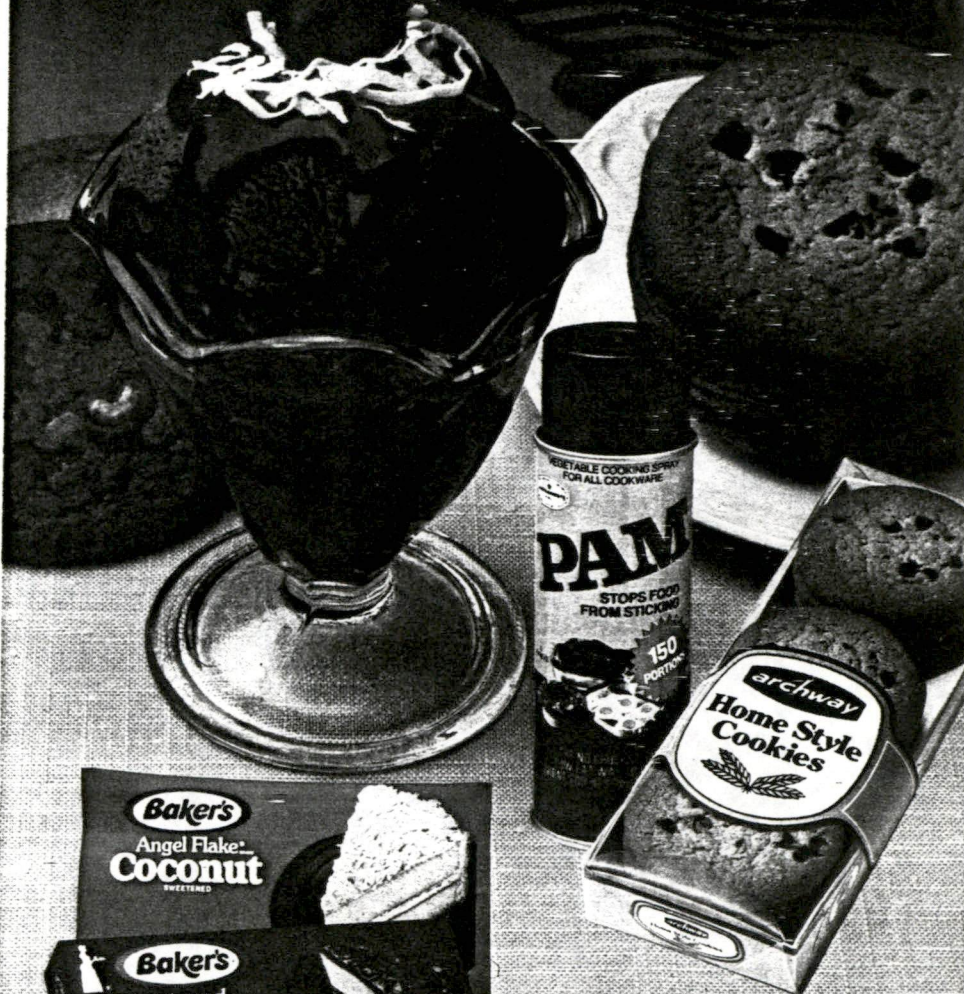
GREAT SUMMER ENTERTAINING

GLORIOUS OUTDOOR BUFFET—Pages 106-107: Top left: Tiered server and vase from Bullocks, San Diego, CA. Crystal leaf platter from Bo Dannika. La Jolla, CA. Bottom left: Lucite platter and bowl from Bo Dannika. Pink leaf platter from Bullocks. Top right: Flatware, "Braid" pattern by Mikasa. Crystal platter from Bo Dannika. Bottom right: Footed crystal dish from Bo Dannika. Crystal wine glasses, "Sea Mist" pattern by Mikasa.

SUMPTUOUS LUNEA—Pages 108-109: Stoneware plates, "Hibiscus" pattern by Mikasa. Napkin fabric by China Seas. Wooden platter by Dansk from Bullocks, San Diego, CA. Scalloped bowl from Bo Dannika. Chi Chi glasses, "Sea Mist" pattern by Mikasa. Mai Tai glasses from Bo Dannika.

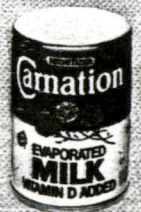
LAST-MINUTE ENTERTAINING—Pages 110-111: Left: Platters, "Basket" pattern by Villeroy & Boch. "Tulip" pattern by Longchamps. Top right: Baking dish, "Vouvray" pattern by Longchamps. *By Suzanne Jeffrey Home from Creative Resources, Inc., 24 W. 57th St., NYC 10019. Fabric from Pierre Deux, 870 Madison Ave., NYC 10021. Bottom right: Small bowl at left, "Julienne" pattern by Louis Lourioux. Buffet plate, "Dorval Green" by Longchamps. Basket and napkin from Creative Resources, Inc. Turban, "Strasbourg Chinois" pattern by Luneville, from La Cuisinière, 867 Madison Ave., NYC 10021. Spongware bowl by Sigma.

FREE Baker's CHOCOLATE for your Old-Fashioned Ice Cream



Enjoy rich, creamy, homemade ice cream without using an ice cream maker!

*Get FREE BAKER'S CHOCOLATE with proofs of purchase when you make our easy-to-prepare, old-fashioned ice cream recipe. Details available at participating supermarkets.



CHOCOLATE ICE CREAM

1 can (13 fl. oz.) undiluted CARNATION® Evaporated Milk
4 squares BAKER'S® Unsweetened Chocolate*
½ cup water*

Pour evaporated milk into 8- or 9-inch square pan sprayed with PAM® and freeze until ice crystals form around edge of pan, about 30 minutes.

Meanwhile, heat chocolate with water over low heat in saucepan sprayed with PAM®. Stir until chocolate is melted and mixture is smooth. Add sugar; cook and stir until sugar is completely dissolved. Add vanilla. Measure ¾ cup into a small bowl, stir in butter and set aside for sauce. Chill remaining chocolate mixture.

Spoon milk into chilled small mixer bowl sprayed with PAM® and beat until soft peaks form. Fold in chilled chocolate mixture. Return to pan and freeze until firm, 2 to 3 hours. Serve with the sauce. Garnish with coconut. Makes about 6 cups or 10 or 12 servings.

*Or use 2 packages (4 oz. each) BAKER'S® GERMAN'S® Sweet Chocolate; increase water to ¾ cup.

ICE CREAM SANDWICHES

For each sandwich, place one scoop of ice cream on an ARCHWAY® Home Style Chocolate Chip Cookie. Let soften slightly, then cover with another cookie and press gently to form a sandwich. Serve immediately or store, wrapped, in freezer.

PAM® is a registered trademark of Boyle Midway Div., AHPG
Baker's, Angel Flake & German's are registered trademarks of General Foods Corporation.

JANUARY 1988

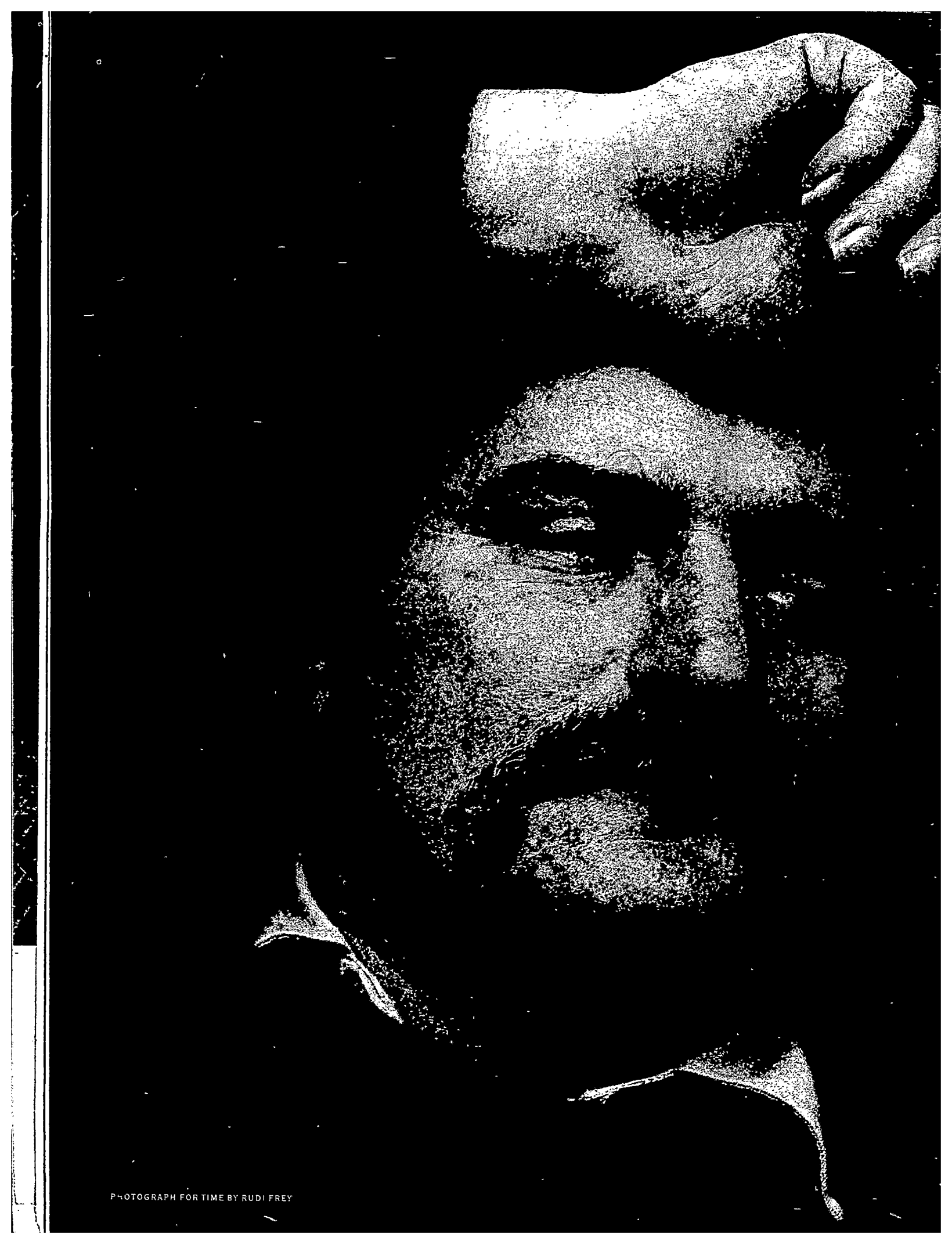
11.50

FRANK RUJIVE MAN OF THE YEAR

APR83 888 88998992T 52 05 '83
RESOURCES MGMT
EXEC OFFICE-PRES
WHITE HOUSE INF
WASHINGTON

POLAND'S
LECH
WALESA





PHOTOGRAPH FOR TIME BY RUDI FREY

He Dared to Hope

Poland's Lech Walesa led a crusade for freedom

Anyone could read him at a glance. When things were going well, when it seemed for a while that the movement he led would brighten and liberate the lives of his fellow Poles, the face that grew so familiar in 1981 radiated delight: delight in his crusade, delight in his vision of the future, delight in being at the center of it all. In those mo-

ments, he held nothing back. But when things began to go wrong, when the tensions started to rise and the future he saw began to recede, the face grew heavy. The familiar walrus mustache sagged and the brown eyes turned weary. Again he held nothing back, and perhaps he could not if he tried. Lech Walesa is a man of emotion, not of logic or analysis. So was the



Man of the Year

movement, which he all but lost control of in the end, guided more by hope and passion than by rationality. That was the crusade's strength—and its weakness.

What had begun as Poland's year of liberty ended dramatically in violence, bloodshed and repression. The beleaguered government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, pushed to the wall by Walesa's challenging Solidarity union, confronted with total economic collapse, and pressured by the furious Soviets, struck back in the classic Communist fashion. Its minions came for Walesa at 3 a.m. at his apartment in Gdansk, the gray Baltic seaport whose windswept shipyards had given birth to Solidarity in August 1980. They hustled him aboard a flight to Warsaw and then held him in a government guesthouse south of the city. They cut off communications with the outside world and imposed martial law. While the people slept, olive-drab tanks and armored personnel carriers moved through the snow-filled streets to take up positions in cities and towns across the country.

At 6 a.m., Jaruzelski went on the radio "as a soldier and the chief of the Polish government," to announce that the nation was under martial law. He later repeated the grim message on national television, dressed in full military uniform with the white Polish eagle prominently displayed behind him. The "growing aggressiveness" of Solidarity's "extremists" in the midst of an acute economic crisis, said Jaruzelski, had forced him to make his repressive moves "with a broken heart, with bitterness." He assured Poles that military rule would be temporary and that the process of "renewal" launched by Solidarity would be resumed once disorder had been curbed. And nobody believed his assurances. Months of Poland's desires, months of Poland's dreams had reduced themselves to one new, pervasive, overwhelming condition: fear. Freedom and self-determination had been the goal through the inspired days of 1981. Now the goal was survival.

The crackdown had been harsh, fiercely and unexpectedly harsh. Military authorities rounded up thousands of Solidarity members, dissidents, intellectuals, artists and some 30 former government officials, including ex-Party Boss Edward Gierek. Tanks ringed factories and mines, and soldiers and police used force to clear out resisting workers, leaving at least seven dead and hundreds injured when miners in Katowice fought back with axes and crowbars. The shock was doubly traumatic because in the preceding months Poles had won more freedom than any other nation in the Soviet bloc. The country had developed a thriving intellectual and cultural life. People felt free to criticize the government openly; so, in fact, did some party members. Then, literally overnight, the new freedoms disappeared.

Behind the Polish military move loomed the shadow of the Kremlin. Indeed, if the government of General Jaruzelski had not imposed the crackdown, the Soviets certainly would have. The presence in Warsaw of high-ranking Soviet officers, including Marshal Viktor Kulikov, even suggested a direct Soviet role in planning what amounted to an invasion by proxy. For more than a year, the Kremlin had made it clear that it would not indefinitely tolerate the development of a union movement that could challenge a Communist government as directly as Solidarity had—a movement that was calling, in effect, for government by consent of the governed.

Thus, as 1981 came to a close, the courageous little electrician from Gdansk stood out not only as the heart and soul of Poland's battle with a corrupt Communist regime, but as an international symbol of the struggle for freedom and dignity. Both as a newsmaker in his own right and as a representative of millions of Poles striving for a better life, Lech Walesa is TIME's Man of the Year.

There was almost a tragic inevitability about the whole sequence of events that ended with Poland's night of the generals. The leading characters in the nation's drama seemed to be following a script for a catastrophe that both Walesa and Jaruzelski could see coming, that neither wanted—and that neither could avoid. For 16 months, Solidarity and the government had been

NOGUES—SYGMA



Tangled grammar, but an actor's sure sense of swaying an audience

locked in a struggle for control of the country's destiny, while the leaders of Poland's Roman Catholic Church, that age-old bastion of nationalism, appeared like a Greek chorus to intone warnings and admonitions to all.

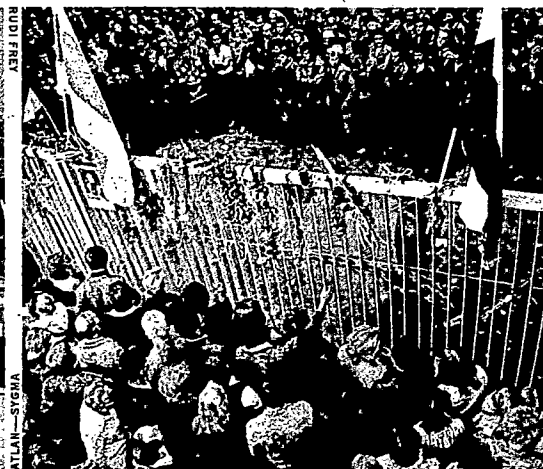
The nation tottered on the verge of total economic collapse. Not since the disaster of Germany's Weimar Republic in the '30s had a modern industrial state faced a peacetime economic failure of such catastrophic dimensions. As the economy faltered, the shortages of food, clothing and other basic necessities made queuing an increasingly exhausting and frustrating way of life, an ordeal made all the more cruel by the onset of an unusually harsh Polish winter. In the end, Solidarity and the government were unable to reach an accommodation as the crisis deepened.

The Polish experiment showed that a Communist government can be forced to make some reforms, but that it cannot give up a substantive measure of control without the fear of losing it all. Solidarity's hope that a totalitarian Marxist system could be made accountable to society proved to be an illusion, evidence that a Communist society cannot tolerate freedom as it is known in the West. Walesa and his movement had made a travesty of Communism's pretensions in the eyes of the world. An authentic proletarian revolution had risen, just as Marx had



Power center of the movement: striking workers of the Lenin shipyard gather row on row to hear Walesa call for Solidarity

MARLOW—MAGNUM



Institutions dominating Gdansk: the Roman Catholic Church and the Lenin shipyard, whose employees assemble near the famed gates

predicted, only to be put down by the guns of the oppressor class: the Communists themselves. However Solidarity's revolution may ultimately run its course, the movement brought the heady taste of a new life to the Poles. That memory will die hard, if at all. Nor will the world forget the lessons in courage displayed by the millions of Polish workers who were inspired by Lech Walesa.

Other people and events commanded their share of attention during 1981 (see following story). Ronald Reagan, whose sweeping electoral victory made him TIME's choice as the Man of the Year in 1980, started a revolution in domestic policy that curbed a Federal Government which had been growing without restraint since the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the '30s. Reagan also had his failings. He had an uncertain touch on foreign policy and he made the astonishing discovery that his economic policies were projected to leave the U.S. with a \$100 billion budget deficit in fiscal 1982.

In a year marked by widespread political violence, assassins shot a U.S. President, a Pope and a Nobel laureate. The first two victims recovered. The third, Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, died in a lash of bullets, casting a shadow over the cause of Middle East peace that he had courageously espoused. That turbu-

lent region of the world was further shaken by the aggressive acts of the government of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, which bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor; attempted to destroy a Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Beirut, killing 300, mostly civilians; and in effect annexed the Golan Heights.

U.S.-Soviet relations grew more tense as the Reagan Administration adopted a hard-line approach to its dealings on virtually every issue with the Kremlin and with Communism worldwide. As the Administration talked sternly, a powerful movement swept through Western Europe in opposition to the planned deployment of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons in NATO countries. The antinuclear crusade threatened NATO's solidarity against the Warsaw Pact nations. Urged on by the Europeans, the U.S. met with the Soviets in Geneva on Nov. 30 to begin their long-awaited talks on mutual reductions of their medium-range missiles.

For Americans, the most moving moment of the year was the return of the 52 U.S. hostages who had been held in Iran for 444 days. The most reassuring moment occurred on April 12, when the space shuttle *Columbia* roared triumphantly into orbit, trailing behind a fiery, orange-and-white plume—and all doubts about U.S. supremacy in space technology. The most delightful

Man of the Year

moment for Britons, and for about everybody else, came when a demure 19-year-old with glowing cheeks and feather-swept blond hair said yes to the future King of England. The spectacular wedding of Lady Diana Spencer to Prince Charles lifted hearts everywhere.

None of these developments in 1981, however, equaled the drama of Poland's triumph and tragedy. At the center of the Polish revolution was one of history's more improbable heroes. With a double chin, a bit of a paunch, and a height of only 5 ft. 7 in., Lech Walesa, 38, hardly has an imposing physical presence. His working-class Polish is rough and often ungrammatical; his voice, perhaps from years of heavy smoking, is hoarse and rasping. His speeches frequently are riddled with mixed metaphors and skewed analogies; Solidarity's leaders admit that Walesa (pronounced Vah-wen-sah) is more intuitive than intellectual. He rather defiantly claims that he has never read a serious book in his life.

Yet Walesa got through his message of hope to his countrymen. Said a Warsaw journalist: "Sometimes he doesn't even make any sense, but he is always reassuring. He energizes people." He could work a crowd like an actor onstage, never reading a speech—not even when addressing the Pope—and never speaking too long, stabbing the air with his oversize hands, making all the right gestures with almost flawless timing. His real strength as a speaker was an ability to reduce complex issues to simple words and images that everyone could understand. Said one Solidarity official: "He knows his audience. He can sense what they want, and almost always he is right."

Walesa showed little patience for the details of union organization or the niceties of parliamentary procedure. He loved to barnstorm the country, arguing, cajoling, sitting up half the night with workers while the air turned blue with cigarette smoke. At the podium, and at the bargaining table, where the arguments with government officials stretched wearily on for hours, he was quick and voluble, and guided by sure instincts. As his fame and power grew, he was amused and sometimes delighted by his celebrity status, whatever his disclaimers. There was, in fact, more than a touch of the demagogue in him. When his policies were opposed by other union leaders, he would sometimes threaten to take his case directly to the rank and file, or even to quit. "He is like De Gaulle of France in that regard," says former Solidarity Spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

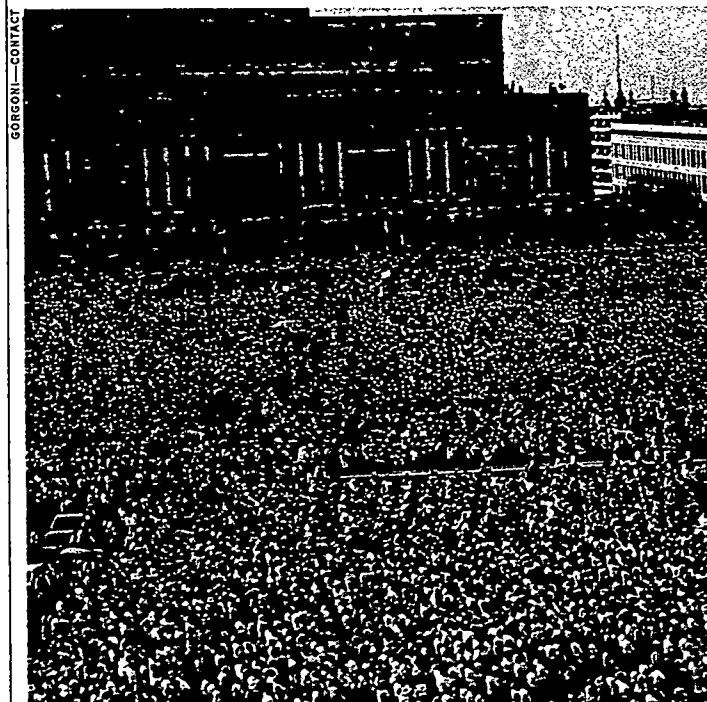
There was something to that. Like De Gaulle, Lech Walesa was a man guided by faith in himself and his destiny: he had no qualms about speaking for the 10 million members of Solidarity. He was certain that he knew what they—what the country—wanted. "We eat the same bread," he would tell the crowds. An urban worker with rural roots, he was, as he claimed, a son of the people. Lech Everyman. Reflecting on his leadership role last month, he told TIME: "As a believer, I think this was my mission. This is the way fate threw me into it."

The son of a carpenter, he was born in a clay hut during the Nazi occupation in the village of Popow, between Warsaw and Gdansk. His father, Boleslaw, was conscripted by the Nazis to dig ditches during the war and died in 1946 from the exposure and beatings he suffered. His mother, Feliksa, seemed to have the most effect on Walesa. The parish priest remembers her as "the wisest woman in the parish. She always had to be the most important person around and was a fantastic organizer. Lech is an extension of his mother and even looks like her. He has the same face, size, build and smile."

Walesa was only an average student at his parish grammar school. Ironically, he got his worst marks in a subject that now deeply concerns him: history. One schoolmate remembers him as a show-off, "always swimming out to the farthest point of the lake." At the state vocational school in Lipno, where he learned the electrician's trade, Walesa was reprimanded several times for smoking in the dorm, but he is also remembered as a good organizer. By his own account, Walesa early had a knack for taking command. "I had something in me that made me the leader of the gang," he says. "I was always the leader of the class, I was



Walesa and his bodyguard attending early morning services



A sea of worshippers crowds Victory Square in Warsaw to attend Mass

always the leader of the hooligans, the leader of the choirboys. I was always on top."

In his treatise on heroes and hero-worship, Thomas Carlyle wrote that "Universal History is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here." A lowly worker like Walesa would never have suited Carlyle's elitist view of greatness. Walesa is a completely different kind of hero: a common man who has taken his fling at changing history not by leading governments, winning great battles or writing books, but by embodying the hopes, faith, courage, even the foibles, of the vast majority of his countrymen.

The national ideals that Walesa represents have their roots in more than 1,000 years of Polish history. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote an anonymous Byzantine historian about the Slavs in the 6th or 7th century. Perhaps because they were so open to invasion by the Germans and the Russians, the Poles early developed a fierce sense of national unity. In addition to repeated foreign invasions, Poland suffered three partitions in the 18th century that wiped it off the map as a separate state until 1918.

Poles have revolted countless times against their oppressors, only to fail heroically. Almost every generation of Poles for the past century and a half has risen in arms. This penchant for re-



The close ties of church and union: priests hear the confessions of striking shipyard workers; Pope John Paul II greets Walesa in Rome



the Pope's momentous visit to his homeland in 1979: "They were hurling a challenge at their Marxist rulers"

bellion—evident again in Solidarity—prompted Karl Marx to call Poland the “thermometer of the intensity and vitality of all revolutions since 1789.” Successive occupations and uprisings, moreover, gave Poles a deep-rooted mistrust of foreign-imposed governments and sharpened their skills at organizing broad-based conspiracies. It also increased their pride in the past. Many of Solidarity’s buttons show the Polish eagle adorned with the crown that was banned by the Communists.

The result of the defeated uprisings has left a scar on the national psyche, a kind of ambivalence and fear that endure to this day. “On the one hand,” says Social Historian Wiktor Osiatynski, “the Pole applauds the drive for democratic freedoms. On the other hand, not far below the surface roils the thought that previous such efforts for national salvation have ended in catastrophe.”

Polish patriotism has been closely bound up with religion ever since the baptism in 966 of the nation’s first ruler, Prince Mieszko I. During occupation periods, the Catholic Church kept Polish language and culture alive and served as the main bastion of nationalism. After the Communist takeover in 1945, the church provided a unique alternative to a “godless” Marxist regime. Going to Mass became not only a religious act but a quiet sign of rebellion against the state. Today, 75% to 80% of Po-

land’s 36 million people are practicing Catholics. A deeply religious man, Walesa always wears on his lapel a badge depicting the so-called Black Madonna, a portrait of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child that is in the Czestochowa monastery, 125 miles southwest of Warsaw.

Religion, patriotism and a tragic history fed a current of romantic fatalism that runs deep in the Polish character. Grand gestures and heroic sacrifices come naturally to the Poles, along with an alarming capacity for martyrdom. The 19th century playwright Stanislaw Wyspianski called long-suffering Poland “the Christ of nations” because of its capacity for anguish. Joseph Stalin is said to have remarked that bringing Communism to Poland was “like trying to saddle a cow.” He did it anyway, but a nation of rebellious, romantic anti-Russian Catholics proved to be troublesome from the beginning. Most Poles never regarded the party in Warsaw as more than an outpost of Soviet imperialism. As Walesa puts it: “For 36 years, something foreign was injected into us.”

In 1956 Polish workers rioted to protest food shortages. In 1968 Polish intellectuals protested censorship and other curbs on freedom. Seeking scapegoats for the rebellion, the government, conscious of Poland’s notorious anti-Semitism, launched an

Man of the Year

"anti-Zionist" campaign that forced many Jewish intellectuals, artists and officials to emigrate.

In 1970 the most bloody uprising until then flared in the port cities along the Baltic coast. The movement, touched off by price hikes, was centered in the Gdansk Lenin shipyard, where Walesa had begun to work as an electrician in 1967.

For the first time, Walesa showed that he really was a natural rebel and leader, although even then he displayed his instinctive fear of going too far. When his fellow workers from the Lenin shipyard occupied the first floor of police headquarters, Walesa persuaded a crowd of 20,000 not to attack the nearby prison. Later, as the protests continued in the streets, Party Boss Wladyslaw Gomulka's police and army units opened fire. Dozens, perhaps hundreds, of workers died; the figures have never been authenticated.

To this day, Walesa fears that he did not lead his fellow workers with enough vigor or wisdom in 1970. What inspired him during the rebellion that began in August 1980 was, he says, "the blood of the workers who had put their trust in me. It was my stupidity in not taking it to victory that time. I wanted to improve on myself."

In the wake of the 1970 riots, Gomulka was replaced by Edward Gierek, a former coal miner who had earned a good reputation for improving life in his fiefdom around the steel and coal center of Katowice in southern Poland. Gierek promised dramatic gains in the nation's standard of living; mainly through a massive influx of foreign investment. Instead he destroyed the economy, and it was that which proved to be the fulcrum of Poland's crisis. The disintegrating economy helped create Solidarity, and it remains the essential problem for General Jaruzelski.

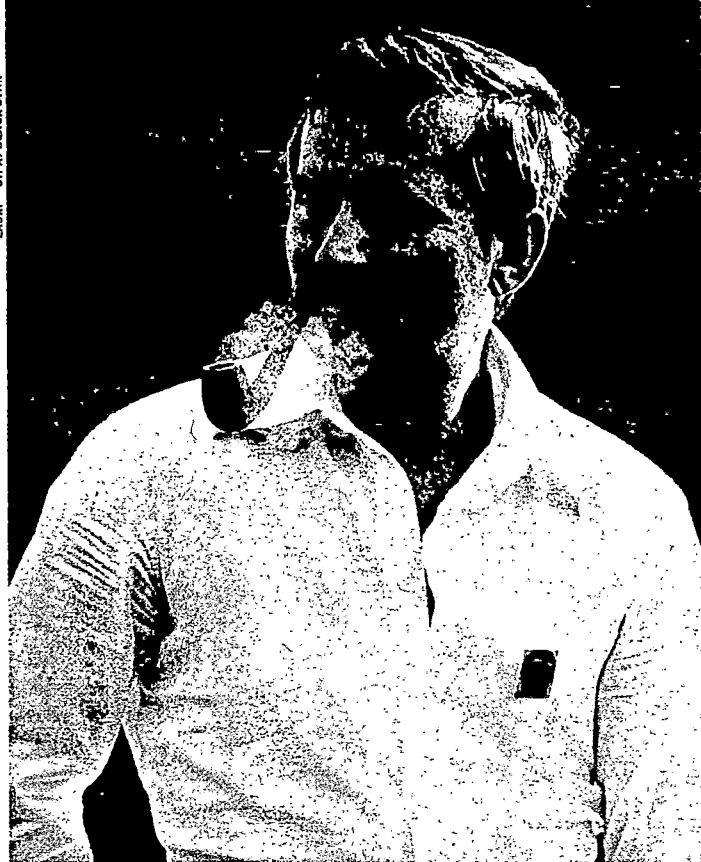
Gierek had the instincts of a high-rolling capitalist. His decision to borrow heavily abroad to finance an expansion of heavy industry was based on the optimistic, and naive, theory that new factories, using the best equipment and techniques, would turn out products that would be sold to cancel the debts. In all, Gierek imported about \$10 billion worth of modern capital goods. Then he wasted all of it in textbook cases of how not to run an economy. For example, he put nearly \$1 billion into developing and producing a light tractor designed by Massey-Ferguson and made at a gigantic new Ursus tractor facility near Warsaw. But it turned out that the company was not licensed to sell its products in the West and that, moreover, they were too expensive to be sold in the East. Besides, most Polish farm equipment did not fit the tractor. Result: production of about 500 tractors a year instead of the expected 75,000.

Gierek also made a deal with the RCA Corporation and the Corning Glass Works to build a color television factory outside Warsaw that was supposed to turn out 600,000 sets in 1981. Result: some 50,000 were produced this year, mainly because of bad management and a shortage of parts. Says Marshall Goldman, an economist who is associate director of Harvard's Russian Research Center: "It was like a heart transplant in which the system rejects the foreign body. The factories simply were not working."

Meanwhile, to keep people happy, Gierek was allowing wages to rise 40% from 1970 to 1975, compared with an increase of only 17% over the previous decade. To give Poles enough meat, Gierek quadrupled imports of grain and fodder; the per capita consumption of meat jumped from 132 lbs. per year in 1970 to 154 lbs. in 1980.

The state's pricing system, designed to hold down food costs to consumers, was a blueprint for bankruptcy. The state was paying farmers 10 zlotys for a liter of milk that it sold in stores for 4 zlotys. Live hogs were bought from farmers at 130 zlotys per kilogram and sold as butchered pork at 70 zlotys per kilogram. Farmers bought bread and fed it to their livestock because it was cheaper than the wheat it was made from. Price subsidies began absorbing a staggering one-third of the national budget.

The whole absurd structure was bound to collapse, and it did. When the OPEC nations raised the price of oil in 1973-74 and caused a worldwide recession, Poland's exports, instead of



A rare relaxed moment for the former electrician



Tombstones in Warsaw of heroes who died in World War II

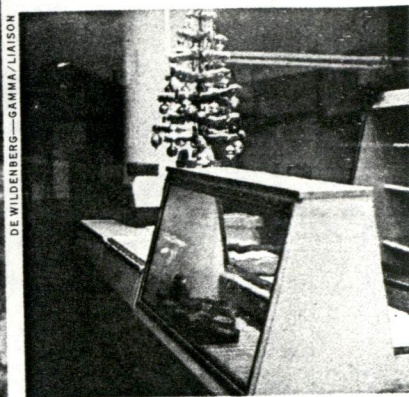
continuing to rise as Gierek planned, began to falter. Unable to lay off any workers—a taboo under the full-employment doctrine of Communism—Gierek had to borrow more and more money from the West to keep going. Poland's foreign debt rose from \$4.8 billion in 1974 to \$25.5 billion in 1981. Servicing and repayment of the loans, which are owed to 15 Western governments and 501 Western banks, now consume all of Poland's hard currency export earnings, estimated at \$6.5 billion for 1981 (see ECONOMY & BUSINESS).

When Poland was forced to reduce its borrowing, the country began to suffer from a lack of spare parts for the spanking new equipment already in place. Round and round the vicious circle spun. The nation's factories operated in 1981 at only 60% of capacity. To make matters worse, poor harvests from 1974 to 1980 ravaged the country's agriculture, which Gierek had foolishly ignored in favor of industrial development, despite the fact that agriculture accounts for 20% of Poland's domestic gross national product. Moreover, a disproportionate amount of supplies and equipment went to the inefficient state farms, while the far more productive private farmers, who own 75% of Poland's arable lands, were shortchanged.

Fearing a national outcry, Gierek was reluctant to ease the strain on the budget by raising prices. He was right. When he



Coal miner in Katowice



a bleak counter in a Warsaw store as the holiday season approaches

A winter of hardship: Gdansk residents queue for food in a snowstorm; a bleak counter in a Warsaw store as the holiday season approaches



shoppers at a flea market examine clothing and other hard-to-find goods

Images of a wayward economy: A private farmer relies on horsepower; shoppers at a flea market examine clothing and other hard-to-find goods

finally increased prices in 1976, there were major riots in Radow and at the Ursus tractor factory. The brutal repression of these riots led to the formation of the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR), a precursor of Solidarity. The organization was the first significant link between the dissident intellectuals like Jacek Kuron and the workers who later founded Solidarity. Inspired by KOR activists, small independent—and illegal—labor unions cautiously began to form in various parts of the country. Lech Walesa joined such a unit and was arrested and briefly jailed scores of times.

Catholic intellectuals also began to work with the movement. In Cracow, meanwhile, Karol Cardinal Wojtyla emerged as a strong advocate of human rights and promoted an independent intellectual life. In 1974 Communist Party Ideologue Andrzej Werblan called the Cardinal "the only real ideological threat in Poland." The astuteness of Werblan's judgment became dramatically apparent four years later when Wojtyla became John Paul II. The naming of the first Polish Pope caused an explosion of national pride in Poland. As had occurred so often in the past, a religious act had become a patriotic cause for the Poles.

If any one event created the psychological climate in which Solidarity emerged, it was the visit of John Paul to his homeland

in June 1979. From the moment that the Pope knelt in Warsaw's airport to kiss the ground, he was cheered wildly by millions of Poles. John Paul never criticized the Communist regime directly, nor did he have to: his meaning was plain enough. "The exclusion of Christ from the history of man is an act against man," he told an enormous outdoor congregation in Warsaw. With that hardly veiled allusion to Communism, a deafening roar of approval filled the great city square. Says a Polish bishop of that day: "The Polish people broke the barrier of fear. They were hurling a challenge at their Marxist rulers."

The spark that ignited Solidarity's revolution was a government decree that raised meat prices in July 1980. As they had done many times before, Polish workers reacted with angry protests. But this time something was different. This time the workers occupied the factories. Still, the movement had no focus. In Gdansk's Lenin shipyard, protest seemed to be on the verge of dying out when a stocky man with a shock of reddish-brown hair and a handle-bar mustache clambered over the iron-bar fence and joined the strikers inside. They all knew Lech Walesa. He was an unemployed electrician, fired eight months earlier for trying to organize an independent trade union.

Man of the Year



The man who ordered martial law: Jaruzelski



Polish soldiers on parade in Warsaw; Soviet naval vessels anchored at the Soviet-Polish base in Swinoujscie near the East German border



Walesa took charge and became the head of an interfactory strike committee that eventually became the bargaining representative for most of the 500,000 strikers, from the Baltic to the coal-mining heartland of Silesia, who had joined the revolt. Led by Walesa, the committee launched a bold set of political demands, including the right to strike and form free unions, that were unheard of in Communist countries and that authorities at first refused even to discuss.

Meanwhile, the Lenin shipyard was becoming the emotional center of an extraordinary national movement. Festooned with flowers, white-and-red Polish flags and portraits of Pope John Paul II, the plant's iron gates came to symbolize that heady mixture of hope, faith and patriotism that sustained the workers through their vigil. As the world watched and wondered if Soviet tanks would put an end to it all, Walesa and his fellow strikers stood their ground. Like soldiers before battle, they confessed to priests and received Communion in the open shipyard. To reduce the risk of violence, Walesa called for a ban on alcohol and insisted on strict discipline. Through it all, his plucky courage and infectious good humor helped keep up the workers' spirits.

Walesa also proved adept at hard bargaining once the Gierk government, afraid that the rebellion would spread, finally agreed to negotiate. Meeting face to face across a wooden table in the shipyard's conference hall in August of 1980, Walesa and his fellow strikers consistently outmaneuvered the government team. Every evening, Walesa would climb the flower-covered main gate to give news of the talks to the crowd outside. His appearance was greeted by cheers and rousing choruses of *Sto Lat* (May He Live a Hundred Years). He responded with his actor's instincts, regaling his audience with jokes and raising his clenched fist in salute. Bantering with foreign journalists, he announced, "I am the leader. I am No. 1."

Firmness and patience paid off: the government team finally gave in on almost all of the workers' demands. In addition to the right to strike and form unions, the Warsaw regime granted concessions extraordinary in a Communist country, including reduced censorship and access to the state broadcasting networks for the unions and the church. At a nationally televised ceremony, where strikers and government rep-

resentatives stood side by side and sang the Polish national anthem, Walesa signed what became known as the Gdansk agreement with a giant souvenir pen bearing the likeness of John Paul II.

As workers rushed to join up at hastily improvised union locals across the country, Walesa and the other ex-strike leaders quickly found themselves at the head of a labor federation that soon grew to 10 million members—fully a quarter of the Polish population. Organizing and controlling the loosely knit federation, which was divided into 38 semiautonomous regional chapters, soon became a major challenge for Walesa and the national commission that he headed in Gdansk. The job was complicated by an almost insatiable drive for democracy among a rank and file that had no experience with the democratic process. Most of the Solidarity activists were young. They were both angry and exuberant: bitter over the party's moral and material bankruptcy, giddy with the sense of new-found power. Their impatience for change fed radical tendencies opposed to Walesa's moderation. And those currents would grow stronger as the months went by with no improvement in the country's economic situation.

Even more important than the organizational problems for Walesa and Solidarity was the question of defining policy and strategy. In the beginning, Walesa insisted that Solidarity should be a pure and simple labor movement, not a political opposition. On the day he showed up at a Gdansk apartment building to open Solidarity's first makeshift headquarters, a wooden crucifix under his arm and a bouquet of flowers in his right hand, Walesa told a crowd of reporters, "I am not interested in politics. I am a union man. My job now is to organize the union."

Matters would never again be quite that simple for him, although he began by winning an extraordinary concession from the government on a strictly labor matter: a five-day work week, granted on Jan. 31 after decades of six-day work weeks in Poland. But that only aggravated the economic crisis by further reducing production—especially in the coal-mining industry, whose output fell by nearly 10% in 1981. In addition, the country was soon swept by a spate of wildcat strikes over local issues. In some cases, Solidarity chapters were taking on the Communist Party bureaucracy by demanding the ouster of corrupt local officials or the conversion of party buildings to public hospitals.

Man of the Year



Troops stop motorists in Warsaw to check their credentials; the army is in place on crackdown day, bottom right



Worshippers waiting to see Black Madonna



For the first time, rank-and-file militants threatened to spin out of Walesa's control. "We must concentrate on basic issues," Walesa pleaded as the protests spread. "There's a fire in the country."

Putting out those fires kept Walesa busy through much of the year. Since he hates to fly, he crisscrossed Poland in a union-owned white Polski-Fiat 125 P driven by his personal chauffeur and assistant, Mieczyslaw Wachowski. Walesa was at his best plunging into a midnight meeting of angry workers and then persuading them, by force of rhetoric, shouting or cajolery, to end a strike. He made the 340-mile round trip between Gdansk and Warsaw countless times, tires screeching as Wachowski dodged plodding farm wagons. During those drives Walesa would spend his time catching up on his sleep, or tuning in to rock played by Radio Free Europe. Lately, he had been listening to English lessons on his tape recorder in preparation for a trip that he had planned to make to the U.S.

But for all Walesa's skill as a moderator, Solidarity was increasingly forced into the path of contentious political activism by the regime's failure to deal with its fundamental problem: the economy. The authorities could not act effectively because the party and government had fallen into a state of near terminal paralysis. Decades of blatant propaganda and economic failures had long since discredited the rulers in the eyes of the public. If the government had actually produced a golden egg, giped Dissident Kuron, "people would say that it was not golden; second, that it was not an egg; and third, that the government had stolen it."

Some 900,000 Poles quit the Communist party after August 1980, reducing its strength to a mere 2.5 million, only 7% of the population. The resignations increased in October when the Central Committee urged party members, about 1 million of whom belonged to Solidarity, to quit the union. In a strikingly candid statement, Central Committee Member Marian Arendt recently told a Polish weekly: "Mostly it is workers who are leaving [the party]. Once I was so naive as to think that a few evil men were responsible for the errors of the party. Now I no longer have such illusions. There is something wrong in our whole apparatus, in our entire structure." The party was on the

verge of total collapse. What was more, Solidarity's surge had started another surprising movement in Poland: a grass-roots crusade for reform that sought to democratize the party from within. Adopting the workers' slogan of ODNOWA (renewal), party reformers tried to make the leadership more responsive to the rank and file. Party Boss Stanislaw Kania, a pragmatic politician who had replaced Gierek in September 1980, shrewdly adopted the cause of renewal in the hope of controlling it from the top and limiting its scope. At the same time, he cooperated with Solidarity to avoid a possibly disastrous confrontation.

All the while, the Kremlin watched with rising anxiety. Solidarity's very existence was incompatible with the Communist Party's monopoly of power. But perhaps even more important, the drive for democracy within the Polish party challenged the Leninist doctrine of centralized party discipline. Poland's festering economic crisis also put a drain on the whole Soviet bloc, whose member nations' economies were interlocked within the COMECON trade organization. And in Moscow's worst-case scenario, the "Polish disease" might infect other East bloc countries and the Ukraine, posing a threat to the future of the Soviet empire.

"Emotionally, the Soviet leaders must have wanted to intervene dozens of times in the past year," says a Western diplomat in Moscow. But the Soviets also realized the diplomatic and economic consequences would be costly: they would risk armed resistance by the proud Poles, exacerbate relations with the U.S. and Europe, affront the Third World nations they were so ardently wooing, and take on responsibility for the Polish economy.

The Kremlin kept constant pressure on the Poles with sallies of vituperative propaganda, sword-rattling threats and hints that a reduction of Soviet economic aid might put some backbone into Warsaw's faint-hearted leadership. Kania was summoned to Moscow and lectured at least three times. He and his fellow centrists were forced to perform a precarious high-wire act: on the one hand, they sought to accommodate demands for liberalizations coming from Solidarity and from their own rank and file; on the other, they had to protect themselves against Warsaw party hard-liners and convince the Soviets that they were still in control.

Man of the Year

In June the Soviet Central Committee sent Warsaw a letter, as ominous as a drum roll, that criticized by name the Polish Communists for tolerating counterrevolution: "We are disturbed by the fact that the offensive by antisocialist enemy forces in Poland threatens the interests of our entire commonwealth and the security of its borders—yes, our common security." In early July, a chill settled over Warsaw: Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko dourly descended upon the Polish capital with yet another admonition against any liberalizing tendency within the party.

Moscow's sobering warnings helped Kania curb his radicals and marshal a safe, moderate centrist majority at a crucial party congress in July. The party reformers were still strong enough to purge most of the old Central Committee, and only five top party officials, including Kania and Jaruzelski, were re-elected. But control stayed in the hands of Kania's centrists, who, under pressure from Solidarity, had allowed an amount of freedom in Poland that would have been unthinkable just twelve months before.

Indeed, perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Solidarity and Walesa was that they made it possible for Poles once again to speak their minds. In Solidarity bulletins and hundreds of newly established independent newspapers, articles regularly appeared that would shock the most tolerant censor in any other East bloc country. Solidarity's national weekly *Solidarnosc*, for example, last month ran a blistering two-part exposé on the privileges of top Communist officials. In student clubs, journalists' groups and literary unions, there were open discussions of topics that had been forbidden in the universities, such as Poland's history between the world wars. New publications

bloomed like wild flowers. Edited by Catholic Intellectual Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the weekly *Solidarnosc* quickly reached a nationwide circulation of 500,000, easily outdistancing the once-prestigious party weekly *Polityka* (circ. 350,000).

The Gdansk accords had promised Solidarity access to the state broadcasting networks, but it never was given regular television time. Solidarity protested so vehemently that top TV officials at times literally barricaded themselves in their studios at night for fear that bands of workers might burst in and take over the station. Solidarity never went that far, but it did bar government camera crews from attending the Gdansk congress in September and October 1981, thereby forcing Poland's state television network to run British Broadcasting Corporation footage on their own news shows.

The church too gained from the new liberalizations. Just three weeks after the Gdansk accords were signed, the voice of Bishop Jerzy Modzelewski, who was preaching from the pulpit of Warsaw's Church of the Holy Cross, echoed across the country. It was another first: the beginning of regular Sunday radio broadcasts of the Mass, something the church had been seeking in vain for decades. Other concessions followed. Priests and nuns, for example, were allowed to do pastoral work in hospitals and other state institutions.

Previously banned authors were published again, including Nobel-prizewinning Poet Czeslaw Milosz, a prominent defector of the '50s who returned to Poland for a triumphant visit last June. Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, a 19th century play with anti-Russian overtones, was shown on television. State employed actors elected a new director of the national Polish theater, Kazimierz Dejmek, who had been ousted from the troupe during the 1968 purges. Political films like *Workers 80*, a documentary

on the Lenin shipyard strike, and Andrzej Wajda's *Man of Iron*, a fictionalized version of the Gdansk events (in which Walesa played a walk-on part), cleared the censors and played to packed houses in Poland.

A liberal new passport law led to an unprecedented freedom of movement. Lech Walesa, the Communist regime's most prominent critic, traveled almost as freely as a Western jet-setter. In January he made an emotional trip to Rome to see Pope John Paul II. Falling to his knees, Walesa kissed the papal ring and then briefly resisted the Pope's efforts to pull him to his feet. The union leader then had a rare private meeting with the Pope, which lasted for half an hour. Later, in his public remarks, John Paul II warmly supported Solidarity. "I wish to assure you," he told Walesa, "that during your difficulties I have been with you in a special way, above all through prayer." He declared that the right to form free associations was "one of the fundamental human rights." But the Polish Pope also cautioned Walesa to follow a moderate course.

Thousands of less illustrious Polish travelers also crossed the borders unimpeded, although many failed to return: some 33,000 Poles fled to Austria and became official refugees during the year, a dramatic reflection of Poland's economic and political uncertainties.



Warsaw residents looking over a meager supply of Christmas trees

One of the most striking cultural changes was the frank treatment of the Polish past. Solidarity persuaded the regime to throw out thousands of schoolbooks that twisted and falsified Polish history. The memory of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, Poland's popular anti-Soviet military leader between the world wars, was rehabilitated and recognized even by the Warsaw government. Near the Lenin shipyard, three 138-ft. towers, crested by symbolically crucified anchors, were erected to commemorate the strikers killed by government troops in 1970. Said a Polish historian: "The Poles have gone on a memorial binge."

Freedom was being won. But the battle for bread was not, and if this failed, all else would fail as well. Solidarity therefore resolved to overhaul the country's crumbling economic system and to share with the government in running it. "We wanted to make the authorities accountable to society," explained Bronislaw Geremek, Walesa's chief theoretician. As a start, the union decided to attack the corrupt and inefficient *nomenklatura* system, under which the government chose plant managers not for their skills but for their loyalty to the party. The union's stratagem: force the government to approve a system of self-management for the factories that would allow workers' councils to choose their own managers. Even Walesa was skeptical about the efficiency of such a system if it were put into effect. Said he: "I know we will fail. It's a bad solution. But I don't have a different solution, so I must accept it. Self-management is better than what we had before."

On that issue, as well as on a number of other points, Walesa was coming under heavy pressure from the radicals in Solidarity. During the first Solidarity congress in September, the delegates passed a truculent resolution demanding a referendum to let the people choose between the union's program for self-management and a government-proposed plan that would have left all effective economic control in the hands of the state. If the government enacted its own bill, Solidarity threatened to boycott the law and "carry out the reforms in our own way." Another militant resolution called for free elections to the parliament. But by far the boldest act was a declaration, which took Walesa by surprise, encouraging the workers of Eastern Europe and the

Man of the Year

Soviet Union to "struggle for free and independent unions." Moscow called the act "openly provocative and impudent," as 100,000 Soviet troops staged maneuvers on the Polish border.

Walesa, who had taken no part in shaping the offending resolutions, concentrated on defusing the self-management issue before the second half of the congress met at the end of September. On the eve of that session, he and three other members of Solidarity's twelve-man presidium accepted a compromise version of the government's self-management bill. It would give workers' councils the right to choose managers at most enterprises; the state could veto nominees it found objectionable. Parliament passed the plan into law the day before the union delegates returned to Gdansk. A dangerous union-government showdown was thereby averted.

It was a deft move, but it cost Walesa some of his popularity. When the Gdansk congress reconvened, Walesa's high-handed style became the central issue. Attacked in speech after speech for compromising with the government without consulting the rank and file, Walesa had to fight three radical candidates to keep his job. He was elected, but his 55.2% of the vote showed that his hold over the movement had slipped markedly since his Lenin shipyard triumph.

Walesa was so angry that he scarcely showed up on the convention floor after the vote, preferring to watch the proceedings on a TV monitor in a well-guarded room near by. Nor did he even bother to read the session's final resolutions, which called for sweeping political, social and economic reforms. He charged that some of his radical opponents wanted "to destroy the Sejm [parliament] and government, take their place, and become more totalitarian than they are."

In turn, many of Walesa's critics felt that he had been too moderate toward an intransigent regime. "He has an enormous tendency to give in, to agree with the government," complained Economist Stefan Kurowski, the principal author of Solidarity's economic program. "He is not intelligent enough. He is prone to listen to advisers who want to make ca-

reers." Andrzej Gwiazda, a radical who challenged Walesa for the leadership post, contemptuously called him a "dictatorial, vain fool" and a "blockhead with a mustache."

Walesa's populist style and personality, as appealing as they were to the public, irked many of his fellow union leaders. Mieczyslaw Lach, a regional union leader, charged that "Walesa takes too many decisions himself. We often need quick, clear decision, but he has gone too far."

Walesa tried to show that he understood the forces that drove his Solidarity critics, both at the local and national levels. Said he: "You have to remember that in the factories people are not normally interested in politics. They are just normal, gray people, and they say, 'Look, it was pretty bad before August [1980], but at least we had our bread, we had some sort of living conditions, and life was possible then. Now, after you [Solidarity] took over, it is worse.' So activists at the local level are under pressure. Some people want solutions fast. This is the only thing we differ in. I want to be more careful: I don't want to see the renewal collapse. But those guys want to make a blitzkrieg."

In the end, of course, a different blitzkrieg came, launched by the distant, enigmatic figure who was trained to attack. On Feb. 9 General Jaruzelski had been made Premier by the government and had begun to spar with Walesa's union. But on Oct. 18 the Communist Party's Central Committee accepted the resignation of the ineffectual Kania and elevated General Jaruzelski to the party leadership, the real source of power in the country. Jaruzelski was thus the head of the party, the government and the army. The very fact that the Soviets allowed the Poles to violate the Communist dogma that party civilians must always control the military was a sign of their dismay over the Polish party's disarray, and of their faith in the Soviet-schooled general.

Jaruzelski was a man whom Moscow could trust. He had been trained by the Soviets and fought in the Red Army during World War II. In contrast to the corrupt leaders of the Gierk regime, he had a clean personal record and a spartan life-style. Although he had spent ten years on the Polish Politburo, he

The Struggle to Survive

As the year dragged on, one of the main causes of Poland's resentment of the government was the ceaseless, wearying, frustrating day-to-day struggle to find enough food, clothing and staples. A report, drawn from a number of TIME correspondents, on what the Poles have faced:

The lines would begin to form at dawn. As winter drew on, the people would bundle up in layers of thick clothing and stand silently huddled together, shifting from one foot to the other to try to keep warm. Outside of food stores the queues would often stretch for 50 yards or more. The ordeal was particularly hard on elderly couples and on young mothers who had to find someone to care for their infants at home.

To ease the strain, apartment complexes formed associations whose members took turns standing in lines for the group. Some stores honored what was called the "night list": shoppers reserving a place in the next morning's queue by signing a piece of paper attached to the door. Still, to be on the safe side, many Poles showed up at 5 a.m. Families



Anxious faces on a crowded trolley

with zlotys to spare began hiring pensioners who had time on their own to stand in the hated queues that curled through the gray streets of Poland. Some parents even "rented" their young or disabled children to shoppers who used them as an excuse to jump the lines.

But even after waiting for hours, Poles might enter a store and find it cleaned out. Meat was in particularly short supply, especially the pork that Poles consider to be a staple of their diet. In Warsaw, just before the imposition of

martial law, the entire stock of one butcher consisted of half a dozen large salami sausages, which housewives eagerly bought in slices. The hooks that in better times had held dangling sides of beef and pork were being used by one Warsaw butcher with a green thumb as supports for a philodendron that was growing across the ceiling.

Soap was in such short supply that a doctor complained in a weekly newspaper that physicians were unable to wash their hands properly. New mothers were discharged from hospitals after only a day for fear that their babies might contract an infection if they stayed longer. Indeed, because of the poor diet, the lack of medicines and even rudimentary hygienic supplies, the population was suffering from an epidemic of viruses.

As the value of currency plummeted, Poles bought almost anything they could find. The reason was simple enough. One man's expendable Chinese rug might turn out to be another man's treasure. The result: a primitive system of barter. A cab driver with a can of oil could trade with a café manager for a pound of coffee. A pair of leather boots would get a sack of potatoes, and a bottle of vodka was pure gold. A Warsaw schoolteacher

stayed aloof from the political and ideological infighting within the party. As Defense Minister, moreover, he controlled the regime's only disciplined and organized institution: Poland's 210,000-man army, which still had the respect of the people.

In contrast to Walesa, the balding, stern-faced general projected no charisma. His image of cold detachment was heightened by the dark glasses he normally wore because of a chronic eye inflammation. But the people respected him because of his well-known refusals in the past to use the military against strikers, and his celebrated declaration, "Polish soldiers will not fire on Polish workers." On hearing of Jaruzelski's appointment as Premier, ex-Army Draftee Lech Walesa commented: "Jaruzelski is a military man, and Poland loves its soldiers."

One of Jaruzelski's first acts after assuming power was to call out the army. Using a sure touch that foreshadowed what was to come, he sent some 3,500 officers and enlisted men to 2,000 towns and villages scattered across the country during the last week of October. Their ostensible mission: to help clear up food distribution bottlenecks and tackle other economic problems. But the officers were also filling their notebooks with information on the corruption and negligence of local party officials and, presumably, on the activities of Solidarity. The operation was generally popular with the people, who welcomed the soldiers as harbingers of efficiency and order. In retrospect, the deployment seems to have been a rehearsal for the military crackdown.

Before he resorted to that extremity, however, Jaruzelski appealed for national unity. He asked Solidarity and the church to join with the party in a "front of national accord" that would cooperate on economic recovery. The overture raised hopes that Poles might at last find a way out of the impasse by forging the vital element that had been missing from their body politic for more than three decades: a true social compact.

On Nov. 4 a potentially historic meeting took place at the government's Parkowa guesthouse in Warsaw. There the be-medaled boss of Poland's Communist Party received the head of a 10 million-member labor union and the spiritual leader of

more than 30 million Polish Catholics. For two hours and 20 minutes, Jaruzelski, Walesa and Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Polish Primate, discussed the state of their troubled nation. Walesa came away with Jaruzelski's offer to open negotiations with Solidarity on a wide range of social issues. The three leaders also discussed the general's plan to involve the union and the church in the government's recovery effort. Glemp pronounced himself "a little more optimistic" after the meeting.

Before Walesa went to the summit meeting, Solidarity's ruling body had chastised him for presuming to represent 10 million workers on his own. "We want democracy, not a dictatorship!" one angry union official had shouted. "All right, let's vote that we don't want talks with the Primate and the Premier!" yelled Walesa, tears of frustration running down his cheeks. "But then you go out and explain your vote to the nation." Now that the Warsaw meeting was over, Solidarity grudgingly endorsed the tripartite dialogue. It threatened, however, to call a general strike if the negotiations brought its members no satisfaction within three months. The commission also refused to endorse Walesa's call for an end to wildcat strikes around the country.

Though Walesa and Jaruzelski continued to talk of entente and national unity after their meeting, the idea was not gelling. As always, the union was suspicious of government motives, and with good reason. The government wanted Solidarity to support an economic plan to raise prices, but it had never given the union any concrete guarantees that its rights would be respected. The authorities seemed to be stalling in hopes that the economic crisis would wear down Solidarity's popular support and split the union. In fact, the regime had never fully carried out any of its major promised reforms. Now the authorities were even talking about curbing the right to strike, which had been at the heart of the hard-won Gdansk accord. The obdurate position of the government, which made any concessions seem increasingly unlikely, goaded the radicals in Solidarity to press even harder for reforms and made the final confrontation inevitable.

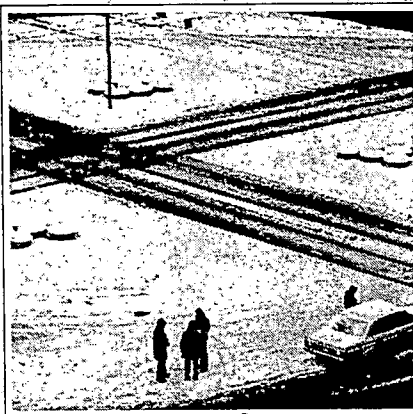
As the split between the union and the government grew wider, the church was wary of getting too closely involved in try-

marveled when one enterprising boy in her class announced that he was willing to trade girl's boots that his family had snatched up in the frantic buying binge for a pair he could wear. He closed the deal in minutes.

In the scramble for dwindling food supplies, more and more urban dwellers traveled into the country to deal directly with farmers. Although such exchanges were illegal, they traded scarce items like cigarettes for eggs and other staples. The workers at a mine, for example, might decide to deal in bulk, exchanging a ton of coal for two tons of potatoes. And a group of friends willing to pay \$8 in zlotys per kilo of pork would split the cost of an entire pig.

Fearing the worst, many Poles were hoarding just about anything they could get their hands on. Some cupboards were jammed with food, and bathroom shelves were piled high with toilet paper, as if the nation was preparing for a long siege.

Poland turned into such a seller's market that many private entrepreneurs accepted only dollars that could be used on the black market at 17 times the official rate (33 zlotys for \$1). When a man asked the price of eggs that an old wom-



Polish militia check a driver's papers

an was peddling in Warsaw, she curtly replied: "I will only sell for hard currency. My daughter is getting married and I have to buy vodka. Ten cents an egg." Few Poles had any dimes to spare, especially when the price, converted into zlotys at black market rates, proved to be five times what people used to pay in stores. The enraged customer put his foot down, literally, stomping the old woman's basket of eggs to the cheers of bystanders.

For Poles ready to make a deal at any

cost, one place to go was Warsaw's bustling outdoor market in the Praga district, across the Vistula River from the historic Old Town: As the political crisis developed, eggs sold for the equivalent of 50¢ each in zlotys in the Praga market. One brawny peasant woman pulled a live chicken from a sack, killed and plucked it on the spot and sold it for \$15 in zlotys. When a photographer approached an elderly woman selling two packets of butter, however, she hid her face in her hands with embarrassment. She was dealing with her monthly ration. A striking blond woman with three pairs of Western-made blue jeans hung over her arm also turned away, saying: "I am ashamed to be here."

Many Poles had no choice. When a young man was asked why he was peddling a rug rolled under his arm, he pointed to a crack in the sole of his shoe. A young father standing in the snow with a cardboard carton containing two live rabbits explained that he needed to buy baby food for his infant son. Said a woman office worker: "It has always been necessary to know how to get around the system, but today it is essential. I don't know how people survive by following the rules."

Man of the Year

ing to work out a political agreement. The Pope, says a bishop in the Vatican, felt that it was "the duty of the church to proclaim the rights of man, including the right to form trade unions, but the organizational work should be done by laymen." Walesa shared the Pope's beliefs and his concerns. He told TIME: "We cannot put the church at risk, because we do not know how this will end. We may be wrong, but the church has to be right."

As the unity talks dawdled, an astonishing event occurred that showed how much the Communist Party itself had disintegrated during the turmoil set in motion by Solidarity. Trying to put more pressure on the union, Jaruzelski asked the parliament to approve a bill banning strikes during declared emergencies. In Communist countries, anything the regime wants, the parliament automatically approves; the party controls all governmental institutions. But Jaruzelski was told in early December that the parliament would not pass the antistrike bill, stark proof of the collapse of party discipline.

With the party disintegrating, the Soviets pressing him to take stern action and the economy in ruins, Jaruzelski turned to the one institution he still trusted: the army. Quietly, he began to complete plans for imposing martial law while gradually taking the offensive against Solidarity. With army units held in reserve, he used riot police to break up an eight-day sit-in at Warsaw's Fire Fighters Academy by students who were demanding academic reforms. Next, the government went on radio with illegally obtained tapes of Walesa warning, at a hot-tempered Solidarity meeting, that "the confrontation is unavoidable and will take place." The union leader did not deny the quotes; he only said that they had been distorted by being taken out of context. The tone of the government's attacks reached a new pitch. For the first time Walesa himself was singled out for criticism: the army newspaper called him "a great liar and provocateur" leading a group of "madmen" striving for "anarchy and chaos."

Then on Dec. 12 Solidarity radicals gave Jaruzelski the excuse to do what he probably had been planning all along. From the start, the government and the Kremlin had made it clear that they could not tolerate a challenge to the existence of Poland as a Communist state, or any loosening of ties with the Soviet Union. That is precisely what the radicals voted to do at their last meeting in Gdansk. While Walesa looked on in frustrated silence, they called for a national referendum on the future of the Communist government and a re-examination of Poland's military alliance with the Soviet Union.

That was the perfect pretext for the government to impose martial law. Near the end of the session, when communications with the outside world had already been cut, Walesa stood up, raised both arms in a gesture of despair, and angrily told his fellow leaders: "Now you've got what you've been looking for."

The end had begun. Within hours, most of the union leaders had been arrested, Walesa had been flown to Warsaw, and army vehicles were clanking across the country. By the time Jaruzelski appeared on television, Solidarity's tumultuous revolution had been gagged and shackled. No one could know if Warsaw's leaders would honor their pledge to restore the people's freedoms once "order" returned. But one thing was certain: the flame that was lighted in August 1980 had brightened all Poland, and Poles do not give up easily. In the words that emblazon the tomb of the venerated Marshal Pilsudski: "To be defeated and not to surrender, that's victory."

Jaruzelski's brutal crackdown will only multiply the prob-

lems of governing Poland and building its economy. The Poles' suspicion of the government prevented them, and Solidarity, from cooperating with Warsaw to aid the economy. That mistrust will run even deeper now that the officer who had promised never to shed Polish blood has done so. Moreover, the workers could totally sabotage the economy. As Walesa put it in a discussion with TIME editors last October, "We can be defeated, but we will not be compelled to work. Because if people want us to build tanks, we will build streetcars. And trucks will go backward if we build them that way. We know how to beat the system. We are pupils of that system."

Nor can Jaruzelski expect much help from the Western banks and governments. Indeed, the banks are resisting Poland's attempt to rewrite its present loans, and President Reagan has ordered a series of economic reprisals against the country. The Administration is also urging its European allies to consider invoking trade sanctions against the Jaruzelski regime: To help stave off disaster, Poland has applied for membership in the International Monetary Fund. But the IMF will undoubtedly demand economic reforms painful for a Communist regime. Among them: decentralized planning and a price rise that would lower the standard of living. In any event, the presence of martial law will indefinitely delay IMF action on Warsaw's application. So Poland may have to turn even more to the Soviet Union and the other East bloc countries and thus automatically be pulled back into the morass of Communist control.

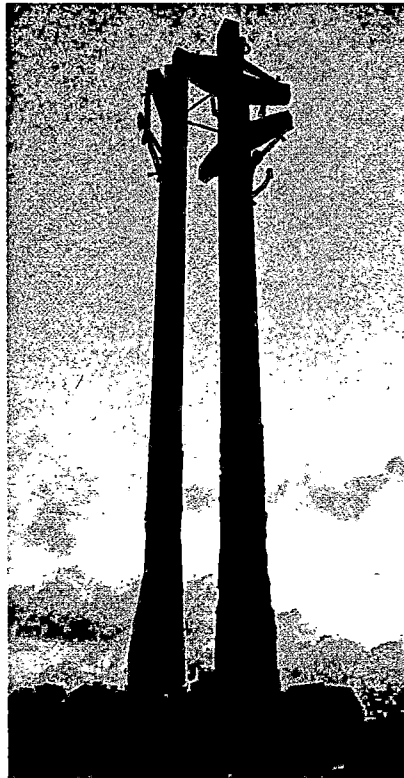
As long as Solidarity existed, Jaruzelski had some chance of enlisting its help to sell a skeptical nation on the need for belt tightening. But the general has now cut his main link to the people. The church, moreover, has accused the government of turning the country into a "nation terrorized by force." Having silenced all dialogue, Jaruzelski may be condemned to continue his rule by force, thereby giving the world yet another glaring example of Communist government by repression. And should he fail to restore order, the Soviets are still poised to come in and finish the job for him. If it comes to that, a chapter of Polish history that began in hope will truly have ended in catastrophe.

"There are few virtues that the Poles do not possess," Winston Churchill once remarked, "and there are few mistakes they have ever avoided." To an extraordinary degree,

Lech Walesa embodies the Polish virtues of courage, faith, patriotism, spontaneity. But neither he, nor his lieutenants, nor the men who ruled the country were able to avoid the errors that finally led to tragedy. They were unable to reach a compromise to save the "renewal" that they all claimed to have wanted.

Perhaps the root of that failure lay in the fundamental incompatibility of Marxism-Leninism with freedom. A Leninist party must assume that it is infallible; it can brook no opposition. That system, as imposed on Poland by the Soviet Union, almost seemed capable of making significant changes during the past 16 months. But the survival instincts of the party and the geopolitical realities facing Poland doomed Walesa's mission.

Lech Walesa had the overwhelming majority of the Polish people behind him, and to them he conveyed a compelling message of hope. The Poles will not forget—they never have. During Poland's 16-month awakening, the priests and parishioners of a church in central Warsaw used to sing together joyfully: "O Lord, please bless our free fatherland." On the first Sunday after martial law was declared, the words of that hymn were changed back to those traditionally sung when the country was under foreign domination. "O Lord," the congregation sang, "please return us our free fatherland." —By Thomas A. Sancton. Reported by Richard Hornik and Gregory H. Wierzynski/Warsaw, with other bureaus



Gdansk Memorial to victims of 1970 riots
A nation that does not forget.

A Common Touch, a Bit of Vanity, and Growing Anxiety

As the months went by and the confrontation that he feared came closer, the strain began to tell on Lech Walesa. His face turned puffy, he smoked as many as two packages of cigarettes daily (often Dunhills given him by newsmen), he developed a chronic, hacking cough and began to suffer from migraine headaches. He was seldom alone, seldom out of reach of someone who had a problem to solve. One night he was awakened by a person whose car had broken down. He read (in translation, if necessary) every letter addressed to him (sometimes just to "Lech Walesa, Poland") and dictated a polite reply, no matter how bizarre the issue being raised.

Every day, when he was in town, Walesa ran a meeting of the twelve-man Solidarity presidium at the union's national headquarters in Gdansk. The five-story building used to be a cheap hotel for itinerant shipyard workers. Black plastic numbers were still over the doors. Walesa's two-room suite (No. 63) was furnished with grimy, Scandinavian-style chairs. A large closet had been strategically placed to hide the stained washbasin. On the walls were a crucifix and a bas-relief of Pope John Paul II. A shelf held souvenirs from Walesa's barnstorming visits around the country: three miner's lamps, a steel-and-porcelain statue of a steelworker, two dolls in peasant dress.

Walesa often seemed ill at ease in the hubbub of the headquarters, protected by two secretaries and connected to the world by one gray telephone. Confessed an aide: "When he sits in the office, he doesn't know what to do." The excitement and euphoria of the early days of Solidarity had long since dissipated and been replaced by a growing anxiety. Clutching briefcases, frowning young union officials brushed past each other in the narrow corridor with its grubby carpet of faded red. There was a thick haze of cigarette smoke and the constant sound of slamming doors. Solidarity's staff habitually closed themselves in, partly to keep out the cold, partly because of a deep-rooted East European sense of caution and secretiveness.

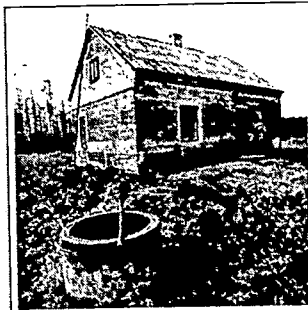
As he became famous, Walesa grew vain in minor ways. He delighted in receiving presents from admirers: a bottle of champagne or a fancy new Irish pipe. One acquisition he liked to show off was a Japanese digital watch that could

play 26 international tunes. He would play a song named *Kalinka* and smile slyly. "You recognize this?" he would ask with a laugh. "Russian."

When Solidarity published a *Who's Who* of the leadership, it included pictures and biographical notes of Walesa's secretary and bodyguard. Quipped one Solidarity adviser: "In the next edition, he'll include his dog."

Whatever his disclaimers, Walesa gave numerous outward signs of relishing his fame. He once remarked, accurately, that no other man, not even the Pope, had remained the top item in the news in Poland for so long. Bogdan Borusewicz, one of the original organizers of the shipyard strike, said this month that he could no longer stand "the pharaoh-like style of Walesa."

Still, he remained through it all a son of the working class and seemed to draw strength from his contacts with ordinary Poles. He liked nothing better than to show up unannounced at the home of an average family. Driving back to Gdansk from Warsaw one evening, Walesa suddenly directed his driver to stop at the next private home so



Walesa's Popowo birthplace

that he could watch the evening news. When he found that his surprised host was celebrating his saint's day, Walesa stayed to drink vodka with the family.

Compared with the majority of Poles, Solidarity's leader lived well. His union salary came to about \$700 a month, three times the Polish average. (To cover Solidarity's \$235 million annual budget, each member pays 1% of his salary as dues to the organization.) Before the August 1980 strikes, Walesa, his wife and their six children occupied a two-room apartment. But afterward, the government allocated the family a six-room apartment in a drab district of prefabricated high-rises outside of Gdansk. The apartment has three bathrooms, a small palm tree in the living room, fairy tales painted on the walls of the children's rooms and a small TV room equipped with a color set.

Danuta Walesa, 32, a handsome, forthright woman who was a florist before she married the electrician in 1969, was uncomfortable with the attention her husband and family were receiving. Now pregnant with her seventh child, she was spared the ordeal of standing in queues by Solidarity aides, but she went out enough to hear an occasional envious and nasty remark about her new status. While shopping for flowers for herself and a friend, she overheard a waiting customer mutter, "Well, Mrs. Walesa can afford anything." Some people walked by her apartment regularly, she said, "to see how often we change our curtains."

But what really hurt was the fact that she saw her husband so rarely and that he was invariably exhausted when she did see him. Correspondents joined Walesa at breakfast (hot tea, hot cereal, kielbasa sandwiches) and interviewed him as he shaved at 7 a.m. Walesa tried to reserve Sundays to go to the beach or fish in a nearby lake or play soccer with his four sons, who range in age from five to eleven. He tried, but he did not often succeed.

"I would like him to stop this activity," said Danuta. "I am worried about his health..." Her voice trailed off. "The people expect him to fulfill all their desires. That is impossible."



With Wife Danuta, who is expecting their seventh child

An Interview with Lech Walesa

"You have to give everything you've got to your life"

He was exhausted. The pressures on him and the union were becoming unbearable; martial law, not yet imposed, was only days away. He had been awakened at 4 a.m. by a Solidarity delegation from the city of Radom, which warned him it was going to call a general strike that would affect an important armaments factory. Walesa was furious to find such a strike was being considered, and the men had argued for hours. At breakfast, he made peace with the delegation, which agreed to put off the strike. "I am absolutely finished and run down," he said later. "I have more problems than the hairs on my head." Then, in his last major interview before the military takeover, Lech Walesa talked to TIME Correspondent Richard Hornik about his work, his hopes and discouragements, and the forces that drive and sustain him. It was an extraordinarily personal and revealing conversation that went on for 90 minutes. Excerpts:

Q. Outwardly you seem to be a religious man. Is that true?

A. Religion is my private affair, and therefore I don't believe, for example, in holding Mass at Solidarity meetings. Of course, I think that the church should do things for the spirit of man. But Solidarity should see to the body. Solidarity has to do it honestly, justly, and the church has to do the same for the spirit. So, many slogans coming from the church agree with ours, and we can use them, but of course all of us cannot be dressed as priests. Somebody has to be in the factory, somebody must commit sins, and somebody must give money to the courts.

Q. And that is your role?

A. Sure. Privately I'm a sinning believer. As any other man, I have my faults and my weaknesses. But I am a believer, and I practice my religion. And I fall down, and I come up again.

Q. Have the experiences of the past eleven years had an impact on your private religion?

A. Of course. I would not make it through this struggle if I were not a believer. I had more than one very comfortable proposition [offered to me by the government]. I did not accept them because I preferred to struggle for my cause.

Of course, I do go to church quite often. There I gather my spirits together, and there I think: yeah, there were great men in Poland once, but today there aren't any. I'm a little guy, though some people think that I am great. But nobody will tell me I was a swine in my day. Nobody will ever spit at my children. Therefore I will persevere. And the church helps me in this. Without it, I would drop on my face and die, because I am very tired. I think every man needs at least half an hour per week in church to look at what's back there—ruins and things burned out. Can I make a U-turn? Is there still enough time to retreat? A man needs this moment of stopping and paying some attention to himself.

Q. But isn't that more like meditation than a spiritual experience?

A. No, my philosophy is based on something else. I think that if I got a bicycle from my father, I should give a car to my son. In order to pass the exam of life, you have to give at least what you got from your parents, more or less in every sphere of life, or at

least in the most basic ones: spiritual things and those for the body. I got faith from my parents, and I'm feeding faith, and I try to multiply in a maximum way what I have got. So instead of just making the sign of the cross, I say the Lord's Prayer.

Q. But your religion also has political benefits as a way of linking your mass movement with an even bigger one.

A. Yeah, but not only that. My faith gave me something else. Believers tell me that I was helped by spiritual powers and disbelievers tell me that I had other people to lean on. When things got tragic or critical, I would say, "Mother Mary, I'm losing, now what are you going to do about it?" Then I would take some time for myself. And I would say, "What will be, will be. O.K., it's your thing. How will you solve this?"

I could lean back because right behind me I knew there was another leader [the Virgin], and I would rely on that leader, and I would have a chance to relax for a while longer and I could think. The question is: Did the Virgin really help me or did I just have time to relax and pass the baton on to someone else? You choose your thing. I don't know what it was.

Q. You have had no time off for a couple of years. You've been under great psychological and physical pressure . . .

A. No, no. I'm not scared. I always have Mother Mary behind me.

Q. Not scared, under pressure.

A. No, I'm not under pressure, because I've got my other leader. Secondly, I know there was the Grunwald battle [when the Poles and Lithuanians freed their lands in 1410 by defeating the Germans]. And I know there was also a 1939, when the Germans came again. I know that I exist and that people will come after me. I know another thing: I know that I will lose today, and tomorrow will be a victory. I know that I will succeed today and fail tomorrow. I know that Christ as man was crucified, but as God, he won.

Q. I have heard you tell crowds that Poles had something more than Americans, or the French or Italians or Germans—an internal spiritual content that is destroyed by material goods. Is there a danger that if you succeed in material terms, you will lose the spiritual content?

A. No, for thousands of years we have always been treated as a game—both as the board and the pawns. In 1939 and before that, we only had one pair of shoes, or we didn't even have that, but we had something that we still have, pride, something within us. Today we have cars, and we still have the internal thing. I have thought about this. Where does it come from? I think that the geographical position helps and the experience from the past centuries. We were always the cheated ones, everybody was against us, so our instincts are more acute.

Think about the past 36 years [since Poland was made Communist]. We were ordered to love somebody else. We were ordered to be atheists, and we were taught atheism, and look what happened. Almost the whole nation is religious. We learned good things in a bad school. Look at the American example. You were free to choose whatever you want, and I am not convinced

which of us is happier. There will always be a glow within us, and it suddenly might catch fire. This is traditional; it has been conveyed across centuries. There will always be this spark.

Q. What are the talents you have for swaying people?

A. I have none, and this is the problem. The trouble is that when I was an electrician, I tried to be the best electrician. If I were a militiaman, I would try to be the best one. If I were the cook, I would like to be the best cook. And if I grab hold of something, I do it with conviction. Then when I get kicked out, or I quit, I don't even look back at it.

When I leave Solidarity—or get kicked out—I promise that for two years I will avoid the street where I sweated so much. I will not even look to see if the building is still there, I am so fed up with it. But first I will do everything to ensure that the machinery will keep on revolving and that it will win because I am where I am now. I do my best wherever I can. When I am at home, I try to be a good husband, a good lover, a good father. And I do everything to do my best because this is my conviction. This is my duty. I don't know if it's my philosophy, but this is the way it should be.

Q. So what you really convey is this commitment?

A. Yes, I am here and I must do everything, and this is something subconscious. Perhaps because I was down in the gutter for 20 years, I can hear the people's voice and I know when I have screwed up something. I know when I have to improve something because I am not conceited, and I know what people like, and I know what they don't like.

Q. Do you intuitively know what the people at the lower level want?

A. I have always had this intuition.

Q. Your job and doing the best you can mean that you cannot be the best family man. You rarely see your family, and when you do, you are exhausted.

A. I told my wife that the maximum that I can stand this thing is four years, but I don't think I'll even last four years. I don't like it, and I don't want it, because I don't want to waste my health and my life. My wife knows it, and she knows that pretty soon it will be completely different.

Q. I asked your wife if she ever dreamed of having a normal life. She said every day. Do you have the same dream?

A. What do you call normal? Today I'm O.K. I have no money, and this is normal. For you, you have to have \$1,000 to feel normal. I am happy with \$1,000, and for you it's not much. It's all relative. It is different for everybody. And the same here. What is normal for me? There are some people who strive for this arm-chair I am sitting in right now. I don't want it. For them it will be normal when they take my place. For me, it will be normal to go out fishing, it will be normal to drive a car. You have to be happy with what you have got. And you have to give everything you've got to your life; you have to remember that you have only one life not two.

I will do this thing. And I will run away, and what I will do next I don't know. Perhaps I will just pick up rocks. I don't know, but I will not suffer. Or I can be a charwoman somewhere. Why not? People need charwomen.

Q. But don't you enjoy the excitement and the stimulation of your job?

A. No, I hate it. What do I have? People take off their hats to me, they clap their hands, but tomorrow they might throw stones at

me. This is not fun for me. I understand life in different terms. I think that beauty is everywhere, and everything is needed. What would happen if there were no people to clean up? Worms would eat us. There is beauty too in cleaning up.

How many charwomen are buried in graveyards? How many generals? I once watched a cemetery being liquidated, and they were raking bones out. I looked at one of the big femurs and then at a little bone and said, "Man, this must have been a President and this must have been some poor bastard." The whole problem now is that you don't even know who the guy was, so why give a damn?

You have to be happy and enjoy life but that does not mean you have to fool around and get drunk all the time. O.K., I will get drunk once, and then I will have a hangover, so I will say, "Ah, come on, I am not going to do that again." Or you might love three or four women at the same time, but is that good? No.

This is the way you have to censor yourself and make choices that bring you the most happiness. You can always find things to be happy about. I try to be satisfied with everything, and I have reached the conclusion that leadership is not the source of satisfaction. You lose too much of your health and have too much of only superficial happiness because even if you make 1,000 people happy, you will always hurt one person. And I do not want it. I tasted it. I take it as a great honor. And now I want to step down, peacefully, to look at it, to relax, take it easy, to enjoy fishing with my children, nature, to wear loose and warm boots. Let others have a go at it. I will stick to my philosophy.

Q. When do you think you would be able to do that?

A. We are at the summit now. Either in a short period of time or two more years. But it is independent of me. If I were the boss then I would go fishing today, because the weather is O.K. But first I have to be deprived of the responsibility and have to do some things to guarantee that it will go on winning so that people would not spit at me, because my intentions were good. I suggest you burn all newspapers and interviews—I was not here. But it is impossible. Hell, that would be the best thing.

Q. What is the Poland that you dream about?

A. Simply a better Poland than today. Throughout history it has been improved 1,000 times, it has been destroyed 1,000 times. We will never reach the point that we will be so satisfied that we cannot improve it. There are no

perfect solutions, and there will be no perfect solutions because that would be the end of humanity. There will be falls and rises—here and in your country. We will just build something that somebody will come in and damage.

I suggest that you take a good look at an anthill. I look at ants very often. Man, look at the millions of ants there. They have streets, they have traffic signs. They carry out the dead. And there are very few collisions. And I look at them and wonder if somebody above is watching us the same way. He might say, "Well, they've got their little cars, they've got money which changes hands all the time. Why not take a stick and stir the ants a bit?"

So say you take a box of ants and move them from one anthill to another. Look what will happen. The inhabitants will then have their own slogans and will do away with the newcomers. The other ants will bring their destroyed hill back to its original shape, or even improve on it.

Man tends to look up and tries to figure out what is happening up above and at the same time he cannot even figure out the ants. I wish I could figure out ants. I suggest let's deal with ants. If we get the chance to understand them, this world would run on a different basis. Without understanding ants, I don't think we can understand other things.



NIMITZ LIBRARY
U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY
ANNAPOLIS, MD 21402

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

Transmitting Fax Phone: (301) 267-3669

TO:

Robert Simon
White House

From:

USNA: 267 6100
Katherine Dickson
Nimitz Library - USNA - Annapolis
267 2194
2420 Ref Desk
Adam Nicinski

Date and Time Sent:

6 July 1989

Number of Pages (Including Transmittal Page)

2

Contents and Special Instructions

For Robert Simon - White House

From K Dickson - Nimitz Library USNA Annapolis

* General Kosciuszko, if you recall, was a Polish general who fought w/ us in the Rev. War. (We used the Jefferson quote to him in the Westinghouse speech.)

III.

FOR LIBERTY, INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE

Meanwhile, amidst the absolute silence and indifference of all Europe, Russia and Prussia concluded the Second Partition of Poland. The Russian Empress, Catherine II, ordered a considerable reduction in the strength of the Polish army. Several times Kosciuszko postponed the outbreak of the uprising because of insufficient preparations. Now the patriots had to act quickly before the disbandment of the army would greatly weaken their forces. On March 16, 1794, Kosciuszko secretly crossed the border of Poland. Taking advantage of the fact that the Russian troops left Cracow to intercept Gen. Joseph Madalinski who had refused to dismiss his brigade, Kosciuszko appeared in that city on March 23. On the next day, amid the ovations of the people gathered in the city square, he solemnly took office as Commander-in-Chief of the Insurrection and swore before "God and the innocent Passion of His Son . . . not to use the power entrusted to him for any personal oppression, but only . . . for the defense of the integrity of the boundaries, the regaining of the independence of the nation and the founding of universal freedom." "Liberty, Integrity and Independence" of the country he proclaimed as the supreme aims of the Insurrection.

Simultaneously he promulgated his famous Act of Insurrection, which is justly considered one of the most important Polish political documents and which deserves to be placed beside the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man as one of the most notable expressions of 18th century political doctrines.

Most of the subsequent insurrectional proclamations were prepared by Kollontay under Kosciuszko's supervision, but there is no doubt that the Act itself was in the main written by him. For this reason it is also important as an exposition of his political philosophy.

The Act, especially in its opening paragraphs, strongly resembles the Declaration of Independence in general construction and contents. Its definitions of political maxims, its whole tenor, are primarily based on American political literature of the Revolutionary era. Kosciuszko tried to breathe into the organism of dying Poland those animating ideas which he himself had imbibed so long and so fully during his

E207.K8#32 KOSCIUSZKO: leader and
Exile by Miecislaws Haiman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1989

NOTE FOR CHRISS WINSTON:

Attached for use in preparing the remarks for the Walesa Medal of Freedom ceremony is a copy of the remarks he was scheduled to deliver during a trip to the US in 1983. (Walesa cancelled for fear the Polish government would not let him back in the country.) I've taken the liberty of highlighting a few interesting quotes from the speech, on human rights and his desire to visit the US in particular. On a more personal note, you may also want to mention that Walesa and the President share a love of fishing.

Thanks:



John S. Gardner

EXTRA

The Harvard C

FREE COPY

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1983

'In Every Factory, Mine

The Speech Lech Walesa Sent Harvard

The following is a full transcript of the remarks Lech Walesa, the Polish labor leader, sent to Harvard for its Commencement exercises today.

University officials refused yesterday to reveal how they obtained the text, saying only that it arrived at Harvard yesterday morning.

President Bok will reportedly read excerpts from Walesa's speech at this afternoon's portion of Harvard's 332nd Commencement ceremonies. The reading would precede the principal address by Carlos Fuentes.

The speech paints a broad picture of the development of Solidarity, from the Gdansk shipyard strike of August 1980, through the imposition of martial law in December 1981, to the present, with martial law lifted but tension increasing as Communist authorities step up their harassment of Polish labor organizers.

Polish workers today are "not indifferent and apathetic as they once were," Walesa states. "Through small daily acts of courage, they implement the ideals of our union. They do not support undertakings promoted by the martial law authorities, but readily join in any initiative

In late January, President Bok wrote Walesa at his Gdansk home, inviting him to deliver the main address at today's ceremonies and receive an honorary Harvard degree. "Because this event receives wide attention, your speech would undoubtedly reach the entire nation and receive wide media coverage," the president wrote.

On April 7, the University announced that Walesa had accepted the invitation. But later that day, and throughout the following week, reports from Poland quoted Walesa as saying he would not make the trip to Cambridge, because he feared Communist authorities would block his return to Poland.

Harvard officials continued to hold out hope that Walesa would still deliver the address, and stressed that they had received no formal communication from the 39-year-old labor leader except his letter of acceptance. They also disclosed that Walesa had proposed sending a written speech, should he prove unable to appear at Commencement in person.

At the same time, David A. Aloian '49, executive director of the Harvard Alumni Association and Harvard's chief correspondent with Walesa, endeavored to re-establish contact with the Solidarity leader through two unidentified journalists who secretly helped Harvard carry messages back and forth to Gdansk throughout the spring.

On April 25, Aloian heard from one of the journalists who had met with Walesa at his home. The labor chief would definitely not be able to attend Harvard's Commencement, the journalist reported.

With that confirmation, the University arranged for another main speaker—Carlos Fuentes—and crossed Walesa's name off the list of honorary degree recipients. Officials did not rule out the possibility that a speech might surface in time for Commencement, although a week ago, Aloian expressed pessimism that it would ever materialize. The full story of how the speech did arrive, 24 hours before the ceremonies, remains to be told.

cepts used in your language and embedded in your awareness have no counterparts in Poland, and the same can be said of the opposite situation. Such concepts as politics, exercise of government, propaganda, the right, the left, socialism, realism, and many others that we use daily have different meanings in such countries as the United States and Poland.

Comprehension of the meaning of concepts which I mention is the more difficult—as applied to the situation in Poland—since they are understood differently by the State authorities and by the overwhelming majority of society. And yet we must communicate and understand each other, seek that which is common and avoid that which divides.

Much has happened in Poland and surely it can be stated without megalomania that what has happened has had impact on the political relations in this part of Europe. Many commentators have assessed these events as simply continuations of past Polish uprisings in the quest for independence, classifying them as romantic and beautiful deeds, but ineffective and devoid of realism. Solidarity was ascribed traits characteristic of 19th century Utopian movements, was said to be divorced from the political and economic realities of present-day Poland. This view requires correction and I am glad that I can speak about this from such an important tribune to people who mold public opinion in the United States.

The situation which arose in Poland before the August strike increasingly resembled an unreal world. The economy was rapidly moving toward disaster, borrowed money—so recklessly spent by the authorities—was running out, while newspapers in Poland continued writing about achievements, rising living standards and universal contentment. Despite warning by economists and advisers—even those close to the power elite—that such policies were leading nowhere, a propaganda of success held sway. Words such as dissatisfaction, crisis, or strike had been erased from official vocabularies.

At the same time social bonds, the nat-

LECH

ment, tem w yet the us—a tribute free to violati person fact th one w them c the sit ponen was v could Yet ceeder materi Solida new s chang

Harvard Crimson

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1983

FREE COPY

History, Mine and Shipyard'

Walesa Sent Harvard

nt Bok wrote, inviting him to speak at today's honorary Har- is event re- speech would re nation and e," the presi-

ty announced he invitation. ghout the fol- from Poland ne would not e, because he rities would

ed to hold out ill deliver the they had re- ication from er except his lso disclosed ending a writ- unable to ap- person.

id A. Aloian the Harvard arvard's chief l, endeavored the Solidarity ntified jour- ped Harvard rth to Gdansk

d from one of t with Walesa f would defi- nd Harvard's alist reported. the Univer- ain speaker— sed Walesa's y degree reci- e out the pos- ht surface in , although a ed pessimism lize. The full lid arrive, 24 s, remains to

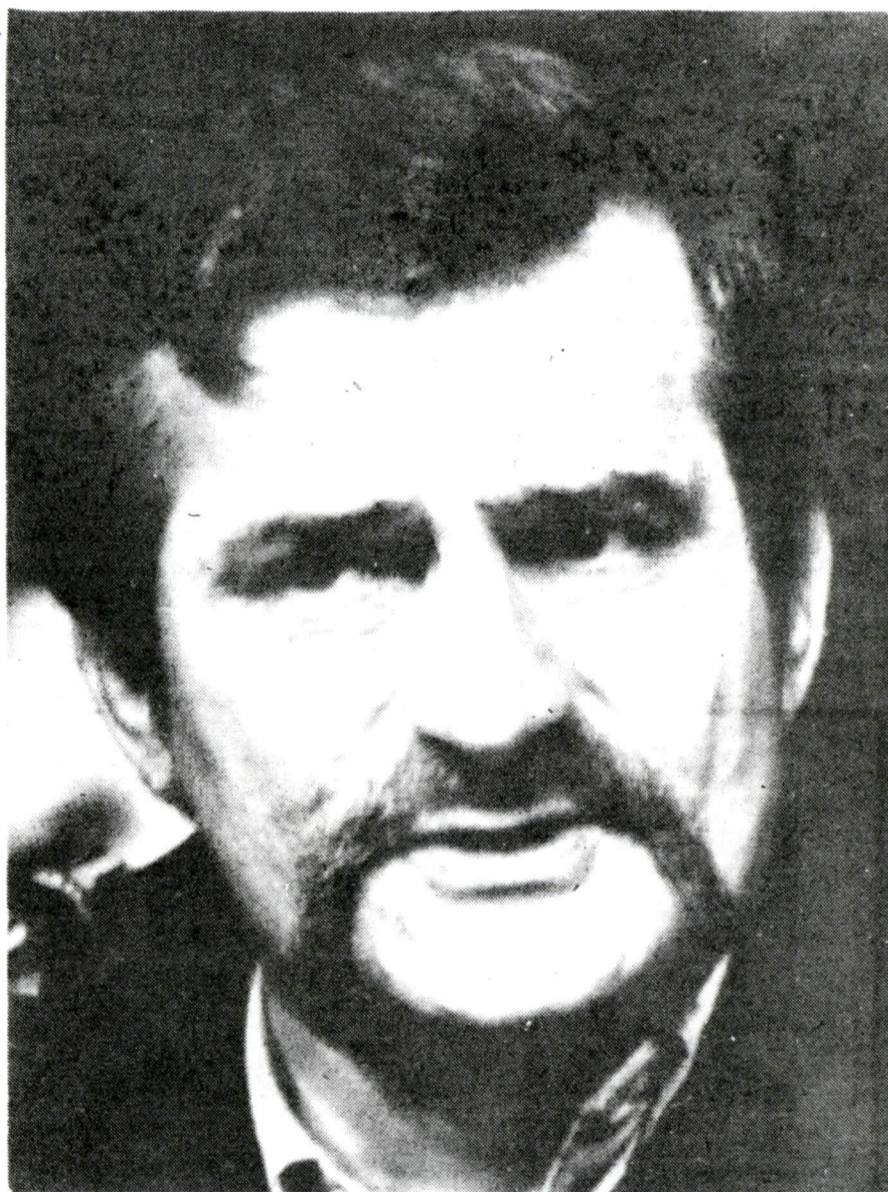
cepts used in your language and embed- ded in your awareness have no counter- parts in Poland, and the same can be said of the opposite situation. Such concepts as politics, exercise of government, propaganda, the right, the left, socialism, realism, and many others that we use daily have different meanings in such countries as the United States and Poland.

Comprehension of the meaning of concepts which I mention is the more dif- ficult—as applied to the situation in Po- land—since they are understood diffe- rently by the State authorities and by the overwhelming majority of society. And yet we must communicate and under- stand each other, seek that which is com- mon and avoid that which divides.

Much has happened in Poland and surely it can be stated without megalomania that what has happened has had impact on the political relations in this part of Europe. Many commentators have assessed these events as simply continuations of past Polish uprisings in the quest for independence, classifying them as romantic and beautiful deeds, but ineffective and devoid of realism. Solidarity was ascribed traits characteris- tic of 19th century Utopian movements, was said to be divorced from the political and economic realities of present-day Poland. This view requires correction and I am glad that I can speak about this from such an important tribune to people who mold public opinion in the United States.

The situation which arose in Poland before the August strike increasingly re- sembled an unreal world. The economy was rapidly moving toward disaster, bor- rowed money—so recklessly spent by the authorities—was running out, while newspapers in Poland continued writing about achievements, rising living stan- dards and universal contentment. Des- pite warning by economists and advis- ers—even those close to the power elite—that such policies were leading nowhere, a propaganda of success held sway. Words such as dissatisfaction, crisis, or strike had been erased from of- ficial vocabularies.

At the same time social bonds, the nat-



LECH WALESA

ment, even suppressed hatred for the sys- tem which surrounded them everywhere; yet they felt impotent. They looked upon us—a group of people who secretly dis- tributed leaflets promoting the idea of free trade unions or protesting against violations of human rights—as insane persons, or controlled by the police. The fact that I was getting thrown out from one work enterprise after another was to them confirmation that their appraisal of the situation was realistic. Its main com- ponent was the conviction that nothing was worth attempting because nothing could be changed anyway.

Yet the strike in August 1980 suc- ceeded; the dreams considered too bold materialized; Free Trade Unions (and) Solidarity were established, numerous new social and political organizations changed Poland beyond recognition.

style of describing and evaluating the world cannot comprehend how beautiful and communicative can be the ordinary language of truth.

It was not only the society—through the movement of renewal—which realized the true scope of problems fac- ing it, but also the authorities. Not only the governing team changed, but the style of government and of communicat- ing with society changed in many impor- tant ways. Dialogue dominated until De- cember 13, 1981 despite numerous ten- sions and problems which could not be solved. It is too early yet to assess fully that short, eventful period.

The introduction of martial law brut- ally demonstrated the limits of progress attainable in Poland today. Solidarity was banned, many of its activists were interned and imprisoned, many are ar-

was rapidly moving toward disaster, borrowed money—so recklessly spent by the authorities—was running out, while newspapers in Poland continued writing about achievements, rising living standards and universal contentment. Despite warning by economists and advisers—even those close to the power elite—that such policies were leading nowhere, a propaganda of success held sway. Words such as dissatisfaction, crisis, or strike had been erased from official vocabularies.

At the same time social bonds, the natural solidarity that is created through shared national experience and common everyday existence, were disintegrating. Replacement of authentic organic communities with mass ideological organizations and the party apparatus caused a sense of isolation and apathy of the individual, and, in consequence, of practically the entire society. As a result of psychological pressure—which in modernly organized ideological states substitutes for direct terror—there developed a conviction that nothing could be done in this system and that progress was impossible. "It is better to be reconciled with injustice because I can't do anything by myself anyway; 'They' are just waiting for me to reveal my convictions." These were the most widespread opinions at the time. Over the years, precisely such a mentality of enslavement had been shaped.

My friends from the factory were, in that pre-August period, full of resent-

persons, or controlled by the police. The fact that I was getting thrown out from one work enterprise after another was to them confirmation that their appraisal of the situation was realistic. Its main component was the conviction that nothing was worth attempting because nothing could be changed anyway.

Yet the strike in August 1980 succeeded; the dreams considered too bold materialized; Free Trade Unions (and Solidarity were established, numerous new social and political organizations changed Poland beyond recognition. These changes became the beginning of the introduction of reality into the processes taking place in my country.

The August breakthrough demonstrated to the authorities in Poland the simple commonplace that ignoring reality, treating it as secondary to doctrine and underestimating the objective laws of economics, lead to an inevitable and dangerous crisis. It proved that the old methods, preventing influence of society on public affairs, could not be used to govern effectively.

After the strike at the shipyard and the establishment of Solidarity, everyone could take part in the social work for reform, could personally learn what free elections meant, what the hitherto mythical democracy meant in practice. Millions of people again became citizens. Those events also helped us to realize better that it is not only the authorities but all of us who are responsible for the fate of the country, its economy and political life. The events initiated in Gdansk also showed to the world the extent of the true problems of a nation of 36 million in Europe. If realism has its foundation in objective knowledge about political and economic reality, then the establishment of Solidarity certainly enriched that knowledge.

A rejection of the world of fiction, that introduction of reality, was perhaps most evident in the system of communicating in Poland. People began expressing loudly and publicly their genuine thoughts, what was tormenting their minds and souls and not what they should be saying in accordance with official instructions.

That pillar of the old system, the magic language of "Newspeak" stopped functioning since it referred to a world which still existed only in the textbooks of ideologists, propagandists and censors. Someone who has not lived for many years hearing everywhere an Orwellian

ing it, but also the authorities. Not only the governing team changed, but the style of government and of communicating with society changed in many important ways. Dialogue dominated until December 13, 1981 despite numerous tensions and problems which could not be solved. It is too early yet to assess fully that short, eventful period.

The introduction of martial law brutally demonstrated the limits of progress attainable in Poland today. Solidarity was banned, many of its activists were interned and imprisoned, many are arrested and are still awaiting sentencing. For thousands of my compatriots, drama became a daily reality.

What hope can we have living in Poland today, when social conflicts are settled by force and dialogue has been broken off? What can we count on and where can we seek consolation? Most frequently it is spectacular, dramatic facts which reach public opinion through the mass media; it is they which have the strongest impact on the imagination and shape views.

Internment, imprisonment, prison bars—they are a painful problem, which do not permit one to sleep in peace. Similarly, demonstrations and marches brutally dispersed by Zomo arouse emotions difficult to control. The impact of tragedy, death and everything that causes terror is always stronger than the birth of something new. Yet the situation in my country should not be perceived only in that light.

When on December 13, 1981, tanks rolled into the streets of towns in Poland, many people said: "This had to happen! The authorities had long been preparing the coup!" However, few thought at the time that it was the end of everything. Martial law slowed the process of reform but did not halt it. For the change in relations between people, between institutions and individuals is achieved not only through passage of new laws or cancellation of old ones, but to a greater extent through changes in awareness which bid one to either respect or ignore these laws.

The legal system in Poland did not change in a fundamental way, but in practice enormous changes have taken place. Until recently people working together in the same room feared to talk sincerely with each other; they feared each other, and today they constitute one underground Solidarity cell. They are not indifferent and apathetic as they once were. Through small, daily acts of cour-

(continued on back page)



rary exhibition

age, they implement the ideals of our union. They do not support undertakings promoted by the martial law authorities, but readily join in any initiative which may lead to reform. Such people are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere—even in the prosecutors' offices, courts, the police and security service. Many of my interned and imprisoned colleagues experienced not only harassment and humiliation, but also human gestures and true solidarity from their oppressors. Also—and perhaps most important of all—such people and their thousand-fold actions constitute what is known as the historic process. And the significance of these positive attitudes is greater as far as I am concerned, for—after all—violence is in a way inscribed in the doctrines being implemented in this part of the world. The new consciousness evident in the young generation of Poles is the greatest capital of the 16 hot months after the strike at the Gdansk Shipyard. The consciousness which I have mentioned is my great hope. It is a fact which truly exists and thus has great impact on reality. This is why we do not have to overthrow the system; it is weaker than the national self-awareness, it either shrinks before it or absorbs it. The process continues, and that is why I am an optimist.

Almost daily, I receive letters from unknown friends in your country, cards

with wishes and expressions of good cheer. This solidarity is for me an unusual phenomenon. Many a time I have pondered what could link people living in such different political and social systems and so far from each other, in the United States and Poland. What can link workers of the Gdansk Shipyard and the scholarly community of Harvard University?

This is hard to explain in a few words. Friendships between nations have as a rule complicated historic foundations; and exploration of the phenomenon, especially with reference to the most recent years, could be a stimulating project for scholars. The histories of Poland and the United States share figures who are (...) close to both peoples. But I believe that in a broader dimension this emotional closeness is based on a system of shared fundamental values. Their source is not hard to find; it is contained in every copy of the Bible.

Human rights, wherever they may be violated, always humiliate other people and man in general. And that is why people, social activists and politicians, who have the courage to speak up for the rights of others are so respected in Poland. A narrow particularism ultimately turns against individuals or groups guarding their "peace of mind." Solidarity in its very name referred to the idea of brotherhood and help for another person.

The workers starting the strike and the

process of transformation did not refer to the classics of Marxism-Leninism. They referred to the simplest natural rights due man upon his very birth in accordance with common sense. It was not an irrational "class instinct" quoted by dogmatists which made workers demand the right to seek truth about the economic situation of the country, but it was simple common sense which they had fortunately retained despite political indoctrination. It was not a "class awareness" which induced them to create Free Trade Unions together with intelligentsia, but a sober conviction that without an independent and self governing organization, workers would always be in danger of exploitation and isolation.

The society creating anew the fabric of public life also referred to the ideals of tolerance, so pronounced in the Polish historic tradition. Solidarity did not become a totalitarian organization; it was always open to different ideological trends. It did not examine peoples' biographies, check their ethnic or social background; it did not ask about their religion.

I believe that it is precisely such ideals which unite us, the people in America and Poland.

Millions of people in our countries are also linked by their love of peace. My homeland has experienced too much suffering not to appreciate the value of

peace, stability of borders, and internal democracy. We are alarmed at the prospect of the arms race, hostile relations between the world powers and could war. Such a course of events would undoubtedly and tangibly worsen the fate of my people, perhaps to a greater degree than of others. There is no alternative to an accord. Only this direction has a future both on the scale of the respective nations and in world political relations. International institutions established in the name of dialogue are, as a rule, helpless in the face of violence, domination of some states over others, and violations of basic human rights. This situation poses before politicians the task of finding new forms of peaceful accommodation.

The world today is a system of interconnected vessels, hence every hotbed of tension is dangerous. Propaganda in my country—seeking to justify martial law—repeatedly presented Solidarity as a threat to peace and the independence of Poland, and even as a potential source of world conflict. This is obviously untrue; the causes of conflicts in Poland have not been eradicated.

The 17th month since martial law is passing—and what next? Can Poles sleep in peace? Our Union drew on peaceful forms of struggle for its goals and proved in practice that not a single stone has to be thrown nor a single window broken for relations between the au-

thorities and society to become more human, for workers to feel masters of the plants instead of being manpower.

We shall not abandon the peaceful forms of our activity despite the violence imposed on us. We shall not abandon our ideals and basic rights, including the right to create Free Trade Unions. In the name of peace, the consciousness and strivings of millions of people living in Europe cannot be ignored.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the President of this magnificent school, Harvard University, a school which is a symbol of free science and world scholarly achievements, and the Managing Board for such a great distinction. I treat it not as an expression of recognition for my personal achievements, but rather as an assessment of millions of my compatriots whose efforts and determination have attained progress in Poland.

I have great hope that in more favorable conditions I shall be able to visit the United States and thank you and all Americans, whose sympathy and solidarity are so important to me and my compatriots.

With cordial greetings,

Lech Walesa

ers.

Polish workers today are "not indifferent and apathetic as they once were," Walesa states. "Through small daily acts of courage, they implement the ideals of our union. They do not support undertakings promoted by the martial law authorities, but readily join in any initiative which may lead to reform."

Such people, he continues, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere—even in the prosecutors' offices, courts, the police and security service."

In the speech, Walesa calls Harvard "a school which is a symbol of free science and world scholarly achievements," and expresses hope that he will someday visit the United States. Americans' "sympathy and solidarity are so important to me and my compatriots," he concludes.

...arranged for another main speaker—Carlos Fuentes—and crossed Walesa's name off the list of honorary degree recipients. Officials did not rule out the possibility that a speech might surface in time for Commencement, although a week ago, Aloian expressed pessimism that it would ever materialize. The full story of how the speech did arrive, 24 hours before the ceremonies, remains to be told.

Distinguished Mr. President, Members of the Managing Board, Ladies and Gentlemen,

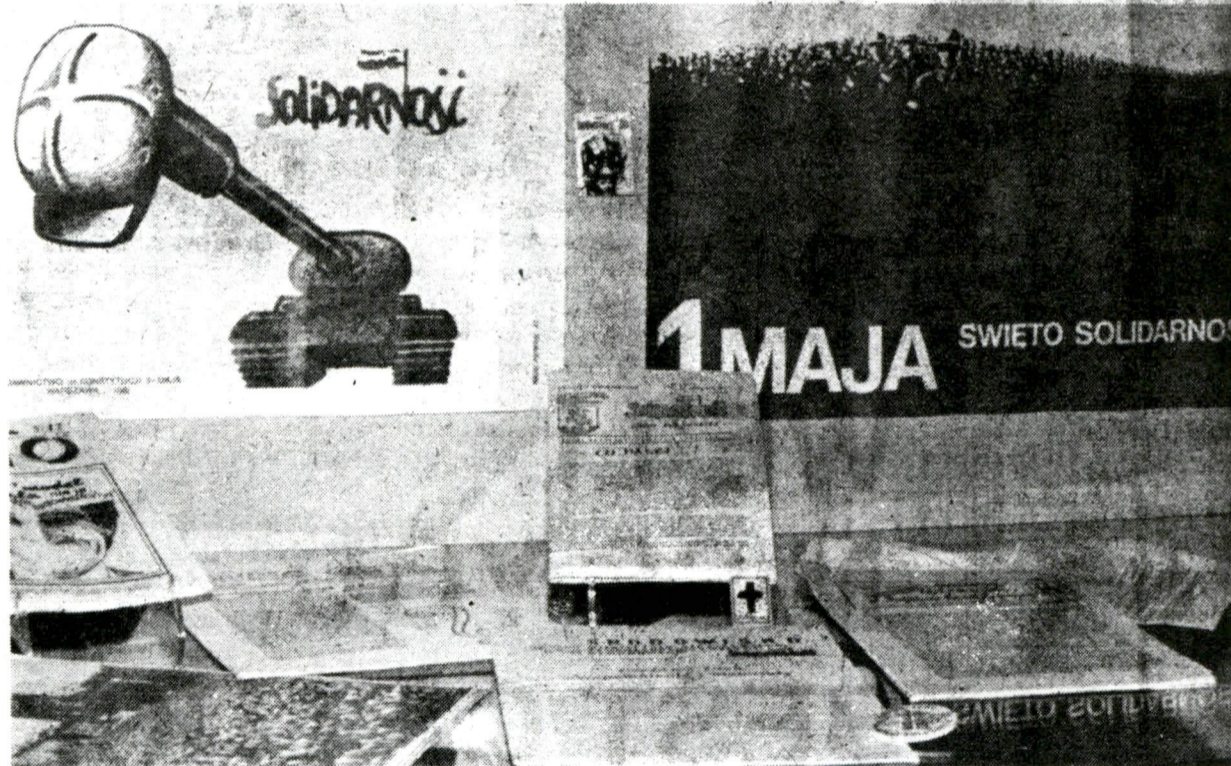
When on the morning of August 14, 1980 I scaled the fence surrounding the Gdansk Shipyard to lead a strike for the most fundamental worker rights, few people supposed that that would mark the beginning of a great process of transformations in Poland. And surely no one expected that three years later my words would be read at Harvard University.

I am immensely proud of this distinction, but also impressed by the importance of this place. I am also intimidated by the fact that many profound experiences are difficult to express in human, understandable language; they are simply inexpressible. Cliches cannot be used to explain what happened in Poland, the coincidence of dramatic and conflicting circumstances. At times it was necessary to have experienced them personally to understand their significance. Many con-

was rapidly moving toward disrowed money—so recklessly the authorities—was running newspapers in Poland continu about achievements, rising li dards and universal contentn pite warning by economists ers—even those close to l elite—that such policies we nowhere, a propaganda of su sway. Words such as dissa crisis, or strike had been erase ficial vocabularies.

At the same time social bonur solidarity that is create shared national experience an everyday existence, were di ing. Replacement of authent communities with mass ide organizations and the party caused a sense of isolation an the individual, and, in conse practically the entire society. of psychological pressure— modernly organized ideolog substitutes for direct terror— developed a conviction that not be done in this system and th was impossible. "It is better t ciled with injustice because anything by myself anyway; just waiting for me to reveal tions." These were the most opinions at the time. Over the cisely such a mentality of e had been shaped.

My friends from the facty that pre-August period, full



Papers and posters of the Solidarity labor movement, from a recent Widener Library exhibition

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

November 13, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AND LECH WALESIA
AT MEDAL OF FREEDOM CEREMONY

The East Room

6:07 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the third time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression. In snow-filled crossroads and town squares across Poland, iron tanks rumbled to a stop.

Lech Walesa made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing the Polish nation, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But you can't lock up a dream. One by one, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing with solidarity with the Polish people.

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and universities approached graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa and Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois. And at Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he'd never seen.

For eight years, these empty chairs and the American people have waited for you to come. We waited because we believe in freedom. We waited because we believe in Poland. And we waited because we believe in you. (Applause.)

And today, the waiting is over. Lech Walesa, man of freedom, is at the White House. We think of it as the house of freedom.

Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you: "Take your place in this house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair. Now you can have a seat." (Applause.)

MORE

In just a few days, you will be the second private citizen from abroad -- second in our history to ever address a joint meeting of Congress -- after the Marquis de Lafayette in 1824. And like him, you helped win an historic struggle. And like him, you represent not only a people but also an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

That idea is freedom. The time is now. (Applause.)

You were called a nobody. But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by presidents or princes, but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and his fellow workers in a brave union called Solidarity. The Iron Curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era, a failed ideology. And the change is everywhere. Poland. Hungary. Czechoslovakia.

And ladies and gentlemen, the week that brought Lech Walesa to America is the week that the headlines proclaimed, "And the Wall comes tumbling down." (Applause.)

So what is happening in Berlin and on our television screens is astounding. World War II, fought for freedom, ironically left the world divided between the free and the unfree. And most of us alive today were born into that sundered world. And now almost 50 years have passed and some have wondered all these years why we stayed in Berlin. And let me tell you. We stayed because we knew -- we just knew -- all Americans -- that this day would come. And now a century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand. Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire others in them a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself; changed the course of a nation. History may make men. But Lech Walesa has made history.

And I believe history continues to be made every day by small daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the country, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind," for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." And like Franklin, who seized lightning from the skies and brought it to Earth, Lech Walesa seized an idea, a powerful idea, and with it electrified the world. The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages. Spanish, German, Chinese, Russian. And yet from these varied lips comes a word all can understand. Freedom. And with one voice, the people of the world have spoken. Freedom.

In America, it's our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success. And freedom will bring success to Poland, too. American aid has begun and more is coming. From Washington to Warsaw, Kansas City to Krakow, from Green Bay to Gdansk, Americans are linked in spirit with the Polish people in their brave struggle for opportunity, prosperity and freedom.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that is sweeping the world, East and West, the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy.

And even while Solidarity was banned, your example, and the example of the Polish people was mirrored across Asia when

"People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines, and then in Pakistan and South Korea and, yes, even in Tiananmen Square. The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you. (Applause.)

Thank you, Poland, for showing us that the dream is alive. And thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa. (Applause.)

And now, it is with great pride that I bestow the medal, previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King and President John F. Kennedy, Anwar Sadat, Mother Teresa. It is our nation's highest civilian honor. So, Mr. Walesa, if you'll come over here, let me read the citation.

To Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Lech Walesa has shown through his life and work the power of one individual's ideals when combined with the irresistible force of freedom. Through moral authority, force of personality and demonstrated heroism, he has inspired a nation and the world in the cause of liberty. The United States honors a true man of his times and of timeless ideals. Lech Walesa, distinguished son of Poland, champion of universal human rights. (Applause.)

MR. WALESA: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I'm deeply moved and gratified that I'm here, in the Capital of the United States of America and the White House, greeted so warmly by President George Bush in the company of American Polish friends.

One of the greatest dreams of my life has thus been fulfilled. I'm full of admiration for your country, not because it's a big power and not because it's rich, even though one could envy that. I admire America as a country of freedom -- freedom of man and freedom of a nation. You took that freedom yourself. Nobody gave it to you as a present. You built it through your hard work, step by step. You created wonderful democratic institutions which are an example for many other countries. But most before others, you created human attachments to freedom.

America is a free country because American workers and farmers are and want to be free. Technicians and engineers, bankers and industrialists. America is rich with its freedom. It shares it with the emigrants -- some are looking for freedom from misery and others are looking for freedom from persecutions.

That is why I so highly cherish the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Poles know the price of freedom as very few nations of the world. They know how to fight for freedom. They know how to defend freedom. Now my country has entered the road of freedom. It's rebuilding its independence and democracy. It's restoring sense to labor and economy. I'm sure that we will not get away from that road.

Mr. President, for yours and our freedom, for the American nation, for the freedom of all nations of the world, thank you very much for this wonderful, wonderful distinction. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. Before we conclude, there is one more person with us today whose dedication to Solidarity and to free trade unions I feel we must recognize. You all know how crucial has been the work of the AFL-CIO in helping Solidarnosc through difficult times and in promoting free trade unions and democracy around the world.

So, Lane Kirkland, would you please come up here, sir. (Applause.) For over a decade, under your leadership, you and the union have been path-breakers for freedom, continuing the support for free trade unions around the world. And in Eastern Europe, your support was crucial. And you were there -- you, personally, were there -- in the hour of greatest need, helping to keep alive the dream of democracy in Poland.

And so, Lane, on behalf of a grateful nation, I want to present you with the Presidential Citizens Medal. And the citation reads: As President of the AFL-CIO, Joseph Lane Kirkland has worked tirelessly and effectively in support of Solidarity, free trade unions and democratic principles. America honors him for this dedication, which has helped spread the lamp of liberty in Eastern Europe and across the globe.

Congratulations. (Applause.)

MR. KIRKLAND: Mr. President, you must like surprises because I was extraordinarily surprised by your very generous act in enabling me to share an honor with the man who towers in the world today for his achievements -- Lech Walesa.

I can only say that it's what I think I try my best to stand for today that merits any such recognition. And what I do stand for -- the instrument and the principle of free trade unionism -- is today a lever that can move the world. And to serve that is a privilege for any person.

Thank you again, Mr. President. (Applause.)

END

6:28 P.M. EST

Steph

REMARKS: LECH WALESA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS, 1981, A DARKNESS DESCENDED
ACROSS POLAND FOR THE THIRD TIME THIS CENTURY. WHAT
HAD BEGUN AS A YEAR OF HOPE AND FREEDOM ENDED IN
VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION. \ \

IN SNOW-FILLED CROSSROADS AND TOWN SQUARES ACROSS
POLAND, IRON TANKS RUMBLED TO A STOP. LECH WALESA
[[LECK VA-WEN-SAJ]] MADE THE SIGN OF THE CROSS ON THE
FOREHEADS OF HIS SLEEPING CHILDREN, AND WAS TAKEN AWAY
INTO THE NIGHT. SOLIDARITY, A MOVEMENT EMBRACING THE
POLISH NATION, WAS OUTLAWED. COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE
OUTSIDE WORLD WERE CUT OFF. AND POLAND AWOKE TO SNOW
AND STEEL AND SILENCE, AN ENTIRE NATION
IMPRISONED. \ \ \ \

BUT YOU CAN'T LOCK UP A DREAM. ONE BY ONE,
CANDLES LIT THE WINDOWS OF POLAND'S FARMHOUSES AND
TENEMENTS, SILENT BEACONS OF THE LIBERTY STILL BURNING
IN THE HEARTS OF A BRAVE AND ANCIENT PEOPLE. AND THAT
CHRISTMAS EVE, NOT FAR FROM WHERE WE STAND, A CANDLE
BURNED ALL NIGHT IN THE WHITE HOUSE, LIKE OTHERS ALL
ACROSS AMERICA, GLOWING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH
PEOPLE. \ \

WHEN SPRING CAME, A TIME OF RENEWAL AND REBIRTH, LECH WALESZA'S FATE WAS STILL UNKNOWN. AND AS COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES APPROACHED GRADUATION, ONE BY ONE, AGAIN AND AGAIN, THE SAME TWO NAMES WERE HEARD. \\ LECH WALESZA. \\ SOLIDARITY.

OF COURSE, LECH WALESZA COULD NOT COME TO ACCEPT THOSE HONORARY DEGREES. AND SO IN CROWDED ASSEMBLY HALLS AND PACKED ARENAS ACROSS AMERICA, WHERE EVERY PRECIOUS SPACE WAS FILLED WITH PROUD AND LOVING FAMILIES, STAGE AFTER STAGE HELD A SINGLE, UNFILLED PLACE -- AN EMPTY CHAIR, BEARING ONLY THE SOLIDARITY BANNER -- AWAITING THE RELEASE OF LECH WALESZA, AND THE LIBERATION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

WE SAW EMPTY CHAIRS IN MAINE AND PENNSYLVANIA, RHODE ISLAND AND ILLINOIS. AT NOTRE DAME, THE CROWD STOOD FOR THREE MINUTES IN CHEERING TRIBUTE TO THE EMPTY CHAIR AND THE MAN WHO WASN'T THERE. AT HOLY CROSS, LANE KIRKLAND ACCEPTED THE AWARD ON LECH WALESA'S BEHALF. AND BACK IN POLAND, IN A HUMBLE WOODEN CHURCH ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF GDANSK, AN EMPTY CHAIR WAS PLACED NEAR THE ALTAR FOR THE BAPTISM OF TINY MARIA-VICTORIA, LECH'S SEVENTH CHILD, A LITTLE GIRL HE HAD NEVER SEEN. \ \

FOR EIGHT YEARS, THESE EMPTY CHAIRS, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, HAVE WAITED FOR YOU TO COME. WE WAITED BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN FREEDOM. WE WAITED BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN POLAND. WE WAITED BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN YOU. \ \ \

TODAY, THE WAITING IS OVER. TODAY, LECH WALESA -- MAN OF FREEDOM, IS AT THE WHITE HOUSE -- THE HOUSE OF FREEDOM. \ \

[[TURN TO WALES]] LECH WALES, ON BEHALF OF THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, I AM PROUD TO SAY TO YOU
TODAY: "TAKE YOUR PLACE IN THIS HOUSE OF FREEDOM.
TAKE YOUR PLACE IN THE EMPTY CHAIR." [[GESTURE TO
CHAIR WITH SOLIDARITY BANNER]] \\\

IN JUST A FEW DAYS, YOU WILL BE THE ^{second} ~~THIRD~~ PRIVATE
^{from abroad} CITIZEN ^{ever} IN OUR HISTORY TO ADDRESS A JOINT SESSION OF
CONGRESS -- AFTER THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE ^{meeting} AND ^{m 1824.} ~~WINSTON~~
~~CHURCHILL.~~

^{him} LIKE THEM, YOU HELPED WIN AN ^{historic} ~~IMPORTANT~~ STRUGGLE
~~AGAINST TYRANNICAL ADVERSARIES.~~ AND LIKE ^{him} ~~THEM~~, YOU
REPRESENT NOT ONLY A PEOPLE BUT ALSO AN IDEA -- AN IDEA
WHOSE TIME HAS COME. AND NOTHING CAN STOP AN IDEA
WHOSE TIME HAS COME. \\\

THE IDEA IS FREEDOM. \\\ AND THE TIME IS NOW. \\\

YOU WERE CALLED A "NOBODY." BUT LENIN AND STALIN HAVE BEEN DISPROVED, NOT BY PRESIDENTS OR PRINCES, BUT BY THE LIKES OF AN ELECTRICIAN FROM GDANSK AND HIS FELLOW WORKERS IN A BRAVE UNION CALLED SOLIDARITY. THE IRON CURTAIN IS FAST BECOMING A RUSTED, ABANDONED RELIC, SYMBOLIZING A LOST ERA AND A FAILED IDEOLOGY.

THE CHANGE IS EVERYWHERE. POLAND. \\
HUNGARY. \\
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. \\
AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN -- THE WEEK THAT BROUGHT LECH WALESA TO AMERICA -- IS THE WEEK THE HEADLINES PROCLAIMED: "AND THE WALL COMES TUMBLING DOWN." \\\

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN BERLIN, AND ON OUR TELEVISION SCREENS, IS ASTOUNDING. ^{WORLD WAR TWO, FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM,} ~~WHEN ONLY A BOY, I JOINED A~~ ^{IRONICAL,} ~~CONFLICT THAT CONSUMED HALF OF HUMANITY, AND LEFT THE~~ WORLD DIVIDED BETWEEN THE FREE AND THE UNFREE. MOST OF US ALIVE TODAY WERE BORN INTO THAT SUNDERED WORLD.

NOW ALMOST 50 YEARS HAVE PASSED. SOME HAVE
WONDERED, ALL THESE YEARS, WHY WE STAYED IN BERLIN.
LET ME TELL YOU. WE STAYED BECAUSE WE KNEW -- WE KNEW
THIS DAY WOULD COME. \\\

 deleted P.

AND NOW A CENTURY THAT WAS BORN IN WAR AND
REVOLUTION MAY BEQUEATH A LEGACY OF PEACE UNTHINKABLE
ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO. \\\

THE STORY OF OUR TIMES IS THE STORY OF BRAVE MEN
AND WOMEN WHO SEIZED A MOMENT, WHO TOOK A STAND. LECH
WALESA SHOWED HOW ONE INDIVIDUAL COULD INSPIRE IN
OTHERS A FAITH SO POWERFUL THAT IT VINDICATED ITSELF,
AND CHANGED THE COURSE OF A NATION. HISTORY MAY MAKE
MEN. BUT LECH WALESA HAS MADE HISTORY. \\\

AND I BELIEVE HISTORY CONTINUES TO BE MADE, EVERY DAY, BY SMALL, DAILY ACTS OF COURAGE, BY PEOPLE WHO STRIVE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE. SUCH PEOPLE, SAYS LECH, "ARE EVERYWHERE, IN EVERY FACTORY, STEEL MILL, MINE AND SHIPYARD, EVERYWHERE." AND WE'VE CERTAINLY SEEN THEM IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, WHERE FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF LANE KIRKLAND TO THE RANK AND FILE ACROSS THE NATION, THEY HAVE STRUGGLED IN THE VANGUARD OF THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT AROUND THE WORLD.

OUR OWN HUMBLE ELECTRICIAN, BEN FRANKLIN, DECLARED THAT "OUR CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF ALL MANKIND, FOR WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR LIBERTY IN DEFENDING OUR OWN." AND LIKE FRANKLIN -- WHO SEIZED LIGHTNING FROM THE SKIES AND BROUGHT IT TO EARTH -- LECH WALESIA SEIZED AN IDEA -- A POWERFUL IDEA -- AND WITH IT ELECTRIFIED THE WORLD. THE IDEA IS FREEDOM. \ \ AND THE TIME IS NOW. \ \

COUNTRY BY COUNTRY, PEOPLE BY PEOPLE, YEAR BY YEAR, COURAGEOUS NEW VOICES ARE RAISED IN A HUNDRED LANGUAGES. IN SPANISH. GERMAN. CHINESE. RUSSIAN. ~~AFGHAN~~ AND YET, FROM THESE VARIED LIPS COMES A WORD ALL CAN UNDERSTAND. FREEDOM. AS IF WITH ONE VOICE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAVE SPOKEN. FREEDOM.

IN AMERICA, IT IS OUR GREATEST NATURAL RESOURCE, THE SECRET OF OUR SUCCESS. AND FREEDOM WILL BRING SUCCESS TO POLAND, TOO. AMERICAN AID HAS BEGUN AND MORE IS COMING. FROM WASHINGTON TO WARSAW, FROM KANSAS CITY TO KRAKOW, FROM GREEN BAY TO GDANSK, AMERICANS ARE LINKED IN SPIRIT WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE IN THEIR BRAVE STRUGGLE FOR OPPORTUNITY, PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM. \\\

~~TEN DAYS FROM NOW, AMERICANS WILL BOW THEIR HEADS IN PRAYER AS WE CELEBRATE THANKSGIVING. THANKSGIVING IS THE OLDEST, THE MOST AMERICAN OF HOLIDAYS, DATING BACK TO OUR VERY ORIGINS AS A PEOPLE. \\\ IT IS A TIME OF GRATITUDE. A TIME TO GIVE THANKS. A TIME TO REMEMBER WHAT WE STAND FOR -- AND WHY OUR FORBEARERS SACRIFICED SO MUCH TO COME HERE AND TO BUILD THIS GREAT LAND.~~

AMERICA. THE VERY WORD EXCITED VISIONS IN EUROPE FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE EXPLORERS. AMERICA IS A REFUGE FOR HOPE, A PLACE WHERE IDEAS AND DREAMS AND PEOPLE ARE PROTECTED, LIKE A CANDLE FROM THE WIND, TO KEEP HOPE ALIVE UNTIL THE DARKNESS LIFTS AND THE SUN SHINES ON A PEOPLE FREE AND SECURE. \ \

TODAY, LECH WALESA, YOU TAKE YOUR RIGHTFUL SEAT IN THIS BASTION OF DEMOCRACY, HERE IN THIS HOUSE OF FREEDOM. BUT THERE ARE OTHERS STILL WAITING AROUND THE WORLD. AND OUR WORK REMAINS UNDONE, SO LONG AS A SINGLE CHAIR REMAINS UNFILLED. SO LONG AS THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM REMAINS UNKEPT. \ \

LECH WALESA, BY YOUR ABIDING FAITH, AND BY THE MIRACLE OF DEMOCRACY'S NEW BIRTH IN YOUR HOMELAND, YOU HAVE COME TO PERSONIFY THE NEW BREEZE THAT IS SWEEPING THE WORLD EAST AND WEST, THE SPIRITUAL GODFATHER OF A NEW GENERATION OF DEMOCRACY.

EVEN WHILE SOLIDARITY WAS BANNED, YOUR EXAMPLE, AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, WAS MIRRORED ACROSS ASIA WHEN "PEOPLE POWER" BECAME A CHANT, FIRST IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND THEN IN PAKISTAN, AND SOUTH KOREA, AND YES, EVEN IN TIANAMEN SQUARE.

THE WHOLE WORLD IS WATCHING. AND THE WHOLE WORLD IS WITH YOU.

THANK YOU, POLAND -- FOR SHOWING US THAT THE DREAM IS ALIVE. THANK YOU, POLAND, FOR SHOWING US THAT A DREAM WROUGHT BY FLESH AND BLOOD CANNOT BE STILLED BY WALLS OF STEEL. THANK YOU, POLAND. AND THANK YOU, LECH WALES. \ \ \

AND NOW, IT IS WITH GREAT PRIDE AND HUMILITY THAT I BESTOW THE MEDAL PREVIOUSLY AWARDED TO THE LIKES OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JOHN F. KENNEDY, ANWAR SADAT AND MOTHER TERESA. IT IS OUR NATION'S HIGHEST CIVILIAN HONOR. LET ME READ THE CITATION. [[QUOTE CITATION]]

TO LECH WALES, OF GDANSK, POLAND -- THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM.

#

McNally/Simon
November 13, 1989
Draft Six (B:LECH)

1/2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECH WALESZA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the third time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression. \\

In snow-filled crossroads and town squares across Poland, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa [[LECK va-WEN-sa]] made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children, and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing the Polish nation, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut off. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned. \\ \\ \\

But you can't lock up a dream. One by one, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of the liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing in solidarity with the Polish people. \\

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and universities approached graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. \\ Lech Walesa. \\ Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed

arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, and the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois. At Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he had never seen. \\
 \\\

For eight years, these empty chairs, and the American people, have waited for you to come. **We waited because we believe in freedom. We waited because we believe in Poland. We waited because we believe in you.** \\\

Today, the waiting is over. Today, Lech Walesa -- man of freedom, is at the White House -- the house of freedom. \\
 \\\

[[TURN TO WALESA]] Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you today: **"Take your place in this house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair."** [[GESTURE TO CHAIR WITH SOLIDARITY BANNER]] \\\

In just a few days, you will be the third private citizen in our history to address a joint session of Congress -- after the Marquis de Lafayette and Winston Churchill.

Like them, you helped win an important struggle against tyrannical adversaries. And like them, you represent not only a people but also an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. \\
 \

The idea is freedom. \\
And the time is now. \\\

You were called a "nobody." But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by Presidents or Princes, but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and his fellow workers in a brave union called Solidarity. The iron curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era and a failed ideology.

The change is everywhere. Poland. \\
 Hungary. \\
 Czechoslovakia. \\
And ladies and gentlemen -- the week that brought Lech Walesa to America -- is the week the headlines proclaimed: "And The Wall Comes Tumbling Down." \\\

What's happening in Berlin, and on our television screens, is astounding, almost unreal. When only a boy, I joined a conflict that consumed half of humanity, and left the world divided between the free and the unfree. Most of us alive today were born into that sundered world.

Now almost 50 years have passed. I married and went to college. Raised a family. Became a grandfather. And I never imagined that the Wall would come down almost overnight -- let alone that I'd see it as President.

Some have wondered, all these years, why we stayed in Berlin. Let me tell you. We stayed because we knew -- we knew this day would come. \\\

And now a century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago. \\

The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand. Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself, and changed the course of a nation.

History may make men. But Lech Walesa has made history. \\

And I believe history continues to be made, every day, by small, daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the nation, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." And like Franklin -- who seized lightning from the skies and brought it to earth -- Lech Walesa seized an idea -- a powerful idea -- and with it electrified the world. The idea is freedom. \\ And the time is now. \\

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages. In Spanish. German. Chinese. Russian. Afghan. And yet, from these varied lips comes a word all can understand. FREEDOM. As if with one voice the people of the world have spoken. FREEDOM.

In America, it is our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success. And freedom will bring success to Poland, too. American aid has begun and more is coming. From Washington to Warsaw, from Kansas City to Krakow, from Green Bay to Gdansk, Americans are linked in spirit with the Polish people in their brave struggle for opportunity, prosperity and freedom. \\\

Ten days from now, Americans will bow their heads in prayer as we celebrate Thanksgiving. Thanksgiving is the oldest, the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. \\ It is a time of gratitude. A time to give thanks. A time to remember what we stand for -- and why our forbearers sacrificed so much to come here and to build this great land.

America. The very word excited visions in Europe from the earliest days of the explorers. America is a refuge for hope, a place where ideas and dreams and people are protected, like a candle from the wind, to keep hope alive until the darkness lifts and the sun shines on a people free and secure. \\

Today, Lech Walesa, you take your rightful seat in this bastion of democracy, here in this house of freedom. But there are others still waiting around the world. And our work remains undone, so long as a single chair remains unfilled. So long as the promise of freedom remains unkept. \\

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith, and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that is sweeping the world East and West, the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy.

Even while Solidarity was banned, your example, and the example of the Polish people, was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines, and then in Pakistan, and South Korea, and yes, even in Tianamen Square.

The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you.

Thank you, Poland -- for showing us that the dream is alive. Thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa. \\\

And now, it is with great pride and humility that I bestow the medal previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy, Anwar Sadat and Mother Teresa. It is our nation's highest civilian honor. Let me read the citation.

[[QUOTE CITATION]]

To Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland -- The Presidential Medal of Freedom.

#

McNally/Simon
November 7, 1989 5:30 pm
Draft Three (B:LECH)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECH WALESA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

TIME
1-4-82
p. 14

Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the second time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression.

Ladies Home
Journal
7/84 p.60

In snow-filled crossroads and town-squares across the nation, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa made a cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children, and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing more than half the Polish people, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

RR speech
12-23-81
TIME
1-4-82

But as man has learned from Budapest to Beijing, you can't lock up a dream. ^{one by one} That night, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of the liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing in solidarity with the Polish people.

RR speech
12-23-81
Curators
office x2550

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and universities approached graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa. Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, and the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Illinois, Pennsylvania and California. At Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there.

At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he had never seen.

For eight years, these empty chairs, and the American people, have waited for you to come. They have waited because we believe in freedom. They have waited because we believe in Poland. They have waited because we believe in you.

Today, the waiting is over. Today, Lech Walesa -- man of freedom, is at the White House -- the house of freedom.

[[TURN TO WALES]] Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you today: "Take your place in this house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair." [[GESTURE TO CHAIR WITH SOLIDARITY BANNER]]

You represent a great people and a great nation. Even more, you represent an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

The dictators and the generals called you a "nobody." But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by Presidents or Princes, but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and a housewife from Manila. The iron curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era and a failed ideology. And century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

That doesn't mean we embrace today's popular refrain that says, "History is over." I don't believe history is over. For the story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand.

Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself, and changed the course of a nation. History may make men. But Lech Walesa has made history.

And I believe history continues to be made, every day, by small, daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the

Howard
Crimson
6-9-83

nation, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

see file
 Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, who like Lech Walesa seized lightning from the skies and brought it to earth, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own."

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages. In Spanish. German. Chinese. Russian. Afghan. And yet -- like the miracle of tongues -- from these varied lips comes a word all can understand. FREEDOM. As if with one voice the people of the world have cried out. FREEDOM.

In America, it is our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success.

10 days from now, mothers and fathers will rise at first light to set log fires crackling and turkeys in the oven, and so begin a day of thanksgiving and remembrance. By candlelight and firelight, from the village greens of New England, to the houseboats of the Gulf of Mexico, the farmhouses of Indiana, the snowy cabins of the Dakotas, and the make-shift living rooms in re-born San Francisco, Americans will gather to bow their heads in prayer.

Thanksgiving is the oldest, the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. It comes without fireworks or presents. It comes without colored lights or colored eggs, without costumes or masks or midnight horns.

It is a time of gratitude. A time to give thanks. A time to remember what we stand for -- and why our forbearers sacrificed so much to come here and to build this great land.

America. The very word excited visions in Europe from the earliest days of the explorers. America is a refuge for hope, a place where ideas and dreams and people are protected, like a candle from the wind, to keep hope alive until the darkness lifts and the sun shines on a people free and secure.

Today, you take your rightful seat in this bastion of democracy, here in the house of freedom. But there are others less fortunate, standing in the shoes of repression that you once wore. And our work remains undone until every chair is filled.

Here in the White House, here in America, empty chairs remain for people like Guillermo Endara, the democratically elected President of Panama, his head bloodied but unbowed by Noriega's lead-pipe politics. For Violeta Chamorro, the widowed ~~editor~~ *publishe* of Nicaragua's opposition newspaper. For Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia. And yes, for Nelson Mandela, who we hope will soon be freed.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith, and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that's sweeping the world East and West, the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy.

Your example, and the example of the Polish people, has inspired hope and change in Hungary, East Germany, and all of Europe. Even while Solidarity was banned, your example, and the

TIME
5-22-89
p. 40-44

publishe

example of the Polish people, was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines, and then in Pakistan, and South Korea, and yes, even in Tianamen Square.

The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you.

Thank you, Poland -- for showing us that the dream is alive even behind the Iron Curtain. Thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa.

And now, it is with great pride and humility that I bestow upon Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland, our nation's highest civilian honor -- a medal previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King, George Meany, Anwar Sadat and Mother Teresa.

The Presidential Medal of Freedom.

#

*Exec. Clerk
see file*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 9, 1989

The Honorable Lech Walesa
In Care of the Honorable Edward N. Ney
United States Ambassador to Canada
Ottawa, Canada

RE: White House Medal of Freedom Ceremony

Dear Mr. Walesa:

Congratulations on being named to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom -- America's highest civilian award -- in a special ceremony at the White House on Monday, November 13, 1989.

We are grateful to your distinguished hosts, President Lane Kirkland and the AFL-CIO, for their cooperation in making the arrangements for this visit possible. This letter is intended to tell you something about the schedule for Monday night's ceremony, and to provide guidance on what to expect at the White House.

On Monday, November 13, 1989, we are hopeful that you will arrive at Washington's National Airport no later than 5:30 p.m. You will be met by Lane Kirkland immediately upon your arrival, and escorted to a motorcade that will take you directly to the White House.

This should allow you to arrive at the White House at approximately 6:00 p.m., where you will be met by President and Mrs. Bush, Vice President and Mrs. Quayle, and U.S. Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole.

At 6:05 p.m., you will accompany the President into the East Room of the White House. Your arrival will be announced to the audience of approximately 220 persons, including U.S. labor leaders and representatives of the Polish-American community.

When you enter the East Room, the stage will be empty except for one podium, and a single, empty chair, draped with a red and white "SOLIDARNOSC" banner. The "empty chair" is intended to symbolize the special place that has been kept waiting for you in America, ever since the events of December 1981.

You and your interpreter will accompany the President to the stage, where the floor will be marked with your name, and the name of your interpreter, indicating the places where you should stand.

We would ask that you remain standing beside the President for approximately the first four minutes of the President's speech. At that time, the President will turn to you and gesture for you to sit down in the empty chair with the "SOLIDARNOSC" banner. (Your interpreter may then sit down in a smaller chair, set behind your own "SOLIDARNOSC" chair.) The President's tribute to you will then continue for approximately five more minutes.

At the conclusion of the President's remarks, the President will turn to you, and ask you to stand and come back to the podium, to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

After the President has placed the medal around your neck, we would be delighted if you would make brief remarks in response to the Presidential award. (Due to the time constraints of the American television networks, we have been advised that your remarks should be expected to be approximately two to three minutes in length.)

Congratulations again, and thank you very much for your courtesy and assistance. Please feel free to contact me or Ambassador Davis if we can facilitate your visit to the United States in any way.

Sincerely yours,

David Demarest
Assistant to the President
for Communications

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

YOU WERE CALLED BY- YOU WERE VISITED BY-

OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE ► FTS AUTOVON

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

John Davis - amb

Gdansk - mo

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018
* U.S. GPO: 1988 - 201-759

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

august claims, have been made of earnest struggle. . . . If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. . . . The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, in a speech in Canandaigua, New York, August 3, 1857.

16 The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression.

W.E.B. DuBois, *John Brown*, 1909.

17 Liberty trains for liberty. Responsibility is the first step in responsibility.

Ibid.

18 Don't put no constrictions on da people. Leave 'em ta hell alone.

JIMMY DURANTE, quoted in Nelson A. Rockefeller, *Unity, Freedom and Peace: A Blueprint for Tomorrow*, 1968.

19 The word *liberty* in the mouth of Mr. [Daniel] Webster sounds like the word *love* in the mouth of a courtesan.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, entry written in 1851, *Journals*, 1909–1914.

20 Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble like a Declaration of Independence or the statute right to vote, by those who have never dared to think or to act.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Fate," *The Conduct of Life*, 1860.

21 They that can give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, motto of the *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*, 1759.

22 It is a common observation here that our cause is *the cause of all mankind*, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in a letter from Paris to Samuel Cooper, 1777.

23 Where liberty dwells, there is my country.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in a letter to B. Vaughan, March 14, 1783. (This Latin aphorism was also the motto of James Otis.)

24 Our country has liberty without license, and authority without despotism.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS, in a speech in Rome, March 25, 1887.

25 Liberty is worth whatever country is worth. It is by liberty that a man has a country; it is by liberty he has rights.

HENRY GILES, *The Worth of Liberty*, 1847.

26 I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.

BARRY M. GOLDWATER, in his speech accepting the Republican presidential nomination, Republican National Convention, San Francisco, California, July 16, 1964.

27 Natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator to the whole human race.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *The Farmer Refuted*, 1775.

28 Real liberty is neither found in despotism or the extremes of democracy, but in moderate governments.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in the debates of the Federal Convention, June 26, 1787.

29 The liberty of the press consists, in my idea, in publishing the truth, from good motives and for justifiable ends, though it reflect on the government, on magistrates, or individuals.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, in a speech in New York City, 1804.

30 Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court

The Associated Press, December 12, 1982

Jan. 27 _ Danuta Walesa, wife of interned Solidarity union chief Lech Walesa, gives birth in Gdansk to the couple's eighth child.

Feb. 1 _ Prices for food and fuel soar by 200 to 400 percent. Consumer reaction seems to be one of mild shock tempered by resignation.

Feb. 17 _ About 3,500 people are detained, some only briefly in a massive police sweep through Warsaw called "Operation Calm."

Feb. 28 _ Authorities announce easing of some martial law restrictions, including the ban on most domestic travel.

March 8 _ Reports coming from the first meeting of underground Solidarity leaders who call for talks between the authorities and the suspended union's leadership.

March 20 _ Authorities order the dissolution of the Association of Polish Journalists, the second pro-Solidarity group to be outlawed since martial law.

March 21 _ Thousands of Poles attend the baptism of Walesa's infant daughter in Gdansk, but Walesa remains interned. His place is marked by an empty chair at the church.

April 12 _ "Radio Solidarity" makes its debut, beginning a spectacular but brief series of broadcasts. Union leaders form the "TKK," Polish initials for the Temporary Coordinating Commission, to run the union's underground.

April 28 _ Authorities release 1,000 of the 5,000 internees seized at the start of the crackdown.

May 1-3 _ Tens of thousands of Solidarity supporters march in Warsaw and other cities in a counter-parade to May Day, riots erupt in Warsaw and a dozen cities on May 3 in the first major clashes since December.

May 27 _ Walesa is moved to a new secret location, which later turns out to be the resort lodge of Arlamow on extreme southern Poland.

July 21 _ Jaruzelski orders the release of an additional 1,200 internees, including all women, and eases more restrictions. International telephone calling is restored.

McNally/Simon
November ~~6~~⁷, 1989 3:30
Draft Two (B:LECH)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECH WALESA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the second time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression.

In snow-filled crossroads and town-squares across the nation, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa made a cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children, and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing more than half the Polish people, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But as man has learned from Budapest to Beijing, you can't lock up a dream. That night, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of the liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing in solidarity with the Polish people.

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and universities across America reached out to launch the cream of a nation and honor the finest in the world, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa. Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, and the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Illinois, Pennsylvania and California. At Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he had never seen.

For eight years, these empty chairs, and the American people, have waited for you to come. They have waited because we believe in freedom. They have waited because we believe in Poland. They have waited because we believe in you.

Today, the waiting is over. Today, Lech Walesa -- man of freedom, is at the White House -- the house of freedom.

[[TURN TO WALES]] Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you today: "Take your place in the house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair." [[GESTURE TO CHAIR WITH SOLIDARITY BANNER]]

You represent a great people and a great nation. Even more, you represent an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

The dictators and the generals called you a "nobody." But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by Presidents or Princes, but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and a housewife from Manila. The iron curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era and a failed ideology. And century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

That doesn't mean we embrace today's popular refrain that says, "History is over." I don't believe history is over. For the story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand.

Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself, and changed a nation's history. History may make men. But Lech Walesa has made history.

And I believe history continues to be made, every day, by small, daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the

nation, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, who like Lech Walesa seized lightning from the skies and brought it to earth, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own."

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages. In Spanish. German. Chinese. Russian. Afghan. And yet amid the babble -- like the miracle of tongues -- from these varied lips comes a word all can understand. FREEDOM. As if with one voice the people of the world have cried out. FREEDOM.

In America, it is our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success.

10 days from now, mothers and fathers will rise at first light to set log fires crackling and turkeys in the oven, and so begin a day of thanksgiving and remembrance. By candlelight and firelight, from the village greens of New England, to the houseboats of the Gulf of Mexico, the farmhouses of Indiana, the snowy cabins of the Dakotas, and the make-shift living rooms in re-born San Francisco, Americans will gather to bow their heads in prayer.

Thanksgiving is the oldest, the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. It comes without fireworks or presents. It comes without colored lights or colored eggs, without costumes or masks or midnight horns.

It is a time of gratitude. A time to give thanks. A time to remember what we stand for -- and why our forbearers sacrificed so much to come here and to build this great land.

America. The very word excited visions in Europe from the earliest days of the explorers. America is a refuge for hope, a place where ideas and dreams and people are protected, like a candle from the wind, to keep hope alive until the darkness lifts and the sun shines on a people free and secure.

Today, you take your rightful seat in this bastion of democracy, here in the house of freedom. But there are others less fortunate, standing in the shoes of repression that you once wore. And our work remains undone until every chair is filled.

Here in the White House, here in America, empty chairs remain for people like Guillermo Endara, the democratically elected President of Panama, his head bloodied but unbowed by Noriega's lead-pipe politics. For Violeta Chamorro, the widowed editor of Nicaragua's opposition newspaper. For Nelson Mandella, who we hope will soon be freed. And for _____ -- presenting one of the most striking images since you climbed the gates in Gdansk -- the lone man who stood before a column of tanks in Tiananmen Square.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith, and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that's sweeping the world East and West, the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy.

Your example, and the example of the Polish people, has inspired hope and change in Hungary, East Germany, and all of Europe. Even while Solidarity was banned, your example, and the example of the Polish people, was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines, and then in Pakistan, and South Korea, and yes, even in Tianamen Square.

The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you.

Thank you, Poland -- for showing us that the dream is alive even behind the Iron Curtain. Thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa.

And now, it is with great pride and humility that I bestow upon Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland, our nation's highest civilian honor -- a medal previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King, George Meany, Anwer Sadat and Mother Teresa. The Presidential Medal of Freedom.

#

McNally/Simon
November 6, 1989
Draft Two (B:LECH)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECH WELESA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

Just before Christmas, 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the second time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression.

In snow-filled crossroads and town-squares across the nation, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa made a cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children, and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing more than half the Polish people, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But as man has learned from Budapest to Beijing, you can't lock up a dream. That night, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of the liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, ~~not far from where we stand,~~ a candle glowed all night in the White House, like others all across America, in solidarity with the Polish people.

(entrance
hall)

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and ~~universities~~ across America reached out to launch the cream of a nation and honor the finest in the world, ~~one by one,~~ again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa. Solidarity.

Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, ~~where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families,~~ stage after stage held a single, unfilled place -- an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner -- awaiting the release of Lech Walesa, and the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Illinois, Pennsylvania and California. At Notre Dame, the crowd stood for three minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar ~~for~~ *during* the baptism of tiny Maria-Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he had never seen.

For eight years, these empty chairs, and the American people, have waited for you to come. They have waited because we believe in freedom, because we believe in Poland, and because we believe in you.

Today, the waiting is over. Today, Lech Walesa, man of freedom, is at the White House, the house of freedom.

[[TURN TO WALESA]] Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you today: "Take your place in the house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair." [[GESTURE TO CHAIR WITH SOLIDARITY BANNER]]

You represent a great people and a great nation. Even more, you represent an idea -- an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

The dictators and the generals called you a "nobody." But Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by Presidents or Princes, but by an electrician from Gdansk ~~and a housewife from Manila.~~ The iron curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era and a failed ideology. And century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

~~That doesn't mean we embrace today's popular refrain that says, "History is over."~~ I don't believe history is over. For the story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand.

Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself, and changed a nation's history. History may make men. But Lech Walesa has made history.

And I believe history is made every day, by small, daily acts of courage based on principle, and not personal gain. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine and shipyard, everywhere -- even in the prosecutors' offices, courts, the police and security service."

You gave voice to the hopes of the people of Poland. Voice to the hopes of people everywhere.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, who like Lech Walesa seized lightning from the skies and brought it to earth, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own."

Country by country, people by people, year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages. In German. Chinese. Russian. Afghan. And yet amid the babble -- like the miracle of tongues -- from these varied lips comes a word all understand. FREEDOM. As if with one voice the people of the world have cried out. FREEDOM. (("We know what works..."))

10 days from now, mothers and fathers will rise at first light to set log fires crackling and turkeys in the oven, and so begin a day of thanksgiving and remembrance. By candlelight and firelight, from the village greens of New England, to the houseboats of the Gulf of Mexico, the farmhouses of Indiana, the snowy cabins of the Dakotas, and the make-shift living rooms in re-born San Francisco, Americans will gather to bow their heads in prayer.

Thanksgiving is the oldest, the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. It comes without fireworks or presents. Without colored lights or colored eggs, without costumes or masks or midnight horns.

It is a time of gratitude, a time to give thanks, a time to remember what we stand for, and why our forbearers sacrificed so

much to come here and to build this land, this place called "America."

America. The very word excited visions in Europe from the earliest days of the explorers. America is a refuge for hope, a place where ideas and dreams and people are protected, like a candle from the wind, to keep hope alive until the darkness lifts and the sun shines on a people free and secure.

Today, you take your rightful seat in this bastion of democracy, here in the house of freedom. But there are others less fortunate, standing in the shoes of repression that you once wore. And our work remains undone until every chair is filled.

Here in the White House, here in America, empty chairs remain for people like Guillermo Endara, the democratically elected President of Panama, his head bloodied but unbowed by Noriega's lead-pipe politics. For Violeta Chamorro, the widowed editor of Nicaragua's opposition newspaper. For Nelson Mandella, who we hope will soon be freed. And for _____ -- presenting one of the most striking images since you climbed the gates in Gdansk -- the lone man who stood before a column of tanks in Tiananmen Square.

When I was a young man, one of the giants of the century, President Franklin Roosevelt, declared that his generation had a

McNally/Simon
November 6, 1989
Draft One (B:LECH)

*evolve Thanksgiving,
harvest, pilgrims quest...*

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECH WELESA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

*Get Lech
speech*

10 days from now, 100 million American families will pack their cars with warm coats and warm food and and embark on individual journeys of thanksgiving and remembrance. From the village greens of New England, and across the South and the great farmlands of the Middle West, to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast, Americans will gather to bow their heads in prayer.

Thanksgiving is the oldest, the most American of holidays, dating back to our very origins as a people. There are no fireworks. No presents or lights, no masks or midnight toasts.

Thank you, Poland -- for showing us that the American dream lives even behind the Iron Curtain. Thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland. And thank you, Lech Walesa.

The iron curtain. What was once seen as an inalterable fact of life, is becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era and a failed idea.

You showed how one individual could inspire in others a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself, and changed a nation's history. You brought not only a new face into politics, but also a new way of thinking about about politics and the virtues it demands.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, who like you seized lightning from the skies and brought it to earth...

The dictators and the generals called you "nobodies."

Lenin and Stalin have been disproved, not by Presidents or Princes, but by an electrician from Gdansk and a housewife from Manila. Which is to say -- by the people, the people of Poland and of the Philippines, the people of the world.

The "10 days that shook the world" did not happen in Moscow in 1917. They began when you climbed the gates of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. And they continued when a housewife in a yellow dress raised her head to God in the Philippines. And when a lone student stood before a tank in Tianamen Square.

Today, you take your rightful seat in this bastion of democracy, at the table of freedom.

But the table of freedom is not yet filled. And our work remains undone until every chair is filled. Here in the White

empty chairs

a chair is filled. —
it is filled only for a time. Ninoy Aquino from 1986.

Americans eat every night in freedom. And at the table of
freedom there is room for all. (BIBLE: ALL ARE WELCOME)

get
Bible
quote

You represent a great people and a great nation. Even more,
you represent an idea, a dream that would not die.

Nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. The idea is
freedom. And the time is now.

You gave voice to the hopes of the people of Poland. Voice
to the hopes of people everywhere.

Country by country, people by people, year by year, voices
are raised in a hundred languages. In German. Chinese.
Russian. Afghan. And yet amid the babble -- like the miracle of
tongues -- on these varied lips is a word all can understand.
FREEDOM. With one voice the people of the world have cried out.
FREEDOM. ("We know what works...")

find
Bible
version

The whole world is watching. And the whole world is with you.

When I was a young man, one of the giants of the century, President Franklin Roosevelt, declared that his generation had a "rendezvous with destiny." He was talking about war. Well, this generation has their own rendezvous. A rendezvous with freedom.

Although today you are standing in the White House, there are others less fortunate, standing in the shoes of repression that you once wore. _____, his head bloodied but unbowed by the lead-pipe politics of Panama's Noriega. And _____, presenting one of the most striking images since you climbed the gates in Gdansk -- the lone man who stood before a column of tanks in Tiananmen Square.

The day of the dictator is over. After a bloody and war-torn century, the "new birth of freedom" that Abraham Lincoln, our great emancipator, predicted we shall see lies just beyond the horizon.

There is a popular refrain these days... I don't believe history is over. I believe history is made every day, by men and women who stand up for what they believe in, who stand up for

pop.
turning
pt.

principle, not for personal gain. More and more, that is what is happening all over the world.

A century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago. And our children will look back on the toils of this century -- the bloodiest and cruelest in history -- and say: You done well.

#