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OA/ID Number: 13709
Folder ID Number: 13709-010

Folder Title:
Prime Minister Mazowiecki [Poland] 3/21/90 [**OA** 6854] [2]

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FAX NO. HERE, IS (202)472-5500 OR 472-5548 central News

Euro division (202) 475-6208

03. 13. 90 04:53PM *VOA EUROPEAN DIV. P01

8-22-89
BACKGROUND REPORT

NEWSMAKER: TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI

TED LIPIEN-WASHINGTON

() - VOICED AT:

INTRO: TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI, DESIGNATED TO BE (WATCH FOR UPDATES IF APPROVED BY "THE SEJM"- THE LOWER HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT) POLAND'S FIRST NONCOMMUNIST PRIME MINISTER SINCE 1947 IS AN OPPOSITION JOURNALIST AND A LONG TERM ADVISOR TO THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. AS VOA'S TED LIPIEN REPORTS, PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE (WATCH FOR UPDATE) ALSO HAS VERY CLOSE TIES TO POLAND'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

VOICE: SIXTY-TWO YEAR OLD PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE (WATCH FOR UPDATE) HAS HAD A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH BOTH POLAND'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. HE IS ALSO KNOWN AS A POLITICAL MODERATE WILLING TO ACCEPT REASONABLE COMPROMISES IN DEALING WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

IN THE LATE 1950'S, TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI FOUNDED THE INDEPENDENT CATHOLIC MONTHLY "WIEZ," WHICH PROMOTED DEMOCRATIC IDEAS WITHIN RESTRAINTS IMPOSED BY STATE CENSORSHIP. HE WAS ALSO ONE OF THE CO-FOUNDERS OF THE WARSAW CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS CLUB, WHOSE MEMBERS HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN THE PRO- DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN POLAND.

IN THE 1960'S MR. MAZOWIECKI WAS ONE OF THE FEW INDEPENDENT CATHOLIC MEMBERS OF POLAND'S PARLIAMENT (SEJM), WHICH AT THAT

TIME WAS LARGELY POWERLESS AND TOTALLY DOMINATED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE GROUP OF INDEPENDENT CATHOLIC DEPUTIES WAS OFTEN CRITICAL OF THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES, BUT BELIEVED IN WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM FOR A SLOW CHANGE. HOWEVER, EVEN THIS VERY MODERATE OPPOSITION FORCE IN THE PARLIAMENT WAS PERCEIVED AS A THREAT BY THE GOVERNMENT AND FORCED TO GIVE UP THEIR SEATS.

MR. MAZOWIECKI WAS ONE OF SEVERAL CATHOLIC INTELLECTUALS WHO IN AUGUST 1980 WENT TO GDANSK TO ADVISE THE STRIKING WORKERS IN THEIR NEGOTATIONS WITH THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES AND BECAME THEIR CHIEF ADVISOR . THE NEGOTIATIONS ENDED WITH THE SIGNING OF THE GDANSK AGREEMENTS, WHICH GAVE BIRTH TO THE FIRST INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN THE COMMUNIST BLOCK.

DURING 1981, MR. MAZOWIECKI WAS THE CHIEF EDITOR OF "TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC," A WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE PUBLISHED BY THE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION. THE MAGAZINE WAS INDEPENDENT FROM THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES, BUT AS WITH ALL LEGAL PUBLICATIONS IN POLAND WAS STILL SUBJECT TO STATE CENSORSHIP. HOWEVER, UNDER MR. MAZOWIECKI'S LEADERSHIP, "TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC" BECAME ONE OF THE MOST FREE NEWSPAPERS IN POLAND, AS THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES AND SOLIDARITY INTENSIFIED THROUGHT 1981.

WHEN GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI IMPOSED MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND ON DECEMBER 13, 1981, MR. MAZOWIECKI WAS ONE OF SEVERAL THOUSAND OPPOSITION LEADERS PUT IN INTERNMENT CAMPS. HE WAS RELEASED MORE THAN A YEAR AFTER HIS ARREST, BUT IN THE MEANTIME SOLIDARITY AND "TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC" HAD BEEN BANNED.

AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON, MR. MAZOWIECKI BECAME A CLOSE ADVISOR TO SOLIDARITY'S LEADER LECH WALESA, AND AGAIN ADVISED THE

WORKERS DURING STRIKES AT THE LENIN SHIPYARD IN GDANSK LAST YEAR. AT THE SAME TIME, HE WAS TRYING TO CONVINCE THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES TO RESUME A DIALOGUE WITH SOLIDARITY.

FACED WITH A DEEPENING ECONOMIC CRISIS AND A PROSPECT OF MORE STRIKES AND UNREST, THE GOVERNMENT FINALLY AGREED TO OPEN FORMAL TALKS WITH SOLIDARITY. MR. MAZOWIECKI WAS ONE OF THE INITIATORS OF THE SO-CALLED "ROUNDTABLE TALKS." HE HEADED THE OPPOSITION NEGOTIATING TEAM WHICH LAST APRIL WON RELEGALIZATION OF SOLIDARITY.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, HELD LAST JUNE, BROUGHT THE COMMUNIST PARTY A CRUSHING DEFEAT. UNDER LESS THAN DEMOCRATIC ELECTION RULES, THE COMMUNISTS HAD, HOWEVER, A GUARANTEED MAJORITY IN THE PARLIAMENT WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE TWO SMALLER PRO-GOVERNMENT PARTIES: THE PEASANT PARTY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. WHEN THESE PARTIES WITHDREW THEIR SUPPORT, POLAND'S NEWLY ELECTED PRESIDENT GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI ASKED MR. MAZOWIECKI LAST WEEK TO FORM A FIRST NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN POLAND SINCE 1947.

MR. MAZOWIECKI IS NOT A MAN WHO HOLDS GRUDGES AND IS WILLING TO WORK WITH COMMUNIST OFFICIALS WHO AT ONE TIME PUT HIM IN PRISON. THIS INCLUDES BOTH GENERAL WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI AS WELL AS GENERAL CZESLAW KISZCZAK, WHO TRIED BUT COULD NOT FORM A COMMUNIST-LED GOVERNMENT. IT IS EXPECTED (CHECK FOR UPDATES) THAT MR. MAZOWIECKI WILL LET THE COMMUNISTS CONTROL AT LEAST TWO KEY CABINET POSTS IN CHARGE OF THE MILITARY AND THE POLICE.

AS A POLITICAL MODERATE, MR. MAZOWIECKI IS ALSO LIKELY TO REASSURE MOSCOW THAT POLAND WILL NOT TRY TO LEAVE THE WARSAW PACT. BUT HIS BIGGEST TASK BY FAR WILL BE TO REFORM THE POLISH

ECONOMY, WHICH HAS COLLAPSED AFTER MORE THAT FORTY YEARS OF COMMUNIST RULE.

MR. MAZOWIECKI DOES NOT HAVE MUCH EXPERIENCE IN RUNNING THE ECONOMY, BUT HE HAS THE SUPPORT OF LECH WALESA AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE MUCH CLOSER TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH HIERARCHY THAN SOME OF THE OTHER OF MR. WALESA'S ADVISORS, SUCH AS BRONISLAW GEREMEK, JACEK KURON AND ADAM MICHNIK. SOME OF THEM ARE FORMER MARXISTS AND ALTHOUGH THEY BROKE WITH THE COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES LONG TIME AGO, ARE KNOW TO FAVOR SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC SOLUTIONS TO POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER POLAND'S NEWLY-DESIGNATED (CHECK FOR UPDATES) PRIME MINISTER WILL BE ALBE TO CONVINCE THE POLISH WORKERS OF THE NEED FOR FURTHER ECONOMIC SACRIFICES. IT IS ALSO UNCERTAIN WHETHER HE HAS SUFFICIENT POLITICAL SUPPORT TO OVERCOME POSSIBLE RESISTANCE FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY BUREAUCRACY OR EVEN TO PREVENT STRIKES BY WORKERS DISSATISFIED WITH THEIR CONSTANTLY FALLING STANDARD OF LIVING. POLITICAL OBSERVERS AGREE THAT MR. MAZOWIECKI'S FUTURE WILL DEPEND LARGELY ON HOW SUCCESSFUL HE IS IN SOLVING POLAND ENORMOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. (SIGNED)

(SIGNED)

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130TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 26, 1980, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1058 words

HEADLINE: STRIKING POLES WIN A NEW CONSESSION;TALKS TO CONTINUE

BYLINE: Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WARSAW, Aug. 25

BODY:

Faced with new defiance by strike leaders, the Polish Government made a further concession tonight, and workers' representatives agreed to resume negotiations on ending the stoppages that have paralyzed Poland's industrial north.

One day after the governing Communist Party purged much of its leadership in a move toward ending the strikes, the Government yielded to the strikers' demands that telephone links between the Gdansk-Gdynia industrial region and the rest of the country be restored. The Government had curtailed them shortly after the strikes began in Gdansk on Aug. 14.

The concession followed a unanimous vote in Gdansk by 800 delegates representing 200,000 strikers to break off contact with Government negotiators since the telephones were still out. Several hours later, connections were restored, and the delegates reversed their stand and agreed to resume talks tomorrow.

First Contacts Were on Friday

A new team of negotiators, reportedly headed by the new Prime Minister, Jozef Pinkowski, who replaced Edward Babiuch yesterday, was said to be in or on the way to Gdansk for the talks.

The first contacts occurred Friday night, and these in themselves had amounted to a concession by the Government, since it had previously refused to deal with the strike coordinating committee. Preliminary talks continued on Saturday but broke down over the communications issue.

The strikers had long insisted that telephone service on the Baltic coast be restored as a precondition to negotiating. Without telephone service, the strike committee in Gdansk had difficulty in coordinating its actions with two other strike committees, one in Szczecin, to the west, and the other in Elblag, to the east.

Strikers Refuse Bus Service

The Government had asked that the worker delegates in turn permit strikebound bus services in Gdansk to start up again as a sign of good faith. But the strikers had refused, arguing that this would break their solidarity.

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The decision to refuse to negotiate without renewed telephone service came by voice vote at 7 P.M., with delegates roaring their approval in the dingy red-brick conference hall in the Lenin shipyard, where the strike movement had begun. It spread to other industrial workers in the Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot region and to municipal bus drivers. Shipyard workers and bus drivers also struck in Szczecin, and workers at a turbine manufacturing plant walked out in Elblag.

Today for the first time, the strike coordinating committee in Gdansk was being advised by a group of seven intellectuals, headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the editor of a Roman Catholic magazine called Wiez. The group, which consists of lawyers, writers and other professionals who sympathize with the strikers but are not dissidents, came forward in response to a request by the committee several days ago for help from outside experts.

The strikers have also been supported by dissident intellectuals belonging to the Committee for Social Self-Defense, an organization posing formal opposition to the Communist regime. In the initial stages of the strike movement, the dissidents were in daily contact with the strikers and provided foreign reporters with information about the strikes.

Last week, the police rounded up more than 20 members of the group here and continue to held about 16 of them under a law that permits detention for up to 48 hours without a formal charge. The police release and rearrest members of the group every two days. There are members still at large, but they apparently have not gone to Gdansk.

Strikers Avoid Dissident Links

The strike committee would undoubtedly not allow them to put in an open appearance, since it has gone to some lengths to tell the authorities that it is acting on its own and wants to minimize connections with a group that the Government considers an enemy.

The strikers today appeared to be hardening their insistence on the right to ''free'' trade unions, which is emerging as the most important of 21 demands. Besides economic goals, the list also included such political demands as the end of censorship, the freeing of political prisoners and the guarantee of free access to the press and radio and television for all religious groups.

In a speech yesterday shortly after the sweeping changes in the party leadership were announced, Edward Gierek, the party's First Secretary, promised new and honest elections for trade unions with secret ballots and an unlimited number of candidates.

He said that if the representatives of the strikers ran for office and were truly popular they would win positions in the existing unions. They could then presumably change them from within.

Independence for Unions

The concession, although a repudiation of the existing unions, appeared less than the type of changes the strikers had in mind. These changes they have not listed, but they have said they would like the unions to be independent of the Government, the party and management.

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The strikers responded guardedly to the proposal today. One committee member said they did not want ''a free trade union to be led by a bunch of party members.'' He said they had ''already worked out their structure of a free trade union.''

Another leader, Florian Wisniewski, said the Government concessions were ''a stretched-out hand'' and constituted ''a good omen for negotiations wthat have a chance for success.''

In the party shake-up yesterday, the largest in a decade and one of the most dramatic in 36 years of rule by the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, six members of the 14-member Politburo were dropped, three new Deputy Prime Ministers were appointed and there were 11 ministerial changes in the Cabinet.

The changes were so sweeping that they indicated that Mr. Gierek had fought hard to keep his position and that the blame for the economic misery had to be parceled out among important top-level officials.

One Central Committee member who attended the six-hour session said Mr. Gierek's position was not ''directly threatened.'' ''As a leader, he is someone known in a lot of countries of the world,'' the party member said. ''You don't just drop someone like that overnight.''

But many here seemed to feel that Mr. Gierek's position was in jeopardy.

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September 25, 1980, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A21

LENGTH: 1800 words

HEADLINE: New Polish Union Registers As Opposition Charts Course;
Poland's Victorious Opposition Faces Dilemma on Its Next Step;
Poland's Opposition Split on Whether to Press New Demands;
Strike Victors Split On Future Moves

BYLINE: By Bradley Graham, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: WARSAW

BODY:

With one dream come true, Poland's opposition forces face the dilemma of deciding when enough is enough.

As workers continue to strike for expanded demands in scattered locations across Poland, debate over how to restore discipline to the worker movement rages among the Catholic and political opposition that has supported labor's objectives so far.

A fundamental split has developed between those wanting to stop the demands and consolidate the freedoms already won, and those wishing to go futher in challenging the Polish communist authorities.

Meanwhile, the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party, its authority sorely damaged by the recent strikes and the troubled state of the economy, is struggling to hold the line against new worker demands and the spread of political activism to other groups.

In this volatile mix, some here see the messy birth of a more democratic, although still fundamentally socialist, Poland. Other see a dangerously explosive, potentially self-destructive movement snowballing -- or at best evolving into a temporary fling at freedom that eventually will be co-opted by the authorities.

There is general agreement that the situation is difficult to read still because the country's traditional power relationships were upended by the strikes and the government's promise to allow independent trade unions, and these relationships remain very much in flux.

The workers' push has been unique in Soviet-led Eastern Europe not only for its key breakthrough -- the founding of independent trade unions -- but also for its function as melting pot of Polish opposition forces. Catholic priests, dissedent groups and the intelligentsia all have contributed to the movement in a joint effort never before so fully realized in the Soviet Bloc. This alliance contributed to a well-organized mass movement that laid down both economic and political demands.

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With the original set of 21 demands now settled in the signing of the Gdansk agreement three weeks ago, however, the question of how to shape the new union movement is threatening to disrupt the coalition.

Citing dangers of prolonged protests, strong moderate elements in the Catholic Church and Polish intellectual groups have counseled restraint. This faction would like to stop the proliferation of demands in factories around Poland, and is advising union organizers to concentrate on laying the legal and structural basis for their fledgling free unions.

In contrast, several opposition groups believe it is impossible to restrain workers from making more demands. This faction is also pressing for the consolidation of the independent unions, but additionally, it is urging that fresh demands not be discouraged but rather rechanneled -- for instance into organizations of peasants, students and journalists -- to weaken further the control of the party over Polish life.

In some cases, workers appear to be taking no advice from anyone. Transport workers, for instance, in the southern industrial city of Katowice this week staged a wildcat strike, defying appeals by the new independent trade union committee there to go back to work.

This instance and reports of a renewal of strikes in other places reflect both the deep anger Polish workers feel toward the system as well as the lack of experience among Poles in dealing with democratic reforms. wHaving won the right to strike, workers seem to be insisting on trying it out repeatedly.

Elsewhere, though, the new union structure appears to be taking hold with more stabilizing results. In Gdansk, where shipyard workers were having second thoughts about how much money they had settled with the government for and were still dissatisfied with several of their bosses, the independent union committee persuaded workers not to walk off the job a second time.

In a town of Kalisz, where a second wave of strikes broke out, authorities were said to be eager to see a free union set up in order to have an established group at least to negotiate with.

One of Poland's leading establishment thinkers, sociologist Jerzy Wiatr, regards the new trade unions as leading to a more governable and healthier system.

"The old control is finished," he said recently. "No one thinks of going back. The new unions represent a very healthy process. With them, authorities now have someone to talk about workers' complaints. You can't talk to a crowd, but you can talk to a legitimate union."

Others are less convinced, either of the movement's positiveness or its permanence. One of the things that makes the situation so unsettling is the cleavage that exists not so much between as within the Polish Communist Party and the opposition.

"The recent package of changes created a new situation for the opposition," said Wiatr, who is director of the Institute of Social Sciences in Warsaw. s

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"The lines between the moderates and extremists in the opposition had been blurred before. They all agreed that the situation as it used to exist was intolerable, and that kept them united.

"But now that some reforms have been allowed, the moderates appear satisfied. It is no longer a case of nothing to lose and everything to gain. They are now afraid of wrecking the ship by continuing to protest. The extremists don't agree and want to keep up the pressure.

"The question for them is whether what has been achieved is all that could have been," Wiatr continued. "The interesting point is that in becoming legitimized, the opposition had been split."

In the party, meanwhile, there is also a split -- between those who accept the new order and those who regard it as a tactical retreat. There is general agreement on one thing, however: that somehow the party must regain public confidence and reestablish its authority. How to do this has sparked intense debate in party caucuses and unleashed a flood of criticism about the way things have been.

A central theme in the process of party renewal is an attack on corruption and excessive privilege among the party's 3 million members. So far, the attack has been largely rhetorical, with only one high party official coming under investigation.

It remains to be seen whether party reform will go beyond cleansing corruption and lead to a more democratic organization. It also remains to be seen to what extent opposition groups will choose to operate within the party structure. Observers say this depends on both sides.

Wiatr said authorities would be wise not to persecute opposition leaders, but the oppositon will have to recognize the need for compromise, too, or the state would be forced to react.

The new leadership under Kania has launched a media attack against dissident groups, charging them with "antisocialist" aims in an effort to split the dissidents from the worker movement. At the same time, 14 dissidents arrested during the strikes were freed shortly after the Gdansk settlement.

For years, the official attitude toward Poland's dissident organizations has been ambiguous -- essentially antagonistic but, relative to other East European states, tolerant. Prominent dissidents have been periodically arrested and harassed by police, but the generally easy attitude adopted by the government has encouraged dissident organizations to flourish in recent years.

The current split within the polish opposition is represented by two men. One is Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor of the Catholic monthly Wiez and a leader of the Catholic Intellectuals' Club in Warsaw. He belongs to the moderate faction.

The other is Jacek Kuron, spokesman for the Committee for Social Self-Defense, known as KOR. He is associated with the so-called extremists.

Mazowiecki is tall, slender, reserved and academic. Kuron is barrel-chested, forceful, intuitive and charismatic.

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Both men regard the new trade unions as the start of a broad social movement but they clash on tactical considerations.

"The problem now is how to keep the trade unions strong," explained Christopher Sliwinski, a sentor member of the Catholic Intellectuals' Club and a person close to both men. "Kuron believes it is more important to keep the pressure on, to keep menacing, to wave the possibility of strike before the authorities. For Mazowiecki, the important thing is to keep authorities in a position where they will keep their promises and that means lessening tensions while insisting that everything in the Gdansk accord is followed to the letter."

When the strikes began along the Baltic Coast in August, Kuron was closely associated with strike leader Lech Walesa in the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. They had spent months working together to politicize workers in the area.

Now that the idea of independent trade unions has achieved legitimacy, Walesa appears to want to distance himself officially from KOR. He has allied himself formally with the Catholic Intellectuals Club, which, unlike KOR, is an officially recognized group. Mazowiecki is a member of the so-called group of experts for Walesa's free union while Kuron is not, although Kuron frequently meets informally with Walesa and other members of the Gdansk union presidium.

The Catholic church, too -- the main pillar of opposition in Poland -- has been providing material support. The bishop of Gdansk gave Walesa use of a white Mercedes -- and advice. While the Catholic hierarcy took a balanced position during the strikes, expressing sympathy with strikers' demands but warning against pressing them too far, it since has embraced the new trade union movement openly.

Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, head of the Polish Church, said a private mass for Walesa in Warsaw a week after the Gdansk agreement was signed and the two men reportedly discussed the new union organization over breakfast.

"It is the preoccupation of the church to see this society take on more responsibility for what is being done," a senior adviser to the cardinal said. "In that sense, we see the trade unions as a very positive development."

Wyszynski is said to have advised Walesa to steer away from KOR and depend on the moderate Catholic intellectuals for advice. "KOR did a great job in preparing for and during the strike," the cardinal's adviser said, "but KOR as an ally for the new unions in the future is an uncomfortable one."

In discussing his relations with the opposition groups, Walesa is noncommittal and prefers to speak in personal rather than official terms. "I have many friends," he said when asked of his relationship with Kuron now. "I can say they will never let me down and I will never let them down." n

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125TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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October 24, 1980, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 3, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 921 words

HEADLINE: TEST FOR POLES: CAN UNIONS BE FREE AND COMMUNIST?;
News Analysis

BYLINE: By JOHN DARNTON, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WARSAW, Oct. 23

BODY:

The independent unions' thus far inconclusive struggle for legal registration goes to the heart of the drama being played out in Poland today: the question of whether independent trade unions can peacefully coexist with the Communist Party.

The stalemate has come about because of the unions' refusal to recognize the ''leading role'' of the party in its by-laws, which were submitted to the court a month ago.

Both sides, the Government and the union organization called Solidarity, suggest they will not budge from their positions, but for reasons different from those they give in public.

The Government, pointing out that the unions agreed to the primacy clause in the Aug. 31 agreement in Gdansk that gave birth to the unions, says there is no reason why such a crucial pledge should not be in the unions' charter.

The unions say that their statutes are intended primarily for matters pertaining to their own structure and internal organization, not declarations of political allegiance. They also note, with a reasoning that is not altogether consistent, that their statutes already promise to respect the Polish Constitution, which itself gives the party an exalted role in national affairs.

Problem With the Neighbors

The real reason for the Government's insistence on the primacy clause is clear. At a time when neighboring Soviet-bloc countries are concerned over the course of developments here and becoming more stridently critical of ''anti-Socialist forces'' subverting Communism from within, the state needs every bit of proof it can get to mollify its allies and convince them that the party is in control of these most unusual events.

An article in today's Trybuna Ludu, the main party organ, said that if Solidarity were to include the pledge, that would help the new unions in the factories and ''would simultaneously become for us a weighty argument in the discussions on the character of the developments in Poland.'' In other words, it would go over well in Moscow, East Berlin and Prague.

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From the union's side, the reluctance stems from the realization that the pledge would not find favor with some of the rank and file. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the chief adviser to Solidarity and the person in charge of negotiations with the court, said in an interview yesterday that the pledge represented ''pressure'' from the authorities and that if it were agreed to, other concessions would be demanded.

Flaunting of Pledge Resented

''Nobody's canceling the pledge out but why must it be raised at every opportunity?'' he added pointedly. ''There are some people who think we are going too far already in making concessions.''

When the agreement was signed in Gdansk almost two months ago, there was by no means universal jubilation in the Lenin Shipyards. Some of the strikers walked out in anger, feeling that the strike leaders had given away too much in the perfunctory bow to party authority. Since then, the militancy of some workers has increased, not decreased, partially as a result of the successful one-hour ''warning strike'' on Oct. 3 and the conviction that the authorities are still trying to block the unions by denying them greater access to the press and legal status.

During their tour of the industrial south this week, the union leaders got a chance to sample the workers' mood. There was more than a trace of antiparty feeling in some of the questions they were asked. Several workers asked whether party members should be allowed to play any role at all in the movement.

'Party Must Rule the Country'

Lech Walesa, who has been careful to keep in front of the pack on most issues, said they should not automatically be excluded. But he made the ''supremacy clause'' issue into something greater than it is by suggesting that it would somehow place the party in control of the unions. ''The party must rule the country but in the trade unions there is no room for it,'' he declared.

That the insurgent labor movement is itself beset by factionalism also became clear this week when some leaders, especially at the coal mines, argued for a general strike to force registration. A handful of moderates, including Mr. Walesa, opposed it and the topic was put onto the agenda for next week. The leaders are conscious of the paramount importance of unity, and so they are unlikely to give ground on any point of principle that might accentuate a schism in the ranks.

Suspicions and Fears

The registration squabble has raised suspicions and fears on all sides. It has also tended to reinforce the positions of hard-liners in the party, who believe the unions are a genuine threat to Communist rule, and of militants in the unions, who regard the registration law as a device for the party to gain control over the unions.

A possible compromise is in the offing, under which the court would draw up a separate ''protocol'' containing the party supremacy pledge. The unions would sign it but keep their statutes intact. The compromise might be proposed at a court session tomorrow.

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It is a way around the problem, to get the unions registered and save face on both sides, but it will please no one and in no way expel the general perception that the unions and Government are now locked on a collision course.

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: photo of Polish union members

TYPE: analysis

SUBJECT: POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; LABOR; LABOR UNIONS

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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Summary of World Broadcasts

November 20, 1980, Thursday

SECTION: Part 2 Eastern Europe; A. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS; 1. GENERAL AND WESTERN AFFAIRS

PAGE: EE/6580/A1/5

LENGTH: 80 words

HEADLINE: Polish Affairs;
The Pope's meeting with Solidarnosc adviser;
(West German report)

SOURCE: West Germany report

West German Press Agency 1503 gmt 17 Nov 80

BODY:

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, head of the Solidarnosc advisers' group, was one of the Poles who met the Pope in Mainz on 16th November. John Paul II reached out through the crowd to shake hands with him and invited him to Rome, saying: ''We have a lot to talk about''. Mazowiecki, who was given permission to leave Poland for the first time since 1976, intends going to Rome with the Pope's party when he ends his visit to the FRG. (DPA 1503 gmt 17 Nov 80)

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Copyright (c) 1981 The British Broadcasting Corporation;
Summary of World Broadcasts/The Monitoring Report

January 9, 1981, Friday

SECTION: Part 2 Eastern Europe

PAGE: EE/6618/i

LENGTH: 620 words

HEADLINE: Poland

BODY:

On 7th January Warsaw and Koszalin radios reported on the first day of a two-day meeting in Gdansk of the Solidarnosc National Co-ordinating Commission. The reports said that the meeting had discussed the progress of economic reform, and had appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki, currently editor-in-Chief of the Catholic monthly 'Wiez' as the editor-in-chief of the trade union weekly 'Jednosc'. It had also endorsed a motion to set up a publishing council.* In a television address on 7th January, a recording of which was later broadcast in the home service, Deputy Premier Jagielski discussed the various suggestions concerning the introduction of a shorter working week and the effects this would have on the economy and the people's standard of living. Various possibilities faced the Government, of which he mentioned two: either to have two work-free Saturdays a month with no increase in the length of the working day, or to make all Saturdays free provided the working day is extended by 30 minutes. The Government was in favour of gradually making all Saturdays free, with an appropriate adjustment of the length of the working week, Jagielski said. ''Taking into account all the significant arguments and the review of possibilities, and primarily the economic aspects which are fundamental to every citizen, the Government hopes that its decision will meet with understanding on the part of the workforces and the trade unions and that it will be properly implemented by all enterprises.''* Deputy Premier Henryk Kisiel, head of the Government Planning Commission, gave a press conference on 7th January, reported by Warsaw radio and PAP's English and Russian services. He said that the national income was expected to fall by 3% in 1981. Investments would account for only 14% of national income, compared with 19% last year, while consumer spending would rise from 79% to 83%. Individual incomes would rise on average by 17%. However, while people's purchasing power would rise by 260,000 million zloty, the supply of consumer goods and services would be up by only 45,000 million zloty, thus creating a considerable inflationary gap. Farming had been given the green light as regards investment, and, with favourable weather, was likely to reach the 1978 level - except in animal husbandry. Poland would thus be making use of its West European credit channels. However, although supplies of many foodstuffs would rise, those of meat products would fall by 23%, and of animal fats by 16%. Total supplies of foodstuffs would therefore be down by 2.5% on 1980. Industrial output and exports were expected, for the most part, to remain at 1980 levels. Exports to capitalist countries were to rise by 12%, and imports to fall by 3%.* Warsaw radio reported that in an article in 'Zycie Warszawy' of 8th January Dionizy Brodzinski had taken issue with the views expressed by Stefan Bratkowski in the same paper on 1st December (EE/6594/B/9). Bratkowski had argued that the religious views of Party members were their own affair and that in overwhelmingly Catholic Poland two- thirds of Party members believed in God. However, Brodzinski suggested, to take that line would be to

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abandon one of the fundamental ideological principles of a Marxist party - the need to educate members in the spirit of the Marxist world view, of which ''lay ethics'' were an inherent part. Nevertheless, a consistent application of ''Leninist principles in the Party's attitude to believers'' - constructively adapted to the present stage of the building of socialism in Poland - could go hand in hand with the ''co-operation of all those who are genuinely interested in social progress and the moral renewal of the nation''.*

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March 23, 1981, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A1

LENGTH: 1880 words

HEADLINE: Walesa Learns Limits of His Power;
Walesa, Solidarity Try to Mix Muscle With New Maturity

SERIES: CRISIS IN COMMUNISM: THE NEW POLAND; Second of a series

BYLINE: By Michael Dobbs, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland

BODY:

Until last August, Lech Walesa was an unknown -- and unemployed -- electrician. Now, as leader of the communist world's first independent trade union organization, he is an international figure instantly recognized wherever he goes.

In the space of seven months, Walesa's Solidarity union has grown from a handful of dissidents into a massive labor federation with 10 million members and many more sympathizers. It is a story with few parallels in modern history.

With achievements like that, it can come as a suprise to learn that Walesa's ability to shape events in Poland is strictly limited. He can cajole, persuade, bully and bargain with the government and his frequently unruly followers. But he cannot dictate his wishes.

Solidarity's power, too, is negative rather than positive -- and here lies one of the fundamental reasons for continuing instability in Poland. With its enormous industrial muscle, the union can bring down the government any time it chooses. The danger is that, in the resulting anarchy, it could be swept away itself.

A visit to Solidarity's national headquarters in Gdansk provides an insight into the strengths and weaknesses of this unique institution. Here, in the rambling corridors of what used to be a seamen's hostel, a fascinating metamorphosis is taking place. A revolutionary movement is attempting to transform itself into a bureaucratic organization.

In some rooms, beds and wash stands (property of the Hotel Morski) are still to be seen alongside packing cases containing new office furniture, filing cabinets, typewriters, and photocopying machines. On one of the doors, a sign reads, in English: "International Department -- Foreign Trade Union Delegations Only."

Two secretaries guard the approach to Walesa's office, which is slightly larger than the other boxlike rooms. In fact the Solidarity leader is seldom there. Like a medieval king consolidating newly acquired territories, he has to travel constantly. He takes his court with him in a Mercedes bus.One day he is sorting out a squabble between his unruly lieutenants, the next he is

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negotiating a truce with a rival power. On yet another occasion, he might be found trying to defuse one of the many confrontations that have arisen between local Solidarity units and government authorities.

While Walesa is away, his office is occupied by an intense former university lecturer named Andrzej Celinski, 31. Here, one suspects, is the man who makes Solidarity's organization tick. His habitual jacket and tie distinguish him sartorially from most other Solidarity officials in their jeans and pullovers.

Celinski's formal position is secretary of Solidarity's National Coordinating Committee. This means he prepares resolutions for the weekly meetings of the committee, leads its debates and heads a permanent 22-member staff. He is a member of the Committee for Social-Defense, known as KOR, a dissident group formed in 1976 with the aim originally of protecting workers harassed by police.

Like other Solidarity leaders, Celinski takes heart from Poland's experience during the last six months, despite the fact that the crisis is clearly far from over.

"It may not look encouraging from the outside. But during this period we have succeeded in demonstrating that people are stronger than the system. Despite 35 years of forcible indoctrination, full state monopoly over the mass media, and limits on the church, society has survived intact and is waking up from its long sleep," he said.

He is also aware that Solidarity faces tremendous problems of organization and discipline. The union, he notes, is very young, in terms of its own age and the experience of its officials. The union's present leaders won great prestige during the strikes because of their refusal to give way to government pressure. But it is difficult to turn them into bureaucrats.

Another problem is that the establishment of Solidarity has released differing expectations. It is at once a great social movement concerned with national issues and a trade union concerned with the intricate deals of its members' welfare. Celinski fears that if Solidarity overlooks the latter function it could create opportunities for the communist-dominated unions to win back some of their old influence.

"We have to avoid a situation where Solidarity is busy looking after the interests of the nation, but not the interests of individual workers in individual factories," Celinski said.

One solution is for the union to recruit experienced professional staff with a knowledge of shop-floor problems and a talent for office work. Celinski points out that a number of 40- and 50-year-olds are infiltrating the Hotel Morski's youthful ranks. This bureaucracy must not, however, be allowed to take power away from Solidarity's elected leaders.

Privately, Walesa has been heard to complain that he feels manipulated by his advisers. Instead of being presented with a range of policy options from which to choose, he grumbles that he is presented with only one. After leading last summer's strike in his own way, he feels hemmed in and subject to pressure from all sides.

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A frequent criticism of Walesa, however, is that he is too malleable. Some Solidarity activists accuse him of following whatever piece of advice he received most recently. But they also recognize that he is indispensable to them as a charismatic figure and symbol of workers' power.

Although Solidarity began as a purely working-class movement, it could not have reached its present status without the support of other social groups such as the church and the intellectuals.

The advisers came from different backgrounds. The KOR members such as Celinski and Jacek Kuron were virtually full-time professional dissidents prior to last summer's upheavals. Their underground activity helped pave the way for the strikes by providing discontented workers with a ready-made organization.

As Poland's principal opposition group, KOR has come under constant attack from communist authorities. The government has urged Solidarity to purge the KOR members who, collectively, are under criminal investigation for alleged antistate activities. Walesa, however, has made clear that he will stand by his "friends."

Catholic intellectuals from another, less controversial, group of Solidarity advisers. They include Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a prominent Catholic journalist, who has been named editor of Solidarity's new weekly newspaper. The paper is to appear at the end of March with a projected circulation of half a million.

At first there were bitter disputes between the different sets of advisers about tactics, with KOR taking a tougher line. But now it is probably true to say that both groups act as a moderating influence on the movement in the sense that they favor organization and discipline rather than chaos and anarchy. The real militants are the rank and file.

The degree of organization Solidarity has achieved in the space of seven months is impressive despite what sometimes looks like muddle and confusion. Elections to factory Solidarity chapters -- the first free elections to take place in Poland in more than three decades -- are almost complete. They will be followed by regional and national elections through July and August.

Practically every Solidarity branch in the country produces an uncensored newspaper or information bulletin. Thanks to Poland's modernization drive in the 1970s, it has been possible to equip most Solidarity offices with telex. This has provided the basis for a swift, professional information network.

The union has also set up several social research centers that conduct public opinion polls and gather what would otherwise be unobtainable statistical data. Since Solidarity's strength lies in its mass support, it clearly is of vital importance to know what the public is thinking.

Solidarity has received sizable donations from labor organizations in the West, including the AFL-CIO, but the main source of its funds is Poland itself. Big profits are made from the production of an endless range of Solidarity badges and trinkets, as well as calendars (with pictures of striking workers to mark off the months), posters and diaries.

All this has added to Solidarity's visibility. Its slogans are more in evidence than those of the Communist Party. The union has almost succeeded in

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adopting the red and white Polish flag as its own symbol.

With the emphasis on Solidarity as a national institution, it is sometimes easy to forget that it was originally conceived as a deliberately loosely knit federation of regional unions. Each regional branch sends its own delegates to the weekly meetings of the National Coordinating Committee. Debates are frequently heated and even Walesa has power only to persuade, not to instruct.

Attempts are now being made to strengthen Solidarity's central leadership. An inner five-member presidium led by Walesa has been created to run the union between meetings of the coordinating committee. The presidium is intended as a kind of fire brigade that can rush to trouble spots at a moment's notice.

By distancing some of Solidarity's more prominent leaders from their regional power bases, Walesa is evidently hoping to encourage them to think in terms of national rather than local interests.

Frequently Solidarity's national leadership has found itself forced to condone local wildcat strikes against its better judgment. An example was the 18-day strike in the southern town of Bielsko-Biala last month over corruption allegations provincial officials. Walesa, unable to control the protest, had no option but to lead it.

In recent weeks, there has been a spate of similar cases in Lodz, Radom and elsewhere. They illustrate one of the basic contradictions in the Polish experiment. Solidarity leaders are convinced that, unless they stick together, the communist authorities will find ways of dividing them and ultimately reversing their gains.

Solidarity, then, is the name of the game. It is the source of the movement's strength but also its principal weakness, since trivial local issues rapidly assume national importance. In any contest with the government, Solidarity members feel a tremendous psychological need to demonstrate their unity.

The resulting trials of strength have helped create an unstable atmosphere of permanent crisis. They reflect the fact that both Solidarity and the Communist Party lack authority in crucial areas. Solidarity is weak because its leaders lack experience in controlling and channeling the emotions of their followers. The party is weak because of internal divisions and lack of popular support.

Many Polish political analysts believe that, if a peaceful solution is to be found to the crisis, both institutions will have to be strengthened. The party must be allowed to regain its authority -- but such a development is possible only on a basis of public trust.

GRAPHIC: Picture, The first one-hour protest strike called by Solidarity last October, to protest delays in implementing last summer's agreement, was a nationwide success. Today many workers are more militant than their leaders. Sygma

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April 14, 1981, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 5; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 688 words

HEADLINE: BREZHNEV PHONE CALL SAID TO HAVE PROTECTED HARD-LINERS IN POLAND

BYLINE: By JOHN DARNTON, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WARSAW, April 13

BODY:

The Soviet Union interceded at a Central Committee meeting of the Polish Communist Party two weeks ago to insure that hard-liners in the Politburo were not purged, reliable Polish sources said today.

These sources said that the hard-liners, Tadeusz Grabski and Stefan Olszowski, were retained after a letter was read from the Soviet Central Committee. The letter, sent when Soviet troops were on maneuvers in and around the country, reportedly said that ''Poland is at a critical moment'' and urged against any change in the Politburo or Central Committee for the sake of ''party unity.''

The letter reportedly was backed up by a phone call from Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, to Stanislaw Kania, head of the Polish Communist Party, during a crucial two-hour recess of the Central Committee meeting.

Mr. Brezhnev is presumed to have conferred with Mr. Olszowski when both attended a party congress in Czechoslovakia last week. This has prompted speculation among Western diplomats in Moscow, who believe that the Kremlin is losing confidence in Mr. Kania and may sponsor a move to put Mr. Olszowski in his place.

Such a move, however, is virtually ruled out here, since Mr. Olszowski represents a minority view among the leadership on how to deal with the crisis. He would clearly be unacceptable to the Central Committee and the vast majority of rank-and-file party members. The party base is moving rapidly in a liberal direction, and any attempt to impose a hard-liner as leader might set off a party rebellion.

There is a precedent for ignoring Moscow's wishes. In 1956, the Polish party faced down Nikita S. Khrushchev and the threat of military intervention to elevate Wladyslaw Gomulka, then viewed by the Soviet Union as heretical, to be first secretary. Poles feel even more defiant now.

The strains in the relationship between Moscow and Warsaw are not always apparent, but they are considerable at times. Two weeks ago, for example, Orbis, the Polish tourist agency, abruptly stopped all excursions to the Soviet Union without providing a reason. Officials have confirmed privately that the move was taken because a busload of Polish tourists was attacked there and some of them were badly injured.

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The Warsaw Pact maneuvers may have exacerbated the strains. Leaders of the independent trade union Solidarity maintain that during the exercises they sent spotters around the country to ascertain the scope of the maneuvers. The spotters reportedly met with Polish troops, including commanders.

Some union leaders are concerned that the Polish party may be moving too quickly on liberalization and democratization, raising the danger of new strains with the Soviet Union.

Solidarity is undergoing strain itself, largely from the way in which Lech Walesa, the chairman, and a handful of negotiators reached an agreement with the Government to call off a threatened general strike on March 31. Other leaders on the union's national commission, saying they were presented with a fait accompli, accused Mr. Walesa of acting undemocratically.

Karol Modzelewski, a historian and political activist who helped transform the union from a regional to a national organization last September, resigned as press spokesman. He complained that Mr. Walesa was ''like a monarch surrounded by his favorite advisers who treats this national commission like a parliament without any power.''

''If not for Walesa and the advisers, there would have been a general strike right away,'' said Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a ranking adviser to Mr. Walesa. ''What if we had called the national commission, and what if they had not called off the strike? What would have happened then?''

''It's easy to talk about being autocratic,'' Mr. Mazowiecki said. ''But what happens in that final dramatic moment, when one man with the full weight of social responsibility has to make a final decision?''

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND; UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

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July 8, 1981, Wednesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 787 words

HEADLINE: PRELATE, 52, CHOSEN BY THE POPE TO LEAD THE POLISH CHURCH

BYLINE: By JOHN DARNTON, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WARSAW, July 7

BODY:

Bishop Jozef Glemp of Warmia was named today by Pope John Paul II as Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw and the Primate of Poland, succeeding Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, who died on May 28.

The new head of the Church in this overwhelmingly Roman Catholic nation said he would continue the policies begun by his predecessor of dialogue and cooperation with both the Government and the Solidarity labor union.

''I am convinced I must follow the road laid out by Cardinal Wyszynski,'' he said in an interview. ''The work of the Primate is not political. It is pastoral. But if we in the church are to do our duty, we must not remain above social issues. If the Solidarity and other social movements want to follow the truth and the light, we will give them our protection. It is in line with the proper role of the church.''

Archbishop Glemp, 52 years old and a specialist in both canon and civil law, said he believed in working closely with the Conference of Bishops and would strive for collegial rule. Cardinal Wyszynski, who led the church with a commanding authority for more than three decades, had a reputation for being something of an autocrat.

Church sources said it was believed that Cardinal Wyszynski had expressed a wish for Monsignor Glemp to succeed him. For 12 years, beginning in 1967, Monsignor Glemp served as an aide to the Primate, working out of the Warsaw secretariat and taking on important administrative functions. In March 1979, Pope John Paul named him as a Bishop of Warmia, and he was consecrated in that post the following month.

Warmia, a historical region in the former East Prussia, was made a bishopric in 1143 under the Teutonic Knights. Since the end of World War II, when southern East Prussia passed to Poland, the see has been in Olsztyn. the former German city of Allenstein.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic journalist who now edits the labor union's weekly newspaper, described Archbishop Glemp as ''an open, deep-thinking man, proper for the position.''

''He was very close to the Primate,'' Mr. Mazowiecki said. ''The Primate was his mentor. He raised him in his onw theological philosophy.''

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Glemp Shifted to Gniezno Post

To become the new Primate, Monsignor Glemp was made the Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw. As the nation's first capital, Gniezno has been the metropolitan see of Poland since the year 1000, and its archbishop has automatically been the Primate. The dioceses of Warsaw and Gniezno have been linked by a common archbishop since 1946, when Cardinal Wyszynski acceded to the post.

It is not known whether Archbishop Glemp, who will almost assuredly be elevated to Cardinal, will also serve as chairman of the Polish episcopate, which is composed of the country's 47 bishops. The position is important in governing church affairs and there has been speculation that it may be separated from the primacy. The choice of chairman will be made by the Conference of Bishops, by secret ballot, when it next assembles, apparently in September.

The church commands tremendous respect in Poland, where 80 to 90 percent of the population of 36 million are church members. Cardinal Wyszynski was a powerful figure on the national stage and it will be difficult, initially at least, for his successor to speak with the same unquestioned authority.

Officials at the Vatican described Archbishop Glemp as ''the perfect choice'' for Primate in view of his long association with Cardinal Wyszynski.

Studied at Institute in Rome

''He is an expert on the state and on the Communist Party,'' said Msgr. Franciszek Maczynski, rector of the Pontifical Institute in Rome, where Monsignor Glemp studied from 1958 to 1961. Vatican sources said the choice showed the Pope's wish to insure continuity in policy and doctrine in Poland.

The new Primate was born Dec. 18, 1929 in Inowroclaw, near Bydgoszcz. In 1950, he was graduated from high school and entered a seminary in Gniezno. He was ordained on May 25, 1956. Sent by his superiors to study law in Rome, he obtained doctorates in both civil and canon law.

Returning to Poland in 1964, he became a secretary in a seminary and a notary of the Gniezno metropolitan curia and tribunal. While in the Warsaw secretariat, after 1967, he served, among other positions, as a member of the episcopate's Commission for the Revision of Canon Law and was also a lecturer at the Warsaw Theological Academy.

He is the 80th Metropolitan Archbishop of Gniezno, the 12th Metropolitan Archbishop of Warsaw and the 56th Primate of Poland.

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: Photo of Bishop Jozef Glemp (Page A6)

SUBJECT: APPOINTMENTS AND EXECUTIVE CHANGES; RELIGION AND CHURCHES; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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December 15, 1981, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1488 words

HEADLINE: WIDESPREAD STRIKES REPORTED IN DEFIANCE OF POLISH REGIME; U.S. POSTPONES ALL PENDING AID

BODY:

The following article is based on information reaching The New York Times from Poland.

As Poland's military leaders tightened their controls, defiant workers protesting martial law mounted strikes throughout the country yesterday.

A clandestine information service of the Solidarity trade union reported strikes and worker resistance in factories, shipyards, steel mills, coal mines, and even academic institutions in Warsaw and other major cities and regions.

With commercial international and domestic Telex and telephone communications cut, it was impossible to confirm developments except for Warsaw, where reporters were able to speak with striking workers at factories.

Lech Walesa, the union leader, who was not technically detained when the police raided hotels in Gdansk where Solidarity officials were meeting, was said by Government officials to be in a Government rest house. He was apparently being held incommunicado.

Concern Over Walesa Is Voiced

Union officials who succeeded in establishing contact with Western reporters voiced concern that Mr. Walesa was being isolated and out of touch with developments while talking with the authorities. The unionists said they feared that he would be asked to appear on television to appeal for calm or make some other statement that could be construed as being against the strikes.

Polish Government officials who were privately passing on information said to come from Soviet sources said strikes were under way at shipyards in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin. There were also reports of a sit-in at the Nowa Huta iron and steel plant outside Cracow. The Solidarity union maintains its own system of communications.

There were further reports of strikes in at least two Silesian coal mines. Such a development would be of concern to the authorities since coal is the chief export and in short supply for domestic electric power this winter.

Despite the arrest of the main union leaders, Solidarity has organized a network of activists to pursue its call for a nationwide general strike to protest the militarization of the country decreed early Sunday.

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In some places a confrontation appeared possible. At the Warsaw steel mill, crippled by a sit-in strike since Sunday, troops and police ringed the plant. Union officials feared that an attempt might be made to end the sit-in with force or the threat of force under the cover of a curfew in effect from 10 P.M. to 6 A.M.

The Telex lines of four Western news agencies, which were the only functioning links with the outside world, were cut. The Solidarity union reported all major activities strikebound in Poznan and Wroclaw. In Cracow, public transport, which a Government spokesman said Sunday had stopped, still had not resumed. At the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, where Solidarity was born 16 months ago, workers occupying the premises were ready to fend off an assault, the union said.

In Warsaw, reporters found at least five major plants on strike, including the Ursus tractor factory, the FSO auto plant and the Swierczewski machine-tool factory. Even the Geological Institute and the National Library were on strike.

Plant Sit-In Reported Broken Up

A television news broadcast said a sit-in strike at the Katowice steel mill had been broken up by force. It did not say whether there had been any casualties. ''Instigators and organizers of the strike'' were detained, the Government press agency P.A.P. said.

In Lodz, two union leaders drew a rally on Sunday in front of Solidarity headquarters, according to the press agency. The two tossed leaflets out the window that were ''aimed at weakening the military readiness,'' the agency said. The two, Andrzej Slowik and Jerzy Kropiwnicki, were arrested and are to be charged under the severe provisions of the new military law.

Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Roman Catholic Primate, whose voice is listened to during times of crisis, delivered a homily on Sunday in which he appealed for calm and restraint from any actions that could lead to bloodshed. His appeal indirectly criticized the military takeover but its message of obedience was sufficiently clear for the authorities to approve of it. It was broadcast repeatedly yesterday over the radio.

Strike Calls Issued Sunday

The union leaders still at large issued three strike calls on Sunday. A communique drawn up in Gdansk over five signatures, including that of Miroslaw Krupinski, a deputy to Mr. Walesa, said the union had decided to call a general strike automatically if a state of emergency were imposed.

''Our answer to violence is a general strike,'' the declaration said. ''We were forced and provoked to stage it because we were deprived of our rights and our leaders have been arrested.''

The appeal urged workers who go on strike to observe discipline, peace and respect for government property. This was also the message carried by a union activist who stood in the cold morning air yesterday outside the Warsaw steel plant on the city's outskirts. Wearing a red-and-white Solidarity armband, he told workers going through the plant gates for the morning shift not to coerce others into striking. It was to be an individual choice, he said.

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Strike Poster Is Undisturbed

Apparently many chose not to work. A poster that called for a strike remained undisturbed on a pole in front of the gate, along with a notice from the independent students association calling on students to contact the union, presumably to offer their support. A helicopter hovered overhead.

''Poland has not yet perished while we are still alive,'' said a strike poster at the plant. The line from the national anthem, ''Poland has not yet perished,'' appears to be a motto of the resistance movement. Another leaflet said: ''We are workers, not slaves.''

Workers at the Warsaw steel mill said the night shift had stayed on to occupy the premises and was joined by the day shift in a sit-in strike. They said 7,000 workers were involved. The only military presence at the plant, they said, was the three military commissars who had been there under martial law provisions to supervise the factory.

Outside the Ursus tractor factory, there were no workers outside the main gate. The strike inside was reported effective and little if any production was said to be under way. The only sign of any potential force was on a distant side street, where three regular buses containing policemen were parked.

Statement by Intellectuals

A spokesman for the factory refused to meet with reporters - he used an office intercom - and he said that only the military commissar was authorized to give out information.

Another sign of possible opposition came yesterday when a group of 124 artists and intellectuals signed a statement denouncing the arrests and demanding that those detained be released.

Among those detained were union advisers, including Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who is a friend of Pope John Paul II, and Bronislaw Gerenek. Members of the dissident group known as KOR, including two of its leaders, Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron, were also in custody.

Universities and schools were closed yesterday, as were all banks. The road to the airport was blocked by army troops, but in the early hours the sounds of planes, presumably military transports, could be heard. All commercial flights have been stopped. The radio played military music, ranging from light to ominous.

Spot-Checking of Motorists

Troops were stationed all around the city. Occasionally they stopped motorists to check identity papers, or they waved passing cars through.

The city was quiet and still digging out from under a heavy snowstorm. Women in orange blazers over thick blue jackets shoveled the snow with wooden shovels and tossed it into the streets for cars to liquefy; but there were few cars. Sales of gasoline have been stopped, in an apparent effort to reduce mobility and communications.

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The Government announced that about 150 factories had been militarized, meaning that their employees were subject to military discipline. Disobedience could bring penalties ranging from two years in prison to death, according to a new decree.

''They are trying to paralyze everyone with fear,'' a Polish journalist said. The remark seemed appropriate to a foreigner several hours later when several Polish friends appeared at his house with literature to put away. It included copies of the International Herald Tribune.

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: Photo of Polish television announcer Photo of people outside Solidarity headquarters in Warsaw (Page A18) Photo of people waiting on line for food in Poland

SUBJECT: ARMAMENT, DEFENSE AND MILITARY FORCES; POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; DEMONSTRATIONS AND RIOTS; UNITED STATE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; FOREIGN AID; STRIKES; LABOR

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND; UNITED STATES

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101ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 17, 1981, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1893 words

HEADLINE: ARMY RULERS SAID TO BREAK SOME MAJOR POLISH STRIKES; CHURCH CHALLENGES REGIME

BODY:

The following article is based on information arriving from Poland.

Poland's martial law authorities were reported yesterday to have broken several major strikes, including one at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, and the Roman Catholic Church emerged as a powerful voice in opposition to the regime's new measures.

The Government's decision to introduce martial law was called ''a blow applied to the hopes and expectations of society'' in a statement released yesterday by the Polish Episcopate. The bishops demanded the release of detainees and an end to the ban on the Solidarity union. They accused the Government of terrorizing the nation by military force.

(The ruling Military Council of National Salvation said there would be ''no turning back'' from last year's agreements between the Government and the union. The statement was read over the Warsaw radio and monitored outside Poland. Page A19.)

Shipyard Reported Stormed

According to accounts by witnesses, the shipyard in Gdansk, where the Solidarity movement was born in the summer of 1980, was overrun at dawn yesterday by Polish troops. The soldiers found only passive resistance from workers who had been occupying the yard, the witnesses said.

There was no certain report of deaths or injuries, but several workers who were in the yard at the time said they feared casualties among those who had been sitting in rail cars to keep warm when the military assault began and armored vehicles overturned several of the cars.

Major military movements were reported in different areas of the country, including a convoy of about 300 police trucks, Polish tanks, armored personnel carriers and military trucks mounted with water cannon moving southward along Warsaw's main thoroughfare during the late afternoon rush hour.

Identity Papers Checked

Foot patrols of armed soldiers and police officers were stepped up and supplemented by units of plainclothesmen who checked identity papers on the street. In at least one case observed by Western journalists, soldiers in an armored personnel carrier stopped two young Poles and took them away in the vehicles.

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Among the other strikes reportedly broken up were those at the Warski shipyard in Szczecin, a Solidarity stronghold, and at several mines in the industrial region of Silesia, and a student strike at Wroclaw Polytechnic. A Communist Party source said there were injuries in the Wroclaw incident, but no shootings. Rumors of killings could not be substantiated.

The party source said strikes continued in at least five mines. Students and Solidarity sources said strikes continued in several other enterprises.

The Polish news media reported the end of several other strikes but remained silent on the situation in Gdansk. The military move against the Lenin shipyard was evidence of the determination of Poland's new Military Council to suppress worker resistance to the imposition of martial law and internment of national and local Solidarity leaders.

'Do Not Resign'

As word of the assault spread through Gdansk yesterday morning, hundreds of leaflets fluttered down on the crowd outside the shipyard. The message, signed simply, ''Solidarity members,'' and dropped from a window high above the street, appealed to workers not to give up their fight until the martial law order was canceled and Solidarity's leaders were released.

''Do not resign,'' it said. ''If we resign today, we'll bury our hopes for freedom for many years to come. We must fight for the freedom of those imprisoned. Several thousand people cannot destroy 10 million.''

Poles, meanwhile, grudgingly and fearfully adjusted to crushing limits on basic freedoms that many compared with the German occupation of the country in World War II.

''They've taken away all our rights,'' an elderly woman complained. ''You can't go out at night and they can come and search your house at any time. I could understand it when they were Germans. But these are Poles.''

Number of Arrests Is Unknown

''It used to be that the people respected the soldiers,'' a young Warsaw woman said. ''People used to let them go first in line and treated them with respect. But overnight that has changed to hate.''

Arrests continued, with the total number detained impossible to determine with any precision, but certainly in the thousands. A police officer said, ''All jails and prisons in the Warsaw region are full.'' In addition to Solidarity sympathizers, those detained included a wide range of intellectuals, journalists, teachers and students.

A Solidarity adviser said Lech Walesa, the leader of the union, was being held in a Government guesthouse in Chyliczki, just south of Warsaw. He met Monday with the secretary of the Polish Episcopate, Bronislaw Dabrowski. The source said it was inconceivable that Mr. Walesa would agree to negotiate with the Government as long as he was not free and unable to consult with his advisers.

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The Polish Finance Minister, Marian Krzak, summoned 12 Western ambassadors to request an urgent loan of $350 million by next week to meet immediate debt service payments due on the $27 billion Poland owes to Western banks. Some of the ambassadors replied that they would be unable to get in touch with their capitals to pass along the request because of the communications blackout in Poland. The United States Ambassador, Francis J. Meehan, returned to Warsaw by car from West Germany yesterday.

Under one martial law decree, Polish citizens can no longer freely withdraw hard currency deposits in their private bank accounts. Reports circulated by Poles working at the Government press center, meanwhile, said censorship was about to be imposed on foreign correspondents - if communications facilities are made available to them. Since Monday night, communications for all Western news agencies have been cut. Poland has never censored outgoing foreign dispatches in the past. Television reporters said they had been warned that they were no longer permitted to take films.

Access to the American Embassy was tightened by the Polish authorities. United States citizens were required not only to present their passport to Polish guards but also to register before entering. The embassy was understood to be preparing a formal complaint on the matter.

A Dutch truck driver who drove without remuneration as part of a 150-v£ehicle convoy to deliver food aid from Western Europe said he was directed to a warehouse with ''more butter than I've seen in my entire life.'' There was speculation that the Government would release more food in return for cooperation with the martial law measures.

In Gdansk, crowds that had gathered outside the shipyard were pushed back by policemen in riot gear who used tear gas to clear a 500-yard area and prevent a mass demonstration that had been called for 5 P.M. yesterday at the base of the Three Crosses Monument. The structure, which stands at the shipyard's wall, was erected a year ago to commemorate those who died in December 1970 when Polish policemen open fire on protesting workers.

On the outskirts of Gdansk, what appeared to be a full armored division was seen encircling the city's oil refinery. The division - which included tanks, armored personnel carriers, and fuel and communications trucks - blocked the roads to the refinery, but witnesses said they saw no evidence of hostile activity.

Armored military equipment and Polish soldiers began to appear outside the Gdansk shipyard during the night Monday, according to sources in the city. At least one early forceful attempt to remove striking workers from the huge construction area was tried then. But the sit-in continued Tuesday.

Early yesterday morning special armored units from the Interior Ministry, along with Poland's elite Red Berets forces, arrived to carry out a decisive attack. As six helicopters circled overhead, the troops struck hard. Workers said they put up no resistance; this, some said, surprised the attackers.

After their identities were recorded by the authorities, many of the strikers were released one by one to walk away from the yard at 100-yard intervals.

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It was reported that Bogdan Borusewicz, the 33-year-old strike leader and a longtime dissident in the Gdansk area, escaped before the attack. Several workers from the yard said later the strikers' plans called for him to escape, to avoid a further loss of union leaders.

The shipyard workers were told not to return to their job until Monday. In the meantime they were reported to be considering two basic strategies to continue their resistance: to strike again and force the authorities to lay another siege, or to pretend to go back to work but engage in sabotage of production.

In another development, the television news released a list of 57 detained members of Solidarity and dissident groups. It was the first official notification of who was arrested. Mr. Walesa was not on the list.

Prominent names on the list included Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, prominent dissident leaders; Miroslaw Chojecki, the head of the dissident Nowa Underground Press; Janusz Onyszkiewicz, former Solidarity national spokesman; Jan Rulewski, a radical Bydgoszcz union leader; Karol Modzelewski and Andrzej Gwiazda, members of the Solidarity National Commission, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, editor in chief of the Solidarity weekly.

Moscow Reports Resistance

Special to the New York Times

MOSCOW, Dec. 16 - The Soviet press reported today that there was resistance to martial law in Poland but said troops and police were surmounting the challenges.

In reports late today Tass, the Soviet Government's press agency, avoided the use of the word ''calm,'' which appeared in earlier reports, and said ''soldiers and policemen were ''cutting short the attempts of provocateurs to stage strikes at individual enterprises.''

The Soviet leadership refrained from direct comment. Leonid I. Brezhnev met twice with foreign visitors during the day and spoke on foreign policy matters, but did not allude to Poland, according to press reports and the account of the American participant in one meeting.

The American, Armand Hammer, chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, saw Mr. Brezhnev at the Kremlin for an hour and was given a letter, addressed to Mr. Hammer, that accused the Reagan Administration of accelerating the arms race but made an indirect appeal for an improvement in relations.

Mr. Hammer, a friend of Soviet leaders since Lenin, said the subject of Poland had not come up in the conversation. The industrialist said Mr. Brezhnev seemed thoroughly at ease. ''I did not get the impression of any pressure on him,'' he said. ''He was jolly, in perfect health.

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: Photo of Poland's National Academy of Sciences (Page A18) Photo of Poles reading leaflet

SUBJECT: ARMAMENT, DEFENSE AND MILITARY FORCES; POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH; RELIGION AND CHURCHES; LABOR; STRIKES; CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

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GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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98TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1981 The Washington Post

December 30, 1981, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A1

LENGTH: 1730 words

HEADLINE: Walesa Said to Agree To Hold Negotiations With Army Rulers;
Walesa Reportedly Agrees to Negotiations

KEYWORD: POLAND

BODY:

The following dispatch is based on information arriving from Poland:

Polish labor leader Lech Walesa has agreed to open talks with the martial-law government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, according to sources in Warsaw who have spoken to a member of Walesa's family.

The sources, who are considered reliable, said yesterday that the head of the independent labor movement Solidarity had decided Christmas Day to begin talks. The talks were to have opened Monday, but it could not be learned whether they had begun.

In other developments, Radio Warsaw reported that 12 leaders of the sit-in at the Piast coal mine in Silesia were arrested and several hundred participants in a strike at a steel mill near Katowice were "punished," and there were reports that the martial-law authorities were considering drafting men who "shunned work" for forced-labor teams.

On the political front, a government source who asked to remain unidentified said Jaruzelski will unveil a social, economic and political program in early January that will include guidelines under which a Solidarity-type union could operate.

The source said there is room in Poland's future "for an independent trade union, independent both of the state employer and of political manipulation."

In his address to the nation Christmas Day, Jaruzelski had said, "nobody intends to nullify the fundamental principles of renewal," the word Poles used during the rise of Solidarity to define political, social and economic changes.

He promised that "there is room for self-managing and really independent trade unions . . . ."

The same day, remnants of the suspended Solidarity free trade union issued a clandestine bulletin urging continued social protest to "strengthen the position of representatives of the church." The bulletin said talks were under way between the Polish bishops and the country's top Communist Party officials seeking a "political solution" to the crisis.

Reliable sources said yesterday Jaruzelski was preparing an address to the nation to be delivered on New Year's Eve, and it was believed that the speech would contain elements of the military government's new program.

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A lengthy, signed article in the Communist Party daily Trybuna Ludu also suggested that an independent union organization could exist if it is ready "to take up constructive actions to focus its energies on resolving authentic problems of our difficult . . . reality.

"For the Solidarity trade union is a durable and meaningful component of Polish social and political life," the article continued. "But the margin of freedom to make errors by any of the sides also has become tremendously reduced."

The sources who have spoken with a member of Walesa's family also confirmed that the labor leader had been on a two-day hunger strike, but said he ended the fast on Christmas Day, when he decided to begin talks.

Previously, reliable sources have said that Walesa had been refusing to negotiate with the authorities unless the entire 18-member presidium of Solidarity was present. It was unclear whether the authorities had agreed to this demand. Other reports have indicated that Walesa insisted that the Polish Roman Catholic primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, also be present at any talks between himself and the authorities.

It was also unclear what Walesa and the authorities might have to negotiate about, although it is believed that the government wants the popular Solidarity leader to join in appeals for social peace under martial law.

A senior Solidarity leader still at large said any political solution to the Polish crisis could take place only on the basis of an agreement between "authentic Solidarity leaders" and the authorities. He said any attempt by the government to replace Solidarity leaders with Communist Party loyalists would be unacceptable.

"A political solution is necessary for the government, for Solidarity and for the Polish people," he said. "There is no other way out."

At a press conference in Warsaw yesterday, government spokesmen said Walesa was in good health and in contact with representatives of the government, the Catholic Church and his family. They denied that he is under arrest or "internment," although they said he is not free to move around.

"He is in Warsaw because that's where the government wants him, spokesman Jerzy Urban said.

At the same press conference, the spokesman of the ruling military council, Gen. Tadeusz Szacillo, said that eight persons had died in clashes between demonstrators and security forces in the first days of martial law, one more death than the authorities previously acknowledged. Szacillo said the victim was injured during a demonstration in the Baltic Coast city of Gdansk and that he died later in a hospital.

The government said seven miners were killed at the Wujek mine near Katowice. Other sources have said that dozens of Poles have died since the crackdown began on Dec. 13, but Urban denied reports of further deaths again yesterday.

Solidarity and student sources said yesterday, however, that another man was killed during the suppression of a strike at the polytechnic university in

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Wroclaw. They said the man, whom they identified only as "Kostecki," had died after being struck on the back of the head with a police officer's baton.

The two spokesmen also released government figures on the number of persons arrested for martial-law violations or "interned," or held under preventive detention, since the military crackdown. They said 5,555 Poles have been detained since Dec. 13, and that 580 of those have been released. Another 784 persons have been arrested, including both those charged with martial-law violations and common criminals.

Of those, 208 cases were turned over to the courts and 14 persons sentenced, they said. Four of those sentenced were found guilty of instigating strikes, while the other 10 had been tried for "normal crimes."

Dissident sources have placed the number of persons detained much higher.

Meanwhile, partial lists of detainees began circulating in Warsaw. They showed that many Solidarity leaders were being held at Strzebielinek, near Gdansk, while many intellectuals were detained at Drawsko, in the northwestern province of Koszalin.

Those reportedly detained at Strzebielinek include top Solidarity officials such as Andrzej Gwiazda, Jacek Merkel, Karol Modzelewski, Janusz Onyskiewicz, Jozef Patyna, Jan Rulewski and Antony Tokarczuk.

Jacek Kuron, leader of the dissident Committee for Social Self-Defense, better known as KOR, was also reported to be at the detention center near Gdansk. His KOR colleague Adam Michnik is being held at Bialoleka, in northern Warsaw, as are underground newspaper editor Jan Lytinski, Bronislaw Geremek, a close adviser to Walesa, and Jerzy Strzelecki, a leading sociologist, according to the lists.

Among the intellectuals being held at Drawsko are Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the former editor of Solidarity's weekly newspaper; Stefan Kurowski, a leading economist; former KOR member Anka Kowalska; Wladislaw Bartoszewski, secretary of the Polish PEN writers' club, and actress Helena Mikolajska.

Andrzej Kijowski, a leading writer, and Ryszard Bugaj, a Solidarity economic expert, were said to be released from detention.

Szacillo, the spokesman for the ruling military council, said at the news conference that some members of the Communist Party have also been interned under martial law and that "many of them will be fired from their posts."

The relationship between the communist party and the ruling military council has been one of the mysteries surrounding the latest Polish developments. Jaruzelski has not once since the announcement of martial law referred to himself, or been referred to in the official media, as first secretary of the Polish communist party. He is identified instead either as premier or, most often, as head of the military council.

Jaruzelski continues to be party first secretary, Szacillo said, as well as holding the two other posts and the title of defense minister. "However," the general added, "publicly we wish to emphasize the title that directly refers to the role Jaruzelski is playing at the moment."

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He conceded that during the last few months the party for many reasons, had lost authority and credibility, and that its "leading role" had become weaker.

He said martial law does not abolish the Party's special constitutional position, but that the martial-law council has greater powers of action now and is therefore in the leading role at present. He added that the council does not oversee the party, but is active in the party through Communists wearing uniforms.

News services and radio reports reaching the West added the following:

Polish authorities were considering labor conscription for men between the ages of 18 and 45 "who do not work or study, particularly those whose sources of income cannot be recorded," according to a dispatch from the Soviet news agency Tass.

Tass did not elaborate, but it was believed that such a decree, if passed, could provide an excuse for forcing Solidarity activists, dissidents and intellectuals into punitive labor.

Tass also quoted the Polish news agency PAP as saying authorities had assigned "those who until now have shunned work" on Monday to clear snow from the streets and that Warsaw's principal streets are passable.

There were still signs of worker resistance to military rule, however. The Katowice steel mill remained closed, according to several accounts, because workers sabotaged furnaces. Radio Warsaw quoted the newspaper Trybuna Robotnicza (Worker's Tribune) as saying security forces routed 2,000 protesters from the Katowice mill Dec. 23, and that more than 300 have been "punished" by what it called the "collegium for misdemeanors" for participating in the strike.

It gave no further details, but said no one was hurt when "heavy military equipment . . . made short work of the barricades that had been raised."

Warsaw television quoted the press spokesman for the general prosecutor's office as saying seven men have been charged with "leading the sit-in strike at the Katowice steel works, obstructing normal work and seriously damaging installations and production."

Radio Warsaw said 12 ringleaders of the 13-day strike by 939 miners at the Piast mine in Silesia were arrested.

GRAPHIC: Map, no caption, by Dave Cook; Picture, Miners of the Piast colliery are shown in photo taken from Finnish news film made two weeks before martial law was ordered. UPI

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90TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1982 The Financial Times Limited;
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August 26, 1982, Thursday

SECTION: SECTION I; European News; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 940 words

HEADLINE: Militant grumbles among Solidarity's young

BYLINE: Leslie Colitt

HIGHLIGHT:
Leslie Colitt, recently in Warsaw, reports on continuing popular discontent

BODY:

AS EACH month passes under martial law part of the control of the suspended Solidarity union slips away from its five moderate "underground" leaders into the hands of militant young workers who favour hitting out at the Polish Government with all means available.

The five union leaders represent Solidarity's strongholds in Gdansk, Warsaw, Wroclaw and Cracow. They have called on their 10 million members to demonstrate peacefully on August 31, the second anniversary of the Gdansk and Jastrzebie agreements with the Government which led to the formation of Solidarity. But, in a warning that such protests might not always remain peaceful, Solidarity's clandestine publication Tygodnik Mazowsze noted that only the continued existence of the union "can stop uncontrollable outbreaks of unrest."

In large Polish factories there is impatience with this non-violent approach, which has characterised Solidarity since the autumn of 1980. Militant workers aged between 25 and 35 years old -- termed the "Solidarity generation" -- grumble that the military government under General Wojciech Jaruselski under stands only one language: force.

Skilled workers remain the highly politicised core of Solidarity, without which the underground movement would collapse. It is these "young Turks" who are replacing both the interned officials of the union and released officials, who are closely observed by the security police and thus neutralised.

The Polish authorities seek to capitalise on the differences within Solidarity by making conciliatory hints toward some moderate Solidarity leaders. Thus, although Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the former editor of the Solidarity newspaper and a leading Catholic intellectual, remains interned, his newsppaper's office has not been shut down. Sixty staff members appear there once a month to get their pay cheques, which even include a bonus for articles they have been unable to write. Their pay comes out of the 23m zlotys (£155,500) in profits made by the immensely popular newspaper in less than a year of publication.

This, however, has done nothing to soften the views of the staff, or of Mr Mazowiecki, who has refused to talk with the Government while in detention. The moderate leadership of Solidarity and the militant workers in the factories share a joint hatred of the military Government but they disagree strongly on

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the best way to get rid of it.

The debate is reflected in the underground press which has returned to pre-Solidarity techniques of printing and distribution. One of the uncensored publications from Warsaw has warned against heeding calls for general strikes by allegedly radical young workers, noting they may be inspired by the security forces. Mr Jacek Kuron, a founder of the Committee for Workers' Self-defence (KOR), which aided the unemployed and blacklisted Mr Lech Walesa after 1976, repeated KOR's dictum in an underground issue of Tygodnik Solidarnosc: "Don't burn down committees, form new ones."

The suspended union is doing just this by forming four-member cells which, while non-violent, are modelled on those of the Polish resistent movement in World War II.

The angry young workers in the big factories, however, reply that Solidarity's previous faith in the Government's willingness to abide by the August 31 1980 agreements proved to be a dangerous illusion and that they will not make the same mistake again. They claim to be puzzled by the appeals of Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Polish primate, to both the authority and to Solidarity to avoid violence.

"The Government is one which used violence in December," said one Solidarity printer, "and we're being asked to lie down and growl to ourselves."

The mood of definance among younger Polish workers is shared by teenagers who were in the vanguard of anti-Government demonstrations on May 3 and earlier this month in Warsaw's Victory Square. This worries both underground Solidarity and the Catholic Church. They are afraid the young will turn to terrorism in their frustration and unleash a wave of repression by the security forces.

One Solidarity member noted that conspiratorial groups are rife in Polish schools, where 10-year-olds wear forbidden Virgin Mary and Solidarity emblems. Emotions run so high among Polish university students that Mr Wladyslaw Hardek, the leader of Solidarity in Cracow, appealed to the students, saying Solidarity understands "you want to use direct action against the Government." He warned, however, this would only serve the interests of the authorities and said the union could offer students "conspiratorial work" in its underground activities and on its publications.

A Solidarity militant explained that the phase of "fear and silence" among Poles is over. Now, she said, "people feel they have nothing to lose." Ordinary workers are incensed that their monthly earnings fail to buy essentials and there is widespread anger over the harsh sentences imposed on workers for scrawling insulting remarks about Gen Jaruzelski on house walls.

She said the repeated warnings by the Government that it will suppress every demonstration against it had only served to incense Poles further. "You cannot scare Poles that easily."

Evidence of continued Polish loyalties to Solidarity recently lay at the base of the soaring Solidarity monument outside the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk.Poles streamed to the monument, placing flowers and lighting candles. Under a nearby statue of a shipyard worker a postcard, signed the "young people of Lodz," said "Solidarity was, is and shall remain the will of the Polish nation."

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GRAPHIC: Picture, August 31, 1980: Lech Walesa and Mieczslaw Jagielski, the government negotiator, sign the documents that gave official sanction to Solidarity.

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88TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1982 The Washington Post

December 24, 1982, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A1

LENGTH: 950 words

HEADLINE: Poland Frees All Internees Except 7 Top Solidarity Aides

BYLINE: By Michael Dobbs, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: WARSAW, Dec. 23, 1982

KEYWORD: POLAND

BODY:

Poland's military government today announced the closing of all internment camps and said that it would free all of the approximately 200 persons held in them except for seven prominent leaders of the outlawed Solidarity trade union.

An official announcement said that the status of the Solidarity officials was being changed from internment to formal arrest.

The legal institution of internment without trial is to be abolished once martial law is formally "suspended" at the end of the year. A legal adviser to Solidarity, however, estimated recently that between 3,000 and 5,000 "political prisoners" will remain in jail either awaiting trial or serving prison sentences for martial-law infringements.

Over 10,000 people, mainly union activists, are officially said to have spent time in the internment camps since the imposition of martial law just over a year ago.

Some police harassment against Solidarity members and people formerly interned is expected to continue, including pressure to emigrate. Underground Solidarity bulletins have reported that, over the past few months, hundreds of union activists have been drafted into special "penal battalions" in at least 10 centers.

The reports have been denied by official spokesmen but are taken seriously by Roman Catholic Church officials.

Western analysts interpreted the decision to arrest the seven interned prisoners as a sign that, despite its aura of self-confidence, the government does not yet feel sure of its political grip over the country.

The Solidarity underground has suffered several major setbacks recently but still retains the confidence of many workers. Underground publications continue to circulate widely in spite of numerous police raids on illegal printing presses.

It is possible that the former Solidarity leaders could be put on trial alongside five political dissidents from the Social Self-Defense Committee (KOR) who were arrested earlier this year. The dissidents, all formerly interned,

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were charged with attempting to "overthrow the state by force."

The former Solidarity officials understood to be released today include Bronislaw Geremek, 50, a medieval historian who was personal adviser to union leader Lech Walesa; Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 55, a Catholic intellectual who edited the weekly Solidarity newspaper; and Janusz Onyszkiewicz, 45, the union's former press spokesman.

The seven who were arrested included Walesa's three rivals for the post of union chairman at the Solidarity congress in October 1981: Andrzej Gwiazda, 48; Marian Jurczyk, 48; and Jan Rulewski, 38. Gwiazda was one of the original leaders of the strike committee in Gdansk in August 1980 that resulted in the rise of Solidarity. Jurczyk and Rulewski headed the union's powerful Szczecin and Bydgoszcz chapters respectively. All three were considered more militant than Walesa.

Others arrested were:

* Seweryn Jaworski, 51, the Solidarity leader at the Warsaw steel mill and deputy to Zbigniew Bujak, the head of the union's Warsaw branch, who is now in hiding.

* Karol Modzelewski, 45, a union official from Wroclaw. One of Poland's leading dissidents, Modzelewski is credited with thinking up the name "Solidarity." He was a major contributor to union strategy.

* Grzegorz Palka, 32, Solidarity leader in Lodz and the union's expert on the economy and workers' self-management.

* Andrzej Rozplochowski, 32, Solidarity leader at the giant Katowice steel mill in Silesia. He was involved in a major conflict with the Communist authorities just before the military crackdown when his union branch attempted to replace the plant manager.

Contacted by telephone in Gdansk, Walesa said that he was "happy most of the internees have been released but sad that some of them had to remain in prison." He said the fact that three of those arrested had been his rival candidates for union leader was "a dirty trick" aimed partly against him.

"This is why I will fight with all my strength for their release," he said.

Onyszkiewicz, who was released from Bialoleka internment camp near Warsaw, said his pleasure at being freed was tinged with sadness. He said that his cellmate, Karol Modzelewski, had been taken away to prison only yesterday afternoon.

"The rest of us were only told today that we would be released. Right to the last moment, we didn't know what would happen to us," Onyszkiewicz said.

A government statement said the seven Solidarity officials had been arrested on the order of the chief military prosecutor "in connection with ongoing penal proceedings." It did not say what they would be charged with.

A propaganda campaign has begun in the official news media against what are described as the "extremists" in Solidarity. Men like Gwiazda, Jurczyk and

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Rulewski have been accused in the press of trying to take over power.

The closing of the internment camps -- of which there were originally 47 -- implies that discredited Communist Party leaders also have been released, although there has been no official announcement. When Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski carried out his crackdown on Dec. 13, 1981, he ordered the arrest of several of his predecessors.

Former prominent officials interned at that time included Edward Gierek, the Communist Party leader of Poland during the 1970s, and two former prime ministers, Piotr Jaroszewicz and Edward Babiuch.

In what some observers saw as an attempt at balancing the arrests of the Solidarity activists, the government announced today that a parliamentary committee was examining the possibility of charging Jaroszewicz and three of his deputy prime ministers with "constitutional responsibility" for Poland's economic crisis.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Poland's martial law leader, Gen. Wajciech Jaruzelski, right, talks with Soviet Communist Party leader Yuri Andropov in the Kremlin yesterday. Tass via UPI

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November 4, 1983, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 3, Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 660 words

HEADLINE: POLAND CALLS SANCTION MOVE INADEQUATE

BYLINE: By JOHN KIFNER

DATELINE: WARSAW, Nov. 3

BODY:

The Polish Government denounced as inadequate today the United States' announcement on Wednesday of ''two limited steps'' toward easing economic sanctions imposed after the 1981 declaration of martial law.

The protest came in a note handed to the United States charge d'affaires and immediately made public. The Government said the United States move, which was accompanied by a sharp attack on what Washington called the continuing abuse of human rights here, constituted an ''unfriendly and unlawful act'' and an ''inadmissible interference in the affairs of our country.''

The American envoy, John R. Davis Jr., was summoned to the Foreign Ministry to receive the long note, which denounced the two steps as being ''merely of an illusory nature.'' The note said that unless economic and financial restrictions ''and other unfriendly actions'' were ended, ''further deterioration of relations may become inevitable.''

Making Good the Damages

Poland, the note said, ''expects the Government of the United States of America to take the necessary steps to make good on the damages suffered by the Polish economy and by the people of Poland.'' Meanwhile, Lech Walesa, founder of the Solidarity union, said he would send his wife, Danuta, to Oslo, Norway, next month to receive his Nobel Peace Prize. Mr. Walesa had expressed concern that if he left Poland, the authorities would not let him back in.

He said Mrs. Walesa would be accompanied by their eldest son, Bogdan, 13 years old, and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a senior Solidarity adviser and editor of the union's newspaper.

(A spokesman for the Government, which has condemned the award as an effort to heighten East- West tensions, said, according to The Associated Press, that it had not decided whether Mrs. Walesa would be allowed to leave the country.)

Fishing and Debt at Issue

The White House announcement said the Reagan Administration would ease restrictions on fishing in United States waters and take steps toward rescheduling Poland's $25 billion debt to the West. But it said the Administration would continue a ban on the Polish airline, restrictions on

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high-technology sales and a freeze on credits to the Polish economy.

The foundering economy depends heavily on imported raw materials and spare parts. Most-favored-nation trading status was withdrawn after Solidarity was outlawed in October 1982.

The American moves appeared to have little immediate impact. This year's allocation of fishing quotas has already been closed. Any allocations of fish next year, the White House said, would be directly dependent on ''the Government's action on human rights.''

Poland's Western creditor nations, including the United States, have already begun discussions on rescheduling Poland's debts.

Diplomatic sources here privately characterized the American actions as the minimum steps possible in moving toward a change in the strained relations with Poland. But they said it appeared that the American actions might have been designed with the hope of achieving a series of conciliatory moves.

There was, for example, speculation that a countergesture from the Polish Government might be the elevation of the American envoy here to the status of ambassador. Poland has refused to accept an American ambassador for more than a year and, in the past, has suggested to the State Department that such acceptance was contingent on some conciliatory gesture such as restoring fishing rights or flights by Lot, the Polish airline.

In addition, diplomats said, the Americans appeared to be attempting to maintain leverage over the Polish Government's actions by making any future relaxation dependent on actions by the Polish authorities.

The Polish Government had hoped that the visit of Pope John Paul II last spring, followed by the highly publicized formal scrapping of martial law in July, would bring an end to sanctions and international isolation.

SUBJECT: POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT (1983); ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS; OUS INTL REL ; FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS; MARTIAL LAW

NAME: KIFNER, JOHN

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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December 14, 1986, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 1362 words

HEADLINE: Polish Church Keeps the Faith; Catholicism Replaces Outlawed Solidarity

BYLINE: Jackson Diehl, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: WARSAW, Dec. 13, 1986

BODY:

Five years ago today, communist leader Wojciech Jaruzelski sent the Polish Army to occupy the country's cities and factories, imprisoned thousands of workers and put an end to the 16-month legal existence of Solidarity, the Soviet Bloc's first and only free labor movement.

Solidarity's surviving, illegal remnants are weaker now than ever before. No opposition demonstrations were called to mark the anniversary of martial law.

Still, the Rev. Jan Sikorski will lead thousands of Poles to St. Joseph's Church here on Sunday for a special evening mass, as he has for years on the first Sunday after the 13th of every month. Each mass marks another month since the suppression of Solidarity.

Although Solidarity is weak, the mass at St. Joseph's will stubbornly go on, signaling both the survival of the union's ideals and the increasing influence of the Roman Catholic Church in post-Solidarity Polish society. "These are the people who did not give up the struggle for the ideals that are alive in Poland," said Father Sikorski of his followers. "And to defend them, to allow them to meet, is the permanent role of the church."

Even as Poland has struggled and stagnated in the aftermath of 1981, the power and influence of the Catholic Church in this fervently religious country has expanded as never before under communist rule. Today, its gains seem to stand as the most enduring consequence of Solidarity and its supression.

"In no other country is the church prospering as excellently as in Poland today," government spokesman Jerzy Urban, a strong opponent of the church, recently conceded. "And nowhere is its influence stronger."

While many of the freedoms Solidarity won for workers in 1980 have been reversed or eroded, concessions made to the church then -- such as government permission to build 1,000 new churches -- have steadily born fruit. Intellectuals, artists and political activists who fled to the church for protection five years ago have stayed, giving priests and bishops a degree of influence over culture and intellectuals they have not had here since the 19th century.

Now, with both the government and its opposition seeming to weaken in a continuing political impasse, the church is beginning to use its new strength.

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From its role five years ago as a refuge for the remnants of Solidarity and mediator between the opposition and government, the church has taken the initiative, sketching out and campaigning for its own long-term solutions to Poland's political problems.

"In the first years after martial law, the church found itself trying to defend the status quo, the rights of the people," said Macin Krol, a prominent lay Catholic intellectual. "Now the bishops are looking for something more to propose to society. They want to do something positive."

The chief initiative of the Catholic hierarchy has emerged this year in a series of toughly worded calls by its conference of bishops for the acceptance by communist authorities of true pluralism and the right of free assembly. Church officials say the tolerance of open, legal activity by both church-sponsored and independent groups is the only stable solution for the thousands of former Solidarity supporters who have shuttled in and out of the government's prisons since 1981.

What top church officials envision is the sanctioning of youth organizations, clubs for intellectuals and, eventually, even a "Christian workers' federation" independent of the communist party. "If this were successful, it would serve not as a trade union, but as a good preparation for trade unions," said a senior church official who asked not to be named. "It would be the preparation that Solidarity never had."

Government officials have so far resisted the church proposals and even recently banned a Catholic newspaper from publishing an article by the episcopate's spokesman describing the idea in detail. However, communist authorities still do not feel strong enough to reject the initiative, much less attack the church outright. "The issue remains on the table" at regular church-government negotiating sessions, said the official church source.

The ambiguous official reaction to the bishops' drive is typical of Jaruzelski's policy. Slowly over the last five years, communist authorities have sought to limit the church's growth and political gains, and, where possible, reverse the trend. At the same time, however, Jaruzelski has repeatedly sought out the church for an accommodation that would give the ruling Polish United Workers' Party the stability and public legitimacy it has never regained after 1981.

In the last six months, a government increasingly beleaguered by economic stagnation and deep-rooted public apathy has sometimes appeared like a humble suitor of the Catholic hierarchy. In the hope of winning church cooperation, Jaruzelski agreed to release almost all political prisoners in September and has reportedly since accepted a church plan for a five-day visit to the country by Polish-born Pope John Paul II next June that will include a stop in Gdansk, Solidarity's birthplace.

Yet when the government sought direct church participation in forming a new "consultative council" to broaden its political base, primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp and the bishops' conference both rejected the idea. "The church won't be bought cheaply," observed a senior western diplomat. "They are holding out for more pluralism."

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The church's strength to pursue such bold tactics is evident enough in the government's own opinion surveys. In the years since martial law, public respect for almost every other institution -- including Solidarity and the Army -- has plummeted, the polls show, while the church's prestige has remained high, exceeding that of any other institution.

A government poll taken in October showed that more than 90 percent of Poles call themselves Catholics and nearly 75 percent of all adults attend church at least once a month. In contrast, only 15 percent said they regularly follow political developments, including the government's own activity.

Even as the active opposition movement has slowly atrophied under relentless official pressure, the reach of the church has expanded. In the 30 years before 1980, only a handful of new churches were allowed by communist authorities. In the last five years, however, ground has been broken for 1,000 new churches and authorities have granted permits this year for another 150.

Meanwhile, the number of church periodicals has risen from three to 33, and new church printing houses are turning out textbooks for the schools that seem to be built into every new church's basement.

Church spokesmen complain that authorities have offered no significant further concessions since 1981, abandoning incipient moves toward granting the church official legal status and returning its charitable organizations.

But in the broader struggle for the allegiance of Poles, the church has seemed a decisive winner. Before 1981, many Polish intellectuals remained loyal to communist rule at least in pragmatic terms, and even the principal opposition movements were dominated by socialists. Now, the leading intellectuals refuse all contact with the state -- and hardly a week goes by when a Warsaw church does not sponsor a play, an exhibition or a forum attended by top writers, philosophers and artists.

"The role of the church is changing, and it has become a very creative power," said Stefan Bratkowski, an atheist and former communist who headed the official journalists' union before 1981.

"I am not a believer but I accept the church's role because of the basic power of this movement," he said. "This is the only country in Europe where unbelievers are becoming active in mass in the church."

Church influence on Polish workers has been growing in a similar way.

"The church has become the representative of the workers generally in this country, though that doesn't mean it can fix things for them," said Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a prominent lay activist and former Solidarity adviser. "And the freedom of the individual in Poland has become irrevocably linked to the freedom of the church."

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: FEDERAL GOVERNMENT; POLAND;CATHOLICISM; SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE; LABOR UNIONS

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ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY

NAMED PERSONS: WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI

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May 5, 1988, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 876 words

HEADLINE: Church Tries to Mediate Labor Unrest in Poland;
Warsaw Accuses Strikers of 'Terrorist' Acts

BYLINE: Jackson Diehl, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland, May 4

BODY:

Poland's Roman Catholic Church launched an effort to broker an economic and political settlement of the country's strikes here today even as the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski accused protesting workers of "terrorist activities."

In an appearance on state television tonight, government spokesman Jerzy Urban charged that striking workers in the Lenin shipyard here and the Lenin steel mill in the Krakow suburb of Nowa Huta had threatened and in some cases beaten workers who did not support the strikes.

"We're dealing here with terrorist activities," he said, adding that Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, was "losing his balance."

"These wildcat strikes are degenerating and it is my warning that they could have serious consequences," Urban said.

Despite the charges, which were denied by strike leaders, the communist party's leadership appeared to have agreed to a proposal by Poland's powerful Catholic episcopate to mediate the strikes. Delegations of leading lay Catholic intellectuals arrived in Gdansk and Nowa Huta and opened talks with strike committees and management officials.

In a communique issued after a two-day meeting that ended last night, Poland's bishops made clear that they hoped the crisis would lead to a major new political agreement opening the way for pluralism in Poland.

"The situation in the country directs us to put aside formal conditions and effectively seek solutions that could serve the good of the whole nation," said the bishops' statement, issued from the monastery of Jasna Gora in Czestochowa.

"The only way to overcome the crisis in the country," the statement said, "is dialogue of the state authorities and representative social groups."

Around the country, several industrial enterprises were reported to have held rallies and negotiations with management on pay demands, but no new plants were reported on strike late today. Copper miners striking in the southwestern towns of Lubin and Polkowice said they had returned to work pending talks between workers' representatives and management.

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Students rallied at campuses in Gdansk, Warsaw and Poznan today, and Warsaw university students called for an occupation strike on their campus beginning Thursday. Several hundred students have occupied part of Gdansk University since yesterday.

The government's simultaneous acceptance of church mediation and a propaganda assault on the strikers came after days in which authorities appeared unsure of how to respond to the labor strife, and the response from the strikers and Solidarity was mixed.

Bogdan Kowalewski, a spokesman for the striking Nowa Huta steelworkers, denied that strikers had intimidated other workers. "Everything Urban said is untrue," he said in a telephone interview.

In an appearance at the shipyard here this afternoon, Walesa angrily attacked official coverage of the strikes, telling a reporter for the state news agency PAP, "If you are going to lie, don't come here at all."

At the same time, a senior adviser of Solidarity, Bronislaw Geremek, said late today that authorities appeared willing to bargain over new reforms. "I was told the government sees a chance of finding agreement," said Geremek. "But it doesn't want to recognize Solidarity, and this makes things very difficult."

Workers striking here since Monday, in the shipyard where Solidarity was born in 1980, are demanding that the union again be legalized at their enterprise. During 16 months in 1980-81, Solidarity was the only independent union ever tolerated in the Soviet Bloc.

At a rally near the flower- and banner-bedecked main gate this morning, Walesa told the workers that "the eyes of the country are on the shipyard." He added: "I believe that the shipyard, carefully, peacefully, together with management, will work to find a way for Poland to follow the road of reform."

Jaruzelski, who suppressed the union with a declaration of martial law in December 1981, repeatedly has ruled out talks with the union, and security forces have detained dozens of Solidarity activists in recent days.

However, the church representatives arriving here said the government had agreed to facilitate their mediation effort by guaranteeing their entrance into the striking plants. The intellectuals said that in addition to meeting management and strikers, they would report back to the episcopate in Warsaw and possibly meet government officials there.

"Our role is to think up a solution and put it forward," said Tadeusz Mazowiecki, one of two Catholic intellectuals and former Solidarity advisers sent here by the episcopate. He added: "Undeniably, there is a search for a third road [between government and Solidarity], but you know where my heart lies."

All five of the laymen have been strong supporters of Solidarity. Mazowiecki and economist Andrzej Wielowieyski, the other delegate here, both acted as advisers to Walesa during the 1980 shipyard strike and subsequent period of legal activity by the union.

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The delegation to Nowa Huta was led by another former Solidarity adviser, law Prof. Andrzej Stelmachowski, and included defense lawyer Janusz Olszewski and Halina Bortnowska, a Catholic journalist and former adviser to Solidarity steelworkers.

GRAPHIC: MAP, BRAD WYE

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: POLAND; UNION ACTIONS; CATHOLICISM

NAMED-PERSONS: WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI; LECH WALESA

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May 6, 1988, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 6; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1303 words

HEADLINE: SECURITY FORCES CRUSH A WALKOUT AT MILL IN POLAND

BYLINE: By JOHN TAGLIABUE, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland, May 5

BODY:

Security forces stormed the big Lenin steel mill at Nowa Huta in southern Poland today, crushing a 10-day strike that had set off a wave of labor unrest.

At the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, on the Baltic, several hundred workers continued a four-day-old strike as riot policemen kept the grounds sealed.

Only sketchy information was available here about the action at Nowa Huta, near Cracow, where workers had sought pay increases and made several political demands, including the creation of independent local unions.

Strike Leaders Reported Seized

Reports reaching here said security forces entered the steel mill at 2 A.M. and arrested the leaders of the strike. It was not clear if all operations had resumed at the plant. [The riot police set off percussion grenades in storming the Nowa Huta plant and rounded up 38 people, The Associated Press reported from Warsaw. The raid came only hours after the strike committee, which said it represented 15,000 of the 32,000 employees, was told it would have its first talks with management. [The Government denied that there were injuries at Nowa Huta, but opposition spokesmen said that strikers were beaten and that at least 32 required treatment, The A.P. reported. Strikers said a protest was held after the police left and maney workers refused to return to work.] 'It's Not Fair Play'

The developments came a day after five mediators were named by Roman Catholic bishops in Poland to defuse the labor conflicts, which have left the country in a state of high tension in recent days.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a publicist and one of the church mediators at the Gdansk shipyard, said he and his fellow mediator, Andrzej Wielowieyski, learned sketchy details of the developments at Nowa Huta through radio reports and telephone contacts. Journalists who tried to telephone Cracow to get more information about the Nowa Huta events could not get through.

''It's not fair play,'' said Mr. Mazowiecki, who held talks with the strike committee at the shipyard and with the yard management. There were no signs that an end to the Gdansk strike was in sight.

No Assurances Against Force

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Asked whether the church mediators had received specific assurances that force would not be used while the mediation process continued, Mr. Mazowiecki said that there had been ''no kind of assurances.'' But he said that it was the ''generally declared understanding'' among the mediators.

''This is sad,'' he said, chatting with reporters on the shipyard grounds. ''I think history is headed in the right direction, toward pluralism, and this moment will also have its significance in that history.''

Mr. Mazowiecki said that he knew nothing of the whereabouts of the three church mediators at Nowa Huta. But he said that a Catholic priest, whom he could only identify as Father Zalewski and who had been with the strikers during the nighttime raid, had been taken by the police to the offices of Franciszek Cardinal Macharski, the Archbishop of Cracow.

Cardinal Macharski is understood to have been one of the church figures who initiated the mediation plan.

Asked what he thought the reaction of the church figures would be to the use of force at the Nowa Huta plant, Mr. Mazowiecki replied: ''I suppose they will be very much shocked. Because it happened at a moment when talks were about to start at 8 A.M.''

On Wednesday, the Government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski undertook a two-pronged effort against the strikes:

A conciliatory statement was issued by the ruling Politburo, leading the church to believe it approved the mediation effort. At the same time, the Government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, accused the strikers of ''terrorist activities'' and denounced the founder of the outlawed Solidarity trade union, Lech Walesa, as a fomenter of revolution.

Death Threats Are Cited

The Government television and radio stations also accused the strikers of using death threats to force workers to join the walkouts, which were denounced as illegal. Reporters who spoke with strikers, plant managers and representatives of the Government-approved labor unions found no evidence to support that charge.

The Lenin shipyard here was virtually deserted today. At the main gate, which was closed to the public at midmorning by scores of riot policemen, about 250 striking workers straddled the iron gates chanting Solidarity slogans and singing patriotic songs.

Over a bullhorn, one worker said: ''We want money. Not that we want to buy big fancy cars, but just to support our wives and children. We work very hard. We deserve this.''

Facing the rows of policemen, he continued: ''We don't have any cannons, any tanks, any truncheons. We don't want to fight. We're here to make sure we'll be able to earn enough money in 8 hours, and not in 12 or more, to support our families.''

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The Gdansk strikers are also calling for legalization of the local branch of Solidarity.

At the seven other gates small bands of strikers stood guard, facing riot policemen across a wire divide. Some workers made sandwiches or opened bottles of beer for the rest.

They looked tough, with their grimy faces and heavy overalls, but many were clearly frightened.

A strike organizer, who came by with a reporter, was bombarded with questions by wide-eyed workers: ''What has happened in Nowa Huta? We heard rumors, is it over?''

The organizer, a veteran of strikes here in 1970 and 1980, was asked if the workers were afraid. ''Sure they're scared,'' he replied. ''If we can make it through one night, we can make it.''

Nodding toward the police, whose gray uniforms prompt the workers to call them ''smurfs,'' for the gray plastic toys popular here, he joked, ''They get 100,000 zlotys from Jaruzelski if they manage to slip in here.''

At the strike headquarters, in a grimy cafeteria next to the main gate, strike leaders conferred among themselves and with the church mediators throughout the day.

Mr. Walesa, who stayed the night with the workers after signs increased that the Government might be preparing to use force, sat in the cafeteria, chatting with workers and foreign reporters. Sometimes he strolled through the yard in bright sunshine, between big chunks of structural steel.

At 44, Mr. Walesa has back trouble and suffers from diabetes. He is on a 22-day sick leave. But now he has other problems. He is not the leader of the strike, for his advisers did not want him to link his name and prestige to a labor outbreak that had erupted spontaneously and whose success they could not guarantee. ''We did not think these spontaneous things would happen,'' Mr. Walesa said. ''But we promised we would always be with the people. I had no choice.''

Students Support Strikes

The unrest of recent days confronts General Jaruzelski with a bleak outlook. There have been student rallies in Warsaw, Cracow and Gdansk supporting the striking workers. There is also no way of knowing how workers at other plants will react. [According to The Associated Press, strikes and protests were reported among bus and streetcar drivers in the northwestern cities of Szczecin and Police, and briefly by shipworkers in Gdynia.] The mood among the Gdansk strikers alternated between bright and dark. ''What's the worst thing that can happen to me?'' Mr. Walesa said. ''They can carry me out. We cannot have slaves as workers.''

Mr. Mazowiecki said that the strikers had proposed that three of their number meet with management. He said the offer was rejected. Asked whether he thought the authorities would use force in Gdansk, he replied: ''The shipyard is a symbolic place. And the symbolic expression of using force would be much

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greater than at Nowa Huta. That is why one might think they would be more restrained. But the events at Nowa Huta mean it is possible.''

GRAPHIC: map of Poland highlighting Nowa Huta (pg. A10)

SUBJECT: POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; STEEL AND IRON; LABOR; STRIKES; SHIPBUILDING, CONVERSION AND REPAIR

NAME: TAGLIABUE, JOHN

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND; NOWA HUTA (POLAND); GDANSK (POLAND)

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53RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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May 7, 1988, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 956 words

HEADLINE: Walesa Lifts Spirits in Surrounded Shipyard;
New Generation of Polish Workers Turns to Solidarity Leader

BYLINE: Jackson Diehl, Washington Post Foreign Service

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland, May 6

BODY:

A portable radio tuned to the frequency of Polish police crackled ominously at 2:45 a.m. today in the darkened conference room at the Lenin shipyard where Solidarity leader Lech Walesa slept. "We're going to finish it," a voice on the radio shouted.

Thus began another skirmish in what Walesa later called "the psychological war" between Communist authorities and the 1,000 shipyard workers occupying the huge Lenin yard. Moments later, militarized police in riot gear marched up to the yard's main gate, thumping truncheons against body shields. Startled workers poured out of the nearby mess hall to meet them.

Then, as suddenly as they had come, the police turned and left. The sole intent of the maneuver, it seemed, had been to set off a nerve-jangling false alarm in the shipyard, preventing Walesa and the rest of the strikers from getting a night's sleep.

As the shipyard strike has settled into a police siege of Solidarity's most militant supporters, the "psychological war" has meant a grim struggle by Walesa and other strike leaders to hold together the morale and minds of their mostly young, inexperienced men against a constant barrage of such tactics.

It is a fight that matches harassment, deprivation and the grim threat of beatings and jail against speeches, songs, and even joke contests meant to keep hope alive. "The psychological war is an element that weakens us," Walesa said. "People in the center are uncertain. . . . They feel the police could come in and do unpleasant things to them. But we go on."

A key moment in the workers' test seemed to come this morning when one young employee, apparently broken by the mounting tension, smashed a window in the workers' second-floor mess hall and attempted to jump. He was restrained and apparently was not seriously injured.

Nevertheless, the incident seemed expressive of the plunging spirits of many young strikers. All through the previous day and night, listening to Radio Free Europe's Polish service on portable radios, they had been bombarded with graphic reports of how antiterrorist police had charged striking departments of the Lenin steelworks near Krakow with stun grenades and tear gas, and severely beat many young workers.

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Meanwhile, militarized police in Gdansk had sealed off the Lenin yards and pushed all civilians out of sight. Telephones to the yard were cut, deliveries of food were halted, relatives were no longer allowed to visit and even the doctors and nurses at the infirmary were not allowed to change shifts.

Plainclothes policemen had quietly infilitrated the yard and had begun to exert their own pressure. Occasionally, unidentified young men would start a sudden rush in the direction of a window or a gate, as if a police attack had begun. By the time the false alarm was defused, hundreds of exhausted workers had reacted with a flash of fear.

The 3 a.m. mock raid was one of several harassments by police during the night. About 11 p.m., two police vans pulled up to the main gate and gunned their engines. "Good evening, gentlemen," an officer shouted over a megaphone, and one van suddenly lurched forward as if it were going to crash through the gates. The police banged on the sides of their vans and shouted, but the young workers at the gate held firm, neither fleeing nor attacking.

This morning, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic journalist sent to the shipyard by Poland's Roman Catholic bishops as a mediator, told the young strikers that he was amazed by their "self-control and responsibility."

"We haven't lost hope that Poles will find a common language," Mazowiecki said, "and the most important factor for that would be the kind of responsibility you showed last night."

While Mazowiecki's words were a comfort for some, the attempted leap of the disturbed young man left hundreds who witnessed it in the central mess hall limp at their tables, shocked by yet another image of panic and violence.

Walesa, who has tried to play the role of an adviser rather than a strike leader here, was suddenly moved to intervene. Leaping onto a small platform, he addressed the workers: "If we continue to act the way we are sometimes acting, this kind of incident based on stress could repeat itself," he said.

Explaining that he and his aides had tried to leave the strike to the younger generation that was leading it, Walesa said he had a "personal request."

"You know that Solidarity also means taking care of the person standing next to you," he said.

"Therefore I ask you, our Solidarity has to be so big, everyone must recognize the other. You have to look into his eyes, and if there's a strange look you have to ask, 'What is your problem, can I help?' or you can come and pull on Walesa's sleeve and say, 'Walesa, I have a problem.' "

Appealing to workers to fill their time together, Walesa said, "We have to share what we have. We have no choice. Otherwise we will all suffer a lot."

"I don't want to see anybody with a sad face," he concluded, "and if you have to go to your wife, if you love her and your heart is so troubled, then you can go. You will go, and if you have strength, you will return."

For a while at least, the simple, stirring appeal seemed to turn the tide. Within minutes, a brigade of young workers had appeared with brooms near the

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shipyard's front gate and began sweeping up days of accumulated bottles and trash. Inside the mess hall, several hundred workers pulled up chairs and launched into jokes and songs.

Soon they began singing the words of some new songs composed during the strikes by a young protester. "We won't go home while we still have strength," they sang. "We will settle this business we are fighting for, whether it will be good here or bad."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, EXAHUSTED STRIKERS AT THE BESIEGED LENIN SHIPYARD TRY TO FIND WAYS TO PASS THE TIME AS THEY AWAIT GOVERNMENT MOVES. UPI/REUTER

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: POLAND; UNION ACTIONS; ARMED FORCES; POLICE SERVICES

ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY

NAMED-PERSONS: LECH WALESA; ZDZISLAW SADOWSKI

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51ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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May 12, 1988, Thursday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 1, Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1305 words

HEADLINE: IN POLAND, NO WINNERS;
As Strikes End, Solidarity Finds Its Power Is Limited, but So Too Is the Government's

BYLINE: By JOHN TAGLIABUE, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland, May 11

BODY:

Today, for the first time in more than two weeks, Poland was free of labor disruptions, sit-ins or other strife.

But many of the issues that caused the unrest, such as methods to achieve economic revival, are still unresolved, and there is no guarantee that this calm will be any more durable than the previous one.

When workers at the Lenin shipyard here linked arms Tuesday and marched grimly from the yard to end their nine-day strike, there were those who felt the procession was a funeral cortege for the Government's economic plans.

But there was also a sense that the men may have been marking the death of the notion that the outlawed Solidarity trade union can be a mass movement of millions of workers.

The union's weakness was evident in the comments of workers who weren't involved in the strike or who left the shipyard before it ended.

Some of them complained that the strike got too political when strike leaders, welders and mechanics like themselves, were strong-armed by outsiders. Others said the timing was poor and that perhaps the strikers should have waited several more months, or at least until Parliament discussed the social situation one more time. Others seemed simply afraid.

The solution reached in Gdansk was a face-saving compromise for both sides. Solidarity, whose key demand for legalization was not met, was free to continue its pressure on the authorities to follow through on commitments to economic change, including union pluralism. The Communist authorities were spared the international outcry that certainly would have followed a decision to end the strike with broken bones and bloodied heads.

New Powers for Economic Czar

The Government was not about to announce the cancellation of its economic plans. In Warsaw today, as if in a sequel to the strike, Poland's Parliament approved broad emergency powers for the Government's economic czar, Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski. The new powers will enable him to enforce the

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program for economic recovery by dismissing uncooperative managers, freezing wages and prices, and even making strikes subject, in effect, to approval by the Politburo of the Communist Party.

Stronger measures enabling the Government to virtually ban labor action were dropped. Instead, the Government merely said collective-bargaining procedures would be subject to approval by the leadership of the Government-approved trade unions that were set up in 1982 to replace Solidarity. The head of these unions is Alfred Miodowicz, a member of the Politburo.

Parliament's move today appeared to be an act of desperation, for if the labor unrest of the last few weeks demonstrated anything, it was that the Government and the party no longer has the vigor to use such powers - especially in the wake of the international outcry over the police raid that broke up the strike at the Nowa Huta steel foundry last Thursday.

When Jerzy Malkowski, the Government economic spokesman, was asked at a news conference whether the Government would consider a wage-and-price freeze as the first exercise of its new powers, the room rang with the laughter of the reporters attending, most of them Poles.

Sense of Hopelessness

The strikes in more than a dozen factories, including the main ones in Nowa Huta and at the shipyard here in Gdansk, were the work of small bands of embittered young workers. The many workers who stayed away from the strikes did so not because they disagreed with the strikers' aims, but rather out of a sense of hopelessness and fear. This was particularly true among older workers who experienced strikes in 1970 and 1980.

The Government is no less fearful of the workers who didn't strike than of the strikers. On Tuesday, even as the strikers were preparing their dramatic march from the yard, those who did not strike were called to a sports fieldhouse near the center of Gdansk to collect their pay for April. The peaceful affair, in which several hundred workers stood in line to pick up their pay envelopes, unfolded under the watchful eyes of hundreds of riot police.

'They're Afraid of Our Shadows'

''Look, we're collecting our money, and we're collecting it under police sticks,'' a 27-year-old welder said, nodding toward battered blue police vans. ''They're afraid of our shadows.'' For the Government, the lesson seems simple. Though it won a partial victory over determinedly peaceful strikers, it has yet to win the support of a disenchanted citizenry and a sullen, uncooperative work force.

Solidarity was born out of frustration with steadily deteriorating living conditions, out of a desire for the good things after years of empty promises, and out of cynicism about ruling-class corruption. The strikes showed these feelings have not changed, even though the union was officially outlawed after the declaration of martial law in 1981 and then replaced by the Government-sanctioned unions.

Solidarity won neither its main demand for legalization nor lesser demands for pay increases. Next month, however, the Lenin shipyard workers will

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receive a wage increase that was scheduled even before the strike started. But in other places - in Bydgoszcz, for example - the Government agreed to wage increases for striking Government-approved unions that were bigger than planned. This concession will increase pressure on the Government to make bigger wage raises uniform across the country, creating inflation that could seriously damage the Government's economic plans.

For the union, the strike was encouraging for several reasons. Though weakened by arrests and defections, it saw a rash of strikes erupt, some of them crippling major industrial complexes for more than a week. The Government was compelled to use force to end the one at Nowa Huta and to undertake direct contact with Solidarity advisers to end the one here, something that would have been unthinkable as recently as several months ago.

Heady Days of '80 Are Over

The Government was even claiming it had sought direct talks with Lech Walesa, the union leader, which e denies. But it was a far cry from recent disparaging references to him as a private person, and to Solidarity as a phantom, an organization that no longer exists in Poland.

But if the strikes demonstrated that Solidarity still exists, they also showed clearly that the heady days of 1980, when the union could mobilize millions of workers, are not about to come again.

Virtually no factories heeded a call by the union's national council Monday for job actions in support of the striking shipyard workers, who were facing the likelihood of a police assualt to end their strike.

When Mr. Walesa reaffirmed the union's slogan Tuesday night after leaving the shipyard, saying, ''There is no freedom without Solidarity,'' his wife, Danuta, interjected bitterly, ''There is no Solidarity.''

'History Sometimes Repeats'

But Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a senior adviser to Mr. Walesa during the strike, put it differently. ''History sometimes repeats itself,'' he said last week, ''but never in the same way.''

Mr. Walesa appears to have drawn conclusions from the change. Again and again during the shipyard strike, he insisted that the comparison with 1980 - when millions of workers both young and old followed the union - was flawed.

Suggesting that the union can no longer mobilize the millions it once inspired, he hinted that Solidarity must now employ small elites, like the 500 Gdansk workers who held out to the end, to press the Government into living up to pledges for economic change and a more open and democratic society.

''In 1980, we mustered numbers,'' he said this morning. ''Now we need techniques. We as the leadership did not know yet how to use those techniques. You look for the millions. But the systems of struggle are changing.''

GRAPHIC: photo of Lech Walesa (Reuters) (pg. A12)

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(c) 1988 The New York Times, May 12, 1988

TYPE: News Analysis

SUBJECT: STRIKES; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY UNION (POLAND)

NAME: TAGLIABUE, JOHN

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND; GDANSK (POLAND)

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47TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1988 The Times Mirror Company;
Los Angeles Times

August 30, 1988, Tuesday, Late Final Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 1; Column 6; Late Final Desk

LENGTH: 552 words

HEADLINE: WALESA, POLISH REGIME TO MEET FIRST TIME IN 6 YEARS;
BUT STRIKES BY SOLIDARITY WILL GO ON

BYLINE: By Times Wire Services

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland

BODY:

Solidarity founder Lech Walesa will hold his first talks with the Polish leadership in six years on Wednesday in a government effort to end weeks of labor turmoil, his aides said today.

Walesa will confer with Interior Minister Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak in a meeting attended by a representative of the Roman Catholic Church, said senior Solidarity adviser Adam Michnik.

The meeting will take place on the eighth anniversary of the Aug. 31, 1980, accords signed by Walesa and the Polish authorities in Gdansk that set up Solidarity as the first free trade union in communist-ruled Eastern Europe.

Senior Solidarity adviser Tadeusz Mazowiecki called the decision to hold talks "a historic moment."

Walesa, who had earlier in the evening left the strikebound Lenin shipyard to confer with top advisers and Roman Catholic Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski at St. Brygida's Church, later left the rectory with Goclowski to the cheers and chants of supporters.

The government announced earlier today that talks including the independent union, which now is outlawed, could begin as soon as Walesa ended the Lenin shipyard strike.

Talks Automatic

Jerzy Urban, the government spokesman, said at his weekly news conference: "The stoppage of strikes by Mr. Lech Walesa and the shipyard where he works would mean automatically convening a round table."

But Walesa aide Pioitr Konopka said, "For the present, the strike is still on."

Walesa told journalists on Monday that he is ready to join talks with the authorities unconditionally as soon as they indicate readiness to discuss the re-legalization of Solidarity, banned under martial law in 1982.

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(c) 1988 Los Angeles Times, August 30, 1988

Asked whether this could be discussed at the talks, Urban said there are no conditions and the agenda will be open.

"As far as the order and scope of the talks are concerned, this is open to agreement by the participants in the discussions," he said.

Talks involving Walesa and Solidarity would represent his first contact with high officials since he was interned in 1982.

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's government imposed martial law in December, 1981, to suppress Solidarity and outlawed it in 1982. Strikers demand that it be made legal again.

Opposition figures have repeatedly said the government cannot push through its crucial economic reform program without reaching a consensus with the people through talks with Solidarity and the Catholic opposition.

Symbolism Conceded

Urban acknowledged that Walesa's presence at the talks would indicate that he represented a mass movement. Authorities have hitherto dismissed the Solidarity leader as a non-person since outlawing the union.

Round table talks with the opposition were proposed last Friday by Interior Minister Kiszczak. The proposal was approved during the weekend by the Communist Party's policy-making Central Committee.

While the government expressed its willingness to talk, strikers at the Stalowa Wola steel mill in southeast Poland said soldiers had moved into the town and helicopters flew over the plant at about noon.

Workers are occupying the shipyard and steel mill, as is the custom during strikes in Poland.

Ten enterprises in Poland remained on strike today. At its height, the current labor unrest involved 20 sites employing 100,000 people and was the worst in seven years.

TYPE: Wire

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48TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 26, 1988, Friday, Late City Final Edition
Correction Appended

SECTION: Section A; Page 10, Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 859 words

HEADLINE: Mediation Bid Seen in Polish Strikes

BYLINE: By SERGE SCHMEMANN, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: GDANSK, Poland, Aug. 25

BODY:

A prominent Roman Catholic scholar met today with Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, in what appeared to be the first attempt at mediation between the Government and striking Polish workers.

Spokesmen for Solidarity said the go-between, Andrzej Stelmachowsji, chairman of the Catholic Intelligentsia Club in Warsaw, met twice on Wednesday with an unidentified senior Government official in Warsaw before traveling to Gdansk today ''with the intention of more closely learning Mr. Walesa's position.''

After emerging from more than six hours with Mr. Walesa inside the strike-bound Lenin shipyard, Mr. Stelmachowsji declined to make any comment. But Solidarity figures said he would be heading back to Warsaw, probably to meet again with Government officials.

The Government has declared it will not negotiate with the workers who have staged a flurry of strikes across Poland in the last 10 days. It made no mention of Mr. Stelmachowsji's talks, but the mediation attempt had been widely rumored even before his arrival here.

Involved in Earlier Mediation

Mr. Stelmachowsji is known to have close ties both to Solidarity and to the leadership of the Polish Catholic Church, and he was involved in a mediation attempt by the church during the last round of labor unrest last spring. Solidarity spokesmen said he was not acting on behalf of the church this time, but was doing so with its knowledge.

Although there was no immediate indication of the content of the talks, the apparent effort at mediation came as the momentum of the newest labor unrest in Poland seemed to be stalling. The Government reported that only five coal mines remained out of operation, compared with about 12 at the height of the disorders.

The Government press agency said ''a minority of miners'' continued to block six coal mines, including the July Manifesto mine, where the troubles began. The evening television news program cited a report that another mine had been returned to operation, but gave no indication whether force had been used.

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No major new walkouts were reported, and an attempt on Wednesday to involve workers at the giant Nowa Huta steel works near Cracow in the strike reportedly failed.

Solidarity organizers said that three mines near Jastrzebie, the southern city where the recent strikes began, were cleared of striking miners by force on Wednesday night, and that miners had been beaten by riot policemen with truncheons.

Use of Force Is Denied

The organizers said some of these mines were among those where the Government reported Wednesday that strikes had been ended. The Government denied using force.

Other strikes were reported continuing in Szczecin, Wroclaw and Gdansk, though the extent could not be authoritatively established through the conflicting reports issued by the Government and Solidarity.

The Government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, when asked by reporters whether he thought the Government had the situation under control, said, ''I would not like to make such a statement at this point.''

Reports on the strikes in the Government-controlled press, though extensive, stressed the economic damage they were causing to a nation already battered by unending shortages and rampant inflation. Today, for example, the official press agency reported that wildcat strikes at Szczecin ports were costing the state 80 million zlotys a day, or about $200,000 at the official rate.

Today's newspapers also reported that anyone taking part in ''illegal strikes'' - which include all current strikes according to the Government -would not be paid. The press agency also carried a report from the Association of Coal Mines in Katowice saying some of the occupied mines were becoming dangerous because of accumulating water.

A wave of labor unrest last April and May, similar but less extensive than the current strikes, was set off by steep increases in prices. It ended without any of the workers' demands being met when the last strikers marched peacefully out of the Lenin shipyard.

Trouble Started in South

The current unrest broke out when coal mines in Jastrzebie walked off their jobs demanding higher pay and recognition of the Solidarity labor union. The unrest spread to other mines and enterprises in Szczecin, Wroclaw, Gdansk, Poznan and elsewhere.

Mr. Walesa and several hundred workers at the Lenin shipyard, the birthplace of the Solidarity movement in 1980, put down their tools on Monday. They have remained inside the shipyard since, maintaining banners and posters at the gates, while the police have ringed the complex.

Reporters were not allowed near the gates, but the strikers could be seen from passing trams, and their amplified rallies echoed through neighboring streets.

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A shifting group of Solidarity supporters clustered outside the gates of the cobbled courtyard of St. Brygida Church near the old center of Gdansk, whose pastor, the Rev. Henryk Jankowski, is regarded as the unofficial chaplain of Solidarity.

Mr. Walesa's main advisers - including Adam Michnik, Piotr Konopka and Tadeusz Mazowiecki - had made the parish hall into a kind of impromptu strike headquarters.

CORRECTION-DATE: August 29, 1988, Monday, Late City Final Edition

CORRECTION:
Because of a transcription error, an article from Gdansk, Poland, on Friday about an attempt to settle strikes in Poland misidentified a mediator.

He is Andrzej Stelmachowski.

GRAPHIC: map of Poland highlighting Gdansk

SUBJECT: STRIKES; LABOR

ORGANIZATION: ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

NAME: WALESA, LECH; STELMACHOWSJI, ANDRZEJ; SCHMEMANN, SERGE

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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31ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1988 The New York Times Company;
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October 21, 1988, Friday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 3, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 732 words

HEADLINE: Warsaw Eases Its Grip on the Press

BYLINE: By JOHN TAGLIABUE, Special to the New York Times

DATELINE: WARSAW, Oct. 20

BODY:

When two journalists from The Reporter, a quiet monthly, interviewed Lech Walesa in Gdansk last month, the censors refused to allow publication, and the paper's editors declined to get pushy about it.

So a freewheeling monthly called Konfrontacje, an irreverent paper that appeared on the newsstands early this year, picked it up and printed it.

Getting permission to publish the interview, the first with the Solidarity leader in an official paper since 1981, cost Konfrontacje's editor, Marek Goliszewski, by his own account, ''endless discussions with the censor, though in the end they accepted it.''

Mr. Goliszewski's victory was more than an isolated case. The paper's decision to let Mr. Walesa explain his idea of an anti-crisis pact to revive Poland is part of an upheaval that appears destined to open the official press to all but the most strident opposition voices. Five months earlier the paper opened its pages to a Walesa adviser, the historian Bronislaw Geremek.

Late last month another Walesa adviser, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was interviewed by the Warsaw daily Express Wieczorny. Earlier, Mr. Mazowiecki and other Solidarity advisers were surveyed by the weekly Polityka about topics for the round-table talks on Poland's future.

'This Was the First Step'

The abrupt shift by the censors is a delayed reaction to the Government's decision to open those talks with the opposition. The people around Konfrontacje had thrown its weight onto the scales in favor of such discussions, which have been delayed but are expected to begin by the end of this month.

After fighting for publication of Mr. Geremek's views, the editors organized a meeting at Warsaw University in June between Government and opposition people. Coming only weeks after the first of two waves of labor confrontations to shake Poland this year, the idea was to find ways out of a deteriorating situation.

''We were agreed everything was wrong, and we had to discuss ways to set it right,'' Mr. Goliszewski said. ''This was the first step, gathering people's views and getting them together.''

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Konfrontacje leans to long interviews, with heavy doses of politics and culture. The paper serialized Orwell's ''Animal Farm,'' once disdained in Communist-governed countries, and reprints articles about Poland from American magazines like Time and Newsweek in the original English.

But Konfrontacje's pushiness has not upset Poland's news balance, which favors the Government.

So engaged was the Government propaganda apparatus in smiting Solidarity during the last round of strikes this summer that Solidarity negotiators have placed a demand for unhindered access to press, television and radio near the top of their list of topics for round-table discussion.

Support From Jaruzelski

Indeed, Konfrontacje itself might not have flown without a lift from Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader. Preparing the first issue, the editors were forced to appeal to the general after the censors confiscated the paper.

''Without the support of Jaruzelski himself we would not have gotten started,'' Mr. Goliszewski said. ''He unequivocally supported us.''

Early this month the paper's editors struggled with the censor over the text of remarks by Andrzej Stalmachowski, the law professor who mediates between the Government and Solidarity. Mr. Goliszewski would not detail the objections.

The editor attributes Poland's varied news spectrum, from broad liberality to heavy-handed propaganda, to a divided political landscape.

'Different Opinions'

''In the press as in politics,'' he said, ''even in unified groups there exist different opinions and frequently contradictions. The same holds for the press. There are daring experiments, and others simply defending traditional principles and old ways of thinking.''

Konfrontacje was the brainchild of people close to the Patriotic Front for National Rebirth, or Pron, which was sponsored by General Jaruzelski in 1982 as a grand movement of independent opinion, but never really shook free of Communist dominance. Now the idea is to group a liberal political lobby around the paper.

''We want a club to promote political discussion, to help candidates, a kind of lobby,'' Mr. Goliszewski said. ''We want to sum up discussion, discover the currents that exist, find people and push for them in Parliament and in the Government.''

SUBJECT: GOVERNMENT INFORMATION POLICIES; NEWS AND NEWS MEDIA

ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY UNION (POLAND)

NAME: TAGLIABUE, JOHN; WALESA, LECH

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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29TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1988 The New York Times Company;
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October 23, 1988, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 6; Page 36, Column 1; Magazine Desk

LENGTH: 4181 words

HEADLINE: Lech! Lech! Lech!

BYLINE: By John Tagliabue; John Tagliabue is The Times's bureau chief in Warsaw.

BODY:

IT WAS A CURIOUS ENCOUNTER, one that Lech Walesa, the leader of Poland's outlawed Solidarity trade union, would later describe as involving ''here a corporal, there a general.''

On one side of the table sat Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak, resplendent in the uniform of a general of the Polish Army. The former head of military counterintelligence and the military police, he is now, at 63, Interior Minister, responsible for law and order. On the other side, Walesa, the founder of Solidarity, a shipyard electrician and a corporal in the Polish Army Reserve - an unassuming 45-year-old with a graying, drooping mustache, wearing a rumpled tweed jacket and shapeless slacks.

After a seven-year boycott of Walesa, the Communist regime that had once derisively likened him to the sparrow in a children's fable trying to be an eagle, and in more agressive moments had falsely accused him of being a drunkard, had summoned the union leader on Aug. 31 to a small Government villa used for confidential meetings. It was on a wooded street in a Warsaw suburb. All across Poland, thousands of workers, angered by high prices, had shut down vital industries and facilities - in Silesia, the coal mines that provide most of the hard currency that keeps the Polish economy going, or, at least limping; in Stalowa Wola, a huge steel-and-machinery complex; on the Baltic Sea, the two major seaports of Szczecin and Gdansk.

The strikers were seeking a more basic solution than the Government's usual prescription of printing more money. Everywhere there was the same demand: the Government must guarantee a free trade union by once again legalizing Solidarity, which had been outlawed in November 1982 by Poland's leader, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski. He had sent tanks and troops into the streets to crush the labor movement that had come to represent the hopes of millions of Poles.

Like so many events in the troubled history of Poland, the encounter was not without its ironies. It was Kiszczak who in 1982 had signed the order that led to 11 months of internment for Walesa. And it was Kiszczak who had chosen to conduct personally Walesa's prerelease interview.

Now the general had a remarkable offer for the corporal. If Walesa could persuade the strikers to go back to work, the Government would agree to discuss the legalization of Solidarity.

The stakes were high on both sides. If Walesa succeeded in ending the strikes, the Polish Government would have to negotiate with Solidarity. If

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Walesa failed, his credibility would be destroyed and he would be finished.

The general's intentions remain unclear, but there is widespread conjecture that his idea was to isolate Walesa from the workers. Minutes after the meeting ended, Kiszczak confided to a Polish magazine editor that he had tendered the offer because he was convinced Walesa would not be able to sway the strikers.

The general's offer startled Walesa, but he knew it was one he could not refuse. Given the dire economic situation in Poland, Walesa, who was negotiating on behalf of the strike committees, felt it was his responsibility to take up the challenge. Three days later, the last of the striking work-ers agreed to return to work.

It was a typical

Walesa performance: intuitive, courageous and cannily political.

Once again these traits had catapulted the electrician from Gdansk into the forefront of Polish, and by extension Eastern European, politics.

Talks between a Government team led by General Kiszczak and another group drawn from various social and political entities, including Solidarity, were scheduled to be-gin earlier this week in Warsaw. The initial round of discussions will likely be followed by smaller gatherings of specialists to deal with specific topics, such as the economy or the press. General Jaruzelski recently called the coming discussions an ''enormous chance'' for the country to achieve what his Government likes to call ''national reconciliation.''

Many Poles, however, are skeptical; they regard the talks as a ploy to enable the Communists to consolidate their controls. If the talks fail, as is possible, many foresee a third and even more disastrous round of labor confrontation for Poland.

WALESA IS NOT one, but 10 men:

Solidarity leader, electrician, father, husband, actor, negotiator and more,'' says Adam Michnik, the essayist and a close personal friend and adviser to the union leader. ''He's a worker, with intellectuals around him. He's very nationalistic, without being chauvinistic; very Catholic, without being clerical. A kind of Polish synthesis.''

Yet when Walesa dealt with the Goverment in August, he was essentially alone. At Kiszczak's side sat Stanislaw Ciosek, a colleague in the ruling Politburo; they operated as a team. Sitting next to Walesa was Bishop Jerzy Dabrowski, Deputy Secretary of the Conference of Roman Catholic Bishops in Poland, who had been designated by the episcopate at the Solidarity leader's request. But Bishop Dabrowski sat silently and played no part in the discussions.

When the meeting ended, Walesa drove back to the episcopate headquarters in Warsaw in the bishop's green Mercedes-Benz. Awaiting him were some of his closest advisers, men like Bronislaw Geremek, a pipe-smoking medieval historian; Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a lay Catholic lawyer and journalist, and Andrzej Stelmachowski, a Warsaw law professor.

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As Geremek later recalled, Walesa's advisers initially viewed his acceptance of the Government's challenge as a disastrous mistake. It proved, however, to be another example of Walesa's remarkable political intuition, a testimony to his genius for seizing the moment.

The power of Walesa's arguments won over his advisers, who then set about calling strike leaders at all the facilities involved and read them his appeal to end their sit-ins. Most agreed to accept, but the leaders at Gdansk and Jastrzebie, a coal-mining center, insisted that Walesa personally come and talk to them. So he raced that very evening by car to Gdansk, where he met at 11 P.M. with 33 strike leaders seated at tables lining the walls of the company cafeteria.

The atmosphere, according to some of those present, was bitter and the discussion heated. The prevailing view was that Walesa had violated his negotiating mandate by agreeing to end the strikes with no firm guarantee of Solidarity's return to legality. Walesa argued that he had acted responsibly and that the strikes had yielded a tangible result - the chance for serious talks.

The debate wore on until 7 A.M., when the strike leaders finally gave Walesa their endorsement. He then went out to face a large gathering of shipyard workers, who greeted him with boos and charges of betrayal. Before such a crowd, the usually mild-mannered electrician becomes a high-flown orator, swaying and writhing, stabbing the air with his hands for emphasis. Eventually, he succeeded in persuading them to accept the Government's offer.

Walesa then drove 440 miles to Jastrzebie, where the coal miner's central issues were personal safety and job security. Again there was much shouting and swearing, but when calls to the episcopate in Warsaw brought assurances from the bishops conference - empowered to handle such matters - that the church would go to bat for any worker dismissed, the miners agreed to accept.

Walesa's gamble had paid off.

BEFORE THE MOST recent round of strikes, Walesa, like Solidarity, had been in a kind of eclipse brought on largely, but not exclusively, by Government oppression. Many of Poland's intellectuals had drifted from the movement, and the number of workers active in the ranks had shrunk. In September 1987, 30 regional chiefs had signed a letter criticizing the inactivity of the national leadership and calling for a more active struggle with the authorities.

Some Catholic Church leaders also had concluded that the union was a spent force. After Vice President Bush and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Poland last autumn and winter, diplomats from their countries indicated that the message they took back from the Polish Primate, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, was that Solidarity represented a closed chapter of Poland's history.

Walesa may have been down but he wasn't out. On the day he was released from jail, he had pledged that ''in my future conduct I will be courageous, but also prudent, and there is nothing negotiable in this regard. I will talk and act, not on my knees, but with prudence.'' It is this policy of prudence that has helped him to stay out of jail.

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Now the Government invites Walesa to participate in wide-ranging talks to determine the economic and political future of Poland. And foreign dignitaries regularly include the Solidarity leader in their list of appointments, as they would the opposition head in any democratically ruled country. When British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visits Poland later this year for talks with General Jaruzelski, her aides have let it be known that she will travel to Gdansk to have lunch with Lech Walesa.

His popularity is beyond dispute today in Poland. Wherever he appears, usually unannounced, the crowds that assemble are electric with excitement. The Solidarity V-sign is flashed and there are enthusiastic shouts of ''Lech! Lech!''

In the ranks of the Solidarity leadership, Walesa has no challenger. Indeed, he has used this year's strikes to cement his authority.

Since the easing of martial law in 1983, Solidarity has consisted of several interlocking divisions that oversee the union's large and widely dispersed underground publishing empire and its national, regional and local union committees. But the structural underpinnings were ruptured by the infusion of the new strike leaders who emerged from the labor unrest this summer. Walesa's tactical skill as a leader is evidenced in his decision to choose these frontline unionists, and not the older strike ''barons'' of the 1980-81 disruptions that spawned Solidarity, to accompany him to the talks with the Government.

THE STAGE ON which Walesa plays out much of the drama of his public life is the curious industrial assemblage of sooty brick walls and rusty cranes that is the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. It was here that he began working in May 1967, as an apprentice electrician, dragging cables through freighters and repairing the little electric runabouts shipyard workers use to get around the sprawling complex.

He remains an employee of the yard, though more often than not he is on sick leave, troubled by a catalogue of ailments that include diabetes, a bad back and a troublesome but undefined heart condition. Some debilities are purely physical, others may be the result of years of physical and psychological harassment by the Communist authorities.

Walesa calls his health problems ones ''with which you can live under good conditions. And I'm being examined almost every second day.'' Yet, he adds, ''I am not pretending anything. I cannot stand for more than half an hour in one place.''

The center of much of Walesa's day-by-day activities is St. Brygida's and its collection of Gothic and pseudo-Gothic church buildings. Only blocks from the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard gate, it is the worker's parish church. In recent years, it has also become a kind of Solidarity stronghold. It is there, in the dining room of the pastor, the Rev. Henryk Jankowski, or in the cramped little classrooms of the church school, that Walesa meets with his closest friends and advisers or chats with journalists.

Walesa's relations with his advisers vary. Some, like the essayist Adam Michnik, are neighbors in the Gdansk region, the men with whom he drinks vodka. Others, like Bronislaw Geremek, though close, are still thought of by Walesa

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as the professors, the intellectuals (though no one could be considered more of an intellectual than Michnik).

Walesa is a deeply religious man, but even church leaders concede that it is more an interest in people than in prayer that is the wellspring of his activity. Tadeusz Goclowski, the Bishop of Gdansk, recalls that when Walesa returned home after his internment, they met almost daily, and the bishop was ''struck always with his great realism in the assessment of events. He always looked at the consequences of his actions.''

Some have charged that Walesa is too heavily influenced by the church hierarchy, and that Solidarity's recent move toward more dialogue with the authorities came about under church pressure. Bishop Goclowski denies the charge. ''The church believes that the actions of Solidarity must be independent,'' he says. ''The church is particularly sensitive to the dangers, but there is no pressure. We pray, we urge that they talk to each other rather than clash.''

Beyond his public role, Walesa spends as much time as possible with his wife, Danuta, and their eight children; the oldest 18, the youngest little more than a year old. The funds accompanying some of the international awards Walesa has won have enabled him and his family to move from a cramped apartment on a faceless gray block in Gdansk to a trim stucco single residence house on tree-lined Polanki Street in the city's Oliwa section.

The family income would seem to derive primarily from Walesa's shipyard salary and his awards. Although Solidarity receives funds from foreign labor groups and the United States Congress via the National Endowment for Democracy, Walesa draws no salary from the organization he heads. He is, however, reimbursed for expenses incurred on union business.

Danuta Walesa, a slight, brown-haired and intensely private woman, is not much in public evidence these days, though many say she is probably her husband's closest adviser. When Walesa was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983 for his work with Solidarity, he sent his wife to Oslo to accept the award and to speak on his behalf.

AS WALESA CLIMBS out of his blue Volkswagen Caravelle minibus, a gift from West German trade unionists, he starts chatting amiably about the problems of family life - about clothes cabinets from the old apartment that won't fit in the new house, about the problems of finding furniture for two bedrooms in Poland's shortage-ridden economy. He muses, regretfully, on the rare occasions he has these days to indulge in his passion -fishing.

Wound up, however, to talk politics and union affairs, he vehemently expounds his ideas a mile a minute while he stabs the air for emphasis, sips from an ever-present cup of tea, slumps deep in a chair at St. Brygida's or twists his neck uncomfortably as if releasing it from the grip of a tight collar.

When Walesa talks about Solidarity, he speaks plainly and clearly: ''I represent the concept that pluralism is essential, union pluralism.'' He adds: ''I made an oath about this.''

To explain his union's cardinal role, he waxes near mystical: ''Solidarity resembles a magic sphere that contains everybody - farmers, taxi drivers,

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doctors; everybody has a place in it. And at this political moment, whether we like it or not, this must remain so. When we begin to talk,'' he says, with the Government, ''and professionals begin to study the situation, then we can consider what people can be transferred to other groups and then, separately, we can deal with the question of political clubs and parties.''

He believes strongly that labor-union pluralism can be the catalyst of political pluralism. but free unions must come first. That sequence, his advisers explain, arises from a peculiar Polish working man's perception of society.

To understand what Walesa means, Geremek says, ''You have to forget Western categories and realize that in this country, workers are still a social and political force. That it is not only a question of backward technology, but a sense of common effort among workers, a mentality and a feeling of common interest.''

''For this regime, political groups are not dangerous,'' Geremek adds. ''What is dangerous is the force of large business enterprises.''

Walesa sees his decision to enter talks with the Government as emerging from the background of an economy wrecked largely by the misjudgments of Edward Gierek, the Polish leader of the 1970's who built factories dependent on foreign credits and raw materials just before the Arab gulf nations jacked up the price of oil. The results of overly ambitious and underfinanced industrialization are evident everywhere. Forests are blighted by pollution. Railroads are falling apart. Broken-down trailer trucks dot the shoulders of highways as their drivers struggle to repair them.

Recent Government efforts at reform have only exacerbated matters. A scheme to reform the distorted price-and-wage system produced the enormous price increases that sparked this year's strikes. Laws to promote private enterprise have resulted in wide gaps between the haves and have-nots. While some sell gray-market computers and software to state enterprises at profits that enable them to build big houses in Warsaw suburbs and drive expensive imported cars, the average Pole faces empty shelves in the shops.

To deflect attention from the failure of their policies, General Jaruzelski and the Politburo decided in September to blame the Prime Minister, Zbigniew Messner, and his council of ministers for bungling economic reform. In a carefully orchestrated personnel shift, Messner resigned and was replaced by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, an aggressive foe of Solidarity who believes the Communist Party should seize the offensive against its political adversaries.

Throughout all this turmoil, the Soviet Union has played a remarkably restrained role. All the more so because a major crisis in Poland could jeopardize many of the gains that Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev has achieved in East-West relations. A Soviet Central Committee spokesman, Nikolai V. Shishlin, in an interview with the French newspaper Le Monde, called Warsaw's decision to talk with Walesa ''proof of realism.'' The official Soviet newspaper, Izvestia, has urged Warsaw to compromise with its adversaries at home while warning Western powers, notably the United States, not to exploit the situation and ''destabilize'' Poland.

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WALESA COM-pares the situation in Poland today to a pressure chamber. ''Every day, the pressure will continue to grow,'' he says, ''because it is all connected with the economic problems. And it can explode at any moment.

''What we can do, however, is to sort of release some of the pressure,'' he continues. ''And such meetings as we want to hold - discussions about our access to television and the media, for example - can level this pressure, and at the same time steer it into useful channels.''

Last year, when General Jaruzelski, as part of what his Government called a continuing process of national reconciliation, created a new consultative council to include people of differing political views, Walesa refused to join. It would be nothing but a sham, he said, with the power to debate but not to institute new social policies.

Today, some of his opponents in the conservative opposition, various strongly nationalist groups that are more stridently anti-Communist than is Walesa and his followers, believe that by acceding now to the Government's desire for talks, Walesa has been hoodwinked. Leszek Moczulski, who heads an organization with strong nationalistic leanings called the Confederation for an Independent Poland, feels that Walesa has let himself be lured onto flypaper by the Communist leadership in its effort to co-opt and neutralize him and his movement.

If Walesa, the only serious alternative to one-party rule, were eliminated, the authorities could easily deal with the other opposition groups.

Walesa insists he is aware of the danger. He was, after all, badly burned by a Government that gave its word about legalizing Solidarity and then reneged in 1981, and he is determined not to repeat the mistake.

''I have already said that if I am cheated again, then in a short time, maybe a month, I will say, 'I have been cheated.' And I will jump over that fence again'' - into the Lenin Shipyard, as he did in 1980 when, having been fired, he joined the strikers whose actions spawned Solidarity.

For many of his advisers, it is precisely his willingness to push the limits of the attainable that constitutes the core of Walesa's personal strength.

''You know, our situation is unique in the Communist countries; Sakharov is interesting,'' Michnik says, referring to Andrei D. Sakharov, the Soviet physicist, ''but he is not a political alternative. Walesa is.'' Michnik sees Walesa as an alternative to the Communist stranglehold on political power in Poland - not in the sense that he could lead a political party in opposition to the Communists, but because Solidarity represents the seed of social and political change that might blossom into some kind of power-sharing arrangement among various political and social groups.

''The Government was unable to destroy him in seven years through repression,'' Geremek says. ''So some may want to act to destroy him in another way, by introducing him into their structures, playing on his vanity, playing on his sense of responsibility, because it is true that this is a disastrous economic situation.

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''But there is another view,'' Geremek says, ''in the sense that others know the problem is not only in Poland, and not just for today. The Communist pattern of public power and ideology is in crisis across Eastern Europe, and they must find alternatives.''

Walesa himself has often alluded publicly to what he considers the most fundamental shift since Solidarity came into being, with broad implications for Poland. This is the policy of change that Gorbachev is now pursuing in the Soviet Union.

''Our tragedy, our problem, was that Brezhnev lived two years too long,'' Walesa told shipyard workers on May 3 this year, during an earlier spate of strikes. If the Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev had died earlier, and had Gorbachev's policies been in force during the heyday of Solidarity, things might have developed differently.

Walesa's musings about Poland's future invariably end in words like pluralism, democracy, self-determination. ''For the time being, we'll go on like this,'' he says, ''but in the perspective of time this country will grow more democratic and more pluralistic.''

When he talks about what pluralism means, Walesa distinguishes finely between economic, social and political pluralism. Economic pluralism, he says, means free markets, with equal rights for private entrepreneurs alongside state managers. Social pluralism means that everyone possesses the right to associate freely in organizations. These two pluralisms, he believes, will come about soon in Poland. As for political pluralism, which would introduce alternative parties, ''We can still wait a bit,'' he says.

But if the talks scheduled to get under way earlier this week were to result in an unexpected breakthrough, they would pose fresh challenges for Walesa. While his role as union leader is clear, many people, even some of his closest friends and advisers, are unsure whether Walesa could achieve the transformation from union leader and popular tribune to that of politician.

''I am no politician,'' he himself acknowledges.

This was amply illustrated by his performance at Solidarity's first and only national congress in 1981. Walesa's job as national chairman was contested then by several Solidarity barons, including the union boss in Szczecin, Marian Jurczyk, and Walesa's own deputy in Gdansk, Andrzej Gwiazda.

''It was awful,'' Geremek recalls. ''He was so disgusted by the democratic game. Fighting for delegates was torture. His speeches, his talks, his behavior were bad. Once elected, of course, all that changed immediately. He then made one of the most brilliant speeches of his career, to the same audience.

''The political instincts of Walesa are extremely effective in all his actions toward an authoritarian government,'' Geremek adds. ''One has to view his role not in terms of a normal democracy. We do not know what the model will be, though we have the feeling that things will change.''

Geremek does not hesitate to compare Walesa to Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, who ruled the country with an authoritarian hand between the two World Wars, when Poland was racked by troubles from within and without.

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''In exceptional situations,'' Geremek says, ''people must assume exceptional roles.''

For his part, Walesa tends not to look beyond the battle of the day. ''If I do not succeed now ,'' he says, ''then the next round of conflict will be much worse, and the clash and the losses will be greater than now. I wanted to succeed because the last seven years were so ineffective. For this I wanted to extend my hand and say that Poland needs a solution. We must achieve at the lowest possible economic cost what is necesary.''

''Will I be able?'' Walesa asks, slumping in a classroom chair at St. Brygida's. ''I don't know. But I have a lucky hand, so maybe.''

GRAPHIC: Photo of Lech Walesa (Koni Nordmann/Contact) (pg. 36); Walesa with workers (pg. 37); Walesa and supporters at St. Brygida's (Charles Steiner/JB Pictures) (pg. 42)

SUBJECT: LABOR; STRIKES; POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY UNION (POLAND)

NAME: TAGLIABUE, JOHN; WALESA, LECH

GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND

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Copyright (c) 1988 The Christian Science Publishing Society;
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November 9, 1988, Wednesday

SECTION: International; Pg. 7

LENGTH: 715 words

HEADLINE: As winter descends on Poland, political climate heats up

BYLINE: By William Echikson, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: Warsaw

BODY:

Poland's hopes for dialogue have vanished, replaced by rising risks of confrontation.

Although Solidarity leader Lech Walesa backed off from calling a strike alert at a rally at the Lenin Shipyard yesterday, six Solidarity leaders interviewed by the Monitor expressed pessimism and anger. They said that the much-touted ''round-table'' talks between the government and the banned trade union have been torpedoed.

Before the talks take place, Solidarity demands that the government renounce last week's decision to close the shipyard on Dec. 1. The shipyard is the union's symbolic fief, and was the site of worker unrest in 1970, 1976, 1980, and twice again this year. The union also demands the reinstatement of 112 workers fired for their roles in strikes.

''The negotiations have been sabotaged with stupid propaganda moves, first firing workers and then closing the shipyard,'' said union stalwart Jacek Kuron. ''The price to get everyone back to the table is getting higher every day.''

The government refuses to pay that price. At his weekly press conference yesterday, government spokesman Jerzy Urban derided Mr. Walesa and his advisers as ''no-men,'' saying that ''one hardly can draw far-reaching political conclusions'' from the decision to call off the strike threat.

An explosion may not come right away over the shipyard, Solidarity leaders admit. In the longer term, however, they fear a violent showdown.

''The atmosphere is heating up,'' says Bronislaw Geremek, a leading union official. Professor Geremek is a soft-spoken, gentle man, who long has preached compromise instead of confrontation. In August, he helped persuade Walesa to call off a wave of strikes. Now he hesitates to counsel restraint.

''I've always thought that strikes were destructive, a disaster for the country,'' he says. ''But when all political solutions, all compromises, are blocked, how can I tell workers to stop?''

Andrzej Stelmachowski, the much-admired Roman Catholic intellectual who arranged a key meeting between Walesa and Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, asks the same question. Back in September, he expressed excitement about the

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possibility of reaching ''a historic compromise.''

Mr. Stelmachowski now is despondent. In his opinion, strong resistance from the lower ranks of the Communist Party forced the authorities to back away from an agreement. ''The hard-line forces have succeeded in their counterattack,'' he says. ''They've decided on confrontation instead of conciliation.''

By closing Gdansk's Lenin shipyard, the government's gamble seems to be that it can break Solidary and move decisively on economic restructuring.

The authorities will continue to offer new freedoms. Passport regulations are being legalized. Farmers soon will be able to sell their produce to whomever they want, not just the state board. Private enterprise will be freed from restrictions. And anybody will be able to set up an independent ''association,'' provided it is not a trade union.

''The government once again seems to think it can impose economic reform without real political reform and the consent of society,'' says Witold Trzeciakowski, a leading economist.

''It may work for a little while. It won't work for long,'' he adds.

Solidarity calculates that Poles may not be ready yet to launch a nationwide protest to back up the shipyard workers. Union support is limited to the behemoths of Polish industry, the 200 or so steel mills, coal mines, and shipyards. Police probably would have enough force to break another strike wave limited to a few large factories.

''We could get several enterprises out on strike, but not all,'' Geremek acknowledges. ''There's still a lot of apathy.''

Another restraining factor is the approach of winter, which brought early snow Monday. In December 1970, Gdansk workers protested pre-Christmas increases of food prices by taking to the streets. Police fired on them, killing 56. While that scenario could be repeated, police could stop an occupation strike with a simple measure - turning off the heat.

''The problems are more likely to come in spring,'' predicts Tadeusz Mazowiecki, another Solidarity leader.

''Workers' frustration will mount as they see the bankruptcy of this government policy,'' he said.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Solidarity leader Walesa backed off strike call yesterday, SVEN SIMON

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July 11, 1989, Tuesday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 796 words

HEADLINE: Central planning in Poland giving way to the free market

BYLINE: By Gordon McKibben, Globe Staff

DATELINE: WARSAW

KEYWORD: POLAND; TRADE; ECONOMY

BODY:

Sipping strong Turkish coffee and puffing on a pack of Yugo cigarettes, the second-most-powerful government planner in Poland gestured about his gymnasium-size, elegantly furnished office.

"Twenty years ago the Polish economy was run from this building," said Martin Rybicki, the deputy president of the Central Planning Office for Poland.

At that time, 1,500 bureaucrats worked in the sprawling building with its many wide corridors, miles of red rug, elegant staircases and courtyards. Today fewer than 350 work there, and the number is dwindling daily.

Central planning is out, having failed spectacularly to produce the good life in socialist Poland. The free market is in. Planners are a dime a dozen. Poland needs entrepreneurs, and Rybicki's planners hope to create some.

In fact, some skeptics accuse Central Planning of playing a massive bad joke. They say that the nomenklatura, the men and women who owe their jobs to membership in the Communist Party, are in fact being allowed to buy or take over the enterprises they formerly administered on behalf of the government. The skeptics have little hope that bureaucrats turned entrepreneurs are going to be sharp in business, and they say genuine entrepreneurs are being denied a chance to bid against the Communist "old boy" network.

Not so, said Rybicki, who contends that the nomenklatura get no favors any more and that they must perform or get out. The safety net for a soft landing no longer is there, he said, and Central Planning no longer has much of a role.

This is quite a comedown from the days when various ministers directly ruled the economy by allocating the nation's resources according to The Plan, whether one-year, five-year, 15-year or whatever.

In those days, Central Planning allocated and distributed raw materials. Central Planning gave out money to industry.

"We still get letters from managers asking for money. They don't understand that the old era in Poland is over," said Rybicki. Instead of handing out funds, Rybicki conducts research, trying to identify the line between free

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market excess and government's legitimate role as a regulator and allocator.

"Our function is largely consulting now to government and to Parliament," he said.

Many, including Solidarity's top economists, contend it does not take a lot of research to know that the nomenklatura is one of the biggest roadblocks to the transition to a free market.

"It's a problem and will remain a problem," said Rybicki. The issue could be called negative personnel selection, he said, a process in which ill-equipped party members are given sensitive jobs because of their politics. That is not an unknown phenomenon in the West, he said.

But all this is changing, he said. Rybicki cited his own lack of membership in the Communist Party as an example.

Rybicki is sensitive about Solidarity estimates that as many as a million nomenklatura clog the life stream of the Polish economy. It is a much smaller number than that, and actually weeding out incompetents began decades ago, he said.

"You know all those agents you see behind the newsstands and the tobacco counters and the flower shops and office buildings: A lot of them are the overflow of failed bureaucrats or excess police and security people redundant after the peak Stalinist years," he said.

These people, many of them getting on in years, are still on the payroll, a result of the social contract that guaranteed job security.

But that is changing too.

"We have no such program for nomenklatura being let go now," he said. "They'll have to take care of themselves."

Rybicki said he believes many will choose to go into business for themselves, the latest rage in Poland's new love affair with the free market.

Rybicki said he hopes that President Bush will understand what is going on when he drives by Central Planning's handsome office building and that he will lend his considerable influence to a coordinated Western aid program for Poland.

The route out of the planning office is through a succession of thick, 15-foot-high double doors, down silent corridors, across a courtyard, past an unused fountain, and out to the large entrance hall, where a security guard dozes in the hot summer sun.

This building, and all the other government structures in the neighborhood were built in 1950 and 1951, a planning employee serving as a guide said. Now it takes two years or more to build a simple apartment.

As for the Central Planning building from which Poland's economy was once directed, the guide said he has heard rumors of new days of glory ahead. "We hear that it may be converted to a residential palace for the head of the

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newly elected Senate," he said.

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July 11, 1989, Tuesday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 247 words

HEADLINE: President trips over a few linguistic land mines

BYLINE: From Chicago Tribune wires

DATELINE: WARSAW

BODY:

President Bush on Monday faced what may be one of the biggest hurdles of his trip to Poland: trying to get through those multisyllabic Polish names without stumbling.

He didn't quite make it, but he made a good try.

At the start of his speech to parliament, Bush paid greetings to Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski and Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

He did a passable job on Jaruzelski and Kozakiewicz, but the others were a muddle.

What should have been pronounced Stel-ma-HOV-ski came out "Stal-ma-CHOW-ski" and Ra-KOFF-ski came out "Ra-KOW-ski." (Jaruzelski, by the way, is pronounced Yah-ruh-ZEL-ski, and Kozakiewicz is Ko-za-KIEH-vich.)

Poles watching Bush on live television said his pronunciation errors were forgivable.

Bush's Polish was seen as superior to the attempts by his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, to speak Russian. Reagan delighted in reciting Russian proverbs to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev when they met at summits, but Reagan's pronunciation was so thick that neither Gorbachev nor his wife, Raisa, ever seemed to understand.

Poland proved to be embarrassing linguistic territory for former President Jimmy Carter, who visited Warsaw in 1977, when his interpreter mistranslated several bland presidential remarks. Among other gaffes, he had Carter saying he wanted to learn of the carnal desires of Poles, and that he had just abandoned the United States.

TERMS: UNITED STATES; POLAND; TRIP; LANGUAGE; OFFICIAL

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18TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 11, 1989, Tuesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part 1; Page 10; Column 4; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 461 words

HEADLINE: BUSH IN POLAND;
PRESIDENTIAL LUNCHEON -- 'AMAZING EVENT' FULL OF SURPRISES FOR ITS GUESTS

BYLINE: By CHARLES T. POWERS, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: WARSAW

BODY:

"This is pretty strange," whispered Jana Onyszkiewicz. "Some of these people had us arrested -- now we're eating with them."

Onyszkiewicz, the wife of the Solidarity spokesman, Janusz, was not alone in her amazement at the guest list and seating arrangement for lunch at the Warsaw home of U.S. Ambassador John R. Davis Jr. Invited by President Bush were 80 guests, including Communist Party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski and the top levels of both the Communist Party and opposition Solidarity leadership.

In the view of at least one American official present, it was "an amazing event," and one that revealed the layers of complexity and strong emotions bound up in the Polish political world.

The feelings were evident in off-the-cuff (and unexpected) responses to a toast by President Bush from Jaruzelski and Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity's senior strategist.

Bush's toast, touching on a theme repeated throughout the first day of his trip to Poland, saluted not just Solidarity and the government leadership but the reform process in Poland.

Toast 'to People of Poland'

"We are aware," Bush said, "of the many difficulties and the economic pressures that lie ahead. And your challenge is to rise above the mistrust, to bring the Polish people together for a common purpose. The United States will stand with Poland; we will support Poland's hopeful mission, unparalleled in your history." Bush's toast was to "the people of Poland. "

Jaruzelski then responded, noting that he had been "taken by surprise" by the invitation to the ambassador's residence.

"I consider as a significant fact," he said, "that it is here at the residence of the U.S. ambassador we could meet in such a pluralistic company. What is more, we were able to meet in a friendly atmosphere. And I believe we have felt well together.

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"One other personal reflection for me: I have lived perhaps 50 or 80 meters away from here for 16 years, and it is for the first time that I have come to this building and this residence. I think it is also a sign of the times."

Geremek, his response similarly a surprise to White House staffers, then concluded.

" Poland is still divided," he said, "but it is possible that what is taking place right now is actually taking place, that together we have the representatives of Solidarity, the opposition and the authorities. We feel that what is taking place now, the political and economic reform . . . is in the interest of all Poland and not just one particular side."

The words of President Bush, Geremek said, "that the United States will support the reforms taking place in Poland, are the words that we were hoping for."

"And for that, let me propose a toast to the President of the United States and the United States of America."

GRAPHIC: Photo, President Bush and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski drink a toast during Monday's luncheon. Associated Press

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN RELATIONS -- POLAND; BUSH, GEORGE; OFFICIAL VISITS; POLAND -- GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

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July 11, 1989, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C1

LENGTH: 889 words

HEADLINE: Bush & the Business of Europleasure;
Mixing and Mingling Work and Play

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: WARSAW, July 10, 1989

BODY:

Hopscotching across Europe on their fourth international trip in less than six months as America's First Couple, George and Barbara Bush are doing business abroad like they do it at home: sociably.

What that means is a nonstop schedule of short nights, long days, hundreds of handshakes and rubbing some of the most powerful elbows in the world at a minimum of seven luncheons, three receptions and seven formal dinners in nine nights.

Such a schedule -- on top of public appearances, speechmaking and working meetings with political leaders -- might seem daunting to some, but not to the Bushes, to hear them tell it.

"I can't wait to get there," President Bush said of Hungary, one of four countries on his itinerary, in an interview with Hungarian journalists last week in Washington. He might just as easily have been talking about Poland, France and the Netherlands as well.

And Barbara Bush, when asked by Polish journalists today if she considered coming here with Bush "a duty" or something she truly enjoyed doing, didn't hesitate to reply: "If you knew George Bush you'd know it's an enormous pleasure. But I also enjoy being here."

Just as they do at the White House, the Social Bushes thrive on meeting and greeting, use it as a way to expand their network of acquaintances tuned into the various worlds of domestic and international politics. In fact, many of the people they're socializing with this week are people they met on similar occasions during their travels over the eight years Bush was vice president.

On this trip, says the White House, the emphasis is on spotlighting freedom. The Bushes did it pointedly today when they invited 40 Communist, Solidarity and Catholic leaders and 26 Americans to a luncheon in the U.S. ambassador's residence -- "the house of Helen and John Davis, who have done so much for the Polish cause," as one Solidarity guest put it.

In an impromptu toast, Sejm (parliament) Deputy Bronislaw Geremek, who heads the Solidarity caucus, recalled that it was only two years ago that the Bushes had talked with members of Solidarity "right in this house. And even though at that time we heard words of hope, I believe that none of us at that time

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expected that we would meet in two years in a situation like the present."

Geremek was at Bush's table. At Mrs. Bush's table was Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the chief Solidarity spokesman, who noted to reporters that times had changed somewhat drastically.

"If you take into account that a year ago I was in prison, it was rather strange" to be dining for the first time with Communist Party chief Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, said Onyszkiewicz.

"I think it also a sign of the times," said Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, who also sat at Barbara Bush's table.

The Bushes' guests were a carefully balanced mix of government and the opposition, many of the latter newly elected senators. Some of them, like Jaruzelski, the ranking guest, were making their first visit to the U.S. ambassador's residence.

Besides Geremek, who is chief political adviser to Solidarity hero Lech Walesa, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz was seated at Bush's table. At Secretary of State James Baker III's table was Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, Jaruzelski's choice for president.

The guests were scattered in groups of 10 at tables set in the garden. The menu was continental -- including minted cantaloupe soup, roast tenderloin of beef and young summer vegetables, Belgian endive and watercress salad -- but the wine was Californian.

Last night more leading Solidarity and church figures were on Jaruzelski's guest list at the dinner he hosted in the 17th-century Radziwill Palace. The Bushes' motorcade left their official Parkowa Guest House to applause by a small crowd gathered outside the Soviet Embassy across the street.

Opposite the palace, about 1,000 Poles shouted "Sto Lat Bush" ("May Bush live a hundred years") and "Down with communism." Over the heads of some was a banner that read " Poland, like the United States, has a right to independence."

Bush's and Jaruzelski's exchange of toasts in the palace's glittering upstairs ballroom sounded now-familiar themes.

"The recent parliamentary election offers an opportunity for principal political forces to take a broad part in the system of the functioning of the state," said the Polish leader. "It also calls for co-responsibility for its destiny, its well-being, its position in Europe and the world."

Said Bush: " Poland is entering a new era. It is beginning once again to command its own destiny."

Mrs. Bush and 95 other guests listened from the U-shaped damask-covered table that was set with Polish crystal, silver place plates and arrangements of flowers.

Mrs. Bush, who had told reporters on the flight over to "watch me this trip" as far as her wardrobe was concerned, showed signs of turning into a veritable clotheshorse. Tonight she wore a long gown of red with giant blue and orange

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flowers, and had her hair swept back in a new style. During the day, she was in crisp navy and white cotton, as if to prove that she really does have more than one outfit for each day.

But with Gdansk, Budapest, Paris, Amsterdam and the Hague to come, it remains to be seen whether she could possibly have packed a different outfit for every social occasion.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, GEN. WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI AND PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH. AFP

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: U.S. PRESIDENT; GOVERNMENT / OFFICIAL TRAVEL; UNITED STATES; WESTERN EUROPE/EUROPEAN NON-SOVIET BLOC; POLAND

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH

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37TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 11, 1989, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C2; WASHINGTON WAYS

LENGTH: 958 words

HEADLINE: George Bush, Batman for Polish Little League

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: WARSAW, July 10

BODY:

You can take George Bush out of the United States, but you can't take baseball out of George Bush.

Now this left-handed former first baseman is even exporting it -- at least the Little League equivalent.

"Over the years, Poland's given a lot to American baseball. And now, it's our turn to return the favor," he said today at a ceremony in the American Embassy residence where he presented charters for Little League baseball to Poland. "Perhaps nothing is more American than Little League baseball. Well, few things show America's love for Poland like bringing our national pastime to you."

Certainly, he couldn't have brought it to a more appropriate country, if names like Ted Kluszewski (Big Klu), Greg Luzinski (the Bull), Tony Kubek and Phil and Joe Niekro -- all U.S. big leaguers of Polish descent -- are any indication.

Bush, who tossed a ball around with 12-year-old Adam Szczepanski for a few minutes, brought along enough equipment to field 10 Little League teams and told members of his young Polish audience that they will be among the first 1,000 kids to play on 18 teams in four Polish cities. He couldn't resist reminding them of some other Polish Americans who made the Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, N.Y. -- Al Simmons, Stan Coveleski and Stan Musial. And how later this month, Carl Yastrzemski of the Boston Red Sox will be the first former Little Leaguer to be inducted.

Musial had just been with Bush in Washington on Friday when the president hosted a White House ceremony saluting Little League on its 50th anniversary.

On an almost wistful note today, Bush quoted Musial, the son of Polish immigrants, whose dream was to make the big leagues. "My greatest thrill was just putting my uniform on every day," Musial said.

"My friends, I suspect you'll feel the same," said Bush.

She didn't miss much in the displays of the latest Polish technical equipment that is helping the blind live richer lives.

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"If someone wrote another program, could you put it in the machine?" Barbara Bush asked Stan Jakubowski, who with two other blind Poles and one sighted Polish economist have created Altix, a new company developing technical uses of the computer for the sightless.

Jakubowski assured Mrs. Bush that it's only the beginning, demonstrating synthetic speech as one aspect of the new firm's offerings. "Certainly you'll understand two words," he told her of the message in Polish.

And he was right. When she heard "Barbara Bush," she laughed.

Mrs. Bush had dropped in today at a school for blind children at Laski, outside Warsaw, where 308 youngsters reside during the academic year learning vocational skills. Founded in 1922 and operated by the Order of Franciscan Sisters Servants of the Cross, the school was 70 percent destroyed during World War II. Much of its reconstruction was provided by the New York Committee for the Blind of Poland.

Old school ties that bind seem to be colored Yale blue and Harvard crimson, at least in the four U.S. embassies that President Bush visits on his nine-day trip to Eastern and Western Europe.

In Hungary and the Netherlands he'll find friends -- fellow Yalies Mark Palmer and C. Howard Wilkins Jr. -- as the American envoys, and in Poland and France a couple of friendly enemies -- Harvard men John Davis and Walter J.P. Curley Jr.

Of them all, only Wilkins is a neophyte at the striped pants business of diplomacy. But the Dutch knew all about him by the time he was sworn in June 22. Earlier, a British television crew filming a story about the course on terrorism given prospective ambassadors at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center in Brunswick, Ga., by chance had photographed Wilkins in a practice session using guns. When the story was picked up by Dutch television, a commentator joked that terrorists had "better watch out" before trying anything with the American ambassador.

Wilkins, 50, who studied European and American history and German at Yale, is a Wichita, Kan., businessman who made a fortune in pizza, which he parlayed into his present chain called Maverick Restaurants.

He also made a fortune -- about $ 8.5 million -- for the National Republican Senatorial Committee from 1977 to 1980, which helped Republicans regain the Senate for the first time in 26 years. In last year's presidential primaries he was Sen. Robert Dole's finance chairman. Wilkins lost out to New York investment banker Walter Curley for the ambassadorship to France. Another Yalie, with a master's degree from Harvard, Curley was ambassador to Ireland from 1975 to 1978. He is also a longtime backer and friend of George Bush.

Davis and Palmer are career foreign service officers whom Ronald Reagan appointed to Poland and Hungary and whom Bush asked to stay on.

Luxembourg Prison records identify them as "les femmes Noailles," and 200 years later these three women remain legendary victims of the French Revolution, thanks in part to the eyewitness description of their execution believed to be the only one of its kind ever put to paper. The most elderly of the women,

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Countess de Noailles, earned her eternal sleep for being chief lady-in-waiting to Marie Antoinette, whose disparaging nickname for her -- "Mme l'Etiquette" -- survived the guillotine.

Barbara Bush may hear some or none of that history when she sits down to lunch later this week at the Chateau de Courance outside Paris. Her hostess, Countess de Ganay, is a descendant of the Noailles family, one of whose members was the wife of Lafayette. What Barbara Bush almost certainly will hear is a history of the chateau, the 17th-century restored centerpiece of an estate also known for its architecture and its gardens. Given Mrs. Bush's interest in gardening, that history may be sufficient.

TYPE: COLUMN

SUBJECT: SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH

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63RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 10, 1989, Monday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 785 words

HEADLINE: Bush Flies to Poland, Hails Major Reforms;
President to Unveil U.S. Assistance Program

BYLINE: David Hoffman, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: WARSAW, July 9

BODY:

President Bush set foot behind the weakening wall of communism tonight, paying tribute to the accelerating pace of change and declaring that Americans "have a fervent wish: that Europe be whole and free."

Arriving here at the outset of a four-day tour of Poland and Hungary designed to encourage democratization and economic reform inside the Eastern Bloc, Bush warned of the difficulties ahead but urged the Polish government and Solidarity to persevere.

" Poland has started along an ascending path of change -- democratic change," Bush said in subdued ceremonies welcoming him and First Lady Barbara Bush at Okecie Airport here. "And this climb is exhilarating, but not always easy, and will require further sacrifices. But -- if followed -- it will lead to a renaissance for this remarkable nation."

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Communist Party leader whose ambitions to be elected to Poland's new presidency appear to have been thwarted, told Bush, "You are going to see a Poland that is following with determination the path of profound social, political and economic reforms." Jaruzelski assured Bush that his nation's dramatic reforms are "indispensable" to its future.

Jaruzelski also expressed hope that the easing of superpower tensions will give Poland more room for independence from the Soviet Union. The Polish reforms and elections "are aided by positive trends of detente," he said, adding that "the philosophy of enmity should be replaced by that of rapprochement and working together."

Jaruzelski welcomed Bush on a humid, summer evening in a cordoned-off section of the airport, where they reviewed troops and heard national anthems. Jaruzelski said many Poles "came out this summer evening to see you," but few citizens were present at the airport.

Along the five-mile motorcade route, several thousand people, three and four deep in places, waved to Bush, gave the Solidarity "V for victory" symbol and displayed American flags.

Neither Bush nor Jaruzelski, who are both scheduled to address the new Polish National Assembly on Monday, mentioned tonight the question of Western aid to Poland. But White House officials said Bush will unveil a somewhat expanded

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package of economic and trade assistance while promising to seek international coordination of aid at the upcoming Paris economic summit. Bush was joined here tonight by Secretary of State James A. Baker III.

Aboard Air Force One as he flew here, Bush said his visit to Poland is "a little delicate. I don't want to overpromise, do too little or do too much. . . . So there are times in diplomacy when a certain delicacy is called for. I think, ah, remember Woody Allen, 90 percent of life is just showing up. In this case, it's not quite that high. There's got to be certain understandings with these leaders that they don't want [to] overpromise."

Asked by a reporter if he will let down Poles, Bush said, "Not if you don't write that." He admonished, "Winners, losers, build-up. That's not what this is about. It isn't that. You have to understand it's a complex situation. I think we're going to handle it just about right."

Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said of Bush's aid package, "We don't have a basket of money to be helpful." Bush, in an interview with Hungarian journalists made public today, said, "I don't think Poland is looking for a handout. They're looking for a hand up, and I wish I was going to be in a free fall in terms of the funds that we could bring to bear on the problem. We aren't."

In his arrival remarks, Bush praised the political reforms that have swept Poland since his last visit as vice president in 1987, when Solidarity was still outlawed and Polish authorities were irritated by Bush's overtures to the independent trade union.

"These are great days for Poland," Bush said. "Solidarity is legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections. Poland is making its own history. And America -- and the world -- is watching."

"The government of Poland and you, Mr. Chairman, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of those round-table accords," Bush said, referring to the agreement that set the foundation for the first quasi-democratic elections in Poland in four decades. "And the world is inspired by what is happening here."

Bush, who also visits Hungary this week, said in remarks on leaving Washington that both Poland and Hungary are "nations on the threshold of a new era, nations where the spirit of freedom is strong. In both countries, we're witnessing remarkable changes, welcome developments no one would have thought possible even a year ago."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, PRESIDENT BUSH SHAKES HANDS WITH POLISH LEADER WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI AS BARBARA BUSH WATCHES AT AIRPORT IN WARSAW. AP; PHOTO, REUTER

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: POLAND; GOVERNMENT / OFFICIAL TRAVEL; U.S. PRESIDENT; GOVERNMENT AID TO FOREIGN NATIONS

ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY

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NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH; BARBARA BUSH; WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI

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73RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1989 Chicago Tribune Company;
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July 9, 1989, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 980 words

HEADLINE: Bush's trip to East bloc to make, not repeat, history

BYLINE: By Timothy J. McNulty, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

President Bush, who embarks early Sunday morning on his first presidential visit to Eastern Europe, often delights in retelling the story of how, the last time he was in Warsaw, he so angered the authorities that they yanked the Polish flag off his limousine.

Bush recalls the incident with pride, but it is unlikely that Poland's leader, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, will take any similar action against Bush, no matter what he does.

That's because sweeping change has occurred in Poland and Hungary, the first two stops in Bush's 10-day itinerary. While the entire communist world is in some kind of upheaval, the political and economic turnarounds in those two Soviet-dominated nations would have been wishful thinking among non-Communists only two years ago.

Hungary's Communist Party reformers have been active in creating what may become a multiparty system by next year's national elections.

In Poland last month, Solidarity candidates won landslide vote margins in a partially free election. For the once-banned labor union it marked a breathtaking transformation from an outlaw organization only a few years ago to a somewhat reluctant political partner with the Communist Party now.

Indeed, when Bush meets with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and speaks at the towering memorial to the Polish shipyard workers in Gdansk on Tuesday, it will be with official sanction - and a far cry from September, 1987, when then-Vice President Bush provoked the government's flag-stripping action by inviting Walesa to ride with him on his way to church.

His reception by the Poles then had an emotional impact on Bush, and he frequently mentioned it during his 1988 election campaign.

Still, there is a delicacy involved. It is Bush's first presidential visit on Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's turf, so to speak.

Bush, who has grown increasingly confident after his performance at the NATO summit in Brussels six weeks ago, said he wants to promote such capitalist concepts as economic decentralization and market forces.

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Though he claims not to be competing for the same type of enthusiasm that has greeted Gorbachev in the West, Bush clearly expects some emotional receptions, if only because American presidents always have received affectionate greetings in Eastern Europe.

Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution also suggests that Bush does not want to provoke a backlash either from the Communist national leaders, who are seeing their power gradually erode, or from the smiling bear to the east.

During his visit to France and West Germany last week, Gorbachev hinted that he was willing to end the Soviet policy of intervention against satellite nations that appear to be moving too close to the West.

But last month's crackdown in China was a stunning reminder that such regimes can quickly reverse direction when threatened, and Bush doesn't want to hold out any false hope that the U.S. expects to lure the Soviet-dominated nations into the Western fold.

Still, the Poles are expecting Bush to announce some kind of help for their crippled economy. Walesa and Jaruzelski have slipped messages to French President Francois Mitterrand in the last two weeks that the Polish economy needs some immediate aid: $10 billion, according to the Solidarity leader.

There may be some grumbling, however, because Bush administration officials say that though the President is willing to move on some technical assistance projects - from sending teachers, to helping Polish industries clean up their pollution - he has no intention of promising bagfuls of aid during the visit.

The best and most prudent way to help the Polish economy, according to foreign policy experts in the U.S. and in Europe, will be a multilateral effort from the major industrialized democracies, known as the Group of 7, which will convene their 15th annual summit in Paris later in the week.

In Paris, Bush's third stop, the President will join in the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, which overlaps with the economic summit.

The leaders of the seven nations - France, England, Italy, West Germany, Canada, Japan and the U.S. - are expected to concentrate on trade policy and other issues involving Eastern Europe. Their challenge will be how to encourage political and economic reforms in Poland and Hungary.

The meeting will also take on a distinct new hue - green - and Bush is hoping to take the lead, along with Mitterrand, in addressing environmental problems such as oil spills, ozone levels and global warming trends.

During last month's European Parliament elections, candidates from the Green, or environmental, parties doubled their parliamentary numbers. Though that election does not have the weight of national polls, it sent a signal to leaders that their citizens are concerned about such issues.

Bush's visit to Europe

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1 Warsaw, Poland Sunday, Monday Meets Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Polish independents, Council of Ministers. Speaks to parliament (the "Sejm.")

2 GdaNSK, Poland Tuesday Meets Catholic Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Lauys wreath at Solidarity Workers' Monument.

3 Budapest, Hungary Tuesday, Wednesday Meets Hungarian leaders and members of new political parties. Discussion with students; speech at Karl Marx University.

4 Paris Thursday through July 16 French Revolution bicentennial ceremony and meeting with President Francois Mitterrand. Attends opening of Bastille Opera; watches Bastille Day parade. Economic summit Leaders of U.S., Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Japan and Italy.

5 Amsterdam, Netherlands July 17 Tea with Queen Beatrix, meeting with prime minister and political leaders. Speech at town of Leiden.

Departs and returns: Andrews Air Force Base, Md.
Knight-Ridder Tribune news Graphic by Bill Baker; Source: The White House

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Reuters photo. Not quite a salute. A Warsaw woman shades her eyes from Saturday's bright sun as she walks past a picture of President Bush outside the U.S. Embassy. Bush flies to Poland Sunday. (Published page 1.)

TERMS: UNITED STATES; OFFICIAL; TRIP; POLAND; HUNGARY; FRANCE; NETHERLANDS; DATE; SCHEDULE

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80TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 9, 1989, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TEMPO; Pg. 2; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 1243 words

HEADLINE: Securing the world for Bush
Limo? Check. Nuclear codes? Check. Jogging sites? Check

BYLINE: By Janet Cawley, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

When President Bush leaves Sunday for Poland and the economic summit, the public will see a solitary figure waving a jaunty goodbye from the steps of Air Force 1.

What won't be visible is the many-tentacled advance network of Secret Service, White House staff and local officials who have spent months laboring over virtually every detail of the trip. These can range from the prosaic, such as arranging hotel rooms, motorcades and food, to the precautionary, such as making sure a supply of Bush's blood type is always available, to the personal, such as finding a secure jogging site for the President in a foreign capital.

Moving the White House is somewhat akin to moving a small city, with all its residents, equipment and even phone lines. It is part traveling circus and part precision drill; virtually nothing is left to chance.

When Bush sets foot any place outside Washington, he usually has been preceded by at least three waves of advance people.

"You don't just move the President - you move the office, too," said Steve Studdert, Bush's assistant for special activities and initiatives, and overseer of presidential advance. "You have to take all the things necessary to support him and his duties. . . . He has to be able to respond to any planned or unplanned circumstances. For example, he always has to have available White House telephones directly linked to the (White House) switchboard.

"You couldn't have the President stop at a pay phone in moments of national emergency and say, 'Excuse me, do you have a quarter?' "

And as a precaution against the most dire national emergency, Bush always is accompanied by a military aide carrying what is known as the "football" - a briefcase containing the codes he would need to launch nuclear weapons.

Bush travels with a White House staff secretary to administer his paper flow; his press spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater; key aides and policy advisers versed in the areas with which he will be dealing; a physician; and sometimes a speechwriter. And some of them bring their own staff to handle secretarial and other jobs.

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Air Force 1 can hold about 65 persons, including staff, crew and an eight- or nine-member press pool. The remaining members of the media fly aboard an accompanying chartered aircraft.

The Secret Service not only guards the President at all times but also begins working out security for his trips months in advance. In late March, for example, agents were in Paris, planning logistics for next week's economic summit. Among the details, according to Secret Service spokesman Robert Snow, are working out motorcade and emergency routes, examining building sites and arranging for traffic and crowd control.

The Secret Service and White House medical staff examine nearby hospitals to see if staff and facilities are adequate in event of emergency. The President's bullet-proof limousine must be delivered in advance - it flies in a special cargo plane - although some major metropolitan areas, such as New York, have a limousine permanently in place. White House communications gear, and occasionally some extra shifts of Secret Service agents, also fly on the cargo plane.

And the Secret Service imports other special accoutrements for the day of the presidential visit, including metal detectors and dogs to sniff for explosives.

"Some people don't understand in, say, a quiet little town in the Midwest, about the dogs and the limousine," Snow said. "People say, 'My God, what's the necessity?' But if something happens in a little town, people say, 'Why didn't you do more?'

". . . The Secret Service is always with him to create a secure environment. It's different in a hotel room than in a ballpark," Snow said. "In theory, we'd love to put him in a Sherman tank and move him from Point A to Point B. But there are others who favor maximum exposure.

"(Even) stopping along a parade route to shake hands - those things have to be planned."

Among the numerous stories about how thorough Secret Service security can be is one related by Hedrick Smith is his book "The Power Game," involving a visit by President and Mrs. Reagan to former Sen. Howard Baker's rural home in Huntsville, Tenn.

Agents, worried about snipers, nailed down venetian blinds on a window that offered a spectacular mountain view. Two settings of Mrs. Baker's china were flown to Washington - presumably to make sure the plates as well as the food were safe - and the Reagans' dinners were fixed at the White House and then shipped to Tennessee. And the presidential limousine was flown to Knoxville and then driven the approximately 50 miles to Huntsville for Reagan's brief excursion to church on Sunday.

For security reasons, Snow refuses to disclose how many agents are assigned to the President at any one time, saying only, "As he travels, they are supplemented. The actual protective unit goes up and down depending on what he's doing.

"And we don't always worry about a shooting. We also worry about him getting sqooshed or trampled or loved to death."

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If a presidential trip has more than one stop, teams of agents must leapfrog ahead, so they will always be in place when the President arrives. And they must carry, in addition to their usual gear, appropriate clothes for whatever Bush plans to do. At a formal dinner, for example, the agents wear tuxedos, and when the President goes jogging, they don shorts and T-shirts.

Even when Bush vacations, the Secret Service is ready to adapt to his activities. "Our theory is the President has a lifestyle, and it's our responsibility to build security around his lifestyle," Snow said. "With Bush, we had to do some special training with high-speed boats. . . (and) a few people had to rekindle their jogging ability. For Reagan, we had to train agents in horseback riding, and for (Gerald) Ford, it was skiing."

But even with all the precise planning, the unexpected still crops up. Last month, for example, when Bush was in New York City, a truck spilled chemicals at the entrance to the Newark, N.J., airport just as the President was preparing to ride there in a motorcade for the trip home.

Air Force 1 was quickly flown to Kennedy Airport as an alternative departure site. But there was scant time to arrange a motorcade to that airport, and dense fog prevented Bush from flying there by helicopter.

So a rolling blockade of what appeared to be several hundred police cars was mobilized, and it rumbled down the highway like a giant tank force, clearing a presidential path to the airport.

Sometimes Bush himself, a man who embraces spontaneity, is the cause for confusion. In April, for example, he had been scheduled to spend a long weekend at his vacation home in Kennebunkport, Me., and after all the arrangements had been made, he abruptly decided to stay in Washington.

This meant, among other things, that dozens of hotel rooms booked - usually with nonrefundable deposits - by White House staff and reporters were canceled and that 80 rental cars being ferried to Kennebunkport for the entourage had to turn around.

Kennebunkport hotels and restaurants, which had hired extra staff and bought extra food for the visit, also were left in a bind.

"Basically they just didn't want to go," Fitzwater was quoted as saying about the Bushes at the time. " Presidents have the right to do that." But, in the exacting universe of presidential planning, it is hoped not often.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Vice President George Bush in 1987 at O'Hare airport: The security is just a shadow of that to come. Tribune photo by Michael Fryer.
PHOTO: Bush with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London in May: A supply of his blood type is always available. Reuter photo.

TERMS: FEDERAL; OFFICIAL; SAFETY; PROFILE; TRIP; BOOK

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July 9, 1989, Sunday, Home Edition

SECTION: Opinion; Part 5; Page 5; Column 1; Op-Ed Desk

LENGTH: 775 words

HEADLINE: THE POLES' REAL HERO IS AMERYKA

BYLINE: By BD Andrew Nagorski is a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

BODY:

The Poles have a longstanding love affair with Ameryka. President Bush will revel in the outpouring of adulation, but Poland's heart was conquered long ago. No country in the world is as unabashedly pro-American as the Polish People's Republic.

I learned that lesson on my first visit to Poland in 1964. Arriving by coincidence on the same day as Robert Kennedy, I followed the crowds to Warsaw's huge Old Market Square, which was packed with people. When Kennedy emerged from St. John's Cathedral, I found myself literally lifted off my feet by the surging crowd chanting "Kennedy, Kennedy." Twice I dangled above ground, both exhilarated and frightened.

As a 17-year-old American discovering the land of his parents, I was initially reluctant to admit that I was the beneficiary of the fallout effect, not just of the magic of the Kennedy name but the deeper magic of the word Ameryka. When Poles would solemnly declare that I had the "Kennedy look," something no one had ever noticed back home, I chalked it up to their perspicacity. When young women flashed dazzling smiles after they heard me described as an Amerykanin, I figured that Polish women had much better taste than American high school girls.

But soon I had to somewhat sorrowfully admit that other factors were at work, since the evidence was just too overwhelming. Ameryka is associated with everything positive and far away, and the antithesis of all that is sinister and nearby.

Ameryka means wealth and success. Meeting someone who is turned out in fancy clothes or drives a new car, a Pole will say: "I see that Ameryka has opened up to you." A relative of mine went to a wedding in the countryside, where the bride's father muttered as guests heaped on huge helpings of food: "Where do they think they are -- in Ameryka?"

Ameryka also means a state of mind, not just of freedom but of civility in a society based on constitutional rights that may be more mythological than real. If a Pole demands to be treated with respect and talks back to a petty bureaucrat, the bureaucrat is likely to bark: "What do you think, that this is Ameryka?" The assumption about the meaning of Ameryka is shared by both parties in such an exchange.

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Successive attempts by Communist officials to discredit their opponents as American puppets or agents have backfired. Solidarity's support of American economic sanctions against Poland in the wake of the imposition of martial law in 1981 was widely applauded, despite the government's efforts to portray Washington as the cause of the country's economic disarray. Anti-American posters had to be displayed on the inside of shop windows; otherwise, they were immediately torn down.

By the last election campaign, Communist officials were tacitly acknowledging reality and doing everything to obscure their true affiliation. One Communist, an author of several books about the United States, promoted his candidacy by posing against a backdrop of American flags.

Above all, Ameryka represents the forces of good versus the all-too-familiar forces of evil at home and across the Soviet border. When Ronald Reagan began speaking of "the evil empire," Poles were ecstatic that finally an American President was echoing what they had been saying all along.

When West Germans took to the streets to protest the deployment of American medium-range missiles, Poles contemptuously dismissed their concerns. "Better a Pershing than a Soviet soldier in your back yard," they were fond of saying.

If Poles are sometimes disillusioned with American leaders, they can act like lovers scorned. That is why Franklin D. Roosevelt, who is blamed for handing over their country to Stalin at Yalta, arouses such wrath. But even presidents who are perceived as weak -- Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter -- were greeted enthusiastically on their visits to Poland. Americans may be considered bumbling or naive at times, but any gesture of support is more than reciprocated.

John F. Kennedy and Reagan, who are seen as living up to Polish expectations, are adored. On a visit to Poland last year, I frequently encountered the question: "Is it really impossible for Reagan to run for a third term?" Whatever his record on other issues, Poles are firmly convinced that his willingness to stand up to the Kremlin greatly strengthened their struggle for freedom.

By serving as Ronald Reagan's vice president and visiting Poland in 1987, Bush guaranteed himself the welcome he is getting. But, Mr. President, a bit of advice that should not be taken amiss: They love you more for what you represent than for who you are.

TYPE: Opinion

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July 9, 1989, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1, Page 9, Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 771 words

HEADLINE: EAST EUROPE VISIT CHALLENGES BUSH

BYLINE: By MAUREEN DOWD, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, July 8

BODY:

When President Bush arrives in Warsaw on Sunday night, he will embark on a schedule that has been delicately orchestrated to allow him to give a stirring boost to democracy in Eastern Europe without appearing overbearing or intrusive to his Communist hosts.

Every aspect of the President's four days in Warsaw, Gdansk and Budapest, preceding his participation in the Paris economic summit conference, has been calibrated to communicate messages of economic and political freedom in a way that is strong but not provocative.

''The President does not want his presence in Poland or Hungary to in any way be precipitous of demonstrations that are not productive,'' said Stephen Studdert, the Presidential assistant who has planned the trip's events.

Administration officials say that suddenly the possibility of ending postwar divisions does not seem so distant and that the President will commit himself on his trip ''to a new and intensified level of American engagement in the future'' of Eastern Europe.

''Eastern Europe, as the New Yorker has put it, is where the wars come from,'' said one senior Administration official.

'Things Are Changing'

In a news conference on Thursday with foreign journalists, Mr. Bush said he would offer a siren song to the Soviet Union's satellite countries, to encourage ''a little more democracy, a little more freedom, a little more openness.''

He said he would tell them: ''Come along with the flow. Things are changing in Eastern Europe. Don't be lagging way behind. Get out in front. Don't be afraid of democracy and freedom. It isn't going to hurt anybody.''

But the President's cautious side emerged in an interview with Hungarian journalists made public today when he indicated he would exercise the same sort of restraint in Eastern Europe as he showed recently in his dealings with a repressive Chinese leadership convulsed by democratic demonstrations.

''It is not an American President's role to say to those in another country, 'You have to have your system this way, matching our system, or else we can't

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do business with you,' '' Mr. Bush was quoted as having said in a White House interview published today by M.T.I., Hungary's state-run press agency.

Mr. Bush added that while ''exciting changes'' were going on in Poland and Hungary, he did not feel that the United States should insert itself into the domestic affairs of the Warsaw Pact countries. ''I think a country like the United States ought not to over-promise, ought not to over-exhort for others to be like us and thus make problems worse for the people,'' he said.

The Eisenhower Administration encouraged the Hungarian revolt but watched helplessly in 1956 as the Soviets clamped down.

To Meet With Jaruzelski

Mr. Bush will begin his first full day in Warsaw on Monday by laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at Umschlagplatz, a monument commemorating Jews who died in the Warsaw ghetto.

He will meet with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, at Belvedere Palace and then address the first joint session of the Polish National Assembly, the first freely elected congress in postwar Poland. The audience will be made up both of Communists and representatives of the once-outlawed Solidarity union.

The President will be host at a luncheon for government and opposition leaders. ''They'll all be there together in an unprecedented mix and mingle,'' Mr. Studdert said. ''To say this day will be historic is an understatement.''

Then the sports-loving President and First Lady will go to a Polish Little League event.

On Tuesday, the Bushes will travel to Gdansk on the Baltic Sea to have lunch at the home of Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, and later will visit a workers' monument outside the Lenin Shipyard, where the union was born.

The opposition newspaper in Poland printed an advertisement welcoming the President and Mrs. Bush and giving their schedule. In Gdansk, leaflets have been distributed with the places where the President can be seen.

In Budapest, the Bushes will go to the Hungarian Parliament and make remarks at Kossuth Lajos Square. The President will meet with Hungarian students in the garden of an old prison overlooking the Danube and talk to them, Mr. Studdert said, ''about our country and their country, our values and their values.''

Then he will give a speech at the Karl Marx University, an event that Mr. Studdert relishes.

''It is a contradiction in itself,'' he said, ''the President of the United States, the chief advocate of free enterprise and market economy, speaking at the Karl Marx University of Economics.''

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; POLAND -INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-US

NAME: BUSH, GEORGE (PRES); DOWD, MAUREEN

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GEOGRAPHIC: POLAND; EUROPE, EAST; HUNGARY

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96TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 9, 1989, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 1, Column 1; Week in Review Desk

LENGTH: 1089 words

HEADLINE: HIGH HOPES;
To the Poles and Hungarians, Bush Is the Lure of the West

BYLINE: By SERGE SCHMEMANN

DATELINE: WARSAW

BODY:

TRAVELING through Warsaw, Gdansk and Budapest this week, President Bush should at last find the sort of eager welcome that has too often gone to his Soviet rival. It is not often that an American President comes to Eastern Europe - certainly not as often as Mikhail S. Gorbachev goes to the West. The last time a President was in Poland was in 1978, and none has ever been to Hungary.

The enthusiasm will be all the greater because of all the East European lands, these two have been most ardent in their efforts to shed the Soviet mold and be readmitted to the Western world. So the visit by Mr. Bush is being viewed both as a confirmation from the captain of that world that they are welcome, and as a beacon of hope that the West may help lift the awesome debt that, especially in Poland, is now the greatest hurdle to rehabilitation.

No sober official or commentator here believes Mr. Bush can wave a magic wand and Poland's worsening plight will be resolved. That must await excruciating reforms and a concerted rescue by all industrialized nations, whose leaders will meet with Mr. Bush in Paris next week. The President himself has declared that his visit is largely a ''symbol of our support for Poland as it moves towards greater democracy,'' and most Poles are aware of the limits on what he can do.

But that has not dampened the enthusiasm either here or in Hungary, though Mr. Bush's advance teams are taking no chances and have been working hard to insure ample throngs along his routes. Mr. Bush, to be sure, has protested strongly that he is not competing with Mr. Gorbachev, but his call on Moscow to pull its troops out of Poland seemed a none-too-subtle attempt to retaliate for the carrots Mr. Gorbachev has on occasion dangled in the West.

The call had little discernible impact. Moscow and its soldiers are not the pressing problem here these days, especially now that both Poland and Hungary have embarked on their independent paths with no real resistance - in fact with some encouragement - from their former taskmaster. The real problem in Poland and Hungary is money, more precisely the lack of money, and Mr. Bush will be cheered in the East less as an opponent of Communism than as a proponent of the way of life the Poles and Hungarians aspire to.

But even if there is no real symmetry between Mr. Bush's forays into the East and Mr. Gorbachev's into the West, there is an indisputable irony in the notion that the chiefs of the two superpowers get their loudest hurrahs in the bloc

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not their own. There is a certain kinship in the cheers: on both sides, the throngs seem to see in their guest a symbol of the end of a painful estrangement. The West Germans who chanted ''Gorby! Gorby!'' can dream that he has made their division finite, while the Poles and Hungarians can feel that despite their 40 years under an Eastern yoke they were, as they so ardently tried to remain, really Western.

Especially in Poland, but also in Hungary, as throughout the Eastern bloc, the United States has remained the premier symbol of what the East Europeans have been denied for four decades, whether it be liberty and prosperity or rock music and blue jeans.

But Poland in particular is in tatters. Inflation is raging at an annual rate of over 100 percent, meat and other basic products are rare outside the black market, long lines form daily outside foreign consulates in Warsaw as thousands of Poles try to escape. Thousands of others try to slip into West Germany, Austria or other West European countries for a stint of black-market labor - two weeks of Western pay can equal what a Pole earns in two years in zlotys, and the Polish currency sinks further every day.

''We're not talking of hundreds of millions,'' the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Stefan Stanszewski, told a news conference on Friday. ''It would need several billion dollars to set the Polish economy on its feet.''

Mr. Bush's exact proposals were not known in advance, but all indications were that he was not carrying a major aid package. Like others among Poland's creditors, Washington intends to await a joint rescue plan and a major debt rescheduling before pumping major new funds into Poland. What Mr. Bush is likely to pledge is to take up the issue at the summit meeting of major industrial nations to which he will travel after his East European swing. [The issues before the summit, page 3.] Hope Amid Discontent Mr. Bush's arrival coincides with a particularly dark period for the Poles. The Government froze prices and wages for a month as of July 1, touching off a wave of hoarding and discontent. The convocation of a democratic Sejm has only served to reveal the paucity of solutions, and any reform is certain to start with a steep rise in the price of food and other basics. By any projection, things will get a lot worse before they can get any better, and no Western help can seriously alter that. As the Prime Minister, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, poignantly told the Sejm, ''Every day I have been overwhelmed by awareness of the fact that the model Poland of my dreams, a well-managed country governed by sound and just laws and populated by reasonably happy people, is impossible to achieve in a year, two or even five.''

Against this, President Bush seemed to promise a small ray of hope. ''Maybe,'' as they said in the streets of Warsaw: ''Maybe he will suspend debt repayment. . . . Maybe he will freeze the interest on the loans. . . . Maybe he will give those fools in government some advice on what to do. . . . Maybe he'll offer something practical. . . .''

Mr. Bush would find Budapest nowhere near as destitute, but there too economic help is at the top of the agenda. Specifically, the Government hopes to enlist the President's assistance in arranging for Hungary a long-term status as a ''most favored nation'' trading partner. Above all, the first visit by an American President was expected to confirm and consolidate the political reform process begun by Karoly Grosz, the Communist Party chairman. Among the

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tangible signs of Hungary's progress was the plan to open a bureau of Radio Free Europe in Budapest - the first in a Communist country.

If all goes according to plan, Budapest is also to be the most dramatic demonstration of ''Bushomania,'' whose images would follow the President to Paris. All guests to the American Embassy in Budapest for the Fourth of July reception were handed invitations to come to the vast Kossuth Square to cheer the President. The square can accommodate 100,000.

GRAPHIC: Polish workers in Gdansk (Gamma-Liaison/Georges Merillon); President Bush last week, discussing his trip to Europe (The New York Times/Jose R. Lopez); table and graphs compare population, gross national product, per capita G.N.P., hard-currency debt, 1987, inflation and average wages, 1980-1988, of Poland and Hungary (Source: PlanEcon)

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; FOREIGN AID; UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS; POLAND -INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-US; HUNGARY-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS-US; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND TRENDS

NAME: SCHMEMANN, SERGE; BUSH, GEORGE (PRES)

GEOGRAPHIC: HUNGARY; POLAND

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98TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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July 9, 1989, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A1

LENGTH: 1146 words

HEADLINE: Vastly Changed, Poland Will Test Bush's Leadership

BYLINE: David Hoffman, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

When then-Vice President Bush met Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Warsaw in 1987, Bush asked whether the outlawed Polish trade union would ever be legalized.

"Even we consider certain things improbable," Walesa reportedly replied, saying that his country's economy then was so weak that legalization of Solidarity would "cause a lot of trouble for us."

During the same trip, Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski told Bush that Solidarity was effectively dead and had no more than 120 members nationwide.

Today, 20 months later, Bush leaves for Poland under radically changed circumstances that will pose new tests for him as a world leader. Bush is president. Solidarity is legal and has assumed a major share of responsibility for Poland's future. And Jaruzelski's Communist Party has suffered a massive defeat in legislative balloting.

Despite these changed fortunes, the outlook for Poland is in many ways more uncertain and delicate than it was when Bush visited in 1987. Poles want the Western economic aid Bush has offered, but higher prices and increased joblessness are likely byproducts of the austerity and reforms that will be its price.

Poland's people may have won at the ballot box, but they could face even harder times than before.

For Bush, the challenge of his two-day visit to Poland will be to help give Walesa and the emerging government a sense of legitimacy to face this painful austerity, aides said. Bush and former president Ronald Reagan have been tremendously popular figures in Poland because they supported Solidarity in its darkest days, but a no-holds-barred celebration of victory, led by Bush, could well raise expectations that later might turn into bitter disappointment.

Thus, in his address to the Polish parliament, where Solidarity has all but one seat in the upper house and is a strong No. 2 in the more powerful lower house, or his appearance at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, the birthplace of Solidarity, Bush may find himself caught between the highly charged emotions that his visit is certain to generate and the need to deliver a more sober message about the future.

Bush struggled with a similar balancing act in Poland in 1987, paying tribute to Solidarity while trying not to anger the Polish authorities, who

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nonetheless, in a moment of pique, ripped the Polish flag from the fender of Bush's limousine when he rode to church with Walesa. Despite admonishments in advance from the authorities, Bush also mentioned the name of the outlawed trade union in a live broadcast on state-run television.

When he became president, Bush, in one of his first initiatives, outlined in a speech in the Polish-American community of Hamtramck, Mich., offered limited economic incentives to Poland in response to this year's far-reaching political reforms. Bush sought to ease Poland's crushing $ 39 billion debt, open the door to new international lending and encourage trade and private investment. While Bush said last week he doubts thta the West can fulfill Solidarity's appeal for a $ 10 billion infusion over three years, U.S. officials said he is eager to try and go beyond his earlier proposals, which are expected to be approved soon by Congress.

One idea being considered, administration officials said, is for Bush to propose creation of a "consortium" by the leading Western industrial democracies to channel new investment aid into Poland and Hungary while monitoring economic reforms. The idea comes from Zbigniew Brzezinski, national security adviser under President Jimmy Carter, who quietly helped clear the way for Bush's 1987 visit to Poland by carrying a message to Jaruzelski and who last week helped brief Bush in advance of this visit.

Brzezinski said he was thinking of an American-European-Japanese effort to "provide long-term aid in response to the needed economic and political reforms" in Poland and Hungary. To ease any popular discontent caused by the austerity measures, Brzezinski said the consortium would "have a little bit of flexibility for short-range, stop-gap economic assistance later this year, particularly with regard to food prices and inflation."

An informed administration official said Bush may raise the concept at the Paris economic summit, which follows his Eastern European tour.

On a larger scale, Bush is using the tour of Poland and Hungary to advance a sensitive and in some ways bold effort to coax the two central European nations away from communism and toward the West and its principles of free markets and political pluralism.

"I would think that, basically, it is a contribution to the transition of these two countries to a post-communist phase in politics and economics," Brzezinski said. "It is also a contribution to the gradual return of these countries with the rest of Europe."

Bush has frequently said that he is not trying to "make things more difficult" for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, but his personal diplomacy, including this second trip to Europe in the first six months of his presidency, is designed in many ways to compete for public opinion with Gorbachev's high-profile visits to Western Europe.

Bush has called on Gorbachev to abandon the Brezhnev Doctrine, which included military intervention if necessary to maintain Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Bush also recently called for withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Poland, a statement Gorbachev dismissed as "propaganda."

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Aware of the complexities he faces in Poland and Hungary, Bush, in an interview with Polish newspapers, insisted, "I'm not going to deliberately do anything that is going to cause a crisis. I will not be trying to inflame change."

His schedule, however, includes at least two appearances likely to draw large, enthusiastic crowds: at the shipyard worker's monument in Gdansk, which commemorates workers killed by government security forces in the 1970 strikes, and a speech in the Lojos Kossuth Square, one of the largest public squares in Budapest and one of the early scenes of the 1956 Hungarian uprising.

In Paris, Bush will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the start of the French Revolution and participate in the 15th annual economic summit, his first.

The summit is expected to be dominated by talk of environmental problems that have attracted growing concern and provoked renewed political activism in Western Europe. Global warming, tropical deforestation, oil spills and ocean pollution are on the agenda. Reflecting these concerns, Bush in an unprecedented move will take William K. Reilly, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, to the summit.

The summit is also expected to include talks on Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady's Third World debt plan and on other economic matters. Before concluding his 10-day, 9,040-mile journey, Bush plans to make the first visit by a U.S. president to the Netherlands.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, ON SUNNY DAY IN WARSAW, PEDESTRIANS PASS BUSH POSTER OUTSIDE U.S. EMBASSY. REUTER; MAP, BRAD WYE

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: POLAND; GOVERNMENT / OFFICIAL TRAVEL; FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS; U.S. PRESIDENT; ECONOMIC CONDITIONS; HUNGARY

ORGANIZATION: SOLIDARITY

NAMED-PERSONS: GEORGE BUSH; LECH WALESA; WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI

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SUGGESTED REMARKS

WELCOMING POLISH PRIME MINISTER TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI

March 21, 1990

Today, on this first day of spring, it is my great pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Mazowiecki to the United States.

It has often been said that that there exists a very special friendship between the peoples of Poland and the United States. That bond of friendship, which has been forged over the course of 200 years, has never been as strong as it is today. And I believe that a good deal of the credit goes to Prime Minister Mazowiecki and the government that he so ably represents.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki is a man of Solidarity, the movement that ignited a democratic revolution around the world. It is a movement which quite simply has changed the course of history. We are all better off as a result, and for that reason all Poles can be justly proud of their unique contribution.

Poland today is continuing to undergo a process of renewal and rebirth. It is a process of change which the United States watches with great interest and sympathy, and one which we support wholeheartedly.

Since he assumed his office in September 1989, Prime Minister Mazowiecki has led his country through an extraordinary transformation. He has proved himself to be one of those rare leaders that history reserves for its most challenging moments.

We welcome Prime Minister Mazowiecki at a time when his country is taking major steps to introduce a market economy. The Prime Minister's program is truly unprecedented in its scope and pace. It is a program befitting the boldness and courage of the Polish people. Its progress is being carefully watched and analyzed throughout the world. Its success will light the way for other countries which have embarked upon the road to political and economic pluralism.

The United States has supported and will continue to support Poland's economic program. We stand ready to offer a helping hand. Prime Minister Mazowiecki and the Polish people can rely on us. We will not let them down.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki has also proved himself to be an international statesman of great vision and vigor. He has put forward a practical plan for enhancing the structure of CSCE, and in so doing he has made a valuable contribution to a new political order in Europe.

I look forward to the opportunity for extensive talks with Prime Minister Mazowiecki about these international issues. They are issues of vital and fundamental concern to both our countries and I believe we will find that our views have a great deal in common.

Thank you all very much for coming here today.