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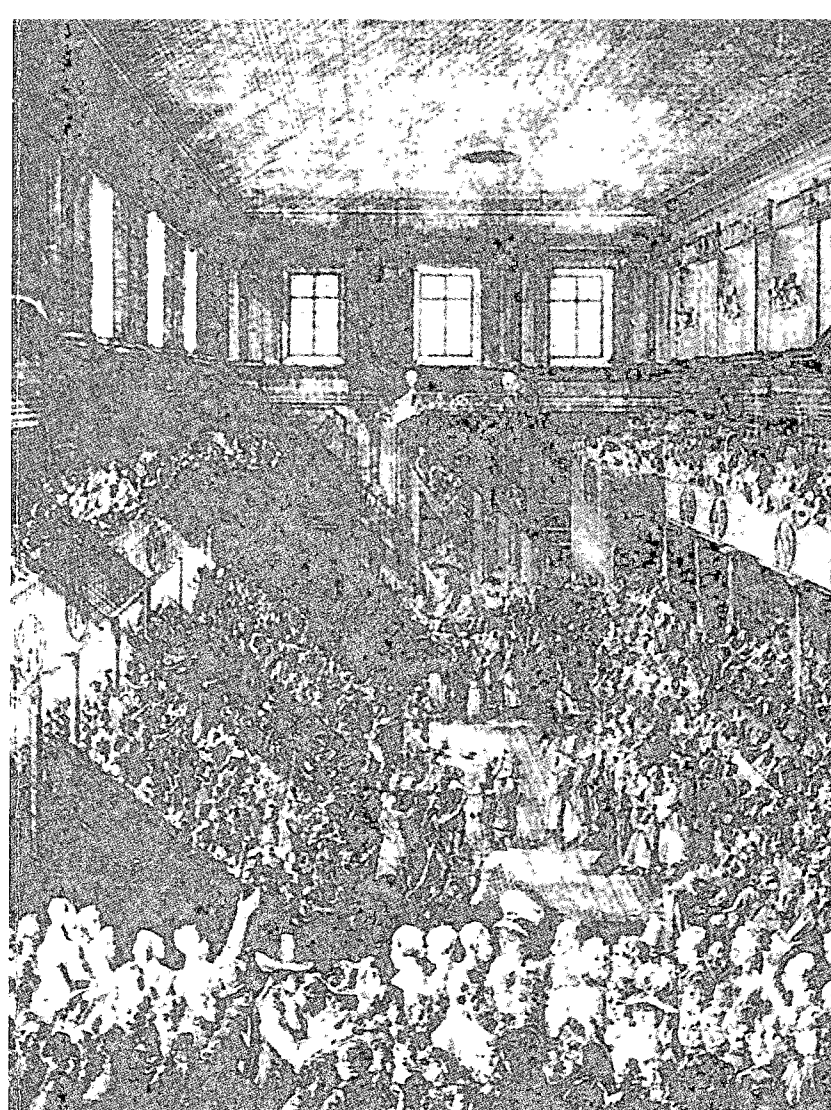
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HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARISM IN POLAND
THE SEJM OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

CONSTITUTION OF THE
POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC





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POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

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Jerzy Wojciech Popkowski

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POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

Warsaw 1988

HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARISM IN POLAND

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic is the supreme organ of state authority in the socialist state and thus it is the inheritor and continuator of the five centuries old, national tradition of Polish parliamentarism. The doctrine underlying the ideological foundations of the contemporary state system in Poland rests on the assumption that only all the qualities of the socialist state can fully develop only in a state in which the genuine political authority rests with representative assemblies emerging from fully democratic elections. The doctrine has always been consistent in the belief that rule of the law should be the socialist state's basic method for realization of its executive powers towards the citizens.

These principles of the socialist doctrine have found a good ground in Poland where great attention has always been attached to vesting the Sejm, or the national representative assembly, with the special rank of the supreme national representation as well as with the crucial powers usually ascribed to supreme organs of the state. Throughout the 19th-century partitions of Poland, the nation vividly remembered the last-ditch attempt that the Polish Sejm had made to prevent, alas belatedly, the loss of sovereign state-

hood. Ever since the Sejm has been associated with sovereignty. The nation cherished the belief that just as the regaining of independence was to entail the immediate revival of the Sejm, so the very restoration of this institution was to be the symbol and the guarantee of consolidated independence and sovereignty.

Therefore, in reading the present **Constitution of the Polish People's Republic** one should bear in mind both its doctrinal sources, so strongly embedded in the contemporary circumstances and consciousness of the Polish society, and its historical roots: the millennium-old history of the Polish statehood and the five centuries of parliamentary system in Poland. You cannot do without it, if you talk about the present.

* * *

The beginning of parliamentarism in Poland was not a single event in the past. As in many other European countries, it was a long process of transforming the early-feudal collective bodies of advisors to the monarch into a separate collective, and to a degree representative, state institution endowed with certain – if modest at first – powers and constituting a lasting, or gradually consolidated, component of the state system of the Republic. It is a predominant belief among Polish historians that in the 15th century, especially its latter half, this process had become visibly advan-

ced. Historians agreed on 1493 as the year when the Sejm representing the estates can be safely referred to parliament, a representative and co-deciding organ of state authority. A Chamber of Deputies, or representatives of the entire nobility elected by local assemblies of landowners and a Senate, comprising the highest-ranking ecclesiastic and lay dignitaries, mostly magnates, were clearly discernible in the bicameral parliament in 1493. The Senate was chaired by the King and the Deputies' Chamber by the Sejm Speaker elected by deputies. As in many other European countries, the range of powers of the Polish parliament first involved the taxes. Apparently the "no-taxation-without-representation" rule, later on widespread in Britain, had been applied in Poland earlier than elsewhere. The Sejm's powers expanded gradually: the number of men to be enlisted in the army as well as any new legal duties to be imposed on the citizenry of noble birth were subject to the Sejm's approval.

In this context, the 1505 resolution which the Polish Sejm adopted in Radom during the reign of King Alexander (Jagiellonian dynasty) and which is known as the *Nihil Novi* (Nothing New) Constitution – proved of extraordinary significance. The document forced the king to pledge that: "from now on we (the king) and our successors shall resolve *nihil novi* that might lead to change of the general law and public freedom

without the joint permission from the senators and the gentry deputies". The *Nihil Novi* constitution was among the crucial building blocks that went to the laying down of the foundations of parliamentary rule in Poland. It meant no less than the right of the Sejm to issue legal acts. It also outlined the substantive scope of a legal act. It played an important role in the development of democracy of the noblemen by shifting the legislative gravity centre from the Senate (which was the bastion of the magnates) to the Deputies' Chamber consistently evolving towards a representation of the entire nobility and all estates. According to Prof. Waclaw Uruszczak, an outstanding historian of the parliamentary system in Poland, "the period from 1506 to 1540 witnessed a remarkable growth of the Sejm's importance in the system of the Polish Kingdom. Although it was not a new institution, its almost annual sessions turned it into a permanent element of the state. The Sejm was a continuation of the former assemblies. The formal procedures for shaping its composition and the fixed venues of Sejm sittings (...) were evidence that the principles of the Sejm process had assumed shape much earlier than at the turn of the 15th century. The organization of the Sejm and the mode of its activity demonstrated elements of tradition. (...) The transformations within the Sejm added to the centralization of the state. The joint organ of authority which brought together representatives

ment, plays a considerable role in strengthening the Sejm's control functions. The Board institutes checks whenever instructed by the Sejm and submits respective reports to the Sejm. The primary duty of the Supreme Board of Control before the Sejm is to furnish annual commentaries on the implementation of national socio-economic plans, as well as analyses of the execution of the budget in the preceding year. The Board's chairman submits to the Sejm periodic reports on the state of implementation of the Sejm decisions.

Jerzy Wojciech Popkowski

of the voivodships and territories to deliberate on common issues of the whole state, consolidated the sense of unity of the interests and people."

In the latter half of the 16th century, following her union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Poland became the "Republic of Two Nations", one of the biggest states in Europe with about seven or eight million people inhabiting an area of 800 thousand square kilometres. The Union Act signed in Lublin in 1569 provided for unity of the Sejm too. A parliamentary act of 1572 introduced set rules and dates for convening the Sejm by the monarch. Warsaw, the capital city, was chosen as the site for ordinary Sejm meetings. Later on, every third meeting was convened in Grodno in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Meetings of extraordinary importance were held also in other places and particularly in Cracow.

Another highly significant law adopted by the Sejm in the second half of the 16th century was the **Confederation of Warsaw** of January 28, 1573, which declared and instituted "everlasting peace among the citizens espousing different religions and granted equal political rights and legal protection to the dissident or non-Catholic gentry. Expressed in contemporary terms it was a declaration of freedom of conscience and religion giving equal treatment to all creeds, the first act of such religious tolerance in the 16th-century Europe. And even though the law was not fully imple-

mented and failed to counter effectively the rampant Catholic fanaticism and harassment of dissidents, it did go down in history of Polish parliamentary system and democracy as a symbol of extraordinary importance: a substantial, legislative manifestation of the strivings by the progressive segment of the gentry to make the principle of equal rights irrespective of religion a fundamental principle of the country's political system.

Since we do not attempt to present here a complete chronological survey of the history of Polish parliamentarism, we shall confine ourselves to mentioning but some of the most characteristic facts and developments. The transformations of the system were the focal point of interest for a growing number of political writers of the period. One of them was Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, also known as Andreas Fricius Modrevius (1503-1572), perhaps the most outstanding social and political thinker of the Renaissance in Poland, a prolific author whose works were translated into many European languages. With his *Commentatorium de Republica emenanda* (1551) he raced far ahead of his contemporaries by promoting equality for all before the law and the state. He was for a strong centralized rule of the king but one that was subject to the law to which he demanded a very special place among the institutions of the social life.

The 16th century also saw the emergence of an in-

ting, or personally upon advance notice. Answers to questions are not debated.

In practice, an important control function is fulfilled by Sejm Committees. They have become organs of consistent day-to-day control over the entire activity of the organs of state administration and the socialist economy. They have developed a host of forms of activity such as deputies' reports accompanying government reports, field inspections by deputies' teams and subcommittees, seeking the opinion of trade unions and social organizations, applications of opinions offered by the Socio-Economic Council and the Team of Sejm Advisors, consulting issues taken up by Committee with electoral districts. These actions are conducive to comprehensive evaluations of problems considered by the Sejm. The outcome of their work are desiderata (postulates) and opinions (stances of Committees) most frequently addressed to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of individual ministers. The addressees are duty-bound to offer answers to them and inform the Committees about it. The answers are in turn considered at Committee meetings. Even though the desiderata and the opinions are not binding, they are important for their impact on the work of the ministers and the government. Twenty-one Committees are active in the Sejm.

The Supreme Board of Control, directly subordinate to the Sejm and independent from the govern-

ting of vote of acceptance to the government is one such form. Reports on the situation in individual domains of socio-economic life consistently submitted to the Sejm play an important role in this respect too.

The exercising of control powers is usually the starting point for the formulation of motions concerning the activity of government organs. The control is of all-around character. In particular, the founding of the institution of the Ombudsman is conducive to the control over the observance of civil rights and freedoms. The Ombudsman is duty-bound to submit to the Sejm annual reports on his activity complete with commentary on the state of observance of the rights and freedoms of citizens. These reports are made public.

The parliamentary control over the activity of main organs of the state is strengthened by the possibility to bring the top state officials to account before the Tribunal of State.

Deputies make extensive use of the institution of interpellations and question time which usually closes each Sejm meeting. The interpellations are submitted in a written form. The answers are offered from the floor or in a written form within 21 days of the day the interpellations were received. An interpellation and the answer to it may be put to debate. Meanwhile, questions concern relatively simple matters. They may be submitted in writing 24 hours before a mee-

stitution in Poland's constitutional law to which historians refer to as the legal interpretation of the basic principles of the system of the Polish gentry republic. Known as "Henri's Articles" (in connection with the Polish King Henri de Valois, the king of France from 1574), that institution followed the abandoning of the principle of hereditary succession in favour of royal elections. Adopted by the Sejm in 1573, the Articles spelled out crucial commitments that every successive king pledged to fulfil by taking a respective oath. The articles could have borne a considerable impact on the development of the parliamentary system in Poland. Under the oath, the king pledged not to impose new taxes nor issue an all-out call to arms without the Sejm's prior approval and accepted the noble's right to disobedience should he fail to observe his commitments (*articulus de no prestanda oboedientia*). While the Articles were a document of permanent validity, a similar institution called the *pacta conventa* was devised as a framework to be filled with new contents depending on who was the king elect.

The flourishing growth of a number of fundamental institutions of the Polish parliamentary rule in the 16th century was followed by decades of recession. The *liberum veto* principle which required absolute unanimity upon adopting any resolution repeatedly stalled the work of the Sejm. The *liberum veto* and a handful of other factors proved particularly harmful

to the development of the parliamentary system and greatly detracted from the role and authority of the Sejm to the advantage of small factions of magnates' oligarchy.

Significantly – and repeatedly in the Polish history later on – the declining role and authority of the Sejm as the supreme national representation and organ of state power was in a clear correlation to the economic and social decline of the state. The stage has been set for the tragic events of the 18th century.

The complicated external and internal situation, economic predicament, inefficiency of a succession of elected kings – descendants from the Saxon Wettin dynasty alien to the national interests, increasing contradictions and conflicts in the Polish society, anti-patriotic selfishness of the top strata of the propertied classes frequently infiltrated by foreign royal courts, especially the Russian and Prussian which had a vested interest in the dismantling of independent Poland, all of these factors undercut the material foundations of the Polish statehood and put the further destinies of the Polish state and nations under the question mark.

And yet, amid the dramatic scenery, the Polish nation mustered enough internal cohesion and awareness of national identity to give rise to the forces capable to undertake the course of a genuine national rebirth. The philosopher on the Polish throne, king Sta-

The processes of socio-economic planning underwent considerable socialization in recent years. This found expression in the consulting of economic plans with society, especially the provisions directly concerning the standard of living and the meeting of social needs. In keeping with the law – the socio-economic and finance plans of the state are subject to opinion by the trade unions.

The role of the Sejm in the implementation of the economic reform is closely connected with socio-economic problems. The Sejm both lays down the legal frameworks for the changes under way and carries them into effect.

Control Function of the Sejm

Under the Constitution, the legislative function of the Sejm is on a par with the control it exercises over the activity of other organs of authority and the state administration. The control function is of special political and social importance.

The components of control are inherent in the entirety of the Sejm's powers. They are particularly obvious in the consideration of draft laws and annual drafts of the budget and finance plans. Annual consideration of government reports on execution of the budget and the national socio-economic plan in the preceding year and the procedure governing the grant-

Adoption of Economic Plans and Budget

Socio-economic problems occupy an important place in the activity of the Sejm. The body adopts long-range plans, a plan for spatial development of the country, five-year National Socio-Economic Plans and it gives its opinion on the provisions of the government-adopted Central Annual Plans, primarily with a view to their compatibility with the five-year plan.

The Sejm considers the National Socio-Economic Plans in two stages. First, it offers its opinion on the government-submitted variant of the concept of a future plan. In the second stage, the draft plan worked out by the government in keeping with the variant chosen by the Sejm in the first stage is given consideration. In this way the Sejm can influence the government work on the economic plans at all stages.

The Sejm also enjoys extensive powers as regards finance planning. Next to the state budget, the Sejm adopts annual fiscal plans, including the balance of payments of the state as well as the credit plan complete with the balance-sheet of population's incomes and spending and the assumptions of the monetary and credit policy. The Sejm adopts also several separate funds, including the Central Fund for the Development of Culture and the Central Fund for the Development of Science and Technology.

Stanisław Leszczyński (1677-1766) wrote the famous treatise entitled **Głos wolny wolność ubezpieczający** (Voice of Freedom to Secure Freedom) in which he called for indispensable socio-economic reforms, including personal freedoms for the peasants, development of industry and trade as well as political reform which would curb the *liberum veto* and extend the term of parliamentary sessions in order to upgrade the role of the Sejm and improve its efficiency. Alas, he never had the chance to further his cause, because he was forced to step down from the Polish throne and through the agency of his father-in-law, Louis XV of France he assumed the reign in the duchy of Lorraine and Bar where he spent the closing years of his life (he was buried in Nancy).

During the reign of the last Polish king Stanisław August Poniatowski (1732-1798; reigned 1764-1795), the Reformation movement brought about some slow-paced economic and social change. The intellectual and cultural revival fostered first attempts to reform the political system. In 1776, the Sejm appointed the 30-member **Permanent Council** as the supreme executive organ in between the sessions of the parliament. The Council closely resembled the present-day council of ministers. At about the same time the Commission for National Education was founded as the first ministry of education in Europe.

1788 saw the convening of the Sejm which was to

play a great historical role. Today we refer to it as the "Four-Year Sejm" or the "Grand Sejm". Stanisław Małachowski (1736-1809) a seasoned parliamentarian, outstanding political activist and a merited patriot was elected Speaker of the Sejm. The assembly made an attempt to introduce essential reforms of the state.

The "Government Act" adopted on May 3, 1791 is known today as the May 3rd Constitution. Though the term "constitution" was not used in the document, the name is more than justified: by laying down the rights and duties of citizens and the principles of organization of state authority it was a constitutional act or a constitution patterned on the theory of European constitutionalism at that time. The May 3rd Constitution was the world's second – after the United States Constitution of 1787 – act bearing such contents and form. It was the first such act in Europe, preceding the French revolutionary constitution of September 3rd, 1791.

The May 3rd Constitution was the product of a sharp social and political strife. Its founding fathers – including king Stanisław August Poniatowski, political activists Ignacy Potocki and Hugo Kołłątaj and the Sejm Speaker Stanisław Małachowski – were reformists but not revolutionaries. They were surrounded by followers of their patriotic endeavours, but they had enemies too. The most hostile watchers of

The draft laws in the form proposed by Sejm Committees are given the second reading, considered and voted upon by the house. Both the adopted and applied procedure as well as the parliamentary practice create conditions for effective fulfilment of the law-making function of the Sejm.

The activity of the Constitutional Tribunal serves to strengthen the role of the Constitution and legal acts in the legal system. The Tribunal rules on compatibility of legal acts with the Constitution as well as of other normative measures, especially government-issued ordinances, with the Constitution and the legal acts. This activity does not diminish the role of the Sejm in any way. Under the Law on the Constitutional Tribunal, the Chairman of the Tribunal submits verdicts on incompatibility of legal acts with the Constitution to the Sejm which ultimately settles the issue.

Acting as the supreme organ of state authority, the Sejm may refer issues to be laid down in Sejm acts or resolutions directly to the electorate by holding a national referendum. The results of the referendum are binding on the Sejm. The Sejm may also subject individual problems to public consultations. In this case it is duty-bound to consider the submitted opinions and motions as well as to make public the degree to which they have been used.

initiative) is entrusted to the Council of State, the Government, Sejm Committees and Sejm deputies. In practice, the initiative is exercised chiefly by the Government. In many cases the bills submitted by the Government realize the postulates put forth by Sejm deputies. Bills of special social or political importance are tabled directly by Sejm deputies.

The extensive procedure governing the consideration of draft laws by the Sejm offers opportunity for all-round analyses of the issues at hand. It includes two readings given to each draft law at plenary sittings of the Sejm, a practice which is conducive to openness of the law-making process. In between the readings the draft laws are carefully analysed by the Legislative Committee which meets together with a Committee relevant to the subject.

Usually, the draft laws are altered by the Committees, sometimes considerably. In the course of the work on the draft laws numerous sub-committees and deputies' teams are appointed to consider some detailed problems.

Widely applied are such forms of activity as consultations with the trade unions and interested social organizations consulting the electorate, application of opinions offered by the Socio-Economic Council and the Team of Sejm Advisors. As a result of this, government bills are enriched with solutions and provisions which are the contribution of Sejm deputies.

the reform were the Russian, Prussian and Austrian monarchy courts which instigated and backed anti-reformist actions launched by some Polish political factions, mainly those comprising magnates. Therefore it is justifiable to believe that the makers of the May Constitution could not go any further in their reformist effort. However, some historians upbraid them for compromising too much in their intended political change. On the other hand, there are others who stress the Constitution was not intended as a crowning of changes but just the beginning. The changes it ushered in were the most immediate and biggest in the political system of the state, in the structure and powers of the supreme organs of the state and as such they paved the way for a follow up. The reform was less successful, and according to some people, even too unsuccessful, in the social field. Aimed against the oligarchy, it consolidated the status enjoyed by the gentry, gave more rights to the middle class, but it left out completely the social and legal standing of the peasantry, problem which was becoming increasingly urgent.

The May 3rd Constitution built on the achievement of the then constitutionalism. "All authority in the human community has its beginning in the will of the nation," read one of its opening provisions. That idea corresponded with the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose writings, including the *Reflections sur le*

Gouvernement Polonais, were well-known in Poland. However, some Polish historians insist that in Polish conditions that provision primarily served to emphasize the political sovereignty of the gentry-controlled Sejm. The Constitution referred to Montesquieu's concept of division of authority into legislative, executive and judiciary one. It also voiced the principle of a "moderate government" made up of "three authorities (...) i.e. the legislative authority of the assembled estates, the supreme executive power in the person of the king and the Guardians, and the judicature". Thus also in Poland the ideals of Montesquieu were to materialize in a constitutional monarchy.

The extensive Article Six of the May Constitution included provisions concerning the organization and powers of the "Sejm or the lawgiving authority". They opened a new chapter in the history of parliamentarism in Poland. "(...) the Sejm or the assembled estates shall be divided into two chambers: the Deputies' Chamber and the Senators' Chamber under the King's presidency. Being the representation and composition of the national omnipotence, the Deputies' Chamber shall be the temple of lawgiving. Therefore, all drafts shall be decided in the Deputies' Chamber in the first place". Further on the article defined the procedures concerning bills on the constitution, civil and penal law, real-estate taxes, levies, the currency system, drawing of public debt, the state

Constitutional Tribunal as well as the Ombudsman. These organs show different links with the Sejm and can be recalled by it in certain cases.

Legislation

The importance of the law-making function of the Sejm is connected with the importance of legal acts in the Polish legal system. This importance consists in the fact that only legal acts can regulate socially important issues, in particular the imposing of duties on citizens and the definition of the structure and scope of activity of state organs. The rank of legal acts grows in step with the development of democratic forms of social life, strengthening of civil rights and independence of economic units. For example, the implementation of the economic reform is accompanied by legal regulation of mechanisms in the national economy which until not long ago had been defined by government acts.

Actually the Sejm enjoys the exclusive rights to enact legal norms in the rank of a law. True enough, the Council of State has the right to issue decrees with the strength of law in periods between the Sejm sessions. However the decrees are subject to subsequent approval by the parliament and the Council generally does not avail itself of the privilege.

The right to table bills with the Sejm (legislative in-

Functions of the Sejm

“The Sejm shall adopt legal acts, pass resolutions defining the basic directions of the activity of the state as well as shall exercise control over the activity of other organs of authority and administration,” reads the Constitution at one point. The statement is a general definition of the functions or main directions in the activity of the Sejm. Particular powers are defined in other provisions of the Constitution and in ordinary legislations. Let us focus on those of them which concern the appointment or election of main organs of the state, supervision of self-management and local self-government and decisions leading to national referenda.

Appointing Main Organs of the State

The 1980s witnessed a considerable extension of the scope of powers of the Sejm to appoint or elect the main organs of the state. The Sejm elects from among its members the Council of State (which is a collective presidential body), appoints the Council of Ministers, the Chairman of the Committee for the Defence of the Country, the Chairman of the Supreme Board of Control and the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland. It also elects the Tribunal of State and the

budget, declaration of war and peace, ratification of international agreements etc. It also defined the composition of the Senate and its role in the law-making process. The role of the Senate in the struggle against the magnates' oligarchy was substantially curtailed. The Senate was given the right to veto bills concerning political, civil and penal issues however such action would only suspend and not abolish the draft laws adopted by the Deputies' Chamber.

The Constitution introduced a number of solutions concerning organization of the Sejm, and particularly of the Deputies' Chamber and its relation to executive organs. Though the “ordinary Sejm” was to meet every two years like before, it was supposed to be an “ever-ready” assembly too, i.e. the elected members could be called to session anytime it proved necessary to consider urgent matters defined in the convocation act. The requirement of absolute unanimity in adopting resolutions was ultimately abolished. “Everything and everywhere shall be decided by a majority of votes. Therefore, the *liberum veto* (...) running counter the spirit of the present Constitution, disempowering the government and destroying the community, shall be abolished forever,” read the Constitution. The ministers too were stripped of their “*vote decisivum*” and would join the assembly only if the Sejm demanded so and wished to hear their “*explications*”. Also significant was the introduction of the demand

that official acts issued by the king be countersigned by a member of the cabinet or the Guardians of the Law. The demand was a political discomfort for the king but that was partly offset by the fact that the Guardians of the Law were elected arbitrarily. Under the new regulations devised to speed up the parliamentary process, plenary meetings were to be prepared in advance by the equivalent of the modern parliamentary commissions. Plenary meetings would be devoted only to considering, adopting, turning down altogether or sending draft laws back to the commissions. The execution of legal acts and Sejm resolutions was to be watched over by the Sejm Speaker who was included among the Guardians of the Law (or the council of ministers).

The May 3rd Constitution is a document of extraordinary importance in the history of Polish statehood. True it could not settle all social problems at that time. True enough, it was the product of a compromise and perhaps advocates of radical reforms could have gone further. However, it was an expression of a grand, well-considered and deeply patriotic political concept; it expressed faith in national revival, it evidenced the existence of living, creative forces in the nation which was suffering a decline. Also it manifested understanding for the democratic strivings which swept Europe at that time. Perhaps the constitutional reform came belatedly, but it did come all the same.

organ of the Sejm is its Presidium comprising the Sejm Speaker and four Deputy Speakers. The cooperation of Deputies' Clubs and Circles is ensured by the Convention of Seniors made up of the chairmen of the Clubs and Circles and the chairman of the Socio-Economic Council at the Sejm. The Sejm Committees are the Sejm's working organs appointed to prepare issues to be considered during the sittings and to assist the Sejm in exercising its control powers.

The composition of all organs of the Sejm reflects the differentiated socio-political structure of the parliament.

The growing role of the Sejm in deciding about crucial state matters made it necessary to set up consultative and advisory bodies. These are the Socio-Economic Council and the Team of Sejm Advisors.

In practice, the Socio-Economic Council voices its opinion on a majority of issues considered by the Sejm. The body's 250 members are appointed by the Sejm from among candidates put forth by work establishments, trade unions, farmers' organizations, organizations of cooperatives, self-government and self-management bodies.

Comprising 50 outstanding scientists and officials, the Team of Sejm Advisors is appointed by the Sejm Presidium. The team provides expertise on issues considered by the Sejm and its organs.

deputies have emerged within the PUWP Deputies' Club.

The variety of forms of organization of Sejm deputies reflects the political, social and world outlook differences within the society and is conducive to presentation of different stances on issues considered by the parliament.

Outside the Sejm, members of the Sejm form voivodship deputies' teams comprising all deputies who won the mandates in individual voivodships. The voivodship teams of deputies have the task to create organizational conditions for maintaining their bond with the local electorate, people's councils, and social and political organizations.

Sessions, Sitzings and Organs of the Sejm

Under the Constitution sessions are the main mode in the Sejm's activity. Parliamentary sessions are convened by the Council of State at least twice a year, including ordinary sessions – convened by October 31 in autumn and by April 1 in spring. Each session consists of a number of sittings. In practice, the sessions are long and last from nine to ten months each year. Their duration is determined by the Sejm. Sitzings of the Sejm are held consistently once or twice a month.

The internal structure of the Sejm and its procedures are defined by the Sejm Regulations. The leading

The Constitution reverberated widely beyond Poland. Several decades later, Karl Marx thus hailed the document: "(...) In spite of all its shortcomings, seen against the background of the Russo-Prusso-Austrian barbarity the Constitution presents itself as the only independent work of freedom to have been ever created by Eastern Europe."

The functioning of Polish parliamentary system under the May 3rd Constitution was regrettably short-lived. Several years after its adoption the life of the gentry-controlled Republic came to an end: Russia, Prussia and Austria partitioned the Polish lands and the sovereign Polish state was erased from the map of Europe. That was an act of unprecedented violation of international laws, a conspiracy of the powerful neighbours designed to liquidate a state which had boasted centuries-long traditions and lasting values of national culture. The partitions were sharply condemned by many progressive thinkers and politicians but not by Western governments: Europe watched in silence as Poland died.

But the memory of the May 3rd Constitution and the Four-Year Sejm has been cherished by the nation ever since. During the over century-long suffering under the yoke rule of the partitioning powers, the May 3rd Constitution became the banner of struggle for independent statehood. The Polish nation had never come to terms with the loss of independence. The

19th century in this nation's history abounded with legal efforts to obtain a measure of autonomous rights and, first of all, with active political and armed struggle against the partitioning authorities: the uprising of 1794 led by Kościuszko a hero of the War of Independence in North America, the November Uprising in 1830-31, the January Uprising in 1863-1864, the Polish legions of 1914 were but the most conspicuous landmarks along the way.

The period of the Partitions saw the emergence of more or less short-lived quasi-parliamentary institutions on Polish soil. By the end of the 19th century a handful of Polish political activists were even granted seats in the partitioning powers' parliaments.

In 1807 Napoleon reinstated the Sejm in the Duchy of Warsaw, but the body failed to play a role of any importance. Initially that was the case also with the Sejm in the Kingdom of Poland founded in the wake of the Congress in Vienna in 1815 and enjoying just as little autonomy as any other Russian province. The Sejm came to fully exercise its autonomous authority during the November Uprising (1830-1831) when it became an organ of the Polish nation's struggle for independence. In January 1831, the Sejm ruled to strip the Russian Tsar and his successors (the Romanov dynasty) of the right to the Polish throne. The defeat of the November Uprising marked an end to the last Polish Sejm in the 19th century.

political parties, social organizations, associations and citizens irrespective of their world outlook on issues concerning the functioning and consolidation of the socialist state and all-round development of the country" (Article Three of the Constitution), the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth formulates the electoral declaration which serves as the basis for the election campaign and the elections.

The position of a Sejm deputy is characterized by his strong bond with his constituency and the necessity to harmoniously combine the local and national interests. Consequently, it is the duty of each deputy to maintain the bond with his constituency, to study the conditions of living and work in it as well as to take an active part in the work of the Sejm and its organs. The deputies enjoy a number of privileges which facilitate execution of their mandate.

The coalitional exercise of authority is reflected in the existence of the Deputies' Clubs (caucuses) in the Sejm comprising members of political parties. They are the Clubs of the Polish United Workers' Party, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. Some of non-party deputies, who constitute a sizeable group in the Sejm, are members of three Catholic Deputies Circles: the Pax Association, the Christian Social Association and Polish Catholic Social Union. As of recently, teams of trade union members and young

A number of deputies, not more than 15 per cent of the total composition of the Sejm, are elected not from the district tickets but from the national electoral ticket. The candidates for the latter – with their number being equal to that of mandates – are submitted by the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth to the National Electoral Convention. This process is conceived as an opportunity for the entire electorate to have a say in the election of people who enjoy particular authority by virtue of their political, professional or cultural activity on the national scale.

The results of the elections are established according to majority rule. Elected are candidates who win more than a half of valid votes (absolute majority) provided that at least a half of the people entitled to vote in an electoral district turn out at the polls.

Voters have the right to lodge electoral complaints with the Supreme Court. However, in observance of the superior authority of the Sejm, under the electoral law the Supreme Court is duty-bound to present its opinion to the Sejm which ultimately rules on the case. The voters also have the right to recall their deputy.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth plays an important role in the elections. Being the “platform for uniting the society for the benefit of the Polish People’s Republic as well as for cooperation of

The threshold of the 19th century saw the emergence of some quasi-parliamentarian institutions of autonomous character, such as the Lvov-based Sejm in Galicia under the Austrian rule. The participation of representatives of the Polish society in the partitioners’ parliaments was perhaps best visible in the Hapsburg Crown’s assembly in Vienna.

The need to reinstate Sejm in reborn Poland was put forth in the programmes of nearly all independence-oriented political parties and groups. For a vast part of the nation, the vision of independent Poland was inseparably coupled with the vision of the Sejm, complete with all its attributes.

Towards the end of World War I the partitioning power in the East, the tsarist Russia crumbled. The Bolsheviks voiced Poland’s right to independent statehood ever since they had taken over power in Russia. Meanwhile, Germany and the Austria-Hungary were faced with the prospect of a total defeat in the war, domestic rebellion and possible revolution. Thus the external conditions for rebirth of independent Poland were there. Next to them were the domestic ones which threatened the foundations of the capitalist system on Polish soil. The propertied classes which were getting ready to assume political rule in the reborn Polish state feared that the revolutionary fire might catch on in Poland too. Their fears were not without foundations.

The socialist revolution in Russia fuelled the revolutionary moods in Poland, sped up the growth of the class consciousness of the working people. The workers and the peasants became more confident that their social liberation was feasible too. The upper-crust bourgeoisie and big landowners who had been working on a programme for the reborn Polish state still under the partitioners, found themselves in no position to counter the popular mood with their old policy of reinstating monarchy with all its anti-democratic consequences.

The will of the Polish nation, evidenced in the decades-long consistent and steadfast independence effort, came out victorious. Poland became independent on November 11, 1918. As soon as November 26, Józef Piłsudski, the Chief of State, announced the Electoral Law for elections to the Legislative Sejm, the first most democratic electoral law in Polish history. The first elections to the Sejm were held in January, 1919, the Sejm assembled in early February and Piłsudski turned over his powers to what he referred to as the sole legitimate host of the national household.

Two successive constitutions laid down the foundations of the legal system in Poland in 1918 to 1939. They were the democratic constitution of March 17, 1921 (quite substantially amended in 1926) and the anti-democratic one of April 23, 1935. The role of the

The Electoral Law: Deputies

The Sejm comprises 460 deputies elected in general, equal, direct and secret ballot for a tenure of four years. All Polish citizens aged above 18 have the right to vote, while those aged over 21 have the right to be elected.

The course of submitting candidacies for Sejm deputies was amended under the most recent electoral law of 1985. The right to put up candidates was entrusted to the National and Voivodship Electoral Conventions made up of representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the political parties and social organizations. The new law laid down conditions for increased influence of the electorate on the choice of candidates for Sejm deputies, while retaining a common electoral ticket representing all political forces active in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The new solution requires that the candidacies submitted by the political parties and social organizations are consulted with the electorate. It is only after the consultations that the Electoral Conventions can put forth electoral tickets featuring the names of the candidates for Sejm deputies.

The deputies are elected in multi-mandate electoral districts. However, in every district two candidates run for each mandate. By-elections are held in case a mandate remains vacant or expires.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic: the Supreme Organ of State Authority

In accordance with the Constitution, the **Sejm of the Polish People's Republic** is the supreme organ of state authority which "implements the sovereign rights of the nation". The principle of superiority of parliament in socialist states is the pivotal principle which defines the structure, the activity and mutual relations between the main organs of the state. All organs of the state are in various ways subordinate to the Sejm and directly or indirectly accountable before it. They have no way to restrict the activity of the Sejm nor to question its decisions. In turn, the will of the electorate, voiced especially in national referenda, which are subject exclusively to the Sejm's decision, is binding on the Sejm.

The superior role of the Sejm has been consolidated throughout the years since adoption of the Constitution. The consolidation found expression in the amendments to the Constitution as well as in ordinary legislation, but first of all in the practice of political life which favours development of socialist democracy. Particularly the most recent years have seen the introduction of new institutional developments conducive to the strengthening of the superior role of the Sejm in the system of state organs.

Polish Sejm in the interwar period evolved from being the top authority in the democratic system to being crippled under the authoritarian rule. The methods and forms of the body's work changed accordingly in the process. Like the entire state system they evolved – as most historians unhesitatingly agree – along the lines which could hardly be called democratic. The way led from the so-called Small Constitution of 1919 and the March Constitution of 1921 – which highly pleased the ideals and postulates of the bourgeois democracy to the curbs instituted in the August 1926 amendments and to the strictly anti-democratic contents of the April 1935 Constitution.

The Constitution of 1921 laid down the legal foundations for the development of a typical parliamentary and cabinet system. It established the bicameral parliament comprising the 444-member Sejm and the 111-member Senate elected in the course of equal, general, secret, direct and proportionate democratic elections. The government was appointed by the President of the Republic but it was politically accountable before the Sejm which played a highly important role in the state's political system. The Sejm was a place where the political careers of many a parliamentarian took off. Among them were Mieczysław Niedziałkowski, a Polish Socialist Party activist an outstanding deputy and, to a degree, theoretician of socialist parliamentarism, Maciej Rataj (Sejm Speaker

in 1922-1928) and Ignacy Daszyński (Speaker in 1928-1930). Maciej Rataj, the highly-popular peasant leader commonly credited with unification of the entire peasant movement was murdered by the Gestapo during World War II. Ignacy Daszyński, a champion of the workers' cause, member of the Polish Socialist Party distinguished himself for his fight in defence of parliamentary democracy.

From the Constitution of 1921 the way of development of Poland's constitutional system led to the Constitution of 1935 which validated extremely authoritarian methods and forms of government. That Constitution did not envisage any substantial role for the parliament. Advocates of such changes tried to justify the anti-democratic alterations of the system with the alleged immaturity of the Polish society which made it no party to democratic rule. The argument – reiterated before and after the 1935 Constitution by opponents of democracy – was much worn by that time. The lessons of history were unequivocal: a democratic system is the sole opportunity to prepare for the participation in democratic rule. Only democratically shaped parliamentary instruments may, after a time, give rise to methods and forms proper to a given parliament, an individual style of work, parliamentary custom as well as politicians with adequate mastery of parliamentary intercourse. Poland embarked on the road to parliamentary democracy amid some very ad-

organ, was a continuation of the Presidium of the National People's Council.

The term of office of the Legislative Sejm witnessed the emergence of the present-day party system consisting in the alliance of the Polish United Workers' Party with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party.

The initially intensive law-making activity of the Legislative Sejm slowed down in the second half of its term of office which coincided with the Stalinist personality cult largely responsible for curtailing the parliament's political influence.

This notwithstanding, the outcome of its law-making work proved enduring. Its crowning came with the adoption of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic on July 22, 1952 which remains in force today.

The National People's Council and the Legislative Sejm preceded the founding of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on the strength of the Constitution of 1952. In spite of the diverse solutions they had adopted and the diverse conditions of their work they had been stages in a homogenous process of the development of socialist parliamentarism.

The January 19, 1947 elections to the Legislative Sejm were held on the basis of a democratic electoral law quite closely patterned after the electoral law of 1922. Under the new law, the elections were general, equal, direct, secret and proportionate.

The January 1947 elections marked a successive stage in the development of socialist parliamentarism. The Legislative Sejm was not only the first elected parliament in People's Poland but also the constituent assembly founded to adopt the Constitution. At its first meeting, the Legislative Sejm ruled to restore the office of the President and adopted the so-called Small Constitution which outlined the structure and mutual relations between the supreme organs of the state and in many points referred directly to the Constitution of 1921.

The Legislative Sejm was a unicameral parliament vested with extensive law-making and control powers. It held sessions twice a year when convened by the President. It had 20 committees. The fairly complicated parliamentary process which called for three readings of a bill at first was simplified in the latter half of the Sejm's term of office. The relations between the Sejm, the President and the Government showed a so-called parliamentary-cabinet framework which did not match the political relations appropriate to a socialist state. The Council of State, a new

verse circumstances. Hardly uniform in political terms, which was only natural in a system with contradicting economic interests, the Polish society was badly affected by ethnic and religious antagonisms and the remnants of the division into provinces during the partitions. The sense of variance seemed to have taken the upper hand over the need to unite. The early rise of the parliament as the forum for consideration of matters of the state offered an opportunity to gradually hammer out a state policy. That however has not happened.

The first reason for that were the very brief periods in which the Sejm was actually in session. The first assembly of 1919 to 1922 held as many as 342 plenary sittings but over a period of only four years. The first Sejm under the March Constitution worked only for three and a half years until May 1926. Therefore many jump to the conclusion that the democratic parliamentarism of the early 1920s revealed and evidenced its inability to ensure efficient functioning of the state apparatus which consequently necessitated a change initiated by the anti-democratic coup d'état of 1926. After all, the 3rd French Republic lasted almost seventy years, whereas the British methods and forms of parliamentary work took as many as three hundred years to assume their current shape. And even though the period's Sejms – especially in early 1920s – did fall short of well-developed and profound parliamentary

skills (which was perhaps the major vice of the deputies to the Legislative Sejm in the first place) the question remains how and when were the methods and forms supposed to be developed; how and when were the mostly first-generation politicians supposed to mature politically. No sooner had been the March Constitution adopted than the propertied class launched an energetic assault against its democratic assumptions and institutions which soon led to the 1926 coup d'état and its aftermath: the regime under the April 1935 Constitution.

The theory according to which the society was "immature" to the point where it became necessary to depart from democratic government is untenable. Rather, it was the propertied classes who demonstrated immaturity in a way. Their political representation failed to develop ways of consolidating a power system which would better meet the social demands brought along by the 20th century, i.e. a system which would give a wider and more stable recognition to the interests and aspirations of the working class and the peasants. The democratic changes in 1919-1920 and the March Constitution had to be wrested from the propertied classes. The gradual extinguishing of the revolutionary unrest in 1919-1920, progressing stabilization of the propertied classes' rule and gradual economic improvement made it ever easier for the rich to swerve their policies away from the ideals and

The fundamental political and social change was effected under the National People's Council. The effort included the land reform, nationalization of basic branches in the national economy, development of the Regained Territories, reconstruction of the state apparatus and the launching of postwar reconstruction of the country. The Council's successor, the Legislative Sejm adopted a special resolution in which it praised the Council's merited service to the Polish Nation. That assessment was confirmed on December 20, 1984 in a solemn resolution adopted by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the National People's Council.

The Legislative Sejm

The period's earliest political and legal documents – and especially the Manifesto by the Polish Committee for National Liberation of July 22, 1944 – announced establishment of a parliament to replace the National People's Council. Its members were to be elected in the general, equal, direct, secret and proportionate ballot. The decision stemmed from the fundamental political thesis according to which the future state would be shaped on the basis of democratic provisions of the 1921 Constitution. This meant a firm rejection of the anti-democratic Constitution of 1935.

liberated than the National People's Council turned into the first sovereign organ of state authorities, the provisional parliament. By the same token, it gave rise to the development of Polish socialist parliamentarism. Ever since the day it was established, the National People's Council had the backing of people's councils founded in voivodships, countries, towns and basic rural communes in the wake of agreements between democratic independence political groups and organizations.

Combining legislative and executive powers at the time of its founding, the National People's Council appointed a provisional executive authority (government) in the form of the Polish Committee for National Liberation (PKWN) in the just-liberated eastern provinces. The Committee went on to adopt the historic July Manifesto (July 22, 1944).

In step with consolidation of the new authorities, the system of state organs developed. The Polish Committee for National Liberation was replaced by the Provisional Government which subsequently became the Provisional Government of National Unity. Members of the National People's Council became "deputies to the National People's Council" and the body's chairman was appointed "president of the National People's Council. Retaining his seat with the Council's Presidium he continued to chair deliberations of the National People's Council.

postulates of traditional democracy. Consequently, the forms of work of the Sejm and the Senate changed, pushing them ever further away from the democratic model of the early 1920s.

The anti-democratic process in Poland was in line with trends and doctrines pursued in many a Central European states. The departure from the immediately postwar pattern of parliament and parliamentary rule was most flagrant in the German Reich with its constitutional history running from the highly democratic Constitution of 1919 (the so-called Weimar Constitution) down to the terrorist rule of the Nazi regime. *Mutadis mutandis* similar (though in no way identical) was the evolution of state systems in the Baltic countries, in the Balkans as well as in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Notwithstanding the numerous and sometimes remarkable differences in the socio-economic substratum and legal consequences of these changes, they were headed in the same direction. They were urged by the fast-growing rightwing organizations in those countries which bespoke a total decline or at least a crisis of parliamentary systems in an attempt to provide the ideological basis for the methods of government free of any democratic controls.

Thus the changes in Poland were not taking place in a void, nor did they run against any trends predominant in states with similar economic and class structure. Instead of improving the parliamentary system,

the hostile forces moved to crush it. The outcome of such action assumed criminal proportions in Germany.

The authors of the March Constitution decided to work along the lines "leading to the creation of a democratic parliamentary republic. Therefore the system of the Third French Republic seemed to be the best example to follow."

The similarity of the legal system arrangements instituted under the March Constitution (especially in chapters referring to parliamentary rule) with the French Constitution of 1875 leaves no room for doubt.

Recalling the impact of the French doctrines and parliamentary tradition on the shape of the March Constitution one cannot fail to mention the opinion of an outstanding historian of laws and system of the Polish state, Stanisław Kutrzeba. He insisted that the system introduced under the March Constitution should be viewed also as a continuation of Polish traditions, consolidated by the May 3rd Constitution, the traditions of the legal system with their "cult" of parliament as the supreme representation of the nation which should be vested with power and trusted for it, but also traditions marked by a deep-running distrust of the executive organs, state administration and bureaucracy a leftover from the Partition rule. This idea of Polish bourgeois democratic parliamentarism which served as the basis for the Constitution

THE SEJM OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

National People's Council

The history of socialist parliamentary rule in Poland started in 1944 together with the emergence of the people's state. However, its origins should be looked for in the times when the Polish nation fought against the Nazi German occupiers of Poland. Having painfully experienced the bankruptcy of the policies pursued by the ruling classes until 1939, the nation became increasingly convinced about the need to introduce essential social changes after the war and along the way develop friendly relations with the USSR, the main power in the anti-Hitler coalition. On December 31, 1943, the Polish left, acting at the initiative of the Polish Workers' Party (PPR) founded the National People's Council (KRN). Initially it was an underground organization established to lead the struggle for national and social liberation. The period's political records defined the National People's Council as the "de facto representation of the Polish nation". The Council was not an elected body. It comprised representatives of underground progressive social, political and military organizations fighting the enemy. No sooner had the first small part of Polish soil been

took place. Traits typical of such rule were seen in the government's policy on ethnic minorities. Political repression by the police was rampant. Instigation of anti-Communism was among the chief aims of the official propaganda. The army was basking in propaganda favour. However, resistance from wide circles of the society stood in the way of disbanding the opposition parties and creation of a one party system; it helped save a degree of freedom of expression and freedom of the press; it barred the emergence of a one-man dictatorship along the Fascist lines. These premises of development of the system of the state and its laws are crucial to any analysis of the history of parliamentary system in Poland, because the forms of parliamentary work shape up in a more general context.

On the second day of World War II, i.e. on September 2, 1939, the Sejm and Senate held an emergency session "to consider matters connected with the state of war". The Sejm meetings in the years immediately preceding the war did not produce a good record in the history of parliamentary rule in Poland. However, faced with the imminent national disaster, the members of the Sejm demonstrated unusual unanimity: the two chambers unanimously voted for the legal act which made it possible for the Sejm deputies to join the army without losing their mandates. The moment came when they stood united as patriots ready to de-

fend their Homeland against the Nazi invaders and save the reputation of Polish parliamentary traditions and the people who had made them.

Andrzej Gwiżdż



CONSTITUTION OF THE
POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

**CONSTITUTION OF THE
POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

*

*Adopted by
the Legislative Sejm
on July 22, 1952*

Warsaw 1988

This text of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic
is a consolidated text
of the basic law announced
in "The Circular of the President
of the Council of State"
of February 16, 1976
in Dziennik Ustaw No.7,
item 36 of February 21, 1976
as amended
in Dziennik Ustaw No.22,
item 81 of October 15, 1980,
No.11, item 83 of April 6, 1982
No.39, item 175 of July 22, 1983
-and No.14, item 82
of May 6, 1987.

THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

is a republic of the working people

The Polish People's Republic follows the finest progressive traditions of the Polish Nation and gives effect to the liberation ideas of the Polish working masses. The Polish working people under the leadership of the heroic working class, and on the basis of an alliance of workers and peasants, for many decades fought for the liberation from the national bondage imposed upon the Nation by the Prussian, Austrian and Russian oppressors and colonizers, in the same way as they fought for the elimination of their exploitation by the Polish capitalists and landlords.

During the occupation, the Polish Nation fought heroically and unflinchingly against the brutal Nazi invasion. The historic victory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics over Fascism liberated Polish soil, enabled the Polish working people to seize power, and provided conditions for the national restoration of Poland within new and just frontiers. The Regained Territories were for ever restored to Poland.

By carrying out the memorable directives of the Manifesto issued by the Polish Committee of National Liberation on July 22, 1944, and by developing its programme, the People's Authorities have accomplished great social changes due to the selfless and creative efforts of the Polish working people in the fight against

the bitter resistance put up by the remnants of the former capitalist-landlords system. As a result of revolutionary struggles and transformations, the rule of the capitalists and landlords has been overthrown, the State of People's Democracy has been firmly established, and a new social system has been evolving and growing in power, according to the interests and aspirations of the broadest masses.

The legal principles of this system are laid down in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

The basis of the people's power in Poland today rests on the alliance of the working class with the working peasants. In this alliance the leading role belongs to the workers, who are the leading class of society, rooted in the revolutionary achievements of the Polish and international working class movement, and profiting by the historic experience of the victorious building of socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the first State of workers and peasants.

Implementing the will of the Polish Nation, the Legislative Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, in accordance with its purposes, solemnly adopts the present Constitution as the fundamental law by which the Polish Nation and all organs of authority of the Polish working people shall be guided in order

– to consolidate the people's state as the fundamental force assuring to the Polish Nation the highest degree of prosperity, its independence and sovereignty;

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Chapter 11

PROCEDURE FOR AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

Article 106

The Constitution may be amended only by an Act passed by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes, not less than half the total number of deputies being present.

– to accelerate the political, economic and cultural development of the Homeland, and the growth of its resources;

– to strengthen the patriotic feelings, the unity and the cohesion of the Polish Nation in its struggle still further to improve social conditions, to eliminate completely the exploitation of man by man, and to put into effects the great ideals of Socialism;

– to tighten friendship and cooperation between nations, on the basis of the alliance and brotherhood which today link the Polish Nation with the peace-loving nations of the world for the attainment of their common aim – to make aggression impossible and to consolidate world peace.

Chapter 1

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Article 1

- * 1. The Polish People's Republic shall be a socialist State.
- * 2. In the Polish People's Republic the power shall be vested in the working people of town and country.

Article 2

- * 1. The working people shall wield State authority through their representatives to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and to the People's Councils on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.
- * 2. The people's representatives to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and to the People's Councils shall be accountable to their constituents and may be recalled by them.
- * 3. Exercising of state authority by the working people occurs also through expressing will by way of referendum. The principles and the way of carrying out a referendum are determined by law.

Chapter 10

COAT-OF-ARMS COLOURS, NATIONAL ANTHEM, AND CAPITAL OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Article 103

1. The image of a white eagle on a red field shall be the coat-of-arms of the Polish People's Republic.
2. White and red shall be the colours of the Polish People's Republic.
3. *Dąbrowski's Mazurka* shall be the national anthem of the Polish People's Republic.
4. Particulars shall be specified by law.

Article 104

The coat-of-arms, colours, and national anthem of the Polish People's Republic shall enjoy respect and be an object of special protection.

Article 105

Warszawa, the city which embodies the heroic traditions of the Polish Nation, shall be the capital of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 98

Citizens serving in the Army shall have all electoral rights on equal terms with civilians.

Article 99

Electoral rights shall be denied to persons of unsound mind, and to persons deprived of public rights by a court decision.

Article 100

Candidates to the Sejm and candidates to the People's councils shall be nominated by political and social organizations in town and country.

Article 101

It shall be the duty of deputies to the Sejm and of members of the People's Councils to report to the electors on their work and on the activity of the body to which they have been elected.

Article 102

The procedure for the nomination of candidates and for holding elections, as well as the procedure for the recall of deputies to the Sejm and members of People's Councils, shall be defined by law.

Article 3

1. The Polish United Workers' Party shall be the guiding political force of society in building socialism.
2. The alliance and collaboration of the Polish United Workers' Party with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party in the building of socialism as well as their cooperation with social organizations and associations standing on the grounds of the principles of the system of the Polish People's Republic constitute the foundation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.
3. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is a platform of the unification of the society for the good of the Polish People's Republic, as well as for the cooperation of political parties, social organizations and associations, as well as of citizens regardless of their world outlook – in matters concerning the functioning and strengthening of the socialist State and the all-round development of the country.

Article 4

1. In the Polish People's Republic it shall be the primary objective of the State activity to develop socialist society in all its aspects, to expand creative forces of the Nation and of each person and to meet the needs of citizens more and more adequately.
2. The Polish People's Republic is implementing the

nationwide aspirations of the working class, derives from its achievements and activity, expands the participation of workers in the resolution of the problems of the State of the society and economy and strengthens the alliance of workers-peasants.

Article 5

The Polish People's Republic:

- (1) shall safeguard and expand the socialist achievements of the Polish working people of town and country, their authority and freedom;
- (2) shall ensure that citizens participate in government, and shall promote various forms of self-government by the working people;
- (3) shall develop the productive forces of the country and the national economy through a planned use and increase of its material resources, rational work organization, and continuous progress of science and technology;
- (4) shall strengthen public ownership as the mainstay of the economic force of the country and of national welfare;
- (5) shall implement the principles of social justice, eliminate the exploitation of man by man, and counteract any infringements of the principles of social life;
- (6) shall provide conditions conducive to a steady rise in the living standard and to a progressive obliteration

Chapter 9

PRINCIPLES OF ELECTORAL LAW

Article 94

Elections to the Sejm and to the People's Councils shall be universal, equal, direct, and by secret ballot.

Article 95

Every citizen who has attained the age of eighteen years, irrespective of sex, nationality and race, religion, education, length of residence, social origin, profession or financial status shall have the right to vote.

Article 96

Every citizen who has attained the age of eighteen years shall be qualified to be elected to the People's Councils, and every citizen who has attained the age of twenty one years shall be qualified to be elected to the Sejm.

Article 97

Women shall have all electoral rights on equal terms with men.

Article 92

1. It shall be the sacred duty of every citizen to defend the Homeland.
2. Military service shall be an honourable patriotic duty of citizens of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 93

1. It shall be the duty of every citizen of the Polish People's Republic to exercise vigilance against enemies of the Nation and to guard State secrets carefully.
2. High treason: espionage, subverting the Armed Forces, desertion to the enemy – shall be punished as the gravest of crimes, with all severity of law.

tion of distinctions between town and country, between manual and non-manual labour;

- (7) concerned about national development, shall protect the family, motherhood and the education of the young generation;
- (8) shall take care of public health;
- (9) shall promote and spread education;
- (10) shall ensure the all-round development of science and national culture.

Article 6

In its policy the Polish People's Republic –

- (1) shall be guided by the interests of the Polish Nation, its sovereignty, independence and security, by the will for peace, and co-operation among nations;
- (2) shall follow the noble traditions of solidarity with the forces of freedom and progress, shall consolidate friendship and co-operation with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and other socialist States;
- (3) shall base its relations with States of different social systems on the principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation.

Article 7

The Polish People's Republic shall implement and develop a socialist democracy.

Article 8

1. The laws of the Polish People's Republic shall express the interests and the will of the working people.
2. Strict observance of the law shall be the fundamental duty of every organ of State and of every citizen.
3. All the organs of State authority and administration shall work on the basis of the law.

Article 9

In their work all the organs of State authority and administration shall rest upon the conscious and active support of the broadest masses and shall have the duty –

- (1) to account to the people for their work;
- (2) to examine carefully and comply with reasonable proposals, complaints and suggestions, in keeping with the law;
- (3) to explain to the working people principal objectives and guiding principles of the policy pursued by the people's authority in various fields of State, economic and cultural activity.

Article 10

The Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic shall safeguard the sovereignty and independence of the Polish Nation, its security and peace.

Article 88

The Polish People's Republic shall grant asylum to nationals of other states persecuted in connection with defending the interests of the working people, the struggle for social progress, activities in defence of peace, the struggle for national liberation, or as a result of scientific activity.

Article 89

Polish citizens staying abroad shall enjoy the protection of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 90

It shall be the duty of every citizen of the Polish People's Republic to abide by the provisions of the Constitution and laws, to maintain socialist work discipline, to respect the principles of community life, and to do his duty toward the State scrupulously.

Article 91

It shall be the duty of every citizen of the Polish People's Republic to safeguard public ownership and to strengthen it as the firm foundations of the State's development and a source of the wealth and power of the Homeland.

Article 86

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall participate in exercising social control, in consultations and discussions on key issues concerning the development of the country, and shall submit their suggestions.
2. Citizens shall have the right to approach all organs of the State with appeals, complaints and grievances.
3. Appeals, complaints and grievances of citizens shall be examined and settled without delay and justly. Those guilty of protraction or an indifferent and bureaucratic attitude, shall be called to responsibility.

Article 87

1. The Polish People's Republic shall guarantee to its citizens the inviolability of the person. A citizen may be deprived of his freedom only in cases specified by the law. A detained person shall be set free unless a warrant of arrest issued by the court or by prosecutor has been served on him within forty-eight hours from the moment of his detention.
2. The inviolability of the home and the privacy of correspondence shall be protected by law. The home may be searched only in cases specified by law.
3. Property may be confiscated only in cases specified by law, by virtue of a final judgement.

Chapter 2

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Article 11

1. The socialist economic system, based on socialized means of production and socialist production relations, shall constitute foundations of the socio-economic system of the Polish People's Republic.
2. The Polish People's Republic shall develop the economic and cultural life of the country in accordance with the national socio-economic plan.
3. It shall be the principal objective of socio-economic policy of the Polish People's Republic to steadily improve the standard of living and social and cultural facilities of society, to constantly develop the productive forces of the country, to strengthen and increase the power, defence capacity and independence of the Country.
4. The State shall have the monopoly of foreign trade.

Article 12

1. The all-national property, especially mineral deposits, primary sources of energy, State-owned land, waters, State forests, mines, State industrial, farming and commercial enterprises, State-owned public

utilities, banks, State stock of housing, roads, State-owned means of transport and communications, radio, television and film, State welfare, educational, scientific, and cultural institutions - shall be an object of special care and protection by the State and by all citizens.

2. The Polish People's Republic shall ensure the protection and proper shaping of the natural environment, which is an all-national asset,

Article 13

State enterprises, economically managing the part of all national property entrusted to them, shall implement economic and social tasks according to plan. Workers shall take part in running their enterprises.

Article 14

1. The Polish People's Republic shall strengthen, in a planned way, the economic union of town and country, founded on the brotherly co-operation between workers and peasants.
2. For this purpose, the Polish People's Republic shall secure a continuous increase in the output of State industry, serving to meet the needs of the rural population in every respect, both as producers and consumers; at the same time the State shall seek to stimulate in a planned manner a steady increase in

Article 84

1. In order to promote the political, social, economic, and cultural activities of the working people of town and country, the Polish People's Republic shall guarantee to its citizens the right of association.
2. Political organizations, trade unions, associations of working peasants, co-operative associations, youth, women's, sports and defence organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies, as well as other social organizations of the working people, shall unite citizens for their active participation in political, social, economic, and cultural life.
3. It shall be prohibited to set up and to participate in associations whose objective or activities menace the socio-political system or the legal order of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 85

Trade Unions shall play an important part in the Polish People's Republic as a mass organization which takes part in the formulation and implementation of tasks aimed at the socio-economic advancement of the country; the Trade Unions shall represent the interests and rights of the working people, and shall be the school of civic activeness and involvement in the building of socialist society.

tion of disputes, or humiliation of man on account of national, racial or religious differences, shall be prohibited.

Article 82

1. The Polish People's Republic shall guarantee freedom of conscience and religion to its citizens. The Church and other religious societies and organizations shall freely exercise their religious functions. Citizens shall not be prevented from taking part in religious activities and rites. No one may be compelled to participate in religious activities or rites.
2. The Church shall be separated from the State. The principles of the relationship between Church and State, and the legal and patrimonial position of religious communities shall be defined by law.

Article 83

1. The Polish People's Republic shall guarantee its citizens freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and gatherings, of processions and demonstrations.
2. To put these freedoms into effect, the working people and their organizations shall be given the use of printing shops, stocks of paper, public buildings and halls, means of communication, the radio, and other necessary material means.

marketable agricultural production, which supplies industry with raw materials, and the urban population with foodstuffs.

Article 15

The Polish People's Republic, anxious to ensure an adequate level of nutrition:

- (1) shall enable agriculture a steady increase in agricultural production, promoting socialist transformations in country and a higher standard of living for farmers;
- (2) shall see to the proper use of land, which is an all-national asset;
- (3) shall protect the private family farms of working peasants, guarantee the continuity of these farms, and assist them to increase productivity and to raise the technological level of agriculture, promote the expansion of farming self-management, especially of farming associations and their cooperatives; promote cooperation and specialized production, expand the links connecting private farms with the socialist national economy.
- (4) shall give support and aid to collective farms set up on the principle of voluntary membership, especially to co-operative farms;
- (5) shall develop and strengthen State farms, which are a form of highly efficient socialist economy in agriculture, and which promote new techniques in

farming and the development of the whole agriculture.

Article 16

The Polish People's Republic shall promote the expansion of various forms of the co-operative movement in town and country, and give it every help in the fulfilment of its task; co-operative ownership as a form of public ownership shall be an object of special care and protection.

Article 17

The Polish People's Republic shall recognize and protect – on the basis of the law – individual ownership and the right to inherit land, buildings and other means of production owned by peasants, craftsmen and home-workers.

Article 18

The Polish People's Republic shall guarantee to citizens full protection of personal ownership and the right to inherit such ownership.

Article 19

1. Work shall be the right, the duty, and a matter of honour for every citizen. By their work, by the ob-

4. Children born out of wedlock shall have equal rights with those born in wedlock.
5. Regardful of the interests of the family, the Polish People's Republic shall strive to improve housing conditions, and in co-operation with citizens it shall develop and promote various forms of residential construction, especially those conducted by co-operative societies; importance shall be attached to proper management of the housing resources.

Article 80

The Polish People's Republic shall pay special attention to the education of youth and shall afford it great opportunities of development and provide conditions for active participation of the young generation in public, political, economic, and cultural life, teaching the youth to be co-responsible for the progress of the Homeland.

Article 81

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic, irrespective of nationality, race or religion, shall enjoy equal rights in all fields of public, political, economic, social, and cultural life. Infringement of this principle by any direct or indirect preferences or restrictions of rights on account of nationality, race or religion shall be punishable.
2. The spreading of hatred or contempt, the provoca-

2. The equality of rights of women shall be guaranteed by –
 - (1) equal rights with men to work and pay according to the principle "equal pay for equal work", the right to rest and leisure, to social insurance, to education, to honours and decorations, to hold public offices;
 - (2) mother-and-child care, protection of expectant mothers, paid leave before and after confinement, the development of a network of maternity clinics, creches and nursery schools, the extension of a network of service establishments, restaurants and canteens.
3. The Polish People's Republic shall consolidate the position of women in society, especially of gainfully-employed mothers and women.

Article 79

1. Wedlock, motherhood and family shall be safeguarded and protected by the Polish People's Republic. The State shall extend special protection to families with many children.
2. It shall be the parents' duty to bring up their children to become law-abiding citizens of the Polish People's Republic, aware of their duties.
3. The Polish People's Republic shall ensure the implementation of the rights and obligations as regards alimony.

servance of work discipline, by competitive efforts in work and improving its methods, the working people of town and country shall increase the power of the Country, raise the prosperity of the people and accelerate the full implementation of the socialist system.

2. Work champions and veterans of labour shall enjoy the respect of the whole Nation.
3. The Polish People's Republic shall progressively put into practice the principle: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work".

Chapter 3

MAIN ORGANS OF STATE POWER

Article 20

- ✦ 1. The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic shall be the supreme organ of State power.
- ✦ 2. The Sejm as the supreme representative of the will of the working people of town and country shall give form to the sovereign rights of the Nation.
- ✦ 3. The Sejm shall pass laws, shall adopt resolutions which define basic lines of State activity, and shall exercise control over the work of other organs of State power and administration.

Article 21

1. The Sejm shall be composed of 460 deputies.
2. The validity of the election of a deputy shall be confirmed by the Sejm.
3. No deputy may be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Sejm, and when the Sejm is not holding its meeting, without the consent of the Council of State.

Article 22

1. The Sejm shall meet in sessions. A session of the Sejm shall be convened by the Council of State at

the most advanced thought of mankind and of progressive Polish thought, that is, science in the service of the Nation.

Article 75

The Polish People's Republic shall concern itself with the development of literature and arts which express the needs and aspirations of the nation, and which are in keeping with the best progressive traditions of Polish creativity.

Article 76

The Polish People's Republic shall extend comprehensive protection to the veterans of struggles for national and social liberation.

Article 77

The Polish People's Republic shall extend special protection to the creative intelligentsia – to those working in the field of science, education, literature and art, as well as to pioneers of technological progress, rationalizers and inventors.

Article 78

1. Women in the Polish People's Republic shall have equal rights with men in all the fields of public, political, economic, social, and cultural life.

- (4) development of higher education,
- (5) assistance from the State in raising the skills of citizens employed in industrial establishments and other places of employment in town and country,
- (6) the scheme of State scholarships, the development of hostels, boarding schools and students' hostels, as well as other forms of material aid for the children of workers, working peasants and the intelligentsia.

Article 73

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have the right to benefit from cultural achievements and to creatively participate in the development of national culture.
2. This right shall be increasingly ensured, by developing and making available to the working people of town and country libraries, books, press, radio, cinemas, theatres, museums and exhibitions, houses of culture, clubs, and recreation rooms; by the extensive promotion of the cultural creative activity of the people and by the stimulation of creative talents.

Article 74

The Polish People's Republic shall foster the all-round development of science based on the achievements of

least twice a year. The Council of State shall also convene a session on a written motion by one-third of the total number of deputies.

2. The first session of a newly-elected Sejm shall be convened within a month from the date of the election.

Article 23

1. The Sejm shall elect from among its members a Speaker, his Deputies and Committees.
2. The Speaker or his Deputy shall preside over the debates and supervise the course of the work of the Sejm.
3. The debates of the Sejm shall be open to the public. The Sejm may vote the holding of a secret meeting should this be required by the interests of the State.
4. The order of work of the Sejm, the type and number of Committees shall be defined by rules of procedure adopted by the Sejm.

Article 24

1. The Sejm shall adopt the national socio-economic plans for a period of several years.
2. The Sejm shall annually adopt a State budget.
3. The Sejm shall grant exoneration to the Government regarding the execution of the State budget and of the national socio-economic plan for the preceding year.

Article 25

1. The right to table bill legislation shall be vested in the Council of State, the Government and the deputies.
2. Acts passed by the Sejm shall be signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Council of State. Such acts shall be published in the Journal of Laws (Dziennik Ustaw) by order of the President of the Council of State.

Article 26

The Sejm may appoint a committee to examine a specified matter. The terms of reference and procedure of the committee shall be established by the Sejm.

Article 27

The Prime Minister or individual ministers shall answer an interpellation put up by a deputy within the time-limit and in the manner determined by the Sejm.

Article 28

1. The Sejm shall be elected for a term of four years.
2. The Council of State shall make orders to hold elections not later than one month before the expiry of the term of office of the Sejm, the polling day to be fixed on a day free of work within two months after the expiry of the Sejm's term of office.

- (1) the development of social insurance to cover sickness, old age and disability to work, and of various forms of social assistance;
- (2) the development of State-organized protection of health and the raising of health standards of the population, free medical assistance for all working people and their families, a steady improvement of safety conditions, protection and hygiene of work, extensive prevention and treatment of diseases, and care for the disabled;
- (3) the development of hospitals, sanatoria, out-patient clinics, medical aid centres, and sanitation facilities.

Article 71

Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have the right to benefit from the natural environment and it shall be their duty to protect it.

Article 72

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have the right to education.
2. The right to education shall be ensured on an ever increasing degree by –
 - (1) free education,
 - (2) universal and compulsory elementary education,
 - (3) universalization of secondary education,

steady promotion of scientific and technological progress in the national economy, the system of education and raising of professional qualifications. Proper implementation of the right to work shall be ensured by the socialist labour legislation.

Article 69

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have the right to rest and leisure.
2. The right to rest and leisure shall be assured to workers by the statutory reduction of work time through the application of the eight-hour working day or shorter work time in cases specified by law, by statutory days free of work, and annual paid holidays.
3. The organization of workers' holiday schemes, the development of tourism, health resorts, sports facilities, community centres, clubs, recreation rooms, parks and other leisure time facilities shall provide opportunities for healthy and cultural recreation to an increasing number of working people in town and country.

Article 70

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have the right to health protection and to aid in the event of sickness or disability to work.
2. This right shall be put into effect on an increasing scale through –

Article 29

1. At its first sitting the Sejm shall elect, from among its members, a Council of State composed of the President of the Council of State, four vice-Presidents, the Secretary of the Council of State, eleven Members.
2. The Speaker and Deputy Speakers of the Sejm may be elected to the Council of State as vice-Chairmen or as Members.
3. After the expiry of the term of office of the Sejm, the Council of State shall act until the election of a Council of State by the newly-elected Sejm.

Article 30

1. The Council of State shall have power –
 - (1) to make orders to hold elections to the Sejm,
 - (2) to convene sessions of the Sejm,
 - (3) . . . (deleted)
 - (4) to establish universally binding interpretation of laws,
 - (5) to issue law-decrees,
 - (6) to appoint and to recall plenipotentiary representatives of the Polish People's Republic in other States,
 - (7) to receive letters of credence and of recall of diplomatic representatives of other States accredited to the Council of State,

Chapter 8

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Article 67

1. The Polish People's Republic, by consolidating and multiplying the achievements of the working people, shall strengthen and extend the rights and freedoms of citizens.
2. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have equal rights irrespective of sex, birth, education, trade or profession, nationality, race, religion, social status and origin.
3. It shall be the duty of the citizens of the Polish People's Republic to conscientiously perform their duties toward the Homeland and contribute to its development.

Article 68

1. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic shall have the right to work: that is, the right to employment paid in accordance with the quantity and quality of the work done.
2. The right to work shall be ensured by: the socialist economic system, the planned growth of productive forces, economical use of all factors in production, a

- (8) to ratify and denounce international treaties,
 - (9) to appoint to civilian and military posts specified by law,
 - (10) to award orders and decorations, and to confer titles of honour,
 - (11) to exercise the right of pardon,
 - (12) to exercise other functions vested in the Council of State by the Constitution or assigned to it by other laws.
2. The Council of State shall be accountable to the Sejm for all its work.
 3. The Council of State shall function on the principle of collegiality.
 4. The Council of State shall be represented by its President or a vice-President.

Article 31

1. In the intervals between sessions of the Sejm, the Council of State may issue law-decrees. The Council of State shall submit such law-decrees for approval to the Sejm at its next session.
2. Law-decrees issued by the Council of State shall be signed by the President of the Council of State and its Secretary. Law-decrees shall be published in the **Dziennik Ustaw** (Journal of Laws) by order of the President of the Council of State.

Article 32

The Council of State shall exercise superior supervision

Article 65

1. The Prokurator General shall be appointed and recalled by the Council of State.
2. The mode of appointing and recalling prokurators subordinate to the Prokurator General and the principles of organization and procedure of the organs of the prokuratura shall be defined by law.
3. The Prokurator General shall be accountable to the Council of State for the activity of the prokuratura.

Article 66

The organs of the prokuratura shall be subordinate to Prokurator General of the Polish People's Republic and in the exercise of their functions they shall be independent of local organs.

over the People's Councils. Specific powers of the Council of State in this respect shall be defined by law.

Article 33

1. A decision concerning the declaration of a state of war may be adopted only in the event of armed aggression having been committed against the Polish People's Republic, or when, in pursuance of international agreements, joint defence against aggression should be necessary. Such a decision shall be adopted by the Sejm, or, when the Sejm is not holding its meeting – by the Council of State.
2. The Council of State may impose martial law in parts or in the entire territory of the Polish People's Republic, if this is required with regard to defence or external danger to the security of the State. For the same reasons the Council of State may proclaim partial or general mobilization.
3. The Council of State, and in cases of great urgency, the President of the Council of State, may impose a state of emergency for a specified period of time in a part, or in the entire territory of the Polish People's Republic, if the internal security of the State is in danger, or in cases of natural calamity.
4. The conditions and legal effects, as well as the procedure for the declaration of a state of war and the introduction of martial law and a state of emergency are defined by law.

Chapter 4

CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL, TRIBUNAL OF STATE, SUPREME CHAMBER OF CONTROL

Article 33a

1. The Constitutional Tribunal adjudicates on the conformity of laws with the Constitution and other normative acts enacted by main and central State organs.
2. Judgements of the Constitutional Tribunal on non-conformity of laws with the constitution are subject to examination by the Sejm.
3. Judgements of the Constitutional Tribunal on non-conformity of other normative acts with the Constitution are binding. The Constitutional Tribunal applies means to remove the nonconformity.
4. Members of the Constitutional Tribunal are elected by the Sejm from among persons who are distinguished in the knowledge of law.
5. Members of the Constitutional Tribunal are independent and subject only to the Constitution.
6. The competence, organization and procedure of the Constitutional Tribunal shall be determined by law.

4. From among the Supreme Court judges, the Council of State shall appoint the First President and Presidents of the Supreme Court. It may also recall them.

Article 62

Judges shall be independent and subject only to the law.

Article 63

1. Cases in all courts of the Polish People's Republic shall be heard in public. The law may specify exceptions to this rule.
2. The accused shall be guaranteed the right to defence. The accused may have defence counsel, either of his own choice, or appointed by the court.

Article 64

1. The Prokurator General of the Polish People's Republic shall safeguard the people's rule of law; shall watch over the protection of social property; shall ensure that the rights of citizens be respected.
2. The Prokurator General shall, in particular, supervise the prosecution of offences which endanger the social and political system, security and independence of the Polish People's Republic.
3. The scope and mode of activity of the Prokurator General shall be defined by law.

Article 59

1. People's lay-judges shall take part in the hearing of cases and in the pronouncement of judgement, except in so far as laws provide otherwise.
2. When adjudicating upon cases in courts, the people's lay-judges shall have the same rights as professional judges.
3. People's lay-judges shall be elected by People's Councils.
4. The mode of the election of people's lay-judges in voivodship, regional and special courts and their respective terms of office shall be defined by law.

Article 60

1. Judges shall be appointed and recalled by the Council of State.
2. The mode of the appointment and recall of judges shall be defined by law.

Article 61

1. The Supreme Court shall be the main judicial organ and shall supervise the work of all other Courts with respect to the pronouncement of judgement.
2. The mode of exercising supervision by the Supreme Court shall be defined by law.
3. The supreme Court shall be appointed by the Council of State for a term of five years.

Article 33b

1. The Tribunal of State adjudicates the responsibility for infringements on the Constitution and laws by persons holding supreme State offices named in the law.
2. The Tribunal of State may adjudicate the criminal responsibility of persons, who are being prosecuted under conditions specified in Item 1 and for criminal offences committed in connection with their office.
3. The Tribunal of State is elected by the Sejm from persons not being deputies for a period of its term of office.
4. The First President of the Supreme Court shall be the Chairman of the Tribunal of State.
5. Judges of the Tribunal of State are independent and subject only to the laws.
6. The competence, organization and procedure of the Tribunal of State shall be determined by law.

Article 34

1. The Supreme Chamber of Control is authorized to control the economic, financial and organizational-administrative activities of organs of state administration, enterprises and other organizational units subordinated to them, from the point of view of legality, efficacy, appropriateness and reliability.
2. The Supreme Chamber of Control may also under-

take, within the scope determined by law, a control of cooperative organizations and their unions, social organizations as well as units of the non-socialized economy.

Article 35

1. The Supreme Chamber of Control is subordinated to the Sejm.
2. The Supreme Chamber of Control shall present to the Sejm its remarks to a report of the Council of Ministers concerning the implementation of the national socio-economic plan and analyses of the implementation of the State budget.
3. The Supreme Chamber of Control shall present, annually, a report to the Sejm on its activities.
4. The scope of competence of the Council of State in relation to the Supreme Chamber of Control shall be determined by law.

Article 36

1. The Chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control is nominated and recalled by the Sejm.
2. The Supreme Chamber of Control functions on principles of collegiality. The organization and mode of functioning of the Supreme Chamber of Control is determined by law.

Chapter 7

THE COURT AND THE PROKURATURA

Article 56

1. The administration of justice in the Polish People's Republic shall be carried out by the Supreme Court, voivodship courts, regional courts, and special courts.
2. Boards for the adjudication of petty offences shall settle judicially the cases of petty offences.
3. The structure, jurisdiction and procedure of the courts and of the boards for the adjudication of petty offences shall be defined by law.

Article 57

The Courts shall pronounce judgement in the name of the Polish People's Republic.

Article 58

The Courts shall be custodians of the social and political system of the Polish People's Republic, they shall protect the achievements of the Polish working people, they shall safeguard the people's rule of law, social property and the rights of citizens; they shall punish offenders.

People's Council shall abrogate a resolution of a People's Council at a lower level if such a decision is contrary to the law or non conformant with the basic line of State policy.

Article 55

Detailed composition, competence and rules of procedure of the People's Councils and their organs shall be established by law.

Chapter 5

MAIN ORGANS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION

Article 37

1. The Sejm shall appoint and recall the Government of the Polish People's Republic – the Council of Ministers or its individual members.
2. In the intervals between sessions of the Sejm, the Council of State, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, shall appoint or recall members of the Council of Ministers. The Council of State shall submit its decision for approval to the Sejm at its next session.

Article 38

1. The Council of Ministers shall be the main executive and administrative organ of State power.
2. The Council of Ministers shall be answerable and accountable for its work to the Sejm, or, when the Sejm is not holding its meetings, to the Council of State.

Article 39

1. The Council of Ministers shall be composed of

Prime Minister as its chairman,
deputy Prime Ministers,
Ministers,

Chairmen of Commissions and Committees specified by law, who exercise the functions of the main organs of State administration.

2. The Prime Minister and deputy Prime Ministers shall constitute the Government Presidium. The Council of Ministers may appoint its other members to join the Government Presidium.

Article 40

1. The Prime Minister shall direct the work of the Council of Ministers and of the Government Presidium.
2. The Prime Minister in pursuance of laws and in order to put them into effect shall issue orders and regulations.

Article 41

The Council of Ministers –

- (1) shall co-ordinate the activities of ministries and other bodies under its jurisdiction, and issue directives as to their work;
- (2) shall annually adopt and submit to the Sejm State budget estimates, adopt and submit to the Sejm a draft of the national socio-economic plan for a period of several years;

gans of State administration as well as executive and administrative organs of respective People's Councils.

2. A local organ of State administration shall be responsible to the organ of State administration of a higher level; it shall be accountable to the competent People's Council as regards the performance of tasks assigned by the People's Council.

Article 52

1. Voivodes, mayors or heads of towns, chiefs of boroughs and heads of communes, shall exercise State administration on the basis of the law and directives issued by relevant superior organs.
2. Voivodes and mayors of cities with the status of a voivodship shall be representatives of the Government in their respective areas.

Article 53

The People's Councils shall appoint committees for particular spheres of their activity. The committees of the People's Councils shall maintain regular and close links with the population, shall stimulate the people to co-operate in the implementation of the Council's tasks, shall exercise social control on behalf of the Council and shall submit proposals to the Council or its organs.

Article 54

The People's Council shall abrogate a resolution of a

Article 49

1. The People's Councils shall make full use of all local resources and potentialities to attain the all-round economic and cultural development of their area, to meet to an increasing degree the needs of the population as regards supply of goods and services, and to expand institutions and facilities in the field of public utilities, education, culture, sanitation, and sports.
- 1^a. "Under the laws, people's councils administer the communal property owned by the local self-government."
2. On the motion of respective local organs of administration, the People's Councils shall adopt socio-economic plans and budgets for voivodships, towns, boroughs and communes.

Article 50

1. The People's Councils shall meet in sessions.
2. The People's Councils shall elect, from among their members, presidia to direct the preparation of sessions and to conduct the business of debates, to coordinate the work of committees and to aid councillors in their work.

Article 51

1. Voivodes, mayors or heads of town, chiefs of boroughs and heads of communes, shall be local or-

- (3) shall adopt annual national socio-economic plans;
- (4) shall ensure the execution of laws;
- (5) shall supervise the execution of the national socio-economic plan and the State budget;
- (6) shall submit to the Sejm an annual report on the execution of the State budget;
- (7) shall ensure the protection of public order, of the State interests, and of the rights of citizens;
- (8) – in pursuance of laws and in order to put them into effect – shall issue orders and adopt resolutions, and take care of their execution;
- (9) shall exercise general guidance in the sphere of relations with other States;
- (10) shall exercise general guidance as to the defence capacity of the country and the organization of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, and specify the annual contingent of citizens to be called for military service;
- (11) shall direct the work of the organs of administration.

Article 42

1. Ministers shall direct relevant branches of State administration. A ministerial office shall be set up by law.
2. Ministers in pursuance of laws and in order to put them into effect shall issue orders and regulations.
3. The Council of Ministers may abrogate an order or a regulation issued by a minister.

Chapter 6

LOCAL ORGANS OF STATE POWER AND ADMINISTRATION

Article 43

1. The People's Councils in communes, towns, boroughs of larger cities, and in voivodships, shall be local organs of State power and basic organs of social self-government of the working people of town and country.
2. A joint People's Council may be an organ of State power and of social self-government in two units of territorial division at the same level.
3. The term of office of the People's Council at particular levels shall be defined by law.

Article 44

The People's Councils shall express the will of the working people and develop their creative initiative and activeness in order to increase the strength, welfare and culture of the Nation.

Article 45

The People's Councils shall consolidate the links between State power and the working people of town and

country, drawing increasing numbers of the working people to participate in governing the State, and shall co-operate with the inhabitants' self-government.

Article 46

The People's Councils shall direct the over-all socio-economic and cultural development and exert an influence on all the units of administration and economy in their areas, initiate and co-ordinate the activities of such units and exercise control over them. The People's Councils shall link local needs with all-national objectives and targets.

Article 47

The People's Councils shall constantly attend to everyday needs and interests of the population, shall combat any manifestations of an arbitrary or bureaucratic attitude toward citizens, shall exercise and promote social control over the activities of offices, enterprises, establishments, and institutions.

Article 48

The People's Councils shall ensure the maintenance of public order and watch over the observance of the people's rule of law, shall protect public ownership, shall safeguard the rights of citizens, and shall co-operate in strengthening the defence capacity and security of the State.



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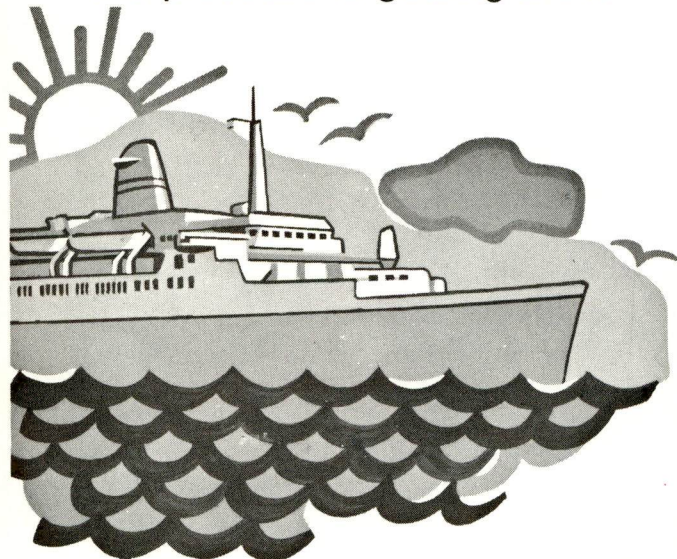
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Inquiring Where He Should Go in
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Very, Very Inviting Were They - But
Exploring All Pros and Cons
Regarding All the Glittering Promises,
Putting Two and Two Together
Of All Things Examined and
Leaving For His Final Decision
As to Where to Visit Best
Now and in the Years to Come
Decided to Include in His Travels

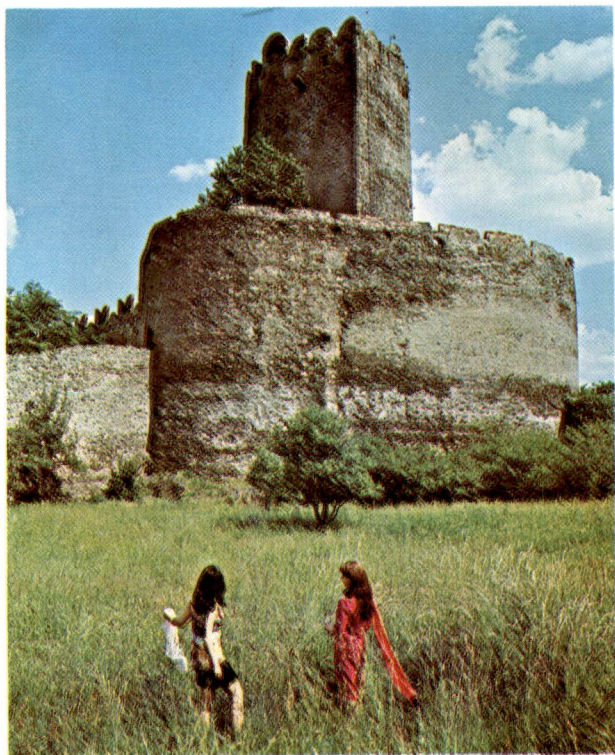
POLAND

and Why? ...

**Please continue reading
and You Will Discover
the Answer Yourself ...**

Poland Was . . .

Founded more than one thousand years ago . . . *Forced* to wage many battles with aggressors . . . *Deprived* of independence for 123 years, from 1795 to 1918, by Russia, Prussia and Austria . . . *Invaded* by Nazis in 1939 . . . *Worst* sufferer of World War II with over 6 million dead and 52 billion dollars economic losses . . . *Haven* for the persecuted, especially Jews, for almost 800 years . . . *Leader* in the field of democracy for 500 years . . . *Land of many* great men and women in all fields of human endeavor, including *Mikolaj Kopernik* (Copernicus), 1473-1543, who revolutionized man's concept of the universe; *Maria Sklodowska-Curie* (1867-1934), discoverer of radium, twice winner of the Nobel prize; *Frederic Chopin* (1810-1849), immortal composer; *Tadeusz Kosciuszko* (1746-1817) and *Kazimierz Pulaski* (1747-79), heroes of American Revolution; *Ignacy Lukasiewicz* (1822-82), founder of the petroleum industry; *Joseph Conrad-Korzeniowski* (1857-1924) master of the English novel; *Ignacy Jan Paderewski* (1860-1941), world famous pianist; *Kazimierz Funk* (1884-1967), discoverer of vitamins; and thousands of less famous but nevertheless outstanding scientific and cultural workers.



Ruins of ancient castle in Bolkow, Wroclaw Province. There are hundred of such historical landmarks in Poland of which 52 are world famous.

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World's Unique Ethnic Travel Association

The following SPATA members, representatives of the Polish Travel Office ORBIS, are specialists in the field, fully equipped to render all professional services, supply information and arrange itineraries for travel to Poland and Eastern Europe. Also, they are ready to assist other agencies to serve both wholesale and retail clients.

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Poland Is . . .

a land of 121,000 square miles inhabited by 33 million of the friendliest, most hospitable people found anywhere . . . *a country of millions of women with good looks and super talents as homemakers, and of gallant men practicing the art of "kiss your hand madame" . . . the original home of "women's lib" with female dominated medical and dental professions, miniskirted militia girls directing traffic . . . a land of fresh cut flowers everywhere, given on every occasion and for no special reason . . . where crumbling old churches are being restored to their glory instead of razed for urban renewal . . . big cities whose residents are not afraid to stroll the streets after dusk . . . a country with licenses for hitch-hikers and prizes for motorists who transport them over the longest distances . . . where the Church is separated from the State but the State pays the clergy for religious instructions in catechetical centers . . . the world's largest builder of fishing vessels, second in the growing of rye and potatoes, fifth in milk and dairy products, and seventh in meat production . . . eating delicacies such as bigos, golabki, faworki, pierogi, red beet soup with dumplings, etc. . . a country with more wildlife and forests than any other in Europe . . . a Tatra shepherd in traditional highlander attire tending his flocks and listening to "big beat" on a transistor radio . . . a land of young people with more than one third of the population under 15 years of age . . . free education, from nursery school to university, with scholarships in most cases . . . free medical care for most people . . . folklore everywhere . . . a people with inexhaustible capacity for fun and enjoyment of the good things of life . . . a people that say "drop in anytime" and mean it . . . a people who treat foreign visitors with seldom encountered deference and respect.*

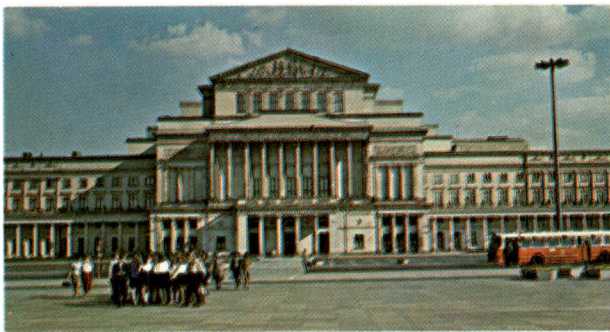


New Housing Development in Warsaw.

Discovering Poland...

First of all, everyone should discover **W A R S A W**, for it is the only major city in the world which was almost completely destroyed during World War II by the Nazis, with more than half of its population killed (over 600,000), and in 27 years not only was restored to its former glory but became the ultra modern world city of 1,300,000 inhabitants, offering everything what a tourist may wish to see or enjoy.

A 3-hour sightseeing of Warsaw is available from June 15 to Sept. 15 at only \$2.60 per person . . . *Warsaw by Night* tour, available daily except Mondays from June 15 to Sept. 15, \$12.00 per person . . . a 2-hour *romantic* drive around Old Town in a horse-cab costs \$14.60 for two and \$12.00 for one person.



Grand Theatre Building in Warsaw.

Top attraction is Warsaw's rebuilt ultra modern Grand Theatre Building, housing State Opera and several theatres. The Opera has one of the best revolving stages in the world, its interior is simply beautiful and performances gorgeous. Reporting on one of the performances, the Christian Science Monitor (*Nov. 22, 1971*) said: "Beautiful singing there was aplenty both from chorus and soloists . . ."

* * *

Many interesting places are located near Warsaw. The more outstanding are:

ZELAZOWA WOLA—the birthplace of Chopin. Interesting museum. Recitals by eminent Polish pianists on Sundays and holidays from May 1 to Sept. 30. Excursion from Warsaw and attendance at Chopin's concert \$4.50 per person.

WILANOW—a beautifully restored 17th century baroque palace, housing historical treasures and a permanent modern poster exhibit. A 4-hour tour of Warsaw and Wilanow or Lazienki Gardens \$3.50 per person.

WARKA—the birthplace of Gen. Pulaski. Museum devoted to Pulaski mementos and to the Polish emigration to America. Tours on request by private car—\$15.00 for one person, \$20.00 for 2 and \$25.50 for 3 persons.



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INSTANT POLISH . . .

SPECIAL LETTERS AND THEIR PRONUNCIATIONS

a . . . as in art	i . . . as in international
c . . . ts	j . . . like "y" as in young
ch . . . as in Scottish "loch"	l . . . like "w" as in wood
cz . . . as in church	rz . . . like "s" in treasure
e . . . as in Edward	sz . . . like "sh" as in sherry
g . . . as in good	u . . . like "oo" as in wood
h . . . as in house	W . . . like "v" as in victory

Here are some sayings in Polish which the tourist may find helpful:

HELPFUL WORDS AND PHRASES

HOW TO SAY THEM

HOW TO WRITE THEM

Good morning	Dzhen dobrih	Dzień dobry
Good evening	Dobrih vyechchoor	Dobry wieczór
Good night	Dobrahnohts	Dobranoc
Good-bye	Doveedzenyah	Dowidzenia
How are you?	Jak sye mash	Jak się masz
Very good	Bardzoo dobshe	Bardzo dobrze
Do you speak English?	Chih pahn (pahnee) moovee po ahngyelskoo?	Czy pan (pani) mówi po angielsku?
I'm from America	Yestem z Ahmehrikee	Jestem z Ameryki
I like Poland	Podoba myh sye Polska	Podoba mi się Polska
We are friends	Myh psyhiatsele	My przyjaciele
I like this	Lubie to	Lubię to
Please	Proshe	Proszę
Excuse me	Pshehprasham	Przepraszam
I don't understand	Nyeh rozoomyehm	Nie rozumiem
I am glad	Yestem zahdovolonih	Jestem zadowolony
I am sorry	Yestem zmartwyonih	Jestem zmartwiony
I'd like to eat	Chcialbeem yesch	Chciałbym jeść
Drink	Pits	Pić
Vodka (Beer)	Vodka (Peevoh)	Wódka (Piwo)
Wine (Water)	Veenoh (Voda)	Wino (Woda)
Coffee (Tea)	Kahvah (Herbahtah)	Kawa (Herbata)
Milk	Mlekhoh	Mleko
Music (Song)	Moosica (Pyosenka)	Muzyka (Piosenka)
Man (Woman)	Menshchisna (Kobyeta)	Mężczyzna (Kobieta)
Yes (No)	Tak (Nye)	Tak (Nie)
Thank you	Dzhenkooye	Dziękuję
Good (Bad)	Dobzheh (Zhleh)	Dobrze (źle)
Help (Enough)	Pomotsih (Dohsich)	Pomocy (dosyć)
Get me a taxi	Proshseh tahksoovkeh	Proszę taksówkę
Night club	Nohtsnih lohkal	Nocny lokal
Theatre (Opera)	Tehaht (Ohpehrah)	Teatr (Opera)
To dance	Tanchits	Tańczyć
Get a doctor	Proshseh zahvohwahch dohktohrah	Proszę zawołać doktora
Post Office	Pohchtah	Poczta
Cigarettes	Pahpyehrohshy	Papierosy
Matches	Zahpahlikee	Zapałki
It is all right	Toh yest v porzhontkee	To jest w porządku

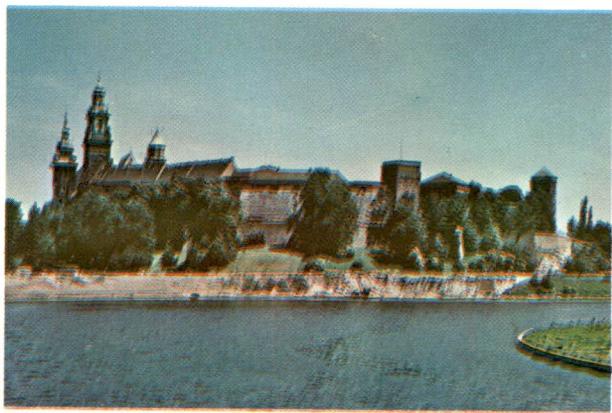


The folk art of paper cut-outs is being passed from generation to generation.

LOWICZ—where picturesque folk costumes may be seen, as well as the quaint old buildings, hand-painted furniture and dishes. Walls and ceilings of homes are decorated with paper cut-outs or "pajaki" made of straw and egg shells. Tours on request by private cars or buses.

WORLD'S FINEST AND UNIQUE

Rich in history, art, culture, educational tradition, religion, originality and ties with America is *KRAKÓW*, the capital of Poland till 1596.



Panorama of Wawel Castle.

The Wawel Castle, ancient seat of Polish kings, has been listed by UNESCO as one of the world's finest historical monuments. It contains many priceless collections. The most outstanding is a huge assortment of 16th and 17 century tapestries unequalled anywhere. The cathedral's vaults hold remains of Polish kings and heroes, including those of Gen. Kosciuszko, hero of the American Revolution.

Krakow houses Poland's oldest academic institution, the Jagiellonian University, established in 1364, the Alma Mater of Kopernik, father of modern astronomy.



Kosciuszko's Monument Adorns Wawel Castle.

Another distinction of Krakow is that it has more magnificent and old churches than any city of its size in the world, with St. Mary's containing the 15th century unique altar carvings by the immortal artist Wit Stwosz. They were stolen by the Nazis and returned in 1946. Their restoration required 64,000 working hours and cost almost one million dollars.

NOWA HUTA represents a modern industrial aspect of Krakow. A steel city of 150,000, it was erected in 5 years—a world record! And strange as it may seem, when the modern steel works were being built in the fifty's, remnants of prehistoric smelting ovens were found on construction site.

Of special interest to American tourists is a modern children's hospital and research center—a gift of the American people.

A 2-hour tour of Krakow Monuments by horse-cab costs \$12.00 for one person . . . A 4-hour tour of Krakow and Nowa Huta, available from May 15 to Sept. 15, costs \$3.50 per person . . . *Krakow by Night*, daily except Mondays, \$12.00 per person.

AMAZING SALT MINES

Near Krakow are the amazing salt mines of Wieliczka, dating back to the 10th century. Here are underground carvings in rock salt, fascinating sculptures, a great hall, chapels, lakes, a tennis court for the miners and a sanatorium for asthma patients, the only one of its kind in the world. During World War II the mine's chambers were used as an airplane assembly plant by the Nazis.

Excursion from Krakow to Wieliczka, available on Sundays from June 1 to Sept. 1, costs only \$3.50 per person.

SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS of Oklahoma:

"Only twenty-four hours in Poland was long enough for me to see the warmth and openness of the Polish people and the progress they are making. Despite my short stay, leading Polish officials, including the Prime Minister, agreed to adjust their schedules to mine. In every meeting I encountered courtesy and frank discussion—which I believe we need if we are to overcome our differences.

"The re-building of war-destroyed Warsaw is a monument to the courage and historical traditions of the Polish people. I do not believe any American can visit that city, now so beautiful, without gaining new respect for a people who suffered perhaps more than any other in the last war."

CONGRESSMAN SHERMAN P. LLOYD of Utah:

"Ancient and modern history, in which Poland has been in a pivotal role, makes this country of special interest to the traveler with a major interest in history . . . A beautiful and fertile country and a dedicated and courageous people add to the pleasure of a nation proud of its culture and determined to achieve high rank in our civilization."

BEN BOO, Mayor of Duluth, Minn.:

"Poland provides the delightful blend of old and new. Ancient, historic, handsome cities; modern housing projects and hotels; gracious and hospitable people—all contribute to the makings of a memorable visit."

ROMAN S. GRIBBS, Mayor of Detroit:

"I found the Polish people to be warm and friendly and I was astonished at the great similarity of our urban problems . . . the trip, which included a number of other mayors . . . served to broaden our knowledge of one another and strengthen our 'people-to-people' friendship."

WILLIS D. GRADISON, JR., Mayor of Cincinnati, Ohio:

"I was very favorably impressed while in Poland by the opportunities for person-to-person contacts between Americans and Polish citizens. We were able to meet and talk to people everywhere: in the streets and schoolyards, factories and shipyards, restaurants and coffeehouses, stores, museums, and churches. We found a deep interest in the United States, a desire to know more about our country, and an extremely high regard for our Nation. Poland has taken major steps in recent years to make tourist travel more comfortable and convenient . . ."

DUKE ELLINGTON, who participated with his orchestra in the 1971 Jazz Jamboree in Warsaw, summed up his impressions with three words in Polish "*Strasznie Was Kocham*" (I Love You Madly).

NOTE: Due to devaluation of U.S. dollar some prices listed in this Guide subject to a small increase.

For transit passengers ORBIS offers one, two and 3-day package tours at very reasonable rates.

For persons desiring exciting vacations in the saddle, ORBIS offers Holiday on Horseback in one of Poland's famous stud farms, situated on enchanting rivers and lakes. The cost is amazingly low—from \$7.50 per day, full pension. Riding charges are \$2.50 per hour.

For anglers there are plenty of fish in Polish rivers and lakes. The fishing license costs \$10.00.

For the hunting enthusiast, Poland abounds with game: wild ducks and other wild water fowl, red-deer, fallow-deer, roe-deer, wild boar, lynx, wolf, fox, pheasant, hare, and most important—the bison.

For tourists wishing to extend their stay in Poland, ORBIS' office at Krakowskie Przedmiescie 13 in Warsaw arranges extensions of Polish visa and for those desiring to visit other socialist countries (Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Romania, Soviet Union) ORBIS helps in securing visas and making other arrangements.

Just state your wish what would you like to see or do in Poland and it will be granted.

The door of Poland is open . . . please enter and discover some of the world's most interesting people.

Look ahead to spend your next vacation in Poland . . . you will surely have a wonderful time, enjoy a super pleasure which you will always treasure.

Americans Enchanted with Poles and Poland

Tens of thousands of Americans visit Poland annually.

Some go there out of curiosity, some because they are adventurous, and others for variety of reasons.

What is their opinion about Poland and the Poles?

Well, our survey indicates that almost all of them are impressed by the warm welcome they receive and are enchanted with a variety of things.

Here is a mini cross section of typical American views about Poland and the Poles.

JOHN A. VOLPE, Secretary of Transportation:

"I was greatly impressed—and personally touched—by the warmth with which I was received wherever I went in Poland. This reflects, I think, the very close ties that have been felt between the Polish people and the Polish-Americans in the United States . . . I was struck by the enormous progress that Poland has been making. I have in mind the effort and skill it takes to come out of the ruins of war and then rebuild cities and establish modern systems and services. This is evident everywhere, and is a great tribute to the strength of the Polish people. Finally, I was deeply impressed by what I saw of the old Polish cultural history, places like a school where Copernicus studied, and the beautiful city of Krakow. These are great treasures, important not just in Poland but in the whole history of Western civilization."

MEMENTO OF INHUMANITY

A grim reminder of man's inhumanity to man is the Museum of Martyrology on the site of the former Nazi death camp at Oswiecim (Auschwitz), 35 miles from Krakow, where four million people, mostly Poles and Jews, but also many of other ethnic and nationality origins, were murdered.

Nothing like it can be seen anywhere in the world.

Shocking, yes, but everyone should see it nevertheless, for to see it is to realize that such monstrous tragedy must never happen again.

BUSINESS, INDUSTRY AND BEAUTY

POZNAN, a capital of Poland in the 10th and 11th century, is currently known best as the Polish International Trade Capital, primarily because of its famous annual International Trade Fair, held in June, in which more than 50 countries participate, including the United States.

3-hour sightseeing by coach during the Fair is only \$2.60 per person . . . individual sightseeing by car at all times is \$12.00 for 2 or 3 persons and \$10.00 for one person.

Half a day excursion from Poznan to Kornik, famous for its castle with museum of art and collection of historical arms, plus magnificent park and botanical garden, and to Rogalin, known for its collection of art objects and many trees of over 1,000 years old, costs \$17.00 for one person, \$20.00 for two persons, and \$22.50 for 3 persons.

Full day excursion from Poznan to Gniezno, first capital of Poland; to Biskupin, reconstructed pre-slavic settlement from the VIth century; to Inowroclaw health resort, 500 years old, where geriatric ailments are treated, and to Kruszwica, legendary capital of Poland with its Tower of Mice, where according to legend the cruel Prince Popiel was eaten alive by mice, costs \$40.00 for 1 person, \$50.00 for 2 persons, and \$45.00 for 3 persons.

* * *

BYDGOSZCZ—one thousand year old city—center of railway works and water sports . . . PLOCK—Polish oil refinery center, a city of over 1,000 years old with one of the oldest waterworks in Europe, dating to 1498 . . . LODZ—Polish textile center, second largest city in Poland, dating from 15th century . . . KAZIMIERZ on the river Vistula—a city of striking beauty, Mecca of painters and architects. LUBLIN—first capital of New Poland (1944), agricultural center, seat of the only Catholic University between Peking and East Berlin and of the lay university named after Maria Sklodowska-Curie . . . SANDOMIERZ—a city full of Gothic and Renaissance historical monuments . . . ZIELONA GORA—famous for its wine harvest festival, good hunting area, interesting palace in nearby Lubniewice with large recrea-

tion center, plus horse riding . . . all are worth exploring.

* * *

KATOWICE, heart of industrial Poland, offers interesting approach to urban problems with its super modern downtown center and other architectural solutions.

Worth visiting near Katowice is SZCZYRK, a pearl of Polish holiday resorts in the beautiful Beskidy Mountains.

For song lovers, OPOLE is a magnet at the end of June for the annual Festival of Polish Songs.

* * *

WROCLAW, capital of Lower Silesia, more than 1,000 years old, is the city of young people, with one third of the population under 17 years of age, and one half under 25. It is a center of electronic, metallurgical and chemical industries. Destroyed 67% during World War II with only 50,000 inhabitants left, it is now almost fully rebuilt with the population increased tenfold.

A 2-hour sightseeing of Old Wroclaw by private car costs \$10.00 for 1 or 2 persons . . . a 3-hour sightseeing of Metropolitan Wroclaw by private car costs \$11.00 for 1 person, \$12.00 for 2, and \$10.50 for 3 persons.

Interesting regional excursions from Wroclaw are:

Full day to health resorts in the Karkonosze mountains by private car—\$30.00 for 1 person, \$32.00 for 2, and \$36.00 for 3 persons including guide, entrance fees, and lunch.

Full day to health resorts in Jelenia Gora and Szklarska Poreba, in the Sudety mountain range — \$32.00 for 1 person, \$34.00 for 2, and \$42.00 for 3 persons including lunch.

Full day to Swidnica, an old Slavic settlement, now an industrial center, via several picturesque areas of Lower Silesia—\$40.00 for 1 person, \$44.00 for 2, and \$45.00 for 3 persons including lunch.



Polish Mountaineers Ready to Play.

in denominations of 20, 50, 100, 500 and 1,000 zlotys. Coins in denominations of 1, 2, 5, 10 zlotys and 5, 10, 20 and 50 groszy.

CREDIT CARDS: American Express and Diners Club acceptable.

PRICES: A good meal costs less than a dollar, a haircut about 50 cents, a bottle of vodka \$1.00, tickets for the opera start from \$3.00, to the theatres and concerts from \$2.00, and to movies from 50 cents.

EATING AND DRINKING: Basically similar to American menu, plus Polish specialties and vodka, of course.

TAXIS: plentiful and inexpensive—for a dollar one can ride 11 miles.

MAIL AND TELEGRAMS: air mail for speedy delivery, telegrams from post offices which are open from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M., and central offices in principal cities 24 hours a day, rates similar to USA.

PHOTOGRAPHY: no restriction with the usual exception of military objects. A tourist can take to Poland 2 cameras with 24 plates or 10 film rolls, and 1 movie camera with 10 rolls. American-type color films not available.

SHOPPING: most shops are open from 11 A.M. to 6 or 7 P.M. American goods, including cigarettes, at American prices, are available in "Pekao" shops and counters in leading hotels. The best souvenirs are found at Cepelia and Desa stores.

TIPPING: not obligatory but readily accepted. A tip of 5 to 10 zlotys (12½ to 25 cents) is more than sufficient. Porters generally are given 20 cents for each piece of luggage.

NEWSPAPERS: New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Time, Life, and others are available at newsstands in larger hotels.

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS: New Year's Day, Easter Monday April 3, Labor Day May 1, Corpus Christi June 1, National Day July 22, All Saints Day November 1, Christmas December 25 and 26.

U.S. EMBASSY in Warsaw is located at Aleje Ujazdowskie 29/21, tel. 28-30-40 through 49. The **U.S.** also has a Consulate in Poznan, located at 4 Chopin St., tel. 59586 and 59162.

THE CANADIAN EMBASSY in Warsaw is located at 31 Katowicka St.

Request Tours & Services

ORBIS organizes special tours, for individuals and groups, on request.

For example, a 6-day tour (Warsaw-Lublin-Rzeszow-Nowy Sacz-Krakow-Warsaw) by private car, first class accomodation and meals (full board), guide-interpreter, sightseeing, etc. costs only \$185.00 for one person and \$130.00 per person in a party of 2 or 3.

Consular Division of the Polish Embassy, 443 Daly Ave., Ottawa, Ont., and from the Consulate General of Poland, 1570 Pine Ave. W., Montreal, Que., or from your travel agent.

The visas, as a rule, are issued without delay.

ENTRY POINTS:

By air: Warsaw, Krakow, Gdansk.

By rail: from the German Democratic Republic: Kunowice, Frankfurt on Oder, Zgorzelec-Gorlitz; from Czechoslovakia: Miedzylesie-Lichkov, Zebrydowice-Petrovice; from the USSR: Terespol-Brest, Kuznica Bialostocka-Lososna, Medyka-Mosciska.

By road: from the German Democratic Republic: Slubice (Swiecko)—Frankfurt on Oder; from Czechoslovakia: Jakuszyce-Harrachow, Kudowa Slone-Nachod, Cieszyn-Tesin, Chyzno-Trestena, Lysa Polana-Javorina.

By sea: Gdynia, Szczecin, Swinoujscie.

CUSTOMS REGULATIONS: A tourist can take to Poland duty free personal effects and some articles for possible gifts, and take out of Poland a reasonable amount of souvenirs. Details regarding dutiable items can be obtained on request when applying for visa.

CURRENCY REGULATIONS: Unlimited foreign currency, checks, etc. may be imported to Poland, provided they are specified upon arrival on currency declaration. Export is permitted up to the amount declared on the above mentioned currency declaration.

Tourists receive a special exchange premium of 66% of the regular exchange rate of 22.02 zlotys, receiving about 36.70 zlotys per dollar.

Import and export of Polish currency is not allowed. Polish currency not spent in the country has to be deposited at the border point. This deposit may be collected within a year on the next visit to Poland at any customs office upon presentation of receipt.

REGISTRATION: Tourists who stay in Poland less than 30 days are not required to register with the police. Those staying longer must do so. In principle, the registration should be made personally. However, Orbis hotels will do this for their guests.

All tourists are required to register at each place of their stay in Poland. This formality is arranged by hotels or those in charge of residences in which a tourist stays.

LANGUAGE: Polish is rather difficult to learn but almost everywhere you will find people speaking English. Also, for your convenience, there is an "Instant Polish" page in the Guide, and if you wish to familiarize yourself with Polish more, you can do so by purchasing "Say It In Polish" phrase book for \$1.00 from the Kosciuszko Foundation, 15 E. 65 St., New York, N. Y. 10021.

CLIMATE: Temperate. The average is 26 degrees Fahrenheit in winter and 68 in summer.

MONEY: The Polish monetary unit—the zloty—is divided into 100 groszy. Polish banknotes are issued



Winter in Polish Mountains.

SCENIC MOUNTAINS

The Tatra mountains are very impressive. The landscape of Pieniny is unique in Europe. There the mountain rapids of the River Dunajec cut a canyon 1,000 feet deep through a limestone massif. One lovely bend after another opens up beautiful vista upon beautiful vista. Full day river excursion from Czorsztyn to Szczawnica health resort costs \$28.00 for 1 person, \$34.00 for 2, and \$36.00 for 3 persons.



ZAKOPANE is Poland's capital of winter sports. It equals sport resorts in the Alps in scenic beauty, accomodation and facilities but is more economical. The five-month skiing season is highlighted by the midwinter carnival, rich in the colorful traditions of Polish mountain folklore. One of the most exciting of these traditions is the "Kulig"—a cavalcade of horse-drawn sleighs driven at top speed. Cost of "Kulig" is \$5.00 per person with a minimum of 2 persons participating.

An unusual sight is **MORSKIE OKO** (Eye of the Sea), one of the most enchanting mountain lakes in Europe. Half a day excursion from Zakopane is \$19.00 for 1 person, \$20.00 for 2, and \$21.00 for 3 persons.

Half a day excursion by bus from Zakopane to the Koscieliska Valley, famous for its picturesqueness and many caves, including one almost 4 miles long, costs \$10.00 for 1 and/or 2 persons, and \$10.50 for 3 persons.

Excursion by a funicular railway to the mild slopes of Gubalowka with its splendid view of the entire Tatra mountain range costs \$6.00 for 1 and/or 2 persons, and \$6.60 for 3 persons.

Excursion by an overhead cable car to Kasprowy Peak costs \$8.00 for 1 person, and \$10.00 for 2.

NOWY SACZ is a major city of the Tatra Highlands . . . in that area almost every family has relatives in USA.

In Southeast Poland, the BIESZCZADY mountain area offers a healthy climate, wonderful scenery, angling and hunting, and interesting wooden Greek Orthodox churches.

RZESZOW is a capital of a region which is an ancestral place of millions of Americans of Polish origin.

The SUDETY are a forest-clad chain of mountains in southwest Poland. Its Karkonosze National Park is a beautiful center of winter sports, offering numerous fantastic views.

LAKES AND FORESTS

Poland has almost ten thousand lakes of which two thousand are in Mazuria—a paradise for anyone who likes water sports and fishing.

Throughout Mazuria there are holiday villages where tourists can stay in comfortable wooden bungalows and eat in camp restaurants.

For the hunting enthusiasts Poland abounds with plenty of game.



Basic Tips On Polish Trip

Poland is easily accessible by air, rail, and road.

When traveling from USA and/or Canada by air, the Polish Airlines LOT offers excellent connections to Warsaw from Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Geneva, Hamburg, London, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Stockholm, Vienna and Zurich in conjunction with transatlantic flights.

In addition LOT flies from Warsaw to Athens, Beirut, Belgrade, Bucharest, Budapest, Cairo, Helsinki, Istanbul, Kiev, Leningrad, Moscow, Nicosia, Prague, Sofia, Split, and Zagreb.

Flying to Poland is inexpensive, especially during the low season. Air fares in Poland are one of the lowest in Europe—cheaper than rail first class in sleeping cars.

The new Warsaw international airport is only 4.2 miles from the center of the city. It has all the modern facilities and conveniences for the passenger.

In Poland LOT operates services weekdays only between Warsaw and Bydgoszcz, Gdansk, Katowice, Koszalin, Krakow, Poznan, Rzeszow, Szczecin and Wroclaw.

For those preferring sea travel, the Polish Ocean Lines provide excellent service from Canada and New York.

The modern, luxurious, fully stabilized, air conditioned pride of the Polish passenger fleet, the TS/S STEFAN BATORY, equipped for every super-liner amenity but with a distinctive Polish atmosphere and hospitality, will have the following sailings in 1972:

From New York: January 5, February 2, March 2, December 7.

From Montreal: April 21, May 22, June 21, July 20, August 17, September 15, October 13, November 9.

From Gdynia, Poland, to New York: January 20, February 17, November 24; to Montreal: April 6, May 6, June 6, July 6, August 3, September 1, September 30, October 27; to Quebec: December 22.

Other ships leaving New York or other American and/or Canadian ports make connection with express trains to Warsaw and other Polish cities.

There is also a daily connection by ferry between Swinoujscie, near Szczecin, and Ystad in Sweden.

One can go to Poland by train from any city in Europe. And the same applies to travel by car.

VISA: A Polish visa is required for entry to Poland.

Visa information can be obtained in USA from the Consular Division of the Polish Embassy, 2224 Wyoming Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, and from the Consulate General of Poland, 1525 N. Astor St., Chicago, Ill. 60610, and in Canada from the

SWINOUJSCIE, on the Baltic coast, over 150 years old. Has an exceptionally mild micro-climate with small temperature fluctuation. It has 14 sanatoriums. Treatments are for bronchial asthma, chronic inflammation of the respiratory tract, cardiac neurosis, high blood pressure, allergy and skin disease, metabolic disturbances and ailments connected with old age.

The Polish health resorts are situated in quiet, lovely, picturesque surroundings. They have the most modern equipment and are under the permanent care of the Academies of Medicine and the best medical specialists. Variety of entertainment is available. The resorts are open all the year round.

The all-inclusive cost—accommodation, all meals, including special diet prescribed by doctor, medical care, physical therapy, pharmacological therapy with Polish drugs, transfer on arrival and departure—is very reasonable.

A single luxury suite is \$22.00 per day in high season and \$16.00 in low season, while a double suite is \$17.00 and \$12.00 per person respectively.

In Ciechocinek, Busko, and Krynica single room with bath is \$12.00 in high season and \$10.00 in low season; double room with bath \$10.00 and \$8.50 per person; single without bath \$10.00 and \$8.00, double without bath \$9.00 and \$7.50.

In Kolobrzeg, Kudowa, Polanica, Swinoujscie and Szczawno single room with bath is \$9.00 in high season and \$8.00 in low season; double room with bath \$8.00 and \$6.50 per person; single without bath \$8.00 and \$7.00, and double \$7.00 and \$6.00.

Low season in Krynica is from October 1 through January 30 and during April; while in other resorts from October 1 through April 30.

The minimum recommended stay is from 21 to 24 days.

Ski Holidays

Polish mountains are ideal for inexpensive ski holidays.

For example, a 10-day sojourn in Zakopane, capital of Poland's winter sports, including accommodation in a hostel or tourist home with full board, plus assistance of ski instructor, costs only \$70.00.

And in case you don't know how to ski or do not wish to ski, well just enjoy yourself in the invigorating, healthy climate . . . you can get many diversions, such as a sleigh ride—you can meet interesting people and have the time-of-your-life.

ON THE BALTIC



Main Street in Gdansk.

The thousand years old GDANSK, the 19th century SOPOT, and the 20th century GDYNIA are the three neighboring cities on Poland's amber coast full of attraction for visitors.

GDANSK has a colorful and tragic history . . . in 1308 the German religious order of Teutonic Knights burned the city and butchered its 10,000 citizens . . . it changed hands several times and was a free city between two world wars . . . suffered heavily during World War II but today is mostly rebuilt, with the old parts of the city in their former style . . . the most memorable building is the Post Office where 51 of its Polish employees put up a heroic struggle against overwhelming Nazi invaders on Sept. 1, 1939 with 12 of them killed during the 5-day hopeless battle and 39 executed by the Germans upon surrender on Sept. 5.

A 3-hour walking tour of Old Gdansk costs \$7.40 for one to 5 persons.

At the entrance to the Port of Gdansk is a historic islet of *Westerplatte* where World War II began. The Polish garrison of 182 men put up a 7-day brave resistance to Hitler's invaders. An impressive monument honors the defenders.

Half a day tour of the port and of the *Westerplatte*, including 2½-hour boat ride, costs \$5.00 for 1 person, \$8.00 for 2, and \$9.00 for 3 persons.

Gdansk's suburb of OLIVA has a cathedral with an interesting organ of 6,000 pipes. Its mighty sound vibrates through the church, produces a loud echo, and causes figures of angels to blow trumpets or ring tiny bells while models of the suns and stars revolve.

SOPOT near Gdansk is the most popular Polish bathing resort. It is especially famous for its annual International Song Festival, held in August, and for its Open Air Theatre which can seat 5,000 people.

NOTE: Descriptive literature on different Polish cities and areas is available free of charge from the Polish Travel Office ORBIS, 500 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10036.

A 3-hour tour by car of Old Gdansk, Oliwa cathedral with its famous organ, and of Sopot health resort costs \$12.00 for 1 person, \$16.00 for 2, and \$15.00 for 3 persons. The charge for concert in Oliwa on weekdays, regardless of number of persons, is \$6.50.

GDYNIA is a modern seaport of 150,000 inhabitants, transformed from a fishing village in less than 50 years.

A 4-hour tour by car of Old Gdansk, Oliwa cathedral, Sopot health resort, new housing settlements in Gdynia, and a motorboat ride in the port costs \$15.00 for 1 person, \$20.00 for 2, and \$22.50 for 3 persons.

A 3½-hour Gdansk-Gdynia-Oliwa by night, including a glass of wine in an old winery, supper with vodka and trimmings, show in a night club, available daily with the exception of Mondays, costs \$16.00 per person with 2 participants, and \$12.00 per person in a group, by coach.

Half a day excursion from Gdansk to Malbork, a famous 14th century Teutonic Castle with thousands of items on exhibit, costs \$20.00 for 1 person, and \$30.00 for 2 and/or 3 persons. Near the city is a small British and American cemetery, beautifully kept with a memorial stone honoring the soldiers who died so far from home fighting for freedom in World War II.

Half a day excursion from Gdansk to the Kartuzy area, known as Kaszubian Switzerland because of its splendid scenery and folklore, costs \$16.00 for 1 person, \$20.00 for 2, and \$24.00 for 3 persons.

To the west, near the border with the German Democratic Republic, is SZCZECIN, an important Polish seaport and industrial center with a population of about 300,000. It was almost completely destroyed during World War II but today is basically rebuilt and a modern city with young people predominating.

SWINOUJSCIE—capital of 44 islands in the Szczecin area—is known as the Pearl of the Baltic. It is a modern port, a large deep-sea fishing center and a health resort. It can be reached from Szczecin in one hour by hydrofoil. There is a daily ferry connection from *Swinoujscie to Ystad in Sweden*.

MIEDZYZDROJE, next to Swinoujscie, is the largest and best equipped seaside resort on the Baltic West coast.

SACRED CATHOLIC PLACE

The most sacred place to Roman Catholics in Poland and to the millions of American Catholics of Polish descent is CZESTOCHOWA, a city of almost 200,000 inhabitants.

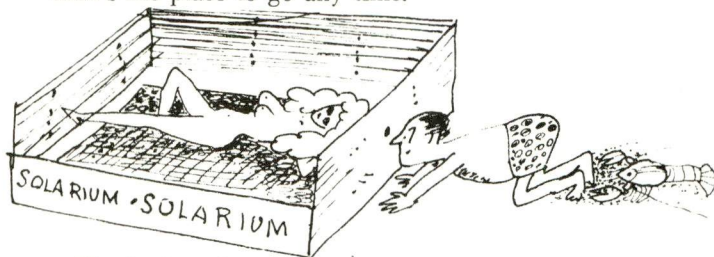
The city was founded in 1220 and the Jasna Gora (Bright Mount) Monastery, containing the famous image of Black Madonna, considered miraculous by Roman Catholics, in 1382.

ORBIS Boarding Houses in Mountain Vacation Resorts in Bukowina Tatrzenska, Ciecocinek, Karpacz and Krynica, with minimum stay of one week, single room with full board \$6.50 per day, double for 2 persons \$11.00 per day; and in Zakopane \$7.50 and \$13.00 respectively.

NOTE: Children from 4 to 12 years of age, accompanied by older persons, are given 25% reduction when accommodated in the same room as their guardians . . . Reduction of 20% is granted to tourists in some hotels during the low season.

For Your Health

If you want to restore or improve your health, Poland's the place to go any time.



The leading Polish health resorts are:

KRYNICA—the Pearl of the Polish Spas, known from the 16th century—located at the Beskid Sadecki Mountains, is recommended to persons suffering from diseases of the digestive system, the urinary and circulatory systems, diabetes, and gynecological disorders.

KUDOWA, in the Sudety Mountains, is one of the oldest health resorts in Europe. One of its famous patients was Winston Churchill. Excellent for sufferers from cardiovascular diseases, nervous disorders, overweight, and those requiring convalescence after heart surgery.

POLANICA, in the Sudety Mountains. Treatments for diabetes and diseases of circulatory and digestive systems.

SZCZAWNO in Lower Silesia. Treatments for digestive, respiratory and urinary tracts, and for occupational diseases.

CIECHOCINEK, in Central Poland, is the only spa in central Europe with an artificially produced mediterranean climate. Its salterns were already known in the 13th century. Recommended for those who need a restorative cure and for those suffering from gout, arthritis, respiratory diseases, nervous disorders, and gynecological problems.

BUSKO, in Central Poland. Treatments for rheumatic, skin and gynecological diseases, and for neuroses.

KOLOBRZEG, on the Baltic coast, known as the "Riviera of the North" for almost 150 years. Treatments for respiratory, circulatory and endocrinous disorders, as well as diabetes in adults and asthma and arthritis in children.

Hotel Directory

	Class		Full Board	Half Pension	Bed and Breakfast
NOWY SACZ					
Beskid	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
PLOCK					
Petropol	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
POZNAN					
Merkury	Lux	Single	21.00	18.00	15.50
		Double	35.00	29.00	24.00
Bazar	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
RZESZOW					
Polonia	III	Single	12.00	10.50	9.00
		Double	21.00	18.00	15.00
SOPOT					
Grand	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
SZCZECIN					
Continental	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Arkona	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
TORUN					
Kosmos	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
WROCLAW					
Monopol	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Panorama	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
ZAKOPANE					
Giewont	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
ZIELONA GORA					
Polan	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00

The suites (without meals) cost from \$38.00 per day in Lux hotels to \$18.50 in second class hotels.

International Student Hotels, available only in July and August, room and full board \$6.00 per person per day.

Czestochowa is also an industrial, educational and cultural center. Its steel mill employs 10,000 workers. Several thousand students attend its Polytechnic and Teachers College. The city has an outstanding symphony orchestra.

Of special interest is an archeological reserve in the Rakow section with a cemetery dating to 650 B.C.

KOPERNIK'S CITIES

Interested in astronomy?

Be that as it may, a visit to TORUN, birthplace of Mikolaj Kopernik (Copernicus), father of modern astronomy—also a rebel priest, lawyer specializing in canon law, an economist with new monetary theories, a mathematician, and a physician—and to FROMBORK, where he lived, worked for 40 years, loved and died in 1543, would be quite an experience.

A full day excursion from Gdansk to Frombork by private car costs only \$30.00 for one (1) person, \$44.00 for 2, and \$54.00 for 3 persons.



Kopernik's Monument in front of Staszic's Palace in Warsaw, headquarters of Polish Academy of Sciences.

Discovery Tours

You can discover Poland best by taking one or more of the inexpensive ORBIS all-inclusive fixed departure date tours. They are:

KOPERNIK'S (COPERNICUS) TRAIL, 9 days: Warsaw-Olsztyn-Gizycko (Mazurian Lakes)—Frombork (Kopernik lived and worked there for 40 years and had his great love affair)—Gdansk-Malbork-Torun (Kopernik's birthplace)—Zelazowa Wola (Chopin's birthplace)—Warsaw.

The tour is operated every Saturday from May 20 to September 16.

The cost \$125.00.

CAPITALS OF PIAST DYNASTY, 9 days: Warsaw-Poznan-Gniezno (first capital of Poland)—Biskupin-Zielona Gora-Wroclaw-Krakow-Oswiecim (Auschwitz)—Warka, birthplace of Pulaski—Warsaw.

The tour is operated every Wednesday from May 31 to September 6.

The cost \$125.00.

POLAND'S CAPITALS, 9 days: Warsaw-Lowicz-Lodz-Krakow-Sandomierz-Lublin-Kazimierz-Warsaw.

The tour is operated every Tuesday from May 16 to September 12.

The cost is \$125.00.

SOUTHERN POLAND, 7 days: Warsaw-Zelazowa Wola-Czestochowa-Zakopane-Oswiecim-Krakow.

The tour is operated every Thursday from May 18 to September 14.

The cost \$100.00.

WESTERN POLAND, 9 days: Warsaw-Katowice-Wroclaw-Zielona Gora-Poznan-Torun-Warsaw.

The tour is operated every Friday from June 16 to September 15.

The cost \$125.00.

GRAND CIRCLE TOUR, 14 days: Warsaw-Poznan-Torun-Gdansk-Szczecin-Zielona Gora-Wroclaw-Warka, birthplace of Pulaski, Warsaw.

Starting dates: May 15, 29; June 12, 26; July 10, 24; August 7, 21; September 4, 18.

The cost \$195.00.

SOUTHERN POLAND, 10 days: Warsaw-Lublin-Rzeszow-Nowy Sacz-Oswiecim-Katowice-Czestochowa-Krakow.

The tour is operated every Sunday from May 14 to September 10.

The cost \$140.00.

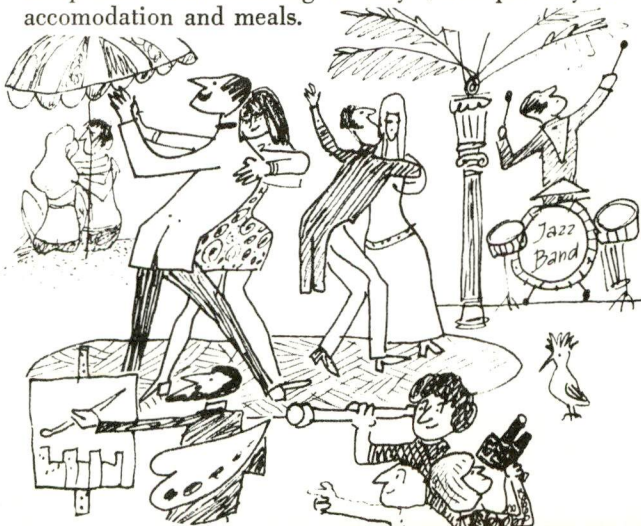
All tours start at 6 P.M. at GRAND HOTEL in WARSAW.

The rates include: accomodation in double rooms with private bath where available, full board, motor-coach transportation, entrance fees, sightseeing and services of ORBIS guide accompanying the tour.

Supplement for single room \$2.00 per day.

Exciting Youth Tours

For young people, Poland is offering many exciting, inexpensive tours starting at only \$3.00 per day for accomodation and meals.



Hotel Directory

(Rates per room per day in dollars)

	Class		Full Board	Half Pension	Bed and Breakfast
WARSAW					
Europejski	Lux	Single	21.00	18.00	15.50
		Double	35.00	29.00	24.00
Bristol	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Grand	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
M D M	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Metropol	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Warszawa	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
KRAKOW					
Cracovia	Lux	Single	21.00	18.00	15.50
		Double	35.00	29.00	24.00
Francuski	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Polski	I/B	Single	15.00	12.50	10.00
		Double	26.00	21.00	16.00
BYDGOSZCZ					
Pod Orlem	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
GDANSK					
Monopol	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
KATOWICE					
Katowice	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
Silesia	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
KOLOBRZEG					
Skapol	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
LUBLIN					
Unia	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00
LODZ					
Grand	I/A	Single	18.00	15.50	13.00
		Double	29.00	24.00	19.00

AUGUST—VII Festival of Chamber Music, featuring oratorios and cantatas in Wroclaw . . . 8 to 15 XXVII Festival of Chopin's Music at Duszniki Zdroj health resort . . . **THIRD DECADE: XII International Song Festival at Sopot.**

SEPTEMBER—First Sunday—**HARVEST FESTIVAL**—all over Poland . . . **TATRA AUTUMN** in Zakopane . . . —V International Folklore Festival of Mountain Regions . . . **FESTIVAL of Student and Avant garde Theatres Festivals** in Wroclaw . . . 10 to 16—VIII Bydgoszcz Music Festival in Bydgoszcz, Torun and Lubostron.

OCTOBER—**JAZZ JAMBOREE 72**—XIV International jazz festival in Warsaw.

DECEMBER—X All-Polish Students Song Festival and Exhibition of Famous Krakow's Creches in Krakow.

Scientific Congresses

During 1972 Poland will host numerous scientific congresses of which the most important are:

APRIL—UNESCO Seminar on Ecology in Warsaw.

MAY 5 to 15—in Warsaw, VI International Congress on Regional Economies . . . 17 to 21 in Kazimierz International Symposium on Structure and Function of Normal and Diseased Muscle and Peripheral Nerve, . . . 18 to 20 in Warsaw, XIX convention of the Polish Orthopedic Society . . . 29-30 in Warsaw, VI International Symposium on School Health and Medicine.

JUNE 5 to 9 in Warsaw—Congress of the International Federation of Children Communities . . . 14 to 19 in Wroclaw XIV International Symposium on Diseases in Zoo Animals.

JULY 25 to 29 in Warsaw—XI International Conference on Physics of Semiconductors.

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER — 21-2 in Warsaw—XVII General Assembly of the International Scientific Radio (URSI) . . . 29-4 in Torun VI International Conference on Nonlinear Vibration . . . 30-2 in Warsaw International Symposium on Foundation of Theory of Plasticity.

SEPTEMBER 8 to 11 in Warsaw—Conference on Social and Human values of Slavonic Literature . . . 10 to 16 in Bydgoszcz International Congress and Festival of Ancient Music of Central and Eastern Europe . . . 12 to 16 in Wroclaw International Conference on Molecular Spectroscopy . . . 18 to 22 in Warsaw VII International Congress on Electro-Heat (UIE) . . . 20 to 22 in Warsaw V International Paper Makers Congress.

OCTOBER—in Krakow—Conference of the International Anticancerous Union . . . 2 to 5 in Warsaw International Congress of the Cooperative Union.

Students should write for details to the Polish Students Association Travel and Tourism Office "**ALMATUR**", 9 Ordynacka St., Warsaw, Poland, and other young people to the Youth Travel Office "**JUVENTUR**", Al. Roz 2, Warsaw, Poland.

All tours include get-together with Polish youth.

Touring By Car . . .

Touring Poland by car is an excellent way to meet the country's hospitable and friendly people.

Poland has 3,600 miles of modern international highways and 69,600 miles of other hard-surfaced roads.

Many roads pass through picturesque, sometimes virgin, regions.

Moreover, the roads in Poland are not overcrowded as yet and so the motorist can really enjoy driving. The speed limit in densely inhabited areas is 30 miles per hour and no limit on the open road. In most cities and towns it is not allowed to blow horn. Otherwise, the rules of the road in Poland are similar to those in the United States and Canada.

And there are plenty of gas stations with a substantial number of them open 24 hours a day. The average distance between the gas stations is 12 miles on the main highways.

The service stations sell 94 and 78 octane gasoline, fuel oil for Diesel motors and Extra, Shell, Castrol, Mobil and Lux motor oils. It is advisable to purchase special ORBIS fuel coupons which are accepted by all the gas stations in Poland and give about 30% reduction as compared to the prices paid in Polish currency. For one coupon worth 70 cents, the tourist can buy 4 litres (over one gallon) of 94 octane gasoline or 10 litres of fuel oil or 1 litre of top grade motor oil.

When crossing the border, the motorist can obtain from the Polish Automobile and Motorcycle Federation (PZM) a list of gas stations and service centers, as well as road maps, insurance policy (accident and liability insurance is compulsory under the Polish law), fuel coupons and other information. Also, hotel reservations can be made.

In case of accident, the PZM provides the motorist with every technical, legal and medical aid.

The PZM also operates Road Aid. Its service trucks, painted yellow, patrol the main highways and make all possible repairs on the spot and, if necessary, tow the damaged car to the nearest garage. However, in the event of disability, it is advisable to call the nearest PZM service center.

For 350 zlotys (about \$15) a motorist can purchase from PZM or from the road service that answers his call an annual ticket for free and unlimited road service throughout the country—otherwise the charge for each road service call is 150 zlotys (\$6.25).

The PZM also sells parts for cars for foreign currency.

In urgent cases, tourists who are in Poland may be contacted by radio through PZM.

The headquarters of the Polish Automobile and Motorcycle Federation is located at Krucza 6/14, Warsaw, cable address "Beteem Warszawa," telex 81-575.

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The Polish Travel Office ORBIS rents cars with or without driver.

Cars can be rented from ORBIS offices in Warsaw, Krakow, Gdansk, Katowice, Lodz and Wroclaw, and in Poznan during the International Trade Fair.

RENTAL OF CARS WITH DRIVERS

Type of cars	Rate per day (8 hours)	Rate per kilometer (0.62 mile)
Mercedes	\$9.00	\$0.12
Humber	9.00	0.12
Fiat	9.00	0.12
Volga	9.00	0.12

(No additional charges)

RENTAL OF CAR WITHOUT DRIVER

	Rate per day (24 hours)	Rate per kilometer (0.62 mile)
Volga GAZ	\$8.00	\$0.08
Fiat 125 P 1500	7.00	0.07
Fiat 125 P 1300	7.00	0.06

Cost of gas and oil in addition.

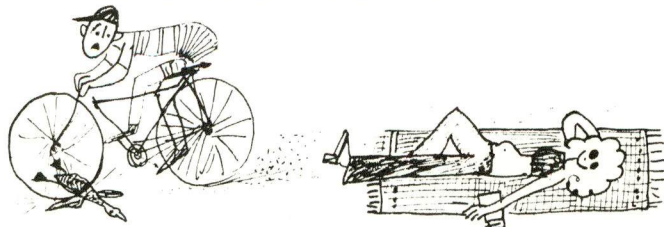
Discount of 50 cents per day is granted when self-drive care is rented for over 6 days, and additional discount of \$1.00 per day is given during the low season.

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For motorists interested in camping, ORBIS recommends 50 sites. The campers are required to purchase exchange vouchers in the amount of \$3.00 per day for accomodation and food. For details and maps write to the Polish Travel Office ORBIS, 500 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10036.

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Persons traveling to Poland by car or intending to rent a car there should have an international driver license, issued in USA by the American Automobile Association and in Canada by the Canadian Automobile Association, or a local drivers' license with a certified translation into Polish or French.



Major 1972 Events

JANUARY-FEBRUARY—WINTER CARNIVAL in Zakopane . . . sleigh rides, mountain folk dances, folk shows, etc.

FEBRUARY—Festival of Polish Contemporary Music in Wroclaw.

MARCH 11 to 14—All-Polish Jazz Festival in Wroclaw . . . 19 to 21 International Alpine Skiing Competition in Zakopane.

APRIL—Spring Folklore Festival in Zywiec, Krakow province.

MAY 1-LABOR DAY—All over Poland parades, spectacles, concerts, carnivals, merrymaking . . . **JUVENALIA**—academic youth holiday in Krakow, merrymaking that continues the tradition of student antics and pranks that go back to medieval days . . . **XVII International Book Fair** in Warsaw with 25 countries participating and an accent on Kopernik's Year books . . . 12 to 18 Festival of Chamber Music in Lancut, Rzeszow province, with famous Polish and foreign orchestras and soloists participating.

MAY-SEPTEMBER—Concerts of organ music in Koszalin.

MAY-DECEMBER—Symphonic and chamber music concerts at the Royal Castle courtyard in Krakow.

JUNE—Art Festival and IX International Festival of Short Films in Krakow . . . **XXI International Horsemanship Competition** in Olsztyn . . . **Folklore Festival** in Lowicz . . . 11-20th 41st International Trade Fair in Poznan . . . **ALL-POLISH Folklore Festival** in Plock . . . 34th International Canoe Regatta on the Dunajec River . . . 10th Annual Track and Field Competition in Warsaw . . . **SUMMER EVE** traditional Slavic holiday **WIANKI** in Warsaw, Krakow, Gdansk, and in hundreds of other places on the banks of Polish rivers, with enchanting ceremony of letting wreaths down the river.

JUNE-AUGUST—International Biennial Exhibit of Posters and Graphic Arts in Krakow . . . **VII Festival of Organ and Chamber Music** in Kamien Pomorski,

JUNE-SEPTEMBER—Concerts of Chopin's music in the composer's birthplace at Zelazowa Wola, near Warsaw every Sunday and holiday.

JULY—29th International Motorcycle Races in Tatra Mountains (Zakopane) . . . **XIV Festival of Organ Music** in Oliwa, near Gdansk . . . 8 to 13 Festival of Military Songs in Kolobrzeg . . . **First Decade**—Moniuszko Festival in Kudowa Zdroj health resort . . . 10 to 24 Second World Festival of Artistic Groups of Poles Abroad in Rzeszow . . . 22 **INDEPENDENCE DAY**—all over Poland sports, parades, festivals, exhibits, concerts, merrymaking . . . 1 to 31 **STUDENTS Art Festival** in Swinoujscie.