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OA/ID Number: 13740
Folder ID Number: 13740-005

Folder Title:
Poland/Hungary Background c.11/90 [OA 8312] [2]

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Hungary Airs Long-Banned Rebellion Speech

BUDAPEST, May. 6 (Reuters) — Breaking a decades-long taboo, the Hungarian radio today broadcast a speech first made by Prime Minister Imre Nagy on the day that Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest to suppress the 1956 rebellion.

The radio also aired the view of a leading Communist historian that the rebellion was a popular uprising that became a struggle for independence from the Soviet Union, in contrast to the official portrayal of the incident as a counterrevolution.

The rebroadcast came as senior Communist historians have begun to question the necessity of the Soviet intervention and to shed new light on the role played in putting down the rebellion by Janos Kadar, Hungary's leader until last May.

The historian, Tibor Hajdu, told a symposium of historians at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on Friday that for more than three decades, Hungarian propaganda had expounded the official view that Western countries were partly to blame for the 1956 rebellion.

Maria Ormos, an academician and a member of the Communist Party Central Committee, disclosed evidence from party archives that Mr. Kadar was involved in the kidnapping of Mr. Nagy, who was executed for his role in the rebellion.

Mr. Kadar had initially supported Mr. Nagy but switched sides after Mr. Nagy introduced a multi-party system and withdrew Hungary from the Warsaw Pact.

Mr. Kadar replaced Mr. Nagy as Hungary's leader with the support of the Soviet military.

Officials say Mr. Kadar, now the Communist Party President, is ill and likely to die within months. He may be retired on Monday at a meeting of the Central Committee.

The rebroadcasted speech was first broadcast on Hungarian radio early on Nov. 4, 1956. In it, Mr. Nagy said:

"Today at daybreak, Soviet forces started an attack against our capital, obviously with the intention to overthrow the legal Hungarian democratic Government.

"Our troops are fighting. The government is in its place. I notify the people of our country and the entire world of this fact."

As Mr. Nagy made his speech, his voice cracked with emotion.

Mr. Nagy's body was exhumed from an unmarked grave at the end of March and is expected to be reburied with four associates on June 16, the 31st anniversary of his execution.

The Hungarian Government has begun a speedy review of his trial, which a Government spokesman said could be the start of a legal rehabilitation for Mr. Nagy.

Photo Copy Preservation

WALL ST.J.:05-08-89
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Budapest Spring

Hungarian Democracy Bursts Forth in Ways Dizzying to Everyone

The Socialist Workers' Party Agrees to Share the Stage With a Plethora of Rivals

Rehabilitation of Imre Nagy

1831

By Barry Newman
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

BUDAPEST – The official limousines lined up in front of Karl Marx University proclaim big doings inside the main building.

In the marble foyer, near the credentials desk, a film crew has collared the Communist speaker of Hungary's parliament for an interview. The doors behind him open onto a columned hall where several hundred decently dressed delegates are listening to a long address. Foreigners take it in through cordless headphones.

Political tracts cover the tables in a corridor alongside the hall. There, more reporters quiz the ruling party's official spokesman on the meeting's portent. But he isn't much help. Like the speaker of parliament and the others who came in black cars, the official spokesman is here as an outside observer.

For all its airs, this is no establishment gathering. In an unimaginable year of organized challenges to the Communist political monopoly in Hungary, this is the first convention of a nationalist, non-Communist movement called the Hungarian Democratic Forum. The main issue on its agenda: when—not whether—to declare itself a Hungarian democratic party.

Which Party?

Until a few months ago, a mention of "the party" in Hungary would have meant *the* party—the only party. But today it can mean the Peasants' Party, the Smallholders' Party, the Free Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Christian Democrats. Singer Sarlota Zalatnay, who once had a hit called "I Am Not A Nun," wants to start a Liberal Sexual Party.

Now, the party in charge goes by its initials—HSWP, for Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Just how much longer it will stay in charge has suddenly become a concrete question. The HSWP is hanging onto the reins as Hungary gallops toward a free, democratic, multiparty system. The last time this country had a multiparty election, in 1945, the Communists got 17% of the vote.

"The change is unbelievable," says George Schoepflin at the London School of Economics, a Hungary watcher not prone to bright forecasts. "These are real parties. The past is really past."

The rise of party politics puts Hungary in a class by itself among peoples' republics in flux. While the elections in the Soviet Union made for a spectacular show, they won't alter the Communist Party's self-image there as society's integrating force. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev calls advocates of a multiparty system "demagogues and irresponsible elements." His emissaries have reacted to the goings-on in Budapest with anxious amazement.

Hard Alternatives

What worries them is the knack political parties could have for giving shape to the sulkiness of Eastern Europe. Parties capable of jelling vague negativism into hard alternatives could rally recruits not only from the grumpy masses, but from the ruling party itself. Two years ago, the active opposition among 10 million Hungarians consisted of about 35 courageous people. Today, it would fill a stadium.

The new parties don't buy the "one-party pluralism" touted in Moscow. "Socialist democracy" has no appeal. Hesitantly, even Communists have begun to talk of their future party as one among equals. Like their rivals, some have taken up the chant for democracy and pluralism "without adjectives."

Communist idols seem to topple every week. Next Nov. 7, the Hungarians won't take a day off to celebrate the Russian Revolution. But on March 15, thousands poured out to celebrate the 1848 revolt against Austria, put down with the aid of Russian troops. Marchers wore the shield of the revolt's leader, Lajos Kossuth; some wore it capped by the crown of St. Stephen, symbol of Hungarian nationhood. The HSWP has decided to make one of these the new national emblem. It may yet remove the red star from the roof of parliament.

Rehabilitating Imre Nagy

More gingerly, the HSWP has looked again at what it used to call the "counter-revolution" of 1956. Now, the party admits that the Hungarian Revolution at least began as a "popular uprising." The man who inspired it, Prime Minister Imre Nagy, was executed in 1958 and dumped into an unmarked grave. His body has been exhumed and will soon be buried properly—in full view, no doubt, of a thoroughly unshackled press.

After a 42-year confinement, Hungarians are taking to all this with the gawky exuberance of an invalid throwing away his crutches and walking again. Those first steps are always the shakiest.

From the head table in a packed community center meeting room, an old man announces: "We will now elect a temporary leadership." A Smallholders' Party branch committee is meeting on a Saturday morning. A voice of the *petite bourgeoisie*, the Smallholders won 57% of the vote in 1945; now they want to speak for the new class of Hungarian workshop owners, taxi drivers and private restaurateurs.

"Only members or those who want to join can stay," the old man instructs. But a younger man jumps up. "We haven't debated the program. Let's have the program, then we can decide whether to join." The audience breaks into applause. A woman stands: "What about the five members expelled? Who has the right to expel people without asking the membership?"

'You Want a Dictatorship!'

A politburo delegate rises at the dais. "I will respond," he says. "This doesn't depend on the rank and file. . . . "

"How come?" someone shouts. Someone else: "You want a dictatorship!" Another young man gets up. "We believe the rank and file has the right to determine policy. Support our initiative! Call the provisional assembly!" And in a chaos of argument and cheers, the meeting recesses.

In the snack bar, Zsolt Lanyi gets a coffee. He is 60, a private dealer in cooling equipment, a Smallholders loyalist since 1946.

"For 42 years, we had nothing," he says. "Now everything is starting again. It isn't the party I find exciting. What's exciting is that the Hungarian nation is beginning to forget its fear."

He finishes his coffee and adds the essential caveat: "It all depends on a smooth changeover to a market-party system. We don't want another national tragedy."

Evolutionary Tendencies

On that, Hungarians have united. Twenty years of socialism *with* plenty of consumer goods have vented the furies in Hungary that are bottled up in Poland, Yugoslavia and Armenia. The new parties want to help the HSWP step aside honorably, without provoking its "fundamentalists" to reach for the guns they legally keep in their cupboards. The HSWP wants the parties to mature without splitting apart the country and raising the eyebrows of risk-analysts in Western consulting firms.

"What we want is a transition without spasms," says Istvan Foldesi, a special assistant to the HSWP boss, Karoly Grosz. "We feel nobody wants sudden turns. They know this is a once-in-a-lifetime chance."

Yet Budapest's politicians, and Moscow's, are antsy. None can comfortably say the country will stay its course; the fact is, nobody can quite comprehend how it has already come so far so fast.

Only last May did a fractious HSWP congress dislodge Janos Kadar as leader, replacing him with Mr. Grosz and a motley politburo of moderates and rank reformers. Right up to the end of November, Mr. Grosz still stood for a one-party state, while his comrades bickered about it. They seemed not to notice the drift of the economy, but their rivals did. The Smallholders and the Social Democrats decided to fill the void and get back into business. Too splintered to oppose them, the HSWP relented.

WASH. POST: 04-25-89

Hungary's Party Chief, Premier in Public Row

183f

By Imre Karacs
Special to The Washington Post

BUDAPEST, April 24—A public row between the leader of Hungary's ruling Communist Party and the country's prime minister escalated today as the Budapest party leadership called on the two men to clarify their recent statements on the need to introduce a "state of emergency in the economy."

The row erupted Saturday, when in a casual comment to young party members, party chief Karoly Grosz said he had recently tried to persuade the party's governing Politburo to declare a "state of emergency in the economy." He claimed he had lost a vote on the matter in the 11-man Politburo, but that Miklos Nemeth, the prime minister and a Politburo member, had supported him.

When Nemeth heard about Grosz's remark, he telephoned Hungarian television and angrily denied that he ever favored Grosz's proposal. "Who Is Telling the Truth?" asked a headline in today's official Budapest daily, Magyar Nemzet.

The rift between the two politicians comes at a bad time for Grosz, as advocates of radical reform within the party are seeking to oust him and other party leaders they perceive as too conservative. Grosz came in for heavy criticism at a meeting of reformists a week ago in the town of Kecskemet, and a campaign was launched to convene an emergency party conference with the power to oust him.

Budapest Radio today broadcast a recording of Grosz's Saturday remarks, in which he said, "I see the situation ripe for the introduction of a state of emergency in the economy" but added that this would not be a "military move."
needs to be slowed down here."

"A few weeks ago, my own Politburo voted against this suggestion of mine, so I did not submit it to the Central Committee," he said, referring to the party's policy-making body. He claimed, however, that the prime minister had backed him. "In the government, Miklos Nemeth did have such ambitions, because this is why he set up his [inner] cabinet," Grosz concluded.

But the broadcast offered no hint of what sort of emergency Grosz had in mind and left listeners confused about the extent of his support. Nemeth's reaction was swift. "The prime minister has authorized us to declare that he never had any such ambitions," Budapest Television's evening news program announced.

For good measure, Nemeth telephoned Budapest Radio today to confirm his position, saying he was so opposed to Grosz's idea that he voted against him in the Politburo.

Nemeth's remarks appeared to put him on a collision course with Grosz, whose backing was responsible for his rapid rise from the middle ranks of the party to his present position as government leader.

N.Y.TIMES:04-25-89

HUNGARIAN TELLS OF DEMOCRATIC AIM

High Aide Disavows Marxism and Cites Plans for New Parties and Pluralism

1830

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, April 24 — An important Government and Communist Party official told a group of reporters, most of them Westerners, today that the establishment of genuine democracy was Hungary's main goal.

The official, Gyula Horn, said his country's top priority was "to institutionalize pluralism and establish a real role for Parliament."

Mr. Horn said another goal at the top of the leadership's agenda was to adopt the European tradition of maximum political freedom. He said there was no difference between "bourgeois and socialist criteria for democracy and human rights."

Mr. Horn holds the title of State Secretary in the Foreign Ministry and is a member of the party's central committee. Diplomats consider him the right hand of the party's General Secretary, Karoly Grosz, in dealing with the major Eastern and Western powers in Hungary's efforts to gain support as it navigates through grave economic, social and political difficulties.

Speaks at Italian Meeting

Mr. Horn spoke at a news conference held in connection with a congress of Italy's Radical Party. The party, which represents anti-establishment views similar to West Germany's Greens, is holding its convention here in recognition of Hungary's recent progress away from orthodox Communism.

The Hungarian official spoke with considerable candor of the need for change. "The end result must be of revolutionary nature," he said. "Any attempt at undermining reform would be counter-revolutionary."

He said the Hungarian socialism that is the object of the present liberalization campaign was not Marxist. "In fact, we discredit the ideas of Marx," Mr. Horn added. He listed as the three main criteria of socialism equality of opportunity, democracy and solidarity among social strata and on the international scene.

"The relationships of the ownership of property are not an indispensable feature of socialism," Mr. Horn said.

Mr. Horn said that in 1949, with a pluralist structure in place, "we liquidated it." He continued: "For decades, this made impossible the enforcement of democracy. All that we did is that we called 'socialist democracy' that which in a real sense was not democracy but a party and state monopoly."

CHRIS.SCI.MON.:04-25-89

PERSPECTIVES ON EASTERN EUROPE

Reformers Are Asking: Where Do We Go From Here?

183

By Eric Bourne

VIENNA

REVOLUTION is in the air in the East bloc.

In the Soviet Union, *perestroika* is surely breaking revolutionary ground. Mikhail Gorbachev's policies of restructuring are undoing most of what was established during the Stalinist period and much too of Lenin's revolution of 1917.

Poland's extraordinary accord between a communist regime and the independent trade union Solidarity is nothing short of a Polish revolution.

Events in Hungary, however, transcend everything. Russians, after unprecedented elections, and Poles, after their agreement, seemed to take a pause to ponder: "And where do we go from here?" But Hungarians, both within the party and outside it, are in a hurry.

In the last year they have had a nonstop round of legislative reform and won liberties more sweeping than envisaged by the failed revolt of 1956. Yet there is no slackening of demand. Most recently, the Politburo was cleansed of four members whose reform credentials were either suspect or lukewarm. The nine-member body is now in the hands of the "revolutionaries."

Mr. Gorbachev, promoting democracy in the Soviet Union, sedulously invokes Lenin. It is doubtful, however, if the latter – could he offer an opinion – would endorse everything done in the name of *perestroika*.

The latest Hungarian reform was a so-called "reform workshop" that recalled the great open forums of Czechoslovakia's 1968 Prague Spring. They were short-lived. These, however, are different times.

It was a *communist* "workshop," called by the Politburo's two most forward-looking and articulate members, Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay. Also attending the workshop were three other members and 500 lower-ranking officials and party members, plus some prominent noncommunist intellectuals.

It was a unique occasion. There was an electrifying debate bluntly postulating a "peaceful" split in the party itself. Two-thirds of the present membership (780,000), it was said, should form a "reform party," leaving the rest to preserve – if they could – an orthodox Communist Party to compete for power with all the other pluralist groups.

'WHERE do we go from here?" Indeed! Market economies and democracy alone cannot solve these East-bloc crises. Even with Western help, more hardship, not less, must be endured by the Hungarian public before the benefits from reform policies begin to accrue.

Meanwhile, with all the changes, one urgent question remains. That question – boldly acknowledged in Budapest and feared just as much in Warsaw – is simply whether stability and social patience can be maintained that long.

Events meanwhile also are creating an added dimension with a new, ideological Iron Curtain, falling not this time across Europe as a whole but dividing the communist area itself. On one side are Hungary and Poland (backed by the Soviet Union), on the other East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria. A conflict of words begins to flow across this new curtain as much as over the East-West divide of old.

People in all these nations know only too well the system's inefficiencies. But only the Poles and the Hungarians have challenged it. The rest have yet to stir, and their regimes are doing everything they can, however repressive, to ward off threats to the system.

Gorbachev certainly approved but he did not initiate the Polish accord, nor prompt the Hungarians to go flat out for the multiparty system. In each case change was forced on local leaderships by deteriorating internal conditions and similar forces must in time propel the reluctant ones toward change.

It is all part of what former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has just termed "the post-cold-war period" which West and East enter together with a mutual responsibility.

Discerning East European reformers see it too as a situation in which the West can best help, not by talking glibly about "reversing" the Yalta agreement, but by seeking a process of adjusting a mischievous wartime agreement to the needs of the the *contemporary* world. This adjustment, they say, would encourage reform anywhere in Eastern Europe, without disturbing superpower balance and trust.

N.Y.TIMES:04-26-89

Goodbye and Ciao to Soviet Tanks in Hungary

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

KISKUNHALAS, Hungary, April 25 — The Soviet Union began today to carry out Mikhail S. Gorbachev's promise to withdraw some of its military forces from countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Thirty-one heavy tanks of the 13th Guards Armored Division were loaded onto flatbed cars at a rail siding outside this provincial town 90 miles south of Budapest and left in the direction of the Soviet Ukraine.

Speaking at United Nations last Dec. 7, Mr. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, pledged that Moscow would withdraw 50,000 of its troops from Hungary, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Mr. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union would demobilize 500,000 of its total armed personnel and deactivate 10,000 tanks.

The departure today, believed to be the first in any of the three affected countries, was staged by the Soviet command in Hungary for maximal publicity.

Foreign reporters and television crews, mainly from the West, were warmly greeted by English-speaking officers and allowed to clamber over the tanks and railroad cars, photographing at will.

So tolerant were the Soviet officers that they appeared to take a bewildered pleasure in the unexpected presence of Ilona Staller, a member of the Italian Parliament of Hungarian birth, who has become known throughout Europe by reverting at public occasions to her former professions of strip-tease artist and pornographic-movie actress.

Miss Staller is in Hungary for a congress that the Italian Radical Party, which she represents, is holding in Budapest. Col. Boris Y. Adamenko, deputy chief of staff of the southern group of Soviet forces, raised no objection when Miss Staller, wearing a wreath of wilted flowers in her long blond hair, distracted attention by posing and mugging beside him into the cameras as he made the official announcement of the departure.

At the command of Italian photographers, Miss Staller released a white dove of peace at the side of the train, only to watch the frightened bird tumble into the fatal treads of a moving tank.

Only 18 soldiers accompanied the T-64 main battle tanks, armed with 125-millimeter cannon, to the Soviet Union. The withdrawal of troops is to begin next month. By some time next year, more than 10,000 Soviet soldiers are to have left Hungary.

Western military experts estimate the number of Soviet troops in Hungary at between 62,000 and 70,000. The tanks that left today are the first of 450 to be withdrawn from the country.

WASH. POST: 05-03-89



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hungarian troops roll up wire fencing that has separated them from Austria for 20 years. It replaced a mine field.

"... an era of our relations with Western Europe ... is closed."

— Interior Ministry official Andras Kovari



BY CLARICE BORIO—THE WASHINGTON POST

Hungary Tears Down 'Iron Curtain' With Austria

Reuter 183/173

HEGYESHALOM, Hungary, May 2—Hungary began a symbolic dismantling of the "Iron Curtain" that has divided Europe for four decades as it started to remove a barbed-wire fence on its border with Austria today.

"With the dismantling of this barrier, an era of our relations with Western Europe and particularly Austria is closed," Interior Ministry official Andras Kovari told a news conference.

The 20-year-old barbed-wire barrier replaced a mine field laid after the Communist takeover of Hungary in the late 1940s.

The phrase "Iron Curtain" was coined by former British prime minister Winston Churchill in a 1946 speech discussing the dangers of Soviet expansionism. "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," Churchill told an audience in Fulton, Mo., "an iron curtain has descended across the continent."

Reformist Minister of State Imre Pozsgay said in October that the fence had become outdated historically, politically and technically. Dismantling began in the no man's land near this small town on the main road between Budapest and Vienna and at three other points: Koszeg, Sopron and Szentgotthard.

Journalists watched as soldiers with sledgehammers disconnected the alarm system, lifted six-foot posts and rolled up wire.

The head of the border guards, Col. Balazs Novaky, said he hoped the entire 150-mile fence would be removed by the end of 1990. "It makes Hungarians feel much better that we no longer have such an old-fashioned border with the West," he said. "It will help Hungary's international relations."

While Hungarians have been able to travel abroad freely since Eastern Europe's most liberal passport law was introduced last year, Austria has mixed feelings about the dismantling of the fence.

In Vienna, Foreign Ministry spokesman Walter Greinert said Austria regarded the move as a "very positive sign." But Austrian government sources fear that other East Europeans, especially Romanians now flooding into Hungary because of ethnic strife, could use Hungary as an easy transit route to the West by simply walking into Austria.

N.Y.TIMES:05-04-89

ESSAY | William Safire

291\183p

Salami Tactics

BUDAPEST

What a weird May Day: First, hardly anybody came to the Communist Party parade. Then the party leader, at an open town meeting, was asked what happened to the borrowed $18 billion that has become an intolerable debt burden. Finally, the state television gave equal time to panels run by the nascent opposition parties.

Is this the wave of the future? I came to Hungary because it is advertised as "the hole in the Iron Curtain," the nation in Eastern Europe supposedly slipping out of the Soviet orbit.

To project this image, Hungarian border guards this week ostentatiously chopped down barriers along the Austrian border, handing out snippets of barbed wire as souvenirs. This was an example of baloney tactics, an updating of the salami tactics by which the Communist regime sliced away its coalition partners at the start of the cold war. Although Hungarians are free to travel, no Soviet dissident can slip into Hungary and then across to the West without papers issued in Moscow.

Other changes, though surface-deep, are real. Communists are preparing to share power in a coalition government after free elections, and insist they are even willing to risk ouster. In the past year, Hungary has embraced South Korea, which needs ties to Communist nations as much as Budapest needs capitalist investment; next month Hungary will normalize relations with Israel.

And the evils of the repressive past are being exhumed. The bones of Imre Nagy, the patriot who was executed three decades ago and dumped in a mass grave, will be reburied in honor on June 16, the anniversary of his execution. Some officials worry that this may trigger a new uprising.

Nobody can measure the depth of latent violence because of the huge gap between the political wrangling at the top and the real misery at the bottom. Inflation is betraying aged pensioners; newly marrieds have no place to live; poverty afflicts one person in five, and many workers drag themselves to two jobs to survive.

To avert revolution, Communist leaders explain that gradual, peaceful change was blessed by Mr. Gorbachev; they tell me he assured them only last week that the Brezhnev doctrine was dead, that Hungary can find its own middle way provided it does not make an embarrassing fuss.

But such assurances are ripples on the deep current of events. A system based on state ownership and central control is bound to fail, and cannot be patched or "restructured"; it cries out for replacement.

"Political change without basic economic change," says Miklos Vasorhely, last surviving leader of the 1956 freedom fighter revolt still resident in Hungary, "merely gives us the freedom to complain about what we cannot do anything about."

That old hero understands what the newest class of power jockeys cannot grasp: For a nation to prosper, proprietorship must be personal. This can range from farmers owning their own cooperatives to entrepreneurs owning their companies.

What Hungary shows is great activity without underlying action.

A new stock market opens without

Hungary woos the West.

a base of money convertible across borders; a handful of sentimental joint ventures offers only the illusion of serious business. The nation that lost seven out of its last seven wars is cunning enough to survive, but has produced no recent figure capable of leading it out of loserhood.

The current leadership is eager to play host to George Bush, who visited this country as Vice President in 1983. Our activist Ambassador here, Mark Palmer, is a young pro clued in to the new-breeze Eastern Europe strategy laid out, like Poe's purloined letter, in Mr. Bush's speech in Hamtramck, Mich. My guess is that the President will expound his doctrine in Poland and Hungary in mid-July, just after the Paris economic summit meeting.

I hope he delays his decision until June 16; let's see how this regime, so fearful of what it calls the aftermath of anarchy, reacts to the big Nagy demonstration. Having made the wrong decision on wheat subsidies to the Soviet Union, Mr. Bush may take the right road on aid to Hungary: Instead of lavishing Government loans on the central bank to prop up systemic failure, as the Japanese and Germans have done, we should let U.S. business take its risk and wish it well.

If and when the U.S. President gets here, he should ask: Why does Hungary spend 4.5 percent of its G.N.P. on its army, compared with Western Europe's 3 percent? He may find the Hungarians willing to cut back from 120,000 to 70,000 troops in a hurry. Hungary offers a parallel in the change we see in the Soviet Union: ferment without focus, old wine in new bottles. □

'89 Hungary Tears Down a Fence

HUNGARY's dismantling of a barbed-wire fence separating it from Austria takes a little more iron out of a corroding "Iron Curtain." It's a symbolic act, but the symbolism is poignant.

Budapest is lurching toward political change. Its once-monolithic Communist Party shows signs of splitting into factions (long a Marxist-Leninist no-no), with the most liberal reformers wielding the bulk of power. A new constitution is on the horizon, incorporating checks and balances and doing away with the Communists' "leading role." Free elections are promised for next year.

Hungarians look West for their role models these days. The social democracy of Sweden, Finland, and Austria — not Soviet-style socialism — is the object of emulation. It was only logical that the fence come down.

Ironically, the highest partitions in Eastern Europe now are those between the reformist socialist states, Hungary and Poland, and their hard-line communist neighbors. Hungary's relations with Romania are particularly tense. Romanian refugees flow its way.

In July, George Bush will recognize the new openness in the East, with stops in Hungary and Poland as part of his first European tour as President. Leaders in both countries will doubtless use the occasion to ask for greater US help with their economic reforms.

Poland is almost as gung-ho for change as Hungary is. Party leader Wojciech Jaruzelski admits that aspects of socialism haven't worked in Poland. Arm in arm with Lech Walesa, head of the Solidarity trade union he once banned, General Jaruzelski is striding into a new era of elections and multipolar politics. The country's redesigned parliament — with all seats in the new upper house and a third of those in the lower chamber freely elected — will have a decisive say in crucial economic reforms.

Jacek Kuron, a Polish activist and political theorist, has said the goal is "an entirely new political geography," with new alignments and new antagonists. Both the Communist Party and Solidarity could be transformed, he says.

The Soviet Union, for now, appears willing to let things proceed. The Poles may be encouraged that *perestroika* has now embraced a limited right to strike for Soviet unionists. Not long ago, that would have been considered an ideological absurdity in the "workers' state." But wildcat strikes have been occurring anyway under Mikhail Gorbachev; the shift favors reality over ideology.

Hungarians busily redefining their politics retain memories of 1956 and the Soviet invasion — triggered, they'll recall, by talk of leaving the Warsaw Pact. Still, Mr. Gorbachev has given his blessing to reform in Hungary and Poland. But even he could be shocked by what the future holds.

Just as important as the Soviet response is the response of average Hungarians and Poles. Can a somewhat cynical, economically strapped populace be rallied behind reform? The coming election campaigns will provide at least a partial answer to that important question.

CHRIS.SCI.MON.:05-08-89

Hungary and Refugees: a Historic Reversal

1931

By Dennis Gallagher

THIRTY-THREE years ago, an abortive effort by Hungarians to loosen their ties to the Soviet Union led to the flight of more than 200,000 refugees to the West. On March 14, 1989, the Hungarian government became the first Warsaw Pact country to accede to the United Nations Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. This event — largely unreported — is historic.

When the 1956 Hungarian uprising was put down by Warsaw Pact forces, the message was crystal clear that the USSR would not tolerate independent political developments in Eastern Europe. Underestimating the Soviet intent, Washington had encouraged dissent within Hungary, repeatedly broadcasting on Radio Free Europe to the "liberationists" that "America will not fail you." But when actually confronted with Soviet military resolve to retain control over Hungary, the United States — and other Western governments — could do no more than agree to resettle those Hungarians who fled.

Besides the obvious political implications this event had for "East-West" relations, the massive exodus of Hungarians into neighboring countries had an enormous impact on the international refugee system. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, created in 1951, was floundering with almost no resources and a mandate that was about to expire. UNHCR was resuscitated when, over the opposition of the USSR, a General Assembly resolution was passed on Nov. 9, 1956, authorizing UNHCR to coordinate international assistance to Hungarians.

New diplomatic and organizational arrangements were formed to handle the Hungarian exodus. Austria, Italy, and Yugoslavia, countries on the periphery of the East bloc, became countries of first asylum from which arrangements were made by governmental and nongovernmental organizations to resettle refugees to other Western European countries, as well as to the US, Canada, and Australia. These arrangements prevail today in handling movements of people out of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

As with the Hungarian uprising in 1956, Hungary's signing of the refugee convention has important political implications for relations within the East bloc as well as between the East and West. The events also signal an important change in the evolution of the international refugee system.

Even more dramatic than its more open attitude toward travel is Hungary's receiving of refugees from Romania.

No country in Eastern Europe has adopted *glasnost* with more fervor than Hungary. Karoly Grosz replaced longtime leader Janos Kadar in mid-1988 and announced sweeping economic and political reforms soon thereafter. In Hungary, the word "liberalization" is now on everybody's lips.

Since World War II, Hungary has been considered by the West a refugee-producing country. With the trend toward liberalization, Western governments are reassessing the situation. Austria, for example, only approves 1 percent of Hungarian applications for asylum.

Foreign travel for Hungarians is now relatively easy. Early last year, exit visa requirements were abolished and new passports, valid for five years, were issued. On Nov. 7, 1988, the anniversary of the revolution of 1917, some 100,000 Hungarians exercised their freedom to travel abroad and went to Vienna, primarily to shop.

Even more dramatic than this more open attitude toward travel is Hungary's receiving of refugees — in particular, refugees from a neighboring socialist country, Romania. Further, Hungary has formally expressed its concerns about human rights abuses in Romania by calling on the UN's Center for Human Rights to investigate them.

To date, more than 80,000 Romanian citizens have been given refuge in Hungary. There is every prospect that more will come. While the largest number of those arriving are ethnic Hungarians, the welcome has extended to ethnic Romanians as well.

These current developments in Hungary, like those in 1956, are momentous. They signal that:

- Within the context of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, East-bloc countries can chart varied courses and even challenge each other in international forums.
- East-bloc governments can adopt policies that afford new freedom for people to exit their countries.
- Socialist countries — perhaps the USSR itself — may join the international refugee system.

Without doubt these developments present significant challenges to Western and Eastern governments, as well as to the international refugee regime. Unlike the developments in 1956, however, they are to be celebrated rather than condemned.

■ *Dennis Gallagher is executive director of the Refugee Policy Group, a nonprofit policy research institute based in Washington.*

WASH.POST:05-09-89

Hungary's Janos Kadar Retired From Party Posts

Kadar Loses Titles as Health Deteriorates

By Imre Karacs
Special to The Washington Post

BUDAPEST, May 8—Janos Kadar, the grand old man of Hungarian politics who once was hailed as the most liberal Communist leader in Eastern Europe, lost all of his official titles tonight when he was retired from the Central Committee and relieved of his post as Communist Party chairman for health reasons.

The decision by the Central Committee ended weeks of speculation about Kadar's fate.

Since his dismissal nearly a year ago at a special party conference, Kadar, who will be 77 later this month, has suffered a severe deterioration in his health.

Until recently, party leaders had seemed prepared to wait for their chairman to die in office. But they appeared to grow more alarmed at the worsening state of Kadar's mental condition.

The position of party chairman, essentially powerless, had been created for Kadar when he was replaced as general secretary by Karoly Grosz.

The post had entitled the former leader at least to attend Central Committee meetings and deliver speeches.

The elderly leader's often rambling, incoherent remarks, however, were becoming an embarrassment to other party members.

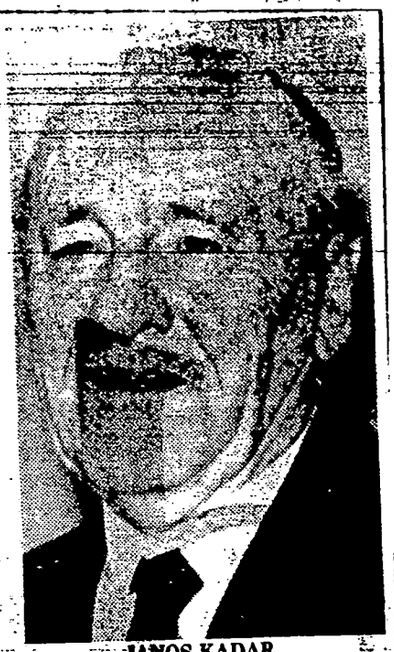
Mihaly Jasso, head of the Budapest party committee, reported over the weekend that doctors were trying to send Kadar for a rest—to the Crimea in the Soviet Union—but said Kadar did not want to go. Kadar is believed to be afraid of dying in Soviet exile, as his notorious predecessor Matyas Rakosi did in 1971.

Kadar, in the twilight of his life, appears haunted by other ghosts from the past. His role in the execution of several of his colleagues in the 1950s has become clear as official veils on contemporary history are being pulled back.

On Saturday, the government daily Magyar Hirlap published a document implicating Kadar in the execution in 1949 of the communist politician Laszlo Rajk, the most famous victim of the Stalinist show trials in Hungary.

Meantime, Grosz himself appeared to be coming under pressure from reformists to step down. Recent remarks by the general secretary about the need for a "state of emergency in the economy" have proved to be the last straw for many party members.

At the weekend, dissatisfaction with his performance burst into the open as delegates to two regional party conferences called for his dismissal. A party cell in the city of Gyor, in west Hungary, took the unprecedented step of withholding members' dues until a "leadership truly committed to reforms" emerged.



JANOS KADAR
... health reportedly failing

Today, despite resistance from Grosz, Central Committee members agreed to convene an extraordinary conference on new party statutes, election strategy and personnel issues.

The date of the conference—only the second of its kind since 1957—is to be fixed later this month. The conference is expected to provide the venue for a clash between Grosz and reformists led in the Politburo by Imre Pozsgay.

This group argues that Grosz is a liability in the multiparty elections that are to be held next year for the first time in over 40 years. The latest opinion polls appear to support that view.

Even with opposition parties in complete disarray, the polls show that the Communists would win only 36 percent of the vote if the elections took place tomorrow.

WASH.TIMES:05-10-89

KEN ADELMAN 250\1630

Awaiting Bush in Hungary

East Europeans remain unabashed fans of America, even if West Europeans don't. American allies may receive President George Bush blandly at the end of May, but our supposed adversaries will welcome him warmly in July when he visits Poland and Hungary.

There Mr. Bush will feel as much affection as Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev feels on his forays into Western Europe.

How topsy-turvy things European seem nowadays!

As the first U.S. president to visit postwar Hungary, Mr. Bush will experience things that startle the eyes and amaze the senses. The pace of change there is breathtaking, the tempo exhilarating.

Hungary is a remarkable little country brimming with talent. Most U.S. nuclear scientists on the Manhattan Project were born in Hungary, as were four-fifths of the hydrogen bomb inventors. Such raw talent is budding on its own soil.

Recently a Radio Free Europe reporter downing drinks with the boys spotted a policeman beating someone outside a Budapest bar. He dashed to the scene to record the happening.

Finding himself in the reporter's nightmare, with a hot tale yet no way to transmit it, he gutsily rushed to the state-owned station. Could he beam his story to RFE headquarters in Munich?

Though RFE had been deemed the devil incarnate, permission was granted. His story was sent to Munich and broadcast back the next morning into Hungary, where it created a sensation. The new breed of investigative reporters queried authorities, who mumbled lame excuses.

Though lacking an independent press, Hungarian journalists act independently. "It's so funny to see TV speaking the truth," an intellectual quipped. The government says it would allow privately owned and operated media. A Western news outfit should pony up $1 million for the worthwhile endeavor.

Other businesses have gone private. There's even an embryonic stock exchange. In a few years, half the Hungarian economy may be in private hands.

And in foreign hands. Wholly foreign-owned enterprises are allowed and outside capital flows in. Japanese own 40 percent of Hungarian securities, with the twin "tigers" of South Korea and Taiwan close behind.

Still, the Hungarian economy faces humongous foreign debt and a declining living standard. For the first time since 1952, per capita income fell last year. It took a toll; the country's suicide rate tops the world.

Everyone admits Marxism is dead. Hungary's prime minister said last month, "The model of a party state has hit a dead-end street and has proved to be incapable of making further headway."

Caught between the widening disintegration of the East European bloc and increasing integration of the West European community, Hungary looks West. Many there seek community membership.

First may come back-door association through Austria. Its border with Austria is the first part of the "iron curtain" to come down. Hungarians shear the barbed-wire fence, selling snippets as souvenirs.

Soviet forces are again on the march, but outward bound this time. **Moscow withdrew one division from Hungary, which remains bitter over the suppression of its 1956 revolt. Mr. Gorbachev assures Hungarian historians access to Soviet documents relating to that squalid event. We'll see if that happens.**

Meanwhile, Hungarians long for a total Soviet withdrawal, not being particularly martially inclined. After all, Hungary has lost seven out of its past seven wars. Its foreign policy begins to edge out of the mold. Hungary is the first communist country to recognize South Korea, and soon will recognize Israel.

Socially, the place is experiencing what Jonathan Edwards would call a "great awakening." A genuine civil society is being reborn. Religious, cultural and social groups like the Boy Scouts sprout up independent of state or communist control.

Politically, the picture is dicey. A recent Communist Party poll found that it would muster only 30 percent of the vote in a free election. More than 40 political organizations have begun organizing. The splendid National Endowment for Democracy, U.S.-government-sponsored, helps local training in political and labor tactics.

A key moment in Hungary's metamorphosis comes a month before Mr. Bush arrives. On June 16, the 33rd anniversary of his hanging and being ditched in an unmarked mass grave, the bones of Imre Nagy, prime minister during the 1956 uprising, will be reburied with honor. For three decades, the mere mention of Mr. Nagy's name was forbidden. This year, three biographies on him have already been published.

The real crunch comes later. If free elections are held, the communists will have to share power, which means further withering away of the Marxist state. In a historic first, they could lose the Interior or Defense Ministry, or lose power altogether.

That seems inconceivable now. But then again, what's happening in Hungary seemed utterly preposterous just last year.

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Hungary AT A GLANCE

History and Politics

Part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Hungary proclaimed itself an independent republic at the end of World War I in 1918. During World War II, it allied itself with Germany until its leader, Adm. Nicholas Horthy, a nationalist, tried to reverse course and was arrested by the Germans, who occupied the country. Soviet troops overran Hungary, and in 1948 a Communist regime consolidated control.

The uprising of 1956 and its brutal suppression with Soviet tanks shocked the world and were viewed as a historic turning point for the Soviet bloc. Hungary was led for three decades by its party chief, Janos Kadar, who was originally a supporter of the 1956 revolt. His regime tried and executed Imre Nagy and others involved in it. Before Mr. Kadar himself was ousted a year ago, having lost his taste for bold economic action and in failing health, he led Hungary to a level of economic well-being and personal freedom unmatched in the Soviet orbit.

The Economy

Until World War II, Hungary was mainly an agrarian society, but industries, construction and mining now dominate the economy. In 1982 the Kadar regime began introducing measures to decentralize the economy and encourage private enterprise. The changes initially led to a rapid improvement in the standard of living. More recently, stagnation set in.



The New York Times/May 15, 1989

The Land and People

Hungary covers nearly 36,000 square miles, little more than the state of Maine. Its population of just over 10 million includes small minorities of Germans, Slovaks and others, and the official language is Hungarian (Magyar). The Danube is the country's only significant freight-moving waterway.

pressed pleasure at receiving President Bush here in July, placed the institution of a multi-party system in the context of creating confidence among the Western lending institutions and private investors that Hungary must convince of its credit worthiness.

In the view of Hungarian critics and defenders of the regime, as well as diplomats from East and West, Hungary's economic plight, its declining standard of living and rising inflation, even more than Mr. Gorbachev's liberalizing innovations in the Soviet Union, are the principal motives for the transformation under way.

Mr. Grosz cited the country's need for $8 billion in Western capital over the next five years to modernize its obsolescent, stagnant economy, as well as its present debt of more than $15 billion to Western creditors. In Parliament on Wednesday, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth announced that Hungary needed to borrow $2.5 to $3 billion every year for debt service.

With this in mind, the party chief said: "We need to have the trust and confidence of the financial institutions as well as private investors."

To Strengthen the Money

To achieve this, he said, Hungary must strive to make its currency, the forint, at least partially convertible, so that foreign investors can repatriate profits. He continued:

"The other element of creating confidence is political reliability and stability, because nobody would invest in a place where they had to fear civil war breaking out the next day or have on their minds a fear that 'those communists' will change their minds and in five years nationalize it.

"To create safeguards, we try to shape the political system, the political superstructure in such a way that its operation would give guarantees for preventing events like that. One of the main ways of doing that is the establishment of a multi-party system. What do we seek by that? It is the following: we put our own party under social control by taking it out of the existing mechanism, which is a one-party system.

"We create a situation in society, a mechanism of checks and balances, so that every day we would be able to report on actions and results and check whether there is coincidence between intent and results."

Mr. Grosz made clear that he had no intention of presiding over a loosening of his party's hold over the country by allowing the proposed checks and balances to develop quickly into a method of transferring power.

'The Leading Role'

"I think a party is a damn fool if it doesn't try to play the leading role," he said. "Why does that party exist if it doesn't have that ambition? Secondly, tell me, to whom should we transfer power? Can you name a force that has the kind of constructive program not only for the management of the crisis resulting from our debts but also to draw up a new social system?

"If we are unable in a period of six to eight years to acquire through political efforts the confidence of society that we need to carry out our program, then we deserve to lose its faith."

The party chief said that although he was sincere in proposing to create a system that would eventually allow the party to be voted out, he foresaw no loss of power.

New Communists

Strategy Is Based On Realism

A senior aide to Mr. Grosz explained the party's strategy in a separate interview. He said the leadership believed that there was no choice but to preserve the Communist system. Alluding to the Soviet role in Hungary's fate, he said: "This part of Europe became part of the socialist world. We can change this, but not today. Perhaps not even tomorrow. This is a reality."

This reality, he continued, imposes the need for electing, even under a multi-party system, a party committed to socialism. Only the Communist Party has a clearly socialist program. If any of the new political groups came to power, there was a risk of radical change.

"In 10 or 15 years, after two or three normal elections under a multi-party system, there won't be any threat of changing the system as a whole," he said "But in May 1989, there is only one party, and this party could lose an election."

The official said the party did not want to preserve its power "by administrative means or military force." Instead, the aide said, it wants to negotiate with the opposition a formula similar to that worked out between the Polish Government and its opposition. In elections next month, the Polish Communist Party reserves for itself 38 percent of the seats in a newly created lower chamber of Parliament, while the vote for the upper house would be unrestricted.

The aide said the Grosz leadership did not favor creating a bicameral parliament but wanted to propose to the opposition a system that would guarantee the Communist Party, at least in the first multi-party elections, enough members to be able to prevent the formation of a non-Communist government.

"The first elections won't be real elections," he conceded. He said their goal must be "to preserve stability for the life of one parliament," or five years. The first "real elections," the aide said, might be held in 1994 or 1995 at the earliest.

'A Possible Putsch?'

The Grosz aide said that the party was certain of winning 40 to 45 percent in the voting that he expected to be held this year or next. The party leadership, he said, favored a system similar to that of West Germany's Parliament proportional representation, with part of the votes applied to individual candidates and the rest to a central pool for each party.

However, the opposition groups have rejected a round-table meeting at which they and the ruling party would work out a formula. Instead, they have proposed a "rectangular table," at which the opposition would jointly confront the Communists on the opposite side. They have also said they want to negotiate only with Communist representatives who are ready to accept far-reaching changes.

Meanwhile, the mood among those who have long struggled for a more liberal regime is exemplified by a round-robin question a magazine is putting to writers known for their critical views. It is: "Where will you be in case of a possible putsch?"

Gyorgy Konrad, the best-known of such writers, said, "Even if it is a bit of irony or mockery, it gives you something quite near to a shiver."

L.A.TIMES:05-18-89

Much Is Ending in Hungary but Not Communist Rule

By JEFFREY KAYE and MITCHELL KOSS

Almost every week in Hungary another symbol of the old-style East Bloc collapses. Within the past month the Soviets began to withdraw their troops, Hungarian soldiers started to dismantle the physical manifestation of the Iron Curtain—an electronic fence at the Austro-Hungarian border—and deposed party leader Janos Kadar, the man the Soviets installed to rule the country after the 1956 uprising, was stripped of all formal ties to the Communist leadership.

These changes come in a year in which Hungary has already made more than token moves toward democracy, steps that could theoretically allow the defeat of the Communist Party in free elections promised for 1990. But it would be a mistake to assume these moves will inevitably lead to an end to Communist rule.

To the contrary, a case could be made that the faster Hungary's movement toward democracy, the better the chance that the Communists will prevail.

Under its Communist government, Hungary is rapidly moving toward a peaceful realization of the same demands for which hundreds of its people died in the failed anti-Soviet uprising of 1956. In contrast to last year, when dissidents were still being arrested, the government has now legalized freedom of association and assembly. Organized opposition groups have been allowed to form and begin recruiting members for transformation into legal opposition parties. Going far beyond Poland's leaders in democratization, Hungary's government is rewriting its constitution, a move that it claims will guarantee development of a multiparty democracy.

In the three weeks we were on assignment in Hungary this March for PBS's "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," we saw the organizing conventions of three nascent opposition parties, the Social Democrats, the League of Free Democrats and the Democratic Forum. We also reported on the largest anti-government demonstration since 1956—an event the government not only facilitated by declaring the day a legal holiday, but also legitimized by devoting extensive coverage to it on state-run television.

Hungary's reforms were not forced by the opposition. Rather, the government implemented radical reforms because of an economic crisis: Hungary can no longer afford to maintain welfare state socialism. Having been forced by circumstances to act, Hungary's Communist Party moved quickly to seize the initiative, proclaiming itself a "party of reform" and trying to keep the public's attention on democratization instead of on the painful privatization of the economy.

Western banks, owed more than $18 billion, have obliged the Hungarian government to move toward a free-market economy. But adopting capitalist features has proven to be a mixed bag. Hungary has instituted stock ownership and licensed half a million entrepreneurs. At the same time, austerity measures such as cuts in subsidies have resulted in a 20% annual inflation rate and pushed one-fifth of Hungary's 10.6 million people below the poverty line. In addition, the country faces large-scale unemployment as state-run industries are put on the auction block.

Although Hungarians may be hurt in the pocketbook by such radical changes, they don't seem to be backing away from the Communist Party. Opinion polls indicate that the most popular political figure is also the man spearheading many of the reforms, Imre Pozsgay, a member of the Politiburo.

So far, the Hungarian public seems to have little interest in alternative politics. The 30,000 or so opposition activists are mainly intellectuals and students. One dissident leader, environmentalist Judit Vasarhelyi, complained that the opposition is being hurt by the nimble theft of its ideas and slogans by the Communists. She worries that the relatively unsophisticated opposition could be outmaneuvered by a party with long experience in steering public opinion.

Right now, opposition groups are offering little alternative to the party's program of radical reform. Rather than staking out clear ideological territories at this point, the various opposition organizations are propounding a vague potpourri of political thought. Gaspar Miklos Tamas, a leader of the League of Free Democrats, told us, half in jest, that his party follows the "two great traditions of liberalism, one of which is known in the United States as liberalism. The other of which is known in the United States as conservatism."

In order to outflank the party, some opposition groups may be forced to move further to the right. But such postures are likely to backfire and play into the Communist Party's hands. As a nation accustomed to full employment and social welfare faces unemployment and inflation, opposition parties that project Milton Friedman-like values are not going to be popular with voters.

The Communist Party has built up a degree of trust with the Hungarian people by delivering the highest standard of living in the East Bloc. Even though Hungary's consumerist proclivities are being eroded by the government's reforms, no credible alternative is emerging with a well-developed political platform. Unless it does, voters are likely to see the Communist Party as a reliable force of moderation.

Jeffrey Kaye, a senior producer at KCET-TV in Los Angeles, is a correspondent for PBS' "The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour." Mitchell Koss is a producer for KCET's national productions department.

In Hungary, the Political Changes Are Tempered by Economic Fears

N.Y.TIMES: 05-16-89

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

BUDAPEST, May 14 — In an atmosphere of increasing freedom of expression, Hungarians are looking forward to a possibility that after 44 years of Communist rule the party may permit free elections that could one day drive it from power.

But, deflating hopes held by many in the West and few in this nation of skeptics, Karoly Grosz, the Communist leader, said in an interview that it would be six to eight years before the party would run the risk of being ousted by the voters.

Hungary is heading toward multiparty politics under official promises to convert the Communist system, modeled on the Soviet Union's, into a more democratic society and freer economy.

This prospect excites those who value above all freedom of expression. It does not cheer the majority, which is more concerned with growing economic hardship.

The Communist Party, led by Mr. Grosz since last May, has dictated Hungary's fate since 1945, eliminated all other parties and built a centralized economy that is mired in such crisis that the party concedes that salvation must come from the West.

Aware of the need to make Hungary more acceptable to the West, the party has yielded to demands for recognition of the principles of political pluralism and civil liberties and the creation of a mixed economy with wide private ownership and a determining role for market forces.

Because of skepticism about Mr. Grosz's commitment to profound change, many Communists believe that internal challenges to his leadership are likely to remove him before Hungary holds its first free parliamentary election.

Mr. Grosz suffered a significant political setback when on Friday the Cabinet suspended work on the Hungarian section of a multibillion-dollar hydroelectric power project on the Danube north of Budapest and hinted at abandonment of the dam within two months. As late as May 1, the party chief reiterated his support for the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian enterprise, which has financial backing from Austria.

Advocates of change favor for the top jobs two Politburo members identified more convincingly than Mr. Grosz with the modernizing movement. They are Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers.

Four of the political parties that were dissolved by the Communists four decades ago have come back to life, and new political organizations that intend to constitute themselves as parties have been legally formed. Only one of the reborn or new groups claims more than 4,000 members.

Mechanisms are being prepared that are to lead this year or next to a law establishing the rights of parties, parliamentary elections and the framing of a more democratic constitution.

New Economics

Amid Decline, Brave Hopes

The main concern for the majority of Hungarians is the steadily declining standard of living, and to them the constantly echoing word "reform" means mainly the threat of an end to Government subsidies, with unemployment and higher prices.

The announced economic changes, which still await definition and enactment, foresee elimination of the state subsidies that make consumer prices artificially low and protect jobs by keeping alive unproductive enterprises.

The economic plight of the average Hungarian has not reached the poverty that has become common to many Poles and Yugoslavs. But the standard of living, long among the highest in the Communist world, has suffered steady attrition through the 1980's.

Consumption is declining, and the Government acknowledges that it will continue to do so until the projected changes bring about an upturn.

Stock Market in Embyro

The central statistics office reported that in the first quarter of this year food prices were up by 13.8 percent over the same period last year, clothing prices by 19.4 percent and services by 13.9 percent.

While little has been done to ease the pressure on most Hungarians, the Government this year introduced the eye-catching device of creating the first stock exchange in Communist Europe. Because foreign investment capital is not rushing into Hungary, it has done virtually no trading.

"It's embryonic," said George Soros, an American of Hungarian birth, who heads the Quantum Fund, a mutual fund. Mr. Soros is here to mark the fifth anniversary of the cultural and educational foundation that he finances.

Despite the far-reaching changes taking place, the public mood is unexcited, with little of the enthusiastic mass participation that marked the popular movements here and in Poland in 1956, the "Prague spring" of 1968 and the Polish Solidarity movement of 1980-81.

'Dissidents' Now Lionized

"There is fear and apathy," said Ferenc Koszeg, a leader of the Alliance of Free Democrats, a group that grew out of the dissident movement that spoke and printed critical views long before it became permissible. "They don't believe that the organizations can be effective. There is even a suspicion that they are movements of intellectual elites, not attached to the masses."

With exceptional civic courage, a small group of dissidents, as they were called until recently, had over the years asserted their civil liberties and preached them to the nation through illegal publications, often seized, and meetings in private homes, frequently raided by secret police. Now their views are being proclaimed not only in new, unofficial dailies and weeklies but also in the official press, which a few months ago denounced or ignored them.

Writers and philosophers who less than a year ago, under the same regime, experienced the force of police truncheons on their backs now find themselves in demand for talk shows and university symposiums, contributions to the press and the right to publish their books in translation.

New Politics

Defining 1956 Is the Touchstone

At the center of the intense reexamination of the past, fraught with present-day political significance as Communist leaders compete in an unacknowledged power struggle, is the uprising of 1956, its crushing by the Soviet Army with the help of Hungarian support and the execution of its leader, Imre Nagy.

Within the ruling party, whose leaders all owe their rise to the former General Secretary, Janos Kadar, installed by Moscow as it put down the revolt, "liberals" and "conservatives" can be identified by the view they have adopted on 1956.

The 55-year-old Mr. Pozsgay, in whom non-party liberals as well as reform-minded Communists place their best hope for leadership, has identified himself with the opinion that the rising was an authentic national movement.

Mr. Pozsgay has built a reputation for enthusiastic support of the innovations of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

A National Uprising?

Within the party, Mr. Pozsgay is a loner, not in close contact even with others committed to renewal. This includes Mr. Nyers, his 66-year old Politburo colleague, who was the architect of the economic changes of the late 1960's. They were halted and Mr. Nyers ousted when the "Prague spring" aroused Soviet opposition to all similar movements.

Mr. Grosz, 58 years old, who throughout his political life represented strict Communist orthodoxy, first adhered to the view that 1956 was a "counterrevolution." As the significance of the issue in the power contest rose, however, he moved to a centrist position. Mr. Grosz engineered a compromise in which the 1956 events were said to have begun as a "national uprising" and degenerated into "counterrevolution."

In what many Hungarians saw as a gratuitous act intended to use the 76-year-old Mr. Kadar to deflect blame from today's leaders, the party this month cast him into virtual disgrace. Pronouncing him physically and mentally ill, it completed his downfall, begun when Mr. Grosz replaced him a year ago. It expelled him from the honorary post of party president and membership on the central committee.

Mr. Kadar's consent to Hungarian participation in the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 is one of the charges now laid against the former leader in the columns of the press and on the air.

New Parliament

Election May Come In November

Many Hungarians look forward to the expected parliamentary elections, perhaps as early as November, as the first step toward dislodging the Communist Party from power. This is not a view shared by Mr. Grosz, his advisers or his associates, even some in whom liberals place faith to transform the autocratic party into a democratic body ready for power-sharing or even a change of rule.

In a 90-minute interview in his spacious office at party headquarters in Pest on the left bank of the Danube, overlooking the green hills of Buda across the river, Mr. Grosz defined his view of a multi-party system and made clear that he regards the replacement of Communist government by another party as a long-term prospect at best.

The General Secretary, who ex-

WASH.POST:05-23-89

Hungarian Asks Direct U.S. Aid To Industry

183/143

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

The spokesman for Hungary's fledgling independent trade union movement yesterday urged the Bush administration to bypass the government and provide direct aid to private industry as a way to speed political and economic reform in the communist-bloc nation.

Tibor Vidos, spokesman for the Democratic League of Trade Unions, said the current government has already squandered $18 billion and still has been unable to cope with the nation's economic problems. The $18 billion is the total amount of Hungary's current foreign debt, which it received in the form of government aid and loans from commercial banks and international lending agencies. Vidos said Hungary has no internal sources of capital to fuel an economic recovery.

President Bush is scheduled to visit Hungary in July, at a time when the nation's economy is in a state of crisis and the ruling Communist Party is in the midst of an internal struggle to reform itself. At the same time, nearly a dozen independent political parties are jockeying for support in next year's elections.

Vidos said the United States should promote the development of small and medium-size businesses with direct investments that bypass the communist government. He said Hungarian law allows companies with fewer than 500 workers to receive aid directly from foreign investors.

In the long run, Vidos said, the only real hope for the Hungarian economy is to get rid of the Communist Party. But he conceded that would take a long time.

He said he looked to the party reform movement—the Reform Circles—to help guide the country through its economic transition.

Vidos came to Washington last week to negotiate some direct aid of his own. He has been meeting with U.S. labor officials to discuss both financial aid and technical assistance to help the independent unions organize new members and administer their operations.

The Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers was formed just a year ago this month and Vidos said that he and other organizers of Hungary's first independent trade union have had little experience operating or expanding a union. He said independent trade unions in Hungary represent only about 10,000 workers in the scientific, teaching, and journalistic fields.

Although the new trade unions represent a low percentage of the Hungarian work force, Vidos said "our public acceptance is very good. We say things in a different way" than people are used to hearing.

Bulletin: We Won!

The Free World is reeling from too much success. Students in China carry around a replica of the Statue of Liberty and sound like Patrick Henry. The Polish regime sits down with Lech Walesa and recognizes Solidarity. The Baltics agitate for independence from Moscow, while Mikhail Gorbachev proposes unilateral arms cuts in Europe.

And in Washington, there's . . . dismay. All of these happy developments are beside the point, moans the nation's political community, because George Bush somehow isn't "doing something" to win "the public-relations" war. Bring back Mike Deaver!

The moans are heard from all political sides, left and right, though they may have been captured best by columnist David Broder, who this week compared Mr. Gorbachev to Gandhi and JFK. By contrast, he added, President Bush seems "rooted in the past," clinging to old "ideologies."

Perhaps Mr. Broder thinks one of those outmoded "ideologies" is the democratization that Mr. Gorbachev keeps endorsing. Or maybe he's referring to the free press and free speech that the Chinese demonstrators demand. The last time we checked, the man repudiating 70 years of his nation's history was Mr. Gorbachev, not George Bush. Perhaps it simply would be easier to say that Mr. Gorbachev is now following in the footsteps of Ronald Reagan.

Washington's problem is that it won't claim victory. While the late 1970s saw U.S. setbacks from Afghanistan to Angola to Central America, the late 1980s have brought reversals on nearly every front. Ronald Reagan rebuilt U.S. defenses, gave Stingers to the Afghans, heralded free markets, and unleashed Western science upon space-based defenses in a technological race the Soviets couldn't possibly win. Despite a setback or two when Congress resisted, containment plus the Reagan Doctrine worked. If the Cold War is over, the West has won.

Yet now the same people who fought Ronald Reagan want George Bush to embark on a new (if ambiguous) global strategy. Little wonder that he's cautious, favoring what he called in a speech on Sunday "a deliberate, step-by-step approach to East-West relations."

Mr. Bush's task is to consolidate and extend the Reagan victory, to make sure the Soviets understand that the costs of backsliding will be high. As the President put it in Texas two weeks ago, the U.S. task is now "to convince the Soviet Union that there can be no reward in pursuing expansionism; that reward lies in . . . the evolution of the Soviet Union toward an open society."

Nowhere is this clearer than in Europe, where the critics want Mr. Bush to "respond" to every new Soviet initiative. Mr. Bush is urged to negotiate away NATO's last nuclear weapons; instead he's keeping his eye on the Warsaw Pact's dominance in conventional forces. On Sunday, he cited the pact's nearly 12-to-1 advantage in short-range missile and rocket launchers, and more than 2-to-1 advantage in main battle tanks.

While much of Washington swoons at Mr. Gorbachev's nuclear gambits, in Geneva the Soviets recently proposed conventional-arms reductions that aren't very far from NATO proposals. Mr. Bush may want to explore these ideas before he removes the last nuclear weapons that protect U.S. troops from surprise attack.

Others—even conservatives—want Mr. Bush to propose some grand deal that would pull U.S. troops back from NATO in return for Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe. Of course, once the U.S. withdraws, it is probably gone for good. Mr. Gorbachev, or his successor, can return in a few months—at a cost in Western opinion, to be sure, but he can still return. Mr. Bush's task would be to ensure that Soviet withdrawals are permanent, which means that troops also are demobilized back in the U.S.S.R.

As for political imagery, the one thing Mr. Bush might profitably do more of is talk about the yearning for freedom sweeping through the Communist world. His remarks about China's demonstrations have seemed pinched for such a mammoth cry for freedom. He could do worse than repeat every week or so Ronald Reagan's clarion call for liberty at Moscow University last year.

It is Mr. Gorbachev who is moving our way and the Communist system that is failing rather than our own. If the Soviets tear down the Berlin Wall, why should the West feel compelled to respond? We didn't want it built in the first place. The Soviets have to move or stagnate; George Bush can stand pat, resist complacency, and welcome defecting communists to the West.

WASH. POST: 04-10-89

Hungarian Shoppers Beat a Path to West, Buying in Vienna

[73] 1838

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Foreign Service

VIENNA—A gray-haired Hungarian matron in a threadbare overcoat stood on the main shopping street of this Austrian capital with bags of bananas and high-quality coffee unavailable in her hometown of Gyor, 65 miles southeast of here. She was on her first trip to a city that once had served as her parents' capital, under the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Her daughter, 13, clutched a boxed radio-cassette player, with which she said she planned to listen to Michael Jackson tapes. At $140, it cost about $50 less than at home—on the rare occasions when one is available there.

The two were among 300,000 Hungarian shoppers who flocked to Vienna at the start of last week in what the Interior Ministry called the biggest mass crossing of Central Europe's most porous East-West border.

The Hungarians came to avoid an import tax increase that took effect Saturday, and to take advantage of last Tuesday's national holiday marking Hungary's liberation from the Nazis in 1945. The influx of cars and buses caused 40-mile traffic backups along the highway between Vienna and Hungary's capital, Budapest, 130 miles away.

The mass shopping trip illustrated a broad-based heightening of cooperation in the last two years between two countries that are particularly well suited to experiment in lowering the barriers between capitalist and communist states that have divided Europe since World War II.

Hungary has one of the most change-oriented leaderships in the Warsaw Pact, at the forefront of efforts to relax controls on the economy, travel and internal political debate. It hosts 65,000 Soviet troops, fewer than either of its more strategically located allies, East Germany and Czechoslovakia to the northwest.

Austria, although thoroughly capitalist and with a western-style parliamentary democracy, is officially neutral. Its foreign policy since it regained independence in 1955 has been clearly pro-western, while it has sought to use its position as the West's most forward outpost in Central Europe as a bridge to the East Bloc. Foreign Ministry officials said Vienna seeks now to strengthen ties with Hungary as a way of encouraging liberal policies favorable to western interests.

The two states are cooperating in building a hydroelectric power station at Nagymaros in Hungary to dam the Danube River, which links their capitals. Austria is underwriting the project, with debt-burdened Hungary to pay its portion with electricity. Construction is under way despite charges of harm to the ecology.

Vienna and Budapest have scheduled a joint international exhibition in 1995. Billed as the first East-West world's fair, it is titled "Bridges to the Future."

Budapest plans soon to tear down the last electronically monitored fences and watchtowers along the border, Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi told his Austrian counterpart, Alois Mock, in February.

Hungary long ago removed the mines along the border that caused occasional injuries in the 1960s. Its border guards normally do not shoot at people trying to slip across the frontier.

The two countries' relationship has deep roots. "We have 400 years of common history" in the empire, Pap Gabor, a Hungarian who is the technical representative in Budapest of the American corporation Polaroid, said here. His boss works in Vienna, and he visits often.

On April 1, Hungary's Cardinal Laszlo Paskai attended the funeral here of the Austro-Hungarian Empire's last surviving monarch, Empress Zita. She was deposed with Emperor Karl as the empire collapsed in November 1918 at the end of World War I. The remnants became Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and parts of Yugoslavia, Poland Romania and Italy.

In the 1800s, the Austro-Hungarian partnership in leading the empire was frequently troubled by Budapest's independent-mindedness and nationalism. "Our relations with Hungary are better now than they were under the empire," the Austrian Foreign Ministry official said with a chuckle.

On Mariahilfer Street in the heart of Vienna's retail district last Monday, Hungarian families lugged television sets, stereos and videocassette recorders. The two-day spree brought $160 million into Viennese merchants' coffers, the city's Chamber of Commerce said.

The numbers of Hungarian shopping trips have soared since Jan. 1, 1988, when the Budapest government granted all Hungarians the right to hold passports. It also increased the quantity of Hungarian currency that holders can exchange—at favorable rates—for such western currency as Austrian schillings. Austrians visiting Hungary provide the schillings.

"Ninety-nine percent of my business is with Hungarians," said Wolfgang Chroma, 30, co-owner of an electronic appliances store.

Some visitors load several washing machines, personal computers or other appliances onto trucks, and resell them in Hungary. But most come with families or other small groups for one big purchase, such as a television set, and for odds and ends such as hair spray.

Despite this week's publicity over what headlines called Vienna's "Hungarian boom," official figures show Austrians made about 10 times as many visits to Hungary in 1988 as did Hungarians to Austria.

Austrians made 7 million visits to Hungary last year, frequently for inexpensive hunting trips, spa cures and other vacations. They also go for bargain prices in the East Bloc for dairy products and meat, and dental work and other services. An Austrian woman said she pays $2.50 for a visit to the hairdresser in Budapest—and several times that much in Vienna.

Austria's easternmost province of Burgenland estimates that it loses $60 million in sales each year as a result of its residents' shopping in Hungary.

For Hungarians, the biggest obstacle to travel here has become their shortage of hard currency. Overall trade has decreased since 1985 because of the shortfall.

Asked why the products they purchased in Austria were scarce or more expensive at home, the woman from Gyor smiled brightly and answered, "because of [Hungarian Communist leader] Karoly Grosz." She did not respond when asked to explain further and would not give her name.

CHRIS.SCI.MON.:04-11-89

Hungary: It's 'America' to Refugees

1895

By Anne Underwood
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BUDAPEST

IF she has any regrets about leaving Romania, Maria Boczoni doesn't show them.

A year after claiming refugee status in Hungary, she and her husband have found jobs and a two-room apartment. Half their rent is paid by her husband's factory. Her son is able to go to college – something he was unable to do in Romania because of quotas for the 1.7 to 2 million ethnic Hungarians in that country.

"This is our America," says Mrs. Boczoni.

It's been more than a year since Hungary began accepting refugees from Romania – astonishing the world by the image of people fleeing one Warsaw Pact country to another. The refugees keep coming – by the thousands, fleeing what they say is constant persecution. Within the Soviet bloc, where "fraternal" conflicts never used to surface, the exodus is a hot issue.

"The two countries would be close to war if they weren't restrained by the Soviet Union," says a Western diplomat in Budapest.

As Hungary prepares to dismantle its fences along the border with neutral Austria, the Romanian government is strengthening its barricades against its socialist neighbor. Recent arrivals say Romanian border guards shoot on sight and have installed a tripwire on the border.

"The Iron Curtain is coming down between Hungary and the West," notes Istvan, a volunteer working with the refugees. "It is going up instead between Hungary and Romania."

For most of the 26,000 refugees, life in Hungary is an improvement. The grocery stores are stocked with real meat and vegetables instead of the pictures or plastic models of food that are often found on shelves in Romania. There is electricity all day long and heating during the winter.

The vast majority do not have to contend with the culture shock that faces most of the world's refugees. Eighty-five percent are of Hungarian ethnic origin and already speak the language when they arrive. They know the customs and traditions, and many of them have relatives in Hungary who will lend a helping hand.

But there are problems. "Family reunification is our biggest headache," says Maria Vince of the Hungarian Red Cross.

The Romanian government will not give passports to both a husband and wife, so one of the pair makes the journey to Budapest legally and waits for the other to sneak across the border later. Even if the couple meet up in Hungary, they know there are large numbers of friends and family – sometimes their own children – that they may never see again.

Communications back home are not easy. Letters arrive opened, if they arrive at all. It can take five or six hours to get a telephone line to Romania, and then sometimes the operator misconnects the call.

"Even if you get through," says Mrs. Boczoni, "you are not free to talk because you know informers in Romania are listening to the conversation and recording everything."

Although the refugees can easily obtain residence permits, they cannot become Hungarian citizens because of a bilateral agreement between Hungary and Romania forbidding dual citizenship. Gabor Bagi, head of the Foreign Ministry department that deals with Romania, says Hungary is weighing the consequences of withdrawing from the agreement.

"WE have raised the citizenship issue with Romania, but they refuse to talk," he says. "They continue to hold us responsible for the refugee flow instead of asking themselves why people are fleeing the country."

Failing bilateral solutions, Hungary is acting on its own. In mid-March it became the first Warsaw Pact country to join the 1951 Geneva Convention on refugees. The Hungarian government hopes that as a result, it will soon start receiving aid from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. It also hopes the UN will put pressure on Romania to let citizens join their relatives abroad.

If the refugees of Hungarian origin find life difficult at times, the situation is bleaker for those of Romanian ethnic background. For them, arrival in Hungary is not a homecoming. Most say they want to move on to a third country. Some hitchhike to the Austrian border dozens of times in the hope that the car they are riding in will not be checked.

"We want to go to the West, maybe to Germany," says Adrianna, pointing to her husband and daughter, Melinda. They have lived for the past eight months in a concrete high-rise that was leased by a church group to house as many as 280 refugees. Adrianna's family shares the communal kitchen with a dozen other families. In their one-room apartment, the only decorations are some shriveled balloons and a sheet of gift wrap taped to the wall.

Still, most refugees have few regrets.

"In Romania, they used to refer to the Hungarians as *bezgor*, 'the homeless people,' " says Istvan. "Here no one says we are homeless."

CHRIS.SCI.MON.:04-12-89

INTERVIEW

Hungarian Premier: Reform Is Risky, Painful . . . and Vital

183

By Ned Temko
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BUDAPEST

WHEN Miklos Nemeth was eight years old, his native Hungary tried to opt out of Soviet-style communism. The Soviets answered with tanks. The prime minister, Imre Nagy, was executed.

Now, Mr. Nemeth has become prime minister. "Historical socialism is not practical, not useful for society," he said in a Monitor interview. Hungary needs free elections, a multiparty system, a free-market economy. "We need more pragmatism and less ideology."

And this time, he is convinced, Moscow will answer not with tanks, but with thanks. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, says Nemeth, has told him so.

These are heady days in Hungary, even by the standards of *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness). The communist-run parliament has endorsed the idea of multiparty elections: A new constitution, enshrining this and other reforms, is being drawn up. The party has named a committee to take a new look at Hungarian history: One member has already reclassified the 1956 "counter-revolution" as a popular uprising, and Nagy's remains will be reburied with honor on June 16, the anniversary of his execution.

Many Hungarians seem to welcome this swirl of political change. One woman says she has long wanted to become a teacher, but can't bring herself to endure the ponderous history courses needed for the degree. Under the present system, she explains, "they don't dare ask any question more recent than 1956. It's because they're scared of the answers they might get." Now, she hopes, that will change.

Kalman Kulcsar is a longtime lawyer and academic who, as Hungarian justice minister, is writing the new constitution. Hungary, he explains, has throughout history been influenced both from the East and West. The Western influence, he says with apparent satisfaction, now seems poised to reassert itself.

THE new law, to be submitted to a popular referendum early next year, will drop the traditional East-bloc provision for a "leading role" for the Communist Party, he says. It will provide for a judicial court – and for a system of checks and balances among the various branches of government.

For reformers like Mr. Kulcsar and Nemeth, one catalyst for change is simple pragmatism. The old system has won gradual, grudging acceptance since 1956, but not the grass-roots enthusiasm needed to ensure prosperity and stability. Although economic *perestroika* (restructuring) began here in the late 1960s, it has had uneven effects. "Without political reform," says Nemeth, "economic reform was a little bit one-sided."

Mr. Gorbachev, too, has excellent reason to wish Hungary well. Nemeth has displayed a frank readiness to confront issues of *perestroika* that most Soviet reformers have dared not address. Of course, Nemeth says, there is the risk of free-market problems, like inflation and unemployment, in any serious move to let the market sort out decades of state-decreed inefficiency. "We have to live with this . . . side-effect," he says.

The solution, he suggests, is Western-style social democracy. Will it work here? No one, presumably, will want to know more urgently than Gorbachev. And few people can be more keenly interested in Gorbachev's political longevity than the Hungarians.

Nemeth plays down the link between the pace of Soviet *perestroika* and the prospects for reform in Hungary. Regardless of what happens in Moscow, he said, there was simply "no other possibility than to go fast and to take this [reform] route."

But another senior official, in an informal chat, is more circumspect. He, like Nemeth, suggests that reforms in both the Soviet Union and Hungary have progressed too far to be completely reversible. But, he adds, smiling, "I wake up every morning wishing that all goes well for Mr. Gorbachev."

N.Y.TIMES:04-13-89

Hungary Ousts 4 Conservatives in a Party Shuffle

183p

By JOHN TAGLIABUE
Special to The New York Times

WARSAW, April 12 — The Hungarian Communist Party shuffled its senior leadership today, dismissing the party's chief ideologist and three other conservatives on the Politburo and promoting two advocates of change.

The moves, approved after a day of debate within the Central Committee of the Communist Party, come at a time of stepped-up social and political change. They left the core of leaders representing the most liberal tendencies, including Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, in place. The ousted conservatives on the Politburo included the chief ideologist, Janos Berecz, and Janos Lukacs, the party's senior administrator.

A Visit to Moscow

The moves were significant, coming only days after a visit to Moscow by the party's General Secretary, Karoly Grosz, who rose to power at a special party congress last May, and the announcement of broad liberalizing changes in Poland. Warsaw and Budapest are among the Eastern-bloc capitals most agreeable to political and economic changes like those that have been undertaken throughout the Soviet Union.

The decisions, reached after a special full session of the Central Committee, elevated two new members into the Politburo, the party's highest ruling body, but reduced the overall size from 11 members to 9. The new members were Mihaly Jasso, the 53-year-old leader of the local Budapest party organization, and Pal Vastagh, the 43-year-old leader in Csongrad, in eastern Hungary.

Advocates of Change

Both men, but notably Mr. Vastagh, a university lecturer who recently reorganized the Csongrad party structure, are numbered among advocates of change.

A Western diplomat said by telephone from Budapest that the moves were seen as necessary to restore the solidity of a party that has been shaken as it struggles to lead Hungary out of serious economic stagnation and maintain the initiative as alternative political groups increase.

A Conciliatory Path

Hungarians reached in Budapest said that Laszlo Major, the party spokesman, asked by an interviewer on state television whether the decisions reflected serious breakdown of party unity, replied, "No, no, that is not the case."

In excerpts from a report to the committee by Mr. Grosz that were published in the final statement of the committee meeting and reported by the Hungarian press agency, the party leader sought a conciliatory path. He asserted that while "political, ideological and organizational" problems had arisen in party ranks, "renewal and development processes had also appeared."

In the last 18 months, party membership has dropped by 100,000, to 780,000 members. The decisions came amid increased calls for party unity and action against factions within the party opposing change.

Review of Activities

In February, the party ordered a full review of its activities and personnel after serious public disagreement among its top leaders. The spark for the differences was afforded by a debate over how to define the 1956 events in Hungary, in which Soviet forces crushed the Hungarian uprising. Beneath the surface, however, what split the leadership was differences over the pace and scope of change.

A Compromise View

At a Central Committee meeting later that month, the party endorsed a compromise view of the 1956 events, ruling that what began as a legitimate uprising had degenerated into a revolt against the Communist system. But the party leadership appeared to accept the consensus at that meeting that Hungary's economic crisis and political uncertainties made an open leadership split unacceptable.

Also dismissed from the Politburo were the Health Minister, Judit Csehak, and Istvan Szabo, often identified as a representative of the conservative farm lobby.

WALL ST.J.:04-20-89

The Hungarians Take Themselves Public

Stock Exchange Finds Few Buyers After Budapest Bond Crash

By Barry Newman 1839
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

BUDAPEST—With the Cold War winding down, this might be the right time to buy into an underperforming communist tank stock.

New tank orders have declined sharply from a year ago, market analysts here say, turning at least one unnamed low-multiple maker of Hungarian tank-chassis into a prime takeover target for a shrewd portfolio investor with staying power over the medium term.

"This company didn't realize that the army wouldn't need more tanks," says Zsigmond Jarai, the pin-striped, 37-year-old chairman of the Budapest Stock Exchange. "Now it's looking for some new investors. They can buy very cheap."

Mr. Jarai tips the tank unit as a hot prospect for repositioning into shipping containers. A buyout feeler, he confides, may soon fax in from an unspecified player in the U.S. "They can reorganize the company, change the management for Americans," he says.

The challenge: "We have to get them to understand the Hungarian investment system."

Entitled to Sell

That seems easy enough. Since Jan. 1, any company in Hungary has been entitled by law to sell any number of shares to anybody. Marxism's other big market maker, China, has eased off on stocks and bonds since a recent drop in the ideological indicators. But Hungary advises a blanket "buy." And investors here can span the spectrum now from socialist worker to capitalist raider.

Still, a communist stock market does have its inconsistencies. Even the most flexible of the East Bloc's reform-driven nations may take five or 10 years to iron them out. Hungarians are hard put to explain, for instance, how it is that a company owned by the people can go public. Among companies that do, an unnervingly large proportion are close to going bankrupt. Or so it's said, since an outside investor has no way of finding out.

Maybe this is why Peter G. Peterson looks puzzled. Mr. Peterson, former chairman of Lehman Bros., is an investment banker who heads the Blackstone Group, specializing in mergers and acquisitions. Now he sits against the blank wall of a windowless room, in a row of touring Americans with similarly puzzled looks. They have come here, to the stock exchange, to watch some stock get exchanged. Mr. Jarai stands to one side, explaining.

A woman at a microphone first recites a list of bonds. At narrow black tables, 25 dealers from the state's banks sit mute. Each time the woman reads a name, she waits for bids. The dealers sit.

"Any demand?" asks the woman. "Does anybody want to buy? Any trade? Who's buying?"

Mr. Jarai bends toward the Americans and whispers, "Everybody wants to sell. Nobody wants to buy."

"You mean . . . you mean these are offers for sale and . . . and no buyers?" says Richard Furlaud. Mr. Furlaud, who is chief executive officer of Squibb Corp., seems to find this hard to imagine.

"Any offers? Any bids?" the woman says. A dealer raises a finger; it's a trade at last. Everybody smiles. A flashbulb pops. Mr. Peterson still looks puzzled.

"Do you have a debt-rating system here?" he asks Mr. Jarai.

"No, not yet."

"Then how do investors take into account risk?"

"They can't," Mr. Jarai says. "This is a problem. I think in a few years we will have a rating system."

Mr. Peterson smiles politely.

Salvation in Equities

Pressed for time, he and the other Americans leave before the action moves from bonds to stocks. They don't miss much. Not a share trades. "It seems the supply side is going a little ahead of the demand side," says Mr. Jarai. But these are early days, and few in this country doubt that socialism's salvation lies in equities.

A stock market, the Hungarians have realized, is an ingenious device for moving money around. It can supplant central planners in much the same way the steam engine supplanted mules. An ideologue may fear the rise of a class that gets rich cutting coupons, but Hungary's managers have other worries. They are losing subsidies. They need cash.

"Of course, some people are against all this," Mr. Jarai says. "They are the ones who lost money when the bond market crashed."

For those who missed it, the Hungarian bond-market crash took place in October of 1987, when something else caused a distraction in New York. To recap: In 1984, the bond market opened; yields were 11%, inflation 7%. A few hundred thousand people bought. Three years later, with yields still at 11%, the government issued an inflation forecast of 15%. A few hundred thousand people sold.

Prices therefore dropped. Rudely surprised by this, the crowds have since thinned in the lavish bond-buyers' hall of Budapest Bank. Marble columns, brass chandeliers and reassuring beeps from computer terminals haven't done much for customer relations.

On a weekday morning, one sad man studies the gold-lettered list of bond prices on a board at the hall's grand entrance.

"We are donkeys!" he says without being asked a question. "All bonds cheat the people. The companies don't lose. For them, inflation comes in handy. It means they pay back less! They profit, and we are kaput."

Regaining Investor Confidence

The stock exchange hopes to do better in the investor-confidence department. Hungarians, always ready for calamity, still carry a few billion dollars worth of pocket money. Inducing them to invest it requires a law, due this year, that will introduce such comforting novelties as audits and annual reports. The law could also lead some companies to issue shares, even when they aren't about to collapse.

Just in case, investment bankers, rating agencies, accountants and brokers are all setting up shop. The first brokerage house off the mark, a firm called Co-Nexus, has opened a swanky office with gray couches, gray carpets and red telephones.

"I'm a conservative capitalist and proud of it," says Bela Jansco. A 68-year-old with white-blond hair and gold-rimmed glasses, he owned a seat on the old Budapest Stock Exchange. His commissions dried up in 1948.

"We had 90 years of history," he says. "It's different now. We must persuade clients. We must explain everything. So far, nobody is interested." But then he flushes with enthusiasm and adds: "The fact that shares are on sale is a great advance for our ideology."

On the assumption that Mr. Jansco and his future competitors do eventually inspire a trade or two, the stock exchange is rushing to get ready. Advisers are piling in from London, Milan, and the World Bank. Soon, a tender will go out for the computer hardware. And the search is on in Budapest for a trading floor.

Unfortunately, the old stock exchange building isn't available; it was seized by Hungarian television. But Mr. Jarai has his eye on another place. It's a big, empty room at Karl Marx University.

WASH. POST: 04-22-89

Hungarian Panel Backs Radical Economic Changes

Privatization of State-Owned Companies Proposed

By Imre Karacs
Special to The Washington Post

BUDAPEST—A high-level Hungarian government committee has drafted a far-reaching three-year program that would abandon step-by-step economic reforms in favor of radical measures such as factory closings, privatization of state-owned companies, budget cuts and the stimulation of private enterprise.

The draft program also calls for switching trade with the Soviet Union to a dollar basis within two to five years, and negotiating for associate membership in the European Community.

The 115-page document was prepared by the government's Economic Reform Committee, set up last year under Rezso Nyers, a senior Cabinet minister and a member of the Communist Party's Politburo who was the father of Hungary's 1968 economic reforms.

The document is remarkable for its pessimism about the prospects for change within the Soviet Bloc: "It would be an illusion to expect rapid positive change, since even in the Soviet Union the transformation of the internal economic mechanism is expected to be rather a slow and contradictory process, and several Comecon countries do not support any changes." Comecon is the Eastern Bloc's trading organization.

The document notes that Moscow has given Hungary carte blanche to implement internal changes, "provided the reforms do not fundamentally alter our alliance commitments." But the rest of Eastern Europe, the committee's report warns, is likely to become a disaster zone where "the emergence of new focal points of crisis or the deepening of old crises cannot be excluded."

The solution for Hungary, the authors argue, is to make drastic cuts in its trading ties with the East, while maintaining its membership in Comecon, and to reintegrate into the world market.

The program offers two alternatives for switching trade with the country's largest export market, the Soviet Union, to a dollar basis. According to the first version, dollar trade with Soviet companies should be introduced in 1991, virtually overnight. The second alternative sees a gradual, five-year transition to dollar trade.

Although Hungary currently has an annual trade surplus of 150 million rubles (about $240 million at official exchange rates) with Moscow, thanks to the unrealistic pricing mechanism that operates within Comecon, economists here estimate that it could lose up to $1.5 billion annually with the introduction of hard-currency trade, because the Soviets would then insist on world market quality to match the prices. The government's economists hope the Soviet Union would be prepared to pay compensation.

"I have talked to three prominent Soviet economists—[Oleg] Bogomolov, [Leonid] Abalkin and [Abel] Aganbegyan," Akos Balassa, a member of the Hungarian government reform committee, said in an interview, "and they have all described the idea [of hard-currency trade] as conceivable." The idea also was discussed by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth during his recent trip to Moscow, and the Soviets were said to be impressed by the potential of gaining a great deal of hard currency at the outset.

But for Hungary, Balassa explained, the initial flow of dollars to Moscow would be offset by the long-term prospect that "Hungary could become a bridge" for trade "between the West and the Soviet Union," attracting Western firms that seek to tap the potential Soviet market.

The draft program foresees that by the end of 1992 the infrastructure of the domestic market would be in place, with stock exchanges to help the flow of capital into the country. State-owned enterprises would be split up, turned into joint-stock companies or sold to private individuals and foreign capitalists.

By that time the first steps would have been taken to make the domestic currency, the forint, convertible, and Hungary would be seeking association with the European Community. The government plan envisions a form of associate membership, with Hungary undertaking to "adapt to the internal rules and norms of the Common Market" while the EC would allow Hungarian goods free entry.

The government intends to unveil the program next month, and until then changes could still be made. But government sources are confident the Communist Party, whose final seal of approval is required before the plan can be submitted to parliament, will raise no objections.

Opposition to the program is more likely to come from abroad—from Hungary's Communist allies and from Western creditors, concerned over the need for additional credits on top of a current foreign debt of about $13.5 billion. While the document mentions no figure, Balassa said Hungary would need a modernization loan of between $1 billion and $1.5 billion to implement the huge structural changes the program would entail.

N.Y. Review of Books 6/15/89

Revolution: The Springtime of Two Nations

by Timothy Garton Ash

In Poland and Hungary this has been a magic spring. As I travel through those countries, attending an opposition fete in Budapest, a triumphal mass in Gdańsk, a Solidarity election meeting in a Silesian coal mine, I have to pinch myself to make sure I'm not dreaming. Walking around Budapest's equivalent of Oxford Circus I pass a stall openly selling *samizdat* publications. Casting an eye over the titles I suddenly notice my own name, on what turns out to be a slim volume of essays hastily translated from *The New York Review*. Next day I am signing copies for people attending the opposition fete. "Incredible" and "surreal" are the words that punctuate every conversation about politics, though not about economics, for which the leitmotifs are, rather, "disastrous" and "hopeless."

Last year, I posed the question of political change in these two countries as one of the historic choice "reform or revolution?"[1] But what is happening just now is a singular mixture of both reform and revolution: a "revorm," if you will, or perhaps a "refolution." There is, in both places, a strong and essential element of voluntary, deliberate reform led by an enlightened minority (but only a minority) in the still ruling Communist parties, and, in the Polish case, at the top of the military and the police. Their advance consists of an unprecedented retreat: undertaking to share power, and even—*mirabile dictu*—talk of giving it up altogether if they lose an election.[2]

Yet one is bound to ask how far the retreat is voluntary, how far involuntary, and whether it might not become a rout. For if one talks to the intelligentsia in both countries, then the comparison that comes to mind is less with 1968 than with 1848, less with the Prague Spring than with the Springtime of Nations. The greatest opposition demonstrations in Budapest have been held on the 1848 anniversary: March 15. Among other rites, symbolic tribute is traditionally paid before the statue of József Bem, who commanded the Hungarian insurrectionary army in 1848. József Bem was a Pole.

Polish-Hungarian cooperation has not got quite that far again, although a Polish opposition leader may be invited to speak at the reburial of Imre Nagy, leader of the 1956 revolution, on June 16: the next great symbolic event in Budapest, and one that the authorities fear will be highly charged. But certainly the Poles and the Hungarians, governments as well as oppositions, are now looking to each other for examples, precedents, and even direct support. For they are still alone in Eastern Europe. So far, this is the springtime of just two nations. What they are doing would be quite impossible without Gorbachev's tolerance, his example, and the processes he has, wittingly or unwittingly, set in motion. Unlike in 1848, they can also count on benign (if ineffectual) support rather than resistance from the major powers to their west. But around them are still the frightened, hidebound, or openly repressive regimes of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and indescribable Romania: the "gang of four," as one American specialist has nicely put it.[3]

In the race for freedom of speech and freedom of enterprise, the Hungarians are currently in the lead, although Poland is coming up fast. In the political stakes, Hungary leads in words but Poland in deeds.

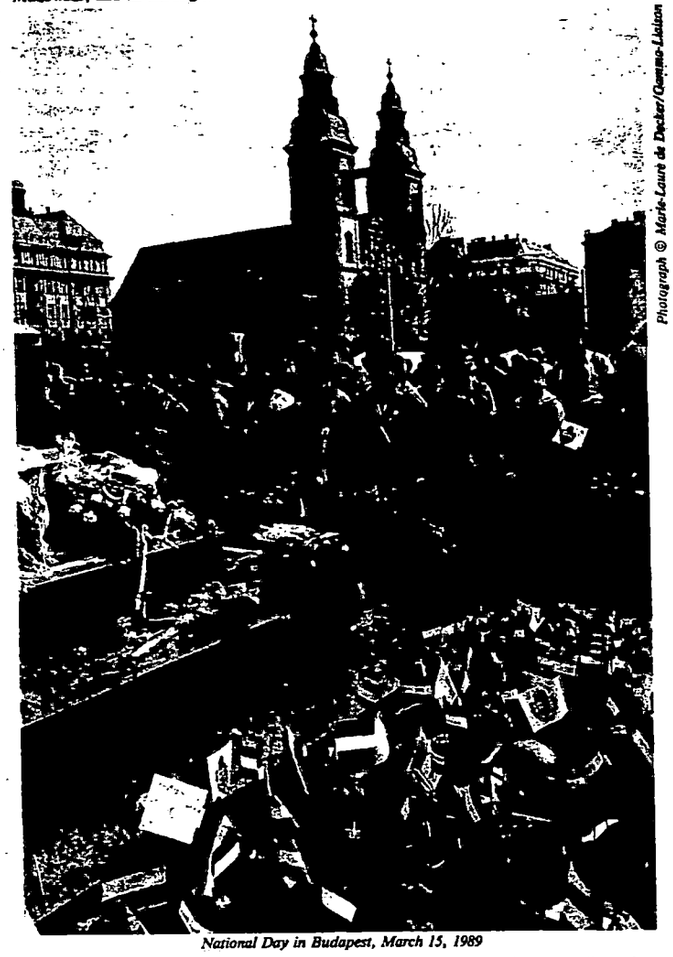
In early May, Poland got its first independent, opposition daily paper, the *Gazeta Wyborcza*.[4] Its editor in chief is the historian Adam Michnik, one of the sharpest of Solidarity intellectuals, and the paper is organized by Helena Luczywo, for the last seven years editor of Poland's leading underground weekly, *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, and an unsung heroine of the Polish opposition. But this and the revived Solidarity weekly, *Tygodnik Solidarność*, are both subject to formal censorship. Further liberalization of censorship is promised, but *samizdat* publishers and editors still agonize over whether or not to "surface from underground" and legalize their publications.

In Hungary, by contrast, there is no formal censorship, and the once effective conventions of informal (self-)censorship have simply broken down.[5] Independent publishers and periodicals bloom like crocuses. There is almost riotous competition to publish everything and anything—Imre Nagy, Orwell, Solzhenitsyn, the more outrageous the better. And while the Polish official press is now interesting, the Hungarian official press and, what is more, journalists on official radio and television are in the vanguard of emancipation.

In liberating private enterprise, and attracting Western capital, Hungary is also ahead, although the Rakowski government in Poland is in some ways even more shameless. Its message, symbolized by the industry minister, Mieczyslaw Wilczek, himself at once a millionaire private entrepreneur and Party member, is: "*enrichissez vouz!*" But the message is directed as much—or more—to members of the existing ruling class, the *nomenklatura*, and to Western (especially German and Austrian) investors[6] as it is to the man in the street, who does not have their options or connections. In both Poland and Hungary, the process whereby members of the *nomenklatura* advance into private enterprise, using the power and connections that go with their official positions, proceeds apace.

There have been many suggestions as to how communism might be turned back into capitalism. But this is the simplest of all: communist bosses become capitalist bosses! The simplest, although hardly the most attractive. The Solidarity-opposition election program—formally, the Election Program of the Citizens' Committee "Solidarity") specifically warns against the danger of the "*uwłaszczenie nomenklatury*," that is, of the *nomenklatura* becoming owners. But others, in both Hungary and Poland, argue that this process also has advantages: compensating some members of the *nomenklatura* for their loss of political power, and dividing it between those who stand to lose and those who stand to gain. One might call this the "*nomenklatura* buy-out" theory.

In politics, Poland takes the lead, with the hectic and sometimes hilarious drama of its first halfway genuine election in fifty years. This is, of course, only a half-free election, the product of a remarkable but risky deal made during two months of negotiations, from early February to early April, at the so-called Round Table meetings—actually many tables, and each with just two sides, authorities and Solidarity-opposition.[7] The Round Table deal is a compromise, but an open-ended compromise. The Solidarity-opposition side secured the restoration of both the workers' and the farmers' Solidarity as fully independent organizations, and the promise of legalization for an independent students' union. It also secured completely free elections to a newly created upper house of parliament, the Senate, and free competition for 35 percent of



Photograph © Marie-Laure de Decker/Cosmos-Liaison

National Day in Budapest, March 15, 1989

[1] See *The New York Review*, October 27, 1988.

[2] Both the Hungarian Party leader, Károly Grósz, and the leading Party reformist, Imre Pozsgay, have reportedly made statements to this effect, though without a deadline!

[3] See Charles Gati, "Eastern Europe on Its Own," in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 1, 1988/1989.

[4] The title has been translated in the Western press as "Election Gazette," which sounds a bit archaic. Actually *Gazeta* just means newspaper, so a closer translation might be "The Election Paper." After the election it is to be called simply *Gazeta* or just possibly *Gazeta Niezależna*, that is "The Paper," or perhaps, as we have it in England, "The Independent."

[5] On the once effective conventions see my "The Hungarian Lesson" in *The New York Review*, December 5, 1985. One of the most surreal conversations I had in Budapest was with Mr. György Aczél, for thirty years the Kádár of Hungarian cultural life. I asked him if he did not think, on looking back, that censorship might have been relaxed sooner. There was no censorship, he said. The decision was up to individual publishers and editors. But surely he would not deny that he himself had exercised political control? Oh no, not control. He had merely, he said, had "a sort of influence."

[6] For the invitation to the West see, for example, Wilczek's interview in *Der Spiegel*, No. 3, 1989, under the title "Labour in Poland is Exceptionally Cheap."

[7] The statement about two sides must be qualified in at least two respects. First, toward the end of the proceedings it was not at all clear whether the official trade unions (OPZZ) were working with the party of dialogue around Generals Jaruzelski and Kiszczak, or against them. Secondly, at the economic table the divisions ran almost as much within the two delegations as between them, with, crudely speaking, social democrats on both sides and neoliberals on both sides. Someone should write a short history of this extraordinary negotiation. Stenographic protocols of the main discussions exist, although, as usual, some crucial decisions were taken elsewhere, notably at smaller meetings between Lech Walesa, General Kiszczak, and their top advisers.

There is a new genre of opposition anecdote in Warsaw these days, the "corridor stories." They tell of fantastic encounters between oppositionists and their former persecutors, in the corridors of the council of ministers, during the two months of the Round Table. One (true) example: Dawid Warszawski, pseudonymous editor of a leading underground journal, KOS, conducted a video interview with the interior minister, General Kiszczak, head of the police apparatus responsible for seven years' struggle with the underground. The general politely observed that he had much enjoyed reading Mr. Warszawski's articles over the years. Mr. Warszawski, now using his real name, Konstanty Gebert, responded by asking the general to give an interview to KOS—an offense for which the general should then, presumably, punish himself. The general hesitates for a moment. "Do you offer a large coffee?" he says.

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the seats in the existing lower house, the Sejm.

The authorities secured a guaranteed majority in the Sejm, although the Polish United Workers' party as such has only 38 percent of seats guaranteed, with the rest going to its (until now) compliant "coalition" parties and collaborationist Catholic organizations. They also got Solidarity's agreement to an early election (first round, June 4; second round, June 18), thus giving the opposition virtually no time to organize a campaign from less than scratch. In addition, the constitution now includes a powerful new office of president, which in the first instance can be expected to go to General Jaruzelski.

Around this basic political deal there is wound a large fabric of more detailed agreements—or agreements to disagree—on everything from the economy to censorship and from the judiciary to coal mining. At the Round Table, the opposition had to settle for rather less than half a loaf on most of these issues—but Lech Walesa's key political adviser, Bronislaw Geremek, argues that "a dynamic process has been set in motion," and everything is up for transformation in that process. The authorities have agreed, in black and white, that this is "the beginning of the road to parliamentary democracy." (No qualifying adjectives, although according to a fly on the wall, the government side at one point tried to introduce a parenthesis after this sentence with words to the effect that "the government-coalition side regard parliamentary democracy as socialist democracy." The Solidarity-opposition side then proposed a further sentence to the effect that this was "the beginning of the building of a sovereign, independent Poland." Just the beginning! Each then abandoned its provocative formulation. So much for the word "socialism."[8]) There are to be free elections in four years' time. Neither side knows what will happen in those four years.

The workers' and farmers' Solidarity unions are slowly being rebuilt, although with none of the euphoric surge of autumn 1980. The rebuilding of the unions and the election campaign are, say most activists, complementary and mutually reinforcing. Last spring, Lech Walesa sat in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk, besieged by riot police, with a thousand angry young workers chanting "there is no freedom without Solidarity." This spring, he sits in the Lenin Shipyard, at a calm, wholly legal, meeting with the 261 Solidarity-opposition candidates for parliament. The meeting is filmed under the direction of Andrzej Wajda, himself running for the Senate. The candidates have gathered in the very same hall where it all began with the birth of Solidarity in August 1980. There are the same model ships, the same white eagle on the wall, even the same bust of Lenin.[9] As Walesa walks up onto the platform he gives that Lenin a laughing glance, as if to say, "So *who whom* to you, old chum."

[8]This and the other main agreements can be found in *Rzeczpospolita*, April 7, 1989. See also the interesting article by Adam Krzemiński and Wieslaw Wladyka ("Revolution Step by Step") in the official weekly *Polityka*, April 29, 1989. This begins by talking of "the creation of parliamentary democracy in socialism" but ends by describing the goal simply as "the metamorphosis of a Stalinist system into parliamentary democracy." Period.

[9]See chapter one in my *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (Scribner's, 1984; Vintage, 1985).

Interestingly, this Polish deal—a calculated gamble for both sides—has been held up as a positive example by Hungarian Party officials, but as a negative example by most independent Hungarian intellectuals and the opposition. They want free elections, with no handicaps, no quotas, and no new upper house. After free elections, the one sovereign parliament should form the new government and promulgate a new constitution. "After the election," says a senior official in the justice ministry, "the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party will have the same position as other parties." It is rather like one of those weary old East European jokes: the Hungarians are behaving like Poles and the Poles are behaving like Hungarians.

Yet some basic elements are the same. There is a government and an opposition. The government is not like any Western government: it is both stronger (with the whole extensive apparatus of the Party-police-military-nationalized industry-state) and weaker (no legitimacy, deeply divided). The opposition is not like any Western opposition. These two heterogeneous, indeed fissiparous partners are talking about how to transform their countries into what they call "normal" countries, by the end of the twentieth century. When they say "normal" they mean Western, European, liberal, democratic, with a market economy based on property rights, a freely elected parliament, and an independent judiciary. Something between Switzerland and Sweden. "Return Kraków to Europe" says a sign in the window of the students' union on Kraków's medieval market square, and that is the theme that recurs, again and again, in every program, speech, and conversation, official as well as unofficial: the return to something called "Europe."

They may not arrive. Beside that old favorite, the Spanish model of transition from dictatorship to democracy, excited intellectuals talk of the recent Chilean model, the South Korean, even the Iranian.... But whatever happens, this is an ineradicable moment. It might be an important moment, too, for the West, and especially for the Western left. For one message of Poland and Hungary today was summed up for me by a leading activist of Hungary's opposition Free Democrats: "We say there is no third way. There is no credible alternative between Western capitalism and Eastern socialism."[10] Between the opposition fete in Budapest and the smoke-filled rooms of the British Labour party, with its leadership busy trying to turn a socialist program into a social democratic one, there is, perhaps, the trace of an historical connection.

Future historians will have to explain how Poland and Hungary, starting from such very different circumstances at the beginning of the 1980s, came to such relatively similar positions at the end of the decade. Among the general causes of these extraordinary developments, they will surely mention the impact of Gorbachev, the economic crisis, relations with the West, Solidarity and other forms of "pressure from below," and perhaps

[10]In the Hungarian context this remark is directed specifically against the "populists" of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, many of whom do maintain that there can be a specifically Hungarian "third way." And of course there are still some oppositionists in both Hungary and Poland who would firmly identify themselves as being on the left. Yet the general point may stand.

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also the intellectual crisis of the left in the rest of Europe. But to assess the relative importance and complex interaction of these major causes will require greater distance, tranquil reflection, and more sources.

In the meantime, we are condemned to reconstruct the story from a tissue of direct observation, official and unofficial publications, anecdote, and informed guesswork. In Poland, the story is one of a remarkable coming-together: for almost no one imagined that the great gulf between "the power" and "the society," between Jaruzelski and Walesa, could be so swiftly bridged. Many details of this Polish bridge building are still obscure. But two things are clear. First, it would not have been possible without explicit permission from Gorbachev. Secondly, the essential domestic impulse was given by two waves of strikes in May and August of 1988, with the second wave larger than the first, and the strikers putting the restoration of Solidarity at the top of their demands.

Markers on the path to the Round Table included a fraught and tentative debate about a possible "anti-crisis pact," in the first half of 1988; a Byzantine sequence of private talks about talks; direct talks between Lech Walesa and the interior minister, General Kiszczak, which were literally precipitated by the second wave of strikes; a dramatic television debate between Lech Walesa and Alfred Miodowicz, the leader of the official trade unions (OPZZ) at the end of November; and, last but by no means least, two stormy meetings of the Central Committee in which General Jaruzelski even threatened to resign in order to push through the direct dialogue with Solidarity.[11]

The role of Prime Minister Rakowski in all this is murky. The opening seems to have been led rather by General Kiszczak, who as interior minister presumably drew on police intelligence reports about rising popular discontent and the danger of an explosion; by a group of Party reformists including the former foreign minister, Józef Czyrek, and the former labor minister, Stanislaw Ciosek; and by some top military men.[12] Rakowski, whose personal grudges against Solidarity go very deep, and who came into office in October 1988 proclaiming his own capacity to save the country without it, was not a major direct actor in the negotiations. The record may one day show this to be a grave underestimation of Mr. Rakowski's capacity for duplicity.

[11]The crucial Tenth Plenum meeting was on January 16–18, 1989. A preliminary account of the path to the Round Table, by a leading participant, is Bronislaw Geremek's article in *Tygodnik Powszechny* (April 23, 1989).

[12]Among those who threatened to resign at this meeting, alongside Jaruzelski, Kiszczak, and Rakowski, was the defense minister, General Florian Siwicki. Ciosek was minister for trade union affairs in the first period of Solidarity's legal existence.

[13]This is perhaps the moment to recall the (apocryphal?) story about Jaruzelski and Professor Janusz Reykowski, a psychologist and now Politburo member who also headed the government delegation in the Round Table group on political reform. The story concerns a conversation in the summer of 1982, at the height of Jaruzelski's attempt to destroy Solidarity under martial law. "Is it true that myths never die?" asks Jaruzelski. "That is correct, General," replies the professor. Jaruzelski: "But you have written that Solidarity has become a myth!" (The story is recounted by Dawid Warszawski in *Uncensored Poland News Bulletin*, No.1, 1989.)

What is clear is that the conversion of Jaruzelski was pivotal.[13] How and by whom that was done is still unknown (at least to this writer). But without question the personal role and authority of General Jaruzelski on this side is as crucial as that of Lech Walesa on the other.

The bridge is still of rope rather than steel. Seven years of bitter conflict are not easily forgotten. On both sides there are fierce and vociferous opponents of compromise. Alfred Miodowicz of the official trade unions is the most visible leader of reaction inside the Party. He has strong support from Prague and East Berlin (although that is not much use against Moscow!), a large constituency among the Party bureaucracy and *nomenklatura*, and even the chance of appealing to a significant part of the working class by a populist demagogy directed against the cost and injustice of economic reform. On the opposition side, teen-agers still take to the streets shouting the angry chants of martial-law Poland, and Walesa's leadership is rejected by groups ranging from the right-wing nationalist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) to the crypto-Trotskyite "revolutionary" faction of the refounded Polish Socialist party (PPS-RD), as well as by his old comrade in the original Gdańsk strike, Andrzej Gwiazda. Polish politics today are anything but simple.



Photograph © Franco Zecchin/Magnum

Women selling clothes on the black market in Krakow

In the discussions of the Solidarity National Executive Commission (KKW), the lessons of 1980–1981 are constantly being drawn anew. One might almost say that both sides have learned politics. If in 1980 it was workers against apparatchiks, in 1989 it is politicians against politicians. In the long hours and days at the Round Table, the top leaders on both sides do seem to have come to understand each other better, and in part to have found a common language, or at least to have resolved to adhere to some basic rules of self-restraint in a period of political transition. This is still an "understanding of elites."[14] It can be destroyed from below. In the provinces, things look very different. But the coming-together at the top remains staggering. Just one example: toward the end of the Round Table, Adam Michnik gave an interview in which he excoriated the obstructionism of the official trade unions, comparing them to the hated Zomo riot police. A few days later he was personally congratulated on this interview by...General Jaruzelski. Michnik, for his part, has subsequently gone out of his way to praise General Jaruzelski, publicly, for his political courage in deciding to reverse the course of the last seven years and reach an agreement with Solidarity.

[14]See the interview with Bronislaw Geremek, *Polityka*, April 22, 1989, in which he argues that the two sides found a common language, but angrily rejects the charge of an "understanding of elites." Yet this is a charge made not just by the journalists of an offical weekly, but by many opposition activists, especially in the provinces.

In Hungary, by contrast, the story of the last few years is that of a remarkable coming-apart: the coming-apart of the Kádárite consensus, so that from one apparently seamless (although seamy) web there have suddenly emerged both real opposition parties and very distinct factions within the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party. Even six months ago no one would have imagined that at a fete held by the Alliance of Democratic Youth (FIDESZ), in a Budapest youth park, the platform would be occupied by no fewer than seven political groupings, with the man from the communist party just one among many, and seated near the end of the table. The groups represented were FIDESZ itself, founded by students last spring[15]; the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), which grew out of the earlier "democratic opposition"; the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), an important but inchoate "populist" front; the two so-called "nostalgic" parties, the Social Democrats and the Smallholders, whose predecessors received, respectively, 17.4 percent and 57 percent of the vote in Hungary's last halfway free election, in November 1945; the People's party, an attempt to win the agrarian vote, partly initiated by people from within the existing power structures; and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' party, that is, the Communist party as effectively refounded after its predecessor disintegrated during the 1956 revolution. Next to the Party representative there was an empty seat, which was meant to be taken by a spokesman for the Ferenc Münnich Society, a group of disaffected Stalinists. The ghost at the feast.

Not surprisingly at a FIDESZ rally the spokesman for FIDESZ, a forceful and charismatic activist called Viktor Orban, and the spokesman for the Free Democrats, an eloquent sociologist called Bálint Magyar, earned the warmest applause. Yet as striking as the eloquence of the opposition speeches is the relative weakness of all their organizations. To be sure, most of them are very new. To be sure, the real prospect of an election concentrates the mind wonderfully. Yet the rough membership figures given to me in April were remarkably small: a claimed

[15]See my "The Opposition," in *The New York Review*, October 13, 1989.

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(but dubious) 20,000 for the two "nostalgic" parties, Social Democrats and Smallholders; some 14,000 for the Hungarian Democratic Forum; some 3,000 for the Free Democrats and 2,000 for FIDESZ. Solidarity has more than that in one factory. So far this really is, as Lewis Namier famously wrote of 1848, a "revolution of the intellectuals."

Yet the Hungarian leadership seems to be retreating faster in front of this small, intelligentsia-based opposition than the Polish leadership has in front of their much more formidable, worker- and farmer- as well as intelligentsia-based opposition. Why? One partial answer might be: "They can't think of any reason not to." Heavily influenced by contact with the West, long unaccustomed to treating ideology as anything but a veil, fig leaf, or smoke screen, they really cannot think of any good reason why they should *not* give up power! A second, more contingent reason is the indecision of the Party leader, Károly Grósz. Hailed as an opportunistic, but tough and decisive leader when he took over from János Kádár in May 1988, he has proved surprisingly weak and indecisive.

A third, related reason may have to do with the continued struggle for power at the top of the Party. For in that contest, it has increasingly seemed that "who dares, wins." Throughout this year, one of Grósz's chief rivals and by now Hungary's most popular Party politician, Imre Pozsgay, has continually forced the pace of the Party's retreat: first, in February, securing a formal (albeit fudged) reassessment of the 1956 revolution and an explicit commitment to the multiparty system; then, in April, holding what was virtually a reformist factional meeting in the town of Kecskemet, and securing a ceremonial Politburo renunciation of the key Leninist principle of "democratic centralism"; then, in May, winning a commitment to hold an early, special national Party conference in the autumn, with the prospect of further "personnel changes."

The pace is dizzy, speculation risks being confounded between the day of writing and the day of publication. At this moment it does look as if Pozsgay reckons that the best form of advance is retreat: that he hopes, perhaps, to transform the Party into something more like the Italian Communist party, and thereby to win not only the highest office for himself but also some 25 to 35 percent of the vote in a genuinely free election, thus opening the way to a new coalition government (although perhaps reserving responsibility for foreign policy and defense to a new-style presidency). What is more, some independent opinion polls suggest that if Hungarians were to vote tomorrow he just might have a chance of winning such a percentage. But the Hungarians, unlike the Poles, are not going to vote tomorrow, or for several months, and these sentences already contain far too many "ifs."

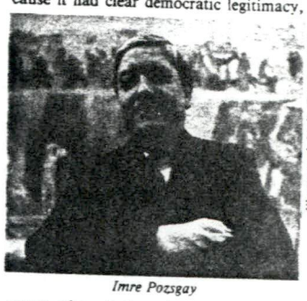
Prediction is now, more than ever, impossible. The best and brightest people on both sides in Poland and Hungary have launched into a great and perilous adventure. "You know," one of the more intelligent Polish Party leaders said to one of the most intelligent of Polish opposition leaders during a coffee break at the Round Table, "all the textbooks tell us how difficult it is to seize power. But no one has described how difficult it is to relinquish power."

In this great adventure, there is, of course, one very large unknown. At the moment, the bounds of Soviet tolerance—or benign neglect—seem wide enough for almost anything. But opposition demands for transforming or leaving the Warsaw Pact, and for Austrian-style neutrality, will surely test them to the very limit.[16] More important, all the most acute observers in Poland and Hungary, whether in power or in opposition, share the prevailing Anglo-American skepticism about Gorbachev's chances of continued progress in his perestroika.[17] A check or reversal there could not be without consequences here.

But even if there is no Soviet check or reversal, Polish and Hungarian politics over the next five years are likely to be, at best, an almighty muddle. A period of political turmoil and transition is no recipe for clear, consistent economic policy, and least of all for a policy that demands great material sacrifice from those for whose votes you are competing.

Yet such a policy is, sooner or later, almost inevitable. Prices will have to go still higher. Factories will have to be shut, jobs lost. There will be more inequality as well as poverty. Beside the impoverished majority there is already a nouveau-riche minority, Polish yuppies driving around in Mercedes or BMWs.

A Thatcher government in Britain could sustain harsh measures only because it had clear democratic legitimacy,



Photograph © P. Perrin/Sygma

Imre Pozsgay

courts whose independence was unquestioned, and a strong executive: the "elective dictatorship" of Lord Hailsham's famous phrase. The measures needed in Poland and Hungary are almost certainly much harsher, but no such strong, democratically and juridically legitimated government is in prospect for at least a year or two, if at all.

In the short term, the economic situation will get worse before it (perhaps) gets better. Inflation continues to soar in both

---

[16] The Solidarity election statement on foreign policy carefully does *not* question Poland's membership of the Warsaw Pact, but suggests that the alliance should be transformed to give equal rights to its smaller members, and to reflect the democratization taking place internally. Other opposition groups in Poland are less cautious. In Hungary, virtually all the opposition parties, and some members of the ruling party, talk of Austrian-style neutrality as the goal. The Free Democrats' Basic Program says, "Our aim is to create a neutral Hungary," although a more immediate objective is to "achieve a state of affairs whereby the Warsaw Pact does not influence the domestic policies of its sovereign member states and exercises increasingly less restriction on their foreign policies." At the opposition fete the FIDESZ speaker won loud applause for suggesting that Hungary might leave the Warsaw Pact "even unilaterally." In a free election, the issue seems unavoidable.

[17] Hungary's new foreign minister, Gyula Horn, said in a speech shortly before his elevation that we have "no reassuring guarantees" of a victory for the Gorbachev line in the Soviet Union (MTI report, April 21). A senior Solidarity adviser told me that one reason for settling for what they could get at the Round Table was the fear that this favorable external situation might not last.

The New York Review

THEY SAID IT COULDN'T HAPPEN HERE.

"Deeply moving testimony, seldom heard, of survivors who were pilloried by our witch-hunters. It is a piece of history uncovering a shameful moment. More important, it is a necessary work."
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"No book better conveys the human realities of political repression. The sensitive reader will, in turn, be moved, angered, embarrassed and inspired."
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--JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

"Bud and Ruth Schultz have done us a great favor by collecting these powerful and important stories and presenting them to us without polemical adornment. Historians will thank them; but so should all Americans."
--JONATHAN KOZOL

IT DID HAPPEN HERE

Recollections of Political Repression in America

by BUD SCHULTZ and RUTH SCHULTZ
Foreword by VICTOR NAVASKY

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University of California Press
Berkeley Los Angeles New York

countries." There are deep, latent conflicts in these societies—for example, between the interests of manual workers in nationalized industries and those of would-be capitalists, between the clerical and the secular"—that have yet to be clearly articulated through opposition politics. And all the stale food of prewar Central European politics, the prejudices and petty nationalisms, must be brought out of the totalitarian freezer, and aired a little while, before being thrown into the dustbin; or at least, as in Western Europe, being relegated to the political margins. Or so one hopes and prays.

"It may not be better," says Lech Walesa, "but at least it will be more fun." He was always an optimist. □

"One Polish economist has commented that the cure for two-digit inflation might just be three-digit inflation. In other words, when it gets really bad people may understand the need to take drastic steps to prevent it. Inflation will of course be fueled by the wage-indexation arrangements agreed at the Round Table. But Solidarity-opposition negotiators argue that without such indexation there might simply be an explosion of workers' protest. A further problem is, however, that workers may in effect be compensated at the expense of farmers, who suffer most directly from inflation, and can respond by cutting food production. The solidarity of the two Solidaritys—workers' and farmers'—may be sorely tried.

"In Poland, the tension between those from what Adam Michnik once called the "lay left" and those from the Catholic right, between, as it were, the pink and the black, has already begun to reemerge in the Polish election campaign. One example is the contest for the "non-party" parliamentary seat in the Warsaw borough of Zoliborz between one of the most famous activists from the "lay left" tradition, Jacek Kuroń, and a distinguished Catholic lawyer, Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki. Sila-Nowicki apparently has the backing of the Primate, Cardinal Józef Glemp, but Kuroń is the candidate from the agreed, national Solidarity-opposition list. Kuroń also has what is considered in Poland to be the considerable advantage of having been received in Washington by President Bush. One might say that in this particular contest, the President has helped the Democrat rather than the Republican.

Why Noriega Wins

Murray Kempton

His advisers report that President George Bush's response to General Manuel Antonio Noriega's successive effronteries has been to examine his options. This is an endeavor hopeless for engagements with Noriega, who is one of those far-seeing statesmen who understand that to weigh any variety of options is to risk being intruded upon by thoughts of what might be best for persons other than themselves, and perhaps even to risk being distracted by considerations of morality.

If Noriega had ever been thus inhibited, he would not have been so quick to recognize the emergence of the Colombian drug cartel as a source of economic development funds in larger bundles and with looser strings than he was apt to get from older and less free-handed superpowers.

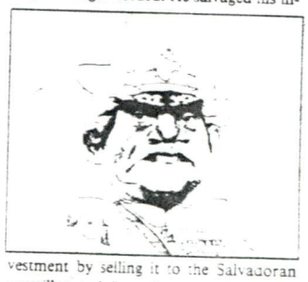
To feed off the United States is to subject yourself to all sorts of inconveniences from a Senate where Jesse Helms arraigns your friendship with Fidel Castro one day and Christopher Dodd your human rights record the next. But to take your business to the Medellín and Cali cartels is to be liberated from even the lightest chains of ideology.

The Colombians have an estimated $8 billion annual trade volume, eight thousand employees, their own two-thousand-member army, and a view of foreign alliances that echoes Palmerston's dictum that nineteenth-century England had no friends but only interests.

A succinct history of Noriegan Panama's progress as Medellín's major allied power has been compiled by the Senate subcommittee on narcotics and terrorism, whose chairman is John Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts. Ramón Lillian Rodríguez, a fallen Medellín agent, told Kerry's committee that Noriega took over its money laundering and provided it with Panamanian army security services for commissions ranging from one half to 10 percent of each transaction.

In due course, Noriega found Rodríguez too expensive to carry as a middleman and turned him in to the US Drug Enforcement Administration, a service to law enforcement that was rewarded with a letter of commendation. By then, Noriega had equipped himself for the 1984 election by assembling a personal account amounting to $20 million in one of the hundred banks that had sprung up in Panama, half of them owned by Colombians.

He maintained an arms business whose philosophy was true to Medellín's loftily ecumenical view of competing political faiths. In 1979, he supplied the Sandinistas fighting Somoza and then, when their revolution triumphed too quickly, he found himself stuck with a consignment they no longer needed. He salvaged his investment by selling it to the Salvadoran guerrillas, and the trade went well until one delivery plane crashed and turned out to belong to the Panamanian Defense Forces, a revelation sufficiently embarrassing to force Noriega to start selling to the contras instead. He was solicitous in tenders of his good will equally to Fidel Castro and the United States, although in the latter case his preference was for dealing with the CIA, the DEA, and the National Security Council, all of whom shared his taste for the covert and the conspiratorial and none of whom thought to abrade the comity of their conversations with references to narcotics.



Once he sent word that, if the United States would go back to speaking well of his stewardship, he would return the favor by arranging the assassination of the Sandinista *comandantes*. Oliver North replied that this would violate the laws of the United States but that a bit of sabotage would be fit and proper.

That cannot have been the first time Noriega had noticed how much more sophisticated Medellín's government is than ours. Still, he has profited handsomely from Medellín worldly wisdom and lived comfortably with American naivete and can be excused for thinking even now that he can go on doing both. □

The New York Review

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POLAND

Belvedere Palace (mtgs w/ Gen Jaruzelski)

Official Residence of Chairman of Council
Mtgs will be in Pompeii Room
not destroyed during the war
Jaruzelski does not live there

d'accord M. de Council of State

built in 1820, arch. Jozef Kubicki
classical style - Polish classicism

19th cent, Poland partitioned & under
Russian occupation, ~~Count~~
Grand Duke Konstantin, brother of Tsar Nicholas I
lived there.
Governor of Poland, Comdr-in-Chief
of local army
called "County of Poland" then
Tsar = "King" of Poland, rep. by his
brother

1830 - uprising vs Russia
Parliament uprising
attacked Belvedere - Count escaped
disguised as woman "Kook"
caused embarrassment, no other
[Russian?] leaders wanted to
live there.
became a military facility: guns, etc.
lived there

18
4/15000
4
35

140
11+
4/151000
3700

post-WWI: Poland independent
Belvedere made official residence of Pres. [who?]
1918-1926

1926 - May coup d'état
Gen. Pilsudski lived there until his death in 1935
"Chief Inspector of Armed Forces"
worked in Council of Ministers

1944 - Belvedere, along w/many other bldgs, including what is now the Soviet embassy across the street — all were mined for destruction by the Germans
Escaped destruction.

post-WWII - again official residence
Beirut (leader)

Radziwill Palace

☆ see "Information for Visitors"

survived both WWI + WWII

also called Governor's Palace - 18th cent.,
Russian Gov. lived there

Radziwills = famous aristocratic family

View from window ~~for~~ for President's Toast:

Statue in front is Count Jozef Poniatowski - Commander of Polish army that fought under Napoleon; nephew of last King of Poland, Stanislaw August

Palace across street: is now Palace of Culture & Art (Ministry of Culture)
built by Potocki family

Nawra Krall ?

Poland for Beginners

w/in days of frontier of GDR being thrown wide open, the # of Polish tourists had soared past a million (p. 19)

"You cannot prevent them swallowing you, but at least make sure you give them indigestion." Jean Jacques Rousseau (p. 22)

"A land where the air is healthy, the soil fertile, the forests flowing w/ honey, the rivers stocked w/ fish, & the knights martial, & the nations industrious."
Gallus Anonymus (1110-13)

"History bears witness to the independent development of Poland which has been both a bridge & a beacon between the Slavs, Germany & the East."
Oscar Halecki, 1960

Poland = "an inspiration to the nations."
Pres. Roosevelt

~~Ron Czarnetzky~~

Westerplatte 9/1/39

big sign on beach reads "Never again war" = "Nig-dē vien-say voyny"

fort - Westerplatte
182 men - 3500 Germans - attacked by
surrendered Sept 7
65 casualties Poles / over 400 for Germans
Major Henryk Sucharski

Roses all underneath

La Manche
Dunkirk
Mediterranean ~~Sea~~
Atlantic
Narvik (Norway)
Murmansk (SU)

South face

Riots took place longest - over a month
Hel - another peninsula north west of here
Oksywie - small coastal town
Westerplatte
Gdansk Post Office
Kosynieszy Gdyni [Koshēnēergy Gdyni] -
- soldiers w/ scythes (big enlisted peasants)
silhouette of monument = German
bayonette, broken

Both sides are canal

SE - looking over "never again war"

east face
- To Those at Sea - Tym Co Na Morzu "Morju"
- #'s?

north face looking over Baltic/Bay of Gdansk west face
- Kolobrzeg - coastal town near here
- "Praise those who won independence"
  - Chwala Wyzwolicielom
  - "ChvaWa Viz-vo-li-cheilom"
- Lenino (SU)
- Studzianki - small town on Bug east bank battle took place, on Ger. border

Boat Ride

Cmdr of Polish Navy (bigger for Pres)
- maybe minimizes
- comme Pope John Paul II took on last visit

Coast Guard keeps watch on monument

sail from entrance of Gdansk harbor to Green Gate

ferries to Sweden + back - always here

1st Turn = "5 Whistles Turn"
- used to be steeper turn - ships entering had to whistle 5x

Schleswig - Holstein ~~moored on~~
navy term not familiar — 5 Whistle Lunch

military bulge - 14th cent.
mine of mil bldgs also

used to charge -

plants on banks - some leased to other countries who don't have access to the sea — i.e. Czech, Hungary

Pope, Thatcher, Min Def Finland & Sweden — foreign ~~offs~~ officials take this route

Vistula River - turn onto canal called "Dead Vistula", canal, no water mvmt.

Westerplatte → Green Gate = 10 km

wood, grain, sulfur — Finland - 1/3 wood imported from Poland is cheaper

old aristocratic home = shipping offices

Northern Shipyard - renovations also mfrs small navy vessels

Lenin Shipyard - build commercial ships
"Lenin" ~~post WW II~~ - ships mfrd here since 16th century - oldest shipyard in Poland
before - "Gdansk Shipyard"

ports closed down, to be leased to other countries, companies

leased to be state-owned

will set up Board of Directors

City Hall

Solidarity Monument

wall on side: The Lord gives strength to His people. The Lord gives to His people the blessing of peace.

Czeslaw Milosz

Nobel-prize-winning poet, lives in US

3 workers of Lenin Shipyard killed in Dec. 1970, shot by govt troops, during strike

[Gdynia — ~300 killed]

monument = one of Solidarity's demands in 1980, Gdansk Accords = legalized Sol. also.

He who wrongs the simple man & laughs while he's doing it, don't feel safe, the poet remembers. You can kill him, but there will emerge another. I will list all feats & conversations. - Milosz

On top - crosses w/ anchors

anchor = Biblical symbol of hope



Solidarity symbol

Army-in-exile
symbol - WWII

during martial law - very emotional mtg place. Each day people will leave flowers etc, every day police will take it away -

---

Wall - cont.

May your spirit be ~~reborn~~ replaced & circulate on this earth. Amen.

Pope JP II 1979 (1st visit to Poland)

They gave their lives so that you could live better -

Honor their memory.

Plagues

- 1970/1980 - steel mills Katowice
- ~~8~~ Dec 1970
- Jobe 16:18 - O Earth, don't cover my blood, Don't be indifferent to my spread deaths.

  Czestochowa
  (Chest-a-hova (home to most holy Polish shrine)

- ~~worker~~ crew - furniture factory
  Zamosc
- Warsaw Mill
- funded by people's donations
  Lichenie (Lee-hen-ye), Poland
  Konina Church
- Ostrowca Swientokrzyski (Svien-to-kshi-ski)
  "... & there started up a mine of from the sea."

Entrance to Lenin Shipyard just to right (when facing) of memorial
Stocznia Gdanska, imienia Lenina

"We all are in favor of Poland"
por

~~FSH-STSY ODE~~

FSHISTSY ODPOVIADAMY ~~SIE~~S ZA POLSKE

✓ Fshi-stsy ode-po-vía-dá-meka sheh za pol-skown

WSZYSCY ODPOWIADAMY ZA POLSKĘ

"We all are responsible for Poland."

Gdansk - Embassy
Ron Czarnetzky
John Boris
Jack Spilsbury

Gdansk Post Office

9/1/39 - Group of Polish ~~soldiers~~ civilians (armed) barricaded themselves + held the Germans off (surrounded by Germans) ~~for a couple~~ 2-3 wks. Gave up same day, in the evening. All who gave up were shot on the spot.

Paderewski

PM - during 1920s
Just across street from Embassy, diagonally across, in park
Łazienki (Wa-jhén-kee)
(plural for bathroom - palace was first in Warsaw w/ indoor plumbing, esp "Bathroom ~~Palace~~ Palace" → Bathroom Park)

Interpress Publishers -
"Ignacy Paderewski"

call Polish Embassy in English

Oliwa Cathedral

1178 - Samber I, Pomeranian Prince, introduces the Cistercian Order of Monks into Oliwa & endows them w/real ales. They build a wooden church & cloister

1925 - Gdansk becomes a diocese & the church in Oliwa becomes a cathedral church

1944 - WWII causes heavy destruction of cathedral & adjoining house

1755 - organ, built by John Wulf. takes 25 years. Finally becomes monk, Brother Michael

1577 built in Gothic style, following burning under Gdansk. due to friendship into Polish Stephen King

Clouds at altar

outside = "We love them until the end"

Bishop Goclowski (Got-swav-ski)
one of key mediators at Roundtable mtgs —
Magdalenka (suburb of Warsaw) Group
Bishop = church rep.

Lech Walesa - Va-wepsa (n)

Prus - "Pharaoh"

Sienkiewicz "Quo Vadis"

Kosidowski

Meeting @ Sejm

Washington Monument? to be placed in circle on Washington Ave.
anniversary of ?

to be signed - agreements on cultural centers, education committee, tourism, + one on business (?)

Remarks:

Arrival/Departure - probably not

Toasts - State Dinner, translated + printed for tables

Sejm - ? 15-20 min.

Westerplatte - ?

[meeting room = future Senate Chamber]

Little League?

Sejm

Pres. of Poland sits on podium, on left, if he's speaking - in upper left (if facing) if observing

Polish seal behind podium - eagle

✓ find out more

bas-reliefs on outside of building — symbolic moments of Polish history
— Pilsudski on one - not remarkable now, but was there through whole Stalin period

built in 1920s - completed 1928
completely destroyed in WW II -
rebuilt as it was, 1948, + expanded

Ambassador's Residence

luncheon w/members of Sejm + Senate

Art - call State, Art in Embassies

dining room
table w/man underneath
field w/yellow flowers
Baltimore, by — Kane '54

smaller dining room (front)
modern - squares
modern - flowers
pink + orange - Geo. Chaplin '79

living room
above piano, Alma Thomas, black artist, lived in DC

pics of Ambassador w/ GB, Pope, Mother Teresa

Embassy

Community Greeting - Auditorium

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

built from remains of a colonnade, former part of Saski Palace - completely destroyed during Warsaw Uprising, 1944

Saski Palace - post WW I, housed general staff of Polish Army

? ✓ monument - officially opened 1926

1944 - Warsaw Uprising ~~Aug~~
lasted 2 months Aug - Sept.
help from USAF - food + arms drops

Soldier - from a cemetery in what is now Lvov (Soviet Ukraine)
- Killed in skirmishes between Poles + Ukrainians, 1919-20, first phase of Polish/Russian
- Poles like this because they killed Russians — in this war

Virtuti Militari Cross - for military bravery
incorporated into design of
monument

cross dates from 1792, one of
the last years of Polish independence

Urns inside monument - soil from
actual battlefields of WW I + WW II

? names of battles on monument

✓ DCM
Dep. Chief of
Mission

Umschlagplatz

"Along this path of suffering & death
over 300,000 Jews were driven
in 1942-1943 from the Warsaw
Ghetto to the gas chambers of the
Nazi extermination camps."

Umschlagplatz = loading pt for Jews
being sent to camps

? ✓ dedicated ~~on~~ in April 1988, on
anniversary of Ghetto uprising

memoirs of the Governor of the Ghetto -
published last year by the Institute
of Jewish Studies, Warsaw

Professor Korczak - "Dr. Spock" of
Poland, went off to camps w/ children
of Ghetto, knowing what would happen

plaque above entrance gate, coal-like
w/what looks like jagged, falling
trees/sludge

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: 202/456-6772
Tuesday, September 29, 1987

EXCERPTS FROM OPENING STATEMENT FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
WARSAW PRESS CONFERENCE
WARSAW, POLAND
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1987

This is my final day in Poland, where I have spent three days at the invitation of the Polish Government. Let me express my thanks and appreciation to my host, deputy Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Barcikowski, and to the American Charge, Mr. John Davis. I have enjoyed my stay. I am impressed by the character and strength of the Polish people whom I have met.

This is the first top-level U.S. visit to Poland in many years. It represents another step in the U.S. policy of re-engagement with Poland; it demonstrates our commitment and direct support for the Polish people and the various elements of Polish society. My purpose in coming to Poland was to review U.S.-Polish relations and to learn first hand from all sources about the situation here.

I have met with Polish government leaders, including the chairman of the Council of State, General Jaruzelski, and prominent Polish figures, including Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Cardinal Glemp.

My official meetings were businesslike, realistic and productive. My Polish hosts expressed their views eloquently and clearly. I explained the principles of U.S. policy toward Poland. As expected, we disagreed on some issues, but we also found common ground on other issues, including the need to put U.S.-Polish relations on a realistic and constructive footing.

While in Warsaw, I signed a new science and technology agreement. This agreement symbolizes the possibilities for useful and practical cooperation between the two countries. The agreement will provide for mutually beneficial cooperation in non-strategic research, including projects on the environment where so much needs to be done.

I found my meetings with Polish private and clerical leaders fascinating and informative.

As a result of my discussions, I will be able to report to President Reagan that the basis exists for lasting, productive, and mutually beneficial relations between our two countries.

# # # #

SPEECH
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
ST. HYACINTH CHURCH
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
SUNDAY, MARCH 13, 1988

Thank you, Father Roge, for those kind words. Mrs. Bush and I are delighted to be here, we're delighted to be accompanied by Governor Thompson and Mrs. Thompson, your Governor. We're delighted to be accompanied by one of America's true heroes, General Chuck Yaeger, who's with us here today. As I stand here in this beautiful church, I think back to about five months ago when I stood on the balcony at St. Stanislaw Kostka Church in Warsaw. I had met the night before, at the Ambassador's residence, with Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarity. I had asked Walesa if he would accompany me to the church where Father Popieluszko had preached -- the "Solidarity Priest," who had been murdered by the Secret Police. I didn't know if he'd come and sure enough, Barbara and I were staying at this lovely guest house, he appeared all alone, climbed in our United States big car there and the Secret Police made one gesture, they took the Polish Flag off of the right fender of our car but we had the Stars and Stripes, your flag, my flag on the United States ..applause... and we drove downtown past hundreds of people and on a gray and chilly Monday morning, thousands of people pinned behind barricades and infiltrated by the secret police, lined the streets for hours around that modest church and cheered for Solidarity and Walesa and the United States of America.

His voice rang like a bell throughout this land, and he must not be forgotten, I said. Here at the church where he lived, worked, and prayed, let us pledge to carry on his quest to overcome evil with good....applause....Next to Walesa we did what we'll do here today we laid a wreath and a little Solidarity banner at the grave of the fallen priest and Barbara put her arm around Father Popieluszko's mother dissolved in tears ....applause....because I think she found it hard to believe that the United States, in the face of the lights and under the gaze of the communists masters would honor her son in this way.

But I would just simply tell you that it was a very moving experience and then Lech Walesa and I went on top of that church balcony, some of you may have been there, some of you know the story, the voices rang out "long live Reagan, long live Bush, but most of all, long live America." And we saw...applause....we saw very, very clearly what you all know so well, the affection of the people of Poland of the United States and so what my message today, as we honor Father Popieluszko is and as we are surrounded by the future, by these wonderful young children, it is the United States of America that must keep alive the hope of the Polish people, we are one nation under God, we should

struggle, however possible, to preserve and protect and strengthen religious freedom around the world. Father Popieluszko taught us that by his life, by his ministry, and by his faith and we must honor his memory by standing up to freedom and democracy around the world we owe it to these children, we owe it to the future of this the greatest and freest country, one nation under God, the United States of America.

Thank you and God bless you all. Thank you....applause...

That leader of Solidarity, that man of steel, Lech Walesa and I was pleased to honor him in Poland, pleased to stand next to him as we lay on the grave of Father Popieluszko, the martyr priest, the symbol of Solidarity, the symbol of freedom, and the support and demonstrating the support of the United States of America. All of us here, new Americans, Americans who may not be citizens yet, all of us, know that our country is the symbol of freedom--religious freedom, political freedom, freedom of elections, freedom of whatever else it is....applause.... and so my message in supporting Father Popieluszko and Solidarity is to stand for freedom wherever we can around the world.

Thank you all, God bless you, and on this Sunday let's never forget that the United States of America is one nation under God. Thank you very much....applause.....

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

NOT RELEASED

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, January 29, 1988

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
SERTOMA CLUB "FREEDOM BANQUET"
COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA
FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1988

Freedom is real; it's tangible; you may not be able to hold it in your hand but you can feel it and you can see it. You can feel freedom when you worship in the church of your choice. You can feel freedom when you travel through our great country without passing security check points. You can see it every time you pick up a newspaper or watch the evening news.

As a nation, our first responsibility is to defend freedom. A country like ours, born out of the struggle against tyranny, should never apologize for helping others win their freedom. I've been to 74 foreign countries. I can tell you there isn't another country like ours in the entire world. We live in the freest, the fairest, the most generous nation on the faith of the earth. And I will never apologize for the United States of America. I will stand up for her and help her spread the light of freedom.

* * *

A lot of people talk about Communism, but Barbara and I actually lived in a Communist country when I was Chief of the Liaison Office in Peking.

I will never forget seeing the six-year-old kids walking by the Embassy every Friday afternoon on their way to Marxist regimentation classes, where they would sit on three-legged stools and listen to lectures about the central government's control of their lives and how important that was. Just think how different it is for these kids.

Last September, I traveled to Poland. While I was there, I met with General Jaruzelski, Poland's Communist leader. He's tough, he's strong, and he sees himself, by the way, as Gorbachev's best friend in Eastern Europe.

-more-

I also met with Lech Walesa, the leader of the outlawed labor union Solidarity, and I invited him to go with me to the church of Father Popieluszko, the martyred priest who was tortured and murdered by the Polish secret police simply because he preached about his faith in God.

We weren't sure how the Polish security would react to my invitation to Walesa. As it turned out, they let him ride in my car, but as a symbol of protest they removed the Polish flag from the front fender. That didn't matter, though, because we still had the Stars and Stripes flying from our left fender. We drove to downtown Warsaw to the church where Father Popieluszko had preached.

On his grave, we laid a little Solidarity banner on behalf of all of us, the American people. There I stood next to Lech Walesa, a symbol not only of trade unionism, but of the Polish people's desire for greater freedom. Barbara had her arm around Mrs. Popieluszko, grieving for a fallen son who was cut down by the Polish regime.

After that, Walesa and I climbed to the top of the church and flashed the sign of the "V" for Solidarity to the thousands of Poles who had gathered below, cheering, "Long Live Reagan," "Long Live Bush," "Long Live the United States of America." Walesa couldn't believe that I, the Vice President of the United States, would stand with him -- in public, in downtown Warsaw, before this crowd of thousands of people.

Later that night, I went on Polish TV for five minutes, uncensored, and talked about Solidarity, Walesa, and freedom -- the first time that those three words had been spoken together since the crushing of Solidarity in Gdansk in 1981.

All of this reaffirmed my conviction that no other country has the same innate honor and decency as the United States of America. No other country can stand up for freedom and human rights the way we can. It brought home to me once again -- because I had seen it many times before -- how the world looks up to the United States for leadership.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, September 28, 1987

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
VISIT TO THE GRAVE OF FATHER JERZY POPIELUSKO
WARSAW, POLAND
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1987

It has been almost three years since Father Popielusko was so brutally tortured and slain. His soul is in the hands of God, but his spirit lives on in the people of Poland and the world.

I had the deep honor nine days ago to meet with His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, upon the conclusion of his visit to the United States. He expressed the deep personal feelings he holds for his homeland and the people of Poland.

In Father Popielusko, the world lost a courageous fighter for the cause of liberty. But his sacrifice was not in vain. His example -- like that of the Pope -- inspires us all -- particularly the people of Poland -- to fight for the freedom to practice our religion, and to speak, write, think, and associate as we wish.

His voice rang like a bell throughout this land, and he must not be forgotten. Here at the church where he lived, worked, and prayed, let us pledge to carry on his quest to "overcome evil with good."

# # # #

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: 202/456-6772
Saturday, September 26, 1987

EXCERPTS FROM TOAST FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
STATE DINNER HOSTED BY KAZIMIERZ BARCIKOWSKI
DEPUTY CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF STATE
WARSAW, POLAND
SEPTEMBER 26, 1987

Mr. Deputy Chairman and honored guests:

I thank you for hosting this elegant dinner on the occasion of my visit to Poland. I am delighted to be in this historic land in the heart of Europe.

We in the United States care deeply about Poland, Polish society, and above all the Polish people. There are many ties that bind us -- not the least of which are the millions of American citizens of Polish descent who have contributed so much to American life.

Americans have a long-term view of relations with Poland. They recognize your country's importance and its position in the world. They wish you well -- they would like to see you freer, more independent, and more prosperous. They want relations between our two countries to be based on reality, and they want them to be constructive. That explains our policy approach. It is an approach not only for today, but for tomorrow as well.

We have worked diligently over the past year to rekindle a spirit of progress in our bilateral relations. We have noted the decisions your government has taken, Mr. Deputy Chairman, which have improved the prospects for national reconciliation in Poland. We welcome those steps, and we hope they continue. They were central to President Reagan's decision to send me to Poland and my interest in coming here.

I look forward to continuing discussions with your government and with the other key elements of Polish society during the remainder of my visit. I believe these discussions can lay the groundwork for a mutually beneficial, long-term relationship between our two countries.

Thus, I propose we raise our glasses to the progress we have made over the past year and to steady improvement in the period ahead.

"Na zdrowie!"

# # # #

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Saturday, September 26, 1987

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
ARRIVAL CEREMONY
WARSAW, POLAND
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1987

Mr. Deputy Chairman:

Thank you for your kind words of welcome. To you and to the people of Poland, I wish to extend the best wishes of President Reagan, and of the American people.

I am very pleased to have this opportunity to visit Poland. As you know, America is a nation of immigrants, and many Americans have a proud and active Polish past. From the Poles who joined the first English settlement at Jamestown to the present day, they have contributed so much to theiradopted land. In their honor, we will celebrate Polish-American Heritage Month in the United States next month.

Despite past problems between our governments, the bonds between our people remain as strong as ever. I am here in the hope that we can find a solid basis for creating the same kind of relations between our two governments.

During my four days in Poland, I plan to have conversations with Chairman Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Messner, and other government leaders. We will explore ways to move our relations forward. With good will on both sides, I believe we can make genuine progress.

During my stay, I also intend to meet with representatives of all the major segments of Polish society. I hope to learn their views on the problems currently facing Poland.

We have strong views, and so will those with whom we meet. President Reagan has asked me to come here, learn about the situation, and report to him on what can be done to move relations forward. We are realistic about Poland's position, yet hopeful about future prospects.

-more-

I want to make clear that our intention is not to disrupt or divide, nor is it to interfere. We seek only to play a constructive role in bringing about the national reconciliation that everyone in Poland desires and to promote the cause of freedom.

# # # #

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE CONTACT: 202/456-6772
Tuesday, September 29, 1987

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL
KRAKOW, POLAND
SEPTEMBER 29, 1987

Professor Cichocki, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Mr. Minister, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to participate in these events today, which symbolize so well the deep feeling of kinship which the American people and the Polish people feel for each other.

We just saw the beginnings of what will be in three years a new ambulatory care center for the American Children's Hospital -- built and equipped with the assistance of the people and the government of the United States.

Fittingly, it will be named for the late Clement J. Zablocki, a Polish-American from Milwaukee who served with distinction in the United States Congress for 35 years, including seven as chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Our two governments have many differences which cannot and must not be glossed over, ~~but we seek a freer, more independent, and more prosperous Poland.~~

In Warsaw, I had the honor of signing an agreement on cooperation in science and technology. Through this agreement, we will undertake, in modest but meaningful ways, to work together, for the benefit of both our peoples -- with exchanges and cooperation in such fields as medicine, agriculture, the environment, energy, transportation, and engineering.

This entire hospital, of course, represents a joint enterprise of the Polish and American people, and embodies in a physical way the hopes of our country for a healthier Poland. It is especially a tribute to the marvelous work of Project HOPE, which has contributed so much toward making the American Children's Hospital one of the finest pediatric facilities in all of Europe.

Now we open the new Children's Rehabilitation Center -- a particular success of Project HOPE, which administered the U.S. funds -- and I am pleased to present this plaque, which reads as follows:

-more-

"This Children's Rehabilitation Center was created through a common effort of the government of the Polish People's Republic and the United States of America as an expression of the abiding bond of friendship between the peoples of Poland and the United States of America."

I also have the honor of presenting to the American Children's Hospital two needed pieces of medical equipment -- gifts from the American people -- an ultrasound machine and a Fac-scam cell analyzer. Both are state-of-the-art diagnostic tools. In addition, I'm leave to take off for Germany another plane filled w. supplies & aides from America ~~Later on this~~

This occasion, more than any other on my trip, calls for these well-known words of Polish: Brought by a wonderful org. Americares,

"Na zdrowie!"

# # # #

As soon as I get a Microscopic pic of the wonderful work you are doing here. —
Bless you all

George Bush for President

CONTACT: ALIXE GLEN
(202) 842-1988

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, September 28, 1987

Contact: (202) 456-6

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS BY
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
ON POLISH TELEVISION
WARSAW, POLAND
SEPTEMBER 28, 1987

People of Poland:

I am grateful for this opportunity to speak to you tonight. I bring you greetings and best wishes from President Reagan and the people of the United States. I thank my government hosts for their traditional Polish hospitality and you, the Polish people, for the warmth of your welcome.

The ties that bind the people of our two countries are special ones. They are not weakened by the differences between our governments, nor by the thousands of kilometers that separate us.

In Chicago, in Detroit, in Milwaukee, and in a thousand other towns and cities across America, millions of Americans of Polish descent keep the memory of Poland close to their hearts. In their homes and churches -- in more than 800 Polish Catholic parishes -- Polish traditions and the great legacy of Polish history are passed down from generation to generation.

Just last week I had the privilege of meeting with His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, as he concluded his visit to the United States with a speech to Polish-Americans in Detroit.

He spoke movingly of the great wave of Polish immigrants who came to America at the turn of this century. He said, and I quote, "they brought with them no material riches -- but they possessed two great values: an innate love of the faith and of the Polish spirit." Their fierce patriotism, their faith, and their sense of family and personal honor have helped shape the American character.

Everyone recognizes these last few years have been difficult ones in Poland. We in America have watched and suffered with you. As you have so often in the past, you have endured with courage, faith, and determination.

Your patriotism and deep sense of nationhood carried you intact through more than a century of partition, and gave you strength in the face of the brutal Nazi occupation.

Oppression and defeat cannot kill the thirst for freedom within the Polish breast, and the spirit of "Fighting Warsaw" lives on. "Polak nie sluga."

In the past three days, I have had candid and useful meetings with Chairman Jaruzelski, Prime Minister Messner, and other leaders of your government. We signed an important agreement on cooperation in science and technology. We agreed on an exchange of Ambassadors. I also met with Cardinal Glemp, with leaders of independent thought, and with Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarity. Much mutual suspicion and bitterness remain from the events of December 1981. But all agree that Poland should be strong and prosperous and independent and play its proper role as a great nation in the heart of Europe.

It is not for me to try to tell you what road to take. That is a matter for Poles themselves to decide. But I can tell you what has worked in our country and in many other countries. It is respect for human rights. It is the right to form independent and self-governing organizations for many purposes, including the protection of workers' interests. It is an economic system that encourages people to reach their full potential.

We recognize that initial steps have been taken toward economic reform and national reconciliation. As you move toward greater freedom and pluralism, we will seek new ways to be helpful.

People of Poland: Everywhere I have traveled, from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki, to Father Popieluszko's grave, I have witnessed a spontaneous outpouring of affection for the United States of America that I will never forget. Believe me, it is reciprocated. We love you, we respect you, and you will never be alone. We will be with you.

"Za nasza i wasza wolnosc!"

We invoke this cry from Poland's glorious past. Let us look to the future, and together. Long live Poland.

# # # #

Civil Rights

George Bush for President

CONTACT: Alixe Glen
202/842-1988

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Wednesday, October 7, 1987

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
ST. ADALBERT'S CATHOLIC CHURCH
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1987

Leaders of Polonia, ladies and gentlemen: I am delighted to be with you today. On Monday the President signed a proclamation designating October as Polish American Heritage Month -- a time for all Americans to recognize and rejoice in the many accomplishments of generations of Polish Americans and to express our pride in our country's Polish heritage.

As I told the people of Poland on national television, "The ties that bind the people of our countries are special ones. They are not weakened by the differences between our governments, nor by the thousands of kilometers that separate us.

"In Chicago, in Detroit, in Milwaukee, and in a thousand other towns and cities across America, millions of Americans of Polish descent keep the memory of Poland close to their hearts. In their homes and churches -- in more than 800 Polish Catholic parishes -- Polish traditions and the great legacy of Polish history are passed down from generation to generation."

Indeed, my official host in Poland, Deputy Chairman Barcikowski, called Americans of Polish origin "a living bridge that links the two nations."

I had candid and useful meetings with General Jaruzelski and other leaders of the government. We agreed to exchange ambassadors, to restructure some of Poland's debt, and to cooperate in science and technology.

I also met with Cardinal Glemp, with leaders of independent thought, and with Lech Walesa and other leaders of Solidarity. Much mutual suspicion and bitterness remain from the events of December 1981, when martial law was imposed. But all wish Poland to be strong and independent and prosperous and to play its proper role as a great nation in the heart of Europe.

We have strong differences with the Polish government. But our objectives should be clear -- to find ways to help the Polish people, with whom we have such bonds of blood and affection.

Our interests converge on the need for improvement in the Polish economy. Both the government and the people are ready for change -- change for the better. Economic reform is essential, and the government knows it.

There may now be an opportunity to open up Polish society as Gorbachev is doing in the Soviet Union. But Jaruzelski resists any linkage with economic aid that might make it appear as if the U.S. is dictating the internal policies of Poland. He is careful about what he says, forceful and direct in how he says it, and very tough.

Jaruzelski argued that Poland is engaged not just in small steps but in courageous movement forward. He promised solutions stressing political and human rights. But he said that recognition of Solidarity would be "suicidal."

I told him that genuine economic progress would be impossible without meaningful movement toward pluralism and national reconciliation. Whatever steps are taken, they will require the participation and support of the Polish people if they are to succeed in revitalizing the economy. And without economic reform there will be no more assistance from the West.

In my meetings with Walesa, I was struck by his obvious love of Poland and respect for his fellow Poles, who hold him in such high regard. He impressed me as a man who is down-to-earth, politically attuned, and dedicated to his cause. He communicates compellingly and makes you want to go the extra mile to help.

Solidarity seeks dialogue and compromise and not revolution. But Walesa forcefully made the point that political reform is necessary in order for economic reform to work. And he pledged to continue the struggle until victory.

The leaders of Solidarity are fighting for some of the same ideals that attracted their forefathers, Casimir Pulaski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko, to our cause in America more than 200 years ago -- freedom, equality, and a respect for human dignity.

When I was in Krakow, I went to Wawal Cathedral to lay a wreath of the tomb of Kosciuszko, the great military engineer whose statue stands across from my office in the White House. And next Sunday we will celebrate General Pulaski Memorial Day, in honor of the gallant cavalry officer who sacrificed his life for our cause.

In Warsaw I presented busts of our Founding Fathers -- Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin -- to the Royal Castle, which is slowly and painstakingly being restored from wartime rubble to its former glory.

The values these men argued and fought for found their greatest legacy in our Constitution, whose 200th birthday we celebrated here in Philadelphia earlier this year. And the same noble principles contained in that great document can also be seen in the provisions of Poland's 3rd of May Constitution of 1791 -- guarantees of liberty, the rule of law, and government by the people.

Those same values were also the theme of the homily when we attended mass at St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki. St. Margaret's, I was told, is one of 1,500 churches being built in Poland by the people's own hands -- dramatic evidence of their commitment to their faith.

Father Jan Czerwinski had hung the words "E pluribus unum" above the altar. He spoke of the "miracle" of the Constitution and stressed our common commitment to freedom, equality, democracy, and human rights.

And what a moving mass that was for me, hearing in the responses of the audience the power and joy of their belief, seeing in their smiles and tears and the flags they waved how much hope and strength they yet retain.

The following day Lech Walesa accompanied me to the Warsaw Church of St. Stanislaw Kostka -- the church where the murdered priest, Father Jerzy Popieluszko, lived and worked and prayed. His grave is surrounded by flowers and banners, and the church is filled with tributes.

On a gray and chilly workday Monday morning, thousands of people, penned behind barricades and infiltrated by plainclothes security agents, lined the streets for hours around that modest church and cheered for Solidarity and Walesa and the USA.

Here is what I said that day: "In Father Popieluszko, the world lost a courageous fighter for the cause of liberty. But his sacrifice was not in vain. His example -- like that of the Pope -- inspires us all -- particularly the people of Poland -- to fight for the freedom to practice our religion, and to speak, write, think, and associate as we wish.

"His voice rang like a bell throughout this land, and he must not be forgotten. Here at the church where he lived, worked, and prayed, let us pledge to carry on his quest to 'overcome evil with good.'"

I met Father Popieluszko's parents there at the church, and they broke down and cried, moved by this demonstration of respect shown by the United States.

His grave is evidence that Poles are still fighting and dying for the values in both our constitutions. In the spirit of Washington and Jefferson and Franklin, in the spirit of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, in the spirit of Fighting Warsaw, he dedicated his life -- and ultimately gave it -- to the struggle for freedom and human dignity.

On Monday night I was allowed the unprecedented opportunity to address the Polish people for five minutes live on national television. Let me conclude by quoting a bit of that speech.

"Everyone recognizes these last few years have been difficult ones in Poland. We in America have watched and suffered with you. As you have so often in the past, you have endured with courage, faith, and determination.

"Your patriotism and deep sense of nationhood carried you intact through more than a century of partition, and gave you strength in the face of the brutal Nazi occupation.

"Oppression and defeat cannot kill the thirst for freedom within the Polish breast, and the spirit of 'Fighting Warsaw' lives on. 'Polak nie sluga.' A Pole is not a serf."

A Solidarity spokesman said it was the first time since martial law was imposed in 1981 that the names of Lech Walesa and Solidarity were mentioned on Polish TV in a positive way.

As Vice President, I have been privileged to travel to all corners of the globe and I have met and seen wonderful people wherever I have gone. But the men and women of Poland I met last week have an undying spirit and fierce determination for freedom.

Everywhere I traveled in Poland -- from downtown Warsaw to Lomianki to the royal city of Krakow -- I witnessed a spontaneous outpouring of affection for the United States of America that I will never forget.

The people of Poland are keenly aware of their brothers and sisters in America. When I asked a crowd how many people had relatives in the U.S., it seemed as if half the people's hands went up. I told them, "We love you, we respect you, and you will never be alone."

Along with cheers of "Long live Lech" and "Long live Solidarnosc," we also heard cheers of "Long live Reagan" and "Long live Bush" and "Long live America." I won't embarrass myself by trying it in Polish, but let me just say to you, "Long live Poland!"

Thank you very much.

# # # #

PRESS RELEASE

THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, September 28, 1987

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS FOR
VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH
SIGNING OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AGREEMENT
WARSAW, POLAND
MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1987

Mr. Deputy Chairman and distinguished guests:

It gives me great pleasure to conclude today, on behalf of my government, this agreement on cooperation in science and technology.

This important step in the ongoing process of re-engagement between our two countries comes at a most opportune time. The international scientific community is faced with unprecedented challenges of a global nature -- the menace of environmental deterioration, of nuclear accidents, of terrible diseases such as AIDS -- and these challenges require even closer collaboration among scientists and engineers of all nationalities.

At the same time, the scientific prospects grow ever brighter for technological innovation and more efficient use of human and natural resources. Through this agreement, we undertake, in modest but meaningful ways, to face these tasks together, for the benefit of both our peoples -- with exchanges and cooperation in such fields as medicine, agriculture, the environment, energy, transportation, and engineering.

May the Polish-American cooperation which begins here today do justice to our shared tradition of scientific and technical excellence. Thank you.

# # # #

WELCOME TO POLAND

AMERICAN EMBASSY
WARSAW



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

memorandum

DATE: June 6, 1989

REPLY TO ATTN OF: B&F, Al Erlandsen

SUBJECT: Accomodation Exchange

TO: Pre-Advance Team Members

The Embassy Cashier will be available for accomodation exchange as follows:

Tuesday, June 6 7 - 9p.m. at the Control Room Hotel Sejmowy
Wednesday, June 7 7 - 8 a.m. at the Embassy Cafeteria during breakfast
Thursday, June 8 6:30 - 7:30 a.m. at the Control Room
Normal Cashier hours at the Embassy are as follows:
Monday, Wednesday, Friday 9a.m. - noon and 1 p.m. - 2:30
Tuesday 1 - 3 p.m Thursday - closed.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
(Rev. 1-80)
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6
5010-113



US EMB-GSO
WARSAW

7104A

1989 JUN 06 12:08

SUBJECT: Presidential Visit

REF: Administrative Guidelines for Post in Preparation for Presidential Visit

President's Program/Schedule:

CHRG/Darryl N. Johnson, ext. 203,
residence telephone number: 15 46 34.

Mrs. Bush Control officer:

Phyllis S.F. Villegoureix-Ritaud, ext. 329,
home telephone number: 15 25 86

Alice Le Maistre, ext. 313,
home telephone number: 43 13 84.

Secretary Baker's Control Officer:

POL/Terry Snell, ext. 206,
home telephone number: 44 71 54.

Secretary Brady's Control Officer:

ECON/Eugenia Mills, ext. 253,
home telephone number: 47 12 08.

Mr. Riley's Control Officer:

SCI/Gary Waxmnsky, ext. 331,
home telephone number: 15 47 56.

Mr. Skowcroft's Control Officer:

ECON/Howard Lange, ext. 250,
home telephone number: 45 58 63.

Mr. Gelb's Control Officer:

P&C/William Duffy, ext. 316,
home telephone number: 45 03 25.

Mr. Sununu's Control Officer:

CON/Helen La Lime, ext. 344,
home telephone number: 22 08 94.

Security:

RSO/Tom Comiskey, ext. 261,
home telephone number: 42 65 71.

ARSO/AGSO/Michael Mack, ext. 261/282,
home telephone number: 33 74 28.

Transportation and Baggage:

SGSO/Jeannette P. Dubrow, ext. 282,
home telephone number: 45 01 04.

GSO/Patrick Villegoureix-Ritaud, ext. 281,
home telephone number: 15 25 86.

AGSO/ARSO/Michael Mack, ext. 261/282,
home telephone number: 33 74 28.

Communications:

CPU/Raymond Silva, ext. 228,
home telephone number: 42 24 80.

CPU/Romona Shipp, ext. 229,
home telephone number: 28 98 69.

Accommodations:

SGSO/Jeannette P. Dubrow, ext. 282,
home telephone number: 45 01 04.

PER/Kathy Johnson, ext. 263,
home telephone number: 15 33 84.

The Secretary's Program/Schedule, s/s liaison:

POL/Terry Snell, ext. 206,
home telephone number: 44 71 54.

Protocol:

POL/Dorothy Delahanty, ext. 217,
home telephone number: 22 07 25.

Gifts:

CON/Thomas Gibbons, ext. 306,
home telephone number: 42 59 70.

Visitor's Control Room:

PER/Kathy Johnson, ext. 263,
home telephone number: 15 33 84.

Military Liaison for Air Force Helicopter Advance:

DAO/Col. Dennis Monroe, ext. 237,
home telephone number: 12 11 55.

DAO/Thomas Snodgrass, ext. 238,
home telephone number: 44 89 84.

Medical Liaison:

ADM/Joan Dodman, ext. 247,
home telephone number: 12 09 65.

Thank You Letters for Host Government:

POL/Sheila Berry, ext. 216,
home telephone number: 44 60 79.

Thank You Letters for Embassy Staff, Host Country Nationals:

PER/Kathy Johnson, ext. 263,
home telephone number: 15 33 84.

Arrival Ceremony:

POL/Dorothy Delahnty, ext. 217,
home telephone number: 22 07 25.

Motorcades:

GSO/Patrick Villegoureix-Ritaud, ext. 282,
home telephone number: 15 25 86.

Guest House:

BFO/Al Erlandsen, ext. 293,
home telephone number: 15 44 92.

Tomb of Unknown Soldier:

DAO/Col. Monroe, ext. 237,
home telephone number: 12 11 55.

Meeting with General Jaruzelski:

POL/Ed Gotchef, ext. 220,
home telephone number: 42 02 72.

Lunch at Residence:

SCI/Gary Waxmonsky, ext. 331,
home telephone number: 15 47 56.

National Assembly Speech:

POL/Terry Snell, ext. 206,
home telephone number: 44 71 54.

Embassy Meet and Greet:

CON/Debra Heien, ext. 325,
home telephone number: 44 98 48.

Meeting with Prime Minister:

ECON/Howard Lange, ext. 250,
home telephone number: 45 58 63.

State Dinner:

CON/Michael Dodman, ext. 306,
home telephone number: 12 09 65.

Meeting with U.S. Business Reps:

TDC/Edgar Fulton, ext. 211,
home telephone number: 43 91 15.

Airport Departure:

DAO/Col. Snodgrass, ext. 238,
home telephone number: 44 89 84.

Gdansk Arrival:

DAO/Col. Snodgrass, ext. 238,
home telephone number: 44 89 84.

Westerplatte:

POL/Ronal Czarnetzky, ext. 218,
home telephone number: 44 17 69.

Boad Ride:

ECON/Allen Greenberg, ext. 253,
home telephone number: 44 60 70.

Solidarity Office:

Janet Weber

Workers' Monument:

Bruce Donahue

Walesa's Lunch:

POL/John Boris, ext. 207,
home telephone number: 47 22 43.

Bishop G./Oliva Church:

POL/Sheila Berry, ext. 216,
home telephone number: 44 60 79.

Gdansk Departure:

DAO/col. Snodgrass, ext. 238,
home telephone number: 44 89 84.

Control Officer in Gdansk:

POL/John Boris, ext. 207,
home telephone number: 47 22 43.

Site Officers in Gdansk:

AGSO/ARSO/Michael Mack, ext. 282/261,
home telephone number: 33 74 28.

ECON/John Spilsbury, ext. 252,
home telephone number: 45 22 45.

Airport Coordination:

DAO/col. Snodgrass, ext. 238,
home telephone number: 44 89 84.

Press:

PAO/Stephen Dubrow, ext. 301,
home telephone number: 45 01 04.

P&C/Hugh Hara, ext. 310,
Home telephone number: 12 03 82.

P&C/Gregory Garland, ext. 311,
home telephone number: 44 09 58.

Control Rooms:

PER/Kathy Johnson, ext. 263,
home telephone number: 15 33 84.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

COUNTRY TEAM, U.S. MISSION IN POLAND

John R. Davis, Jr.	Ambassador	Ext. 201
Darryl N. Johnson	Deputy Chief of Mission	Ext. 203
Stephen M. Dubrow	Counselor for Press and Cultural Affairs	Ext. 301
Howard H. Lange	Counselor for Economic Affairs	Ext. 250
Phyllis Villegoureix-Ritaud	Counselor for Consular Affairs	Ext. 329
Terry R. Snell	Counselor for Political Affairs	Ext. 206
Col. Dennis G. Monroe	Defense and Army Attache	Ext. 237
Gary R. Waxmonsky	Scientific and Technological Attache	Ext. 332
Mark J. Lijek	Administrative Officer	Ext. 258
Thomas J. Comiskey	Regional Security Officer	Ext. 261
Edgar D. Fulton, Jr.	Commercial Attache	Ext. 211
John W. Harrison	Agricultural Attache	Ext. 321
Michael T. Barry	Principal Officer American Consulate General, Krakow	
Peter S. Perenyi	Principal Officer, American Consulate, Poznan	

PER:1/89:0670P

QUICK REFERENCE TELEPHONE LIST

American Embassy Warsaw

Al. Ujazdowskie 29/31

Warsaw Tel 28-30-41

April 20, 1989

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AMERICAN COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION (ACA)

ACA Manager	Mack Shipp	277

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DISTRIBUTION: "A"

USEFUL EXPRESSIONS

HOTEL

I'd like:
Proszę

Is there:
Czy jest

What's the price?
Ile kosztuje?

It's too cold/hot/dark/small/noisy
Jest za zimny/gorący/ciemny/mały/hałaśliwy

That's fine
Dobrze

Sign here, please
Proszę tu podpisać

Please ask the chambermaid to come up
Proszę poprosić pokojową

Who is it?
Kto tam?

Just a minute
Chwileczkę

Come in!
Proszę!

Manager
Kierownik

I'd like to talk with the manager
Chciałbym rozmawiać z kierownikiem

Two coffees/a sandwich/some soda water
Dwie kawy/kanapkę/wodę sodową/

Can we have breakfast in our room?
Czy możemy zjeść śniadanie w pokoju?

Extra blanket
Dodatkowy koc

More hangers
Więcej wieszaków

Needle and thread
Igłę i nitkę

Hairdresser's
Fryzjer

Operator, I've been cut off
Proszę pani, przerwano mi

Can you get us a taxi?
Czy może pan/pani sprowadzić nam taksówkę?

Would you send someone to bring down our baggage?
Czy może pan/pani posłać kogoś aby zniósł nam bagaże?

RESTAURANT

Breakfast:
Śniadanie

Dinner:
Kolacja

Meals:
Posiłki

Ice
Lód

Where's the:
Gdzie jest

Bathroom
Łazienka

Cocktail lounge
Barek

Restaurant
Restauracja

Bacon and eggs
Jajka na bekonie

Fried
Smażone

Scrambled
Jajecznica

Desser
Deser

Appetizers
Zakąski

Soup
Zupa

Entrec
Główne danie

Coffe/tea/milk/wine/beer/mineral water
Kawa/herbata/mleko/wino/piwo/woda mineralna

Bread
Chleb

Salad
Salatka

Fruit juice:
Sok:

Grapefruit/orange/pineapple/tomato
Grejpfrutowy/pomarańczowy/ananasowy/pomidorowy

Ham
Szynka

Sausages
Parówki

Keep the change
Reszty nie trzeba

Bring me another:
Proszę jeszcze jedną:

The check, please
Proszę o rachunek

A list of helpful phrases for dispatching vehicles in Polish follows:
(point to the appropriate phrase for the driver)

VEHICLES

Pick me up:
Zabierz mnie z:

Tomorrow morning, be at the hotel at:
Jutro rano bądź w hotelu o:

Take me to:
Zabierz mnie do:

Wait for me:
Czekaj na mnie:

Please:
Proszę

Thank you:
Dziękuję:

Please wait for me in the lower parking lot
Proszę czekać na mnie na dolnym parkingu

I will contact the dispatcher on extension 358 when I need the car again
Skontaktuję się z dyspozytorem pod wewnętrznym 358 jeśli będzie mi potrzebny znowu samochód

You are dismissed for the evening
Jesteś zwolniony na wieczór

SITE VISITS

Could you please show me:
Czy pan/pani mógłby/mogłaby pokazać mi

Where is the:
Gdzie jest

How far is it to:
Jak daleko jest do:

What time is it:
Która jest godzina

Document 0698P

GENERAL INFORMATION FOR AMERICAN VISITORS TO POLAND

1. VISAS: Your Polish visa is valid for a specified length of time. If you wish to remain longer, be sure to apply to have your visa extended at the local Milicja Kommenda (Police Headquarters) or at the Passport Office in Warsaw. You will not be permitted to leave Poland if your visa has expired even if you have a plane reservation.

2. CURRENCY RESTRICTIONS: When you arrive in Poland, you received a form on which to keep track of your currency transactions. You will not be permitted to leave Poland with more hard currency than you had when you arrived. Should you have more hard currency when you are ready to depart from Poland than you had on your arrival, the overage may be confiscated and you may be fined an additional amount. Keep the record you are given of any exchange you make of dollars for Polish currency. Should you receive additional funds by bank transfer after your arrival, keep the record of that transaction as well.

3. EXPORT RESTRICTIONS: Many items may not be exported from Poland or may be exported only by obtaining an export license and paying a 100% ad valorem duty. These items include objects containing precious metals or gems, furs, textiles, paintings by artists who are no longer living and, any object, especially art works or books, which was manufactured or made before 1945. All such items are subject to confiscation should you attempt to remove them without official permission. Keep the receipts for anything you purchase.

4. PROHIBITED AREAS: Entry into those areas of Poland adjacent to its borders and coasts is prohibited except with permission from the Milicja. This prohibition does not include entry for the purpose of entering or leaving the country.

5. ARRESTS: If you should be detained or arrested by the Polish police for any reason, you should request that the nearest American Consul be informed at once. The consular convention between the United States and Poland requires that the arresting or detaining authorities notify the Consul within three days, upon request of the detained or arrested person.

If you note and heed the above-mentioned restrictions, and in general exercise reasonable prudence during your visit to Poland, you should experience no difficulties. The American Embassy at Warsaw and the American Consulates at Krakow and Poznan are ready to help you if, despite your precautions, some serious problem does arise during your stay in Poland. Our resources, however, are limited. We cannot provide you with the services of a travel agency, bank, post office, telecommunications agency or other similar public facility.

PER:06/06/89 1400 document 1546P

PRE-ADVANCE TEAM VISIT INFORMATION

1. TELEPHONE

A. INCOMING CALLS: The Duty Officer will take telephone messages for members of the delegation and assure that they are delivered promptly. In receiving an incoming call, the Duty Officer is unable to commit delegate members to returning the long-distance call at a set time. It is very difficult to making a long-distance call from Warsaw. Whenever possible, try to get the caller to call again at a specific time.

B. OUTGOING CALLS: All official long-distance calls must be placed through the Embassy switchboard. No long-distance calls can be placed from the hotel. The Duty Officer may place the call for the delegate with the Embassy switchboard operator; it is essential to specify which delegate is making the call and to confirm that it is an official (not a personal) call.
The International Operator number is 25-92-51. Before leaving the Control Room for the evening, be sure to cancel any outstanding request for a call.

3. MEDICAL INFORMATION

Dr. Arnison-Newgass will be in town through Wednesday and has been alerted to the presence of the Delegation. British Embassy Nurse, Jean Bowskill is also available. In the event a delegation member requires medical assistance, please ask the Control Room Duty Officer to contact Dr. Arnison-Newgass or Nurse Dodman. If they are unsuccessful in reaching either of them, the duty officer will consult with the Visit Control Officer (DCM) before electing to use Polish Emergency Services, except in cases so extreme that delay is not acceptable.

Dr. Arnison-Newgass:	British Embassy Medical Center British Embassy, Al. Roz 1 TEL: 28-10-01	Home: Zawrat 13 TEL: 43-05-62
Nurse Jean Bowskill	Same as above	tel. 28-10-01
Nurse Joan Dodman, RN	American Embassy Tel. 28-30-41 ext. 247	Home: Kosynierow 17 12-09-65

Money

B&F will provide a courtesy accommodation exchange at designated times. The BFO Cashier will be present at designated periods both in the Control Room and at the Embassy Cafeteria to provide accommodation exchange services.

Hospitality Room (provided by ACA)

ACA has provided drinks, case lots of bottled water, coffee, and tea. The Hospitality Room will be open as follows:
Tuesday, June 6 - 2 p.m. until midnight
Wednesday, June 7 - 9 a.m. to midnight.
If the control room closes down earlier, the Hospitality Room will also close.

Coffee and soft drinks are available for members of the delegation. All delegation members are expected to pay for items consumed. Prices will be posted. Payment should be made to the ACA staff member.

Reception Desk extension 2113.

MEALS

The Hotel Sejmowy has a restaurant in a separate building (please refer to diagram of area) which is open 24 hrs.

The Eagle Club at the Embassy is open for lunch and dinner as follows:
Monday - 5 - 10 p.m. (bar and snacks only)
Tuesday - Friday - noon - 3 p.m. lunch
5 p.m. - 10 p.m. dinner
(Friday till 11 pm.)
Saturday & Sunday noon - 10 p.m.

The Embassy cafeteria will be open for breakfast as follows:
Monday - Friday - 7 - 9 a.m.

A list of local restaurants is included in each welcome kit.

A bus will depart the Hotel Sejmowy at 6:45 a.m. on Wednesday for the Embassy for those who wish to have an early breakfast.

Payment at the Eagle Club is in dollars. Payment at the Embassy cafeteria is in zlotys only. In addition to zlotys, most local restaurants will accept credit cards.

CLASSIFIED TRAFFIC

A classified work area is available at the Embassy in the flag room on the first floor. Please consult the Duty Officer for further information.
NOTE: TYPEWRITERS IN THE CONTROL ROOM ARE UNCLASSIFIED MACHINES. NO CLASSIFIED MATERIALS SHOULD BE PREPARED ON THESE TYPEWRITERS.

TRANSPORTATION

Our vehicles are in very short supply. Please ask the Duty Officer to contact the dispatcher at the Embassy if a car is needed on an urgent basis. Individual team members can also call a radio taxi (dial 919) or walk to the Embassy.

AFTER HOURS CONSULAR ASSISTANCE

LOST AMERICAN PASSPORT

In general, the Embassy will not issue a tourist passport on weekends or on Polish holidays. Except in extreme emergency situations, American citizens desiring passport services should be asked to appear at the Embassy during normal working hours. However, it must be emphasized that in order to depart Poland, an American citizen who lost his passport must obtain a new Polish visa. The Polish passport office which issues visas to foreigners does not operate on weekends or on Polish holidays. In Warsaw this function is handled at ul. Okrzei 13, Praga, which has office hours from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Monday through Friday.

An American who has lost his passport should take the following steps:

1. Report the loss to the local Polish police headquarters. In Warsaw, the loss should be reported to the local District police station (Dzielnicowy Urzad Spraw Wewnetrznych). The station nearest the Embassy is located at ul. Wilcza 23.

2. Obtain a certificate from the police indicating the loss.

3. Have three photos 5 cm x 5 cm (slighly larger sizes may be acceptable). Reliable photo service may be obtained at Wilcza 46.

4. Be prepared to pay a fee in the amount of 42 U.S. dollars or the zloty equivalent.

5. Bring to the Embassy (a) any identification indicating U.S. citizenship, or (b) an American citizen who can support the person's identity.

HOUSING AND HOTELS

Should American citizens inquire about very inexpensive yet comfortable accomodations, they can be directed to the following locations:

STUDENT HOSTELS: Warsaw, ul. Smolna 30; phone 27-89-52
Warsaw, ul. Karolkowa 53; phone 32-88-29

CHEAP TEMPORARY HOUSING: Hotel Nowa Praga-Warszawa, ul. Bertolda Brechta 7; phone 19-50-01

SYRENA Travel Agency, ul. Krucza 17, phone 25-72-01, 02, 03, has addresses of private apartments in Warsaw.

CUSTOMS DIFFICULTIES

Many American citizens have experienced problems when departing Poland by trying to export items subject to Polish export restrictions. (This is particularly true of fur coats as well as gold and silver objects.) Should such items be confiscated at the time of an existing customs inspection, for example, at the Warsaw Airport, the traveler may miss his flight or be otherwise detained. Unfortunately, the Main Customs House, which reviews such cases, is closed on weekends and on Polish holidays. Thus, the Embassy is unable to obtain any accurate information to assist travelers until the Customs House opens. American citizens who have been delayed in departing Poland due to custom difficulties should be asked to appear at the Embassy's Consular Section at the first opportunity during normal business hours.

The loss of a currency declaration should be reported promptly to the Main Customs Office (Glowny Urzad Cel) Ul. Siwetokrzyska 12, telephone: 20-03-11, ext. 769, for issuance of permission to export foreign currency as well as other valuables brought legally into Poland. Without a currency declaration, U.S. travelers will experience difficulties when trying to depart Poland.

TOURIST VISAS

The Embassy does not issue non-immigrant visas during weekends and holidays except in life-saving, humanitarian situations.

MEDICAL EMERGENCIES

The Embassy does not have a resident physician to deal with the medical problems of American citizens temporarily in Poland. Furthermore, the British physician who provides medical services to American Embassy staff does not have personal access to local medical facilities. It is at the discretion of the Embassy's Duty Officer to advise the British Embassy Dispensary about emergency cases. In most medical emergencies, Americans can request assistance by telephoning the First Aid Station at ul. Hoza 56, telephone no. 28-24-24, or 999.

HOUSING AND HOTELS

If an American staying temporarily at a hotel needs medical attention, he should request the assistance of the hotel's duty physician through the hotel's reception desk.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

In case of financial difficulties, an American citizen who needs funds should telephone or telegraph his family or friends in the U.S. and request them to deposit funds with the American Department of State. Telegrams can be sent from the Main Post Office, ul. Barbary 2, which is open 24 hours daily. The following instructions should be given:

Please telegraph the funds and instructions via Western Union to:
CITIZENS EMERGENCY CENTER (CA/OCS/EMR)
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20520

Include in this message that funds should be sent to the individual c/o American Embassy, Warsaw, Poland. Make the Western Union telegraphic money order payable to the U.S. Department of State. The telephone number for the Emergency Center is: (202) 647-5225 or 1512. The Embassy will transmit telegrams to the U.S. on weekends and holidays only in compelling emergency situations.

GOING-OUT KIND OF PLACES

DISCOS

]. The Interpark Disco (the park)
Hours: Open until]0 p.m. Reopens at]] p.m. until 3a.m. on weekends, 2 a.m. weekdays.

located in a park off al. Niepodleglosci
Big with college crowd, but others as well
videos
(probably the nicest disco in town)

2. Remont
Hours: same format as #] above

Located on Armii Ludowej
Similar to the Park described above

3. Rusalka
Hours: Open until 6 in the morning on weekends

Located on Wybrzeze Helskie, on the other side of the Wisla River (rig on it). Across from the zoo in Praga
Bit of a rougher joint may want a dollar to let peaple in

NIGHT CLUBS

4. Kongresowa
Hours show starts at]0 p.m.; should be seated by nine; Open until 3 a.m

Located in the Palace of Culture across from train station
Restaurant and dancing as well as "camp" floorshow
Great atmosphere
Good time in a large group
reservations required

5. Czarny Kot (black cat)
Hours:]0 p.m. until 2 or3 a.m,

Located in the Victoria Hotel
Must *dress*
Live music, dancing and floorshow

6. Akwarium (Jazz Club)
Hours : Show begins at 8 p.m. and]0:30 p.m.

Located on Emilii Plater 49, behind the Palace of Culture
(on the side of the street of the train station)
Restaurant downstairs as well as in the club itself (meat and potatoes)
Reservations

7. Kamieniolomy (Europejski Hotel)
Hours: Show begins at midnight

Located in Europejski Hotel on Krakowskie Przedmiescie 13 (enter around corner)
Must "dress"
restaurant, sometimes live music, dancing and floorshow

8. Krokodyl Restaurant
Hours: 1 p.m. to 1 a.m.

Located in Old Town Square; tel. 31-44-27
Floorshow: sometimes
Live Band: 8:30 p.m.
Food: Quite All right
Atmosphere: Like a wine cellar, beatnik

CAFES

9. Petit Trianon
Hours: 1 p.m. to Midnight, Telephone: 31-73-13

Located on Piwna in Old Town (Off open square across from Royal Castle)
Good French food
Tiny Place (tables the size of postage stamps)
Reservations

10. Swietoszek (The Klub)
Hours: 1 p.m. until ? Telephone: 31-56-34

Located in Old Town - Jezuicka 6/8 (at back of Royal Castle, last street)
keep an eye out for sign above door
Delicious Food (smoked salmon, and caviar blini recommended)
Americanized, but not quite, atmosphere
Nice place
Reservations advisable at night

Boat Trip on the Wisla River

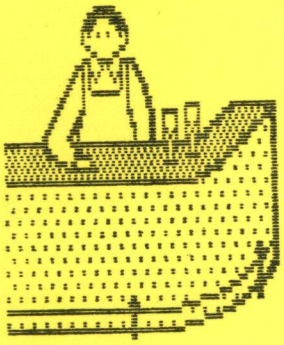
It is possible every day during during summer and early fall on the following hours to take a boat trip on the Wisla River: 9:30, 11:00, 12:30, 14:30, 16:00, 17.30

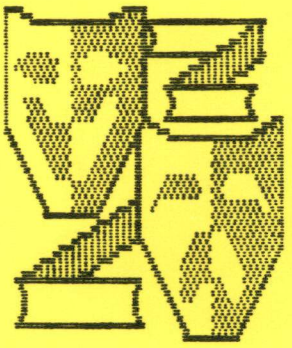
The ticket costs 210 zloties. The boat will depart if there are a minimum of 20 passengers. They have difficulty getting the required number of passengers during the week. However Saturday and Sundays are normally well attended. Call 28-05-26 for reservations.

DIPLOMATIC LICENSE PLATE PREFIXES

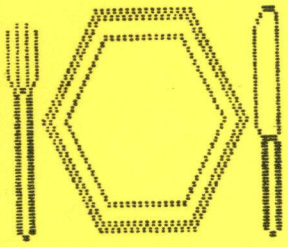
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02 - GB
03 - France
04 - Canada
05 - German
06 - Holland
07 - Italy
08 - Austria
09 - Japan
10 - Turkey
11 - Belgium
12 - Denmark
13 - Norway
14 - Greece
15 - Australia
16 - Algeria
17 - Afghanistan
18 - Argentina
19 - Brazil
20 - Bangladesh
21 - Egypt
22 - Equador
23 - Finland
24 - Spain
25 - Iraq
26 - Iran
27 - India
28 - Indonesia
29 - Columbia
30 - Costa Rica
31 - Libya
32 - Morocco
33 - Mexico
34 - Nigeria
35 - Pakistan
36 - Portugal
37 - PLO
38 - Syria
39 - Sweden
40 - Switzerland
41 - Tunisia
42 - Thailand
43 - Venezuela
44 - Uruguay
45 - Peru
46 - Gabon
47 - Malaysia
48 - Zaire
49 - UN
65 - USSR
66 - GDR
67 - Czechoslovakia
68 - Bulgaria
69 - Hungary
70 - Romania
71 - Vietnam
72 - Yugoslavia
73 - North Korea
74 - Cuba
75 - Albania
76 - PRC
77 - Mongolian People's Republic

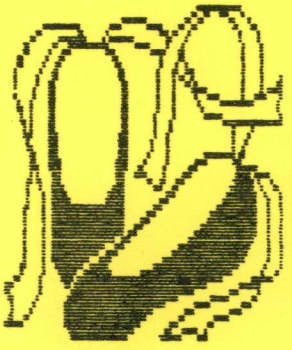
INFORMATION





FOR





VISITORS





HELPFUL HINTS FOR VISITORS TO WARSAW

PLEASE READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED IN THE WELCOME PACKET. IT CONTAINS:

1. List of Restaurants
2. Map
3. Shopping and Sightseeing in Warsaw

IF YOU ARE STAYING AT THE VICTORIA HOTEL AND WANT TO WALK TO OLD TOWN - AN EASY TEN MINUTE STROLL:

Leave the lobby of the hotel, turn to right and walk one block plus to the main street, KRAKOWSKIE PRZEDMIESCIE. Turn left. Continue on Krakowskie Przedmiescie about four blocks until you see an open square on your right. In the center is a statue on a tall column and the red-colored Royal Castle. The Historic Old Town Square is two blocks away down Piwna or Swietojanska.

HERE ARE SOME POPULAR AND CONVENIENT RESTAURANTS. THE RECEPTION DESK AT THE HOTEL SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE NECESSARY RESERVATIONS. (REQUIRED BY MOST RESTAURANTS)

1. Staropolska
   Krakowskie Przedmiescie 8
   (on your way to Old Town on the right hand side)
   Tel. 26-90-70
2. Bazyliszek
   Old Town Square 7/9
   Tel. 31-18-41
3. Kamienne Schodki
   Old Town square 26 (Roast duck ONLY)
   Tel. 31-08-22
4. Krokodyl
   Old Town Square
   Tel. 31-44-27
5. Swietoszek Club
   Jezuicka (off Old Town Square).
   Tel. 31-56-34
6. Wilanow (You will need a taxi or car for this one, but it is worth it!)
   Wiertnicza 27, near Wilanow Palace
   Tel. 42-18-52
7. Kuznia Krolewska (Also need a car or taxi)
   Wiertnicza 2 at Wilanow
   Tel. 42-31-71

SHOPS OF INTEREST

CRYSTAL AND GLASS

1. Pulawska, pavilion no. 6 opposite Dolna intersection and St. Michael's
2. Piekna, first floor
3. Old Town Square, at Swietojanska corner
4. Freta and Nowomiejska off of Old Town Square

SILVER

1. ORNO, Marszalkowska 83
2. ORNO, Nowy Swiat 52
3. Cepelia stores

GIFTS

Cepelia Shops:
Pulawska 54/56
Plac Konstytucji 5 and 2 (both two floors)
Marszalkowska 99/101 (across from the Forum Hotel)
Old Town Square 8/10 (two floors)
Nowy Swiat 29, 34, 35, 64

LINENS

1. Cepelia stores (see GIFTS)
2. Polski Len, Marszalkowska 140
3. Ziemia Bialostocka, Al. Ujazdowskie 22
4. Len Sklep, Szpitalna 81

LEATHER

1. Hoza 33
2. Galanteria Skorzana, Al. Jerozolimskie 29 & Pulawska 53
3. Koszykowa 58
4. Andrzej Kloda, Krakowskie Przedmiescie 18

GOING-OUT KIND OF PLACES

DISCOS

1. The Interpark Disco (the Park)
   Hours: Open until 10 p.m. Reopens at 11 p.m. until 3 a.m. on weekends, 2 a.m. weekdays

   Located in a park off Al. Niepodleglosci
   Big with college crowd, but others as well
   videos
   (probably the nicest disco in town)

2. Remont
   Hours: Same format as #1 above

   Located on Armii Ludowej
   Similar to the Park described above

3. Rusalka
   Hours: Open until 6 in the morning on weekends

   Located on Wybrzeze Helskie, on the other side of the Wisla River (right on it). Across from the ZOO in Praga
   Bit of a rougher joint-may want a dollar to allow people in

NIGHT CLUBS

4. Kongresowa
   Hours: Show starts at 10 p.m.; should be seated by nine; Open until 3 a.m.

   Located in the Palace of Culture across from train station
   Restaurant and dancing as well as "camp" floorshow
   Great atmosphere
   Good time in a large group
   Reservations required

5. Czarny Kot (Black Cat)
   Hours: 10 p.m. until 2 or 3 a.m.

   Located in the Victoria Hotel
   Must "dress"
   Live music, dancing and floorshow

6. Akwarium (Jazz Club)
   Hours: Show begins at 8 p.m. and 10:30 p.m.

   Located on Emilii Plater 49, behind the Palace of Culture
   (on the side of the street of the train station)
   Restaurant downstairs, as well as in club itself (meat and potatoes)
   Reservations

7. Kamieniolomy (Europejski Hotel)
   Hours: Show begins at midnight

   Located in Europejski Hotel on Krakowskie Przedmiescie 13 (enter around corner)
   Must "dress"
   restaurant, sometimes live music, dancing and floorshow

8. Krokodyl Restaurant
   Hours: 1 p.m. to 1 a.m.

   Located in Old Town Square; tel. 31-44-27
   Floorshow: sometimes
   Live Band: 8:30 p.m.
   Food: Quite All right
   Atmosphere: Like a wine cellar, beatnik

CAFES

9. Petit Trianon
   Hours: 1 p.m. to Midnight; Telephone: 31-73-13

   Located on Piwna in Old Town (Off open square across from Royal Castle)
   Good French food
   Tiny Place (tables the size of postage stamps)
   Reservations

10. Swietoszek (The Klub)
    Hours: 1 p.m. until ? Telephone: 31-56-34

    Located in Old Town - Jezuicka 6/8 (at back of Royal Castle, last street)
      keep an eye out for sign above door
    Delicious Food (smoked salmon, and caviar blini recommended)
    Americanized, but not quite, atmosphere
    Nice place
    Reservations advisable at night

Boat Trip on the Wisla River

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THINGS TO DO AND SEE

Warsaw has much to offer by way of things to do and see. The only trick to it is finding out what's good before you get there, or what's coming to town before it has left. Following is a general introduction to the various activities we most commonly engage in. The emphasis is on what you might expect when you try some of them out and, equally important, what might be expected of you. For specific ideas on things that would suit you interests take a look at the WARSAW DIRECTORY, ask ACA what's playing at the local theaters, check the NOW's weekly announcements of goings-on around town, or pick up a Stolica at a Ruch stand. The Stolica is published every week and provides the most current information on movies, museums, operas and ballets. To help get you started, we have included two maps at the end of this section indicating a few shops and city sights. Above all, ask around!

SHOPPING

Shopping in Poland can be a challenging experience. Prerequisites for success include patience, perseverance and a keen sense for the vagaries of the system. Don't be inhibited. An average of two hours in every Pole's day is consumed with the task of locating needed goods and taking the time to get them. For the average US diplomat -- not subject to rations and shortages and with access to duty-free shops, commissaries and mail-order catalogs -- shopping locally is a veritable luxury. The point being, not only are there many a "good buy" to be found for the looking, there is also a lot to learn about Poland in the process.

Due to an erratic system of supply and distribution, what an outlet is supposed to sell, or what you could swear it stocked a couple weeks ago, may bear little resemblance to what it is selling today. A good adage to go by is, if you like what you see buy it!

Self-service shopping is rare in the American sense outside of a few large department stores. In most cases, a salesclerk will assist you. When she retrieves an item off the shelf for you, you're free to examine it without obligation. She'll wait while you look it over, however. This is not to pressure you to buy so much as to make a decision, so she can move on to the next customer. If you want the item, she'll write up a receipt which you take to the cashier (Kasa) and pay. Once you show the salesclerk your paid receipt, she'll wrap up your item and give it to you.

In a self-service store, on the other hand, no one may enter the merchandise area without first picking up a store basket. This method is used to control the number of people in the store at any one time. Thus, even if you have no intention of buying anything and just want to look around, you must still drape a store basket over your arm. If there are two of you together, both need a basket. On busy days you can expect to wait in line to get a basket.

Several Polish phrases you may encounter regularly are: "Nie ma," which means they don't have what you want; "Remont," which means the shop is under reconstruction; "Spis Controlny towarow," which means the shop, or part of the shop, is closed for inventory; and "Urlop," which means the shop is closed because the shopkeepers have all gone on vacation. The latter is an epidemic phenomenon in July and August. Other reasons posted on store fronts for shop closings include: "Dezynsekcja" (fumigation), "Przyjecie towaru" (deliveries), "Awaria" (maintenance repairs), "Brak personelu" (personnel shortage), or "Choroba personelu" (all personnel out sick).

About Lines: Lines in Poland are a fact of life. The most common lines you'll find yourself in will be to pick up a basket, to get to the salesclerk, to pay for your merchandise and to pick up your purchase. Lines are rarely disorderly, although customers behind you may get irritated if you take too long to examine something or if you don't have your money ready when you go to the cashier. And while it is perfectly acceptable for someone to hold a place in line for you, to cut in front of someone is clearly out of the question, with some exceptions. Certain people are permitted by regulation to be served ahead of others. These include pregnant women, women with small children in tow, and the disabled. There is often a separate line for these shoppers, known collectively as "inwalidzi." If not, they simply move to the front of the line and are served as they appear. If you fall into one of these categories, you will be encouraged by onlookers to take advantage of the system.

Shopping Tips:

*Bring your own bag or box to carry your purchases as they are rarely provided.

*A few foods (e.g., pickles, sauerkraut and ice cream) do not come with their own containers, which you must supply. Fresh foods are usually wrapped in paper. Frozen foods that exist are packaged, but quality is dubious.

*Bread is neither packaged nor wrapped for you. You can check a loaf for freshness, but must use the small pieces of paper set out for this purpose. Once touched, the bread is considered your purchase. (It doesn't seem to matter that there is no way of telling which side of the paper last touched the bread and which side touched human hands. But you can be sure it is inappropriate to handle the bread directly.)

*Juice and soda water are sold in deposit bottles. The deposit is included in the price. Theoretically you get your deposit back when you return the bottles to any store where the same product is sold. However, some stores ask that you buy the same number of new bottles, less the deposit, rather than pay you the deposit. Supersam will take any returnable bottles, regardless.

Popular Shops: Following are a few of the Polish outlets more commonly used by the foreign community. Generally speaking, shops are open Monday through Friday and a half day on "shopping Saturdays." Shopping Saturdays are the first and last Saturdays of the month.

Pewex. This is a Polish foreign trade organization which has outlets in all major cities and hotels throughout Poland. Pewex stores offer a variety of imported and domestic goods otherwise rationed or unavailable. They are open to Poles and foreigners alike and accept only hard currency or special coupons called "bony." Prices are reasonable. When you go, take some small change along so you can pay in exact amounts; otherwise, you may get bony or an assortment of other foreign coins for change. Each Pewex tends to specialize in certain types of stock; although these, too, can change. Overall, merchandise ranges from food, clothing, cosmetics and toys to carpets, sporting goods, household appliances and accessories.

Baltona. This is a duty-free, hard currency store. It offers much the same imported goods as Pewex stores, but at duty-free rates and on a more limited scale. Unlike Pewex, Baltona also sells fresh produce throughout the year.

Other shops reserved for diplomats include the Diplomatic Meat Store, discussed in Section I, and the Diplomatic Grocery Store. The latter is much like any Polish grocery store, called "Spozywczy," although the quality may be higher. Both stores deal in zloties.

Polna Market. This is a private open-air market open Monday through Friday 0700-1800 and 0700-1500 on Saturdays. Among other things, you can find there fresh fruits and vegetables, eggs, cheeses, poultry, herbs and spices, homemade pickles, sauerkraut and horseradish, baskets and fresh cut flowers. Prices vary considerably according to the season.

Cepelia. This is the State-run outlet for Polish folk arts and crafts, woven and embroidered fabrics, wood carvings and furniture, carpets, tapestries, linens, ceramics, jewelry and other souvenirs. You pay in zloties.

Desa. This is the State-run outlet for Polish fine arts where you can find old and contemporary paintings, prints and jewelry, and antique reproductions. Items produced before 1945 cannot be exported so check before you buy. If there is any question of the item's origins, the Desa should be able to provide an export certificate. Sales may be in zloties or hard currency.

Ruchs. These are the numerous kiosks you see dotted all over town, which claim to be "the world's smallest department stores." They sell newspapers, magazines, maps, stamps, postcards, bus and tram tickets and various other odd trinkets and things.

Bookstores. "Ksiegarnie" offer books, records, maps and travel brochures at very reasonable prices. Some of the larger bookstores have English, French, German and Russian texts and translations.

Flea Markets. There are several flea markets in Warsaw and each is worth a visit, if only for the experience. You can find anything from ball bearings to a sable coat. Just beware of possible pickpockets.

Flower Shops. "Kwiaciarnia" are all over the city and constitute one of the pleasures, if not traditions, of life in Poland.

DINING OUT

Restaurants in Warsaw come in a variety of shapes and sizes, and with an equal diversity of food, atmosphere and decor. They are often affected by food shortages, however. You may find the menu to be lengthy and complicated, only to discover that just one or two items are actually available. If there isn't a price listed next to the item, you can be sure they don't have it. Ask the waiter for his recommendation before you decide. The bill will include a ten percent service charge, to which you may add a personal tip if you wish. Private restaurants tend to have a larger selection of choices and better food, although you'll pay for it in the bill.

Every restaurant has its cloakroom. During the winter this is not an optional service; you are obliged to leave your coat or jacket there whether you want to or not. The fee is five zloties, some leave more. The attendants are usually people on disability pensions, and the fees go to supplement their income.

Other types of places to eat include cafes, cafeterias, milk bars and pizza parlors. These are inexpensive, less formal, and offer a limited menu of snacks and beverages. Food stands selling ice cream, waffles, doughnuts, "hot dogs" (rolls stuffed with meat, cheese or mushrooms), fried fish and French fries, are also very popular during the summer.

ENTERTAINMENT

Movies: Poles like to go to the movies and have a great interest in foreign films. Most foreign films have subtitles so there is no problem hearing the original. Tickets are sold the day of the show; try to pick them up in the morning if the film is popular. Ticket prices range from 40 to 120 zloties. Seats are always reserved. There is usually no coat check to worry about. If you arrive late, you may have to wait for the intermission between the news and the main feature to take your seat. Leaving during the film may also be hampered by locked exit doors. Smoking in the theater is prohibited.

The Stolica publishes movie listings weekly. A local newspaper, such as Zycia Warszawy and Tribuna Ludu, will give you the show times. The film's origin is indicated in brackets (pol.= Polish, weg.= Hungarian, radz.= Russian, fr.= French, etc.). "B.o." is equivalent to the "G" for General Audiences in the US. "L.15" or "L.18" indicates that only people over 15 or 18 are allowed in. "g" stands for "godzina" or show time. On weekends there are special children's matinees, called "Poranki."

Theaters & Concert Halls: Theater, ballet, opera and musical productions are of international caliber here, if not in fact imported from abroad. Tickets are persuasively inexpensive and are easily ordered through ACA. Performances begin around 1900 and coats must be checked at the cloakroom.

Nightclubs featuring music and live entertainment (a half hour floorshow) are standard fare in most of the large hotels. Performances begin around midnight and there is usually a cover charge. Reservations are recommended.

SIGHTSEEING

Museums & Galleries: In every city of Poland you can find at least an art gallery, an archaeology museum, several history museums and a technology museum. Warsaw is certainly no exception. Admission fees are nominal. One day of the week is often designated for free entry. The larger museums are more likely to sell the English-language guidebooks. Many of the palaces and castles require that you join a guided tour. English-language tours should be arranged in advance. Most palaces and historic buildings also provide felt slippers, which visitors are expected to wear over their shoes in order to protect the floors. On occasion, you may find an area of the museum closed off, probably to conserve heat or because there are not enough guards. In such instances, there is no harm in trying to get an escort to take you through.

Churches: Churches are very much in active use all over Poland. Most Poles attend church regularly, but also visit them as sightseers. Thus, you won't be out of place in the latter role as long as you remain sensitive to any services that may be in progress.

Synagogs: Only a few synagogs now exist and fewer still are in use. (Warsaw has only one.) They are generally closed to the public, however. Try to explain your interest to someone with authority on the premises or in the Jewish community.

Cemeteries: Poles are regular visitors to the cemetery. As long as it is open, you won't have any problem taking a stroll through one. A concerted effort is made to maintain grave sites and to keep them decorated with fresh flowers. An experience worth undertaking while you are here is to visit the Warsaw Municipal Cemetery (Cmentarz Powazkowski) on All Saints Day, November 1st, or on August 1st, the anniversary of the beginning of the Warsaw Uprising. By dusk, the entire cemetery glows with the light of memorial candles burning at every grave site.

A BIT ABOUT POLAND

FACTS & FIGURES

Geography: Poland is part of a continuous plain merging with the USSR to the east and East Germany to the west. To the north is the Baltic Sea and to the south rise the Carpathian and Sudeten Mountains. Her current geographic area encompasses about 120,000 square miles. This makes her variously the largest country in Eastern Europe, the seventh largest country in all of Europe, the 68th largest country in the world, and about the size of New Mexico.

Population: Poland's population now ranges around 37 million. It is ethnically homogeneous, with only 1.5 percent being of Ukranian, Byelorussian, German or Jewish extraction. By contrast, the 150,000 square miles of pre-WWII Poland had a population of 35 million of which 14 percent were Ukranian, ten percent Jewish, three percent Byelorussian and two percent German. Polish Jewry suffered near total annihilation during the war. The other minorities were lost to emigration and the creation of the post-war boundaries resulting in major shifts of population.

Some ten million Poles live outside of Poland. 6.5 million of these are in the US, and about two thirds of these call Chicago their home.

Climate: While Poland lies at the same general latitude as Canada, its climatic conditions are much less stable. It sits between two major weather systems; the warmer oceanic system of Western Europe and the cooler continental system of the Soviet Union. Weather conditions can thus change radically within a day or an hour, and seasonal conditions vary considerably from year to year.

Origins: The name "Polska," or Poland, comes from the six Slovanic tribes that originally inhabited the present-day Poznan area in the mid-10th century. They called themselves the "Polonians," or plains people of "Wielkopolska," or the Great Plain. The country's official name has been the Polish People's Republic since 1952.

Coat of Arms: Poland's national coat of arms is a white eagle on a red background which dates back to the Middle Ages. Through history it has undergone several modifications; most notably, with the removal and restoration of the eagle's crown. During the Period of Partitions (1772-1918), when the emblem was officially banned, it appeared for the first time with a crownless eagle on the banners of insurrectionists and emigres. With the coming of independence in 1918, the Poles adopted a white eagle with a golden crown. The crownless eagle was officially reinstated following WWII, however, and is now considered symbolic of communist Poland.

National Colors & Flag: Poland's national colors are red and white, derived from the colors of the original eagle emblem. The same colors are depicted in the Polish flag consisting of a red horizontal plain below a white one.

National Anthem: Symbolic of the Poles' indefatigable struggles for independence throughout history, her national anthem opens with the line: "Poland has not yet perished as long as we are alive." (Jeszcze Polska Nie zginelta poki my zyjemy.) The anthem emerged in 1797, during the Period of Partitions, among the Polish legions fighting with the French under General Henryk Dabrowski. It was formally adopted in 1918 with the coming of independence.

THE GOVERNMENT

The Polish government is modeled on the Soviet socialist system. Supreme power is concentrated in the Politbureau of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR). The Politbureau consists of ten to twenty members headed by the Party First Secretary. The policies of the Politbureau are transmitted to the population through two parallel political bureaucracies, the Party and the Administration.

The Administration side of the government is based in the Sejm, a parliamentary body of 460 deputies elected every four years. The Sejm, in turn, elects its own 17-member Council of State, which performs representational functions, including the acceptance of credentials from foreign ambassadors. The Sejm also appoints the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. The latter is called the Council of Ministers and serves to administer parliamentary-enacted policy, based on the Party's recommendations down through the ranks.

Several political parties are represented in the Sejm; the majority PZPR and the minority United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. A few members of the Sejm claim no party affiliation. They consist mostly of nominal Catholic deputies whose sentiments are split between the policies of the Roman Catholic Church and those of the PZPR.

The administration of Poland's local regions -- 49 "voivoidships" and 2406 smaller administrative districts -- is split between a government executive body and the Peoples' Council which performs a more legislative function. Both are under the direction of the Council of Ministers. This structure is paralleled by a separate Party apparat whose job it is to ensure adherence to Party policies. Indeed, the Party appoints not only its own officials in its Central, regional and local committees, it also controls the key positions in cental and local governments, in industry and commerce, in the press and in the military.

POLISH OBSERVANCES

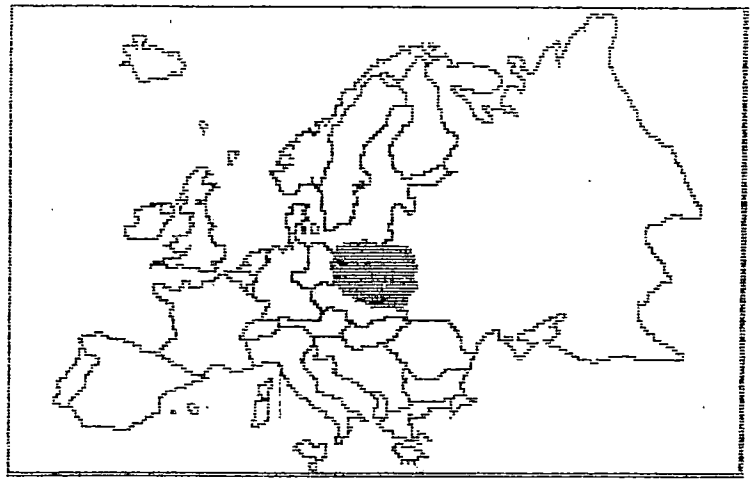
Rather than reiterate what already exists in a basic introduction to Polish culture, we direct you to Living In Poland: A Guide to Customs and Values. It was written by Sarah Kaiser Hyams in 1983 following a tour in Warsaw and is available in the CSO office.

Comm. Services Office

Warsaw, the capital city of Poland since 1596, has regained its prewar population of 1.3 million. Like Paris, Warsaw is not only the administrative but also the cultural capital of the country. Over half of all Polish writers, artists, and scientists and about a fourth of all Polish university students are concentrated there. There are numerous scientific institutions, libraries, and museums, including the National Museum, directed by Stanslaw Lorentz, the leading spirit behind the current campaign to reconstruct the Warsaw Royal Castle.

The Royal Castle was leveled during a systematic Nazi destruction of what was left of the city after the 1944 Warsaw Uprising against the German occupants. About 90% of the city was in ruins at the end of World War II and the city's population was down to 200,000. Earlier, the city's entire prewar Jewish population of 300,000was wiped out by the Germans in a campaign which culminated in the April/May 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The Warsaw Historic Museum on the Old Town Market Square has some extraordinary photographs of Warsaw at the end of World War II.

The Old Town has been reconstructed with particularly loving care and is a must for any visitor to Warsaw, but it should be remembered that most of the splendid old churches and palaces are in fact faithful postwar reconstructions. Although some of Warsaw's finest buildings dated back to the 17th and 18th centuries, the reconstruction included much less distinguished 19th century building and some rare examples of Gothic architecture including the Cathedral of St. John and the walls of the Old Town. While the center of the city has been reconstructed largely as it had been the rest of it follows a postwar plan which takes into account the fact that Warsaw is also one of the country's largest industrial centers.



The Royal Castle
(Warsaw)

The ruins of the Royal Castle occupy a commanding height overlooking the Vistula River. Archeological research has revealed that a fortress of some kind has been on this site since prehistoric times.

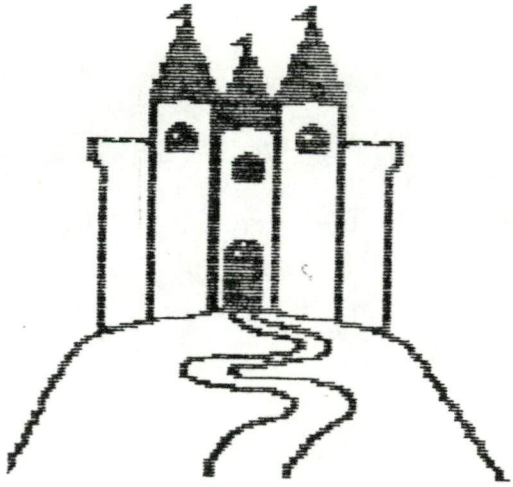
The Castle, totally destroyed by the German Occupation Forces during World War II, was begun by Prince Konrad II in the 13th century. It was completed in its present form by King Zygmunt III, an occasional alchemist who, legend has it, burned down his magnificent Wawel Castle in Krakow during an experiment. This fire, which lasted five days, plus strategic and political considerations, led Zygmunt to move his capital to Warsaw. Poland was at this time the largest nation in Europe and a major political power.

It was in the Great Hall of his new castle in 1611 that King Zygmunt received the homage of the Russian Czar Vasilii. The Castle was severely damaged and pillaged of its treasures during the Polish-Swedish Wars, and it was only restored to its former glory during the reign of King Stanislaw Augustus in the late 18th century.

Following the third partition of Poland in 1795, the Castle served as headquarters for successive waves of rulers -- Russian, French, Ducy of Warsaw, Congress Kingdom. Under the Russian Occupation of the 19th and 20th centuries the Castle fell into disrepair and was stripped of its marble facade.

It was restored in the years after 1918, when Poland recovered her independence, and once again became the ceremonial center of Polish life. In the period between the wars it was the scene of diplomatic meetings, military reviews and state dinners. This period ended abruptly with the outbreak of World War II. The building was severely damaged in the 1939 Siege of Warsaw, looted by the Nasis in 1941, and totally destroyed by the retreating German Army in 1944.

Plans for the Castle's reconstruction were approved by the Polish Government in 1971, and work has now begun to restore to the Polish people a building which in many ways symbolizes their proud history and ancient traditions. Work on the restoration is well advanced and certain wings and segments of it are completed and can be visited.



Old Town
(Warsaw)

The Old Town (Stare Miasto) area of Warsaw has been the site of a fortified settlement since pre-Roman times. Its elevated position overlooking the Vistula enabled whoever held it to dominate river traffic on that vital waterway.

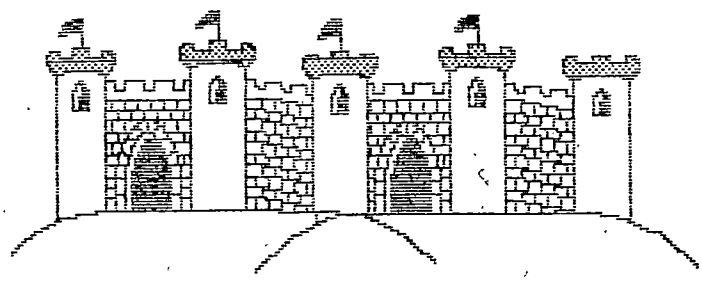
In the thirteenth century, Warsaw was a modest settlement of wooden buildings enclosed by an earthern wall and protected by a fortress. The present plan of the Old Town, centered upon an open square, evolved in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Merchants of the city built combination shops, factories, and homes with the working quarters in the cellar and ground floor and living space in the upper stories. A city wall of brick replaced the clay fortifications and the Royal Castle was erected on the site of the former fortress.

Development of the Old Town in its present form was essentially completed by the end of the sixteenth century when the city became Poland's capital. What had been a provincial market town rapidly developed into an intellectual and social center rivaling the former capital, Krakow. An influx of new residents flocking to the court created a building boom and an elegant new town soon spread beyond the city walls as villas, cafes, theaters, and churches were erected.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Old Town had degenerated into a somewhat dilapidated adjunct to the burgeoning new areas. However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, a concerted effort was made to save it from ruin. By the 1930's, the area had once again become the center of intellectual life in Poland -- the home of artists, writers and actors.

Old Town was left in ruins by bitter street fighting during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944. The area was rebuilt in the years following World War II in its original style, using architectural designs from the city archives, photographs, and paintings.

At the entrance to Old Town stands the statue of King Zugmund III on a high column, and to the right is the site of the Royal Castle which is in the process of being restored.



Wilanow Palace
(The President's Residence in Warsaw)

Wilanow Palace, begun in 1677 by King Jan Sobieski III, is one of Poland's most impressive historial buildings. Its owners over the centuries included many of the great families of the Polish aristocracy - Sieniawski, Lubomirski, Czartoryski, Potocki - and its history often reflected the country's fluctuating fortunes.

The Palace was completed in its present form in 1799 by Princess Isabel Lubmirska, one of the most brilliant women in 18th century Europe. In 1805 her son, Stanislaus Potocki, opened the Palace and its library to the public, one of the first such institutions in Poland. In 1891 the Palace was taken over by the Branicki Family.

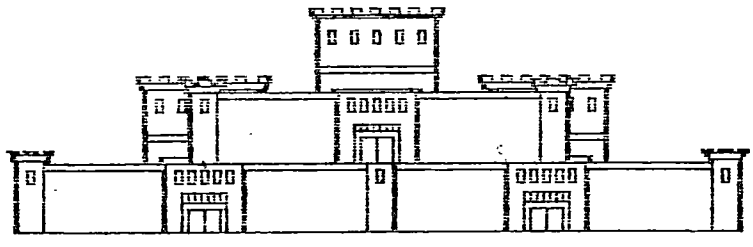
During the Second World War, Wilanow was looted of most of its collection, and the gardens were totally destroyed. In 1945 the Palace and its grounds became part of the Warsaw National Museum. It has since been restored in its original style and contains special apartments for use by the most important guests of the Polish state.

The Palace Museum has been designed, on the basis of original Palace inventories, to reflect the authentic flavor of the building's 18th and 19th century history. Many items pillaged from its collection have been recovered and the Museum has obtained a large selection of art works of the period from other sources.

The Palace is French Baroque and contains a main building flanked by wings to form an open rectangle. It is at the center of a complex of buildings which include the 17th century old tavern, as well as the church, smithy, and classical guard house, all added in the 18th century.

The Museum houses three Polish portrait galleries which contain paintings of the royal family from the 16th through the 18th century as well as a representative selection of Polish 19th century art. A collection of royal portraits previously displayed in the destroyed royal castle are included in the collection.

The building is a masterpiece of its time set amid superb gardens which display it to maximum advantage.



Tomb of the Unknown Soldier
(Warsaw)

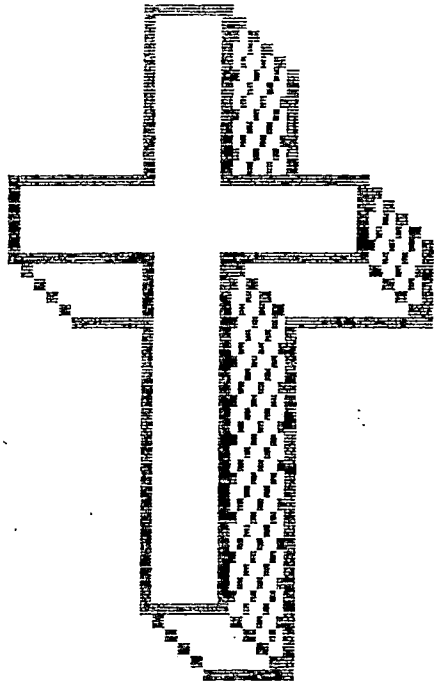
The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier stands beneath the shattered remnant of the Saski Palace - a lonely fragment of colonnade dominating Victory Square in Warsaw.

Victory Square is rich in historic associations. The original Saski Palace was built by the Polish King Stanislaw Augustus II in the eighteenth century. Beneath its windows Polish battalions and the citizenry of Warsaw fought a futile battle against overwhelming numbers of invading Czarist troops before being defeated in 1794.

Here in the Square before the Tomb, the story of modern Poland has unfolded in miniature. Napoleon's troops paraded there. It became the scene of Czarist military reviews during the occupation of Warsaw by the Russians. Following the abortive Polish insurrection of 1830 the Czarist authorities planned to construct an immense fortress on the site to overawe their intransigent Polish subjects. The plan was later changed and an orthodox cathedral erected to symbolize the Russification of Poland. This was demolished by the new Polish Republic in 1924.

The site of the Tomb itself, Saski Palace, was headquarters for the Polish general staff between the two World Wars and was gutted during the Siege of Warsaw in 1939. The shell was blown up by the departing Germans in 1945.

The Tomb and its occupant, a student who fell defending the former Polish city of Lwow in the 1920 Russo-Polish War also reflect the shifting currents of Polish history. The Tomb also contains symbolic samples of earth from the forests and cities of Poland as well as from the battlefields of the Second World War on which Polish soldiers distinguished themselves.



Warsaw Ghetto Monument

In 1940, the Nazis established a Ghetto in Warsaw into which they herded most of the Jews from Warsaw and Warsaw Province. Conditions became steadily more crowded and unsanitary and the Jews in the Ghetto were increasingly brutalized by the Nazis. In the summer of 1942 the Nazis began a systematic liquidation of the Ghetto, which was accompanied by a sharp increase in violence toward the Jews with mass executions and the transportation of hundreds of thousands to death camps. On April 19, 1942, an armed insurrection broke out, prepared by the Jewish Resistance Organization and led by 23 year old Mordechai Anielewicz. Despite their overwhelming superiority in arms and manpower, the Nazis were unable to crush the uprising and undertook the systematic destruction of the area by blowing up Ghetto buildings and shelling Jewish resistance posts, which finally led to the collapse of the insurrection in May, 1943. The entire district was then bulldozed into a sea of rubble -- not a single building survived.

The Monument to the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto was unveiled on April 19, 1948, the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the armed uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto. Located on Zamenhof Street, just beyond its intersection with Anielewicz Street, named after the leader of the uprising, it was funded by contributions from the world Jewish community and bears the inscription: "The Jewish Nation -- to its fighters and martyrs."

Palace of the Council of Ministers
(Warsaw)

Radziwill

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers is located in the former Radziwill Palace, a building rich in Polish history and tradition. It was built in 1642 for the Hetman Koniecpolski, commander of the Polish armies, by Italian architect C. Tencalla.

The original building was damaged and rebuilt several times before being completed in its present neo-classicist form in 1818 when it was purchased by the Government of the Polish Congress Kingdom for the use of its Governor.

The Palace is named after one of its previous owners, Prince Karol Radziwill, who acquired it from the Lubomirski Family. Radziwill donated the building to the court in 1773, and it was here that Polish theater and ballet reached new innovative heights in the years before partition.

Following the partition of Poland between Prussia, Russia, and Austria in 1795, the Palace once again became a popular theater and was badly neglected until the total reconstruction in 1818 when two wings were added.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries the building served as an administrative office of the occupying Czarist authorities. The Presidium of the Council of Ministers has occupied the Palace since shortly after World War II. In 1955, the Warsaw Pact was signed there.

A monument to the Polish patriot and Marshal of France, Prince Jozef Poniatowski stands in front of the Palace. The present monument, presented to the Polish nation by the people of the city of Copenhagen replaces the original blown up by the Germans in 1944.

Olgierd Budrewicz · POLAND for Beginners



POLAND

for

Beginners

Olgierd Budrewicz

ORRY!

To ~~JOHN~~ PAUL,
WITH HOPE
HE WILL SEE
AND LEARN TO
UNDESTAND POLAND

WITH REGARDS

WARSAW, AUGUST 23, 1983

Interpress Publishers
Warsaw 1980

Illustrated by
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Cover design by
Janusz Wysocki

Translated by
Edward Rothert

Production editor
Elżbieta Szeszko

Third edition revised and updated

This is the one thousand eight hundred and ninety-first publication from Interpress

This book appears also in French, German, Polish and Spanish

PRINTED IN POLAND
ISBN 83-223-1891-x

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FOREWORD STRICTLY PERSONAL

Needless to say, the material in these pages will be old hat to the advanced student. He needs no reminding that the last war inflicted havoc of unprecedented savagery on Poland, that she has a history going back over a thousand years, that her soil was the birthplace of Chopin, Madame Curie and Kosciuszko. Nor will it be news to him that the Tatra are a particularly beautiful range of mountains or that the bison, which lives at liberty in Poland, is a ruminant mammal of the Bovidae family and a cousin of the extinct Urus.

This booklet should in fact be treated as a kind of handbook for those who know next to nothing about Poland. No piece of information is taken for granted except for such obvious facts as that Poland lies in Europe.

However, the contents represent a highly personal selection. The author makes no bones, for example, of preferring the highlands of Poland to the lake district or of loving Warsaw more than Poznań, though he knows there are people with exactly the opposite sentiments. He also has a matchingly subjective scale of values and would, for instance, happily trade in a couple of wars for one National Education Commission (which was the world's first ministry in this field). Moreover, he is whimsical enough to devote as much, if not more, space to forests, windmills and horses as to factories, steelworks and shipyards.

Mindful of this, he has, whenever he could, resisted the temptation to pass judgment; otherwise he might, with a heading like, say, 'Medicine', have found himself ignoring the successes in heart surgery or the great Lublin oculist, Tadeusz Krwawicz, and being carried away by the story of Franciszek Benendo, a doctor from the little country town of Płońsk, who has made the sensational claim that you can plan the sex of your child.

The beginner is therefore given fair warning that he is going to be briefed on things Polish by a publication that is absolutely unofficial and unobjective – though it does, of course, make a scrupulous point of getting the facts right. Nevertheless it would be a shame to treat it as gospel.

Having got these rudiments under his belt, he is advised to turn to richer and deeper sources, since the presentation of what follows is – deliberately so – a little on the frivolous side – though that (for reasons which it might be better not to expatiate on) need not necessarily be counted a failing.

To be frank, however, Poland is a subject that can only be learned 'in the field', through first-hand encounters with what is by no means a plain or humdrum country and a people with a character, temperament and life-style all their own among the nations of Europe.

Naturally anyone with a bona fide interest in Poland will not be able to get by without a broader travel guide, without a more solid grounding in history, without at least a modicum of information about Polish learning (for which the honours here are done by mathematics alone), about accomplishments in the arts, about solutions to social and economic problems, and about many other noteworthy features of the Polish scene.

WHAT TO KNOW



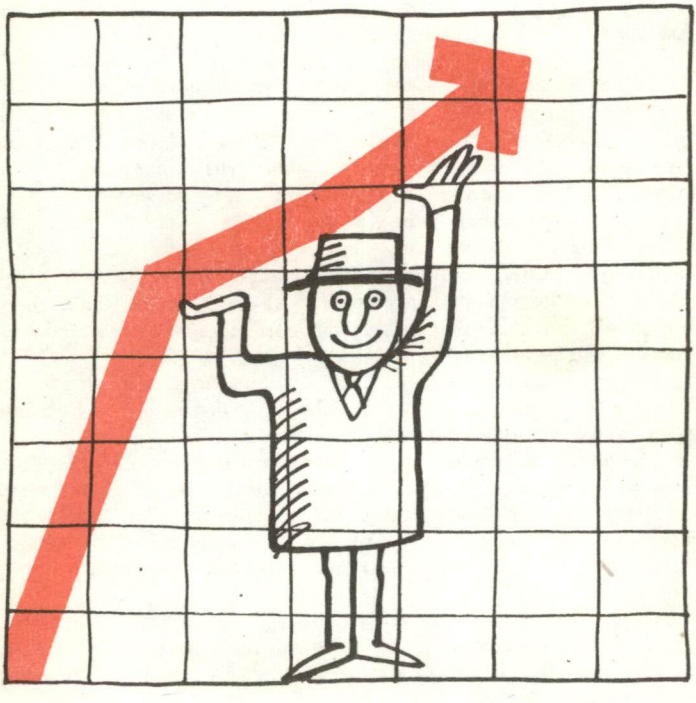
POLAND AND EUROPE

The population of Poland has just, for the second time, passed the 35 million mark. In other words it has taken us the best part of thirty years to make good our wartime losses and demographic upheavals and get back to the square we occupied on the brink of the last war. It was only in 1978 that things moved on: in Wrocław Paulina Zalewska was born, the 35 millionth inhabitant of the country. The event concurred with the 60th anniversary of Poland's regaining her independence.

In area and population Poland now occupies seventh place in Europe. It comes 5th in the birth-rate tables and in natural increase (9.7 per thousand); the explanation is simply that we have started having less children. Population density is 112 per square kilometre, so we still have plenty of elbow room. There are some 2,000 centenarians.

Poland is a nationally unitary country. Ethnic minorities, chiefly Ukrainians and Byelorussiains, account for only some 450,000 (while in 1939 they constituted as much as 32 per cent of Poland's population).

For every 100 marriages there are 12 divorces, which makes our country the 16th least maritally stable in Europe. Graduates make up 7.4 per cent of the total working force, a proportion that is rising steadily, so much so that it is jokingly said that you now need a college



diploma to get a job as a truck-driver and two honours degrees to be promoted beyond captain in the army. Almost half (49 per cent) the students in Poland are women; certain professions have been as good as monopolized by them entirely.

Once a predominantly agricultural country, Poland now has a flourishing industry. In many branches of output Poland is among the front-runners in Europe (metal-working machine tools, cement, sulphur, rolling stock, television sets, for example). Farming has not fallen into complete disuse, though, to judge by the fact that Poland produces 25 per cent of the world's rye (2nd place), 15.4 per cent of its potatoes (2nd), 5.3 per cent of its sugar beet (7th) 4.1 per cent of its milk (5th). While in 1976–78 the world's industrial output increased at a rate of 6 per cent annually, in Poland it grew by an annual average of 7 per cent.

Someone has worked out that Poland turns out 2,586 metres of cloth, 367 tons of coal and 1,256 kilograms of fats every minute. No one, on the other hand, has computed how many words per minute are delivered in Polish theatres, how many brush-strokes are executed by Polish painters, how many tacks are made by yachts on the seas or the lakes, or how many noughts are handed out by martinets in the schools. It is safe to assume, however, that these figures also represent a respectable European standard.

GEOGRAPHY

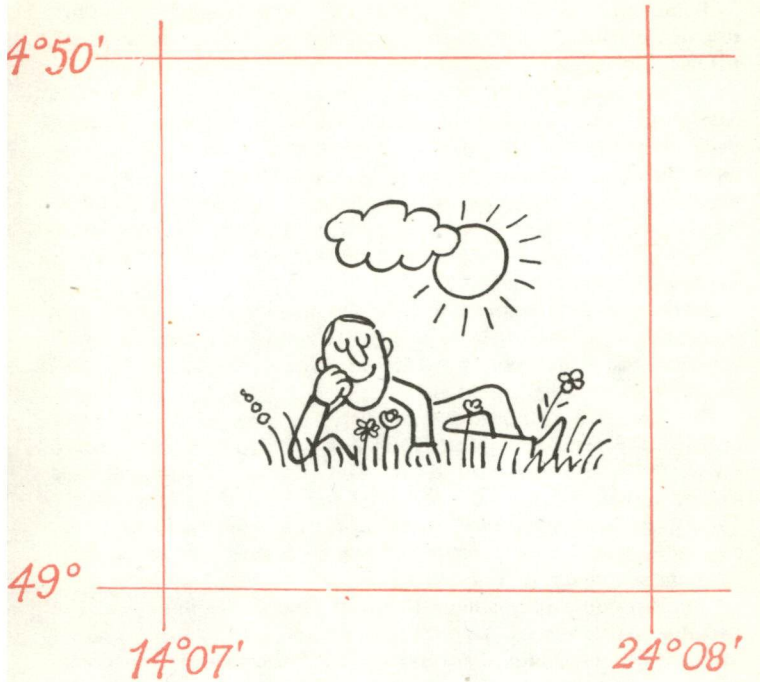
Technically speaking. Poland lies between latitudes 49° and 54°50′ north and longitudes 14°07′ and 24°08′ east. In plainer terms this means between the Carpathians and the Baltic, and the Rivers Odra and Bug, in other words on one of Europe's vital crossroads – a fact that has been repeatedly and painfully confirmed by our history.

Poland is a lowland country if ever there was one, the average altitude being 173 metres. Only 3 per cent of its area lies above 500 metres. The highest point is Mt. Rysy in the Tatras (2,499 m.), the lowest near Elbląg in the Vistula delta (1.8 m. below sea-level). There are several thousand lakes and a couple of mountain ranges. Timberland covers 27.9 per cent of the area.

Poland has an area of 312,677 sq. km., which gives it 7th place in Europe. The total length of its frontiers is 3,538 km. It is administratively divided into 49 voivodships.

The climate is reputedly moderate, though this is sometimes a little hard to believe when you find the temperature soaring or plummeting 20 degrees overnight. The seasons differ wildly from one year to the next. The only thing that can be said for certain is that the climate is better than in Amazonia or on Spitsbergen and worse than in Tahiti or Nice.

From time to time one is likely to run into specimens of Polish fauna, mainly dogs, cats, poultry and the odd insect. But with a bit of luck you may also come across a lynx, marten, bison, elk, chamois,



marmot or even a bear (though 'luck' is not quite the right word for an encounter with one at large in the Tatra or Beskid mountains). Altogether, there are some 400 varieties of vertebrates living in Poland.

Farmland occupies over half the area of Poland (61.4 per cent), and 68 per cent of this consists of private smallholdings. Over half the crops sown are good grains: rye, wheat, barley and oats.

Poland is an international communications junction. Warsaw serves airlines from four continents.

All in all, our country, inhabited by 0.8 per cent of the world's population, has time and again come into the public eye. The reasons are historical, cultural, economic, but geographical too. It's an exposed spot.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF HISTORY

So much has happened on Polish soil in the course of these ten centuries that a good many other countries would find enough historical events to go round. Whether such a gift would be appreciated is another matter: history has not coddled the Poles.

It all began in the seventh decade of the 10th century. The first recorded monarch, and founder of the Polish royal line, was Mieszko I. His reign saw the adoption of Christianity (966).

A great king appeared in his son, Boleslaus the Brave. A century later there came two hundred years of appanage divisions. Following the re-unification of the realm by King Ladislaus the Short and the establishment of a feudal monarchy by King Casimir the Great, a personal union was contracted with Lithuania (1385). A watershed in Polish history occurred in 1410 when King Ladislaus Jagiello fought a fateful battle with the Knights of the Teutonic Order at Grunwald and broke their unholy might.

In the 15th-16th centuries there came a development of the manorial system and a growth of the landed gentry's privileges. The union with Lithuania was made absolute in 1569 to create a single, powerful state. In 1573 the monarchy became elective.

The 16th and 17th centuries abounded in wars and anti-feudal rebellions. The reign of the last Polish king, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (1764–95) was marked by many attempts at economic and cultural revival and a struggle for social and political reforms (e.g. the 3rd of May Constitution in 1791, the Kosciuszko Insurrection in 1794), but ended with Prussia, Austria and Russia banding together to bring down the state and carve it up among themselves.

The Partitions brought more than 120 years of servitude – and an unabating battle for freedom. These were tragic times for Poland, of fearful losses and continual armed risings. In November 1918 independence was at last recovered only for Poland to fall prey once again to brute force twenty years later when she was treacherously invaded by Nazi Germany and suffered six years of occupation.

During the Second World War Poles joined battle with the enemy in all theatres. Polish airmen flew in the Battle of Britain and played a conspicuous part in the repulse of the Luftwaffe. Polish troops fought at Lenino, Tobruk and Monte Cassino, in the fields of Flanders and in the capture of Berlin. In Poland itself there was a fierce underground resistance. Throughout August and September 1944 fighting raged in the streets of Warsaw after insurgents had gained control of sections of the city.

On 22 July 1944, after a part of Poland had been liberated, the Polish National Liberation Committee proclaimed a Manifesto which promised democratic reforms, including the nationalization of industry and distribution of the land. A Provisional Government was set up, followed by a Government of National Unity.

For more than 30 years now, for a stretch of time without precedent in this part of Europe, Poland has enjoyed peace. Thanks to the efforts of the entire nation, backed by just reforms and wise alliances, progress has been recorded in all spheres of the economy and culture.

A thousand years' history, so eventful and dramatic, so crowded with unexpected twists and incongruities, cannot possibly be condensed into a few sentences. Perhaps, though, we might sum them up most simply by paraphrasing the words of a great writer: 'So they lived and so time passed.'

Or better still, as the poet put it: 'Here we were, here we are, and here we stay.'

POLITICAL SYSTEM

'The Polish People's Republic is a socialist state. In the Polish People's Republic power is wielded by the working people of town and country.' Such are the basic provisions of the Constitution of 22 July 1952, as amended in February 1976.

The power of the people is exercised through the Seym which, as its name indicates, is a continuation of the Polish parliament (the upper house, or Senate, was abolished after the war). At the local government level they are represented by the new institution of People's Councils.

Following the introduction, as of June 1975, of a two-tier administrative division, Poland has 49 voivodships and 2,070 communes.

The vote is acquired at 18 (which is also the age of legal majority); the right to stand for election at 21.

The supreme authority, responsible to the Seym, is the Council of State which acts as a collegiate head of state. The chief executive body is the Council of Ministers headed by a Premier and Deputy Premiers.

The guiding political force of the country in the building of socialism is the Polish United Workers' Party.

Poland is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the economic association of the European socialist countries (plus Mongolia, Vietnam and Cuba). It is a signatory to the Warsaw Treaty on friendship and mutual aid concluded by the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries; they have set up a Unified Military Command.

The emblem of the state is a white eagle facing right with gold talons and beak set on a red ground. Flag: white and red; national anthem: the Dąbrowski Mazurka (1797).

GREAT POLES

The sort of people whose portraits are most often framed and hung in particularly prominent places or simply in our homes – these are the 'salt of the Polish earth'. The most illustrious among them make a dazzling galaxy.

Take just the brightest stars: Copernicus, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Adam Mickiewicz, Chopin, Maria Skłodowska-Curie, Henryk Sienkiewicz. Six geniuses who are the pride of the nation.

Copernicus (1473–1543, born in Toruń): astronomer, mathematician, economist and physician; in *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* expounded his discovery of the heliocentric shape of the universe; served as canon of the Warmia chapter; during the 1520–21 war with the Teutonic Knights took charge of the defence of Olsztyn castle.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746–1817): Polish and American general; from 1775 to 1783 fought in the American War of Independence; fought against Russia, 1792; made commander in 1794 of the armed forces of the national insurrection in Poland; brilliant military gifts; initiator of political and social reforms.





Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855): the greatest Polish poet; exponent of the Romantic school; professor at the Collège de France in Paris, 1840–44; subsequently editor of the *Tribune des Peuples;* organized what became to be known as Mickiewicz Legion formed to take part in the struggle for Italy's liberation, 1848.

Frédéric Chopin (1810–49, born in Żelazowa Wola): composer and celebrated pianist, whose music is the most perfect evocation of the Polish national character; his nocturnes, mazurkas and polonaises echo the passage of history and the joys and sorrows of his follow-countrymen; author of two Concertos, 58 Mazurkas, 17 Polonaises, 21 Nocturnes, 26 Preludes, 27 Etudes, ballads, scherzos, sonatas, lieder, fantasias, waltzes, rondos and variations.

Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916): writer and historical novelist (*Trilogy, The Teutonic Knights, Quo Vadis,* etc.); Nobel Prize winner; translated into a hundred languages.

Maria Skłodowska-Curie (1867–1934): physicist and chemist; great Polish scientist who worked in France; professor at the Sorbonne; winner of two Nobel Prizes; one of the founders of radiology; author of pioneering research in nuclear chemistry; co-discoverer of polonium and radium.

Hard on their heels other names claim attention; Kazimierz Pulaski, the Polish and American national hero; Józef Bem, commander of Polish, Hungarian and Turkish armies; Władysław Reymont, winner of a Nobel Prize for his novel, *The Peasants;* Stanisław Moniuszko, the great composer; Ignacy Paderewski, the famous pianist turned international statesman; Ignacy Łukasiewicz, inventor of a method for distilling oil and designer of the paraffin lamp; Bronisław Malinowski, the traveller and ethnographer; Joseph Conrad-Korzeniowski, outstanding English writer born in Poland; Karol Szymanowski, another composer. All these and a hundred more deserve a tribute. So perhaps it's best to leave it at that.

A roll-call of the living would be an even more hazardous proposition. Unlike the dead, any who were left out might protest.

All in all, as a Tsarist police chief in Warsaw, near the end of his tether, complained: 'The Poles are a dangerously resourceful people and capable of anything'.

He couldn't have paid us a nicer compliment.

A POPE FROM POLAND

In October 1978, the first Pole in history became Pope of the Roman Catholic Church (the number of Roman-Catholics in the world is estimated at more than 700 million). Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, former Metropolitan Archbishop of Cracow, took the name of John Paul II. He became the first non-Italian pope in 455 years, and the fact that a 'foreigner' had ascended the papal throne created a stir throughout the world.

Foreign tourists are flocking to Cracow in increasing numbers, and the neighbouring town of Wadowice, where the present pope was born

and raised, has become a great tourist attraction. In June 1979, John Paul II paid a few days' visit to Poland.

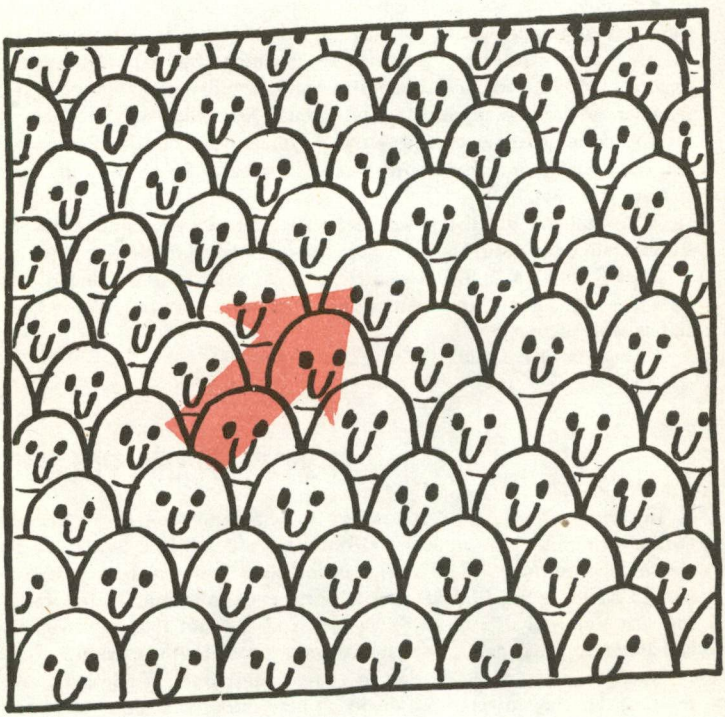
AVERAGE POLES

The average Pole is called Kowalski, Dąbrowski, Szymański or Wójcik, is 28 years of age and more often than not lives in a town.

In the last 18 years the average Pole has grown two years older, but still remains younger than his opposite number in most of European countries. Outside Europe only the average Mexican, Canadian, Turk and Indian are his juniors. In 1950 barely eight per cent of the population was over 60; the proportion has grown now to 13.4 per cent.

In the last 40 years the average expectation of life in Poland has risen by 18.6 years for males, and by 22.4 for females. A baby born today can hope to see his or her 70th birthday, in other words is likely to live 6.5 years longer than one born in 1956. Infant mortality has fallen; so has the incidence of social diseases, like tuberculosis.

One Pole in two (in fact, to be accurate, a fraction more) has an



urban address. This is exactly twice as many as before the war. In 1950 still nearly a third of the population were town dwellers.

The balance of the sexes has not yet returned to normal and is unlikely to do so for some time. The inroads made by the war are still visible, and male mortality continues to run at a marginally higher rate.

Large families are on the way out. Among urban couples about 57 per cent have only one or two children.

The average Pole is more divorce-prone than his parents and grandparents. In the last 15 years the divorce rate has more than doubled, the larger towns setting the pace.

The average Pole is increasingly better educated. Among children in the 15–18 age bracket, 79 per cent attend some sort of school, which is twice as many as 20 years ago. One Pole in seven has a secondary education; one in thirty-six is a college graduate (one in nineteen and one in a hundred respectively 20 years ago). Illiteracy has been eradicated completely; for comparison, the rate was 33.1 per cent in 1921 and 23.1 per cent in 1931.

The average Pole spends the major portion of his pay-packet on food (48.8 per cent). He is a bit of a tippler, but has recently been acquiring a growing taste for coffee: he now consumes 660 grams a year (infants included), as against only 26 in 1955. In 1978 there were 75 radios, 95 television sets and 99 washing machines for every hundred households.

The average Pole is incredibly mobile. There are no precise statistics, but it is a safe bet that he is among the European record-holders for travel. He is incessantly on the move – around town, around the country, around the lands of his friends and neighbours (within days of the frontier with the German Democratic Republic being thrown wide open, the number of Polish tourists had soared past a million).

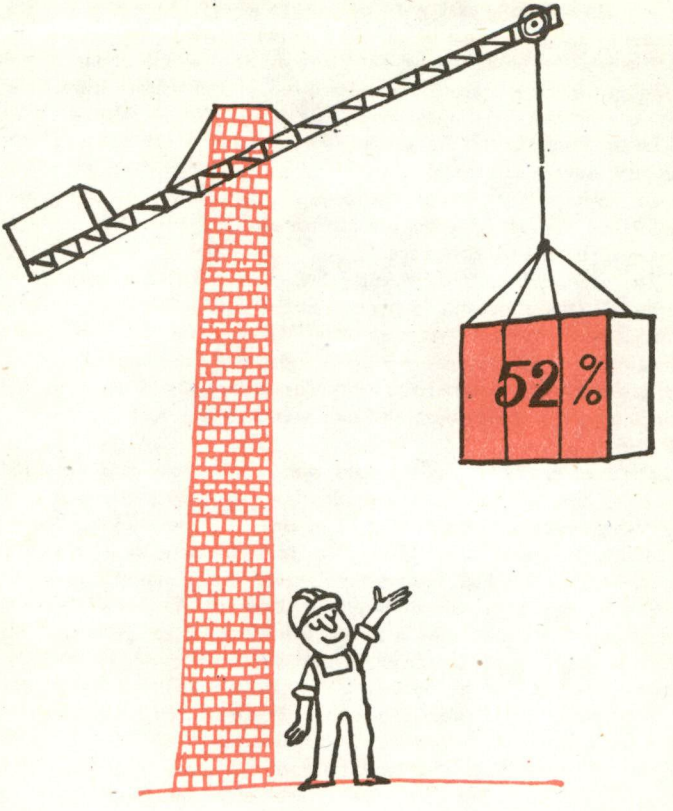
On the other hand, we have no anthropological identikit of the average Pole: he comes dark, fair or bald, short or tall (though now increasingly the latter), inclined to fat or underweight. Nor (unfortunately, perhaps) has a way yet been found of measuring his character and humour.

Actually, there is no such animal as the average Pole. All of them are utterly out of the average. Or so, at any rate, most of them would have you believe.

INDUSTRY

The world has forged so far ahead with industralization and run into so many damaging side-effects that it is now wondering about going into reverse. In Poland the process got off to a later start and had certain safeguards built into it with the result that flora and fauna have not suffered as heavily as elsewhere. Even so the changes in the landscape are plain to see.

In 1978 industry produced the bulk of Poland's national income (some 52.2 per cent), compared with the bare 30 per cent recorded before the war (in the course of which a third of these capacities were



reduced to rubble). In total industrial output Poland now occupies 10th place in the world.

The biggest sector of industry is engineering in which pride of place belongs to means of transportation (some 33 per cent of its production), notably shipbuilding which stands 9th in the world tables. In the manufacture of metals, steel is the most highly developed branch and holds 10th place in the world. Mining gets over seven per cent of the world's coal. Poland comes second in the production of elementary sulphur, tenth in soda, and ninth in sulphuric acid. Zinc (8th place) and lead have undergone considerable expansion, and copper is coming up very fast.

About 30 per cent of the value of output is delivered by Lower and Upper Silesia. The other major industrial centres are Warsaw, Łódź, Cracow, Gdańsk and Poznań.

Once a country known chiefly as an exporter of farm produce, Poland is now building ships of over 100,000 tons, turbines with a capacity of 200 MW upwards, computers, cars, numerically controlled electronic machine tools, and other sophisticated plant and machinery. The 'Wilga' sports plane and the 'Jantar' glider are doing roaring international trade.

Year by year the number of patents and licences sold abroad is rising. Among them are an artificial muscle and plasma equipment for cutting metal and a defectoscope for faults in cables. Firms in ten different countries have bought the licence for an original Polish method of forging crankshafts for big diesel engines. The French have acquired a Polish drug for lowering blood pressure. A technique for improving the smelting of pig iron has been sold to the Spanish steel industry. The United States has purchased the licence for a sheet iron cleaner and the Federal Republic of Germany a device for detecting methane in coal mines. Japan has bought the licence for an automatic metal-working press. And so on and so forth.

Some foreigners find Poland's development into an industrialized country as amazing as, say, the transformation out of all recognition in the quality of her roads. There can be no doubt that the Polish landscape has changed.

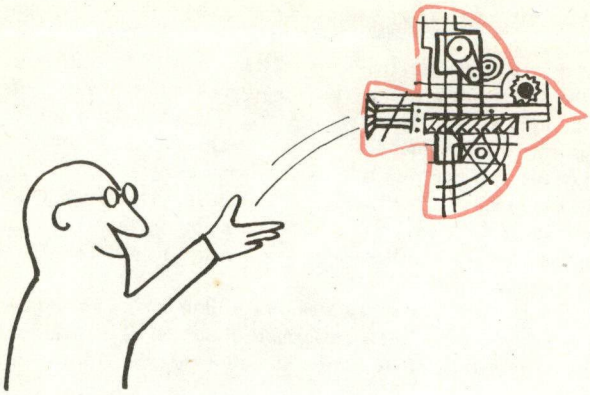
EXPORT OF KNOW–HOW

A well-known Polish epigrammatist once wrote: 'Ideas are duty-free.'

'Ideas' are something that Poland has been exporting for some time, mainly in the shape of industrial and architectural blueprints. Processing plant construction is undertaken abroad, experts are seconded. There could be no more eloquent tribute to the standards achieved by Polish science and technology.

Since 1954 more than 800 fully equipped industrial plants have been sold by Poland to 52 countries. Around the world there are scores of factories, housing developments and holiday amenities which have been built by Poles.

Several dozen sugar mills have been commissioned in Ghana, Greece, Spain, Indonesia, Iran, Morocco, the GDR, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. Something like 50 hardboard factories have been built in various countries, among them the Soviet Union, and others are under construction. A large number of thermal plants have been exported. In the GDR, Poles have built a 300 m.–high chimney for a power plant, in Libya, a waterworks in Murzuq and water mains near the Abiad oasis, in Greece, water intakes for a number of towns, including Salonica. In Czechoslovakia Poles are building sugar mills and highways, in the GDR oil pipelines. Specialists from Poland have expanded and modernized four fishing yards in Iceland and are constructing a shipyard in Algeria. Several hundred Polish miners are working in India, Italy (construction and modernization of zinc mines in Sardinia), Bulgaria, Syria, Egypt, Yugoslavia and other countries. It was Poles who put into commission a coking and power coal mine in Peru, porcelain and dyestuff factories in Egypt, clinker mills in Ghana, a timber manufacturing project in Pakistan, a petroleum refinery in Zaire. Polish workers and engineers are engaged on a number of industrial projects in the Federal Republic of Germany; in Duisburg one of Europe's biggest sulphuric acid works (with an annual capacity of 300,000 tons) has been built.



Poles have drawn up a master plan for the re-development of Baghdad and a Pole has been put in charge of the planning of tourist amenities on the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia. Polish architects are designing towns in Afghanistan, working on urban renewal schemes for Singapore and winning competitions for a variety of projects in European cities, for example in Spain. Polish experts are restoring buildings and works of art in Venice and Munich.

Thousands of Polish specialists hold long-term overseas appointments. The biggest professional group with Third World postings consists of engineers and technologists, followed by school and university teachers. Polish doctors, working chiefly in Africa, are others who have made a name for themselves. A number of merchant navy officers have contracts in the Middle East, notably in Lebanon and Kuwait. There is also a sizeable body of Polish economists on assignments as government advisers, planners, administrative engineers, etc.

This 'brain trade' is growing from year to year, with 'private enterprise' complementing official channels. Polish architects, academics, seamen, are known in the world, especially in Europe. The trademark, 'Made in Poland', has now been joined by the new one of 'Born in Poland'.

POLAND IN FOREIGN EYES

Foreigners have been making observations about Poland for about as long as there has been a Poland to make observations about. But whether complimentary or censorious, true or false, they almost all share a faintly puzzled air: what a strange country, what a peculiar race, what a remarkable history!

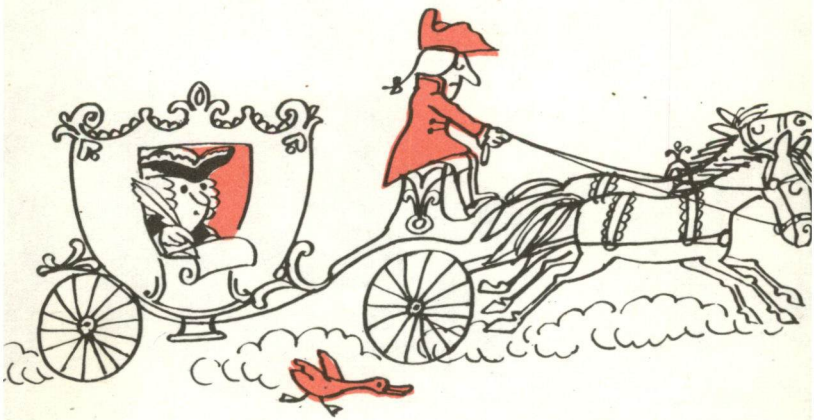
'You cannot prevent them swallowing you,' wrote Jean Jacques Rousseau on the brink of the Partitions of Poland, 'but at least make sure you give them indigestion.' A sage piece of advice, which was duly taken.

The distinctiveness of the national character is something that has been invariably stressed. Even a thousand years ago: 'The people of Boleslaus the Brave will not suffer themselves to be governed in the interests of the ruler unless he resorts to stern punishments' (Thietmar, 1018).

Note was made of the Poles' virtues and vices. Vent was occasionally given to indignation, only for the strictures to be received as praise: 'The whole of Poland is infected with the errors of heresy; every religious sect can find refuge and safety here' (Lippomano, 1575). Others waxed adulatorily: 'I often found in the poorest Polish peasant that original wit which at the least opportunity spills forth with a marvellous play of colour' (Heinrich Heine, 1822). Someone else wrote scathingly: 'Because the Poles are loth to work, it follows that they eagerly listen to anything new, and should they meet a traveller they will ply him with questions or drag him off to a tavern' (Werdum, 1670–72). Whatever the justice of the work-shy taunt – be it remembered that all too often the Pole was not his own taskmaster and retaliated by scrimshanking – the reference to his curiosity, hospitality and bibulousness hits the nail on the head.

Much has always been made of the beauty and wealth of the Polish countryside. 'As regards the realm of Mieszko, it is the most spacious of the Slav lands. It abounds in food, meat, honey and ploughland' (Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, 965–6). Gallus Anonymus added: 'A land where the air is healthy, the soil fertile, the forests flowing with honey, the rivers stocked with fish, the knights martial, and the rustics industrious' (1110–13).

The Poles have come in for their share of gushing eulogies: 'History bears witness to the independent development of Poland which has been both a bridge and a beacon between the Slavs, Germany and the East' (Cesare Lombroso, 1900). Later, too, the accolades flowed gene-



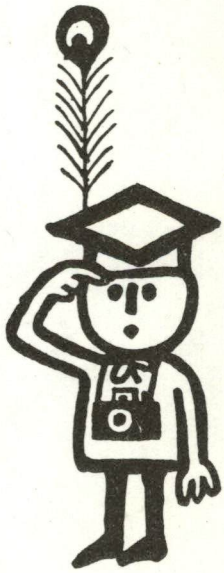
rously (often enough, in default of action), especially during the last war when Poland was 'an inspiration to the nations' (President Roosevelt).

Skill in arms has been the most frequent theme: Heine who championed the Polish cause so passionately, proclaiming the words of the national anthem – 'Poland has not yet perished' – far and wide, also wrote: 'The Pole will become as good with the pen as he is with the lance, and prove as brave in the field of knowledge as he has been on the field of battle.'

There is, we know, a general tendency to make dangerous generalizations. Many people regard every Scotsman as a skinflint, every Italian as a potential tenor, every Frenchman as a ladykiller. The Poles have not escaped such stock images. For this reason we set the greatest store by the remarks of the foreigners who have entertained mixed feelings about Poland, who have steered clear of the twin extremes of jubilation and despair. One such level-headed chronicler was Johann Kausch who in the late 18th century observed somewhere in his account of Poland: 'The good impression created by the sight of the great piety of a Pole turns to outrage when one sees this same Pole dashing off from the card-table to reel off his psalms.'

The author of *Poland for Beginners* has no intention of taking issue with the fault-finders, except to point out that all these and many other, far harsher, sentiments expressed by foreigners have recently been published in Poland in two large and handsomely illustrated volumes.

WHAT TO UNDERSTAND



THE SECOND WORLD WAR

There is hardly anyone in Poland who did not suffer some personal bereavement during the last war. Estimates put the loss of life in the region of six million which, as a proportion of the total population (35 million), represents a tragic world record. The damage to certain towns, like Warsaw, Wrocław and Gdańsk, is calculated to have been 75–85 per cent. Three-quarters of industry had to be reconstructed, 80 per cent of farmland was derelict.

After invading Poland the Nazis embarked on a policy of extermination and meant to wipe the nation off the map. In October 1939 the occupied country was divided into two parts: one called the Government General, the other incorporated into the Reich (Great Poland, Pomerania, Silesia). A reign of terror was unleashed to back the plans for genocide. The Jewish population was rounded up into ghettoes and murdered in concentration camps.

The response was an organized resistance movement which grew to dimensions unmatched in any other country. Armed operations, sabotage, political action, publishing and education (an underground press, books, schools) were accompanied by passive resistance and boycotts. Convoys bound for the eastern front were attacked, destroyed and robbed. Virtually every large expanse of woodland was a base for partisan units. Daring raids were made on German offices and army posts; traitors and the most detested Nazi officials were liquidated (one spectacular exploit was the assassination in Warsaw of SS General Kutschera).

The spirit of the nation was indestructible, as it showed in an endless stream of spontaneous anti-German jokes, buskers' ballads, and concerts and shows put on in private apartments.

The tragic climax of the nation's resistance was the Warsaw Rising (August-September 1944), a heroic last stand by the people of the city which cost 250,000 lives and the almost complete destruction of Warsaw. Part of Warsaw was ruined during the struggle, while the rest was burnt down in a planned and systematic manner after the evacuation of the population.

Not everyone knows that during the Nazi occupation all universities and secondary schools were closed in Poland and for attending clandestine school the punishment was death, that there were no theatres (with the exception of some sleazy music halls) and that sports meetings were banned. No books or newspapers were allowed to be published in Polish (apart from propaganda pamphlets and an official, prostitute press written in a grotesquely garbled language).

The ordeal lasted almost six years. It left grim and indelible scars, but also lessons which will never be forgotten.

NATIONAL RISINGS

The servitude of the Partitions lasted over 120 years (1795–1918). In this time resistance boiled over in several nationwide explosions: the Kosciuszko Insurrection (1794), the November Rising (1830–31) and the January Rising (1863–64). The so-called Springtime of Nations reverberated in Austrian-occupied Galicia (1846–48). A number of revolts broke out in Great Poland. The Silesians rose three times in the aftermath of independence (1919–21). There was even a Polish mutiny on the shores of Lake Baikal in deepest Russia (1866) when the exiles banished there took to arms. Finally in the course of the last war the sequence of the nation's dramatic bids for freedom was culminated by the Warsaw Rising (1944).

Each of these armed clashes with invaders and oppressors took a crippling toll. Lives were lost, the cultural heritage ravaged, property forfeited. Their enemies always had a hard time with the Poles.

All the risings were of a national character (even when the fighting was local) which over-rode class differences. It is known that even women and children took part and that the civilian population of towns and villages suffered.

The most massive and forcefully led rising was commanded by Tadeusz Kosciuszko. It was then that peasants armed with scythes marched into battle, an event which passed into legend. An important role in Europe was played by the 1830–31 insurrection, part of the great tide of revolution which swept across the continent. As many as 1,200 battles and skirmishes were fought in 1863–64, a fateful, if ultimately abortive, military and social upheaval. A quarter of a million dead and the wholesale destruction of the city were the harvest of the Warsaw Rising in 1944.

Mention has been made here only of the major national risings. There were, however, countless other episodes of varying impact in the tenacious resistance put up by the Poles, for instance, the great strike of 1905 and the attempt at armed revolt made by the workers of Łódź.

From time to time there have been murmurs about the futility of the risings and the unconscionably high price that had to be paid for them by the nation as a whole. History makes it clear, however, that freedom is not a gift of heaven, but must be fought for with absolute single-mindedness and without flinching at the costs. As far as this goes, the Poles can be counted pastmasters.

Alexander Herzen, the Russian writer, thinker and revolutionary democrat, one of the noblest figures of the 19th century, exclaimed on hearing of the 1863 insurrection: 'A rising has broken out, and is blazing and spreading through Poland. What will the Petersburg fire brigade do ?... Douse it with blood, or no ?... And can blood quench ?'

Herzen also wrote: 'The world cannot refuse you its admiration.'

That is one thing at least which has never been refused us.

THE THIRD OF MAY CONSTITUTION

The Constitution enacted by the Four-Year Seym on 3 May 1791 was the first ever to be adopted in Europe and second only to the United States in the world.

This vital political and social measure was accomplished on the death-bed of the state, on the brink of the long years of ensuing servitude.

The Third of May Constitution retained the system of government by estates, but weakened the powers of the great nobles. It abolished the calamitous *liberum veto* (the right of every deputy to dissolve parliament with a single cry of 'I forbid') and free election of the monarch, reduced the role of the aristocratic Senate, increased the rights of the townsmen and guaranteed the peasantry 'the protection of the law and government'.

In both matter and style this bill was one of the great works of the Polish Enlightenment. It represented an attempt to initiate important social reforms and introduce a constitutional and parliamentary monarchy.

Among the clauses of this constitution was the requirement that the edicts of the king must be endorsed by one of his ministers. The latter were made liable to impeachment for infringements of the law and answerable to both king and parliament for their policies. Poland thus became the first country in the world to give a legally defined form to the parliamentary responsibility of ministers.



The Third of May Constitution was overthrown in 1792 by the invasion of the Tsarist army and the rebellion of Targowica. Its import lived on, nevertheless, surviving the Partitions, and prior to the Second World War, its anniversary was the National Day, and even now it is commemorated in Poland. The Third of May is a day that has found its way into songs *(Long Live the Third of May)* and poems, and is reflected still in the names of streets, institutions and buildings.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION COMMISSION

This was an institution established in 1773 and for a long time had no parallel anywhere else in Europe, being the first ministry of education in the modern sense of the word.

The Commission was committed to lay and progressive ideas. It introduced modern courses, methods and organization, and reformed secondary and higher education. Another innovation was the provision of the first teacher training facilities in Poland.

The Commission abolished the educational monopoly of the Catholic Church. It sought to increase equality of opportunity and planned a revision of textbooks. It was responsible for Polish replacing Latin as the language of tuition in higher education.

A host of outstanding scholars and men of affairs, notably Hugo Kołłątaj, was associated with Europe's first ministry of education.

Of the many enlightened public agencies which sprang up in Poland in these and later years, the Commission was among the ones which did the most good.

SEIGNEURS

For centuries a call of 'Together, my lords' rang out time and again in Poland. This was the rallying-cry of the *szlachta,* the privileged noble class which was the mainstay of what was accordingly called the Commonwealth of the Gentry. It left a profound imprint on the history of the country and on the customs and outlook of its people.

As an estate of the realm it emerged from the knighthood in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries. Its members enjoyed a hereditary title to their estates and a variety of privileges extracted from the crown. It was a bigger and more motley order than its name implies, including grandees, gentry proper, yeomen and a landless ragtag known as *gołota* (from a combination of the words for 'destitute' and 'rabble').

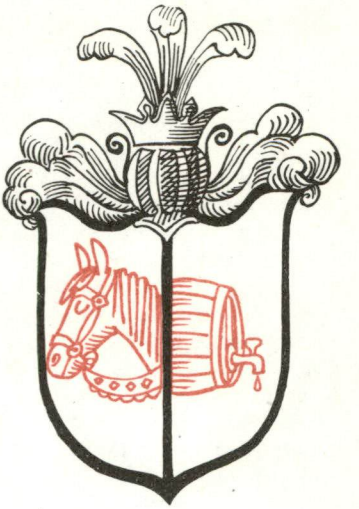
The twin staples of the gentry ethos were rusticism and chivalry. In some parts of Poland the smaller landowners were wont to use their swords as measuring instruments for marking off their acres.

The exaltation of rural joys lent a special flavour to life and manners, and even literature. For centuries writers and poets remained under the spell of this pastoral image: 'O countryside, tranquil and gay, sublimer than words can say,' wrote Jan Kochanowski. Such idyllicism was in signal contrast with the political turbulence of the gentry.

Most of them lived in timber manor houses. In the frontier territories these were often fortified and served as outposts.

By time-honoured Polish custom, an oddity if ever there was one, the right of inheritance belonged not to the eldest, but to the youngest

son. The point seems to have been to ensure the direct continuity of the line. As often as not, however, the property was equitably shared.



A Frenchman, Guillaume de Beauplan, wrote in the early 17th century of the Polish gentry: 'Among (them) all are equal, not as in France, Germany, Italy and the like where the title of Duke, Marquis, Count or Baron is in use. Even a gentleman who owns a small patch of land regards himself as the peer of one much richer. No matter how poor, every gentleman flatters himself that he will one day be appointed a senator by the king. Accordingly all of them apply themselves from childhood to the learning of Latin. All, too, dream of being awarded a starosty, and consequently outdo each other in affording proof of their valour and chivalry. It is common knowledge that the gentry enjoys the privilege of electing the king. A gentleman cannot be put in prison until he has been duly tried and convicted. The penalty for killing a gentleman is beheading and confiscation of the fellon's goods.'

A whole litany of privileges with hardly any obligations. The gentry became as noted for its high living as for its prowess in battle. Its time was more or less divided between the saddle (service as mounted men-at-arms, known as the *levée en masse,* and from the 15th century on a standing army) and the groaning board.

The economic substance of the gentry was derived from a manorial system based on serf labour. The peasants were obliged to perform certain dues and household services in return for the right to till the land.

As time went by, the gentry was infected by a mounting megalomania, and its imperious habits grew out of hand. By the end of the 16th century it was turning into a markedly retrograde force, which eventually sapped the power of government, generated anarchy and weakened Poland's position abroad. It was not till the 1921 Constitution that it was formally abolished as an estate.

Its legacy has died hard. True, the privileges have gone of course, and no one any longer sports a *kontusz* or the other trappings, but the fact remains that vestiges of the behaviour and thinking of what was so long entrenched a power in the land linger on. Echoes of the principle that 'the squire on his own land is the equal of the governor' occasionally turn up unexpectedly. A trying if comic throwback.

AUSCHWITZ

A baleful word which has become a symbol of human suffering and human iniquity.

It is a town near the southern border of Poland. During the Second World War it was the biggest Nazi concentration camp in Europe.

Oświęcim (Auschwitz) and the adjoining Birkenau (Brzezinka) formed a vast slaughterhouse in which four million people belonging to over 20 nationalities were murdered. It was built for the extermination of the Polish intelligentsia, political organizers, resistance fighters, Jews (in furtherance of the 'Final Solution'), Soviet war prisoners and gypsies. The inmates perished in their thousands from slave labour, hunger, inhuman conditions, torture and execution. Among the victims was a Franciscan monk, Father Maximilian Kolbe, who was beatified twenty-six years after the war.

In spring 1942 there began mass liquidation of the prisoners above all with a gas known as Cyclon B. By this method up to 60,000 persons could be killed per day. The victims were herded, 2,000 at a time, into chambers with an area of 210 sq. m., the doors were sealed tight, and the SS guards dropped pellets containing the gas through openings in the roof.

Between 1941 and 1944 over 20,000 kilograms of Cyclon B were supplied and used in Auschwitz. We have the word of the camp commandant, Hoess, for it that just 6–7 kg of the gas were needed to gas 1,000 persons.

The camp was the site of criminal medical experiments, and German concerns like IG-Farben exploited the prisoners as slave-labourers.

Apart from the planned extermination of millions of people from the occupied countries of Europe, the Auschwitz 'death factory' earned Hitler's Reich a hefty profit. The personal effects of the prisoners (and many of them brought all their belongings with them) were impounded on arrival. Thousands of trainloads of clothing and linen, gold and jewellery, household articles, even prams and surgical appliances, were dispatched to the Reich from Auschwitz.

Before evacuating the camp in 1945, the Nazis burned 29 of the 35 storehouses. In these remaining six alone there were found 350,000 sets of men's clothes, over 800,000 women's, 5,500 pairs of women's and 58,000 pairs of men's shoes, and an untold quantity of toothbrushes, shaving brushes, spectacles, tableware, cutlery, and children's clothing.

From the very outset a resistance movement sprang up in Auschwitz. This is one of the most stirring and heroic chapters in the struggle against the Nazi invaders. It began with the arrival of the very first batch of prisoners, but acquired a more organized form towards the end of 1940 when a sort of twin command was set up by Polish political detainees. The first wing consisted of a group of socialists headed by two prominent politicians, Norbert Barlicki and Stanisław Dubois; the other, which worked hand in glove with the first, was made up of prisoners who had belonged to underground military organizations prior

to their arrest. A large number of mutual aid groups were formed which gradually began to merge and eventually combined into a single common resistance movement.

Assistance also came to the prisoners from the local population which braved arrest and death. Many paid the ultimate penalty.

On the night of 26–27 January 1945, *Konzentrationslager Auschwitz-Birkenau* ceased to exist. All that was left was the evidence of the most monstrous crime ever committed in the annals of the human race: the prisoners' huts, the crematorium ruins, the wire fences, guard towers, service buildings – and a huge graveyard beyond anything known in the history of the civilized world. On 27 January Auschwitz was liberated by the Soviet Army. The relieving troops who entered the camp were greeted by the sight of 7,000 walking skeletons, among them 180 children.

On Sunday, 16 April 1967, the sprawling site of the former Nazi extermination camp was the scene of an overwhelming antiwar demonstration during the unveiling of an International Monument to the Victims of Fascism (designed by Jerzy Jarnuszkiewicz and Julian Pałka and an Italian team: Cascella, Simoncini, Valle and Vitale). The ceremony drew a crowd of some 200,000 people from many different countries as well as Poland. The monument was endowed by contributions from one-time prisoners and the governments and public of many nations. The Seym has declared the whole compound of the camp a Memorial of Martyrdom.

Alongside Hiroshima, Warsaw and other tragic landmarks of wholesale slaughter on our planet, Auschwitz stands as a record of human suffering and a symbol of the eternal infamy of the criminals. It is a warning for all time.

POLONIA

This is the term (in some languages the word simply means 'Poland') used to denote Poles living outside their native borders. There are something like 10 millions of them, the bulk (two-thirds) in North and South America. In fact, a traveller might be forgiven for suspecting they number not ten, but a 100 million, since he is likely to bump into the descendants of emigrants from the banks of the Vistula, Warta and Dunajec at every turn of the way: from the islands of the Caribbean to South Africa, from Paraguay to New Zealand.

It began with the first national insurrections and exodus of political exiles. In the second half of the 19th century it turned into a flow of emigrants in search of a livelihood.

The largest number of Poles is to be found in the United States (about 6,500,000): Chicago has, next to Warsaw, the world's second largest concentration of Poles (800,000). There are over 324,000 in Canada, 840.000 in Brazil, 120,000 in Argentina, 110,000 in Australia,

750,000 in France, 145,000 in Britain, 132,000 in the Federal Republic of Germany, and 1,167,000 in the Soviet Union.

These are all rough figures, particularly so as regards the size of the Polish community in America where it is not always clear whether a Pole still has a sense of ethnic identity or has crossed the Rubicon of cutting ties with the land of his fathers. Hence, the number of Poles living in the United States ranges from the pessimistic estimates of 3.5 million to the 9 or even 11 million quoted by optimists.



A list of the most distinguished Polish emigrés in history would include: Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski, who became American national heroes; Ignacy Domeyko, a scientist who pioneered modern methods of exploiting mineral resources and organized research and education in Chile; Józef Bem, a general who commanded Polish, Hungarian and Turkish armies, and became commander in chief of the Hungarian army; Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish romantic poet; and Joseph Conrad, the great English novelist. The history of many countries is dotted with the names of outstanding Polish soldiers, politicians, scholars, engineers and artists.

American studies have found that Poles are the immigrant group with the most enduring sense of national identity. The language and customs of their ancestors survive in some cases into the fourth generation. They keep in close touch with the old country, and in recent years have been visiting it in their thousands. In the countries where Poles have settled in great numbers, there is a marked drive for prestige. The time has definitely passed of the poor Polish emigrants, mostly manual workers, lonely and lost, the time of plebeian emigration. It is now the stage of integration with the life of the new countries, of social and financial promotion. The stage at which the attraction and assets of one's native culture are put to the fore and, consequently, of the existing potential possibilities, unknown or simply unnoticed so far. It seems that a will to create a new stereotype of a Pole is beginning to emerge among foreigners of Polish extraction. They are strengthened in their conviction by the brilliant careers of some prominent citizens of the world whose origins are in Poland.

WHAT TO DISCOVER



POLISH HONOUR

We know of a number of nations which in certain contingencies value honour above all wordly possessions, or even common sense. The stock examples are Spanish, Italians and Irish. For all their Latin characteristics, the Poles see these things a little differently than the inhabitants of the Mediterranean countries for whom honour tends to be associated with revenge; but they too set great store by it.

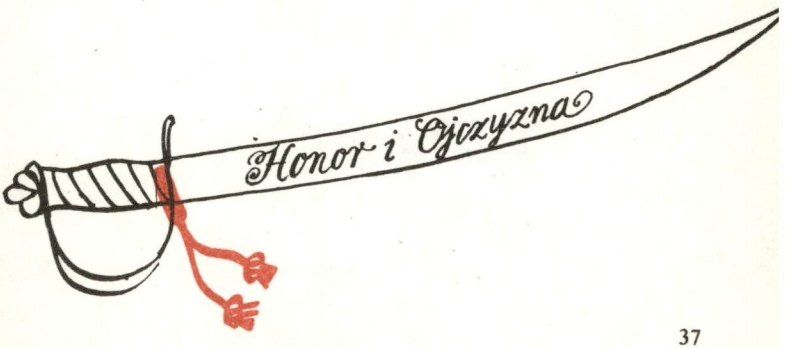
In Poland honour is more often a matter of high-minded generosity, defence of the weak, chivalry towards women, and group and family loyalty; but it may also reflect a self-importance and arrogance inherited from the gentry. Once swords were whipped out at the least hint of an affront; nowadays the chief weapons are words (frequently trenchant and stentorian). It is all a shade reminiscent of the line in Henry IV: 'What is honour? A word.' Honour was bound up with a sense of national pride. Over a hundred years ago Harro Harring, a German writer, observed: 'The national pride of the Pole is astonishing. It comes to the surface at the slightest opportunity in all of them, from prince to beggar.'

In the superbly racy 17th-century memoirs of Jan Pasek, there are countless examples of the Poles' prickly sense of honour. He himself leaped to its defence against outsiders (meaning for him, as a Mazurian, some visitors from the south) whom he proceeded to teach manners according to his own lights, smashing the furniture with them and then contentedly settling down to a hard night's drinking. So honour in this part of the world can also mean violence, justifiably so in some circumstances, but blustering, implacable and truculent in others.

Another symptom is a growth of local patriotism: heaven help the man who rubs a Varsovian or a Cracovian up the wrong way with some slighting remark abour their native city. Professional pride – like that of taxi-drivers – is also easily offended.

For centuries, right up to the last war, duelling was all the rage in Poland. As late as 1939 there appeared a successive impression of a *Polish Code of Honour,* compiled by Władysław Boziewicz and running to no less than 404 articles. The fact that duelling was against the law was neither here nor there.

Sometimes it is hard to say what may or may not give umbrage to Polish sensibilities. The simplest rule is to be prepared for anything.



FIGHTING QUALITIES

It is said in Europe and even beyond that your Pole loves a scrap. And should he get into one, he will give an honest and spirited account of himself.

It is a national characteristic that has been bred by dire necessity. For a thousand years the lands between the Odra and the Bug have been a battleground. Time and again sheer survival has forced folk to take to arms.

There is a story that in September 1939, just after the outbreak of the war, a peasant was tilling a field somewhere in the highlands when a German plane appeared out of the blue and proceeded to strafe him, flying low overhead. He threw himself flat, puzzled at having been made a military target. But on the *n*th pass he saw red and leaped up, swinging his rake. It hit the propeller and down went the plane.

True or not – and truth in Poland that September was often stranger than fiction – this incident would be one for the book in the history of modern warfare, as well as a splendid example of the Poles' tenacity in defence. For by and large they seldom picked their fights: aggression goes against their grain. Guns, swords, scythes were seized only as a last resort. That they had an unusual flair for making good use of them is another matter.



Occasionally even now, at dead of night in some ill-lit street or lane, the nation's spirit is unexpectedly aroused. A close-fought sports contest can also bring its spirit to the boil. The old Adam is hard to live down, that's all.

An echo of Polish cavalry charges and last-ditch stands is now to be found in the exploits of rally drivers or boxers. But more and more often their martial gifts are channelled into such outlets as building dams, archaeological explorations, fighting fires, rescuing trapped miners, battling with storms at sea.

If we want a copybook example of the new mould of Polish valour – and of grit and purpose as well – it could be the great sailor, Leonid Teliga. In 1967–69, he sailed round the world singlehanded on the ocean-going, but none too well equipped yacht, *Opty*, waging a heroic struggle with the elements and himself. He was soon followed by Krzysztof Baranowski and several others.

The traditional rallying-cry of 'if you're Polish, charge the bayonets!' is beginning to sound a little old-fashioned. And not only because the weapon in question is.

HOSPITALITY

At a pinch one can endure many of the Polish vices with a good grace; the crunch comes with some of the virtues. Hospitality, for one: lavish, and unstinting hospitality.

Polish has a host of proverbs about hospitality: 'A guest in the house, God in the house' or, conversely, 'A untimely guest is worse than a Tartar'. For centuries visiting was a major industry among the gentry in Poland. People travelled up and down the land, although in those days the roads were appalling, bridges non-existent, inns and towns few and far between. As a result there was a constant stream of callers at the door, friends or relations, unannounced passers-through, even complete strangers. 'Kill the man,' inveighed Opaliński in his Satires, 'who invented keeping open house; better always to be a guest!'

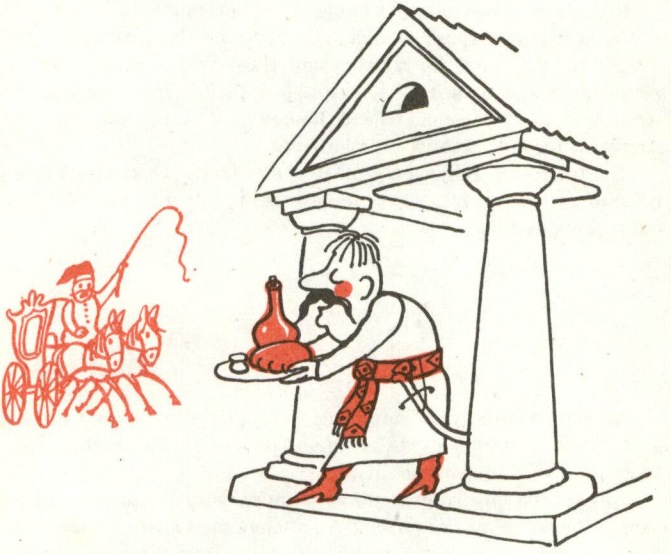
In a description of Polish life in the olden days, Władysław Łoziński wrote: 'The flower, but a stern test, too, of the social virtues, patience above all, was hospitality, that historic hospitality of the gentry celebrated all over the world by any foreigner who ever happened to journey in Poland; the delight, but the curse, too, of the nobleman, for it was both a pleasure of country life and a source of commotion, loss of fortune and brawling.'

When Zawisza, the Voivode of Minsk, broke a journey to Cracow to drop in on Jan Chryzostom Pasek at Cisów, his overjoyed host made haste to kill the fatted calf. 'In Cisów,' he recorded later, still reeling, 'I was waited on by Master Pasek, a man of disgraceful amiability. For three days we knew not night from day; we caroused and made merry.'

Other sources tell us that the townsmen and peasantry were in their own way equally open-handed. Class distinction may now be a thing

of the past, but not this tradition of sumptuous hospitality. People who have knocked around the world say that even a junket with an Arab sheik is nothing compared to being entertained by a Pole: that really leaves you a moral and physical wreck.

To say no to a bite, never mind a drink, is liable to be taken as a personal affront. True, a guest is unlikely to have a parting gift of



a horse worth 24 ducats thrust upon him. But if there is now less to take away, any skimping of what's offered on the premises would be unforgivable, no matter what.

One excuse used to some effect today is the plea of having to drive. Even so, if you get away with this, it is only because swords have gone out of fashion and your host cannot any longer chop you, more in sorrow than in anger, into little pieces.

SENSE OF TIME

Poles are very popular in Latin America. 'They're so like us,' I was once told, 'you'd think they were natives from way back.' Where, I asked, did the chief resemblance lie? 'That's easy. For them, as for us, time is an abstract concept.'



No doubt the man was making a special effort to be nice – there is, after all, a world of difference between us – but even so he had a point. For Poles are apt to treat the bother of meeting deadlines, keeping appointments, answering correspondence and so on a little cavalierly. Hence a tendency to be never in quite the right place at quite the right time, a happy-go-lucky attitude to punctuality and engagements.



Arriving fifteen minutes late, euphemistically known as the 'academic margin', is a recognized par for the course. It has been known for 'mistakes' of several days to be made over dates. Despite the disappearance of illiteracy, letters, especially official and business ones, may go unanswered for weeks on end.

While it is customary (and occasionally *de rigueur*) to turn up late for appointments and visits and to begin conferences and even lectures with an accepted time-lag, theatre and film programmes manage nevertheless to start on the dot. The same goes for trains: they leave their terminals according to the timetable.

Poles are talented improvisers. Give them a rush job and they will always rise to the occasion. So once they are left with only a few days to go to complete the organization of a large exhibition or the construction of a stretch of highway, they will somehow or other make up for lost time, if only at the eleventh hour.

The dramatic deadline of 'by yesterday' provides a metaphysical impulse to clearing for action: 'tomorrow' is remote, misty, unpredictable – like *mañana* in Latin America.

TEMPERAMENT

In disposition, mentality, attitude to the world, sense of humour, behaviour, forms of amusement, the Poles are, at the risk of labouring a point, almost a Mediterranean race. In Naples, Seville or even São Paulo, a Pole will feel quite at home.

Above all, temperamentally. For your Pole has a short fuse, is quick to enthusiasm *('feu de paille')*, and makes no secret of his emotions. Their ebullience has been amazing – and disconcerting – foreigners for centuries.

A perfect illustration of Polish mettle and vitality, and of grim perseverance and pride as well, might be the case of Jan Stach, a peasant from southern Poland. When he found his farm cut off from the outside world



by an artificial lake and his neighbours refused to allow him right of way across their land, he decided to build a bridge with his bare hands. Day and night, summer and winter, he slogged away, toting huge boulders, cementing, excavating, hewing, hoisting. After years of back-breaking labour he achieved his purpose. He built a bridge – 30 metres long, 7 metres wide and 12 metres high. For this incredible exploit he was honoured with the Order of Bryła (named after Stefan Bryła, a distinguished civil engineer, executed by the Nazis in 1943).

Jan Stach is also an object lesson in tenacity – which sets him a little apart from his fellow-countrymen.

Similar qualities were displayed by the people who rebuilt Warsaw after the war. Watching the capital's citizens stream back to the rubble and ruins in January 1945, a French newspaperman observed: 'These people are indestructible! They're like crocodiles which grow new limbs and teeth.'

COMPLEXES

Thanks to Messrs Freud and Jung, we now know that a complex means 'a system of highly charged emotional associations, usually unconscious'.

The Poles suffer from a number of these syndromes. There is, for example, an aggressive streak in their day-to-day behaviour, attributable probably to a folk-memory of centuries of hard knocks in the course of which they were all too often forced, literally, to fight for their lives. This explains a certain edginess in their manner, as though they were eternally on the lookout for a punch to block or beating someone else to the draw. The surest way of overcoming any abrasiveness or unforthcomingness on their part, often enough merely a mask concealing their true feelings or a shield against the outside world, is by patience or, better still, a joke and a smile.

Long experience of pillage and destruction, of a hand-to-mouth existence, and the consequent longings for a more normal sort of life bred a philosophy summed up in the current tag: 'Pawn your all, but make splash'. Never mind if there's no money for a new dress, a holiday, a party for your friends, beg, borrow or steal, but live!



The fact that Poles treat visitors from other countries with unwonted cordiality is also occasionally ascribed to some kind of complex. This seems a little illogical: if that were really the truth of the matter, one would expect them to show, if anything, an aversion to members of certain nationalities. No, it is more a sign of pleasure that our country is interesting enough to attract visitors, an irrepressible curiosity about the world which makes the Pole seek out foreigners, and last but not least, an expression of his traditional hospitality.

CORPUS CHRISTI

For Holy Week, go to Seville, for Carnival to Rio de Janerio, and for Corpus Christi – to Łowicz.

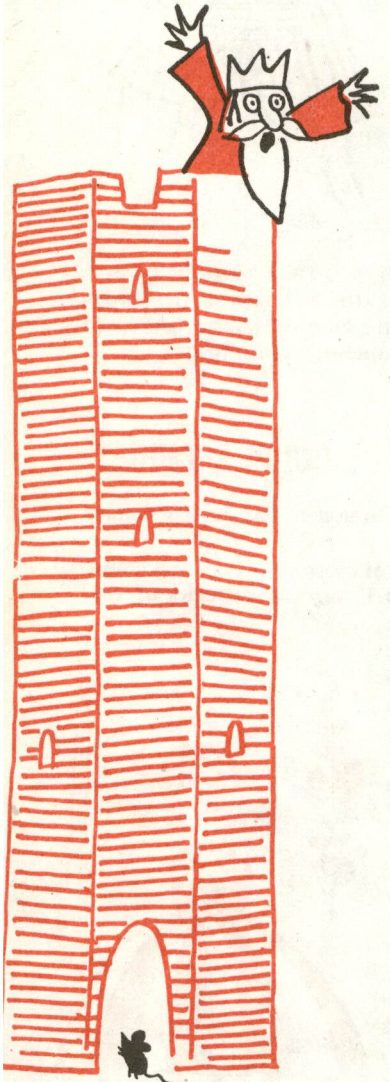
This country town is then the scene of processions for which crowds from the surrounding villages turn out in regional costumes of vivid and unusual design. By a strange coincidence they are uncannily like the uniforms of the Papal Guard in the Vatican; it is said that centuries ago a Polish ecclesiastic took a sample of cloth from Łowicz with him to Rome, which so took the fancy of the Pope that he had the uniforms of his guard modelled on it (though it may well, for that matter, have been the other way round, with everything starting in the Eternal City and only later reaching Łowicz).



The Corpus Christi processions draw sightseers, many of them from abroad, by their thousands to Łowicz. Cars with foreign registration numbers, limousines with CD plates, jam the streets of this town of 20,000 souls. If the weather comes up to the mark, amateur photographers and movie-makers have a field day.

Corpus Christi comes on the tenth day after Whitsun. It is, therefore, a movable feast and it is easy, especially for a foreigner, to miss the right day to be in Łowicz. May and June are the months to watch.

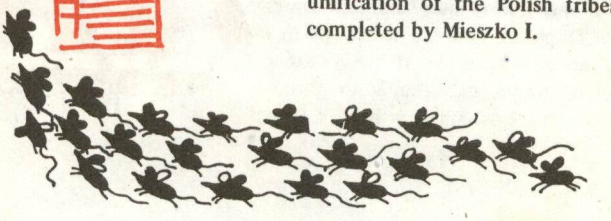
The processions and the four traditional altars are not the only things worth seeing in Łowicz. It also has a Renaissance-cum-Baroque collegiate church (the alterations being the work of Tommaso and Andrea Poncino in the latter half of the 17th century), a Gothic church of the Holy Ghost (1404) and several others of architectural interest. There is a handsome old market place (Kosciuszko Square) with a classicist town hall, a neo-classical post office, and a good regional museum.



If you're in luck, you may, even on an ordinary day, run into a girl wearing the magnificent striped Łowicz skirt, or rather skirts, since they come in a number of layers. A sight for sore eyes, if ever there was one!

POPIEL AND THE MICE

Among the Slavs the Polish tribes were relative latecomers on the feudal European scene. They comprised the Polanie in the valley of the Warta, the Kujavians on Lake Gopło, five Silesian tribes in the basin of the middle and lower Odra, the Vistulans, the Mazovians and the Pomeranians and Lubuszans. We know that by the middle of the 19th century the Polanie chieftains had made themselves masters of the whole territory between the middle Odra and the Vistula. The unification of the Polish tribes was completed by Mieszko I.



But long before this recorded landmark, history was being made, though it is now only the stuff of legend. Some of these stories were passed on by the early medieval chroniclers, such as Gallus Anonymus and Wincenty Kadłubek.

One of the most picturesque has to do with a certain Prince (or it may have been King) Popiel. The only fact that is remembered about him now is that he was devoured by mice. They must have been very ravenous beasts – and no respecters of persons either.

Popiel, known also as Pumpiel, was the ruler of Gniezno and so came from the very heartland of the Polanie, which was also the source of the Piast dynasty. For some mysterious reason he was banished from his capital and came to the sticky end described.

Kadłubek has it that there were two Popiels, but does not make it clear whether they made a two- or only one-course dinner. For good measure the Wielkopolska Chronicle turned Gniezno into Kruszwica, so that it is now this town on Lake Gopło where the mice had their meal.

As it happens, Kruszwica is one of the oldest towns in Poland: archaeologists have recently unearthed traces of a fortified settlement dating from the iron age. One of its sights is the so-called 'Mice's Tower', but this is in fact part of a 14th-century castle. Too late to have seen Popiel if not mice.

TWARDOWSKI

Long before Armstrong and Aldrin, foot (or perhaps some other part of the anatomy) was set on the moon by a certain Polish nobleman. Centuries passed before another Pole (Mirosław Hermaszewski) ventured into outer space.

Twardowski – for such was this worthy's name – is the Polish Münchhausen, a hero of countless fantastic adventures, who was in league with supernatural forces: he flew through the air, gallopped around on a rooster, turned sand into gold, journeyed to the moon and so on.

He could do all this because he had sold his soul to the devil.

Twardowski, who hailed from Cracow, has inspired poems, songs and tall stories by the hundred. He is the principal figure of one of the most colourful and popular of Polish legends and appears in many others.

What drove him to all these vagaries is said to have been his battle-axe of a wife. There is an old ballad which starts:

There's a nasty rumour going around:
Twardowski's wife has knocked him down.



This matron was immortalized in verse by the great Adam Mickiewicz himself.

There are all of ten proverbs and sayings in Polish with Twardowski as their subject: for example, 'To ride like Twardowski on a rooster' or 'There goes Twardowski all in a lather, a slipper on one foot, a boot on the other.'

Be that as it may, the palm in exploring the Silver Globe belongs to a Polish sorcerer named Twardowski (first name unknown).



GHOSTS

Though most ghosts seem to prefer the castles and palaces of Britain, some choose to live (if that's the word) in other countries as well, though again the premises have to be right, matching their extramundane whims.

If there is less reason for ghosts to be feared than living beings, the kick to be got out of their supposed presence adds much indeed to the well-being of every realist.

It is worthwile, for instance, to take a walk on a moonlit summer night up the castle hill in Bolków on the Nysa where, if in luck, you can see the phantom of a court jester who was beheaded after having by accident killed with a stone the only son of Prince Boleslaus II. Equally thrilling can be encounters with the ghosts haunting the old seat of the Lubomirski family in Wiśnicz Nowy near Bochnia, once the finest stately home in Poland. These are the victims of the repeated

lootings of the Wiśnicz treasury. In Toszek Castle (Upper Silesia) an ethereal figure in white can sometimes be seen in the tourists' wing. A 'Red Ghost' is kind enough to frequent Grodziec Castle near Złotoryja, being, the experts claim, the spirit of one of the bloodthirsty raubritters, the medieval German robber-knights. Those who dare take a nap on the top floor of the magnificently restored castle in Szydłowiec are in for particularly horrible nightmares (guaranteed!). Near Zawiercie in the ruins of Ogrodzieniec Castle, the second biggest in Europe, an unusual spectre appears in the shape of a large dog on the prowl, dragging a long chain with a flesh-creeping rattling sound.

Nor is there any shortage of scares to be had in historic houses of the highest class. Thus, the famous Łańcut Palace has a Blue Lady, a woman in white always busy writing at a rococo escritoire, and a figure dressed like a Polish nobleman, the 'Devil of Łańcut' himself, Stanisław Stadnicki who not only steps out of one of the portraits in which he features but is often seen riding full gallop along country roads, wearing a black cape. Cardinal Michał Radziejowski (for that matter a terror in his lifetime) now roams the Radziwiłł Palace in Nieborów, the library being his favourite haunt. One of the most magnificent of Polish castles, Krasiczyn near Przemyśl, can also boast a lodger from the other world – a maiden who jumped headfirst off a high tower rather than marry against her will and since then wanders around on July nights. A phantom of a similar nature can be spotted at Werynia in the former palace of the Tyszkiewicz family. A girl of fifteen immured alive by her cruel father howls and laments in the beautiful and well-preserved 15th century castle in Dębno off the Cracow-Tarnów higway.

What a host of haunted castles there is in Poland after all! A 'Black Lady' moons about at nights in the ruins of the keep in Lesko; a 'Small Lady's' loud laughter resounds among the ruins of Odrzykoń Castle near Krosno; a 'Severe Lady' strolls the galleries of the Renaissance castle in Sucha Beskidzka; while a 'Good Lady' inhabits the ruins of Bobolice Castle near Myszków.

There are demons in the castle in Olsztyn (the voivode-leader of a rebellion against the king in the 16th century); in Reszel in the same region (a witch burned at the stake); in Wenecja near Żnin (the 'Venetian Devil' mentioned by Adam Mickiewicz himself); in Kórnik (yet another 'Lady in White' but a lucky one this time, accompanied by a mounted cavalier); and in Ujazd near Opatów where amid the ruins of Krzyżtopór Castle a rider charges along, his hussar wings fluttering.

How profuse is Polish demonology! There are specialists working in this ghostly branch of knowledge to the nation's glory and tourists' contentment. The weekly *Przekrój* (with a 700,000 circulation) has for two years now been running a section devoted to Polish demons from which I took some of the above valuable information.

Believe it or not.

APRIL FOOL'S DAY

The custom of playing jokes on the first day of April is not, of course, of Polish origin, nor is this the only place where it survives. It is, however, something of a highlight of the year with features all its own.

Despite the existence of a cautionary proverb ('Believe nothing on April Fool's Day, for you will be wrong'), masses of people are regularly taken in by leg-pulls, ingenious or otherwise. Even the media, not normally given to frivolity, get into the act.

'Hoaxing one another on April 1st,' the daily *Kurier Warszawski* commented back in 1860, 'dates back to the Creation. This was the day on which Satan plucked the apple in Paradise and presented it to Eve. The consequences still stick in our throats.'

Sometimes the joke is on the press. In 1930 *Nasz Przegląd* reported on 1 April that a huge calico factory costing 25 million dollars was to be built in Łódź. The story was so convincingly composed that three days later the Warsaw *Express Poranny* reprinted it, complete with enthusiastic commentary.

This tradition of newspaper spoofs is still with us. They now take the form mainly of trick photographs showing, say, the sudden appearance of a new building on Marszałkowska or the birth in the Zoo of a giraffe with two necks.

All Fool's Day originated in ancient Rome and appeared in Poland in the 16th century. This information comes from the encyclopaedia and can, I suppose, be trusted.

LAJKONIK

A very colourful and original fête, which is one of Cracow's biggest attractions, 'Lajkonik' or 'The Zwierzyniec Horse', is held on the octave of Corpus Christi.



Its tradition is an exceptionally charming curiosity and it is a fascinating folk survival whose origins are to be found in the pageants of the medieval guilds.

Legend, however, traces it to a reputed Tartar attack on Cracow in 1281, when the city is said to have been saved by the bravery of the

boatmen from its Zwierzyniec quarter. As a result, it is from Zwierzyniec that the parade led by a rider on a hobbyhorse ('Lajkonik') traditionally starts. This is the curtain-raiser to the time-honoured 'Cracow Days' festivities. The oriental Lajkonik figure dates to the 17th-18th centuries, while the dazzling caparisons were designed in 1904 by none other than Stanisław Wyspiański.

It must in all honesty be added that popular festivals involving a similar half-man half-horse are known in other parts of the world, in Tibet and Japan, for example, as well as in Italy and France.

KULIG

This is an old Polish carnival-tide enertainment which has suffered in popularity at the hands of time, chronic shortages of snow and the spread of motoring.



it involved a sleigh-ride, often in elaborate fancy dress, to the accompaniment of songs and music, with calls on neighbours along the way, and became famous far beyond the borders of Poland.

In the old days *kuligs* were riotous – and not infrequently ruinous – affairs. A whole band of revellers, often running to a dozen or more sleighs, would roll up out of the blue at a man's door, proceed to empty his larder and cellar and then whisk off all the occupants on the next stage.

A favourite *kulig* custom was to dress up as gypsies, rustics, Jews, priests, beggars and what have you. One can imagine the pandemonium caused by the irruption of these flushed masqueraders on a sedate household.

Travel agencies now try to make a *kulig* a part of their tours. But they find it increasingly hard to lay on snow, horses, the right sort of open country; the only thing always on tap is the liquor!

SOBÓTKA

On the night of the summer solstice (23–24 June) or sometimes of Whit Sunday a strange ceremony used to take place in the villages, a magic rite intended to ensure the health of men and livestock and a good harvest.

The name 'Sobótka' came from the bonfire through which boys and girls had to jump.

In *A Description of Manners and Customs during the Reign of Augustus III,* Jędrzej Kitowicz wrote almost two centuries ago: 'Boys, whom the devil lures to every boisterous gathering, would surreptitiously throw into the fire keys filled with gunpowder or other charges. The upsurge of flames and unexpected report that followed usually caused the jumper, alarmed or assailed by flying embers, to fall into the fire and bring down the ones just behind him; before they could get up, the man at the bottom was roasted to a turn.'

All the evidence indicates that Sobótka originated in pagan times when bonfires were lit in honour of the gods and people leaped through the flames as a form of propitiating dangerous forces.

Eventually the custom was more or less stamped out, since it was the cause of many fires and accidents; by the early 18th century it had become a rarity. It is now being revived here and there to provide an added tourist attraction.

As well as the lighting of bonfires, garlands were tossed into rivers to be carried away by the current. This part of Sobótka still survives in Poland and on Midsummer Eve crowds of people turn out on river banks; it is a night when even the least virginal girls feel free to sport a posy.

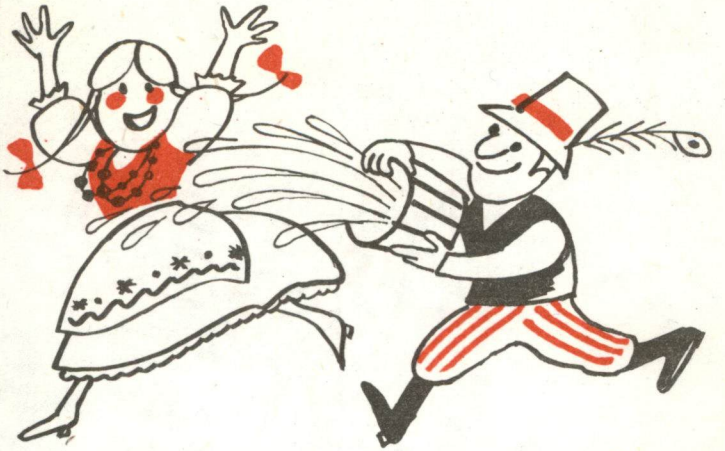
DYNGUS

There is one day in the year when the consumption of water in Poland shoots up. This is Easter Monday, and it is due to an ancient custom which is rigorously observed, especially in the countryside. It is a delightful tradition, but for the unwary, unsuspecting foreigners among them, being on the receiving end, it is liable to be a bit of a jolt.

Dyngus, or *śmigus* as this custom is also called, comes in two versions: one amiable and elegant when it is only a matter of a gentle sprinkling with water or scent, the other quite merciless when whole bucketfuls come into play.

Jędrzej Kitowicz wrote in his *Description of Manners and Customs during the Reign of Augustus III:*

'In the streets of towns and villages youngsters of both sexes with watering cans and pails of water lay in wait for passers-by; it often happened that a maid bent on dousing a swain or a boy aiming for



a girl, doused instead some innocent stranger, a clergyman it might be, or some respectable old man or old woman.'

There's no escape if you run into a devotee of old Polish customs. Thank heaven this orgy of water throwing now lasts only a day: in the past *dyngus* could be spun out for even a week. People are quieter now and it's the exception rather than the rule for the fire brigade to join in the general fun and games with their hoses.

Kitowicz suspected that *dyngus* originated out of difficulties over individual baptism and the necessity of a communal dip. But this is only one of the theories.

In any case it is an innocuous lark compared with the custom, to be found in some parts of South America and India, of sloshing one another with highly washproof paint.

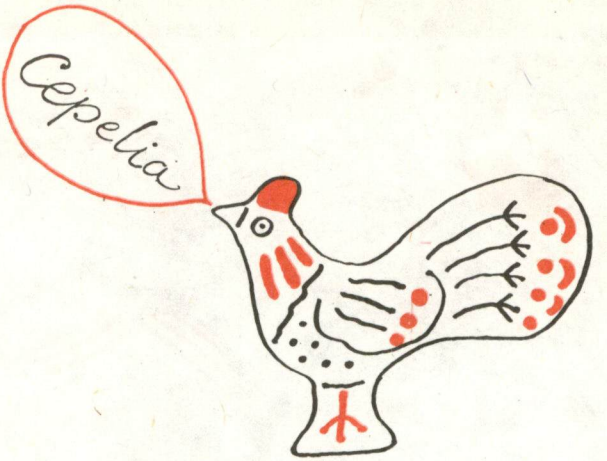
FOLK ART

We live in times when the finest Indian totems, the most resplendent Congolese masks, the most traditional Tahitian fabrics, are all manufactured in ... Japan.

Though people claim to have found the inscription 'Made in Japan' tucked away in the corner of what seemed to be a specimen of the richly coloured and patterned shawls woven in the Polish highlands, it can only have been one of some small batch of goods, aimed at America's Polish community.

For in Poland itself, folk art in its authenic form still flourishes. It has been kept alive by natural, born artists with a creative urge. Slowly, very slowly, they are being squeezed out or swallowed up by industry. Some hold out against the tide of mass production and the lure of bigger earnings; others go under.

So the supply of original peasant furniture, homespun cloth, musical instruments, is dwindling; machines are taking over handicrafts. Even



so Poland remains a bastion of exceptionally beautiful folk art. Wood carvings, frequently polychromed, are one much-admired example. Another famous specialty is painting on glass. Unfeigned wonder is aroused by the ornamented stoves of Zalipie, the Christmas crèches of Podhale, the tulle embroideries of Łagiewniki.

The whole Kurpie region, especially around Kadzidło, is a source of paper-cuts which are exported to many countries. Many localities produce the most exquisitely decorated Easter eggs. All over Poland, particularly in the east and south, you will come across enchanting wayside shrines fashioned by instinctive artists.

A notable sphere of folk art is the painting and sculpture of 'primitives'. The acclaim won here and abroad by the likes of Nikifor, Ociepka or Kudła, is as eloquent a tribute as any to the calibre of our home-grown Rousseaus.

Some of the treasures of folk art can be seen only in museums. Others find their way into the showrooms of the sterling Cepelia (Folk and Art Industry Agency – as though 'folk' and 'art' were two different things!).

One way or another, the going in Poland is likely to be tough for the Japanese and for the moment they must look to other markets.

THEATRE

As Adam Grzymała-Siedlecki, a gifted writer and student of the subject used to say, 'the Poles have been infected by the theatre to an incurable degree'. By the look of it the disease has now reached the chronic stage.

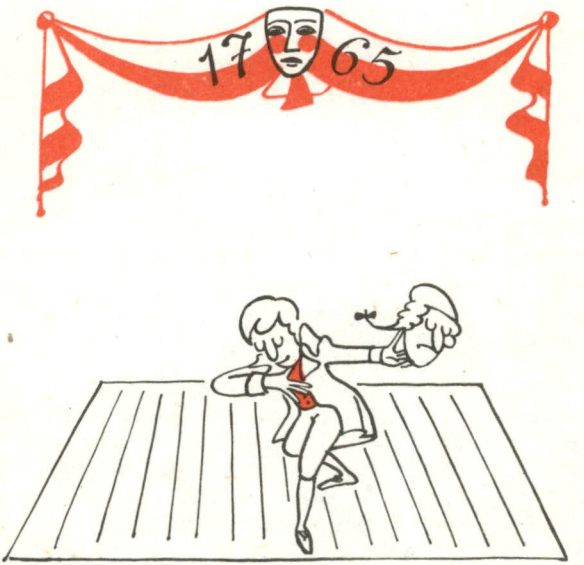
Poland is a country with a booming theatrical life. Warsaw, Cracow, Wrocław, are flourishing strongholds of drama. Altogether, excluding opera and musical comedy companies, there are 97 professional theatres

in 34 cities, plus 25 puppet theatres. There are over 3,000 amateur groups. Foreign tours and performances are a regular feature and have brought many successes.

In 1965 there was celebrated the 200th anniversary of the National Theatre in Warsaw. It was founded by King Stanislaus Augustus and its first manager was the great Wojciech Bogusławski, whose statue stands in the square outside.

Theatre-going has always been one of the most popular entertainments in Poland. In the course of an average season, for instance, the classic Polish comedies of Aleksander Fredro are likely to be seen by something like 300,000 people and the plays of Shakespeare, the most frequently produced foreign dramatist, by 450,000. Another sign of how widespread is the love of theatre is the quantity of television drama which is, moreover, of a commendably high standard and brings plays of challenging quality to an audience of many millions.

Apart from such hallowed courts of Melpomene as the Współczesny (Contemporary), Narodowy (National), Ateneum, and Dramatyczny in Warsaw, the Słowacki and Stary (Old) in Cracow, the Polski in Wrocław, the Wielki (Great) and Polski in Łódź, there are scores of experimental groups. In many cases their exploration of new frontiers has brought them worldwide acclaim, to mention only Grotowski's Laboratory and Tomaszewski's Mime Theatre from Wrocław or the Cracow Piwnica pod Baranami (The Rams Cellar) and other student companies. In Warsaw there is also a very successful Jewish Theatre which has moved into a handsome new building.



The repertoire is a mixture of native and foreign drama and has included may world premières (eg. Dürrenmatt and Frisch). Eliot, Camus, Brecht, Pinter, Ionesco, Genet are just some of the names that appear on the billboards. Between 380 and 400 new plays are produced every year, including 90 to 100 plays by foreign classics. At the same time the stock of Polish plays has been steadily rising: the whole world has been re-discovering the avant-gardisme of the writing of Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, and prominent positions are occupied by the work of Gombrowicz, Mrożek, Różewicz, and Szaniawski. Directors like Erwin Axer, Józef Szajna, Andrzej Wajda, Kazimierz Dejmek, Krystyna Skuszanka and Adam Hanuszkiewicz, have built up European reputations. The language barrier has not prevented many leading Polish actors being cheered in the world's theatre capitals; it was from Poland, after all, that Helena Modjeska set off on her conquest of America. Polish stage design ranks among the best in the world (Kantor, Kilian, Wiśniak, Pankiewicz, Majewski, Szajna and Starowieyska).

Even in the grimmest periods of the country's history the theatre never said die. It soldiered on throughout the 120 years of servitude. During the Second World War it sprang up in the Polish POW camps in Germany, while in occupied Poland itself it carried on underground (defying the total ban imposed by the Germans). It was often an embattled theatre, hated and suppressed by enemies, loved by the Poles.

High up in the gods, from my balcony seat,
My eye throws the blossoms of dreams at your feet;
Eternally one, though different in name,
You face the dark house from your bright picture frame.

So wrote Antoni Słonimski, ever alive, like all his fellow-countrymen, to the excitement of theatre, to true art, to brilliance of stagecraft and virtuosity of performance.

MUSIC

Although in Poland too radio and television are flooded with the din of pop music and its stars have become the idols of the younger generation to a degree that is a shade disturbing, the fact remains that *'non omnis moriar'*. The land of Chopin has not capitulated entirely to trendiness and allowed itself to be buried under an avalanche of decibeles.

The chronicles of music are studded with the names of great Poles, both composers and performers. A large number of contemporary composers have made worldwide reputations: Kotoński, Lutosławski, Bloch, Baird, Penderecki, Górecki, Szabelski, Bacewicz, Sikorski, Kilar, Malawski, Mycielski, Palester, Spisak and many others stand in the top flight in Europe. Their works are in the repertoire of all the best orchestras and ensembles.



Among artists of comparable standing mention should be made of pianists like Rubinstein, Czerny-Stefańska, Smendzianka, Zimerman and many of the prize-winners of the Warsaw Chopin Competition, singers like Woytowicz, Łukomska, Koszut-Okruta, Wojtaszek-Kubiak, Żylis-Gara, Ładysz, Hiolski, Paprocki, Ochman and violinists like Wiłkomirska and Kulka. Major international successes have been scored by our symphony orchestras, notably the National Philharmonic from Warsaw and the Grand Polish Radio and Television Orchestra from Katowice. Polish conductors have appeared on all continents (Rowicki, Wodiczko, Czyż, Kord, Markowski, Krenz, Skrowaczewski, Semkow, Wisłocki and others). Every year more than 4,000 Polish artists go on foreign tours.

There has been no wilting, therefore, of the tradition planted not only by Chopin, Stanisław Moniuszko and Karol Szymanowski, but also by Ignacy Paderewski, Wanda Landowska, Bronisław Huberman, Paweł Kochański, Jan Kiepura and many other leading lights.

One fact, which may come as a surprise to many people, will serve to show what a special place music holds in Polish life: during the Nazi occupation the works of Chopin were banned and could be played only at the risk of arrest and confinement in a concentration camp.

Poland is now the scene of many events in the international music calendar. Every four years there is the Chopin Competition for young pianists. Once a year comes the 'Warsaw Autumn' festival of contemporary music, followed hard on its heels by the 'Jazz Jamboree'. In Poznań, also every four years, we have the Henryk Wieniawski Violin Competition. Foreign artists are also regularly on hand for other competitions and concerts, symphony, string, organ, etc.

POSTERS

The achievements of Polish painters, sculptors, art weavers, pottery designers and so on are substantial, but here I shall confine myself only to the field of the poster. For this is an art form, reproduced by the million and exhibited non-stop on walls and hoardings seven days a week, in which we have made an exceptionally prolific and, it seems, happy showing.

It all began, so they say, way back in the past, but properly speaking

only in the twenties. The first artists to produce advertising and entertainment posters of unmistakable quality were Nowicki, Gronowski, Wajwód, Sopoćko and the team of Levitt and Him, who later worked in western Europe. But it was not till after the last war that the gifts and creativeness of Polish designers burst into full bloom. The best of them are ranked at the very top of their profession, and their work is hung in museums (the Museum of Modern Art in New York, for one) as well as being a must for album publications. Any short list of the world's leading poster artists would include the names of Fangor, Lenica, Pałka, Tomaszewski, Mroszczak, Zamecznik, Cieślewicz, Trepkowski, Młodożeniec, Urbaniec, Lipiński, Jodłowski, Szaybo, Świerzy, and Starowieyski. Fangor now lives the United States where he holds a university appointment, Cieślewicz and Lenica are working in Paris, Zamecznik, Mroszczak and Trepkowski are no longer with us.

Poles have probably won more international awards for posters than any other national group. They are at home in any kind of subject, from political and social to commercial. Theatre, film and circus posters have won particular acclaim. Very interesting work has been produced for industrial health and safety campaigns.

The hallmark of the Polish 'poster school' is compression of language and composition. For years artists have fought a dogged battle with themselves, to say nothing of the poor quality of paper, paint and printing.

Adjoining Wilanów Palace on the outskirts of Warsaw there is the world's only permanent poster museum. It also serves as a gallery for displays of work by foreign artists.

CINEMA

When a young lady named Apolonia Chałupiec was first seen on the screen during the First World War in Polish melodramas with high society and back street settings, no one suspected that the movies were about to sweep all before them or that she herself, better known as Pola Negri, would shortly conquer Hollywood and the whole world.

In the years that followed the Polish cinema had its ups and downs, mainly the latter. After the last war it marked time a little, raised a few hopes and produced one or two interesting films, mainly about the horrors of the recent past, such as *Forbidden Songs* or *The Last Stage*. Then in the mid-fifties two young directors appeared on the scene: Wajda and Munk. The first made a series of films about the experience of the younger generation during the war, most memorably *Kanal* and *Ashes and Diamonds* (from the novel by Jerzy Andrzejewski); Munk was the author of *Eroica, Bad Luck* and the *Passenger* before his brilliant talent was snuffed out in a car crash in 1961. Other film-makers off the mark around this time were Kawalerowicz (*Mother Joan of the Angels, Night Train*), Has, Kutz, Passendorfer and Hoffman.

An interesting development was the appearance behind the camera



of novelists and screenwriters, notably the highly original Tadeusz Konwicki and Jerzy S. Stawiński. A conspicuous position was reached by the documentary film, while the Polish Newsreel has collected the world's highest awards. A new crop of directors arrived: Polański (whose *Knife in the Water* was made in Poland and launched him on the path to his present fame), Skolimowski, Piwowski and Zanussi. Somewhat earlier outstanding achievements were recorded in the animated film (Lenica, Borowczyk, Szczechura, among others).

In the seventies Wajda still led with *The Wedding, Land of Promise* and *The Man of Marble.* The top group also included Zanussi (*The Structure of Crystal, Illumination, Family Life*). The younger generation of directors included Żuławski and Królikiewicz who were still among the best. Borowczyk, who works in France and in Poland, has also become quite famous with his feature films. Agnieszka Holland and Feliks Falk have won high marks among the youngest.

MATHEMATICS

Professor Wacław Sierpiński, a mathematician at Warsaw University who died recently, held honorary doctorates from nine other universities and was a fellow of five learned academies in different parts of the world. A specialist in set theory, the theory of real functions, topology and theory of numbers, he was one of the founders of the internationally acknowledged 'Warsaw School of Mathematics'.

Also departed are such other luminaries as Stefan Banach, a mathematical genius, Hugo Steinhaus, who opened new horizons in this science, and many others. But the 'Warsaw School' still remains, as does the tradition of a high standard of mathematics in Poland. At present there appear eight journals, five of them published in foreign languages. The universities have seven specialized centres. The International Mathematical Union regularly organizes conferences and symposia in Poland.

To go far back into history, King John Sobieski appointed a mathematician as a personal adviser, one of whose pastimes was to experiment

with squaring the circle. Today such men, especially if they are computer scientists, are working as experts in many areas of public affairs.

Banach developed a concept of space which bears his name. Steinhaus was the first to use the probability methods subsequently elaborated by Norbert Wiener in the United States. Sierpiński had a worldwide reputation; a leading Spanish mathematician Norberto Cuesta of Salamanca, once dedicated a book to him with these words: 'To the Professor who introduced the author to the paradise of infinity.'

Though one man's paradise may be another man's hell, this mathematical one may well seem enviable to many mortals, if, alas, even more impenetrable than most.

JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY

A university was founded in Cracow by King Casimir the Great in 1364, in other words at a time when the number of such institutions anywhere could be counted on your fingers, and Central Europe had only one (Prague, 1348).

By the mid-15th century Alma Mater Jagiellonica had become famous far beyond the borders of Poland, thanks to its achievements in law and propagation of new ideas in science and philosophy. Subsequently it grew into Europe's leading teacher of astronomy, mathematics and geography. One of its alumni was Copernicus. It attracted many students from other countries.

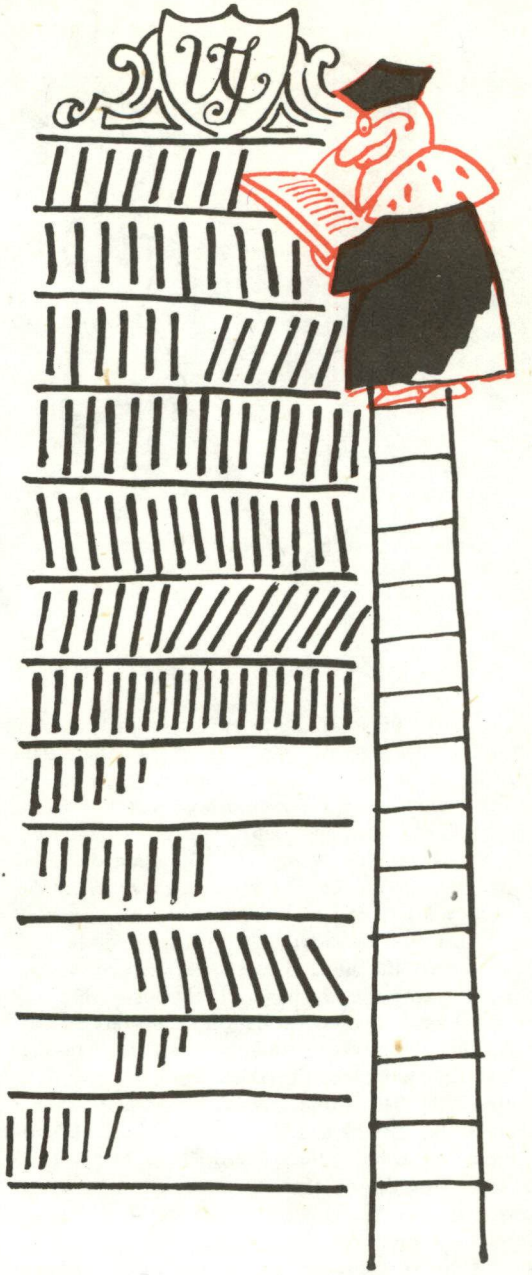
Though the University suffered various ebbs and flows of fortune, it weathered all vicissitudes right up to 1939 when, within sight of its 600th anniversary, it was closed down. This was the doing of the bearers of Nazi *Kultur* who also rounded up 183 of its staff, among them scholars of world renown, and deported them to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen where many perished.

Today Jagiellonian University, popularly referred to (from its initials) as the 'U-yot', has close on 16,000 students and some 1,400 faculty staff. The Library houses one of the biggest collections in Poland. In 1965 a branch was established in Katowice, which in 1968 became the University of Silesia.

THE BATORY

Stephen Báthory (1533–86) was a great Polish king, which will be news to some; his name now graces a Polish passenger ship, which will be news to none.

The original *Batory* was a transatlantic liner which carried some 800 passengers, had a tonnage of 14,287 BRT and a speed of 18 knots. In 1969 it was taken out of service since it was getting a little old and replaced by the *Stefan Batory* which is a bit bigger and carries 1,000 passengers.





It all began over 40 years ago. In 1930 a Polish Transatlantic Shipping Association (Gdynia-America Line) was set up (later renamed the Gdynia–America Shipping Co.) which opened regular sailings across the Atlantic on board the SS *Polonia, Pułaski* and *Kościuszko.* Following the withdrawal of these antiquated vessels two modern liners, the *Piłsudski* (1935) and the *Batory* (1936), regarded as among the best then on this route, were put into service. Unfortunately they were fated to have only a brief innings. When the war broke out, the *Piłsudski* was sunk by a German U-boat near Newcastle, on 26 Navember 1939. The *Batory* joined the allied fleet and throughout the war performed naval duties, earning the nickname of 'the lucky ship' because of the charmed life it bore in the most dangerous operations and the heaviest storms. Fortune continued to smile on the *Batory* through its twenty years of peacetime service for the Polish Ocean Lines.

It is estimated that all told, something like half a million passengers have sailed on the *Batory* and *Stefan Batory.* Despite cut-throat competition from the airlines, these Polish liners frequently had 100 per cent bookings. One gathers that the secret of their success lay in efficient service (a 330-man crew), the four-star Polish cuisine and a notably pleasant atmosphere.

Even if the day comes when the great ships disappear from the Atlantic, leaving the field in sole possession of the sky liners, the *Stefan Batory* will go down with colours flying in true Polish style. For the moment the day is not yet lost and our flagship is keeping an honourable

end up on the Gdynia-Montreal line, stealing hearts in every port in which it docks.

The *Stefan Batory* has now been joined by other great sons of Poland. Polish passenger airliners on overseas routes are called after Copernicus, Kosciuszko, Mickiewicz, Sienkiewicz, Skłodowska-Curie, Pulaski and Chopin.

FIFTY YEARS IN THE SKY

How extraordinary: the Polish Airlines have been carrying passengers and cargo for fifty years. Thus, the Polish Air Transport company is among the oldest and most experienced in Europe.

The aircraft with a crane on their tails maintain a scheduled link with 34 countries and 43 towns in the world, and with twelve towns in Poland. The length of the scheduled routes has exceeded 83,000 kilometres. Every year, nearly two million people avail themselves of the services of LOT.

LOT, although a medium-sized air carrier, is among leading international airlines thanks to its experience and the skill of its flight engineers and pilots. In 1975 it acceded to the GABRIEL system of automatic reservations, connected to the system of the International Association of Air Communications (SITA) under the name of LOTAR.

Polish aircraft fly regularly to New York, Montreal, Bangkok, Bombay, Tunis, and to all the major airports of Europe. Polish charter planes land in Latin America, Australia, Japan and the Middle East.

The famous Polish writer, Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński, wrote in 1931, after his first flight:

'Fly, o brothers of mine! This delight must be quickly tasted, for it will later wear out, rub off, become a conundrum. Like the man who travels in a tram does not fill himself with the exhilarating thought that he has conquered electricity.'

MAZOWSZE AND OTHERS

Mazowsze is probably Poland's most distinguished ambassador abroad. Every one of its foreign tours amounts to a major diplomatic mission. This folk song and dance company has made many friends on all continents for Poland and her culture.

Mazowsze is a state ensemble, founded by the composer Tadeusz Sygietyński in 1949 and since his death managed by his widow, Mira Zimińska, a famous ex-actress and cabaret artiste. It consists of a corps de ballet, choir and orchestra, recruited from among young people with musical gifts.

The repertoire is based on folk songs and dances, chiefly those of central Poland. Some of these items, like 'The Waggoner', 'A Bird on the Wing', 'The Cuckoo' and 'The Girl from Łowicz', have become known all over the world.

The boys and girls of Mazowsze go through their routines with enormous verve. The girls, moreover, are stunners, which tends to distract the more soulful expatriates in the audience from their art.



The company's base is Karolin outside Warsaw. Here it receives thousands of letters from home and abroad and a stream of invitations; if Mazowsze were to take them all up, the year would have to have a thousand days.

Poland has several other such musical 'ambassadors', among them the Śląsk company, Mazowsze's excellent opposite number from the south of Poland, the Stuligrosz Boys' Choir from Poznań, and the Ensemble of the Harnam works from Łódź.

FESTIVALS

It is a fair guess that there is now hardly a day of the year in Poland which isn't connected with some festival, competition, holiday, gala concert, trade fair or fête. This is, for that matter, part of a world pattern: the calendar everywhere is filling up with a flood of anniversaries and other such occasions.

These are the best known Polish festivals: Intervision Festival of Songs at the Forest Opera in Sopot (3rd decade in August), National Festival of Polish Songs in Opole (3rd decade in June), Sea Festival (also 3rd decade in June), Jan Kiepura Festival of Arias and Songs in Krynica (June), Harvest Home Festival (lst decade in September), Dymarki Świętokrzyskie, a show of the old ways of iron smelting with enter-



tainment and folklore events at Słupia Nowa, Kielce voivodship (2nd decade in September), International Jazz-Jamboree in Warsaw (October), Frédéric Chopin International Piano Competition in Warsaw (every four years in October), Henryk Wieniawski International Violin Competition in Poznań (every four years in November), Days of Chamber Music in Łańcut (May), International Festival of Short Films in Cracow (June), Lubuskie Film Summer in Łagów (June), International Variety Spring in Poznań (April), Warsaw Autumn International Festival of Contemporary Music (September), Festival of Chamber and Organ Music in Kamień Pomorski and Szczecin (June to September), Festival of Organ Music in Gdańsk–Oliwa (July), Festival of Polonia Theatres and Reciters in Toruń (August), International Chopin Festival in Duszniki Zdrój (August), Vratislavia Cantans International Oratorium and Cantata Festival in Wrocław (September), International Festival of Highland Folklore in Zakopane (September), Venus International Art Photography Salon in Cracow (May to October), International Graphic Art Biennale in Cracow (June), Festival of Polish Contemporary Plays in Wrocław (May), Warsaw Theatre Meetings (December).

To this list there must be added the International Book Fair in Warsaw (late May); the International Poznań Fair (11–20 June) and scores of other, usually international events, such as the Horse Show

in Olsztyn (mid-June), canoe races down the River Dunajec (mid-June), the Vistula Carnival, 'Sobótki', the old Slav midsummer festivities in various parts of the country, festivals of country bands and folk ensembles, concerts, city and regional fairs...

Phew! and that's only a bare fraction of the host of artistic, sporting, commercial and what-have-you special events, held every year in Poland. It is hard to think of a province of life which does without its parade of achievements and aims, annual junket or competition. Everyone has got into the act – violin-makers, papercutters, firemen – though for sheer ubiquity (and noise) they are left standing by the pop world: sometimes one longs for a national Songless Day.

NATURALIZED POLES

Enrico Marconi, a gifted architect, came to Poland from Bologna in 1822 and within eight years was fighting under the banners of the November Insurrection against Russia. This superb artist, who enriched the Polish national heritage with his palace, church and other building, inscribed these words in his will: 'Addio Italia, brava e ospitale Pologna seconda Patria mia vi saluta!' (Farewell Italy, hail brave and hospitable Poland, my second fatherland!).

Poland became a second home for many thousands of foreigners whom she welcomed to her shores over the centuries and who proceeded to drop anchor. Whatever the individual reasons for this stream of immigration, the fact is that Poland enjoyed a general reputation as a liberal country free of religious persecution and xenophobia, a land of rich opportunities for anyone who was able, industrious and enterprising.

So here they came and here almost all of them stayed. During the reign of King Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski and subsequently in the days of the Congress Kingdom, many of them were raised to the nobility. A number were rewarded with immediate trust, which they repaid with interest – like Christian Gottfried Deybl who was made a general by Tadeusz Kosciuszko.

These settlers from all corners of Europe usually served their adopted nation doubly well, not only fighting and working for it, but also siring offspring. In other words they merged and assimilated, and handed on the torch to successors who were Polish through and through.

Enrico Marconi had eight children, his brother, Ferrante, nine. Afterwards one generation followed another, thoroughly Polonized, each sharing the adversities and joys of the rest of the nation. Today it is not at all rare to come across the Italian name 'Marconi' in Poland: the late Professor Bohdan Marconi taught conservation of paintings at the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts and was a member of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works (IIC); his two daughters work as art restorers in Warsaw; and there are many engineers and architects scattered around Poland who bear this name from the history books.

Or take the Bacciarellis. This notable Polish family goes back to the Rome-born Marcello Bacciarelli, the court painter of King Stanislaus Augustus. A great achievement stands to his name in Poland: he created a distinctive school of painting, was the author of several hundred pictur-



es (chiefly portraits), counselled the king wisely in matters of art and architecture, urban design and landscape gardening, was the moving spirit behind the foundation of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts and helped to assemble the magnificent royal art collection. After the fall of Poland, this Italian, who had dressed in the French style all his life, demonstratively changed to Polish costume, traditional four-cornered hat and all. Marcello's descendants fought for Poland and worked for her. In Warsaw and other cities there are Bacciarellis who are actors, lawyers and engineers.

Poland is proud of these 'foreigners' who served her so loyally, often at the cost of great sacrifices and sometimes even their lives.

A list of distinguished Polish families of foreign stock would run to several pages. The history of Polish culture is studded with names like Bursche, Gebethner, Lenz, Evert, Kolberg, Fontana, Merlini, Solari, Loth, Gepner, Spiess, Lilpop, Brun, Hempel...

COLLECTORS

Although few art treasures in Poland ever remain in the family, and many a man has lost two or more fortunes twice in a single lifetime, a large number of curios and antiques of historical interest have nevertheless been preserved in private hands.



Thus there are 300 collectors in Poland who are ranked in the European class; of these as many as a hundred are numismatists. The field is led by the Przypkowskis from Jędrzejów near Kielce, collectors and connoisseurs of sundials (q.v.) and Jerzy Dunin-Borkowski, a chemist from Krośniewice near Kutno, the owner of a superb collection of Polish medals, coins, weapons, manuscripts and old books, and a large gallery of paintings. The chief antiquarianist centres are Cracow and Warsaw, in each of which there are at least several very large private collections (e.g. those of Gościmski, Szenic). Other prominent collectors are Fischer from the small town of Bochnia and Świerzowicz from Sanok.

These are the current kings of collecting. But it is known that it was also a sport of kings. Sigismund the Old, Sigismund Augustus and Sigismund III all collected silver and tapestries in a big way; Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski was a great connoisseur of painting and a collector of cameos and intaglios.

Times have changed and the days are past when collecting was a hobby only aristocrats and magnates could afford. One of our leading numismatists is a tiler, the book collectors include a waiter, and among connoisseurs of antiques there is a fair number of office clerks and lowly government employees. As a matter of fact this, too, is part of a tradition: some decades ago Poland's most notable antiquarian was one Gustaw Subier-Bisier, the plain, untutored son of a French pastry-cook.

It was dedicated collectors who helped to save a very large part of the national heritage which would otherwise have been pillaged or forfeited for ever, though it is only honest to add that there was the odd black sheep among them: money-grubbers and 'experts' who had no scruples about dealing in priceless art treasures. Such men were responsible, for instance, for as many as 16 Rembrandts leaving the country in the years following the First World War. The National Museum in Warsaw once put on a chastening and sepulchral little exhibition, hanging the walls of one of its rooms with sixteen photographic reproductions of these lost masterpieces.

The favourite periods with Polish antiquarians are the ages of the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, and of Napoleon. Between them, they could produce a very rich display of the world-famous gold and silver embroidered 'Slucki sashes', though it is military accoutrements which, as yet another echo of the loveliness of the cavalry tradition, have the firmest hold on their hearts: such collectors have formed a special association called 'Weapons and Colours' based in Warsaw and Cracow, with a branch in London.

A new craze is now, however, gaining ground in Poland: for bric-a-brac which stands somewhere halfway between art and rubbish, mainly *art nouveau* prints and trinkets, funny postcards, quaint posters, and advertisements, records of the fashions of 1850–1930. One leading collector of such 'works' is Henryk Tomaszewski, the well-known artist who is a professor of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts.

Disinterested but passionate antiquarianism is a great adventure: it is almost as exciting to make a tour of these private museums, 'raree shows' and entrancing lumber rooms. All you need is the right guide.

FOREIGN STUDENTS

At present there are nearly 3,000 foreign students attending institutions of higher education in Poland. Of these more than 700 are from the Third World.

The largest number are at technical colleges, the most popular departments being mechanical engineering, electronics, civil engineering, chemistry, mining and surveying. At the universities the subjects most frequently chosen are mathematics, physics, languages, economics and sociology.

Before beginning their course these students undergo a year's special training at the University of Łódź which more than ten years ago started a Polish Language Course for Foreigners which now has an intake of several hundred students, mainly from Latin America (Chile, Bolivia, Argentina, Peru and Cuba), the socialist countries (Vietnam, Mongolia, German Democratic Republic and Hungary) and some parts of Africa. In addition there are groups of Vietnamese youth attending language courses designed specially for them in Cracow and Wrocław.



Summer camps are also organized for foreign students to extend their practical command of Polish.

Altogether close on 20,000 young people from abroad have taken degrees in Poland.

Students from Africa, Asia and Latin America have their own meeting-places, such as the Three Continents Club in Warsaw.

Poles returning from abroad with increasing frequency tell of unexpected encounters in distant and exotic lands. Stories of being greeted in impeccable Polish by a provincial governor in Nigeria or a doctor in the jungles of Peru are no longer, therefore, just another traveller's tale.

WOMEN

Polish women are famous around the world for their charm and elegance. Hymns to their charms can even be found in French poetry and Viennese operetta.

The girls of today are definitely no uglier than their mothers and grandmothers. Physical exercise and a better diet have lengthened and slimmed their figures – it is said of them that their legs grow 'straight from their throats'. Foreign visitors talk of a 'beauty explosion' in the streets of Polish towns.

Less has been sung of other feminine accomplishments. And, looks apart, they have plenty more to their credit in life. Suffice it to say that 956 women hold senior university appointments.

But first things first. Women still outnumber men in Poland: there are on average 106 females to 100 males (in Warsaw and Łódź it is as high as 116).

Girls make up 71 per cent of the pupils at general secondary schools and 46.1 per cent in vocational schools. They form 49.7 per cent of the total student body, the proportion rising to 64.3 per cent at medical schools and 75.3 per cent at teacher training colleges.

We are therefore witnessing a runaway feminization of certain professions. For example, 81 per cent of all dentists and 84 per cent of pharmacists are women. A similar pattern can be observed in other walks of life. Even the traditionally masculine world of politics is being gatecrashed by the 'weaker sex': women comprise 13.8 per cent of Seym deputies and 25.7 per cent of local government councillors.

In 1978, two women put all men to shame: Captain Krystyna Chojnowska-Liskiewicz sailed singlehanded round the world in two years, and Wanda Rutkiewicz climbed Mount Everest.



Since, as we well know, the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world, the role of women in Poland deserves close scrutiny. Despite the passage of centuries and profound changes in society, men continue to treat the opposite sex with the celebrated old Polish gallantry (kissing their hand on meeting and leaving, ushering them into a room, helping them into their coats, plying them with clothes, flowers and compliments). True, there are mutterings among the youngest generation that it is time to have done with this anachronism and even attempts to make good these threats – but there always comes a time in life when they prove so much hot air.

TARTARS

There were wicked Tartars who raided Poland and for centuries were her mortal enemies, and good Tartars who helped Poland and fought in the armies of King John Sobieski and took part in national risings.

You don't have to travel very far east to see a Moslem temple and to be asked to remove your shoes before entering it. It is enough to pay a visit to the village of Bohoniki or Kruszyniany in the vicinity of Sokółka, Białystok voivodship.

These two remote localities contain timber mosques built at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries by the followers of the Prophet who settled in this area (there are at present 3,000 of them in Poland).

The Poles of Tartar stock who live here to this day are the descendants of those soldiers who fought under John Sobieski. For their bravery and loyalty to the realm they were rewarded by the king with the grant of a number of villages in the Sokółka area. The most famous of them (though a later settler) was Samuel Murza Krzeczowski, commander of the Tartar cavalry, who covered himself with glory in the defeat of the Turks at Parkany (1683).

Although the inhabitants of these villages have long since learned to speak Polish, they have preserved many of their own traditional customs, identical to those to be found in Arab countries. Each household has its ancient hand-written copy of the teachings and instructions of the Koran. Some of these Tartar villagers have retained (or rather inherited) a knowledge of the Arabic alphabet.

Before there are any misunderstandings, let me make it clear that the Polish Moslems never practised polygamy. That said, it is true that their attitude to women is markedly different from the Polish one and is more like the ways of Iraq or Tunisia.

Every Friday Moslem services are held in the mosques in Bohoniki and Kruszyniany which, though prized monuments of architecture, are not, therefore, mere tourist attractions.

On picturesque knolls by the mosques there are cemeteries in which one will see gravestones bearing the sign of the crescent. The names



of the dead read like a roll call from the pages of Sienkiewicz's *Trilogy!* Aleksandrowicz, Bogdanowicz... To this day names like Ali, Mustafa, Yakub, Yahya, are among the ones most frequently given to children.

It is quite an eye-opener to come across peasants in central Europe who prostrate themselves towards Mecca and abide by the rules of the Koran. Kruszyniany and Bohoniki attract hundreds of visitors from Poland and abroad. Many of them are likely to meet the mullah, Imam Ali Bajraszewski, a direct descendant of the original Tartar settlers in Kruszyniany. Like his flock, he is a loyal son of both Poland and the Prophet.

There are few such ethnographical enclaves in Poland. But among them can be included, if on a smaller scale, the Karaites and Raskolniks.

The Karaites came centuries ago from the Crimea and are still to be found in Warsaw and its environs, on the coast and in Lower Silesia. They still keep up their Turco-Judaic cultural and social ties. Be it added that in the world as a whole the Kariate religious community numbers barely 12,000 souls.

Another interesting socio-religious group, in this case of Russian origin, are the Raskolniks, or Old Believers. In the 17th century a schismatic faction appeared in Russia as a breakaway from the established Orthodox church. The most radical of these heretics were subjected to persecution and fled to Poland. They now have three officially registered parishes, two near Augustów and one in Wojnowo in Mazuria (where there is also a convent).

TIMBER CHURCHES

To this day there still stand in Poland about 200 historic churches built of timber, some of which date back as far as the late Middle Ages. These are remarkable buildings as regards both their architecture and their interiors. Here and there one can find remnants of murals. Often the painted walls and ceilings contain elements of the local folk culture. These churches belong either to the Roman or the Orthodox rite (the latter are particularly frequent in south-eastern Poland).

We know that in the old days the walls were hung not only with holy pictures and other devotional objects, but also with old folk costumes, coloured bonnets, harvesters' garlands, ornamental collars. Three hundred years ago some of the hierarchy were wont to refer to these little village churches as 'dens of thieves'. Occasionally (especially in the highlands) they may even have had a point, but on the whole the buildings reflected the tastes and needs of people cut off from the mainstream of popular culture.

The following villages have churches of more than passing interest: Bąków, Blizne, Boguszyce, Dębno, Grębień, Haczów, Łaziska, Łącza, Osiek, Poniszowice, Popowice, Powroźnik, Przydonica, Racławice, Sękowa, Ulucz and Wola Grzymalina, all dating back to the 15th and 16th centuries.

Most of these wooden churches are ideally blended with the sur-



rounding landscape and present a vivid illustration of the local folklore and even character. 'You can still pray in them,' one pious person has said; 'God is not as remote here as in the big cathedrals.'

CASTLES

Prior to the Second World War there were something like 12,000 such edifices in Poland: castles, palaces, manors which were semi-fortresses, 'stately homes' which bore the military stamp of the days of siege engines.

The future of such buildings is a problem that has come in for discussion all over the world. In Poland there is the additional consideration of the enormous damage incurred during the last war and the changes in the political system which followed. There are no private proprietors left in Poland (though, at a pinch, one or two might still be found) with the funds to keep up historic buildings and parks out of their own pocket. The most important of them have been taken over by the govern-

ment; many others are occupied and looked after by a variety of social and learned institutions, organizations, schools, cultural associations, etc.

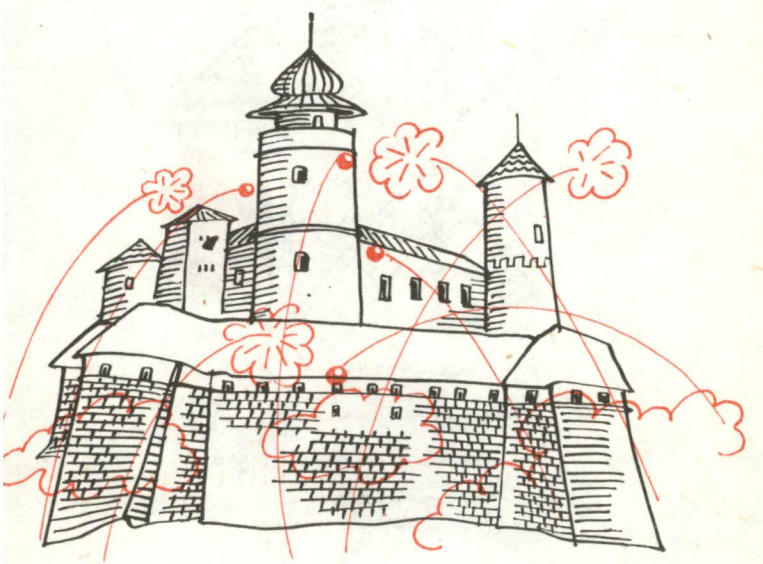
The most treasured historic buildings are, first of all, Wawel Castle in Cracow, which from the 11th to the late 16th century was the royal seat and the treasury of the realm, and remains a symbol of the national heritage. A very vital role in Polish history was also played by the Royal Castle in Warsaw (16th century) which was completely destroyed by the Germans during the war and is now being painstakingly reconstructed. These are the major ones. But there are many other buildings of great value and unusual beauty which deserve attention. Here is a sample:

Wiśnicz Castle, some 50 kilometres from Cracow; built in the early 16th century; late Gothic and Renaissance with Baroque fortifications; began to fall into ruin following a fire in 1831; now restored; branch of the National Museum in Cracow.

Lublin Castle; Gothic, with superb chapel of the Holy Trinity and 13th-century vaults used as a dungeon by the Gestapo during the war; now a museum and arts centre.

Niedzica Castle; situated in beautiful rising country south of Cracow; Gothic, 13th and 14th centuries; enlarged in the 17th century; now a holiday home of the Association of Art Historians.

Much effort has gone into the reconstruction and thorough renovation of three other castles in southern Poland: Pieskowa Skała (30 kilometres from Cracow, Gothic, 14th century, Renaissance alterations, Branch of the Wawel State Art Collections), Baranów (16th–17th centuries, Mannerist) and Krasiczyn (outside Przemyśl, near the eastern frontier, 16th–17th centuries, late Renaissance and Mannerist).



Then come two palaces, in Kielce and Łańcut. Both date from the 17th century, have been magnificently restored, are maintained in perfect condition and contain museums.

To this should be added the castles in Malbork, Szczecin, Brzeg, Książ, Olsztyn, Lidzbark, Niepołomice, Niemodlin, Nidzica, Oporów, Pęzino and many others. Mention should be made too of the (in varying degrees) romantic ruins in Ujazd (Krzyżtopór), Siewierz, Ząbkowice, Chęciny, Ogrodzieniec, Czersk, Czorsztyn, Bolków and elsewhere. At any rate it is worth bearing in mind that Poland has an exceptionally large number of castles and historic houses of architectural interest which have once again become, after devastation and years of neglect, a striking feature of the landscape.

The press has fought a dogged campaign for the restoration of many other buildings which are still awaiting a similar turn in their fortunes. Some of them – castles, manor houses, abbeys, churches – lie far off the beaten track and have clearly fallen by the wayside in the march of civilization.

WINDMILLS

One of Poland's oldest industries and most ancient trades is dying under our very eyes. For seven hundred years the windmill was a distinctive feature of the Polish landscape. As late as 1954 there were



still 1,012 of them in use; today only 29 are left. Several hundred of these 'superannuated' buildings still stand proudly; too many are unfortunately falling apart.

The changes that have swept civilization make any campaign to preserve the old role of windmills sheer quixotry. What the conservationists contemplate therefore is putting these buildings to a new use, their conversion into museums, or even restaurants.

The finest examples of old windmills are to be found in Kochanów (1787), Lubięcin (1703 and 1817) and Werginki (1784). An 18th-century windmill has been perserved in Śmigiel near Kościan; in Śmigiel and nearby Osieczna Poland's only open-air museum of windmills has bean established.

The best places for seeing windmills are Great Poland, Mazovia, Mazuria, and in the Kalisz and Lubusz regions. Almost all of them are wooden structures and there are two main types: the post mill in which the whole body can be turned to make the sails face into the wind, and the tower mill with a revolving 'cap'. There are also ingenious combinations of the two.

A total of 867 windmills appear in the official inventory of antiquities made in 1964. The private ones at which every citizen tilts at some time in his life were not included.

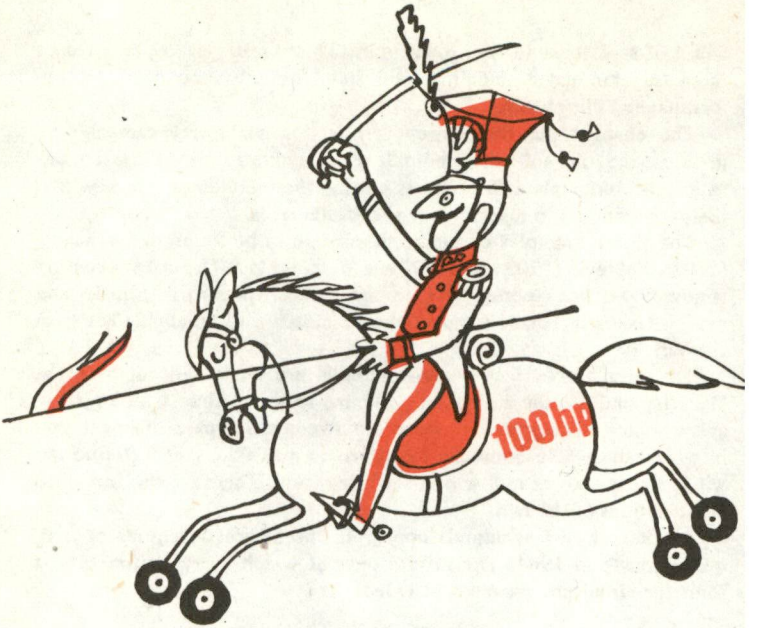
HORSES

The number of horses in Poland runs to 2 million head. Prize specimens of these beautiful creatures are bred at thirty stud farms and include thoroughbreds of Arab, English, Little Poland and Great Poland stock. There are 200 sires standing at them with stud-book pedigrees. Poland also has a reserve of a breed of wild ponies (12–14 hands) known as tarpans. Bloodstock sales are held every year, and there is a special trading agency (ANIMEX) to handle exports.

Polish horses are now being used by the Italian, Swiss and Indian armies among others. Many animals reach high bids. Recently a batch of 15 pure-bred Arabs was dispatched to the United States for 100,000 dollars. One horse fetched a record price of $115,000.

The Poles love horses and not even the growing challenge of the motor car has shaken that attachment, anchored as it is in a great tradition of their use for military, transport and sporting purposes. The language contains a host of songs, proverbs and sayings featuring horses: for example, 'to work like a horse', to be 'as healthy as a horse', to drive 'like a man on a mangy mare'. Finding a horseshoe has been a sign of luck since time immemorial.

In his *Polish Life* Władysław Łoziński wrote: 'Every nobleman was a soldier and even in peacetime the horse was the commonest and often, in view of the lack of roads, the sole means of locomotion; the breeding of horses and horsemanship were of supreme importance. Even a squire of average substance might own as many as several dozen



horses.' Much earlier Mikołaj Rej summed up the gentry's recreations in three words: 'Horse, hound and bird.'

Great fame was enjoyed by the Polish cavalry which turned the course of many a battle. Up to the 18th century all Europe had heard of the Polish hussars who fought in light armour with wings attached to their shoulders, helmets and lances and charged the enemy at full gallop, the feathers clattering fearfully, and cut them down with their sabres. During and after the First World War the dashing exploits and looks of the Polish uhlans became proverbial. In the 19th and 20th centuries many armies modelled their mounted troops on the Poles. Between the wars Poland had forty cavalry regiments which in September 1939, during the German invasion, carried out heroic, though often doomed charges.

The Poles are now turning to a different kind of horsepower. But they feel the live variety ought to be preserved, if only for the sake of sentiment and ornament.

MUSHROOMS

Polish forests still teem, as they always have, with mushrooms, a fact which is by no means the commonplace it seems: it has been known for natives of countries with large forests to come to Poland to see their first forest mushroom.

When dried, Polish bolets come expensive: a kilogram costs as much as a goodish watch. They are one of the few foodstuffs which taken out of the country are subject to a duty as high as 50 per cent of their

domestic price which runs into the region of 2,000 zlotys per kilo. Smuggling them is a tricky business since they can be smelled a hundred yards away. Poland exports mushrooms to many countries.

For centuries they were regarded as a highly nutritious food, rich in protein and a substitute for meat. Modern science has shown there was no substance in these beliefs. But we continue to gather mushrooms for their flavour and aroma. It is a truism that adding one to a soup makes all the difference to its taste; we are cautioned against putting in more, however, by the saying that 'two mushrooms in a pot of bortsch are too much of a good thing'.

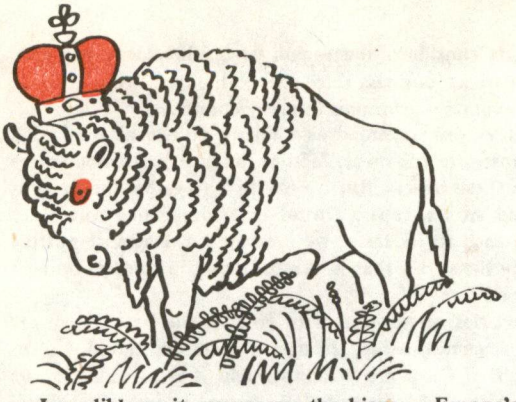
There are 66 varieties of mushroom in Poland, the best-known (at any rate with English names) being, the agaric, bolet and morel. Unfortunately a good half of them are poisonous and it is as well to be thoroughly familiar with caps, gills and stalks before trying to eat them; I have friends who gather mushrooms with their right hand, while holding an atlas with detailed drawings and descriptions in their left.

Mushrooms have been given many ingenious names in Poland. For instance: Devil's Bolet, Grim Bolet, Emperor's Funnel, Emetic Russula, Naked Goose.



BISON

This is an animal which would fit the well-known story of the little girl in the zoo who for the first time in her life saw a giraffe. Goggle-eyed at the length of its neck, its tiny head, and odd movements, she burst out eventually: 'It's impossible, there's no such creature!'



Incredible as it may seem, the bison – Europe's largest mammal – in Poland lives at liberty. A mammal of the cavicornia family, it has a prehistoric look and would not look out of place in the company of ichthyosauri. The average male weighs about a ton (but large specimens may weigh more than one ton and a half) and has a handsome head with a fine pair of horns, a brown fleece and a huge beard. The bison is a typical forest-dweller; it lives in small herds and is a herbivore.

A thousand years ago bison roamed the forests of almost the whole of the Old Continent and were hunted. By the 19th century they were extinct except in the Caucasus and the Białowieża Forest of Poland. At the beginning of the 20th century the ones still running wild were almost entirely wiped out and the only survivors were the odd specimen kept in zoos or private menageries. By breeding these, we were able to replace the lowland species and restore the bison to our forests.

There are at present over 500 head, the vast majority of which live at large in Białowieża Forest, the Bieszczady Mountains, and Borecka Forest. A third of all the world's surviving bison are to be found in Poland. Among the countries which import them are Britain, Belgium, Holland, Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sweden and Switzerland.

The stage has even been reached where an open season is now declared every year and a few of the older bulls are shot. This is something of a necessity, but it arouses the protests of many conservationists. The upkeep of the Polish herds costs 12 million zlotys a year, to which should be added the damage that these 'kings of the forest' regularly do to crops.

The visitor can see a bison in its natural habitat without much trouble, especially in Białowieża Forest.

HUNTING

In the days when Poland was still a land of forests and wild animals, hunting was one of the staples of its economy. It was, in other words, the chief source of the means of existence. Only a few hundred years

ago men were still stalking the forests and fields with hounds and falcons.

In *Polish Life in Olden Times,* Władysław Łoziński wrote on this subject: 'The most memorable and original thing that appealed to the hunting imagination was falconry, or the taking of game by means of birds of prey. It was not as straightforward as other forms of the chase and required much patience, labour and expense. The birds trained for this purpose were the eagle, sparrow-hawk, goshawk, falcon, saker and even owl. A good hunting bird fetched a relatively high price. King Stephen Báthory used to pay the equivalent of 120-bushels of wheat for a falcon or a pair of horses or three head of fatstock.'

Hunting in Poland was regarded as a fine art and a truly chivalrous sport, for the hunter took on his quarry singlehanded and at close quarters. It called for quick thinking, physical prowess and, above all, courage.

Today things have taken a slightly different turn. Improvements in weapons and technique have turned hunting into a sport which, though it still demands physical fitness, makes far less call on heroism. Poland still remains something of a hunter's paradise, and numerous foreign vistors, as well as Poles, are drawn to the chase. The former must be not only fair marksmen, but also comparatively well-heeled. To shoot a bison costs, depending on its class, up to $2,000; the charge for a Carpathian deer is, proportionately to the weight of its antlers, from $100 to $2,000, or more.

Polish hunting trophies traditionally win first prizes at international displays. In Turin recently, the Polish Hunting Union bagged over a dozen gold and silver medals.



Not all the forms of stag-hunting in Poland are a blood sport in the strict sense of the term. The phrase also covers a somewhat shadier activity, mainly confined to the big cities, which consists in staking out a mark ('stag' in Polish) and milking him blind. No doubt this is the last, genuinely dangerous kind of hunting left in Poland.

SPORT

It has been said that Poles do best in the sort of sports which put a premium on guts, daring and quickness of reflex. This, I daresay, is true: in boxing and gliding, for instance, we rank very high in the



world, and our fencers and speedway riders are in the top flight. But it is also a fact that many records have been broken in sports like athletics, weight-lifting, shooting, archery and skiing. Since the last war alone Polish names have appeared almost a hundred times in the international record-lists. Over 150 medals have been won at the Olympics and in world and European championships.

Where they were once red-letter days with such heroes, before the war, as Janusz Kusociński or Jadwiga Walasiewicz, outstanding performances by Polish sportsmen have in recent years become virtually matter of course in major international competitions.

Thus, the names of Fortuna, the gold medallist in ski jumping in Sapporo, or of Łuszczek, the excellent runner who is a world champion, are known far and wide. Few glider pilots in the history of the sport have notched up as many diamond badges as Popiel, Makula, Wróblewski (1972 world champion in the standard class) and Kępka. There is nothing that competitors and fans do not know about Waldemar Baszanowski, the world-beating weight-lifter, or the pistol-shooter, Józef Zapędzki. The following athletes are known on world stadiums: Szewińska, Komar, Schmidt, Krzyszkowiak, Sidło, Sukniewicz, Skowronek, Malinowski, Wszoła, Wodzyński, Ślusarski, Kozakiewicz. Also many famous footballers, cyclists, volleyballers, basketballers, canoeists, skiers, shooters. There are many, many others.

The footballers won a gold medal at the Munich Olympics and showed their class at the World Championships. The names of Tomaszewski, Lato, Deyna or Boniek have become household words.

A gold medal was collected by the Polish volleyball team at the 1974 World Championships in Mexico and another gold medal in Montreal in 1976. No less imposing were the results of our cyclists in the World Championships in Montreal in 1974 when Janusz Kowalski took first place ahead of Ryszard Szurkowski with Stanisław Szozda fifth. In 1976 at the Olympics in Montreal the Polish team won the silver medal. Janusz Peciak is a top pentathlon athlete of the world. Wojciech Fibak holds a good place in world tennis (particularly in doubles).

More recently Polish rally drivers have been coming up fast, led by Sobiesław Zasada, four-time European champion. This in a land with no real motoring tradition.

In other fields, it is sometimes, alas, the other way round. There has always, for instance, been plenty of water in Poland, but a chronic dearth of good swimmers. The truth is that we have a natural gift for some sports and seem to be absolute duds at others.

Of late Poland has been making a mark in a totally different area of competition, which has nevertheless now been recognized as a sport, though it requires neither courage nor physical fitness: bridge (mind you, bidding and playing a slam can be quite a strain on your nerves and a ten-hour session at the card-table will try anyone's stamina).

So today a loud whisper of 'Clubs, man, clubs!' has become an exhortation as frequent among the crowds as shouts of 'Give him the old one-two!'

VODKA

The newspapers reported the other day that the Italian premier presented an official of the Polish firm of 'Agros' with a Golden Hercules, an award granted for merchandise which has sold outstandingly well. No prizes for guessing that the item was vodka.

It was the 216th or, for all I know, the 640th such trophy. Polish vodka has joined Scotch whisky, French brandy and Dutch liqueurs as one of those things no self-respecting bar in the world would dream of being without. We export it to scores of countries.

In 1975, on 22 July, Poland's National Day, the French President, Giscard d'Estaing called at the Polish Embassy in Paris where, *France Soire* reported, he sampled a glass of Żubrówka, 'lightly tinted spirit with the superb fragrance of herbs found uniquely in Białowieża Forest, which he prefers to the traditional Polish vodka.'

It's no secret – and we may as well be frank about this – that our talent for producing vodka is matched by a talent for consuming it.

Some years ago the distinguished poet, Julian Tuwim, published a volume entitled *The Polish Toper's Lexicon and Bacchic Anthology*, a collection of all sorts of rhymes, saws and ballads, the sheer quantity of which makes it crystal clear that the business of drinking has always been among the more conspicuous of our customs. One ancient saying it quotes runs: 'A nightingale is to be recognized by its voice, a thief by his eyes, a drunkard by his nose.'

Perhaps the best advice was given by the demon spirit itself in a verse by Michał Brodowicz, an early 19th-century poet:

Drink me a little, but not till you're blind,
And you'll be healthy in body and mind.

Joking apart, this is also cause for accute concern: a strenuous temperance campaign has been going on in Poland for years.

The standard strength of Polish vodka is 80–90° proof (though there are one or two varieties which top 140°!). It is produced in numerous 'straight' versions and 106 flavoured varieties. The basic raw material is the Polish potato, said to have certain almost magic properties which account for the unique taste and quality of the 'Produce of Poland' label.

WHAT TO SEE



SEVEN WONDERS

The stock of the masterpieces created by the mind and hand of man rises and falls with the passage of time, progress in technology, and shifting fashions in the arts. The same is true of the beauties of nature: sights which seemed exquisitely lovely in the days of Romanticism are often scorned today as gimcrack scene-painting. Nevertheless some tastes never change: take the kind of souvenirs and curios to be found in bazaars from Kalwaria Zebrzydowska to Acapulco, from Krupówki to Piccadilly.

Ever since the ancient world officially proclaimed its Seven Wonders, people have been drawing up all sorts of similar lists. It is a game also occasionally played in Poland. Needless to say, such attempts to reduce our particular marvels to a single sheet of paper represent a purely private choice and positively invite hole-picking.

Nevertheless I shall stick my own neck out and suggest (for a start) the following seven man-made and natural wonders:

The Wit Stwosz altar in St. Mary's Church in Cracow: Wit Stwosz was one of the greatest late-Gothic artists in Europe. His altarpiece (completed in 1489) represents three scenes from the life of the Virgin: the Dormition, the Assumption and the Coronation. The carving is remarkable for its power of expression, impeccable composition and uncanny observation of everyday detail. The draping of the garments bespeaks the artist's quite amazing command of his material.

The Gniezno Portal: the double-leaved bronze door of the Cathedral in Gniezno is one of the most precious treasures of Romanesque art in Europe. It dates back to the second half of the 12th century and was probably the work of craftsmen from a local bell-foundry. The reliefs on its panels show 18 scenes from the life and martyrdom of St. Adalbert.



Lady with a Weasel, by Leonardo da Vinci: regarded by some authorities as an even finer painting than the Mona Lisa, it now hangs in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow. The sitter was probably Cecilia Gallerani, the mistress of Lodovico Sforza, at whose court in Milan the picture was painted about 1490.

The salt mine in Wieliczka: a monument of ancient engineering almost a thousand years old, with chapels carved out of the salt,

sculptures in salt, superb 'Crystal Grottoes'; more information on a later page.

Amber: Poland is a country which still has some of the biggest deposits of this fossil resin from coniferous trees of the Tertiary period. It makes beautiful (and, alas, increasingly expensive) jewellery. Numerous examples of Polish amberware can be seen in museums in Malbork, Gdańsk, Słupsk and elsewhere. Poland's oldest trading route, which ran from the Baltic to Italy via Poznań and Wrocław, was called 'the amber trail'.

The Palace-on-the-Island, the summer residence of the last king of Poland, in Łazienki Park in Warsaw: the work of Polish, Italian and French artists headed by Merlini, it miraculously escaped complete destruction in the last war. Remarkable for its scale, proportions and setting. Facing it is the Theatre-on-the-Island, a replica of the ancient theatre in Herculaneum.

The Dunajec Gorge, where a mountain torrent swirls between the beetling crags of the Pieniny mountains: it is as spectacular a sight as any to be seen in the highlands of Europe.

This list could and should be extended, something I leave up to you. Personally, I must confess I am sometimes morbidly tempted to compile a table of the biggest eyesores. As in the case of most other countries, it would come out definitely on the longish side. But that's just a passing thought: with a book like this I'm sure the publishers wouldn't stand for it.

THE BALTIC

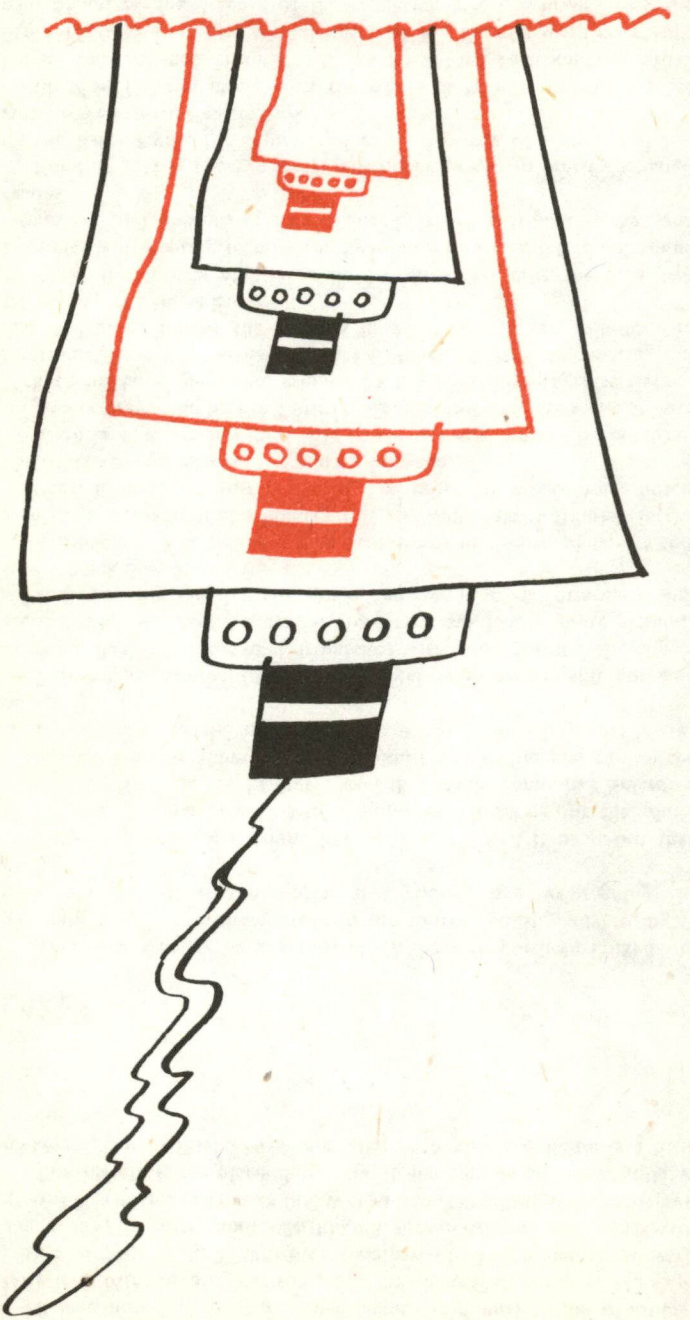
As we know, a sea in northern Europe, separated, as we also know, from the Atlantic by the straits of Sound and flanked by Denmark, the two German states, Poland, the Soviet Union, Finland and Sweden (but not Norway).

Other fairly familiar facts are that it is not very salty (average salinity: 7,8 per mil), rather short on fauna and flora, but long on history, and relatively shallow (average depth: 45 fathoms).

Poland now has 524 kilometres of coastline (compared to a bare 72 kilometres before the war).

Of late the Baltic has been disgorging some of its many mysteries. In 1969, for example, the hulk of a Swedish man-of-war, probably the *Solen* which was sunk in the Battle of Oliwa in 1627, was recovered from the Bay of Gdańsk. It is one of the 200-odd wrecks lying on the bed of the Baltic. The Sea Museum located in the old crane on the River Motława in Gdańsk has accumulated a collection of nineteen 16th- and 17th-century guns, and a host of other treasures salvaged from the Baltic, and has hopes of acquiring many more.

For centuries the lands along the coast were a battleground between Poles and invaders: Teutonic Knights, Prussians and Swedes. Indigenously Polish territory, they were time and again overrun and pillaged, their inhabitants murdered and persecuted. In 1945 justice was at long last done, and the Poles again became a sea-going nation.



Poland now has five big shipyards with an annual output of around 60 vessels totalling 592,000 tons. The merchant fleet numbers 323 ships with a tonnage of 2,827,000 BRT (compared to 95,000 before the war). The port of Szczecin handles 26,000,000 tons of cargo a year (Gdańsk with its Port North and Gdynia 28,000,000 and 14,000,000 tons respectively).

The seaside is the place chosen by 45 per cent of all Polish holiday-makers. They maintain to a man that each year the Baltic is a little bit colder.

LAKES

There are said to be a thousand of them in northern Poland. At any rate that is the claim made in the tourist industry advertising – on the no doubt safe assumption that nobody is actually going to bother to count.

Between ourselves, a count has been made. And it turns out that in Mazuria, Warmia and Augustów alone (which leaves out the whole of Pomerania) there are in fact over 2,000 lakes. Some, like Śniardwy (113.8 sq. km.) or Mamry (104.4 sq. km.), are so big you cannot see from one shore to the other; others are tiny pools often tucked out of sight.

This whole swathe of picturesque lakeland, which still abounds in game, fish and water fowl, is patched with dense forests. The largest are around Pisz and Augustów. Here you can hardly move without starting wild duck and geese, grebe and heron, even cormorants and swans, black ones among them.

Although it is a region which still seems undiscovered (it attracts a small percentage of the holiday traffic), water sports flourish in the summer, ice-yachting in the winter. The potential is enormous, hotels and other accommodation few and far between.

Mazuria and Warmia have had a storm-tossed past. For centuries they were preyed on by the Teutonic Knights and were the scene of wars with them; later they were gripped by a grim struggle against Germanization. Grunwald, the hamlet 50 km. from Olsztyn, where King Ladislaus Jagiello routed the Knights in 1410, stands as a milestone in the history of Central Europe.

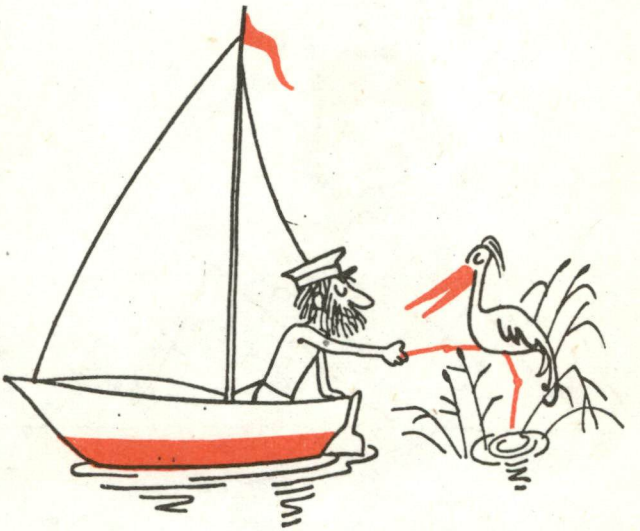
Amid the forests and lakes lie treasures. To take the first two examples which spring to mind: in Święta Lipka you will find a Baroque monastery and church, in Reszel and Lidzbark Gothic churches and castles.

For that matter Olsztyn itself, a 14th-century town prettily situated on the River Łyna, the capital and cultural centre of Warmia and Mazuria, is well worth a closer look.

In 1454 Olsztyn along with the whole of Warmia became part of Poland and remained so until 1772 when the First Partition took place. From 1516 to 1519 the administrator of the Chapter was Copernicus, who organized the defence of the castle when it was besieged by the Teutonic Knights in 1521. In the 19th and 20th centuries Olsztyn

was one of the strongholds of Polish resistance to Germanization. In 1945 it suffered 50 per cent destruction. Today, following reconstruction and development, it is twice as big as before the war (126,700).

The Gothic castle, built in the mid-14th century, now houses the Mazurian Museum (antiquities dating to the days before the region's occupation by the Teutonic Knights, local tiles, medievel sculpture, etc.); in the cloister stands a sundial said to have been designed by Copernicus. Nearby, on Kołłątaj street, there is an ancient timber granary. Other sights of interest are the Gothic High Gate (14th century), the late Gothic cathedral (15th century) and the restored houses flanking the old market square.



Anglers have the time of their life around Mikołajki and Ruciane, canoeists near Mrągowo, Sorkwity and Ełk. In fact everyone has the time of his life everywhere, unable to believe that so large an oasis of tranquillity and clear air can still be found. Fiats and Volkswagens have not yet managed to drive out the grey heron and the black swan.

MOUNTAINS

All those shaded features at the bottom of the map of Poland represent some sort of extension of the Alps and are called the Carpathians. The scientists say – and we'll take their word for it – that this whole range of mountains took roughly 30 million years to form.



Poland has a largish share of the wealth of the Carpathians. Of the units with a distinct relief pattern (that, I believe, is the proper technical term), the ones that stand out are the Tatras, mountains of a ruggedly severe beauty. Although no record-breakers as far as height goes (the highest peak is 2,663 metres), the fact remains that the sky-line in this part of Europe is arrestingly awesome and breathtaking.

Each stretch of the Polish Carpathians conventionally bears a separate name. Thus we have a variety of Beskids (Silesian, High, Żywiec, Middle, Little, Sącz, Gorce), plus the Pieniny and Bieszczady ranges. North of the Tatras there sprawls a valley called Podhale.

It is inhabited by a hardy, gifted and industrious people. Living at heights of up to a thousand metres they are a race of farmers and shepherds, tilling the valleys and the none-too-fertile mountain slopes.

Podhale forms a prominent and heart-warming chapter in the annals of Poland. Its culture has become a distinctive ingredient and inspiration in almost all fields of art. For many years there have been special units in the Polish army whose uniform includes the highland cape and hat (the Podhale Brigade fought with notable valour during the last war).

The whole of Poland sings highland ballads and admires the highlanders' style of timbered architecture, their furniture, the original features of their costume. Every child knows the legend of the Robin Hoods of Podhale, outlaws who fought against the tyranny and avarice of the rich.

For years a peaceful invasion of holidaymakers and convalescents has been descending on Podhale: in the summer (and for ten months of the year in the higher localities) they pack the hamlets nestling in the little valleys and hugging the brooks, filling every cottage and cabin. Some bathe in the ultra-violet-ray-rich mountain sun, others, when the snow is right – and it is for much of the year – go skiing, others still soak up the mineral waters. All of them revel in the Podhale folkways and take not the slightest umbrage at the highlanders' teasing nickname for them of *cepers* (the local, though less rude equivalent, of say, *gringo*).

I would recommend tourists to wander off the beaten track and make for such places as the picturesque Sącz Valley where the genuinely old town of Old Sącz is situated amid acres upon acres of orchards, the region of Krynica and Gorlice, where they will find some delightful little orthodox and other churches, or the wooded slopes of Babia Góra.

In 1805 this secluded world was stumbled on by Samuel Bredetzky as he passed through on his way to take up the post of superintendent of the Lutheran communities of 'twin Galicia'. Despite his Slav-sounding name he was a German and an admirer of the Emperor Francis Joseph. Although he was one of those carpet-baggers set up in office in a conquered country by a foreign power, he was fond of the Poles and spoke of them affectionately.

He was sensitive to the beauties of nature, gazed entranced at the mountains, ravines and streams, described the splendours of the sunset over Krywań which it bathed in a golden light. He found the road near Nowy Targ very good, but 'worse' further on. His carriage rattled and lurched over stones and splashed through overflowing streams until the driver was so shaken that near Myślenice he refused to go any further. The hapless pastor was forced to take down his chest and baggage and transfer them to the first farmer's wagon that came along. He was scared of being waylaid by the brigands of whom he had heard so much. He wrote later in his diary that he lost his nerve, told the carter to pull up, jumped out and hid in some bushes. Eventually he got a grip on himself and made his way to Myślenice and from there to 'truly royal' Cracow.

Adventures like those of 150 years ago no longer await the traveller from foreign parts; in any case people nowadays are not so easily frightened. There is no need to ford rivers, and highwaymen are but a distant memory. What has remained is a land of unspoilt scenery, as beautiful and absorbing as it was then.

This is true not only of Podhale, but of every inch of the Polish Carpathians.

They may have been 30 million years in the making, but it was worth it!

VISTULA

Flowing through Poland from south to north, the Vistula is a river which plays an important part in the country's folk-consciousness. There are in fact certain resemblances of character: the Vistula's course is dignified and expansive, unconfined by concrete, but it can also rise dangerously and suddenly, angrily burst its banks and sweep everything away in a raging flood.

Slowly but surely its stream is ebbing. As is happening with so many rivers in the world, its waters are getting dirtier and dirtier, and the fish are clearing out. Yet even so, it still retains something of the flavour of bygone centuries, when it flowed through dense forests.

Its headwaters rise on the slopes of Barania Góra and it empties into the sea in a delta near Gdańsk. It is 1,047 kilometres long and its basin has an area of close on 200,000 sq. km. It is navigable for almost the whole of its length (941 km.) – except of course for those times of the year when it isn't, which may be the parching height of summer or the icebound depth of winter. Among the cities which lie on its banks are Cracow, Warsaw, Płock, Toruń and Gdańsk.

There is a line in the national anthem about the Vistula, and it is the subject of thousands of ballads, songs and poems.

The Vistula doth ever glide
Through the Polish countryside...

Sighs, love, nostalgia have been inspired by it. It has been a silent witness of fateful events in history, most of them murderous clashes of arms; more than once it marked the front line. For centuries it has set a special stamp on Poland.

It is no accident that it was the waves of the Vistula from which there rose the Siren, a mermaid armed with sword and shield, by turns enticing and seductive, threatening and vengeful, which is the emblem of Warsaw.

The Vistula is associated with small, mundane things like strolls along its banks, drives across a bridge, a carp caught on a fisherman's line, and matters which stir the deepest emotions:

Weep no more, your sorrow hide;
See the river's racing tide.
Just as it will never dry,
So will Poland never die.

These words by a 19th-century poet, Teofil Lenartowicz, about the symbolic nexus of the nation's most vital concerns have been amply borne out by the way all Poles feel about their greatest river.

For centuries the Vistula has been a gauge. People and things have been continually compared to it; its name has been used to emphasize degrees of folly (a popular saying goes: 'Madman, the Vistula's on fire!'), greatness, frenzy. 'When Turkish horses are watered in the Vistula,'

runs another proverb, meaning: 'That will be the day!' – so the river is also a measure of the absurd.

Yet, when all is said and done, what's all the fuss about? A river which is six times shorter than the Amazon, a quarter the length of the Niger or the Lena?

True, but that's neither here nor there. For it is not just another waterway to be assayed in miles or gallons. 'The Vistula springs from the night,' wrote the poet Światopełk Karpiński, 'and tumbles into the morning.'

ODRA

This is a river which is more than a feature of geography. It is an important historical symbol. For 176 km. of its course it forms the western border of Poland.

The total length of the Odra is 854 km., of which 742 km. run through Poland. Most of it (711 km.) is navigable.

The areas which lie along its basin – the Baltic littoral, the Lubusz region, Lower Silesia – are noted for the great beauty of their landscape and possess considerable economic and cultural importance. It is here that we find the towns of Szczecin, Zielona Góra, Wrocław, Brzeg and Opole.

The whole of this territory consists, along with Pomerania and parts of what used to be Prussia, of lands which Poland only recovered after centuries of foreign rule. For hundreds of years before that, what is now western Poland had been ruled by the Polish princes of the Piast dynasty (the Silesian and West Pomeranian branches).

Tourists who travel here are likely to have their hands and eyes full. The Karkonosze Mountains and the Lubusz region contain some of Poland's most attractive holiday resorts. The Kłodzko Valley, Nysa, Opole, Brzeg, Wrocław, Jelenia Góra and its environs, Łagów and the surrounding lakes, Szczecin and the whole estuary as far as Świnoujście are just a random sample of places which could form the backbone of many weeks of fascinating exploration. The roads are by and large good and accommodation not too hard to find, given a bit of initiative.

Thirty kilometres south of the border town of Zgorzelec lies a geographical and administrative oddity. This is the Turoszów pocket, a tiny area squeezed between Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic, with immense strip mines of brown coal (Turów) which up to 1980 accounted for two-thirds of the entire amount of brown coal mined in Poland. Things will change, as the mine in Bełchatów develops. Its mining target in 1985 will be 40 million tons or as much as all the Polish output of brown coal up to that date. The biggest power house (2,000 MW) in Poland fired with brown coal is also located in the Turoszów strip of land.

In 1972 all restrictions on travel between Poland and the Germar Democratic Republic were lifted. The only document needed is an identity card. The Odra has become truly a frontier of peace.

WARSAW

This city stands on one of central Europe's last romantic rivers. Its crest is a mermaid brandishing a sword. It has 1,552,000 inhabitants, most of them people of irrepressible zest and imagination.

Here is a city which repays scrutiny and which is well worth fathoming. A city of broad thoroughfares, historic palaces, churches and monuments, delightful boulevards and gardens. A city of incredibly dramatic fortunes and controversial temperament.

Warsaw is not only Poland's political and administrative centre but also – above all – the hub of a richly varied cultural life. Stretching all the way from 22 theatres with 90 new productions a year to buskers peddling traditional backstreet ballads; from major international festivals, congresses and exibitions to packed cafés; from a near-score of universities and colleges and several dozen learned institutes to a daily stream of mordantly topical jokes; from museums and other staid shrines of the past to the vitality and spice of the offbeat surprises to be found in any metropolis.

To Polish ears the word 'Warszawa' has a ring of stirring poetry. What makes this city so different, so unique, is its battle-scarred history. The source of the esteem in which the world holds Poland's capital lies in the dauntlessness shown by its populace in the many wars and risings which have swept over its roofs and streets.

The milestones in Warsaw's 700-year annals have tended to be cataclysms, usually from under the sign of Mars. At least three attempts have been made to wipe it off the face of the earth (in the 17th century when it was razed by the Swedes, at the end of the 18th century when it was sacked during the suppression of the Kosciuszko Insurrection and, most vicious of all, in 1944 when it was systematically and coldbloodedly demolished).

In 1939, 1943 and 1944, the capital of Poland lay in ruins. The defence of Warsaw, the destruction of the ghetto and its uprising (it was from there that the 'Old Doctor', the heroic Janusz Korczak, went to meet his death together with the children under his care), the Warsaw Rising in 1944. Nearly 800,000 people perished. West of the river, where the bulk of the city lies, there were virtually no survivors, something without precedent in world history.

The official inventories credit Warsaw with 917 historic buildings, two of which (the palaces and parks in Łazienki and Wilanów) have been awarded the highest international '0' rating. Unofficially, however, it can claim a place at the top of the world tables for the number reconstructed. This is a record which saddens as well as cheers: how great the havoc that had to be wreaked to leave so much to rebuild!

The magic of objects which casts a spell over every city quite regardless of artistic or historical considerations has an overpowering force in Warsaw. The Copernicus monument on Krakowskie Przedmieście street arrests the eye not only because it is the work of the great Thorvaldsen, but also on account of the incredible chapter of

accidents it has been through in the course of the past decades. Every Gothic detail, every collection of old porcelain in Poland's capital has the makings of a tale about the strange adventures of inanimate objects.

A few words about the Old Town quarter in Warsaw.

What is now only a small section of the city was for centuries the principal stage of its history. From the 14th century, the area within a 300-metre radius of the Market Square was the nerve centre of the affairs of Warsaw and the whole kingdom. The Old Town is a time capsule of changes in civilization and customs, but above all else a key witness to history.

More than a lingering trace still remains of the atmosphere of the reigns of the Vasa and Wettin kings, and even of earlier times when the Princes of Mazovia ruled. Scenes from the past appear as in a peepshow: crowds milling among a clutter of market stalls, a throng of spectators at a public execution, French and Polish soldiers drawn up on parade, Napoleon striding down the Stone Steps in the company of Prince Józef Poniatowski... And a hundred other episodes, with the shadow of war never far away.

The most recent, still fresh in the memory, was the Warsaw Rising of 1944, in which 90 per cent of the Old Town was reduced to rubble. In and around its narrow little streets raged fighting of unbelievable ferocity; the heroism of the 10,000-man force of defenders and the ordeal of the tens of thousands of beleaguered civilians composed a page of history as horrifying as it is magnificent.

Any visitor to Warsaw is recommended to make a tour of the Old Town where Gothic shakes hands with Baroque, where there is a cathedral in which two kings were crowned and the Third of May Constitution, one of the world's first fundamental laws, was sworn, where all around him he will see an exquisite, but living, museum and also find much food for thought.

Let us now pass outside the Old Town walls.

Castle Square, just beyond them, is dominated by the column of King Sigismund III of the Vasa dynasty, one of the earliest secular monuments erected in central Europe (1644). Fleets of coaches berth here, trams and other vehicles trundle through the underpass tunneled underneath, an escalator hums in the adjoining John House. Every year more and more people and cars (despite partial closure to traffic) crowd the gentle incline of the irregular square.

Castle Square has known its share of excitement and drama. Time and again its paving stones have been strewn with corpses. Many a horror has been witnessed by King Sigismund from his lofty perch (battles with the Swedes in 1656 and 1704, clashes with Russian and Prussian troops during the Kościuszko Insurrection, the fighting in 1944). In the end he, too, came crashing down.

When at long last the hurly-burly was done, the King was re-instated on his eminence. To the east there appeared a light new bridge, the Śląsko-Dąbrowski; southwards streched the rebuilt Royal Way. Nearby, up sprang the palaces, churches and houses of Krakowskie Przedmieście, the chief guide in their reconstruction being the 18th century townscapes of the court painter, Bernardo Bellotto Canaletto. All that was missing

was the square's centrepiece: the Royal Castle, for two centuries the seat of the king and the legislature, and later of the president of the Republic.

But this hole in the city's panorama will soon be no more than an unfortunate memory. For at the moment of writing the castle is already there and work is in full swing on the decoration of the interiors. Although the hiatus in the life of the Castle lasted over quarter of a century, the time was at least spent sedulously preparing its reincarnation: the furnishings which had escaped destruction were retrieved, stored and catalogued and the subsidiary buildings – the Tin-Roof Palace, Bacciarelli House, Grodzka Gate – faithfully restored. Designed and decorated by some of the finest architects and artists of the 16th-18th centuries (Rodondo, Castello, Trevano, Fontana, Merlini, Kamsetzer). the Castle is once more a part of the Warsaw skyline.

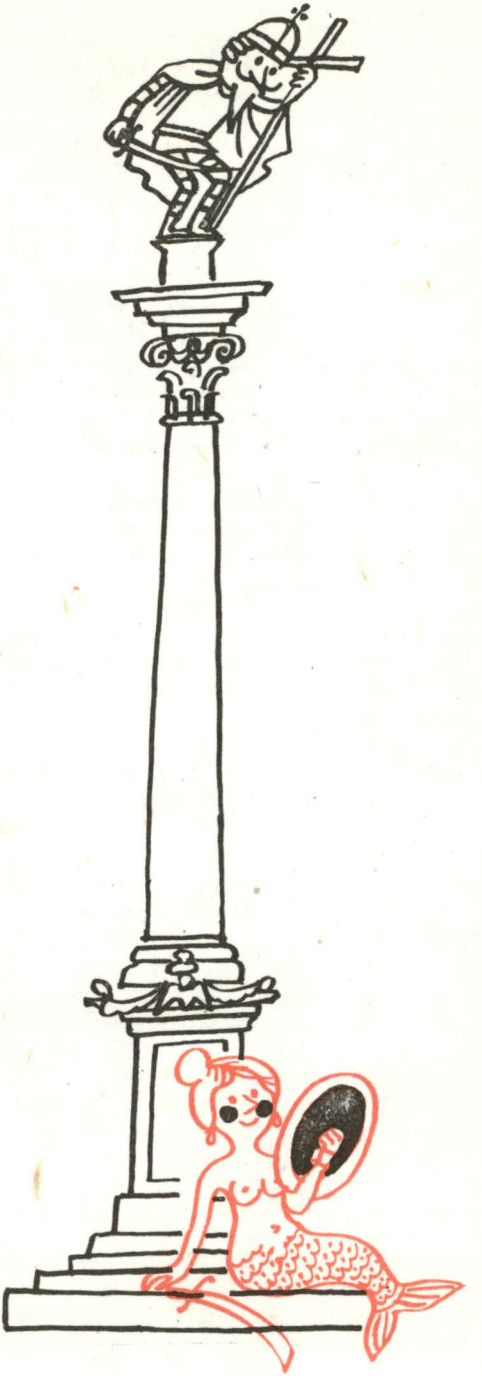
Let us now turn to the present.

Warsaw has a number of key traffic arteries. The main ones running north and south are the handsome boulevards on either side of the Vistula, the Royal Way and the line formed by Nowotki, Marszałkowska and Puławska streets and by Marchlewskiego street and Niepodległości avenue. In the lateral direction we have the East-West Thoroughfare and the Aleje Jerozolimskie-Waszyngtona throughway. In 1974 work was completed on a difficult and costly project of crucial importance to the city: the construction of a parallel artery known as the Łazienkowska Thoroughfare (with a new bridge across the Vistula); a ring road is also under development. The Wisłostrada (Vistula thoroughfare) has been modernized and extended and now cuts across the city from north to south.

I would advise anyone with a few days to spare to visit a number of places of interest which lie off the main streets, such as the Baroque and Neo-classical palaces on Krasiński square, Miodowa and Senatorska streets, Dzierżyński square, and even Puławska street. By a knight's move one could next take in the Camaldolite Church in Bielany, the Królikarnia palace on Puławska street, the Ghetto Heroes memorial and the Evangelical church on Kredytowa street.

For a building which is something of a freak there is the Lubomirski palace, which can be seen from the central walkway of Saxon Gardens squeezed into a niche between two huge blocks of a new housing development. In pre-war or even quite recent maps of the city, its siting was quite different, for it stood sideways onto a traditional Warsaw market called Mirowska Hall. Can it be that the building got up and walked?

Yes it did exactly that: 250 years after it was built, the Neo-classical Lubomirski palace was moved to a different site. Between 30 March and 18 May 1970, a building weighing 10,000 tons was literally shunted along 16 rails until, without a single brick being displaced, it had been turned 78° in relation to its previous position. Suddenly, to everyone's astonishment, the old palace appeared at the end of the prospect running from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier through the greenery of the Saxon Gardens.



This unusual operation is not, as it happens, a unique one in Warsaw: earlier the Carmelite church on Świerczewskiego street had been moved back 21 metres, and the position of an old tollgate on Grochowska street similarly altered. It is not only the restorers who have been performing wonders in Warsaw.

So much for the 'palace on rollers' which is worth a visit on this count at least, since otherwise it is not one of the brightest gems of the city's architecture.

The same goes for the quarter known as Praga, which is also rather apologetically hurried over in Warsaw guidebooks. Yet a tour of what is now the home of 400,000 people can be rewarding.

Praga always tended to be thought of as some remote, exotic land. It was said to have a strangely oriental ambience which made it more like the sort of towns to be found at least 300 kilometres east of the Vistula. It was, you could read, Warsaw's 'backstairs'.

It is really only in recent years that Praga managed to live down this ghetto reputation. What seemed a distant continent has suddenly materialized as an ordinary suburb, which has assumed a part of the capital's functions, looks no different from the rest of the city and, above all, has become Europeanized. Few people now remember that for centuries it was condemned to a different path of development and a separate, usually tragic history.

True, you can still come across remnants of the old backstreet folkways which have disappeared almost without trace from Warsaw. Praga still has its traditional street markets, old wooden tenements, narrow alleyways and cobblestoned streets. In the centre rise the onion domes of an orthodox church.

But the days of Praga's otherness are numbered. Giant new housing developments have replaced the wooden slum dwellings. Strikingly modern buildings, like the new Warsaw East railway terminal or the 70,000-seat Tenth Anniversary Stadium, have been put up which any city would be proud of.

The metamorphosis of Praga is no longer a part of the great saga of the reconstruction of Warsaw; it is simply a 'change of skin', a stage in the normal, though very much hastened, re-development of a city.

Talking of changes of skin, one place that is an absolute must is Warsaw's new centre. It consists of a strip of urban renewal no more than 60 metres wide on the eastern side of Marszałkowska street. Here, on a 10-acre site, a group of architects led by Professor Zbigniew Karpiński have put up 23 buildings of varying height and design. They are dominated by three matching apartment towers and four glass-fronted department stores. In style this 'village' for 3,400 residents echoes the architecture of the city centres of Stockholm and Rotterdam. I would draw your attention to the mall at the rear of the stores where you can visit a number of distinctly agreeable cafés and bump into the prettiest girls in Warsaw!

Right opposite, across the bustling stream of Marszałkowska street, rises the 230-metre Palace of Culture, a town within a town. The floor space of this huge building amounts to 33 acres and among its amenities are four theatres, four cinemas and two restaurants. There is a swimming

pool, indoor stadium and a 3,500-seat auditorium. A total of 44 important institutions, led by departments of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the University of Warsaw, have offices here. On a bright day a superb panorama of the city and its environs unfolds from the viewing gallery.

Close to this edifice there has appeared the light, modern structure of the Warsaw Central Railway Terminal whose surroundings have become a huge redevelopment site.

During the past few years Warsaw has acquired several high rises including the Forum Hotel on the corner of Marszałkowska street, the INTRACO building housing foreign trade firms in Stawki street, and the 46-storey office building, the highest in Poland, of the Trade Bank and Foreign Trade Central Offices in Chałubińskiego street.

Completely new areas have emerged with the Ursynów-Natolin housing estate, the largest of them all.

It is worth recalling the words of Irving Brandt, a *Chicago Sun* correspondent, who wrote on arrival in Warsaw just after the war: 'An American entering Warsaw feels as though he had been pitchforked out of real life and into a world whose existence he had thought inconceivable.'

How much has happened in this city in the course of just one generation!

ENVIRONS OF WARSAW

If a circle of 60-kilometres radius were to be drawn around Warsaw, it would be found to contain a fairish number of places worth a star or two in the Baedeker, and at least as many more which handsomely repay a visit though they rate no mention in the guidebooks. It is true that the countryside around Warsaw is not by conventional standards particularly remarkable, an opinion that such beauty spots as Kampinos Forest or the artificial lake near Zegrze cannot basically alter. On the other hand, the palace and park in Wilanów (just outside Warsaw), which was built by King John Sobieski, the conqueror of the Turks at Vienna, is one of the most superb country seats in central Europe. Everyone would also recommend seeing the palace in Jabłonna which once belonged to Prince Józef Poniatowski, Marshal of Poland and France, and was designed by Domenico Merlini, or making an excursion 30-odd kilometres south to Czersk and musing amid the 15th-century ruins of the mighty Gothic castle of the dukes who long ago ruled this region.

Mazovia as it is called, of which Warsaw has been the chief centre since time immemorial, was always densely populated, but poor: a none-too-fertile soil, large expanses of woodland, no mineral wealth, continual raids by enemies from the north. All of this bred a kind of insularity and delayed the development of the economic and social structure.

Yet this part of the country has an enchantment all its own, though it comes not from any splendours of art or scenery, but from a slightly



melancholy, brooding atmosphere which you will find creeping over you if, for instance, you stroll along the bluff overlooking the Vistula in nearby Góra Kalwaria and gaze out over the green, tranquil, almost idyllic valley that unfolds in front of you. This same unique mood is perhaps most perfectly distilled in the grounds of a certain period manor house in the village of Żelazowa Wola, which was the birthplace of one of the greatest of Poles and sublimest of artists: Frédéric Chopin.

A number of forests still ring the city, chief among them the above-mentioned Kampinos Forest (now a national park) which has an area of 2,189 sq. km. Other stretches of woodland are to be found in the vicinity of Chotomów, Kabaty, Sękocin and Chojnów. Similarly the Vistula which flows through the middle of the Vale of Warsaw is not the only river. This relatively small area is further criss-crossed by the Narew, Bug, Bzura, Pilica, Liwiec, Wkra, Rządza and Świder; some of these can be dangerous floods, in others the water is barely waist-high. Just under 30 kilometres from Warsaw lies Zegrze and that broad artificial lake (formed in 1963 by the building of a dam across the Narew) which contains 100 million cubic metres of water.

The most convenient way of exploring the environs of Warsaw is by car, especially as the roads are all up to scratch and the arteries leading out of the city have been redeveloped. Mindful, however, of the advice given by seasoned travellers that it is better to see the world from the back of a donkey than from the deck of an airliner, I suggest an outing on foot. Unfortunately it is too late for a ride in one of the local narrow-gauge railways, a quaint rattle-trap also known as the suburban Blue Express, as the last specimen disappeared from the Warsaw area a couple of years ago.

WARSAW TO CRACOW

This 300-kilometre line of communications may fairly be called Poland's principal promenade. For centuries up and down it marched Polish and foriegn armies. Near Wieliczka it became the main trading route linking Hungary to the Baltic and in the neighbourhood of Cracow intersected with the road carrying merchants from Kiev and Lvov to Prague.

That is how it was ever since the merchant, Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, probably the first foreign globe-trotter to visit Poland, arrived from Spain in the 10th century and journeyed along this route from Warsaw to Prague. In the account he wrote of his travels, he observed: 'I encountered a fair and unusual land whose inhabitants engage not only in the trade of war, but also send their produce by land and water to Russia and Constantinople.'

The lands skirting the Vistula have in these past thousand years witnessed many a landmark of politics and commerce. They also form one of the main strands of culture and art, full of the imprints of Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque and abounding in buildings, sacred and secular, of great beauty and value, from little wooden churches, to cathedrals, town halls and stately homes.

This is the Poland which has bewitched so many artists. The willows of Mazovia whisper through the nocturnes of Chopin, the firs of Świętokrzyska Forest in the novels of Stefan Żeromski.

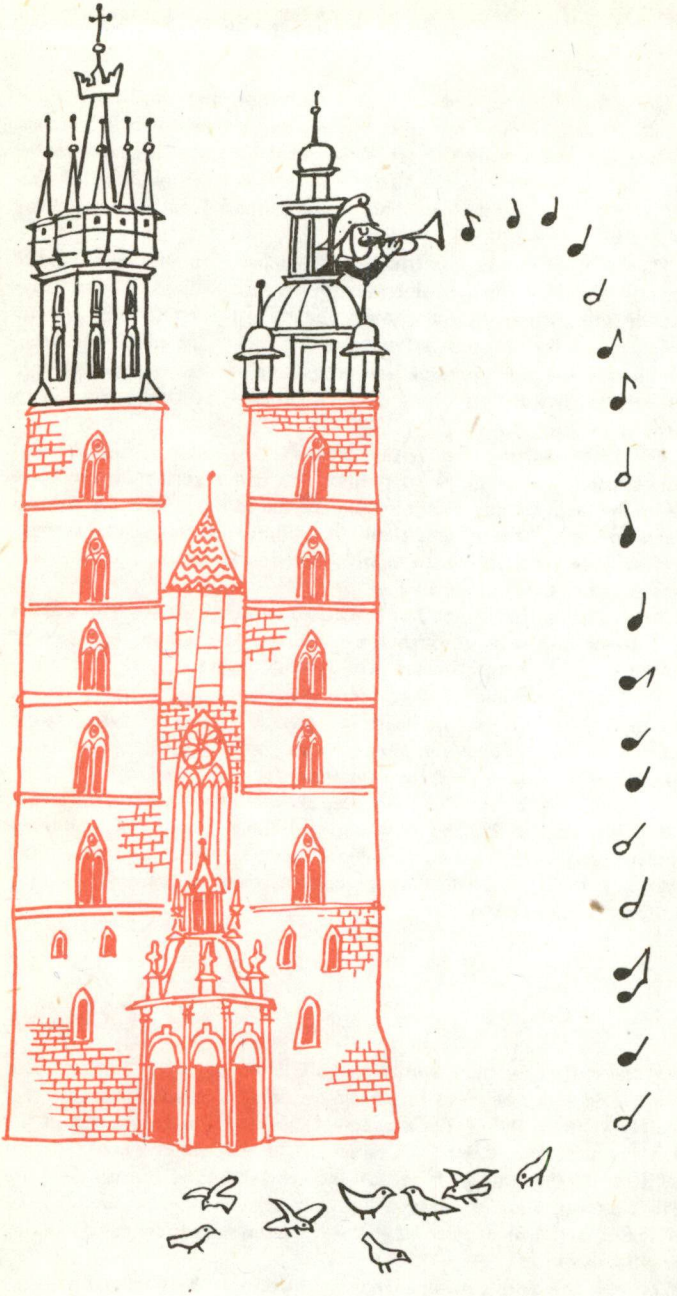
Around Wiślica and Cracow there once lay a stronghold of Polish statehood. Near Kielce can be found physical traces of an ancient industrial culture. The twin piers of this 'grand highway' are Warsaw and Cracow, the present and the former capital of the land.

Although civilization has now seeped into every nook and crevice, it is still a part of Europe in which something of the feel of bygone centuries lingers. Here one can come across records of folklore and customs virtually untouched by time, and havens of scenery untainted by the fumes of industry.

CRACOW

Without Cracow there would be no Poland. Or at any rate it would be a Poland shorn of much of its rich historical, cultural and intellectual panoply. The capital of the kingdom from the 11th to the end of the 16th century, the seat of its monarchs, a treasure-house of art and architecture, the home of one of the world's oldest universities (late 14th century), Cracow escaped by some miracle of fate the havoc of the last war and as a place of historical interest has few equals among the cities of Europe.

To visit this Polish Athens whose architectural rhythms and patterns create a quite overpowering effect, is to be plunged into an old-world scenery recalling the days of long-bows, halberds and siege towers with



an atmosphere you would have to travel far and wide before finding again.

Of the medieval fortifications there still stand St. Florian's Gate (c. 1300) and the Barbican (1498). The latter is a rare example of this kind of defence work (a similar one can be seen in Carcassonne).

Parts of Wawel Castle are almost a thousand years old (the pre-Romanesque rotunda of Felix and Adauctus dates to the 10th century) and it is one of the most imposing buildings of its kind in Europe. Towering over the city, its masonry forms a landmark in the history of Cracow, matched only, if contrastingly, by the giant steel mills of Nowa Huta, one of Poland's biggest post-war industrial developments and now the home of 200,000 people.

The spell cast by Cracow, today a constantly growing and ramifying centre of learning and the arts, comes chiefly from the quarter which forms its ancient heart. The Old City, ringed by a four-kilometre belt of greenery known as Planty (the line of the old walls) has bowed to the dictate of the age and acquired all the accoutrements of civilization – cars, modern stores, neon lights, asphalt – but still retained the imprint of bygone centuries. The old Drapers Hall *(Sukiennice)* with its masks and gargoyles in the centre of Market Square, St. Mary's Church with the famous altarpiece carved by Wit Stwosz and the bugle call sounded daily from its spire, the 11th-century church of St. Andrew, the cluster of old university buildings, the narrow, whimsically twisting streets, low archways, medieval porches and staircases, mysterious passages and recesses, are all sights still to be seen and relished. All this is being carefully renovated and preserved.

The tapestry of Cracow has been woven by master spirits, by artists from Poland, Italy, Germany, Bohemia. Here in the mid-15th century Jan Długosz wrote his *History of Poland.* Here rose the star of Copernicus. Here worked the mathematician and astronomer, Wojciech of Brudzew. Here were bequeathed the legacies of the great chemists, Zygmunt Wróblewski and Karol Olszewski, the great painters, Jan Matejko and Stanisław Wyspiański, and many other geniuses too numerous to mention.

Cracow's past is not only embalmed in its old walls and works of art: it also lives on in its pageantry and folklore: the procession of masks at the beginning of Whitsuntide, the cribs produced at Christmas, the Juvenalia when the students become for a day masters of the University and march through the streets in the colourful costumes of mediaval scholars – and, of course, the Lajkonik (or hobby-horse) parade, a tradition reaching back to the 13th century when the populace of Zwierzyniec repelled a Tartar attack: every year on the Octave of Corpus Christi a cavalcade representing the Tartar Khan and his retinue sets out from the Premonstratensian convent in this quarter of the city.

Over the centuries Cracow has suffered its share of adversities, of which Lajkonik is not the only memento. Until 1596, the flourishing capital of the kingdom, it fell on evil days in the 18th century. The population slumped from 40,000 to 9,000. Its streets and buildings fell into ruin. Hardly had it pulled out of this decline when disaster overtook the whole country. After the Third Partition of Poland, Cra-

cow was annexed by Austria. The Congress of Vienna turned it into a Free City, but thirty years later it was again incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian empire. Though reduced to provincial status, it remained a beacon of learning and culture shining out over the rest of the dismembered country. Yet in this far from happy period in Polish history, many bonds were forged between Cracow and Vienna, a surprising number of distinguished Polish scholars and even politicians were active on the banks of the Danube. Echoes of these personal ties and cultural rapport survive even to this day in Cracow, where you can still hear good-humoured jokes being swapped about the Emperor Francis Joseph...

During the Second World War, Wawel Castle, once the residence of kings from the mighty houses of Piast and Jagiello, was taken over like some squatter by the Nazi satrap in Poland, Hans Frank, later sentenced to death at Nuremberg for genocide. The German atrocities included the murder of a large group of eminent membres of the staff of Cracow University arrested almost the day after the occupation of the city.

Founded over a thousand years ago, Cracow now has a population of 693,00. It is not only a priceless museum, but also a leading manufacturing as well as cultural centre (11 higher education establishments). It is the pride of every Pole.

WAWEL

If we were to make a list of Poland's national splendours, this rocky, limestone eminence overlooking the Vistula and occupied by a complex of historic buildings, would have to be placed at the very top.

For a thousand years treasures of art and architecture have been swelling its precincts. From the 11th to the end of the 16th century it was the seat of the kings of Poland.

Two principal edifices are associated with the name of Wawel: the royal castle (13th-14th century) with a famous cloistered courtyard and interiors filled with priceless art collections, and a Gothic cathedral in whose crypts lie the remains of Polish rulers and other great men.

The soil of Wawel Hill hides many a surprise. From the 8th to the 10th century it was the site of a fort established by the Vistulans. Fifty years ago a pre-Romanesque rotunda was discovered inside the castle. More recently archaeologists have unearthed the remnants of a 10th-century prince's palace and a second pre-Romanesque rotunda.

One of the marvels of the Cathedral is the chapel of King Sigismund I with its gilded dome, the masterpiece of a Florentine architect and sculptor, Bartolomeo Berecci (1517–33).

Apart from the buildings and their contents, it is also worth drawing attention to the courtyard of the castle and its flanking arcades, which are among the finest and earliest of their kind north of the Alps.



Of the many Wawel treasures, a thriller could be written about the collection of tapestries, with its history of repeated removal, damage and plunder. Most of them were ordered by King Sigismund Augustus in Brussels in the mid-16th century. Their final odyssey began early in the last war and they did not return to Wawel for good until 1960.

The Castle's largest chamber, the Deputies' Hall, is a magnificent sight. The roof is decorated with wood carvings and coffers containing heads sculptured in the early 16th century.

Regalia (which include the spear of St. Maurice) and ritual objects of great value, some of them dating back to the Middle Ages, are to be found in the Royal Treasury, which forms part of the Wawel State Art Collections, and in the Cathedral Treasury; the Capitular Library contains a number of precious manuscripts.

During the Occupation, when Wawel was the residence of Hans Frank, a great deal of serious damage was done, alterations were made to some of the rooms, the royal stables were torn down, and many paintings, *objets d'art* and valuable specimens of armour were purloined

(among them, a gold goblet made by King Sigismund III, which was never recovered from Germany).

Wawel is probably Poland's biggest tourist attraction, visited by something like two million sightseers a year.

Fateful junctures in history were proclaimed by the peals of the famous Sigismund Bell (1520), which has a cup with a circumference of eight metres and a beautiful tone.

Children through the ages have always been excited by the legend of the dragon which roosted in a cave overlooking the river and, until slain by a gallant cobbler, had the habit of eating people.

SILESIA

There are geographical names whose very sound evokes instant images of landscapes crammed with chimneys, slag heaps and figures in safety helmets – Nord in France, the Ruhr in Germany, Manchester in England...

Which brings us to Silesia, in the south-west of Poland, a region abounding in a treasure now in high demand the world over, stubbornly wrung from the earth for many centuries.

Annually it yields some 200 million tons of coal which puts us among the world's top producers and exporters of what is still one of the hardest currencies in international trade. Silesia also supplies 6 million tons of pig iron and 5 million tons of rolled goods, thus providing a firm base for the country's entire industry.

Though this branch of the economy does not usually contribute much to the beauty of landscape, green is the prevailing colour in Silesia rather than black or grey (apart from its most congested areas), thanks to a huge network of tourist amenities like Jaszowiec, Szczyrk and Wisła, and many acres of woodland, meadows and gardens. It is also famous for an incredible multitude of tiny allotments. Between Katowice and Chorzów in the very heart of the Upper Silesian Industrial Region, mining spoils and waste land have been turned into a vast Park of Culture and Recreation, the biggest of its kind in Poland and one of the largest in Europe, whose leisure and entertainment facilities (marinas and bathing pools, playing fields, planetarium, exhibition pavilions, 90,000-seat stadium, restaurants, gardens) constitute, along with Warsaw, Wawel Castle and Białowieża Forest, one of the musts on the itinerary of VIPs visiting Poland.

Silesia's main business – coal – is easily forgotten when sightseeing in modern Katowice, especially its new city centre with its spectacular Silesian Insurgents Memorial – a monumental evocation of hussars' wings set against the background of the gigantic bowl of the Sports and Show Hall – a perfect sample of architectural judgment.

The new mines and steelworks are controlled by comupters (produced next door in Lower Silesia), but preserved, too, are centuries old mining antiquities. Nor is Silesia short of enshrinements of the events, great and small, of its history, for instance, King John Sobieski's parting in Tarnowskie Góry with his beloved Queen, Marie

d'Arquien or Marysieńka as she was tenderly called in the country, on the eve of his famous relief of Vienna. This rendezvous with the past adds yet another hue to the spectrum of far from unrelievedly 'Black Silesia'.

GDAŃSK

The name of this city is immediately associated with the drama of the Second World War. In 1918 it was made a Free City and for twenty years was one of Europe's most sensitive trouble spots, exploited by Hitler as a pretext in his demagogic claims. It was here too that the first shots of the war were fired, when in the early hours of 1 September 1939, the battleship *Schleswig-Holstein* began to shell the Polish garrison guarding the Westerplatte peninsula.

The earliest recorded reference to Gdańsk appeared in 999 (in *The Life of St. Adalbert*) and from then on this key port and centre of commerce crops up time and again in history. In 1308 it was captured by treachery by the Teutonic Knights who put its inhabitants to the sword and sacked the city. After 150 years in the hands of the Order, Gdańsk was recovered by Poland in 1466 and remained part of the kingdom until the Partitions. A number of royal privileges and a monopoly of the corn and timber trade made it wealthy, and it acquired many splendid buildings and works of art.



A large proportion of the treasures accumulated over the centuries was engulfed in the last war. Some have been restored at great cost and effort. Within the limits of the so-called Main City can be found a great many superbly reconstructed historic buildings, notably the houses of Long Market (*Długi Targ*), the Armoury (*Zbrojownia*), High Gate (*Brama Wyżynna*), the Torture House (*Katownia*), the Prison Tower (*Wieża Więzienna*), Golden Gate (*Złota Brama*), the old hall of the Brothers of St. George, the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the royal chapel, Arthur House (*Dwór Artusa*) and the Town Hall.

Gdańsk forms part of a conurbation known as the Tri-city (the other two being Sopot and Gdynia), and is a major centre of industry (the biggest shipyard in Poland), a busy port (which since recently has been given reinforcements by a new port, Port North, mainly for transshipping coal and oil, Poland's largest investment project in the past decade) and the home of six higher education establishments and noted arts institutions.

Monuments, antiquities and other such lofty matters apart, household words in Poland are Gdańsk furniture, Gdańsk vodka nad Gdańsk Bay.

This beautiful city with its eventful history is well worth a longer visit. Once you have made your tour of the Main and the Old City, the Old Suburb, the Lower City and the Granaries, I would advise seeing the Heroes of Westerplatte Memorial, pondering the memory of the defenders of the Gdańsk Post Office, attending one of the organ concerts in Oliwa Cathedral and taking a stroll in Sopot along Poland's longest pier (512 metres).

KIELCE

There are those who maintain that it is here that the quintessential Poland is to be found, that centuries ago it was her matrix (it is only fair to add that the same claims are made for Poznań and Cracow).

Kielce is a town of 163,000 population sited among picturesquely wooded hills. It first appeared in recorded history at the end of the 11th century.

The landmarks of its past are the baroque Bishop's Palace, now a museum, and the 17th-century early baroque cathedral. The Palace was built in 1637–41 and one of the architects was Tommaso Poncino; the rooms are beautifully decorated with stucco panelling, murals and painted ceilings (from the workshop of Tommaso Dolabella). Converted into a museum *(Museum Świętokrzyskie)*, it houses a historical exhibition (ground floor) and a display of furnishings from the 16th–18th centuries. The Cathedral contains a Renaissance tombstone attributed to Giovanni Maria Padovano.

Redevelopment is gradually changing the face of the town and its narrow little streets. Springing up in their place are broad thoroughfares and glass-and-concrete towers. Kielce is shedding its old reputation of a glorified village and growing into a large and modern metro-

polis. But a point is being made of protecting all that is worth preserving of its past.

Once in Kielce, it is worth stopping over and making some outings. Suggested spots are, east of the town, Szydłów, one of the few places in Poland whose defence walls still stand; Nietulisko, where there are the ruins of an ancient dam; Opatów, musty with the ivy of centuries; the castle of Krzyżtopór near Ujazd which once dreamed of rivalling Wawel in Cracow; the village of Klimontów which contains some magnificent Baroque treasures; and the small town of Pińczów, once a major centre of the Reformation in Poland.

Kielce has a fine cultural tradition to cultivate. Among other things it was the base of one of Poland's most enlightened reformers, Stanisław Staszic. In 1958 a Kielce Learned Society was formed for the purpose of regional studies, thereby filling, it must be admitted, a definite need.

WROCŁAW

Picasso found the dynamic reconstruction of Wrocław a powerful inspiration. Ehrenburg saw Wrocław as a signally Polish city, not so much on account of the bricks which remembered the days of King Boleslaus the Wrymouth, but the thousands upon thousands of Polish pioneers who had streamed in to breathe life back into its dead walls.

Now over half a million strong (597,000), Wrocław is Poland's fourth biggest city, after Warsaw, Łódź and Cracow. Industry is booming, what with such high-powered plants as PAFAWAG (rolling stock), ELWRO (electronics), DOLMEL (electrical engineering) and dozens of others. Eight higher education institutions give it an intellectual sparkle. A number of first-class theatres, such as the internationally renowned Henryk Tomaszewski's mime company and Jerzy Grotowski's Laboratory Theatre, attract both cognoscenti and laymen. To round off the picture there are the sterling Ossolineum Institute with its vast library, museums, a film studio (where Wajda's *Ashes and Diamonds* was made), and many international and national artistic events.

The quarter of chief architectural interest is Minster Island (Ostrów Tumski): of its many treasures the two which stand out are the Cathedral (13th–14th century) with its superb St. Mary's, St. Elizabeth's and Elector's chapels, and the church of the Holy Cross from the same period, both rebuilt after suffering appalling damage. But there is also much to delight the eye elsewhere: a cluster of historic buildings in Ostrów Piaskowy, Market Square with a late Gothic town hall, churches and old mansions and on the north-west side, two houses linked by an arcade and called 'Hansel' and 'Gretel' after the Grimm fairy tale. Gothic and Baroque artists lavished their efforts and gifts on the city – all for nothing, for in 1945 the Nazis, by proclaiming it a fortress, signed its death warrant and 70 per cent of these masterpieces were laid waste.

A potted history of Wrocław runs as follows: the first rulers were the Piasts, in 1335 came the Bohemians, in 1526 the Habsburgs and

in 1741 the Prussians. But always, even during the long years of Germanization, it remained economically and culturally linked with Poland.

Today, it is not only Picasso who has found Wrocław an inspiration.

POZNAŃ

Despite what a number of people in the world at large believe, the celebrated International Fair is not the only thing Poznań can boast of, though it is certainly true that this huge annual shop-window means much to the city and indeed to Poland. No doubt it will be a surprise to some to learn that this tradition of commerce goes back to the Middle Ages.

The ball was set rolling in 1231 when Prince Władysław Odonic issued a charter whereby any merchant in Poznań during the octave of the Feast of St. Dominic was exempt from tax. In 1394 an even more effective measure was hit upon: what was called a 'privilege of deposit'. Though there was nothing very voluntary about it, it was highly profitable. Every merchant passing through the city along the 'amber trail' was obliged to put his wares on public display within three days. By the middle of the 15th century there was an official St. John's Fair which soon became known all over Europe and in the Middle and even the Far East. In 1925 came the institution known as the Poznań International Fair and with its establishment the amount of business done grew by leaps and bounds. At present an exhibition area of 173,00 sq. m. is occupied by 4,500 firms from 40 countries and visited by over half a million people, while turnover runs into thousands of millions of dollars.

But enough of the Fair. Poznań is one of the biggest and oldest cities in Poland. It lies on the intersection of important lines of communication, and has eight higher education establishments, a number of major cultural institutions headed by a well-known opera, and several large industrial plants (notably the Cegielski Works, which manufacture ship engines and rolling stock, plus electrical engineering, rubber, paper and food processing factories).

Poznań, located at the confluence of the Warta and Cybina, first appears in history in the middle of the 10th century as the seat of a duchy. In the same century it became the capital of Poland and remained so until the beginning of the next. In 968 a bishopric was founded. In 1253 the town received a charter and from then on commerce began to thrive. In 1519 the Lubrański Learned Academy was formed as a branch of the Cracow Academy. Poznań's subsequent history was a chequered one, scarred by the Swedish wars, natural disasters, attempted Germanization, a rising against Germany, the fearful Nazi occupation, heavy fighting in 1945 and considerable destruction.

What has survived of this eventful and troubled past? Surprisingly much, as you will see if you stroll into the old town quarter and look

round the market square where most of the buildings date back to the 15th–17th centuries (restored after the war) and include the Działyński palace, now the home of a number of cultural and learned institutions, the Roundhouse (*Odwach*) from 1787, and the old Municipal Assay Office (torn down in 1890, reconstructed in 1960). Nearby there is the Wielkopolskie (as the whole region is called) Military Museum and the delightful empire-style Mielżyński palace.

But the building of greatest architectural interest is the Town Hall. It was built in the 13th century (the early Gothic vaults can still be seen) and enlarged in a Renaissance style in 1550–60 by Giovanni Battista Quadro. In 1945 it suffered some damage, but has been faithfully restored. The eastern façade is particularly handsome with its semi-circular arcades and open loggia. On the first floor there is a majestic Renaissance Hall with one of the finest interiors of its kind to be found north of the Alps. The History Museum is also worth a visit.

There are many other architectural attractions to be seen in the old town quarter and elsewhere: from the unique Musical Instruments Museum in the market square and a parish church which is one of the most beautiful baroque buildings in Poland to the National Museum by Przemysława hill, the 10th century cathedral and a sprinkling of pretty churches.

Advertising boosts trade. Trade boosts art.



TORUŃ

Ask any child in Poland what he associates with Toruń and the answer will come back pat: Copernicus and gingerbread. If he has knocked around a bit, he might throw in the Crooked Tower, the Town Hall and, perhaps, the 7-ton 'Trumpet of God' in St. John's church, the second biggest bell in Poland (the biggest, of course, being the Sigismund bell in Cracow).

Toruń is one of those places that you can't help liking. It has interesting Old and New Town quarters (the latter also pretty hoary) with a fair number of buildings worth closer scrutiny, notably the 15th-century Town Hall with a 13th-century tower (the work of the master Andrzej) and Mannerist additions (van Obbergen), the Gothic churches of St. John (13th c.), the Blessed Virgin Mary (13th c.) and St. James (14th c.), several gates and towers, among them that Crooked Tower from the early 14th century which leans 1.4 metres out of the perpendicular, and the old houses and taverns in the New Town market square.

In Toruń town fathers have been more adventurous than elsewhere in blending old architecture with modern development (for instance,



on the bluff overlooking the Vistula). *Son et lumière* spectacles are organized in the ruins of the castle.

As for history, the following facts should be noted: the town was given its charter in 1233, became the principal Polish stronghold in the 13-Years' War with the Teutonic Knights, was recovered by Poland in 1466 and during the Reformation was the main bastion of Polish Protestantism.

But the landmark date in the annals of Toruń has always been 19 February 1473. For that was the day the wife of a wealthy merchant gave birth to one of the greatest of Poles and most brilliant minds the world has ever known: Nicolaus Copernicus.

Although Toruń has grown considerably since the last war (to a population of some 165,000), become the seat of a university (named after – who else? – Copernicus) and attracted a fair amount of industry, its narrow streets and Gothic walls still retain much of the atmosphere of the days when the great astronomer was creating his heliocentric theory of the structure of the universe.

Incidentally, the gingerbread (Copernicus brand, of course) is delicious!

SZCZECIN

A spacious city (next to Warsaw and Wrocław, it has the third largest area – 284 sq. km. – in Poland), Szczecin is the country's biggest port and an important centre of industry and cultural life.

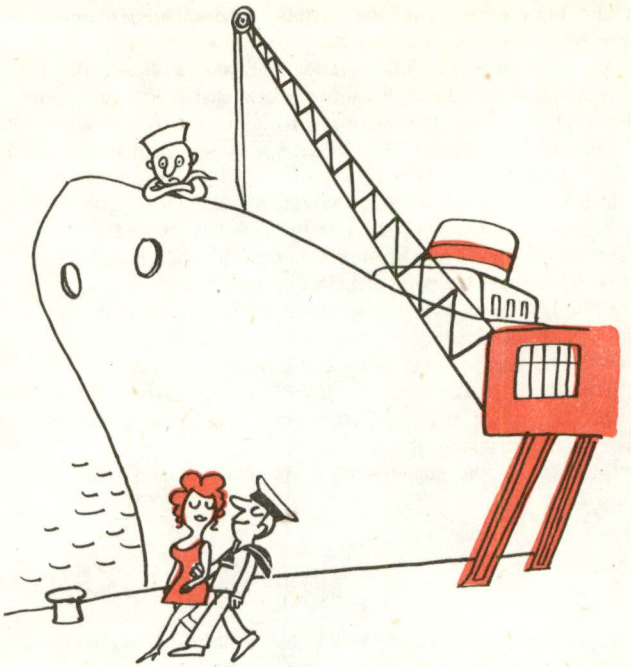
It has a population of 384,000 who live among a profusion of green spaces and bold planning, originally modelled on the layout of Paris.

The borders of Poland were extended to Szczecin at the end of the 10th century. In 1124 the townsmen, who numbered, as the chronicles put it, 900 *'patres familias'*, were converted to Christianity. In the subsequent course of history it suffered Danish, Swedish, Prussian, even French occupation. When it was recovered by Poland after the last war, half of it lay in ruins and its port and factories were all but totally destroyed (95 per cent). A thousand years after its foundation, Szczecin had been reduced to the wilderness it once was, but we can see for ourselves that the comeback has been a triumphant success.

How much of the past is preserved in its walls? Pride of place belongs to the castle of the dukes of Pomerania which, though sacked, rebuilt and sacked time and again, still stands as an eloquent witness to the twists and turns of this region's history. Also worth noting are the Gothic churches of St. James (14th–15th c.) and SS. Peter and Paul (15th c.). And last but not least there are the Town Hall (13th–15th c.), the old residence of the Loitz family (16th c.) and Port and Prussian Homage gates.

Szczecin is a bustling city crowded with sailors, youth and tourists from the GDR and Sweden. Modern architecture mingles harmoniously with the heritage of bygone centuries.

It also boasts a spectacular topography. Both the river Odra which flows through it flanked by a two-tiered embankment (Wały Chro-



brego) and the surrounding acres of woodland provide a natural scenery which is hard to beat.

And, incidentally, the vicinity of Szczecin abounds in forests, lakes and rivers and specimens of Gothic architecture.

PŁOCK

It will be news to most people that this is a town which was once in the running to become the capital of Poland and that only some mysterious quirk of fate finally made the choice fall on Warsaw.

Conveniently and attractively located, Płock is now a major industrial centre (petrochemicals, fed by the Friendship Pipeline from the Soviet Union) as well as a great repository of history.

It is one of the oldest towns in the country. The first recorded references date from the second half of the 10th century. In the 11th it became for a time the capital of Mazovia, a royal residence and the seat (as it still is) of a bishopric. It was an important political and cultural centre.

Płock is strikingly situated on a bluff above the Vistula, and the jewel in its architectural crown is the castle and cathedral complex on Góra Tumska, a hill which has, however, an unfortunate tendency to sub-

ide. All that remains of the Castle are the Clock Tower (13th–14th c.) nd the Lord's Tower. Nearby stands a former Benedictine abbey with he most graceful of cloisters. Hugging the bank of the Vistula below s a row of granaries from the 17th–19th centuries. The Old Market is otable for a Classicist town hall (1826). The greatest treasure, however, s the Romanesque cathedral (12th century, though the original architecure has been obscured by countless alterations) which contains the arcophagi of two kings, Ladislaus Herman (1079–1102) and Boleslaus he Wrymouth (1102–38).

Next to Cracow and its Nowa Huta, Płock is Poland's most classic xample of two different ages and cultures existing side by side. It akes for a fascinating, if not always harmonious, encounter.

ZAKOPANE AND THE TATRAS

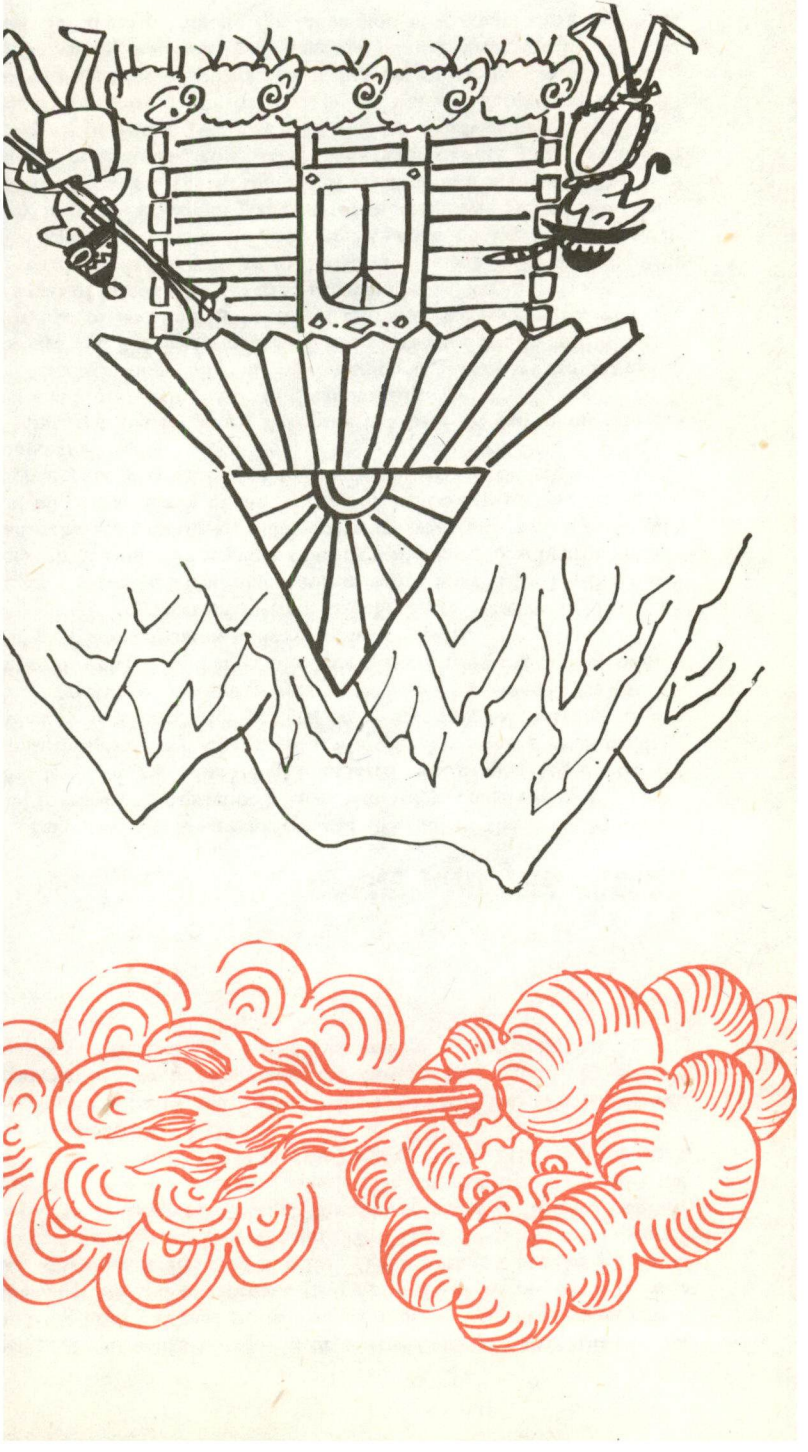
Zakopane is a town which lies at the foot of the Tatra Mountains nd is the winter capital of Poland. Situated at a height of 900 m. above ea level, it was discovered a hundred years ago by a doctor and hilanthropist, Tytus Chałubiński, who thereby turned a small highland illage into a mecca for writers, composers and painters and, in due me, sportsmen. Zakopane became the breeding ground of a specific egional style of timber architecture, furniture-making and decoration nd grew into a booming holiday and health resort.

Among its places of interest are the Tatra Museum on the main reet, Krupówki, a charming wooden church built in 1847 with a cemeery which contains the graves of many well-known local figures, notably an Sabała Krzeptowski, a famous story-teller and writer of ballads, nown as the 'Homer of the Tatras'. The mausoleum of Jan Kasprowicz, great poet who celebrated the rugged beauty of the region, is to be ound at Harenda.

But first and foremost, Zakopane is a base for excursions into the w and breath-taking world of the mountains.

Although the architecture of contemporary Zakopane arouses mixed elings and the performance of the tourist and health institutions is source of occasionally vehement criticism, everyone agrees that this a part of Poland which exerts a peculiar magnetism.

Zakopane is the gateway to the Tatras. Though lower than the Alps he highest peak is the 2,655-metre Gerlach on the Slovakian side), ey have a wild, severe grandeur for mountaineers and present formiable difficulties. The weathering of the rock by ice and snow has proced precipitous faces, crags and ridges. Lakes have formed in ooped-out basins (there are 43 on the Polish side) and waterfalls mble down from high ledges. The flora of the Tatras runs to 1,700 fferent species of plants and include relics of the Tertiary period. the spring the lower-lying glens and pastures break out in a brilliant sh of crocuses. Among the fauna you may come across are bears



(not recommended!), lynxes, badgers, marmots, chamoix, eagles and salamanders.

Periodically there rises a warm foehn-like wind called a *halny*. Sometimes it blows with a force violent enough to snap trees and tear off roofs, and it has been known to flatten down whole tracts of forest. Even at its mildest, it has a creepy effect, making people, whether in the mountains or down below, feel strangely jittery and causing an apprehensive quickening of the heartbeat.

For thousands of years a miniature *Völkerwanderung* went on in the valleys and foothills of the Tatras which themselves are no more than 57 km. long and 18 km. across. Here sheep farming has remained much the same as it was in the days of the pastoral culture brought to the west Carpathians by nomadic tribes from the Balkans and Transylvania. A fascinating chapter in the history of the region was written by the treasure-hunters who came to the Tatras in search of gold and opened the way to mining. In the 16th century and later a certain quantity of gold and copper was mined in the vicinity of Kryvań peak; subsequently iron mines and foundries were started in Kościeliska valley and elsewhere.

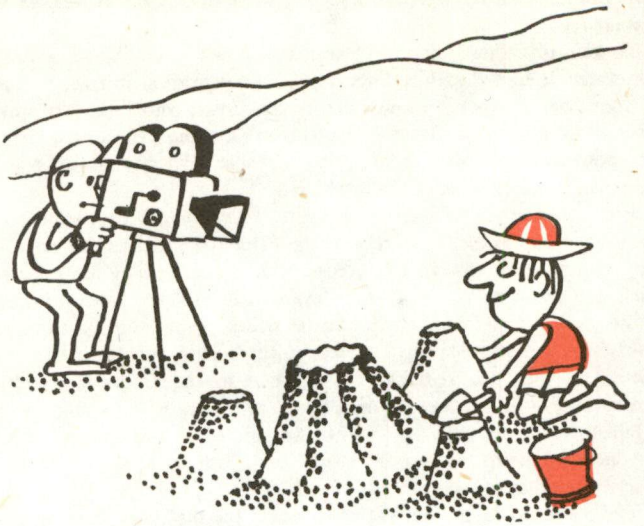
There are spots in the Tatras so beautiful that they have inspired poems, symphonies and, nowadays, coloured postcards: the lakes of Morskie Oko ('Sea Eye' – isn't the name itself sheer poetry?) and Czarny Staw, the glades of Chochołowska, Gąsienicowa and Kondratowa, the peaks of Rysy, Giewont, Czerwone Wierchy and the Roztoka valley. Trippers (or *cepry*, as lowlanders are a little mockingly nicknamed) are also drawn to Kasprowy Wierch and Gubałówka which can be ascended in comfort by cablecar and funicular even in evening dress and provide the reward of a spectacular view.

In season (January-March and June-September) Zakopane and its surroundings are invaded by literally millions of mountain-lovers. No matter that the Tatras do not inspire them to quite such heights as they did writers and composers like Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (Witkacy), Mieczysław Karłowicz, Karol Szymanowski, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer and Jan Kasprowicz. That is not expected of them; all that is expected is observance of the by-laws of the Tatra National Park which forbid such things as picking flowers, causing damage and leaving litter) and the rules of safety in the mountains. But even if they ignore the latter, assistance will still be rushed to them by the Volunteer Rescue Service which has been saving climbers' lives for half a century.

A well-known foreign travel guide contains the following observation: 'There are many regions and towns in Poland which you can cross out of your itinerary, but on no account miss the Tatras and Zakopane.' The second half of this sentence is beyond dispute.

BŁĘDÓW DESERT

Very many people in Europe have at one time or another suffered hallucinations, but at least Poles can claim for their mirages the excuse of having a genuine, full-blown desert in their country.



Situated near the town of Olkusz, it is the only one in Europe The area of shifting sand measures some 32 sq. km. (8 km. by 4 km. and its quantity is estimated at 2,300 million cu.m. The dunes reacl a height of up to 20 m. The western end of this Polish Sahara is exploit ed for mining purposes.

Through the Błędów Desert runs the River Biała Przemsza alon whose banks grow strips of lush greenery, creating the impression of a elongated oasis.

The dunes are dotted with tufts of spiky grass. There are occasiona blizzards and even sandstorms. In the summer mirages are by all account a frequent phenomenon.

The desert is ringed by pine forests. From the tower of the churc in Błędów you get a view worthy of a minaret in Tunisia. The easter tip ends in a lake, Zielony Staw, said to have once been a silver mine.

The desert has been the site of numerous archaeological finds fro the Stone Age. Sand is, as we know, an excellent preservative.

During the Occupation the sands of Błędów were used for fiel exercises in desert warfare by Rommel's army before it was shippe out to North Africa. Today they are a boon to film producers who ca thereby eliminate the expense of foreign locations from their budget

The Błędów Desert is a remarkable freak of nature which provid a change of pace after a tour of Cracow, Ojców, Pieskowa Skała an other nearby places of interest. Children can build sandcastles an mud-pies to their hearts contents; adults are at liberty to bask in th most seductive mirages they can imagine.

PIENINY MOUNTAINS

Like the Tatras, only more so, this is a range of mountains within nountains, a limestone outcrop of exceptional beauty which adds ariety to the Carpathian massif. One of the attraction is a trip, in canoes lug out of tree trunks and lashed together into rafts, down the Dunaec as it races between towering crags in a picturesque 9-kilometre orge offering the tourist a breath-taking spectacle composed by nature nd the elments. It is an adventure that is absolutely safe, but a terrific hrill while it lasts.

The symbolic sentinels of the Pieninys are the castles in Czorsztyn nd Niedzica. The first, built in the 14th century, belonged to a famous night called Zawisza the Black and was the base of a peasant rebellion n the 17th century; all that now remains following a subsequent fire re ruins. The second had an equally stormy history. The lower, Renaisance section has been restored and serves as a holiday home for art istorians.

In the Pieninys which have been a national park for many dozens f years (over a thousand species of flora) you will find firs, beeches, ews and larches. The meadows are full of flowers. Folds in the rock ontain specimens of plants from the Tertiary period.

This tranquil and beguiling world is being more and more rudely ncroached upon by civilization, chiefly in the shape of the motor car.

All in all the Pieninys have an area of less than 7,000 acres, but into his small compass are crowded no end of delights and marvels.



BIESZCZADY

Once upon a time (and not so long ago) a Pole who felt himself to be in a state of extreme physical or nervous exhaustion would say to himself: 'What I need is to get away to Bieszczady and lose myself in the wilds.'

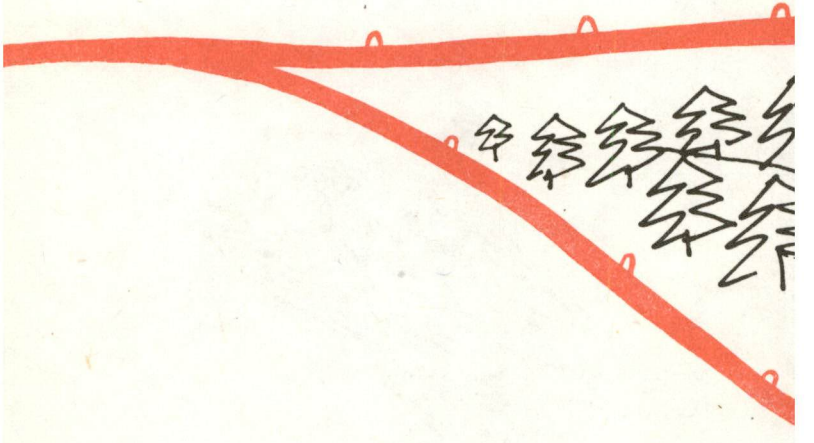
Nowadays he wouldn't find it so easy to 'lose himself'. The section of the Beskidy mountains called Bieszczady is no longer anything remotely like Poland's Siberia or Amazonia. Civilization is descending upon it with a vengeance. And a good thing too, I suppose, though one can't help felling a twinge of regret.

All the same the region enclosed between Łupków pass and the River Solina in the west and the River Świca in the east still remains the most sparsely populated part of the country (25 inhabitants per sq. km.), densely wooded and bereft of industry. Sheep rove the broad sun-drenched pastures of its hillsides with nothing to fear except the odd, famished predator (which may sometimes even be a brown bear).

From one end to the other, Bieszczady measures a mere 120 km in length and 90 km. in breadth. The highest peaks are Tarnica (1,346 m.), Krzemień (1,335 m.) and Halicz (1,333 m.).

Through these mountains runs one of the most scenic of Poland's new highways, called the Bieszczady Loop. One of the big tourist attractions is a holiday centre on the shores of the artificial lake created by the construction of a dam on the River San in Solina.

In the village of Jabłonki on the Bieszczady Loop stands a memorial



to General Karol Świerczewski, 'Walter', the legendary commander of the 14th International Brigade and, later, the 35th International Division in the Spanish Civil War, who was ambushed and killed here in 1947 by the nationalists of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Bieszczady has rivers teeming with trout, primeval forests inhabited by bison, bears (almost twenty of them), lynxes, martens, deer and wolves, woods full of berries, mushrooms and nuts. Its few, scattered towns and villages are many hundreds of years old (Lesko, for instance, was founded in the 14th century). There are quaint, usually timber, Orthodox churches from the 18th and 19th centuries. In Lesko there is a 16th-century Jewish cemetery and synagogue (now a museum).

Nine kilometres north-east of the capital of Bieszczady, Ustrzyki Dolne (pop. 6,000), in the town of Krościenko, right on the Polish-Soviet frontier, lives a large community of Greeks who came to Poland in 1949 as civil war refugees.

In Bieszczady is the watershed between the catchment areas of the Baltic and the Black Sea.

Anyone in search of excitement will be interested to learn that in the backwoods, well away from the beaten track, he has a chance of encountering not just a bear or a wolf, but also a very vicious breed of viper.

Be that as it may, the dales and canyons of Bieszczady, the fir, beech, yew and sycamore forests, remain a place where you can take a deep and bracing breath of fresh air before plunging back into the toxic fumes of civilization.



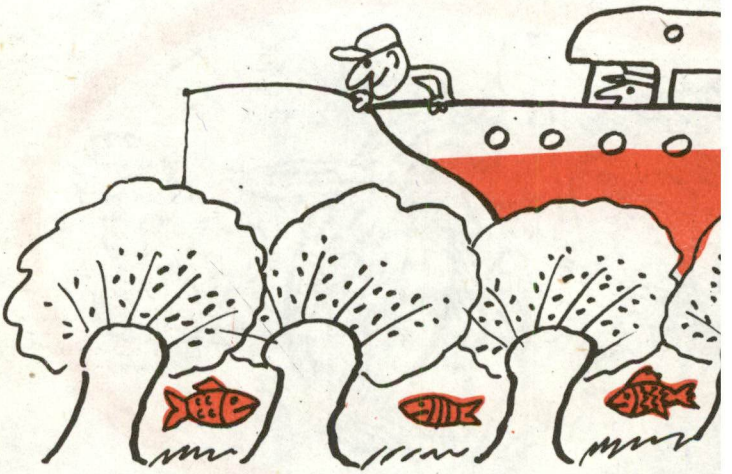
AUGUSTÓW CANAL

In 1824 the authorities of the Congress Kingdom (as the Russian partition zone of Poland was called after 1815) decided to build a waterway to link the Vistula basin via the River Niemen with the Courland ports on the Baltic. The object was to by-pass the obstructions of shipping goods from Poland and Lithuania through Prussia which barred the Kingdom's access to the sea and controlled its economic relations with the West. The construction of the section lying within its borders, the Augustów Canal, was completed within twelve years, to the astonishment of the whole of Europe. In charge of the project were officers of the Engineering Corps headed by Ignacy Prądzyński.

The Augustów Canal is now a unique museum-piece of technology in Poland and I doubt whether there can be many others quite like it in Europe either. To this day it is still used by boats of up to 100 tons. Its quaintness blends perfectly with the rare loveliness of the scenery. It has a natural extension in the River Czarna Hańcza (a tributary of the Niemen), which offers one of the most beautiful canoe runs imaginable and is also a paradise for anglers. Near the town of Augustów (pop. 24,000), old buildings and installations line its banks.

The canal has a total length of 102 km., eighty of them in Poland, and 18 ancient locks (14 in Poland). It serves as a link between a number of picturesque lakes: Necko, Białe, Augustowskie, Studzienniczne. The biggest marvel is the original machinery which is still in working order and used to open and shut the lock gates.

The Augustów Canal is a bit like a vintage Bugatti or the Wright Brothers' flying machine. Since there is no way of putting it in a museum, there's nothing for it but to admire this antique on the spot.



ŚWIĘTOKRZYSKIE HILLS

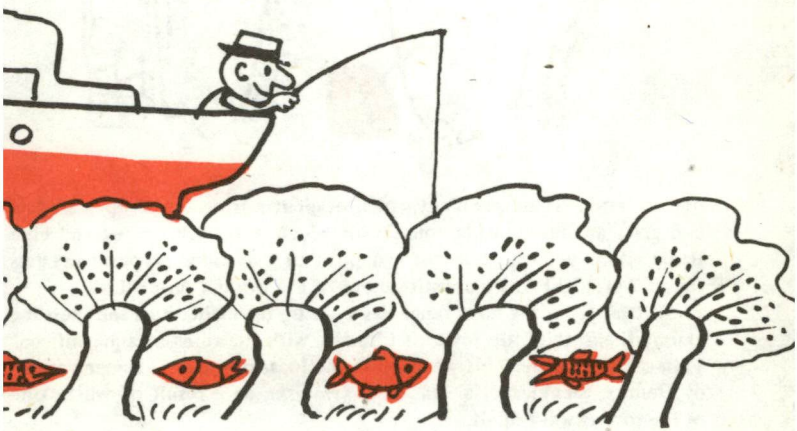
This is a range of lowish (highest point, 612 m.), sandstone and quartz elevations which lie in the very heart of Poland. Parts of them are fir-covered and one hill (Góra Chełmowa) boasts a beautiful larch forest.

The most scenic section has been turned into a national park (over 15,000 acres) named ofter the novelist, Stefan Żeromski, whose books celebrated this region. One sight quite out of the ordinary is Bald Hill (Łysa Góra) on top of which stands Holy Cross, a one-time monastery founded in the 12th century and subsequently enlarged; before the war it was one of the toughest prisons in Poland and during the Occupation a camp for the extermination of Soviet prisoners of war.

Here and there in the local villages traditional folk costume is still worn. This was also the cradle of Polish industry with the mining and smelting of iron ore (commemorated by the annual feast of Dymarki). Quarries yielded a famous variety of sandstone.

The forests of the region have been the scene of many a ferocious battle against invaders. During the last war they were a partisan stronghold. Here from October 1939 to the end of April 1940 operated the detachment of the famous Major Henryk Dobrzański, known as Hubal, of whom many books have been written and a film has been made.

The Hills and the surrounding country are full of priceless, utterly unembellished and unfaked relics of art merged with the natural, often rural landscape. Nearby can be found distinctive species of flora. For example in the nature reserve in Chotel Czerwony you can in hot weather observe the 'burning bush' phenomenon produced by the self-ignition





of the fraxinella or gas plant which originates from the steppes of Asia and gives an inflammable volatile oil which burns with a red and blue flame. Here you can also see a deposit of enormous grypsum crystals (up to 2 m. high) which constitute one of the world's curiosities.

Not far from the main range lies a cluster of smaller hills and, nestling among them, the little town of Chęciny with the ruins of a magnificent 13th-century castle. This was one of the locations for the screen version of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Pan Wołodyjowski*, as a result of which one of the towers was rebuilt.

THE OAKS OF ROGALIN

Trees can also form part of our heritage. All it takes is several hundred years of survival, which then makes them a monument to heaven-sent human oversight. They have escaped the axe.

In Rogalin on the River Warta (33 km. from Poznań) stands a Baroque-cum-Classicist palace (1770–82), filled with old furniture and a painting gallery, and a park which contains the biggest collection of ancient oaks in Europe.

Altogether there are 954 of them. They include three which are named after the legendary Slav brothers, Lech, Czech and Rus, and have circumferences of 9, 7.3 and 6.7 metres respectively. They provide a favourite setting for photographs of school outings: whole coachloads of children join hands and form a ring around the trees.

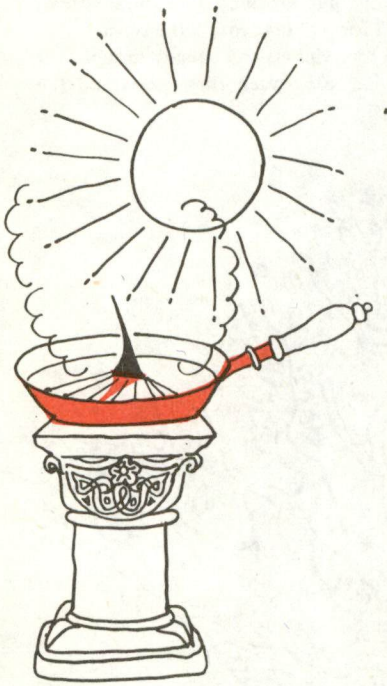
The oaks of Rogalin are attacked by a vicious and equally exceptional beetle called the oak pruner. The battle between these pests and the gardeners is touch and go.



It is worth remembering that in pagan times the oak was worshipped in certain parts of Europe (eg. Lithuania). Its name recurs in countless old spells and saws. Its wood is hard and durable and the bark rich in tannin.

It is said that the first references to the village of Rogalin date to 1247. Whether or not this is true only the oaks can say.

THE CLOCKS OF JĘDRZEJÓW



Jędrzejów, a little town which straddles the highway from Warsaw to Cracow and is the despair of motorists, is over 700 years old. But its place in these pages is not owed to its age, nor its possession of a Cistercian church and monastery from the 12th century (renovated in c. 1730 in a Baroque style), nor even the fact that it is the place where Wincenty Kadłubek (c. 1150–1223) wrote his famous chronicle.

In the market square of Jędrzejów stands one of the three biggest sundial museums in the world. It was founded by Feliks Przypkowski and was later run by his son Tadeusz, a university lecturer and international authority on the subject until his death (1977). Now and again he was invited abroad to construct a sundial in Spain or Greece, but most of the time he was to be found in his native Jędrzejów tending the 500 unique exhibits in his museum. The museum is now under the care of another Przypkowski.

The collection includes sundials which are several hundred years old. There are also examples of military heliochronometers from the Second World War, among them a gnomonic slide used by the Germans in the bombardment of Warsaw in 1939.

Jędrzejów is well worth a visit. The museum attracts several hundred tourists a day and I wouldn't be surprised if some of them adjusted their watches by its gnomon which indicates the azimuth of the sun with unerring accuracy.

The eye of anyone driving through the town is likely to be caught by a small dome which sticks out above the roofs of the market place.

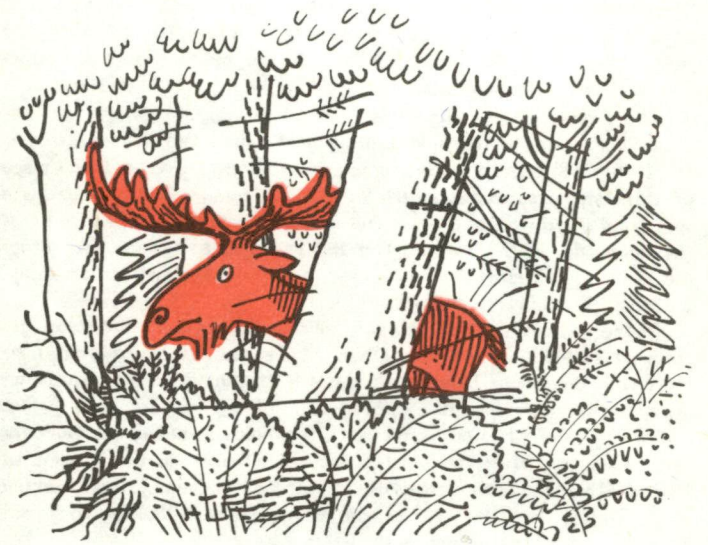
It belongs to an astronomical observatory as that was yet another of Dr. Przypkowski's interests. As if that weren't enough, his pursuits also ran to gastronomy. A great gourmet himself, he hoped to open a restaurant serving specialities of the Polish cuisine which would include such treats as 'Przypkowski soup' and 'sirloin á la Jędrzejów'. His museum has, as it happens, a special gastronomical display with pots and pans from the 17th to 19th centuries, printed and handwritten culinary miscellanea (18th–19th c.) and cookery books, among them a collection assembled by Dr. Pomian Pożerski from Paris.

Next to the museum stands a pharmacy established in 1712 by the Patek family. A descendant of the founders, Antoni, emigrated to Switzerland and started a watch factory in Geneva, which, under the trade name of Patek Philippe, is still going strong.

BIAŁOWIEŻA FOREST

Here, in the basin of the Rivers Narew and Jasiołda in the eastern marches of Poland, in the heart of the biggest expanse of forest in the Central European plain, is the sort of place where the mind turns to musing about the kind of life that went on here thousands of years ago. Though one can imagine how rugged it must have been among thickets and peat-bogs infested with wild animals, without the comforts of roads and electricity, television and refigerators, one can't help feeling a twinge of longing for this departed world.

Despite the presence of a smart hotel, a smooth highway and the neon sign gracing a shop in Białowieża, it is a longing which is partly fulfilled in the Forest itself.



It has a total area of 1,250 sq. km., of which 580 sq. km. lie within the borders of Poland. Part of it (12,525 acres) forms the Białowieża National Park, most of which is a strictly protected nature reserve (11,600 acres), containing wild-life straight from a science-fiction film about prehistoric times. There are forests of oak and hornbeam, alder and ash, scores of exotic varieties of flora like lady's slipper, white orchids or the Siberian iris, three hundred head of bison plus elk, badger, marten, weasel, otter, deer, roedeer, boar, lynx and wolf, eagles, cranes and black storks. With a bit of luck or a good guide, you can even come across traces of wild bee-keeping.

Until the 13th century the Białowieża Forest was inhabited by a tribe called the Jaćwingowie. It was made a part of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the reign of Ladislaus Jagiello (1386–1434).

For hundreds of years the Forest was a favourite hunting ground. The most famous chase of all was held in 1752, the organizer being King Augustus III.

For tourists the chief attractions are the bison, the tarpans (mustang-like horses living wild in an exhibition reserve), the trees which grow over 50 metres in height, the immemorial oaks, and above all, the atmosphere of a Europe which elsewhere has long since vanished.

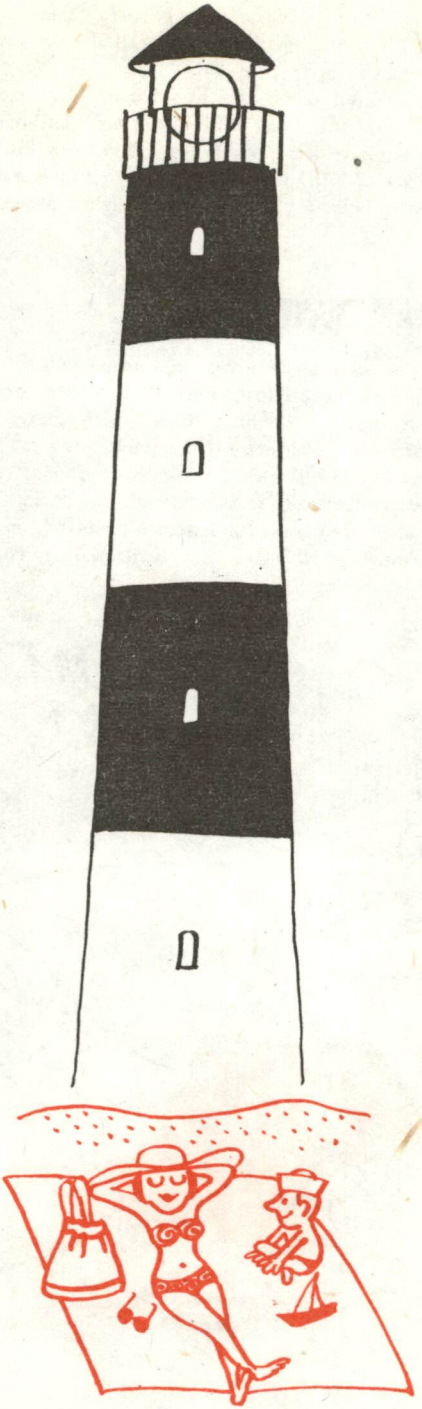
HEL

This is a spit of land which juts into the Bay of Gdańsk and was still a string of islands as late as the 17th century. Today it measures 35 km. in length and from 500 m. to three km. in width, and is a great tourist attraction, stormed every summer by hordes of holidaymakers. The railway line and highway which run down it will, sooner or later, have to be closed to traffic; otherwise there is a fair risk of this singular beauty spot being trampled back into the sea by the boots of visitors and the wheels of motor-cars.

The Peninsula abounds in legends. According to one, there was a thriving fishing village and trading post called Old Hel as early as the 10th–11th century. True or not, we do know for a fact that a place of this name was incorporated in 1378. A hundred years later there sprang up the township of New Hel which still stands on the very tip of the Peninsula. Both New and Old Hel belonged to Gdańsk (the other localities, proceeding from the base, being Władysławowo, Chałupy, Kuźnica, Jastarnia and Jurata).

In the town of Hel you can still see picturesque fishermen's cottages from the 18th and early 19th century. At first glance it may seem to have more of a Danish or Dutch look about it, but make no mistake: it has always been Polish through and through!

In 1939 Hel was one of the last strongholds to fall to the Germans (on 2 October, after the most heroic of defences) in the invasion of Poland. It was the headquarters of the Polish naval C.-in-C., Rear Admiral Józef Unrug. In 1945 a German army almost 100,000-strong was cornered and taken prisoner on the Peninsula.



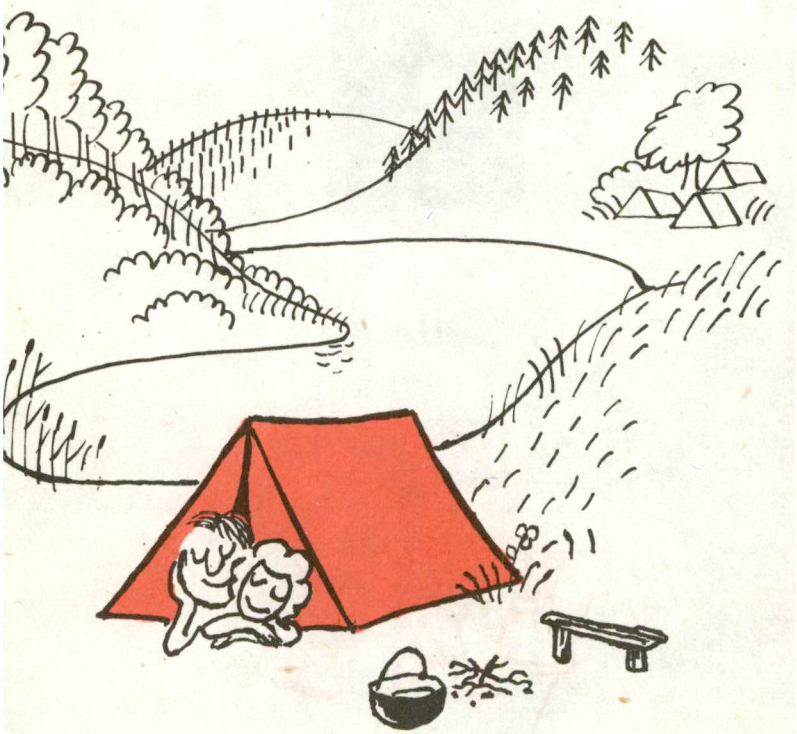
Hel has the most marine climate in Poland. A fairly high mean annual temperature (7.5°), the smallest swings (18.3°) and low rainfall make it something of an exceptional spot.

Some of the sand dunes rise to a height of 24 metres and create the impression of miniature hills. There are lighthouses in Jastarnia and Hel (the latter, with a power of 4 million candles, which gives its beam a range of 60 km.). There is another in Rozewie just off the Peninsula which houses a most unusual Lighthouse-keeping Museum.

CASHUBIAN SWITZERLAND

There are at least seven towns in Europe which lay claim to the title of 'Venice' (of the North, East, West, and so on). We also have five Parises. A third geographical name which enjoys exceptional popularity in Europe and overseas is Switzerland.

Poland has her fair share of these Switzerlands: Połczyn Switzerland, Żerków Switzerland, a Switzerland Forest in Silesia, a village of Switzerland tucked away in Białystok Voivodship. But the place which is best known of all is Cashubian Switzerland in Pomerania.



Sure enough, it does have, in miniature, quite the Swiss look: and it is easy to see how its morainic hills of up to 200 m., large tracts of forest, lakes of varying size, put someone in mind of the land of William Tell.

If Tell never set foot here, the Teutonic Knights and the Swedes did (the latter being less friendly then than now).

Today the region is one of the most attractive holiday playgrounds in Poland. The shores of its 250 lakes offer plenty of room in which to pitch a tent and soak up the sun.

The title of one of the capitals of Cashubia is held by Kościerzyna (pop. 18,000), an old fortress town founded by the dukes of Pomerania in 1284. The principal holiday resort is Gołuń on Lake Wdzydze where the sights include two typical Cashubian cottages *(checze)*.

The Cashubians, incidentally, are an autochthonous Slav ethnic group some 200,000-strong, who are the descendants of the old tribe of Pomeranians. They live over parts of Gdańsk and Słupsk Voivodships and in small enclaves between Lakes Łebsko and Gardno (a subgroup called Słowińcy). In the past their land was always coveted by greedy and aggressive neighbours and the Cashubians themselves were subjected to many centuries of Germanization. They remained proof against these pressures and have retained their distinctive Polish dialect and many remnants of their fascinating folklore.

LAKE PAKOŚĆ

The story begins near the town of Inowrocław in central Poland, when the waters of Lake Pakość suddenly rose and flooded a powerful Slav fortified settlement on an island. Some of its inhabitants managed to escape to safety on dry ground. The fort itself was left derelict.

More than 2,500 years after this natural disaster, the waters of the lake sank just as unexpectedly and the submerged island re-surfaced. Archaeologists got to work.

On the site they found remnants of the houses and fortifications and a scattering of utensils which their owners had either lost or not had time to remove from their threatened homes. They also unearthed several dozen primitive hand-mills, hoes and trowels made of horn, needles and awls of bone and odd pieces of bronze jewellery.

To get a better picture of the structure of the fort the archaeologists dug a deep, wide trench some 100 m. long across its north-south axis. This produced the discovery of parts of a breakwater surrounding the rampart and an abatis. Inside the compouned were found two well-preserved rows of houses built of logs with clay floors, containing open hearths, some of them equipped with stoves made of clay, the grates consisting of a layer of broken vessels and stones. These buildings stand next to the earthworks and flank an empty square paved with stones set at one or more levels. Under this pavement traces were found of human settlement dating to the bronze age. The archaeologists excava-



ted the caves in which these inhabitants lived and stored food and also came across the clay vessels they used.

About 50 km. away lies Biskupin (q.v.), one of the oldest centres in Poland belonging to the Lusatian civilization. The Lake Pakość finds have helped to fill in more of the jigsaw puzzle of prehistoric Slav settlement in this area. People who ought to know maintain that there are a great many more such islands and other sites containing traces of the way life was lived thousands of years ago still awaiting discovery.

BISKUPIN

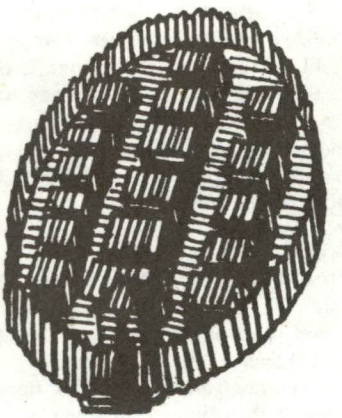
If there was no Biskupin, it would feel a bit as though there were none of us Slavs either – or at any rate as though we hadn't been around thousands of years ago.

Fortunately there is a Biskupin and its discovery (about 50 km. south of Bydgoszcz) took a load off all our minds. This hamlet, I daresay the most famous in Poland, was, it is clear from the unearthed evidence, a fortified township founded c. 550 B.C. It was built on what used to be an island on Lake Biskupin which measured 120 by 160 m. and contained over a hundred wooden houses arranged in thirteen rows along eleven streets surrounded by a log-and-earth wall with a double gate topped by a look-out turret and a 120 m. bridge made of oak.

All of this has survived to our times to proclaim to all and sundry that early Slavonic tribes had set up shop in these parts back in the days of the Hallstatt epoch. And it has survived for the most commonplace of reasons: a waterlogged terrain which was subsequently partly silted over. Thanks to this, not only have the wooden structures of the settlement been preserved, but also a great many utensils.

The discovery of the ancient settlement was a sheer fluke. There can be no doubt that this was one of the high spots in the life of a certain local schoolteacher who one day in 1933 decided to go for a stroll by the lake instead of correcting exercise books and spotted something that no one before him had noticed.

Biskupin has now been partially reconstructed and forms a sort of skansen. Like all such sites it is from morning to night a stamping ground of excursions and sightseers. But then that was the whole point of digging it up and brushing away the dust of centuries.



THE WATER BIRDS OF MILICZ

Milicz is a small (11,000-strong) but venerable (12th century) town situated north-east of Wrocław. A market square, a little trellis of streets, a stone's throw from the River Barycz, a tributary of the Odra. The district is poor in soil but rich in timber. Since the Middle Ages the marshes around the river have been cultivated as fish nurseries; these now have a total area of 15,000 acres and form the largest expanse of inland waters reclaimed by human hand in Europe.



Milicz has its own distinctive micro-climate and is the haunt of unusual wild-life, notably some rare varieties of water birds.

The fauna of Milicz is substantially the same as that of the Mazurian lakes, but it is concentrated on a small area and so easier to observe. The vicinity of Milicz offers the most rewarding bird-watching territory in Poland and part of it has been turned into a nature reserve called the Milicz Pools which is under strict protection, being the site of an ornithological station run by the University of Wrocław. An application has been made for its recognition as an international game reserve on the lines of the Danube Delta.

The area contains the largest flock in Europe of the greylag breed of wild goose, some 300 brace, well over half the total number in Poland. It also has two pairs of purple herons, until recently the sole specimens in Poland, though another pair has now been spotted on Lake Gopło. It is also the nesting ground of a black stork whose presence is a sign of the wildness of the country and a pair of golden eagles. Scientists come here to study development cycles and the coexistence and rivalry between different bird species inhabiting the same area. The uniqueness of the fauna is such that Milicz is a magnet for ornithologists from all over Europe. The British recently made a half-hour film about the birds of Milicz.

The local council – to its credit – has refused planning permission for a chemicals factory, rightly fearing the danger to its ornithological riches.

So come to Milicz, one of the few places where the honking of geese still drowns out that of the motor car.

BABIA GÓRA

The mountain of Babia Góra is really only an excuse for introducing a whole region around the little town of Sucha in southern Poland where the vegetation is particularly lush, the air exceptionally clean and bracing, and the scenery marvellously soothing.

Around Babia Góra (1,725 m.) lies a National Park with an area of about 17 sq. km. chock-full of interesting flora and fauna, and an oasis of silence. Here comes a steady stream of holidaymakers in search of rest and the pleasures of exploration. The district has hotel and catering amenities to meet the needs of several thousand visitors.

In Sucha there is a camping site and a rest-house with 241 beds, and five restaurants and cafeterias with 480 places. Among them is a hostelry quite of the ordinary, an 18th-century timber tavern called Rzym (Rome).

The gem of the Sucha region, Zawoja, still remains a little sheltered from tourist traffic and for the moment its beauties are savoured only by the occupants of 17 holiday houses and carborne travellers in transit.

The highest peak in the Babia Góra group is Diablok (1,725 m.) which is separated from Little Babia Góra (1,517 m.) by Brona pass.

The fir, beech and spruce woods are the haunt of deer and lynx and the nesting ground of rare birds, among them wood grouse and black grouse. But there are also more and more people, the majority of them, it's said, women. No wonder: Babia Góra means Hag Hill.

SEJNY

This is a little frontier town where the silence is broken only by the calls of hucksters at the traditional fairs. It has been the birthplace of a number of famous Poles, including the barvest woman in our history,



Emilia Plater. Today it is chiefly known for its interesting folklore, the sale of sheepskins and dried mushrooms and, above all, the breeding of crayfish (over a million a year).

But the real reason for visiting Sejny is to see the Suwałki Lakeland in which it lies. Here you will find one of the most beautiful lakes in Europe, Wigry, through which flows the River Czarna Hańcza. On a spit of land stands a village with an old Camaldolite monastery and a Baroque church (1704–45, Piero Putini) with the cells of hermits.

The border villages are full of Lithuanian folklore. The lakes teem with fish including the rare lavaret. In the nature reserves can be seen the lodges and dams of beavers.

In the countryside around Sejny one can still feel the pulse-beat of the Polish marchlands as they used to be, decades ago.

THE WOLF'S LAIR

While millions of Germans were fighting and dying on the battle-fronts of the Second World War, the Führer himself liked to go to earth far from the clash of arms and the flow of military traffic. One of his burrows was dug deep in the forests of Mazuria. A steel-and-concrete blockhouse, it came to be called the Wolf's Lair.

This hide-out, or rather its remnants, is to be seen six kilometres from the town of Kętrzyn outside the village of Gierłoż.

Before it was blown up by the retreating Nazis in 1945, it had for some time served the army staff as a headquarters. It was here, too, that the attempt to assassinate Hitler was staged on 20 July 1944.

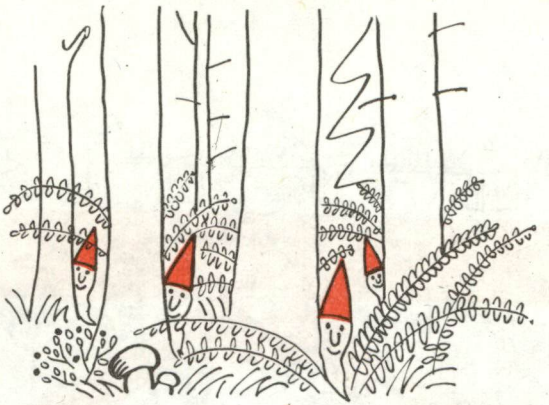
These ruins and their sinister memories are the only thing which strikes a jarring note in the lovely landscape of northern Poland. They stand exactly on the threshold of the land of the Mazurian lakes.

A number of films have been shot in the Wolf's Lair (half its exterior survived the dynamite) and it has been the subject of countless magazine features and short stories. It is now visited by a steady stream of excursions, and has a hotel and restaurant. They younger sightseers in particular listen to the guides' account of the history of this sinister spot with ámazement and horror.

FORESTS

The old Polish saying, 'the forest was there before we came, when we're gone, it will remain', has now lost a little of its meaning. No one needs to be told that in the process of laying waste the environment we're not sparing the trees.

Nevertheless a quarter of the area of Poland is still covered by timber. At least nine tracts of woodland are designated as 'forests'. These are: Kurpie (1,800 sq. km.), Bory Tucholskie (1,300 sq. km.), Białowieża



(580 sq. km.), Augustów, Noteć, Pisz, Świętokrzyska, Bory Bydgosko-Toruńskie, Knyszyn, Niepołomice, Sól, Sandomierz and a number of smaller expanses of woodland.

Of these the only two genuine forests are Białowieża and Pisz. All the others have been so called a mite fancifully or from force of habit. Wkrzańska Forest, for instance, extends to the centre of Szczecin!

On the other hand, there are plenty of woods. Woods which abound in berries and mushrooms and are the haunt of game and wild-life. Woods which fill the nostrils with a fragrance seldom to be found elsewhere in Europe.

In the dawn of history almost the whole of Poland was a mass of pathless forest. The advent of farming cut a heavy swathe through them and even changed some of the varieties of trees. Larches, sycamores, ashes and, saddest of all, stone pines are gradually disappearing; fir and spruce are taking their place.

'Through copse and spiney,' runs an old song, 'hies the soldier, a ditty on his lips.' That is the way things were ordered for centuries: if you were a Pole, you were usually a soldier and if you were on the march, your path usually ran through glades and thickets.

A world of concrete and asphalt is swallowing up these tracts of wood and forest. But since, as another saying goes, 'by the time a fat man's lost weight, a thin man's given up the ghost', Poland has managed to hang on to more woodland than many countries in Europe and means to save all she can.

BARANÓW

Whenever an opulent banqueting scene or a swashbuckling duel around the courtyard and arcades of some castle has to be shot for a movie, the location inevitably chosen is Baranów. Here can be found the true-to-life scenery and atmosphere of the 16th century.



The experts classify the architecture of Baranów (12 km. from Tarnobrzeg and not far from Sandomierz) as 'mannerist', which to lay ears sounds like rather a rude thing to say of a chateau which has a '0' rating in the international tables of historic buildings and was described, back in the 17th century, as *elegantissima* by the historian, Szymon Starowolski. You would have to travel far, he wrote, to see the likes of its superb cloisters, Renaissance parapet walls and portals. Today it is sometimes called the little Wawel.

Baranów was the seat by turns of some of the most powerful families in the land: Leszczyński, Wiśniowiecki, Lubomirski, Sanguszko, Krasicki and Dolański.

It has been impossible to establish who built the castle (1591–1606), though it is thought it may have been the Italian architect and sculptor, Santi Gucci. In the 17th century the interiors of the first floor were converted in a Baroque style by the famous Tylman of Gameren.

Two fires and the Second World War did heavy damage to the splendours of the 'little Wawel'. After its acquisition by the government, restoration was undertaken and it now stands in all its pristine glory. The halls and chambers have their full complement of furnishings and appointments. Baranów enjoys the direct patronage of the nearby Tarnobrzeg Sulphur Works which wasted no time in arranging a standing

archaeological and geological exhibition with special emphasis on the mining and uses of sulphur down the ages.

In the delightful park outside there is a very tolerable hotel. I can assure the more nervous sort of visitor that there are no reports of any White Ladies or rattling chains having ever been seen or heard either in the Castle itself or the grounds.

SPAS

Poland's spas are tremendously popular. Millions of people swear by the healing qualities of their mineral springs, mudbaths or just the presence of something extra in the air.

One of the most famous Polish spas was and is Krynica where a longer stay before the war was spent by Queen (then Princess) Juliana of the Netherlands with her husband, Prince Bernhard. Another celebrity was the tenor Jan Kiepura who had a villa in Krynica. It is still the biggest health resort in Poland and now also a winter sports centre.

It is said that the springs in some Polish spas are among the strongest in Europe. The places with this claim are Szczawno-Zdrój (respiratory, metabolic and digestive diseases), Busko-Zdrój and Ciechocinek (rheumatic, children's, women's, and skin diseases), Krynica (digestive, urinary tract, women's, circulatory diseases and diabetes), and Kudowa (anaemia, endocrinological diseases, especially of the thyroid, circulatory diseases). Other well-known spas are Iwonicz, Rymanów, Cieplice, Rabka, Połczyn, Świeradów, Żegiestów, Polanica, Nałęczów, Duszniki, Lądek and Kołobrzeg.

A unique spa of its kind is Ciechocinek which provides baths in brine concentrated by means of graduators (an idea pioneered by Stanisław



Staszic); it was founded in 1836. References to mineral spring treatment first appeared in Polish in 1578 when the royal physician, Wojciech Oczko, wrote of Iwonicz, Lubień and Swoszowice.

There are 36 spas in Poland with sanatoriums for 40,000 beds, and 25 health resorts. A total of 8400,000 people take 'the cure' each year.

SMALL TOWNS

It has been estimated that there were as many as 700 towns in Poland in the 16th century, but that only eight of them had populations of over 10,000. Today the number of towns is not very much greater (803), but it includes 33 with over 100,000 inhabitants.

Not all towns can boast such galloping growth as Łódź or the manufacturing centres of Silesia. For hundreds of years the population of some of them has remained virtually static, their only industry the upkeep of their architectural heritage.

By and large the bigger cities are much of a muchness; small towns, on the other hand, make a point of being different, and I strongly urge a visit to any one of those hundreds of little backwaters which have failed to strike it rich.



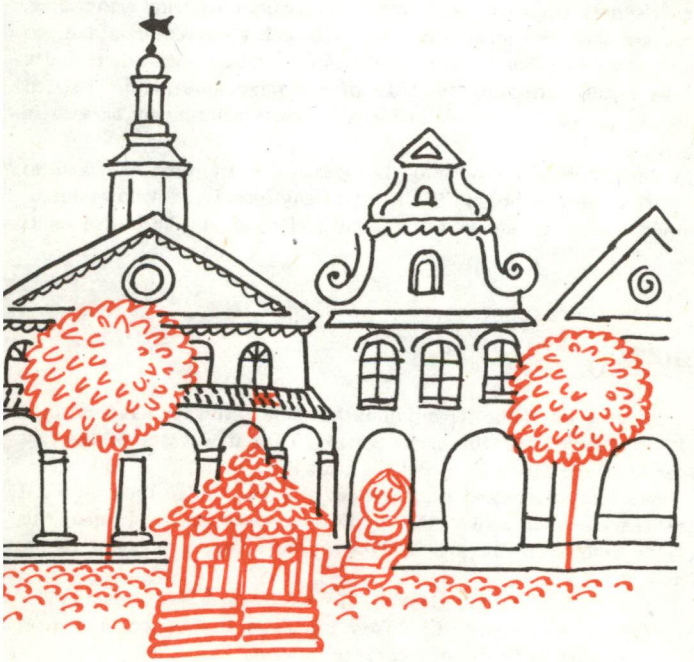
A start could be made by outings to such erstwhile towns as Czersk or Wiślica, but this would be a bit like brooding on past glories. My own recommended tour would take in such spots as Biecz, Lwówek Śląski, Łęczyca, Chełmno Śląskie, Pińczów, Jarosław, Pułtusk, Kalisz (the celebrated Calisia, one of the first towns to appear on the map of Poland!), Rawicz, Stary Sącz, Leszno and the entrancing little towns of Wielkopolska, Lower Silesia and Pomerania.

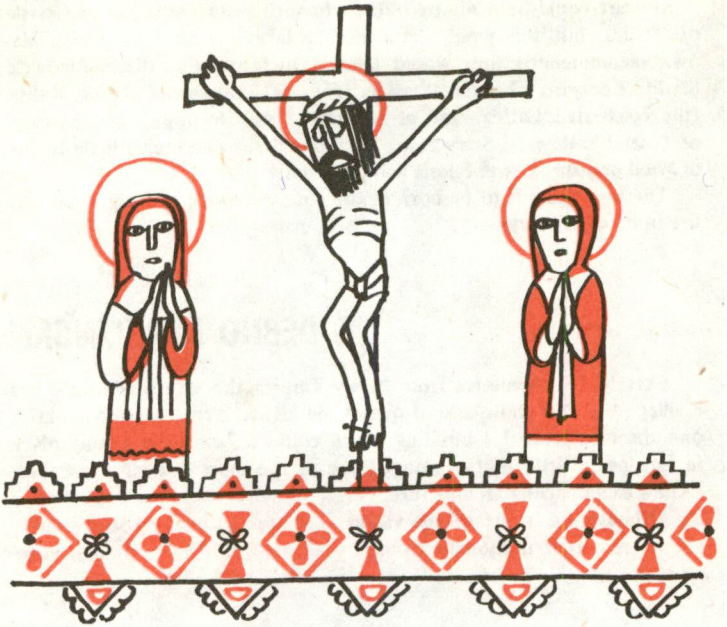
The best thing is to be born in the country, work in a big town and live in Biecz or Stary Sącz.

DĘBNO KRAKOWSKIE

Exactly 14 kilometres from Nowy Targ in the vale of Podhale lies a village that is a show-case of quaint old highland cottages and contains one absolute gem of a building which could be the envy of any place in Europe: a little timber church, one of the most beautiful examples I know of vernacular architecture.

Although the name of the village first appears in the 13th century, the church itself is thought to have been built only two hundred years later.





The walls and ceiling are decorated with murals which date to c. 1500. Their richness, originality and freshness of colour are truly astonishing. There are also sculptures from the 14th and 15th centuries and, no doubt, a lot of other treasures still waiting to be unearthed, to judge by the chance discovery in 1949 of a Romanesque picture painted on wood (c. 1330), the oldest work of easel painting to be seen in Poland.

A distinguished collector of European folk art once remarked to the author of this book: 'If there was anything I could do about it, I would choose to die in the church in Dębno and be buried in its yard.'

GNIEZNO

Without a doubt the derivation of the name of this town is connected with the Polish word for 'nest' (*gniazdo*), for it was one of the first places which the Slav tribe of Polanie made their home.

There is also a legend that here lay the spot where their mythical ruler, Lech, came across the eyrie of a white eagle and made this bird the emblem of his people. Which gives a further meaning to the name.

The town lies not far (51 km.) from Poznań, has a population of 55,000 and a fair amount of industry. But above all it boasts an eventful history and a striking array of records to prove it.

A settlement dating to the 8th century has been found on what is called Lech Hill. In the 10th century it was made the capital of the first Piast princes. An even more noteworthy fact is that this was where the famous encounter at which Boleslaus the Brave secured the recognition of Poland from Emperor Otto III took place in the year 1000. This was also the date of the founding of an archbishopric.

Boleslaus the Brave was, incidentally, the first man to be referred to in recorded history as a Pole. In 1025 he was crowned king of all Poland.

Gniezno Cathedral, which was built in the 14th and 15th centuries (with fragments of a pre-Romanesque and Romanesque building from the 10th and 11th centuries still to be seen), contains a large number of old works of art: the ledger of Archbishop Zbigniew Oleśnicki, carved by Wit Stwosz, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque headstones, tombs and statues, Baroque altars, etc.

In the 12th century it acquired one of the most superb examples of Romanesque art to be seen anywhere: the famous Gniezno Portal cast in bronze and decorated with 18 rectangular panels, arranged horizontally, which tell the story of St. Adalbert, his life, his mission to the Prussians and his martyr's death at their hands.



Apart from the Cathedral, other buildings of interest are the churches of St. George (13th c.) and St. John (14th c.), the archaeological museums and some of the old burghers' houses.

The town and its environs have been the scene of often savage battles againt invaders. In 1947 Gniezno was awarded the Order of Polonia Restituta for its thousand years of resistance to the German *Drang nach Osten.*

CZĘSTOCHOWA

A largish town with a population of close on 230,000, considerable industry and a thriving cultural life, its principal magnet is the monastery which stands on top of the hill called Jasna Góra.

The abbey of the Pauline Brothers with its famous Gothic painting of Our Lady of Częstochowa (or the Black Madonna as it is known

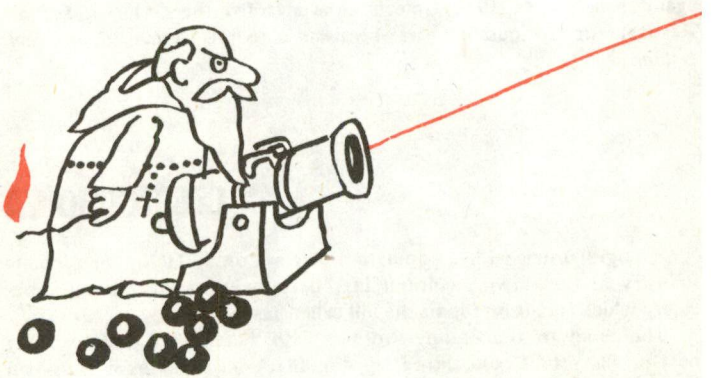
abroad) is the most sacred Catholic shrine in Poland and the site of many pilgrimages.

Around it there has gathered a profuse history and literature (e.g. *The Deluge* of Henryk Sienkiewicz) and an even more profuse mythology. One of the celebrated figures of the past is Augustyn Kordecki who was the prior of the monastery when it was besieged by the army of General Müller during the Swedish invasion in 1655 and led a successful defence at the head of a garrison composed chiefly of peasants and townsmen. The gallant monk later wrote an account of the siege, but unfortunately tended to embroider his own exploits and overdo the military significance of the engagement.

The monastery was founded in 1382 and nearly 300 years later converted into a powerful fortress. In the last war it experienced some moments of high drama during the retreat of the German army. Quite recently these were vividly described by Boris Polevoy:

'SS squads had mined the monastery church, laying an enormous charge of explosives with a delayed-action fuse. Their calculations were transparently simple: once the town was in the hands of the Red Army, an explosion would blow the church to smithereens and bury the icon. Our men would be held to blame and the anathema of the whole Catholic world would be called down upon them.'

It was decided to frustrate this act of provocation, the order to that effect coming from none other than Marshal Konev. One day 'an engineering corps detachment appeared in the town on its way west. We got in touch with the commanding officer, a colonel, who seconded to us a sergeant-major named Korolkov, a sapper born and bred whose speciality was bomb disposal. A thin man, with funny flaxen whiskers which looked as though they had been glued to his tanned face, he had little trouble in locating the spot under the altar where the Germans had laid the explosives and without further ado set the whole group of Pauline monks placed as his disposal by the prior to work with shovels.'



A total of 36 bombs were dug up and put out of action. Two detonators were found, one with a concussion fuse placed in a hatch as a booby-trap, the other with a chemical fuse timed to go off after roughly ten days.

The story of this operation, reprinted from Polevoy's account in the Soviet press, appeared in 1972 in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, the weekly issued by the Cracow Curia.

All sorts of miracles have been associated with Jasna Góra. The name of this particular one was Sergeant Korolkov.

But to get back to the monastery. In its precincts stands a 15th-century Gothic church converted and enlarged in the 17th into a basilica with a sumptuous Baroque interior and a magnificent high altar (1726). To the left is a 15th-century Gothic chapel with an altar of ebony and silver surmounted by that legendary Black Madonna.

Other features of the monastery are a treasury, a Knights' Hall with a collection of pictures and books, an old printing shop, an armoury, and royal apartments. The tower has a height of 105 metres and must have provided a perfect look-out post for observation of all the armies that have marched on Częstochowa.

FROMBORK

The magnificent old architecture of Frombork can still be admired on the spot; to see the rest of its treasures you have to go to Sweden where everything that wasn't nailed down was carried off in 1626 by Gustavus Adolphus.

The town has today a tiny population (1,900), whose livelihood comes mainly from fishing. In the summer it is doubled by tourists.

The most notable feature is a walled cathedral which was built in the early 17th century for the Chapter of Warmia.

The man who put Frombork on the map was, of course, Copernicus who settled here in 1512 and remained until his death in 1543, working the while on his epoch-making *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium.*

Half the things in Frombork which are of any interest bear his name. They include a Copernicus Hill, a Copernicus Tower, and a Copernicus Museum.



GRUNWALD

There are a number of places associated with climactic events in history which have become household words: Canossa, Waterloo, Stalingrad. One peculiar to Poland is Grunwald, a symbol of victory.

Grunwald was a battle fought on 15 July 1410, in which a Polish army with Lithuanian and Ruthenian reinforcements under the command of King Ladislaus Jagiello inflicted a crushing defeat on the Teutonic Knights. The Grand Master of the Order, Ulrich von Jungingen, and its senior officers were all slain in this engagement which had a decisive, long-term impact on the future of central and eastern Europe.

Today a modern highway leads to Grunwald field with striking signs pointing the way. In 1960, on the 550th anniversary a memorial to the Victory of Grunwald, designed by Jerzy Bandura, was unveiled. It includes an amphitheatre in front of which is set a relief map in the form of a granite mosaic illustrating the disposition of the opposing armies before they joined battle.

The Battle of Grunwald has featured in many books (Sienkiewicz's *The Teutonic Knights*), paintings (a famous picture by Jan Matejko) and films. In each case the result has been a similar Grunwald for the author.



KALWARIA ZEBRZYDOWSKA

I can think of at least five places in Poland called Kalwaria (Calvary), plus several more whose names are some sort of variation on the word. The best-known is Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, a town situated 34 km. from Cracow, which is remarkable for a vast, open-air network of shrines representing the Stations of the Cross, endowed by the Zebrzydowski family. It is a place of numerous, traditional pilgrimages, especially in August; one of these was made the subject of a very controversial documentary which fastened unmercifully on the undertones of medieval mummery and obscurantism.

The path of the pilgrims winds through the hills and valleys north and east of the town and is punctuated by 42 Baroque and Mannerist churches and chapels, most of them designed by Baudarth. It makes for a procession reminiscent of the religious pageants of southern Spain.



Almost as an afterthought, as it were, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska has also become famous (since the 18th century) for furniture, a reputation sustained today by something like 500 active cabinet-makers.

In 1944 the town was the scene of a sensational exploit when partisans of the underground Home Army stormed it in broad daylight, broke open the jail and freed the prisoners, who included a Polish general and resistance leader.

It is worth making a tour of the Bernardine monastery which marks the final point of the pilgrimage. The abbey was built in 1603–9 by Baudarth and Bernardoni and contains, among other relics, a silver statue of the Virgin purchased in Rome in the 16th century, vestments from the 15th and 16th centuries and 18 Polish incunabula.

Another of Kalwaria's curios are the proverbial 'Kalwaria tramps', Contrary to popular belief, some of them belong to the more well-to-do section of the citizenry.



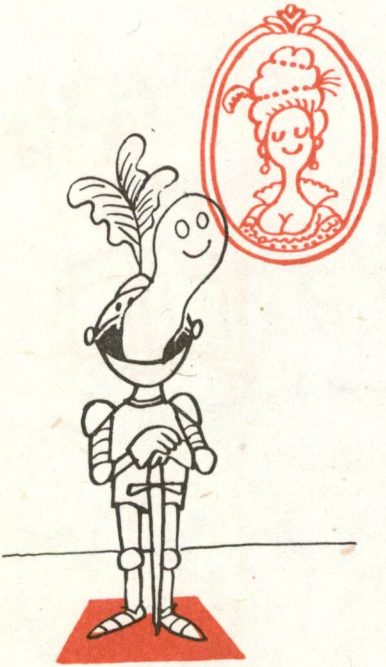
KÓRNIK

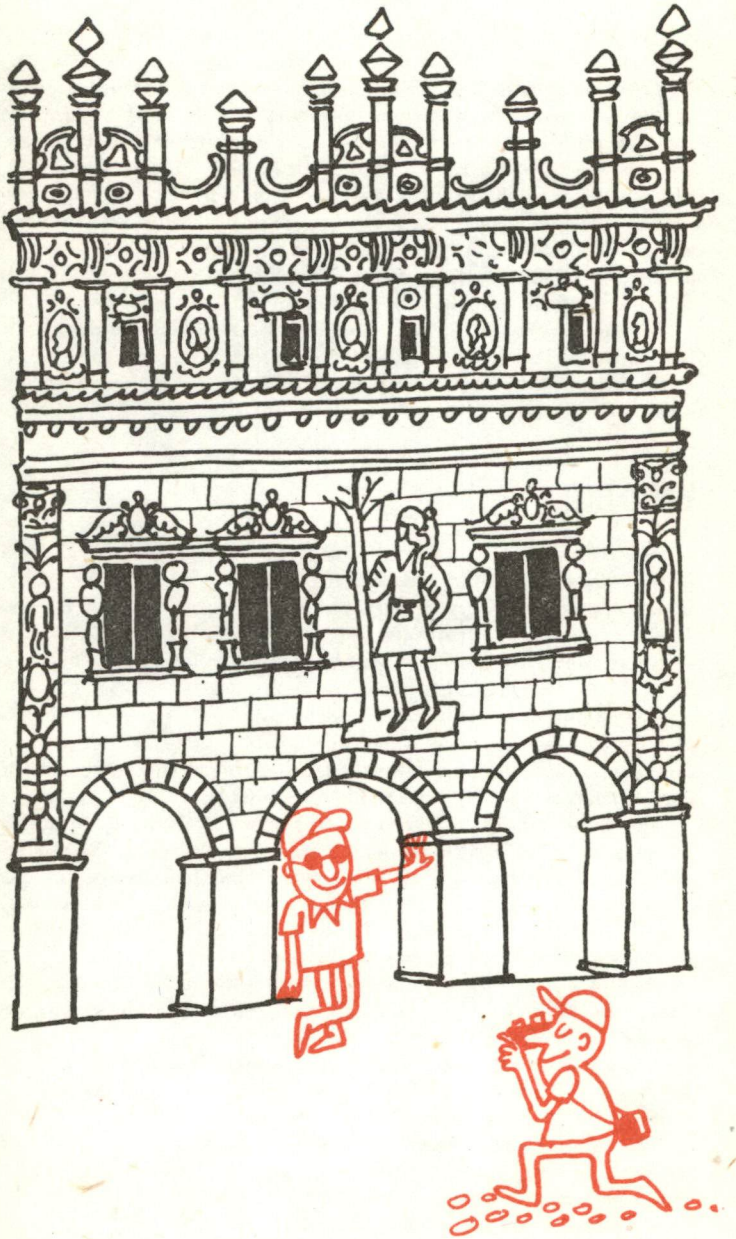
Kórnik is one of those little towns off the beaten track which have many surprises in store for the visitor.

Situated 20 km. south-east of Poznań, its heritage consists of walls, books, trees, and first and foremost, a castle which contains a museum and library belonging to the Polish Academy of Sciences. Among the things to see here are a portrait gallery, collections of old-Polish armour and eastern weapons, period furniture, natural-history and ethnographic exhibits from Australia, Polynesia, Madagascar and coming nearer home, the region of Kórnik; the library has more than 150,000 volumes, among them manuscripts by Adam Mickiewicz (the third part of *Forefathers' Eve*) and Juliusz Słowacki (the poem, *A Hymn to the Setting Sun*).

Finally, the trees: these stand in a park laid out and planted in the 16th to 19th centuries which is the biggest botanical garden of its kind in Poland and now serves the Polish Academy of Sciences as an arboretum. It contains something like 10,000 Polish and exotic trees and shrubs.

It won't be much of an exaggeration to say that Kórnik, small as it is, has something for everybody.





This little town is really as good as being one of Warsaw's more outlying suburbs. True, it's a matter of 150 km. away, but there are two excellent highways (one of them offering a particularly attractive drive along banks of the Vistula) with very little in the way of built-up areas.

The whole 'Kazimierz formula' is breathtakingly simple: beautiful topography + historic buildings + good weather = rest and recreation.

Lower Kazimierz (the 'Lower' is to distinguish it from other places of the same name) is often used nowadays as a location for films set in, of all places, southern Europe. The market square with its old Renaissance houses, a parish church with partially visible 14th-century walls, a monastery surrounded by a stone wall on a picturesque hill, 17th-century granaries standing on the very edge of the Vistula (one of them, alas, was gutted by a fire in 1972, but has already been reconstructed) – all of this lends it something of the atmosphere of Italy for all that it is so quintessentially and unmistakably Polish.

In the spring when the fruit trees on the encircling hill-sides burst into blossom, Kazimierz in its secluded setting becomes a paradise on earth. At any rate that's how it looks to painters, photographers and lovers.

KŁODZKO

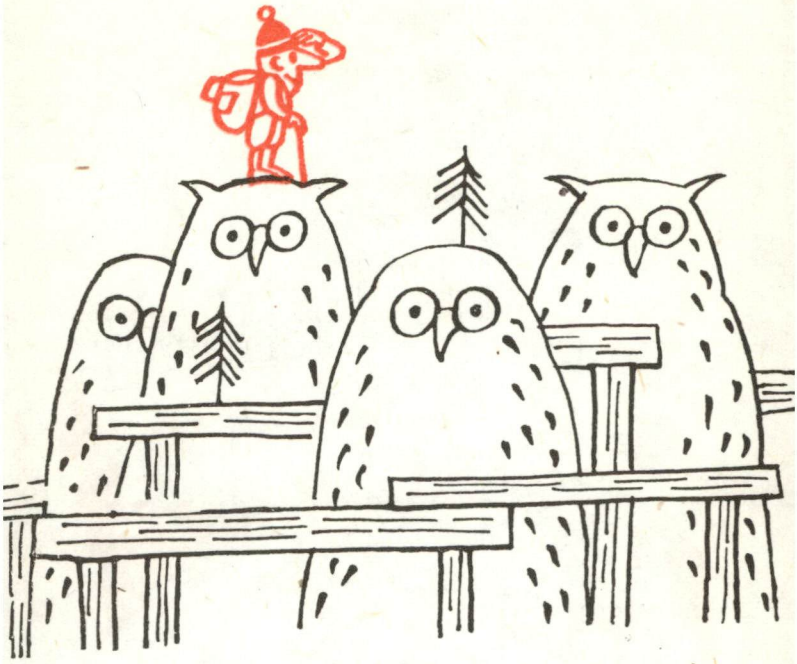
The chief town of the Kłodzko valley, situated on the Kłodzka Nysa (a tributary of the Odra) and one of the oldest settlements in Silesia, it first appears in history in 981 as a frontier fortress. In the 11th and 12th centuries it was frequently captured by the Bohemians. In 1278 it was recovered by the Piasts, but in 1341 it again fell into Bohemian hands. In the 18th century it was seized by Prussia.

Yet despite these vicissitudes Kłodzko stubbornly retained its Polish identity. Even as late as the 18th century public documents were printed in Polish. From this town comes one of the most ancient records of Polish literature, the 14th-century Florian Psalter.

The most striking architectural monument is a stonebuilt Gothic bridge (1287–1390) with Baroque statues reminiscent of the famous Charles Bridge in Prague. But there are also other buildings of interest: a Gothic parish church (15th c.) with a sumptuous Baroque interior, a town hall with a Renaissance tower (17th century) and numerous burgher houses with Renaissance and Baroque façades.

Dominating the town stands a fortress with vaults and dungeons built in the 17th century and subsequently enlarged after the occupation of Silesia by Frederick II of Prussia.

The Kłodzko valley is rich in scenic beauty. Throughout its length and breadth it possesses a distinct if elusive otherness regarding climate and wildlife. Though barely 500 sq. km. in area, it is full of groups of hills with a variety of names – Sowie (Owl), Bardzkie (Bard), Złote (Golden), Stołowe (Table), etc. – thick and chiefly deciduous forests, and countless spas with mineral springs famous all over Europe (Kudowa, Duszniki, Polanica, Lądek, Długopole).



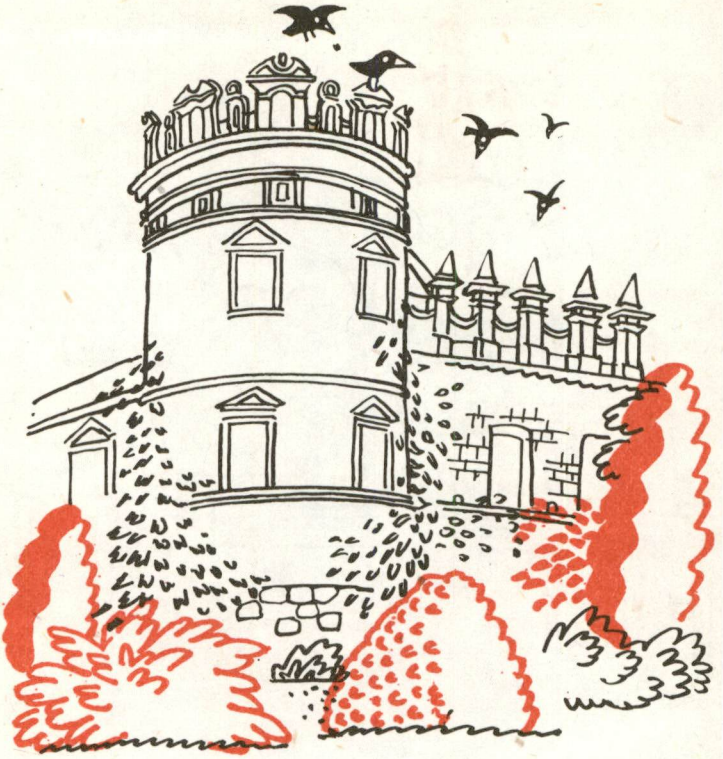
KRASICZYN

The cognoscenti maintain that this splendid, superbly sited chateau was, in design at least, not so much a building as (believe it or not) a pamphlet. 'For us,' the distinguished art-historian, Stanisław Lorentz, has written, 'the castle in Krasiczyn is a fascinating example of the use of architecture for the purpose of political and social comment. Its symbolism alluded to a Polish political tract written in the second half of the 16th century which pleaded the cause of the Counter-Reformation and gave an outline of "Sarmatism" (the bigoted ideology of the gentry).'

The tourist, however, is more likely to see in Krasiczyn a work of architecture and art than axe-grinding, though even he is bound to be struck by the revealingly unusual names of its four round towers: Gentry, King's, Pope's and God's. Vast chunks of the walls are covered with sgraffiti revealing medallions in the Lombardy Renaissance style, with busts of Roman emperors.

Krasiczyn was built in the years 1592–1614, the principal architect being Galeazzo Appiani. It is square-shaped with a cloistered courtyard. The great variety of its parapet walls adds to its colourful appearance.

Around this magnificent edifice stretches a 50-acre park in the



19th-century style with a rich profusion of trees and shrubs, and standard plants which attack the very walls.

If this really was a commentary on political events, give us more of them!

KSIĄŻ

Near the town of Wałbrzych in the south of Poland stands a castle straight out of a fairy-tale: massive, ancient, mysterious, sure to be crammed with ghosts.

It stands on the River Pełcznica and was built in 1292 by a Piast prince, Bolko I of Świdnik. Later it underwent a number of conversions (notably in the 16th, 18th, and 19th centuries) and redecorations. Before the last war it was the property of the dukes of Pszczyna.

The castle has a cubature of 160,000 cu. m. and 400 rooms plus another 200 in its outbuildings. It is surrounded by a gorgeous park full of rhododendron bushes and containing two artifical and one natural lake.

In 1941 the Germans decided to convert the castle into a headquarters for Hitler and even got as far as excavating huge underground shelters beneath the building, in the process wrecking many of its superb appointments. It is only recently that the hideous crater left by the Todt organization as a testimonial to its creative achievement has at last been filled in.

Książ is sited on a hill and is unbelievably photogenic, so much so that it was chosen as the location for the historical film spectacular, *Countess Cosel.*

Reconstruction of the sapped and devastated castle adds up to a formidable task, but it is now being tackled by a number of institutions.

Książ is one of a string of chateaux in lower Silesia, the others being Grodno, Bolków, Siedlęcin, Wleń, Lwówek. All that is missing is a Loire to link them.

ŁAGÓW

This is another of those towns which have come down in the world but, though reduced to the official status of villages, seem to be doing very well, thank you, selling their natural and architectural charms to thousands of eager takers.

For almost 500 years (up to 1810), Łagów was the seat of the wealthy order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, whose many good works included the construction of a castle.

It dates to the 14th century and has undergone several conversions. On the ground floor is a hall with a Gothic vaulted ceiling and a collection of armour. A medieval tower provides a magnificent view of the town and its surroundings. The castle is now used by the Henryk Wieniawski Music Society in Poznań as a holiday home. It has won some recognition owing to its annual Lubusz Summer Festival of Polish Films.

Łagów is considered the brightest jewel of what is called the Lubusz Country, a historic district of Poland which stradles the middle Odra between Silesia and Pomerania. All the evidence indicates that the region belonged to Poland as early as the reign of her first king, Mieszko I. In 1124 Boleslaus the Wrymouth founded a bishopric in Lubusz. In 1250 these lands were conquered by the Margrave of Brandenburg and turned into a foothold for expansion into Silesia, Wielkopolska and Pomerania. In 1945 the half lying on the eastern side of the Odra was restored to Poland. It now forms a voivodship whose seat is Zielona Góra.

One of the biggest of Łagów's old gates is called Polish Gate, a name it was given when it was first built and which it retained through all the years of German occupation.

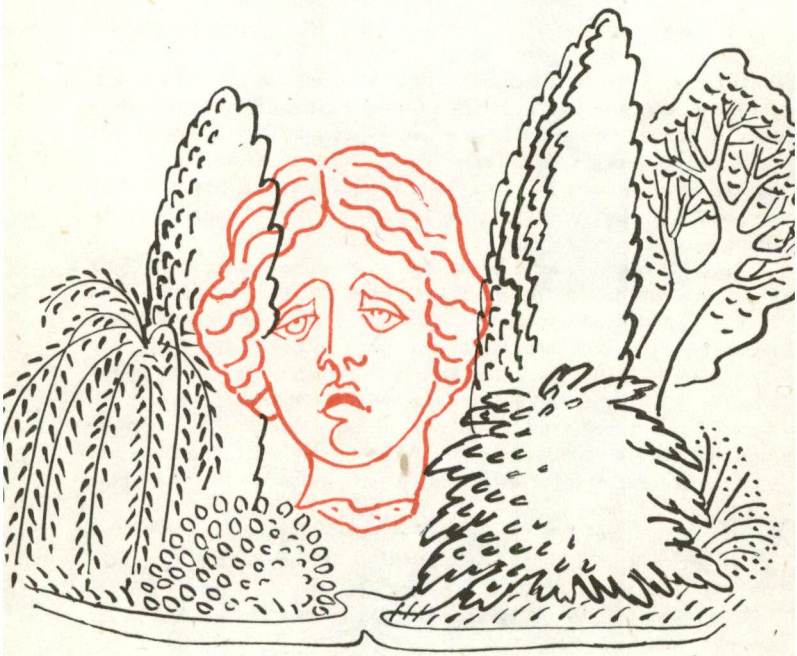
The 'village' lies on an isthmus between Lakes Ciecz and Łagowskie among hills and woodland.

NIEBORÓW AND ARKADIA

In any guidebook or encyclopedia you care to consult, you will always find some synonym of 'superb' attached to the palace in Nieborów. This masterpiece by the Dutch architect, Tylman of Gameren, has happily weathered the best part of three storm-tossed centuries and today houses a branch of the National Museum in Warsaw.

The Palace was built in a Baroque style and set in a handsome park. It is, however, its interiors which are the principal source of all those superlatives. Here you can see an interesting collection of local majolica-ware, a library with precious antiquarian volumes, period furniture, a portait gallery and a set of mythological statuary, including a famous head of Niobe which inspired a poem by Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński, a frequent house guest and fervent admirer of the building:

By the light of such a lamp, he sat in Nieborów,
gazing at the face of Niobe, the Niobe of Nieborów.
Sparks from a water-sprite leaped along the cornice
and November approached in muddy boots,
with maple leaves in his hair
and the last of the sun in his heart...



The reason Gałczyński, like many artists and academics, was able to have the run of this stately home, is that it has been turned into a rest-house (an annexe has been specially built in the grounds) for writers, scholars and, above all, art historians. Once the residence of patricians like Archbishop Michał Radziejowski and other noble families, it is now the abode of latterday aristocrats of the pen, stage and palette.

It was in the park at Nieborów that Henryk Sienkiewicz conceived the character of Lygia in *Quo Vadis,* his Nobel Prize-winning novel.

Four kilometres away lies Arcadia, a romantic pleasure garden ('superb', of course) with numerous pavilions, arbours, grottoes and statues. It was the brainchild of Helena Radziwiłł and laid out in 1773.

This haven of peace and beauty, within easy reach of Warsaw (89 km.), is at the same time the sort of place that seems suspended in time and space. 'The moon,' to quote Gałczyński once more, 'peeped into the library, cast her eye on the globes, and drew a silver finger over the Mediterranean.'

ŁAŃCUT

I should imagine that of all the one-time nobleman's residences in Poland the palace in Łańcut (south-east Poland) is the one that stands at the top of any list of 'musts'. Competing for the attention of visitors are two museums: a sumptuous collection of furniture and furnishing and a collection of carriages which, if slightly more modest in scale, has the compensation of conjuring up even more vividly the flavour of bygone ages.

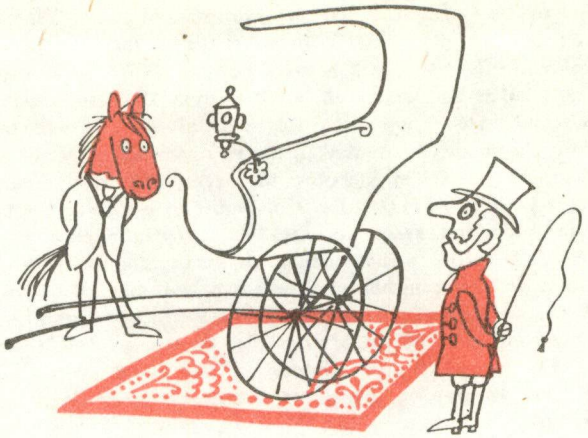
The Palace is an early-Baroque, rectangular edifice with a courtyard and four angle towers. It was built to a design by Mattia Trapola in 1629–41. In 1954 it was renovated from basement to attic.

It is ranked among the most superb stately homes to be seen in central and eastern Europe. The most valuable of the huge quantity of objets d'art that once adorned its 300 rooms were shipped out of the country (11 freight-carloads) by its last tenant, Alfred Potocki. The restorers managed to make good these losses and today the interiors again glitter with a full complement of period furniture, porcelain, tapestries, paintings and sculptures.

The Carriage Museum was originally set up in the twenties. It possesses over 50 horse-drawn conveyances from the late 18th to the early 20th century: phaetons, chaises, gigs, hunting brakes, even a mail coach.

The palace is surrounded by a handsome park with walks lined by ancient limes, oaks and poplars (one of them with a girth of nine metres). There is a conservatory decorated with sculptures in which exotic plants are grown, among them orchids which are supplied to flower shops all over Poland.

The nearby villages abound in charming old cottages from the 18th and 19th centuries and are the home of many folk sculptors; Medynia and Zalesie are the biggest centres of vernacular pottery-making in Poland.



At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries Łańcut was the lair of a notoriously unruly war-lord, Stanisław Stadnicki, who was nicknamed the 'Devil of Łańcut'. He was not the only devil who has plagued the place, and one of the park attendants maintains that the occasional one is still to be seen today – in the shape of some trippers.

PIESKOWA SKAŁA

The picturesque country that once made up the realm of the ancient Vistulans is well worth exploring. The archaeologists are continually making striking finds and turning up important historical evidence; the tourist has his work cut out keeping up with their discoveries.

From the banks of the Vistula in the region of Cracow, there stretches a beautiful piedmont district whose sights include the valley of a creek called the Prądnik, a deep gully with precipitous sides. It is also the site of a national park (in Ojców) and, standing on a sheer outcrop of rock, the castle of Pieskowa Skała.

Originally it was a Gothic edifice (14th c.) which later underwent alterations in a late-Gothic and Renaissance style (16th c.). Today it is simply the classically period home of a branch of the Wawel State Art Collections.

Pieskowa Skała is ranked among the finest knight's castles to be seen in Poland. Its most notable features are a cloistered courtyard with 21 mascarons (16th c.), bastioned walls and a well with a depth of 56 metres.

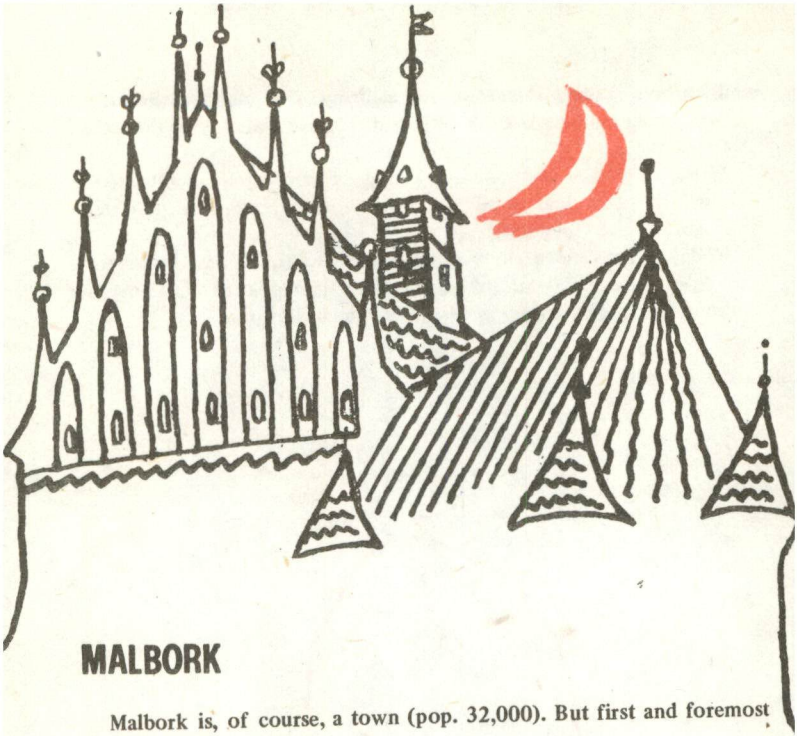
It was built by King Casimir the Great (1333–70) as an outpost, but subsequently passed into the hands of a variety of owners. Up to 1608 it belonged to the Szafraniec family, several of whom did very well out of marauding (I don't wonder, with a base like that !),

while others applied themselves to alchemy; this may be the reason a nearby crag called the Club of Hercules is associated with the legend of Twardowski.

Pieskowa Skała was one of a ring of strongholds built around Cracow, the best known of the others being Niepołomice, Wiśnicz and Ogrodzieniec (ruined).

Today when one gazes upon its massive walls, beetling battlements and stout gates, a vision of chain-mailed men-at-arms clattering out on ironclad chargers springs irresistibly to the imagination.





MALBORK

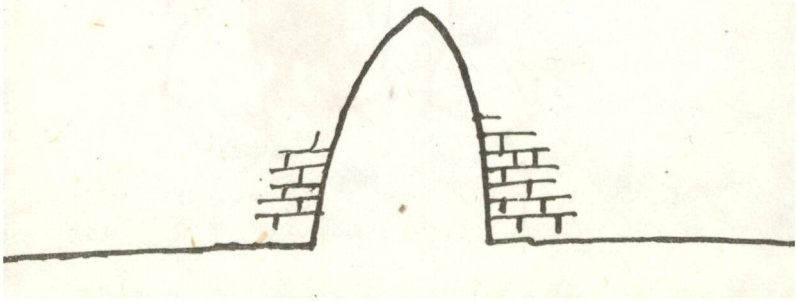
Malbork is, of course, a town (pop. 32,000). But first and foremost it is its castle.

In the registers of historical monuments to be found in Poland, Malbork Castle occupies a very prominent place. It is an outstanding example of medieval fortification and was once the seat of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.

In the precincts, also known as the Lower Castle, stand an armoury, a bell foundry, a chapel dedicated to St. Lawrence, a donjon called Buttermilk Keep (Baszta Maślankowa), and remnants of Gothic houses. The Middle Castle contains the quarters of the Commander of the Order, a hospital, the Knights' Hall, and the residence of the Grand Master. The Upper Castle has the chapter house, a treasury, bedchambers, a refectory, a 'golden gate', and in the bailey a fortified well.

This stronghold of the Teutonic Knights was the biggest feudal redoubt in Europe from the 13th to the 15th century; from the mid-15th century it was one of Polish royal residences.

After the last war the Castle, which in the shadows of twilight makes an ideally ghostly setting for a horror film, underwent painstaking restoration, while Malbork's old town quarter, almost totally destroyed during the fighting, has been rebuilt anew.



PRZEMYŚL

This is a town with a slight chip on its shoulder on account of being passed over for top place in its voivodship and seeing Rzeszów made its administrative seat after the war. To be honest, it does have some grounds for feeling offended, since it is one of the oldest towns in Poland (10th c.), a large economic and cultural centre and an important road and rail junction. But in the demarcation of the eastern frontier following the Second World War, Przemyśl was left a little high and dry, and this has, no doubt temporarily, rather taken the wind out of its sails. Following the recent administrative reform, it has again become voivodship capital.



Nevertheless there are plenty of things worth seeing, notably a castle (16th c.), cathedral (15th–16th c.) and several other churches. Also recommended by the guidebooks is a relatively rare Diocesan Museum which contains collections of Russian icons, vestments and other objects of religious art, some of them dating back to the 12th century. A total of 544 antiquities have been assembled here.

Przemyśl's chief attraction lies, however, in its urban architecture and design which has been undisfigured by war damage (even though 30 per cent of the town was destroyed in the last war) and unspoiled by modern development. It is, as some people like to say, 'a real town'. True, but in any case it must keep growing and development schemes include a new residential district planned by Oskar Hansen who served his apprenticeship with Le Corbusier.

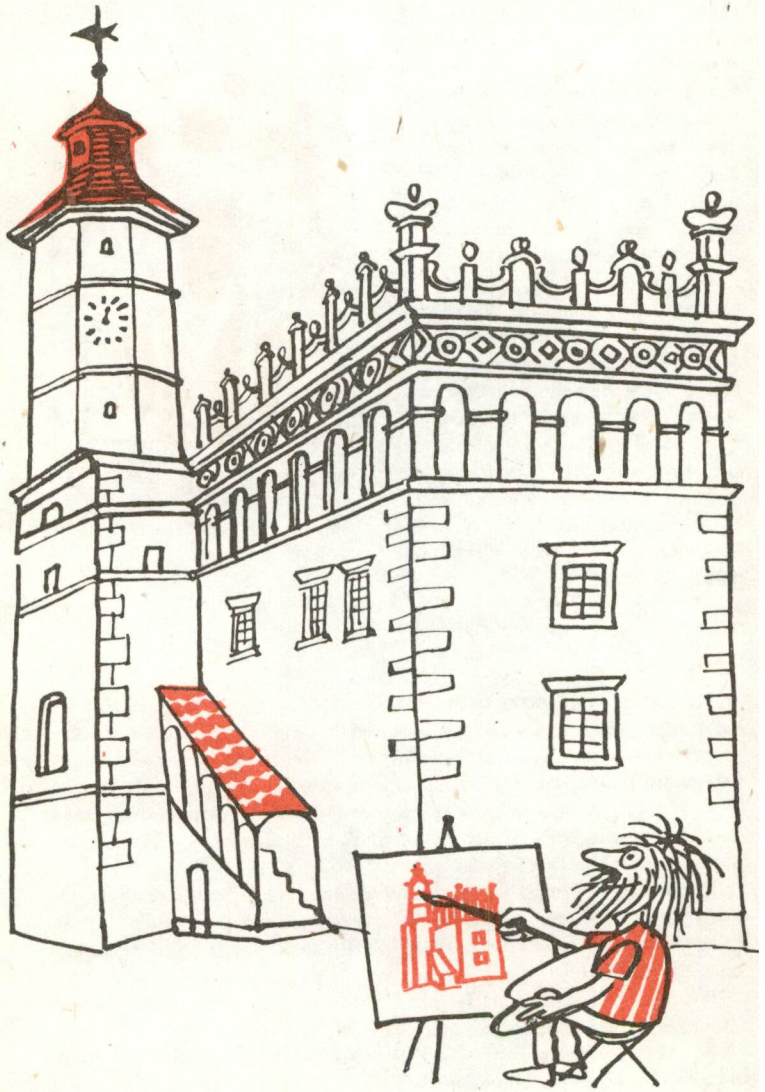
It also has a cultural tradition to strengthen its 57,000-strong population's sense of pride. A Musical Society was founded in 1868, a Dramatic Society (the 'Fredreum') in 1870, and a Friends of Learning Association in 1909.

Przemyśl has offered its hospitality to many a distinguished visitor among them the Good Soldier Schveyk – in jail.

Fourteen kilometres away lies the frontier with the Soviet Union and a busy road and rail crossing.

SANDOMIERZ

First mentioned in the chronicles as early as the 11th century, this town eventually grew to a position of great importance. Later, however, the cross-currents of history treated it none too gently. It was twice sacked by the Tartars, scourged by a dreadful plague in the 17th century, besieged by the invading Swedes, and, most recently of all, a target of military operations in both world wars.



In spite of all these frowns of fortune, Sandomierz has preserved much of its erstwhile splendour. Among the musts recommended in any baedeker are the Cathedral (1382), the house in which the medieval chronicler, Jan Długosz, once lived (1478), a Dominican abbey (1226), the church of St. Paul (1434), a Baroque Benedictine monastery and the Town Hall.

Delightful as this architecture is, the enchantment of Sandomierz comes from something that defies cataloguing: the atmosphere of a medieval town beautifully situated on a high bank, and filled and surrounded by greenery.

The attractiveness of this setting is, however, a mixed blessing. The erosion of the cliff by the river has made subsidence an ever-present danger, and architects and engineers maintain a constant alert. In recent years serious damage has been suffered with the result that major restoration and reinforcement projects, notably in the old market square, are now under way.

Sandomierz has grown into a favourite spot with tourists, especially younger ones, and artists. In the summer whenever the weather is fine, it is likely to be crowded with twice as many visitors as residents.

Apart from Jan Długosz, the town was also the home of Mikołaj Gomółka, the greatest of Polish Renaissance composers (16th c.).

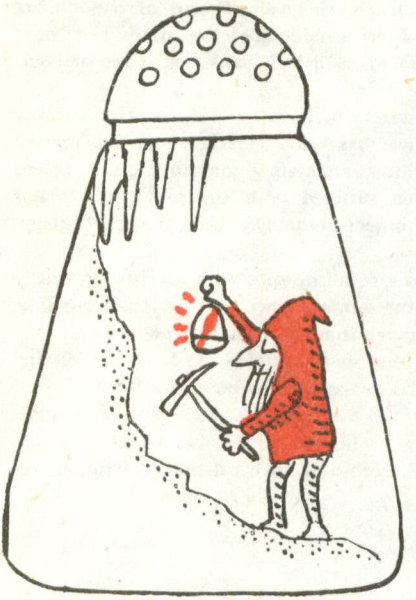
Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Colonel Skopenko, Sandomierz was spared destruction during its liberation. He was killed in action shortly afterwards and buried, according to his deathbed wish, in the town's cemetery.

WIELICZKA

Just outside Cracow, virtually on its doorstep, there is a salt mine which has been in operation since the 12th or, it might even be, the 10th century. The underground galleries contain chapels hewn out of the salt in the 17th century. Although these are not the only shrines of this kind to be seen in the world (I have even come across something similar in Colombia in South America), Wieliczka has good claims to being regarded as a unique attraction. 'The salt mines in Wieliczka,' wrote the famous 17th-century French student of heraldry, Le Laboureur 'are no less a wonder than the pyramids of Egypt, but more admirable. They are a sterling tribute to the industry of the Poles, whereas the pyramids were a product of the vainglory and tyranny of the Egyptians.'

Wieliczka has three stars in the Baedeker and draws tourists from all over the world. It has eight working levels which reach to a depth of 315 metres and the total length of its tunnels, shafts and gangways comes to 150 kilometres. Those singular chapels are to be found 60–100 metres

down and include ones dedicated to St. Anthony (built by a miner named Kuczkiewicz in 1675), the Holy Cross (containing a 17th-century crucifix carved out of salt) and the Blessed Kinga (with a nave 54 metres long). In the 135-metre gallery there is a museum with a display of old mining machinery and implements which includes a unique hoisting mechanism from the 16th century.



The marvels of this now official subterranean nature reserve include the fantastic Crystal Grottoes, halite formations the likes of which are not to be found anywhere else in the world.

The 'Warszawa' gallery, 125 metres down, is used as a ballroom and for tennis tournaments. The 'Staszic' room, just two metres lower, was turned by the Germans during the last war into a plant manufacturing aircraft components. Last but not least another part of the mine contains a sanatorium for asthma sufferers.

Wieliczka has been visited on more than one occasion by royalty such as King Casimir the Great of Poland, the German Emperor Sigismund and Eric of Denmark, to mention only three, and by many great men, Goethe for one. Today it is toured by something like 300,000 sightseers a year.

Should anybody ask the question, we can reply yes, salt is still being mined at Wieliczka. Although the pits are slowly moving outside the locality, Wieliczka has remained the symbol of Polish salt.

WILANÓW

Opinions remain divided as to whether the greatest thing that King John Sobieski ever did was to rout the Turks at Vienna or to build the palace in Wilanów. Whatever one's verdict, the fact remains that while the first achievement is now just an echo in the history-books, the other stands as large as life just outside Warsaw for all to admire.

The magnificent residence where the man who 'saved Europe from the Turks' lived with his beautiful French consort, Queen Marie Casimire

and hunted heron in the rushes skirting the Vistula, is open to the general public and well worth a visit. Apart from anything else, there hovers over this mist-wreathed, whispering sanctuary an air of melancholy which casts a spell all its own. The din of civilization fades away well short of the gates and just to be on the safe side a battery of No Entry signs makes sure no cars disturb the peace.

The Palace is one of the most magnificent monuments of architecture in Europe. Together with its grounds it carries the highest '0' rating in the international classification of historical buildings. Its harmony, proportions and atmosphere make an unforgettable impression and, since 1962, when the last scars of the damage it suffered during the war were removed, it has been a mecca for tourists. As a branch of the National Museum in Warsaw it contains, among other things, a gallery of Polish portraits and a standing exhibition of contemporary Polish sculpture.

On this site originally stood a manor house belonging to the Milanowski family, which, at the behest of the King, was converted and enlarged into a stately home by a group of architects under the Italian Locci at the end of the 17th century. The interiors were designed and



decorated by the sculptors Schluetter and Szwaner and the painters Palloni, Callot and Siemiginowski. In the following centuries new touches were added by artists like Spazzio, Fontana, Deybel, Aigner, Marconi and others.

What most astonishes every visitor is an uncanny, lived-in-feeling about the palace. All the rooms are luxuriously furnished and elegantly appointed. Fresh flowers stand in the vases, the clocks tell you the right time... Any moment you expect Queen Marie herself to appear in a doorway.

Over the front entrance there burn the golden disc and rays of an effigy of the sun. 'The Sun blazed on the shields', reads the inscription in Latin.

It blazes to this day.

WIŚLICA

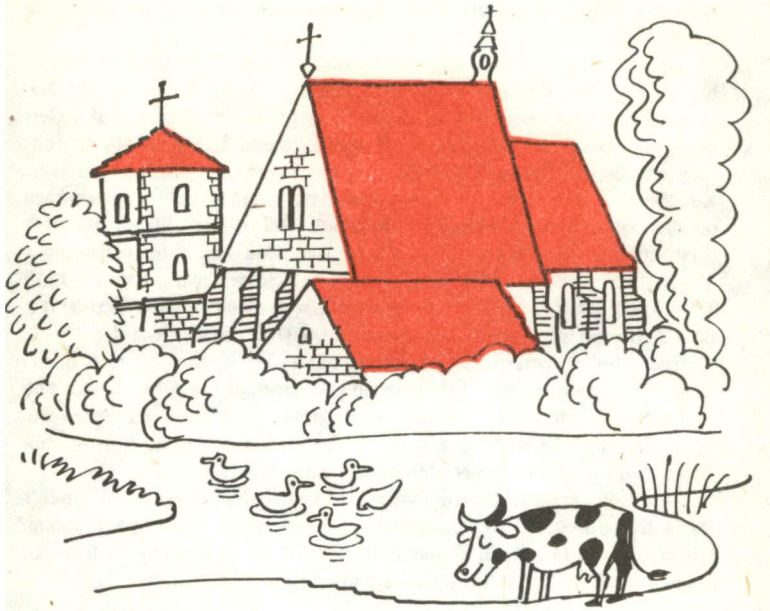
Towns have their ups and downs no less than people. Wiślica must once upon a time been one of the most important places in the territories of the Slavs; now even its municipal rights are a thing of the past. In early medieval days it was a fort and up to the end of the 18th century the demesne of a castellan. For a brief spell in the 12th century it was the seat of an independent duchy whose area extended over the whole valley of the Nida.

Today the village of Wiślica dozes on the banks of its river surrounded by treacherous marshes. If you're giving directions you say it lies 14 kilometres from the spa of Busko Zdrój near the narrow-gauge railway from Kazimierza Wielka to Pińczów. There was a moment in history when Wiślica was reduced to a bare 260 souls and it looked set to become a classic ghost town.

For all that it is a village, it is one which boasts a number of monuments which could be the envy of any metropolis, above all a collegiate church from the mid-14th century with the remains of a Ruthenian-Byzantine mural and a memorial tablet with a representation of King Casimir the Great.

But the truly eye-opening discoveries came after the last war when archaeologists unearthed traces of two rotundas of a duke. The hypothesis was guardedly advanced that Wiślica had become one of the chief towns of the Vistulans' state as early as the 9th and beginning of the 10th century and very little more evidence is now needed for a conclusive proof that Poland is in fact a hundred years older than appears from the previous records.

In 1958 the remnants of the twin-towered façade of a Romanesque building from the early 13th century were dug up; next excavations under the floor of the collegiate church produced the vestiges of an earlier Romanesque edifice complete with crypt (12th c.) in which are preserved the bases of the columns and a gypsum flooring, unique in Poland, with lithographs made from some black substance repre-



senting two scenes each with three figures. A number of other valuable finds have been made, notably a Gothic bell tower built by Jan Długosz, the foundations of an aisleless church dedicated to St. Nicholas (10th–12th century) with an apse and quadrangular chamber, and a spherical basin, perhaps, a font, from the late 9th century.

It is just over a hundred years since Wiślica was stripped of urban status. The worm is turning.

ZAMOŚĆ

From the travel guides you will learn that Zamość is in its entirety classified as a historic monument. Just like Carcassonne or Padua. Which is not all that surprising when you remember that one of its principal architects was Bernardo Morando of Padua.

It is a town that is unique by world standards, having been laid out according to classic Renaissance principles. For many years it was a powerful fortress which defied countless sieges and invasions. For two centuries it was the seat of the celebrated Zamoyski Academy.

The pride of its architecture consists of the buildings in the Great Market and its vicinity. On the northern side of the square rises a majestic town hall in the Mannerist style (17th c.) with a typically graceful tower, flanked by two rows of arcaded houses. The collegiate church of St. Thomas (16th c.) is one of the finest examples of the Polish Renaissance heritage. Far from abating, the battle for preserving and

restoring what has luckily escaped destruction has been intensified in recent years.

Zamość was the only town in Poland which was not submerged by the Swedish 'deluge' in the 17th century. In 1813, during the Napoleonic wars, it survived an 8-month siege. In the last war the Germans unleashed a savage reign of terror, doing 8,000 of its citizens to death in the Rotunda and carrying out numerous public executions. Another notorious atrocity was the attempted wholesale clearance of the countryside (1942–43), in which 293 entire villages out of a total number of 696 in the area were deported and a fearful number of children perished. The three camps for Soviet war prisoners took a toll of 50,000 lives. The whole district was scheduled for Germanization. After the war Zamość was awarded the Order of Grunwald.

Even this sanctuary of the past is not proof against modern incursions. New quarters are being developed around the Old Town. The civilization of the motor car and the espresso-machine has invaded the Great Market: the parking spaces are jammed, the ground floor of the Town Hall sports an ultra-contemporary café.

Proud old Zamość is now a voivodship town, has a branch of Lublin's Maria Skłodowska-Curie University and even an ancient zoo. No one, I imagine, would bat an eyelid if it was proposed one day to form an opera or build an international air terminal.

ŻELAZOWA WOLA

This is the place where Chopin was born (22 February 1810) in a small 18th-century manor house which now contains a museum with facsimiles of documents, portraits, period furniture – and the evocative atmosphere distilled by hallowed memories of the great composer.

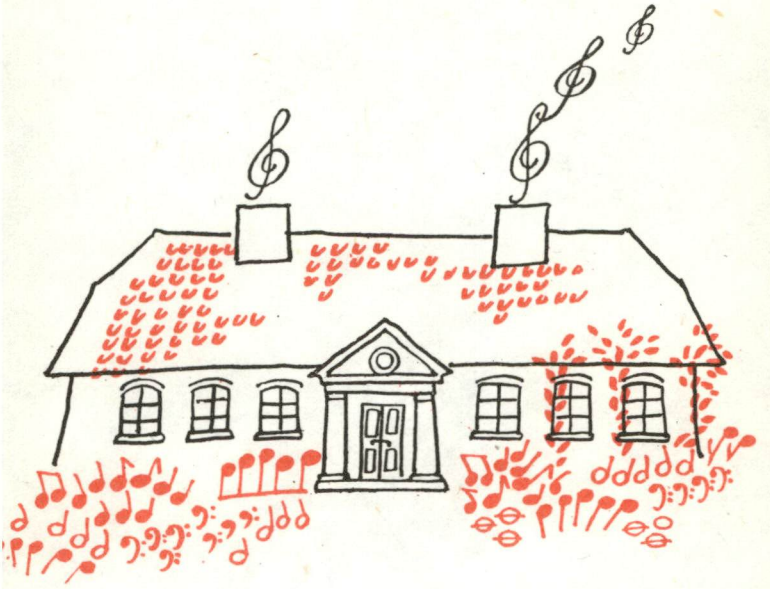
Every Sunday concerts are given in the little salon by leading Polish and foreign pianists. Visitors throng the grounds to listen to the strains of mazurkas and preludes wafting through the open door and windows.

One weekday when the place was not crowded with sightseers a poet dropped by:

One old spinet, one old court,
a piece that's sweet and short
(just a trifle, my dear sir),
one old song, one old score,
autumn leaves outside the door.
Time to go? Ah well, too bad,
and the road so long and sad!
Gloves and hat? Merci bien.
Bon soir, monsieur Chopin.

Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński was not the only man to have fallen under the spell of Żelazowa Wola. Much has been written about it and always with a note of melancholy. It is one of those rare spots in our noisy world where people are put in a pensive mood.

The manor house is surrounded by a beautiful park planted in 1935 out of donations which streamed in from the whole country. It has 10,000 different varieties of shrubs and trees, many of them rare specimens.



WHAT TO REMEMBER



ROAD TRAFFIC

The scales in the holy war between horse and automobile are slowly but surely tipping in favour of the latter. The wheels of wagons are giving way to the wheels of Fiats and Volkswagens. Nevertheless there are still many roads, especially in eastern Poland, where gaggles of carts are the plague of motorists, particularly foreign ones, who fear their shafts as though they were the horns of the devil himself. All the same their number is dwindling. The number of cars is growing, the most popular being the "babies", or the Fiat 126p's.

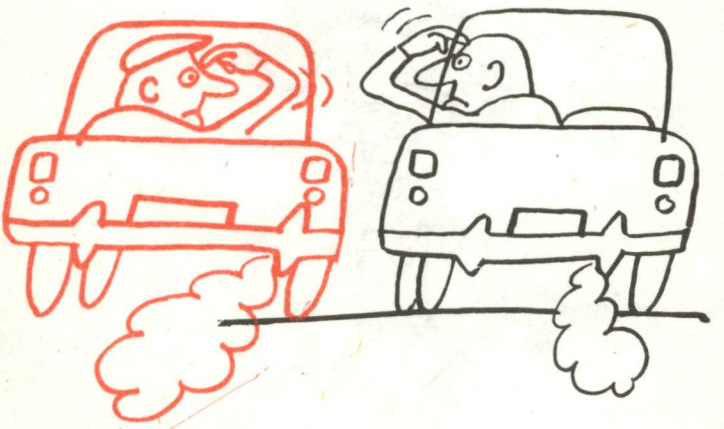
The rules of the road in Poland are substantially the same as those of the international code, though there are of course local variations – and customs.

Thus in principle we drive on the right, but since Polish drivers are always either overtaking or on the point of doing so, you may in practice begin to wonder whether you haven't by chance strayed into England.

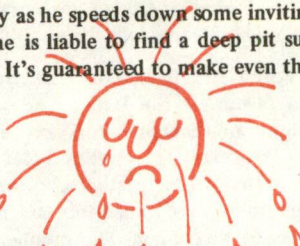
Needless to say, anyone approaching a main road is required to yield right of way. Once again, however, the exuberance and impatience of the Polish driver tends to make this a rule more honoured in the breach than the observance. The result is never a dull moment on the principal highways.

The long and the short of it is that put a Pole behind the wheel of a car and the blood rushes to his head. So the only thing to do if you find yourself on the receiving end of a furious blaring of horns, taunting catcalls with only the barest of provocation or pointed tapping of foreheads is to grin and bear it.

The roads in Poland are infinitely better than they used to be. The vast majority, even in remote areas, have improved surfaces and are excellently signposted. But just in case the motorist should start com-



plaining of monotony as he speeds down some inviting, flat-as-a-pancake stretch of higway, he is liable to find a deep pit suddenly yawning in front of his bonnet. It's guaranteed to make even the most jaded driver sit up!



CLIMATE

'It's a mild winter we're having this summer' is a sample of the kind of joke that is becoming increasingly frequent in Poland. Her inhabitants are forever complaining that something's gone wrong with the weather, that the winters are wet and snowless, the summers rainy and chilly.

If it wasn't for the fact that permanent changes of climate are being remarked in almost every part of the world, one might dismiss this sort of thing as the belly-aching of a nation of soreheads. As it is, it seems to be the case that the mechanism of the seasons has gone a little haywire in the last few decades, so that the advice about 'carrying an umbrella even when it's fine' isn't as stupid as it sounds.

The way the experts put it is that 'the physico-geographical situation results in heterogeneous masses of air converging over its territory and impinging on the entirety of atmospheric phenomena', a profoundly gnomic observation which helps to explain why the meteorologists are so often all over the place with their forecasts.

The mean annual temperature is (excluding the mountain areas) between 6 and 8.8° Centigrade. Average temperatures in July swing



from 16.5° to 19°, and in January from 0° to 4.5°. The number of days of frost is between 23 and 58. The average rainfall over a number of years comes to 600 mm., and 1200–1500 mm. in the highlands.

A typical foible of the weather in Poland is sudden changes. Temperatures have been known to jump or plummet 20° within a matter of hours.

As the man said, carry an umbrella even when it's fine.

LANGUAGE

What sort of language do the Poles speak? A very difficult one, full of sibilants, plosives and tongue-twisters, with an alphabet that contains letters peculiar to it alone (ą, ę, ż, ź, ć, ś, ń), two letters for the vowel sound 'oo' (u and ó) and consonantal diphthongs which are not pronounced as the foreigner might reasonably expect (ch, rz, sz, cz).

Polish belongs to the west-Slav group of the Indo-European languages and is spoken by about 40 million people. Its vocabulary is estimated to run to 120,000 words; some 10,000 are in educated, colloquial use – though to listen to some young people talking, one might be forgiven for thinking that they get by on no more than a hundred.

The history of written Polish begins in 1136 with the Bull of Gniezno issued by Pope Innocent II. It flowered in the middle of the 16th century when the grip of Latin, which many Poles – clergy, officials, part of the gentry – then spoke fluently began to be broken.



As in many other parts of the world the native language has often been made a target for persecution. There were times when it was risking prison to speak or write Polish.

As in France or Italy, some concern is now being voiced over the growing influx of foreign words and phrases, chiefly English and Russian. Home-coined neologisms are another source of complaint. On the other hand, there is less trouble with differences of accent, and dialects are petering out.

How living and changing a tissue the language is comes home to one most forcibly when talking with emigré Poles: if they left the country thirty or more years ago, not only are they puzzled by many words in current use, but are themselves often hard to understand.

As far as this goes a very special kind of fractured Polish is spoken by Polish Americans of long standing, eg. *moja kara stoi na kornerze* ('my car is standing on the corner') or *pojechała z bojfrendem na szoping do dałtałnu* ('she's gone shopping with her boy friend downtown').

The foreign visitor to Poland will be anxious to master a basic word list, and it would have to include such stand-bys as: *ile* ('how much'), *dokąd* ('where to'), *pan* and *pani* (polite forms of address), *proszę dać* ('please give...'), *pani jest śliczna* ('you're gorgeous'), *nie, nie ma dolarów* ('sorry, no dollars'). One of the principal verb conjugations begins: *ja cię kocham, ty mnie kochasz, on cię kocha* ('I love you, you love me, he loves you...').

We have not yet taken a leaf out of the British book and published either a 'Lover's Lexicon', the euphemistic title of a guide to seduction, or even a 'Dictionary of Insults' ('Cut it out, you old lech !', 'Could I have an extra plate for the bugs?', etc.). In these situations you are, I'm afraid, on your own.

It once happened to me in the course of my travels that I found myself being greeted by a most distinguished-looking English gentleman with a blast of profanity in my native language which he obviously took to be the height of civility. It turned out that he had picked up these little endearments during the war from the gallant Polish airmen who had served with him during the Battle of Britain.

People who are absolutely hopeless at languages had better look for places like that cinema which wooed custom with the promise of 'all-shooting, no-talking' pictures. The only snag is that this kind of movie plays all too rarely in Polish cinemas.

CUISINE

The admirable Maria Iwaszkiewicz has confided in the preface to a delightful cookery book: 'What has driven me to write about eating? It was originally the irritation induced by seeing the art of cooking wilt and perish before our eyes.' She then proceeds with notable skill and charm to compile a mouth-watering array of Polish recipes and so salvage, at least on paper, what she can from the wreckage.



Complaints of culinary blight are not something peculiar to Poland. A similar rot has set in all over the world with the growth of instant-food industries on the American model strangling the virtuosity and invention of the maestros of casserole and skillet. All of us are in a hurry, palates are growing calloused, pre-cooked and packaged soups and steaks are cheaper and less trouble.

There is, however, a certain local undertone in the Polish grumblings. The nationalization of most of the catering trade has left bars and restaurants bogged down for the moment in red tape. Nor for that matter is it only eating out that has sadly deteriorated.

Nevertheless there can still be found people who are dedicated to upholding the splendid traditions of the Polish cuisine. Born cooks keep appearing and some of them do end up practising their art in public.

No one needs to be told that we have a number of unusually delicious *specialités de la maison.* All of them are daily fare, but each has some extra seasonal connection with feasts like Christmas Eve, Ash Wednesday, Shrovetide, Easter and even New Year's Eve (a special dessert).

To give just a sample, there is clear borsch with a kind of ravioli, *bigos* (a cabbage ragout which ideally should be allowed to keep for a fortnight), *pierogi* (savoury dumplings filled with cream cheese or potatoes), poppy-seed cakes and, of course, all sorts of meat dishes, notably pot roast *à la chasseur,* braised pork with cabbage and stewed mutton.

It's worth remembering an old-Polish welcome: Eat, drink and loosen your belt.

TRAVEL TIPS

'The chief lack in Poland is a shortage of inns and hostelries in which one can obtain a comfortable night's lodging.'

These words were written in the middle of the 17th century by a French visitor to these shores named de Hauteville, and it would be pointless to pretend that he would not have grounds for the same complaint three hundred years later. The growing stream of foreign tourists and the wanderlust of the Poles themselves have outstripped the development of hotel facilities. As a result one of the facts of life that travellers need to be prepared for is that they must know every trick, never take no for an answer and leave nothing to chance.

Foreign visitors will find many of their troubles taken care of at the reception desk in the Grand Hotel on Krucza street in Warsaw. It is a good idea (though this, of course, applies to other countries as well) to make your bookings before leaving home.

Monsieur de Hauteville managed because people went out of their way to help him: we are a cordial and obliging race. His successors may have difficulties with accommodation, but they too can count on no end of good will and eagerness to please.

Fortunately there are many other areas in which the life of the tourist has ceased to be dependent on good intentions. Kind words no longer have to do duty for petrol, since there are more and more



filling stations, or friendliness make up for the absence of smooth highways, convenient airline connections, exchange counters (though this is perhaps one department where there are still any number of good Samaritans), car-hire services or gift shops.

The number of hotels is nevertheless growing steadily and many towns (e.g. Warsaw, Cracow, Wrocław, Lublin, Toruń, Bydgoszcz) have treated themselves to brand new ones. Similar investments are under way in a large number of other cities.

One of the big travel bureaux in the West has taxed us with 'doing a bad job of selling Poland', and it has a point. For many years Poland has been in the throes of redecoration and paid more attention to the furnishing of her own home than the visitors who might care to look around it. Hence the shortage of guest rooms, which are only now being fitted out. It is a country which has never lain on the tourist circuit, nor does it yet, for though it has much that is unique to offer, it is not its antiquities which are its chief rewards. The climate isn't exactly Italian either.

Its appeal has a different source: to a greater extent, I daresay, than anywhere else in Europe, travel in Poland is still an adventure. If this sound just the least bit frightening, it is also, I can assure you, wonderfully exhilarating.

Cena zł 50,–

ISBN 83-223-1891-x