March 7, 1991

MEMORANDUM

TO: CURT SMITH

FROM: CAROLYN CAWLEY

RE: AMERICAN VISITS TO POLAND/POLISH VISITS TO U.S.

I. **AMERICAN VISITS TO POLAND** -- 3 US Presidents have visited.

1972 -- President Nixon

1977 -- President Carter

1987 -- Vice President Bush
At the time, Solidarity was outlawed and VP Bush irked his Polish government hosts with public displays of support for the opposition movement. First meeting between Bush and Walesa.

1989 -- President Bush
First US President to visit in 12 years. The state of the country was in sharp contrast to his '87 visit. It was during this trip that Walesa invited him to his home for a homestyle feast of turkey, veal, pork, and beef.

II. **WALESA VISITS TO U.S.**

1983 -- Invited to deliver commencement address at Harvard, but couldn't leave Poland. Harvard printed the text in the Crimson -- see Xerox.

1989 -- First visit to America. He'd been invited many times in the past but was not allowed to leave Poland. Addressed the AFL-CIO convention.

1990 -- Second visit to the U.S. See Congressional Record Xerox for his remarks to a Joint Session of Congress.

Jan Kochanowski
created a national poetic literature in the classic and humanistic spirit.

18th century writer:
Hugo Kollataj, the real drafter of the 1791 Constitution
political reformer

Ignacy Krasicki,
poet and author of Polands first novel:
the Adventures of Mikolaj Doswiadcyzynski

Poets:

Adam Mickiewicz
fled his country with the failure of the 1830 rising against Poland's Russian rulers and became the literary leader of the Poles in exile

Juliusz Slowacki
poetic dramatist of great power and intensity, whose work revolved around the tragedy of the Polish nation

Zygmunt Krasinski
dramatist whose plays had deep political purpose. He was a prominent exponent of what has been called Polish messianism -- the view of Poland, "the Christ among the nations", as suffering, dying, and rising again

Outstainding lyric poet
Jan Kasprowicz

<u>Chopin</u>

WASHINGTON WAYS

Poles Apart No More

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

For 37.8 million Poles and their 8.2 million Polish American cousins, 1991 has all the makings of "The Year That Is."

Whatever else historians may write, two events will stand out: the visit to the United States of the first popularly elected president in the 1,000-year history of Poland and the return home—at last—of Poland's first prime minister.

During Polish President **Lech Walesa's** March 20-22 state visit, he will stop at Arlington National Cemetery to pay homage to Polish Prime Minister Ignace **Jan Paderewski**, whose remains have been interred in a cedar coffin at the base of the USS Maine Memorial since 1941 on orders of President Roosevelt "until such time as Poland was free."

Sources here said yesterday that arrangements to transfer Paderewski's body to its final resting place in Poland are nearing completion. June 27-29 ceremonies on both sides of the Atlantic will mark the departure and arrival of the revered Polish composer, pianist, humanitarian and statesman who became the symbolic reminder to millions of wartime Poles fighting and yearning for freedom.

Veterans Affairs Secretary **Edward Derwinski**, who is of Polish ancestry, is scheduled to accompany the body to Warsaw, sources said.

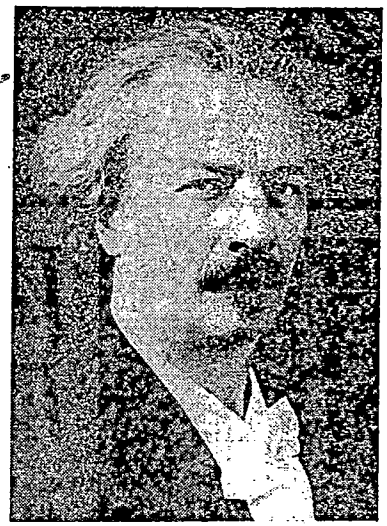
Nowadays everybody has a war story, never mind which war. Over at the National Taxpayers Union, where he is research director, **Sid Taylor's** yarn dates back to February 1941 when he was an Army recruit checking into Fort Dix, N.J. With Pearl Harbor still 10 months in the future, GI uniforms were World War I leftovers consisting of wrap-around leggings, snap-collar tunic blouses, fake wooden guns and doughboy helmets. The *pièce de résistance* was the overcoat, a garment that had been in storage so long "it stood up by itself," Taylor wrote Reps. **Les Aspin** (D-Wis.) and **Pat Schroeder** (D-Colo.) last July when there was talk of closing Fort Dix.

Describing his refusal to wear the coat, Taylor said the supply sergeant leaned over the counter and ordered him to wear it or go directly to the guardhouse. For the next 26 days until he reached Fort Benning, Ga., Taylor wouldn't have been caught dead without that coat. "I still wonder if the Pentagon may yet today have some WWI uniforms in a hidden warehouse," he wrote.

Taylor's answer came three weeks later. Dated Aug. 13, 1990, it said:

"I enjoyed reading about the supply problems you experienced as America prepared for war in 1941. That overcoat you received must have truly been a sight. On a serious note, your story illustrates the importance of maintaining a strong defense establishment, for we never know when Americans will have to defend the freedoms we hold so dear."

The signature at the bottom: "George Bush."



IGNACE PADEREWSKI

The downside is that if you're invited to the Bushes' private dinner Thursday night for Britain's **Margaret Thatcher**, forget about dining with **Queen Elizabeth II** when the Bushes entertain her in May. The upside is that if you aren't on this week's guest list, you still have a chance in May.

Thatcher is coming to town to receive the Medal of Freedom—for, among other reasons, her iron support of President Bush's determination to liberate Kuwait. ("We're behind your president 100 percent," she told national security adviser **Brent Scowcroft** in Paris last November as she hurried out of a joint media briefing with Bush at the U.S. Embassy.)

Two days later, as Bush was eating Thanksgiving dinner with American and British troops in Saudi Arabia, word reached the desert that Thatcher, in London, had announced she was stepping down as prime minister. This week's get-together is Bush and Thatcher's first since Paris. From here, she flies to speaking engagements in Dallas, Orange County and Canada.

President Bush is dusting off his passport and is about to hit the stratosphere again. The White House says Bush goes to Ottawa on March 13 for a working dinner with Prime Minister **Brian Mulroney** and to sign the U.S.-Canada acid rain accord.

From there, Bush flies directly to Martinique for a March 14 meeting with French President **Francois Mitterrand** dealing with postwar problems. Also in the works is a meeting with British Prime Minister **John Major**.

Meanwhile, **Barbara Bush** goes to McLean today to visit the Arleigh Burke Pavilion, a nursing and assisted-living facility for retired service members and their spouses. Tomorrow she flies to Florida to visit sailors aboard the aircraft carrier USS Forrestal, which leaves soon for the Middle East.

Kay Kuhlmann of Lawrence, Kan., was 10 years old when **Mamie Eisenhower** last lived in the White House. If she remembered anything at all about the former First Lady it was "this stereotype image of her as the personification of the frivolous side of the '50s." A lot Kuhlmann knew, she now says.

"She lived her life the way she wanted to live it, did her best to make it work" and in the process carved her own niche in that rarefied sorority of presidential wives. Kuhlmann, an actress and scriptwriter working on her PhD at the University of Kansas, is finding these women increasingly fascinating to portray.

On March 13, as part of the National Archives' observation of Women's History Month, Kuhlmann will appear as Mrs. Eisenhower in two performances (noon and 7:30 p.m.) of her original 1½-hour presentation, "Always a Lady." From research she did at the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kan., Kuhlmann traces five decades of Dwight and Mamie Eisenhower's lives, ranging from their courtship, which her family opposed, to their travails over the "other woman" rumors.

Kuhlmann says she deals with those rumors through a series of exchanges, using Ike's letters to Mamie (hers to him weren't saved), but she leaves it to her audiences to draw their own conclusions.

"I think it's a foggy area, and I've found so far that people come away with totally different views," says Kuhlmann, who has written a new one-woman play. This one, about Bess Truman, will premiere May 3 at the Hoover Library in West Branch, Iowa.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release March 20, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN ADDRESS TO REPUBLICAN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
AND POLITICAL LEADERS

The East Room

4:04 P.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome to the White House. Fifty-two days ago in my State of the Union address, I asked Congress to act o my agenda for economic growth. And I asked for immediate action by March 20th on a series of proposals to help rekindle the economic recovery. And I asked the Democratic leadership to put partisanship aside, pledging to do the same, in order to enact seven sensible steps to increase investment, strengthen the value of American homes and creates jobs.

Well, March 20th has arrived, and no recovery bill of any kind has come to the White House as of now.

This morning, the congressional conferees finished work on a tax bill. It would increase taxes and harm the economy. And s today I am doing three things. First, I have just signed the veto message to stop the Democrats' tax increase. (Applause.) And second, I am taking several additional steps on my own to help the recovery with or without action by Congress. And, third, while the Democratic leadership in Congress is in disarray, I am proposing action on the real challenges facing America on my long-term plans t help America compete in the global economy of the future.

Now is the time for real significant change. And I am disappointed in Congress. In fairness, some Democrats did not want to put a tax increase in the bill. And I salute them for courageously standing up against more taxes. But politics prevailed A slim majority passed the bill in the face of a certain veto. But they aren't blocking my economic recovery plan because they're afra it won't work; they're blocking it because they're afraid it will work. (Applause.)

I do not take this step lightly. No President has vetoed a major tax bill since Harry Truman did it in 1948. But I submitted an economic growth plan to Congress for a reason: to promote a recovery in which every American has an interest. The package I proposed was carefully tailored. It was paid for without raising taxes. It was designed to encourage and strengthen the positive economic signs we're beginning to see: home sales and housing starts up as interest rates stay down; retail sales improving; 164,000 new jobs last month alone.

In response, the Democratic Congress has returned to form. It's produced a bill that will not strengthen the economy; i will weaken it. It's produced a bill that will not stimulate growt it will stifle it. As if by reflex, the Democrats in Congress coul not resist their natural impulse to raise taxes. But I assure you this, I simply will not let them do it. (Applause.)

So moments ago I signed the veto message for the Democrats' tax increase, because raising taxes will not help create

MORE

jobs. And the bill is not yet here, but the conference report tells me all I need to know. And when the bill is sent down tonight, this signed message will be waiting for it and my veto will go back to the Hill the minute the bill arrives. And needless to say, I will not send it back via the House post office. (Laughter and applause.)

The message is clear: My veto and a block of votes ready to sustain it stands ready to stop any tax increase on the American people.

With that clear, I ask the Democratic leadership to put aside once and for all the idea of a tax increase. And I ask the Congress again, pass the seven common-sense measures that I have proposed to help the economy now. Do so without raising taxes and I'll sign it. And then let's get on to the long-term agenda. But stop holding the American economy hostage in a partisan game. (Applause.)

Passing a tax increase is bad enough, but here's what really troubles me: the irresponsibility of Congress on this plan. It's a part of a pattern. It reflects a more serious problem, a deeper, systemic problem that is gnawing at the strength of our nation. It is no wonder that Americans are angry.

Today, looking at the accumulated evidence of several years, it must be said our congressional system is broken. We have a long tradition in this country of pulling together when national need demands that we do so. And over the years, many accomplishments, large and small, have been truly bipartisan.

But Congress today is different. It's more partisan. Its campaigns are financed by special interests. It's grown out of control. It's lost the ability to police itself. And perhaps most importantly, it is no longer accountable to individual American citizens and voters. And this must change.

One party has controlled the House of Representatives for almost four decades. Staff has become institutionalized. In 1950 there were about 2,000 personal staff in Congress. And today, there are almost 12,000 staff for members of Congress themselves, and almost 40,000, if you include the entire Legislative Branch. The number of committees and subcommittees has quadrupled.

And for this, we get a Congress incapable of passing the simple plan that I presented almost two months ago -- a Congress controlled by the Democratic caucus which cannot manage a tiny bank or a tiny post office. (Applause.)

In the 1990 elections, special interest political action committees -- PACs -- gave almost $117 million to incumbent congressmen and senators. Only about $15 million were donated to challengers. With this eight-to-one spending advantage, obvious voter discontent was buried in a wave of PAC-financed television advertising. And so nearly every incumbent won.

The time has come for change, because when the system is broken you do have to fix it. And I have proposed to eliminate the PACs which are poisoning our system. And the time has come to eliminate these political action committees in their entirety.

And I propose also to increase accountability. I'm ordering several steps to implement promptly the Supreme Court's Beck decision. (Applause.) No worker should be forced to have money taken out of his or her paycheck to fund politicians that he or she disagrees with. We should apply to Congress the same laws from employment practices, to civil rights, to the Freedom of Information Act, which it imposes on everyone else. (Applause.)

MORE

And I believe the time has come to limit the terms of congressmen. (Applause.) The terms of presidents are limited. It's time for the terms of congressmen to be limited.

The bottom line is that we all need a new Congress, one that can and will work with me for constructive change. And in the meantime, I will take additional actions on my own with every legal means at my disposal to keep the economy moving up. And I will do so in spite of the hopelessly tangled congressional web of PACs, perks, privileges partnership and paralysis. (Laughter.)

There is, of course, a serious limit on what a president can do without Congress. But I am determined to do all I can to effect change. And first, I want to underline a fundamental point: Government is too big and it spends too much. (Applause.)

I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal employment next year. (Applause.) And I've also proposed to curb the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. Mandatory spending -- spending on programs that need no annual congressional action to keep growing -- consumes almost two-thirds of the entire federal budget. Over the next decade, this spending, if left unchecked, will grow by $2 trillion more than is needed for inflation and new beneficiaries.

Currently, most of these programs grow automatically without congressional review or even a chance for a presidential veto.

My proposal, which is before Congress now, would permit these programs to grow for inflation and new beneficiaries and, where necessary, some amount above that. But we need some ceiling to keep their growth within reasonable bounds. Uncontrollable spending is a major cause of the federal deficit that I'm working to contain and it must be addressed. (Applause.)

Today I am sending to Capitol Hill the first of a series of additional measures to cut federal spending now, this year. I have also directed all agency heads to look for further areas where spending cuts can be made now. The line item rescissions, identified so far in total, will cancel out about $4 billion in unnecessary spending -- funds for local parking garages, $100,000 for asparagus yield declines, mink research, prickly pear research. The examples would be funny if the effect weren't so serious. And this kind of wasteful spending destroys public confidence in the integrity of the government. And Americans have every right to be outraged and disgusted. It's their money.

And I will work with the Republicans in the House to bring these items to a vote individually. Forcing the Democratic leadership to allow line-by-line votes on items of pork will bring us a step closer to the accountability and the power that 43 governors have, the line-item veto. (Applause.)

Some argue that the President already has that authority, the line-item veto authority, but our able Attorney General in whom I have full confidence and my trusted White House Counsel backed up by legal opinions from most of the legal scholars, feel that I do not have that line-item veto authority. And this opinion was shared by the Attorney General in the previous administration.

And I ask the American people then to demand that a president be given line-item veto authority legislatively or, if necessary, by changing the Constitution. The line-item veto is essential, and I need it now. (Applause.)

MORE

And secondly, I've directed the Vice President to step up the assault on unnecessary regulation and paperwork. Let me give you a progress report that he gave to me -- and he's doing a superb job on this. Though some in Congress oppose regulatory relief, I've already taken specific steps to remove the regulatory roadblocks to growth. We've implemented plans to promote biotechnology, to lower construction costs, help small business, ease the credit crunch, hel clean up the air, reduce costs in transportation, and cut through th morass of regulation and agriculture.

And today, we're launching a new public-private partnership to promote research and development by bringing the good ideas from our federal labs into the marketplace. Over the coming months, we will be announcing many more such steps to chop away at needless regulation and paperwork wherever we can. Too much regulation smothers innovation, eliminates jobs, and makes America less competitive.

I realize that these are only modest steps, but they reflect a fundamental attitude. And if the Democratic leadership that runs the status quo Congress will not help us change America, w have to change it without them. And if the Democratic leadership that runs the status quo Congress will not help us reform government we must reform it without them.

You see, change is nothing to fear. For more than two centuries, America has been a force for change. Our restlessness is legendary. Our energy is boundless. Because of this, today America even given our economic problems, is the most productive nation on the face of the Earth, with the highest standard of living. And we have only one-twentieth of the world's population. But we produce one-fourth of the world's output. Twice that of Japan; four times that of Germany.

Today America's credibility and prestige in the world, not to mention our strength, have never been greater. But we didn't get where we are by standing still. We got where we are by always striving to do better. And that's why the current paralysis of the Congress, controlled over and over again by that liberal Democratic majority, is so troubling.

It's caused too many Americans, at the exact moment of triumph for American values around the world, to lose confidence. Americans are understandably worried about their future -- not only about the economy right now; all of that is a key problem -- but about the economic competition of the future; about the central question that lies at the heart of the American Dream: Will our children have a better life than we do?

Make no mistake: We will compete and win in the globa economy. In the last 10 years we've become more productive. Our exports have more than doubled. Manufacturing productivity has increased. And we are capturing new markets around the world from Europe to Africa to Latin America.

But in order to keep succeeding in this global economic competition we've got to change America in five key ways. We need a strategy that is confident, forward-looking, future-oriented, and we need to be willing to change.

First, we must expand markets for American products. I will continue to pursue a GATT agreement to open markets further. I will push for a North American Free Trade Agreement to unlock the potential of markets in Mexico and Canada. And I will work for bilateral agreements to knock down barriers to American exports.

To win these markets we must guarantee that America wi lead the world in knowledge, in new ideas, in making products of th

highest quality. And that requires specific investments today. I'v proposed to invest more in basic R&D -- research and development -- and in key technologies like high-performance computing, new and advanced materials in biotechnology.

Congress should approve these investments. And not on the government must invest more in the future. To maintain our edge by increasing private sector investment, Congress should pass the capital gains tax cut and make the R&D tax credit permanent. (Applause.)

And second, we must prepare our work force to compete, through better education, better training. And I've proposed a set of dramatic reforms in education called America 2000, and a new approach to job training -- Job Training 2000. The idea of America 2000 is simple: to revolutionize American education. And that mea creating new kinds of schools with new technology and new ways of learning. It means measuring progress and holding schools accountable for their performance. And it means giving all families including low- and middle-income families, choice in picking their children's schools. (Applause.)

We've put the resources behind our efforts. Although budget dollars are very tough, education is so important to me that I've increased funding -- funding for education -- by 42 percent jus since 1989, and gave it the biggest increase this year. I put in place a new program to help train teachers in math and science, and increased funding for math and science education by over 69 percent

But more money alone won't do it. We need reform.

And thirdly, we must reform health care. America has provided the best quality health care in the entire world. But we are plagued by two problems: Too many Americans are not covered by health insurance, and health care costs too much. And I have proposed a comprehensive plan to make health care more affordable, more available, more sensible. It guarantees access for affordable health care, affordable health insurance for all Americans. Congres should pass it, and that will help our competitiveness all around t world.

Fourth, we've got to fix our legal system. America is drowning in a sea of litigation. Too many lawsuits means higher prices for consumers and reduced competitiveness for all America. I is estimated that fear of medical practice alone generates up to about $20 billion per year in increased health costs. This must change. In some cases we should require the loser to pay the winner's legal fees, and that would stop some of these frivolous lawsuits. (Applause.)

You know the problem. When parents won't coach little league teams, when obstetricians won't deliver babies, and when community pools are closed in the summertime, all because the fear c liability, we know that something is wrong. And now is the time for Congress to pass my legislation to fix it.

And fifth, we must tackle each of these challenges without higher taxes or more government spending. (Applause.) America doesn't need bigger government it needs better government. (Applause.) On every one of these issues the Democrats in Congress are standing in the way of reform. They've cut my budgets for R&D and investing in the future and then voted instead for pork.

They've stripped choice and accountability out of the education bill. They are working on a government takeover as a solution to our health care program, to be financed by a massive tax increase. And the special interests have made them afraid of legal reform. Well, it is time for Congress to either lead, to follow, o simply get out of the way. (Applause.)

On every one of these challenges there are two very different ways of looking at the world, one is reformist and the other protects the status quo. And that difference is driven by values.

The special interests and the foot-draggers do not believe in the kind of change that we seek. Change which respects markets more than government dictates; which recognizes fundamental American values and the difference between right and wrong; which rewards excellence and punishes wrong-doing. They do not believe that actions should have consequences.

Well, one set of actions should have consequences. Th failure of Congress to move on our program of change means only one thing: it is time for a new Congress. Give others a chance to control the United States Congress. (Applause.)

You give me the right lawmakers and I'll give you the right laws. (Laughter.)

Over the coming weeks I'll be speaking more about thes changes and I'll be laying out further specific plans that I have f each. And I ask the American people to compare those plans to the response of the Democratic-led status quo Congress and the do-nothi caucus that has dominated that Democratic Party for too long.

Patrick Henry said, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Well, Patrick Henry was righ Imagine the irony. As the world is beating a path to freedom's doo if we, ourselves, were to turn back now. If we carry the change forward we can have a nation of productive workers and competitive companies, of healthy and secure communities, of schools that are t best in the entire world. And America can remain a nation whose exuberant confidence and commitment to freedom are admired worldwic

I am ready to build such an America. And because if w can change the world, we can change America.

Thank you all. And may God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

END 4:34 P.M. I

Please read + comment ASAP Thanks

Embassy of Poland 202/234-3800 234-3857 (Vija)

(Smith/Cawley)
March 12, 1991
8 A.M.
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL
SOUTH LAWN
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991
10:00 ~~P~~.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, you became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // Today, you return as Poland's first elected President. Reaffirming the values of tolerance, opportunity, and self-determination. // Values which underscore the dignity of man. //

You fought for them in Gdansk. Because you knew that liberty could light the darkest night. / And from Crakow to Warsaw. For you upheld that faith which links the people of Poland with the peoples of the world. // You were bullied, but never beaten -- for you believed in the rights endowed by our Creator. The freedom to think, dream, and worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders our destinies. Mr. President, to the tragedy of Poland, you proclaimed the victory of Poland. /

Today, we celebrate that victory -- and moreover, our intent to build on its beginnings. Your wife, Danuta, has said it best:

"You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // That something is a solidarity of spirit -- a solidarity transforming Poland. An a unanimity of purpose which has amazed the world. // Millions have gathered in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns to sing of you, "Sto lat." May he live 100 years." // Our task is to help freedom live still longer. //

Sto' lat

Recently, you did exactly that through your valor in the Persian Gulf. // Or as I wrote to you __ days ago, "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal revsolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood how Kuwait -- like Poland -- could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition which won a just war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom receipient -- Margaret Thatcher -- has said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland enrich the New World Order. //

For that I thank you on behalf of each American. Yet we know, too, that Poland must build a new domestic order. // In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. You spoke of political reform / calling for fully free parliamentary elections to be held as soon as possible. / And economic reform. / Where both of us believe in trade -- not simply aid. In your address to Congress you said, "We are not

expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. / So we applaud your recent agreement with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt -- and look forward to finding new ways to strengthen old commercial ties. /

We will talk today also of the intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Today, for instance, 120 Peace Corps volunteers are serving in Poland -- one of the largest groups in any country. Let them be an example of how cooperation can fuse our Nations. / Finally, spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. So that our two peoples -- one older; both brave; both linked by belief in God -- can remain a light unto the world. //

Think of America. For two centuries these ideals have inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and Dwight Eisenhower. And for nearly 1,025 years the Poland of Chopin and Father Kolbe and His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. // I am reminded of how in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history -- a great Polish patriot crossed the Atlantic. He brought with him a simple three-word message. / Today -- 200 years later -- America is proud to return General Kosciusko's message to the country of its birth. "Wolnosc. Wlasnosc. Niepodleglosc." // Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. Words which speak to aspirations to all peoples and all times. //

These words inspired our coalition in the Gulf. / Form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles which we will

sign tomorrow. / Show why our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free. // How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciusko's Act of Insurrection? How can mere force outlast beliefs forged on the rights of man -- on the inviability of the heart? //

Mr. President, they cannot, will not. Not in Gdansk, nor Budapest, nor in the Baltics, nor the Gulf. / I have talked so far of the universal language of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. Let me conclude with another universal language -- music -- and of a story which speaks of the liberty that can bless your seven children, and my five -- and my twelve grand-kids, and your __ -- indeed, all the children of the world. //

Fifty years ago, the great Polish pianist and composer, Jan Paderewski, died in America at the age of eighty. He declared in his will that although his heart was to remain forever in America -- his body should return to his native Poland when -- and only when -- that land was independent and free. //

When Paderewski died, President Rooseevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / Today, his heart rests in Doylestown, Pennsylvania. But his remains will return this year to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the half-century anniversary of his death. //

In life, this heroic man aided Polish war victims / served as president of its parliament in exile / sought to make Poland

the Nation she has again become. / In death, he reminds us of how this year marks the 200th anniversary of Poland's first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and how brutality is powerless against that which is righteous, and free.

Mr. President, during the fight led by Kosciusko, Poles would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found -- because men like you still live. // God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United States of America. //

# # # #

o **GENERAL KOSCIUSZKO/ACT OF INSURRECTION/NATIONAL ANTHEM**

General Kosciuszko, if you recall, was the Polish soldier who fought with us in the Revolutinary War -- we used the Jefferson quote to him in the Westinghouse remarks.

After our war, he returned to lead the fight for Poland, secretly crossing the border in 1794. He appeared in Cracow/Krakow on March 23.

"The next day, amid the ovations of the people gathered in the city square, hesolemnly took office as Commander-in-Chiefof the Insurrection and swore before "God and the innocentpassion of His Son...not to use the power entrusted to himfor any personal oppression, but only...for the defense of the integrity of the boundaries, the regaining of the independence of the nation and the founding of universal freedom."

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

"The Act, especially in its opening paragraphs, strongly resembles the Declaration of Independence (ideas which he brought with him from America). Its definitions of political maxims, its whole tenor, are primarily based on American political literature of the Revolutionary era."

((More on this to come...awaiting a fax.))

"Kosciuszko's life spanned the entire era of 18th century democratic revolutions, of which he remains one of the most outstanding figures. It is an irony of history that his ideas were ahead of his time and of his homeland." **This "ahead of his time" language would make a nice transition to "well, President Walesa, that time has come. Poland is free and democratic, living up to the dream of those like Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Dabrowski, etc etc etc... the eagle is back etc etc...andthen go on to the return of Paderewski's remains.**

o **THE CONSTITUTION**

The new government does not have new Constituition yet, but they are adhering to the "May 3, 1791" Constitution. This document has enormous symbolic valueto the people of Poland -- it comes from the Enlightenment Period and includes such things as the basic rights of man.

On May 3, 1791, in a carefully organized plot, the liberals voted through Parliament a new constitution, the first written constitution in Europe, and the second in the world, after America's, upon which it was closely modeled.

Known and revered throughout Poland today as the "3rd May Constitution" (in 1981, Solidarity demanded that May 3 be celebrated as the national holiday rather than the Communist holiday of May 1), this document was nothing short of revolutionary. It provided the country with advanced social and political forms unknown elsewhere.

This year marks its bicentennial, and celebration will be great.

DABROWSKI/NATIONAL ANTHEM

During the fight led by Kosciuszko, Poles used to sing "Poland is not lost while Poles still live" -- and its still sung to this day.

The Polish national anthem is known as Dabrowski's Mazurka. It became official in 1926 and it's opening lines are "Poland has not yet perished, as long as we live."

European tour.

Details Upcoming

White House officials said that although the broad outline of the proposal was prepared in time for today's speech, specific details are yet to be drawn up for broad international action, and that it is uncertain whether the $100-million fund that Bush plans to unveil will be in the form of loans or grants.

Greeted by Jaruzelski

As Bush stepped from Air Force One at Warsaw's Okecie Airport on a warm, humid evening, he was greeted by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Communist Party leader. Also in the welcoming party was Andrzej Wielowieyski, deputy Speaker of Poland's new freely elected Senate and an adviser to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. It was the first time a Solidarity representative has been included at an official Polish state welcome.

Upbeat as he embarked on his second trip as President to the changing Communist world, Bush referred to the political reforms that have shaken Poland in the past three months, declaring at the welcoming ceremony:

"These are great days for Poland. Solidarity is again legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections.

"Poland is making its own history," he said. "And America, and the whole world, is watching."

Jaruzelski, whose once-sure shot at the Polish presidency is now up in the air as a result of the political turmoil, told Bush: "You are arriving in a country in which a process of basic change is at work. You are going to see a Poland that is following with determination profound socio-political and economic reforms."

Describing democratization and reconciliation as an "indispensable promise," Jaruzelski said that "our Polish transformations are aided by positive trends of detente in the international arena."

Call for 'Working Together'

And, he said, Poland subscribed to the idea that "the philosophy of enmity should be replaced by that of rapprochement and working together."

For Bush, who was accompanied by First Lady Barbara Bush, the two-day visit to Poland offers a sharp contrast to his previous journey here, in September, 1987. At that time, Solidarity was outlawed, and the then-vice president of the United States irked his Polish government hosts with public displays of support for the opposition movement.

But despite the sudden shifts in the political climate here -- parliamentary elections produced an overwhelming victory for Solidarity, which took 98 of the 100 seats in the newly constituted Senate -- the President is still treading a narrow line. His goal is to avoid pressing the Communist leadership too hard

Much as he did during his first overseas trip as President, when he visited China in February, Bush is focusing on the political and economic reforms occurring in the Communist world -- in this case, in Poland and Hungary. He is also calling for an end to the ideological, political, and economic barriers that have divided the European Continent for four decades.

"Here in the heart of Europe, the American people have a fervent wish: that Europe be whole and free," Bush said.

In an interview with four Hungarian reporters before he left the United States, Bush, however, reflected the sensitivity of appearing too demanding.

Not a President's Role

"It is not an American President's role to say to those in another county, 'you have to have your system this way, matching our system, or else we can't do business with you.' That is not my role," he said.

"It would be inappropriate for the President of the United States," he said, "to try to fine-tune for the people of Hungary how they ought to eat -- how the cow ought to eat the cabbage, as we say in the United States. "

Bush's visit to Hungary will be the first by an American president. His visit to Poland is the third, following one by Richard M. Nixon in 1972 and another by Jimmy Carter in 1977.

It was on Carter's arrival that a State Department interpreter, in a mistaken translation, said in Polish as he worked through Carter's speech: "I have come not only to express our own views to the people of Poland but also to learn your opinion and the understanding of your lusts."

GRAPHIC: Photo, COLOR, President Bush, escorted by Polish leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, right, upon arrival in Warsaw where Bush is pressing ahead with his call for a Europe that is "whole and free." Associated Press

OFFICIAL VISITS; UNITED STATES -- FOREIGN AID -- POLAND; EUROPE; POLAND -- ECONOMY; POLAND -- GOVERNMENT; POLAND -- ELECTIONS; SOLIDARITY (UNION); GOVERNMENT REFORM; COMMUNIST PARTY (POLAND); BUSH, GEORGE; JARUZELSKI, WOJCIECH

12TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

May 2, 1989, Tuesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 145 words

HEADLINE: Polish Union Leader To Visit U.S. ; Attend AFL-CIO Convention

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Walesa-U.S.

BODY:

Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's Solidarity union, will make his first visit to the United States in November and address the AFL-CIO's convention in Washington, a federation spokeswoman said today.

AFL-CIO spokeswoman Lorrie McHugh said a Solidarity representative accepted the invitation on behalf of Walesa on Monday. AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland was to announce the planned visit today after the first day of the spring meeting of the federation's governining body.

The AFL-CIO has invited Walesa to visit the United States several times in the past but he has not been allowed to leave Poland, AFL-CIO officials said. Kirkland also has been denied a visa to visit Poland.

But Solidarity, outlawed since its inception in the early 1980s, was recognized this year by the Polish government and Walesa recently has been allowed to travel outside of the country.

11TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Advance Test of Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Gdansk, Poland

25 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1082

July 11, 1989

LENGTH: 362 words

This has been the first visit of an American President to Poland in almost 12 years. That, in itself, is something of a milestone. And it has been a great honor to be here. But what has made this visit most noteworthy, in my mind, are the extraordinary opportunities and challenges now faced by Poland and her people. In my 2 days here, I met with leaders of a government that is both responsive and responsible, and determined that Poland shall find her own road to recovery.

I met with the chairman of the Free Solidarity Trade Union, Lech Walesa, whose courage and moral guidance have carried Poland's people from the dark of night to the threshold of a brilliant future. I met with Senators and Parliamentary leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized. We discussed their new and weighty responsibilities as Poland enters a new era. And I met with Polish citizens, from all walks of life, including the citizens of the great city of Gdansk, at a monument to courage and freedom.

Poland is blazing her own path to a better life for all of her people. With every meeting, with every conversation, we have had meaningful discussions about the possibilities and challenges of Poland's unique experiment in reform. I have explained that the United States will respond with specific, appropriate measures designed to encourage future economic and political reform, reform that is crucial to Poland's long term economic health. But the real work begins now, as Poland joins the community of nations committed to open elections and open markets and the open exchange of ideas.

I add my voice to those of so many around the world who are impressed with Poland's courage and committed to help a great nation fulfill its destiny. Poland's wisdom and strength will be tested. But such a nation, fully engaged in such an enterprise, need only summon the will of her people to succeed. The world watches, confident that they will triumph.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 4:50 p.m. on the tarmac of Gdansk Airport. The Office of the Press Secretary has issued this advance text, but a transcript of the actual address has not been released.

28TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Reuter Library Report

July 10, 1989, Monday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 537 words

HEADLINE: BUSH MEETS JARUZELSKI AS DEBT IS DEFERRED

BYLINE: By Michael Gelb

DATELINE: WARSAW, July 10

KEYWORD:
BUSH

BODY:

The United States agreed to defer one billion dollars of Poland's overdue debt repayments as President George Bush met General Wojciech Jaruzelski on Monday for talks on the country's political and economic future.

Bush, the first U.S. president to visit Poland since Jimmy Carter in 1977, had nearly an hour of private talks with the Polish Communist Party leader on the first full day of his visit.

Secretary of State James Baker and Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski signed two agreements formally deferring repayments of one billion dollars in overdue debt to U.S. government agencies.

Under the agreement, payments that were due in 1985 and over a three-year period beginning in 1986 will be deferred for five years.

The bulk of the money is owed to the Commodity Credit Corporation and the U.S. Export-Import Bank -- government agencies that promote exports by providing favourable credit terms.

Bush was also set to discuss possible U.S. and international assistance for the struggling Polish economy in an address to the parliament later on Monday.

One senior U.S. official said the president would discuss possible relief of a portion of Poland's 39-billion-dollar foreign debt.

In April, Bush unveiled a modest economic aid package in a bid to promote continued economic and political liberalisation in Poland. Polish officials have been seeking an expansion of U.S. aid.

But Bush and his aides have made clear that Poland will not receive massive sums of American aid. U.S. officials have stressed the need for internal austerity measures, and Bush said on arrival on Sunday night that Poles would have to make further sacrifices.

The U.S. leader, who has vowed to do everything in his power "to open the closed societies of the East", was greeted by warm crowds at every stop in Warsaw.

About 2,000 Poles turned out for Bush's arrival at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. The cheered robustly at the playing of the U.S. national anthem, belted out a few verses of "America the Beautiful", waved American flags and chanted "long live the president".

The president also laid a wreath at the Umschlagplatz memorial to Polish Jews shipped from the Warsaw ghetto to their death in Nazi concentration camps during World War Two.

Jaruzelski's 1981 declaration of martial law and suppression of the Solidarity free trade union led to a major rift in U.S.-Polish relations.

But the Polish leader, in cooperation with a revived Solidarity, is now a key force in a political reform movement that has resulted in the country's first free election in over 40 years.

Bush praised Jaruzelski on Sunday for his "wisdom and courage" in supporting an election process that resulted in a humiliating defeat for the Communist Party.

The Solidarity opposition candidates won 260 of the 261 parliamentary seats they contested in last month's balloting.

Bush is in Poland for the first stop in a 10-day tour of Europe that takes him to Hungary, another East Bloc country in the midst of political and economic liberalisation, and the July 14-16 economic summit of the industrial democracies in Paris.

He is also due to make a one-day stop in the Netherlands before returning to Washington on July 18.

SUBJECT:
DIPLOMATIC; ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

4TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall of Hungary

ED'S

26 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1613

October 18, 1990

LENGTH: 1863 words

The President. Mr. Prime Minister, it's a tremendous pleasure to welcome you and your wife Klara to the White House today.

Seven years ago, I became the highest ranking American official to visit Hungary and, last year, the first American President to journey there. Even though it was pouring rain when we arrived in Kossuth Square, the people of Hungary gave us a very warm welcome. Barbara and I have seen few cities more lovely than Budapest; and we've seldom seen a city more alive -- alive with commerce, change, and above all hope; alive with a people who believe that, like a lamp lighting the darkest night, liberty can light the globe.

The arrival at the White House of the first democratically elected Prime Minister of Hungary in over 40 years is, indeed, sir, an historic event; and it brings to mind the arrival 138 years ago of another Hungarian patriot at another house which embodies freedom, the Congress of the United States. That man was Lajos Kossuth. His statue stood behind us that day in the rain in Budapest, in the square that bears his name. And in today's historic meeting, his memory lifts us and teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery and of dreams. He knew that a courageous people would not bow to bayonets and barbed wire, and he knew that the light of liberty would shine forever.

Today in your homeland, from the streets of Budapest to the great plains to the waters of the Danube and the gentle towns that grace its banks, Hungary's new patriots believe that all things are possible for a nation and for a people; and they proclaim the individual, not the state, as the voice of tomorrow. Today, in Hungary, that voice is being heard. Hungary is no longer an emergency democracy; Hungary is a democracy. The government you head is a sovereign, pluralistic, democratic European state. The dream of Hungarians has been fulfilled and carried beyond their own borders to others in central Europe. And now, in 1990, Hungary has taken its natural place as a valued member of the commonwealth of free nations.

During our visit to Budapest, we saw the Hungarian love of excellence in careful craftsmanship, in bountiful harvests from family farms, in the pride of scientists in their work. And American companies have already demonstrated their faith in Hungary's economic potential by committing well over half a billion dollars in new investments. General Electric is making lightbulbs in a joint venture with Hungarian firm Tungsram. General Motors is producing auto parts there. And I encourage more American businesses to find out what Hungary has to offer.

Prime Minister Antall's government has demonstrated its determination to integrate Hungary into the global market by developing an ambitious economic reform program, and we pledge our continuing support for your courageous

efforts. The Hungarian-American Enterprise Fund has announced its first investment in a joint venture to market high-tech equipment. For the new fiscal year, our administration has asked Congress for a $300 million economic aid package for eastern Europe. Our Regional Environmental Center in Budapest commenced operations last month. And we are offering $47.5 million in credits for the purchase of about 500,000 tons of feed grains to compensate for the effects of the severe drought that Hungary has experienced this year.

And we also know that, like all of us, Hungary and the other new democracies of central Europe are paying a high price for resolutely supporting the United Nations sanctions against Iraq. And we understand that the loss of export markets and rising energy costs complicate your historic effort to transform a centrally planned economic system to a free-market economy. And so, to help ease this burden, I am announcing today that the United States is asking the International Monetary Fund to increase its lending to the countries of the region by as much as $5 billion, modifying its lending policies as appropriate. And we also asked the World Bank to accelerate its assistance in the energy field, drawing on the $9 billion now committed to central and eastern Europe.

The United States has been a partner of Europe for most of this century and will remain so. And we welcome Hungary and the other new democracies into a new partnership in a new Europe -- a Europe whole and free. The United States is committed to helping you find a secure place in the new Europe and is building with you a new era of U.S.-Hungary relations. In that regard, I am pleased to announce the lifting of the travel restrictions for Hungarian diplomats and our agreement to your request to establish an Hungarian consulate general in Los Angeles.

And so, Mr. Prime Minister, we welcome you amid dramatic times. We welcome you amid a feeling of hope and promise. And as old friends and as new partners, we welcome you amid a spirit of cooperation, looking forward to these conversations that lie ahead.

And when Kossuth came to America, his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. And in New York harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. Thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time believed in helping individuals and nations who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like Hungarians and Americans today, were determined to ensure that the light of liberty will shine forever.

So, welcome to America, Mr. Prime Minister; and Gos bless the friendship between our two nations. Thank you.

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, I feel sincerely moved when standing here in the garden of the White House on this occasion when you are receiving here the Prime Minister of Hungary, the first freely elected Prime Minister of our free government.

We are proud of the fact that all the American ideals of liberty, those ideals that used to be the constitutional treatise and credo of Washington, Jefferson, and all the other famous American statesmen, belong also to us.

We are proud of the fact that whenever you remember the wars, the battles you came out as the triumphant party of, you and Hungarians taking side with you, in support of you, who were there with you at those triumphant battles and wars.

We are also proud of the fact that a soldier of Hungarian origin, Milahy Kovacs, who fought in your War of Independence. Yesterday we also felt very much moved when paying tribute at the memory of your heroes in the cemetery and, at the same time, we could also salute the memory of Hungarian heroes there.

We also take pride in the fact that there were also many Hungarians contributing to building up your country. Whatever has been done in order to make your country, the United States, be a great power had contribution on behalf of Hungarian military men, Hungarian workers, Hungarian farmers, as well as from Hungarian scientists.

Mr. President, you have just spoken about Lajos Kossuth, and you also recalled your visit in Budapest. When standing in front of the statute of Lajos Kossuth, you delivered your speech there. Lajos Kossuth represents freedom and liberty for everyone. It happens not by chance that it is exactly the personality of Lajos Kossuth that binds us together, because that is a token and symbol of freedom for both Hungarians and Americans.

The era that created Lajos Kossuth, in fact, forms part of the Hungarian historic mythology. Therefore, should there be any matter related to any war of liberation or revolution, we always return to that particular period of our history. It happened like that also in the year of 1956, when Hungary, as one nation, took arms and started to fight the Soviets and made an attempt on that occasion to establish the independent Hungarian democracy. It was that which has brought us the spirituality, during which we, after a period of more than three decades, set out in our country to demolish the building of dictatorship.

On this occasion, I would like to express my thanks to you because -- [inaudible] -- seems the time when America recognized that the Soviet power had been extended onto the regions of eastern and central Europe and through all the peoples living in that region has been very persistent in trying to defend the grounds of the free world.

I would like to thank you for having elevated the issue of Human rights onto governmental level. And you have been representing that important issue in the last decades at that very high level.

I would also like to express my thanks to you for having forced the Soviet power to enter into fierce competition of technology, military, and economic nature. By doing so, you have contributed to helping reform politician in the personality of Gorbachev to make an attempt to change the Soviet Union. And also the peoples living in east and central Europe have been given more opportunities to make use of their freedom.

We started the transformation of the political institution system, and Hungary today is a parliamentary republic. We have also laid down the grounds for a free-market economy. At the same time, we do not want to hide the fact that to implement an economic change in the country is far more difficult than execute a political one.

You, Mr. President, have spoken about all those matters that I could have also mentioned here when presenting my request or when speaking in form of complaints. Well, I think this is an indication of the fact that we have come here as friends. And we are seeing friends here. We are being received by friends who can perhaps read our thoughts.

All those that you have just spoken about and all of those that you were very gracious and kind to promise us future prospective potentialities will help us to survive this very severe crisis.

May I say thank you for receiving me and for receiving the members of my delegation representing the Government of Hungary. And may I assure you that Hungary is a faithful friend of yours and will remain so until the very end of times. Without you, the system of dictatorships would have never been collapsed in easter, central Europe.

And people realized all those that had been declared by Marxism, Leninism was nothing else but a series of lies.

Twenty-five years ago I could cite in one of my articles that I wrote about Lincoln one of the sayings of his: It is possible to cheat many people for a short time. During a long time, it is possible to cheat one person. However, it is impossible to cheat many people during a long time.

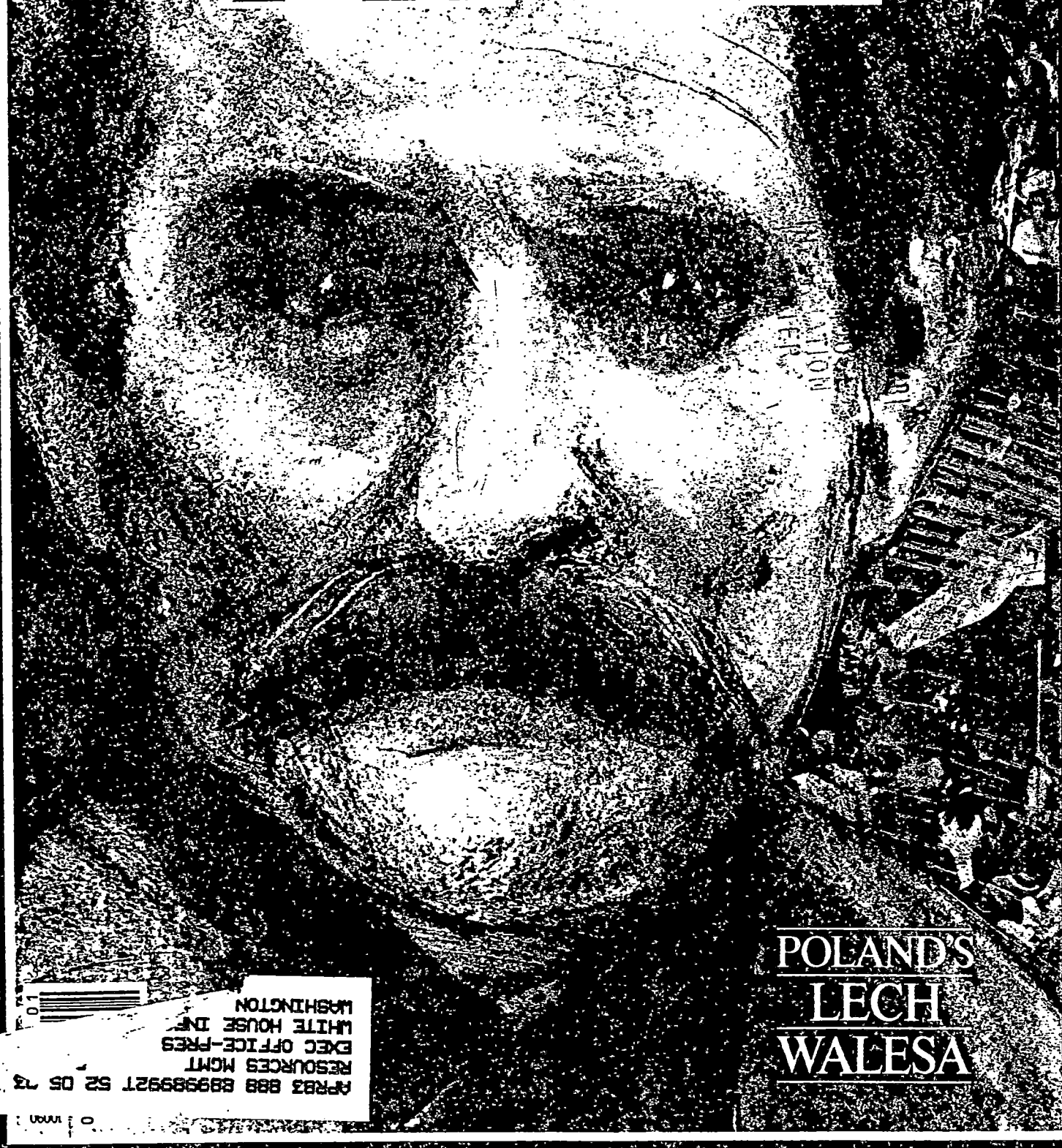
Thank you very much for receiving me, and thank you very much for the benevolence of Americans. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Note: The President spoke at 10:11 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where the Prime Minister was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. The Prime Minister spoke in Hungarian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the President and the Prime Minister met in the Oval Office.

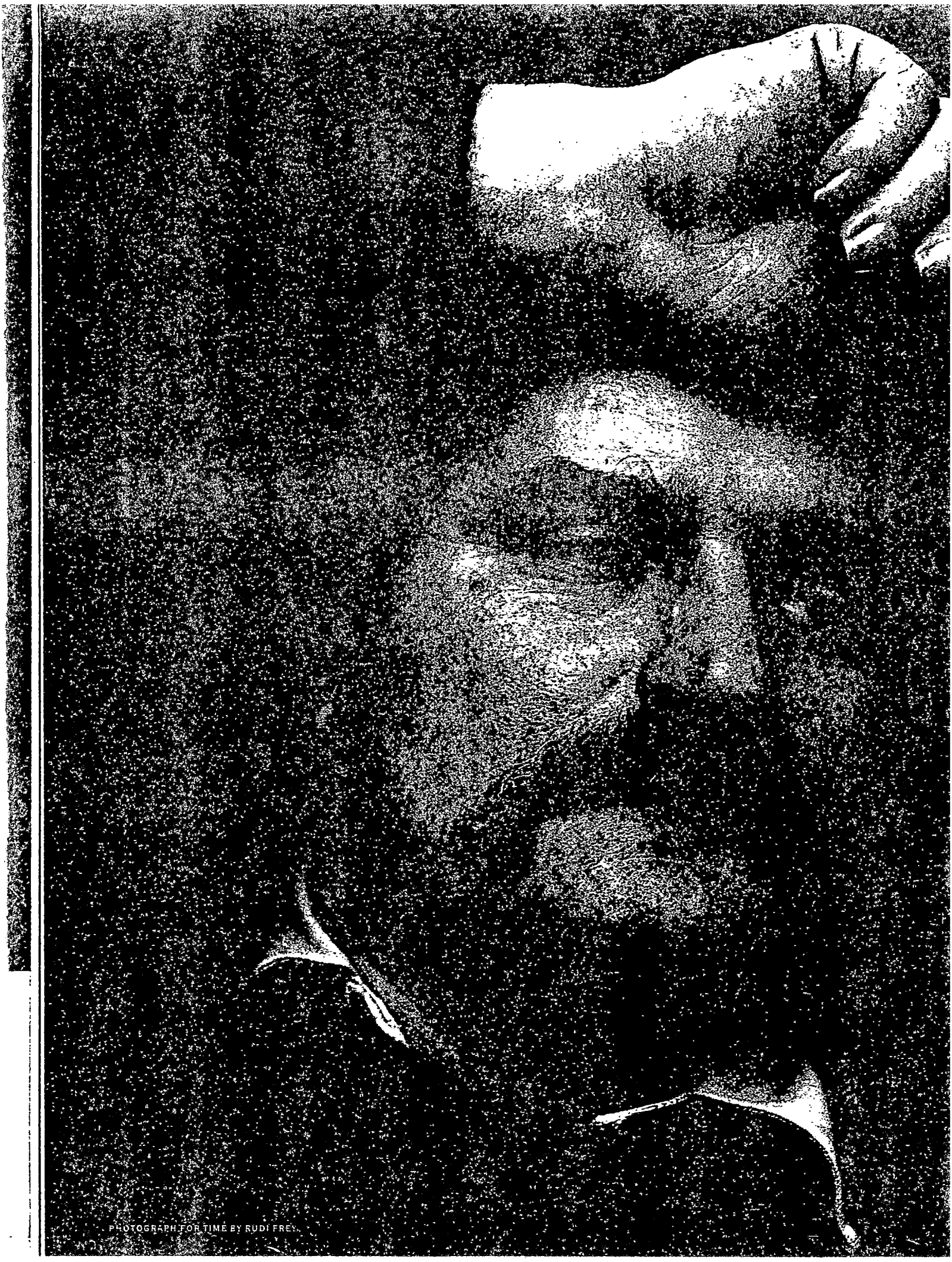
JANUARY 1, 1990 $1.50

TIME

MAN OF THE YEAR



POLAND'S
LECH
WALESA

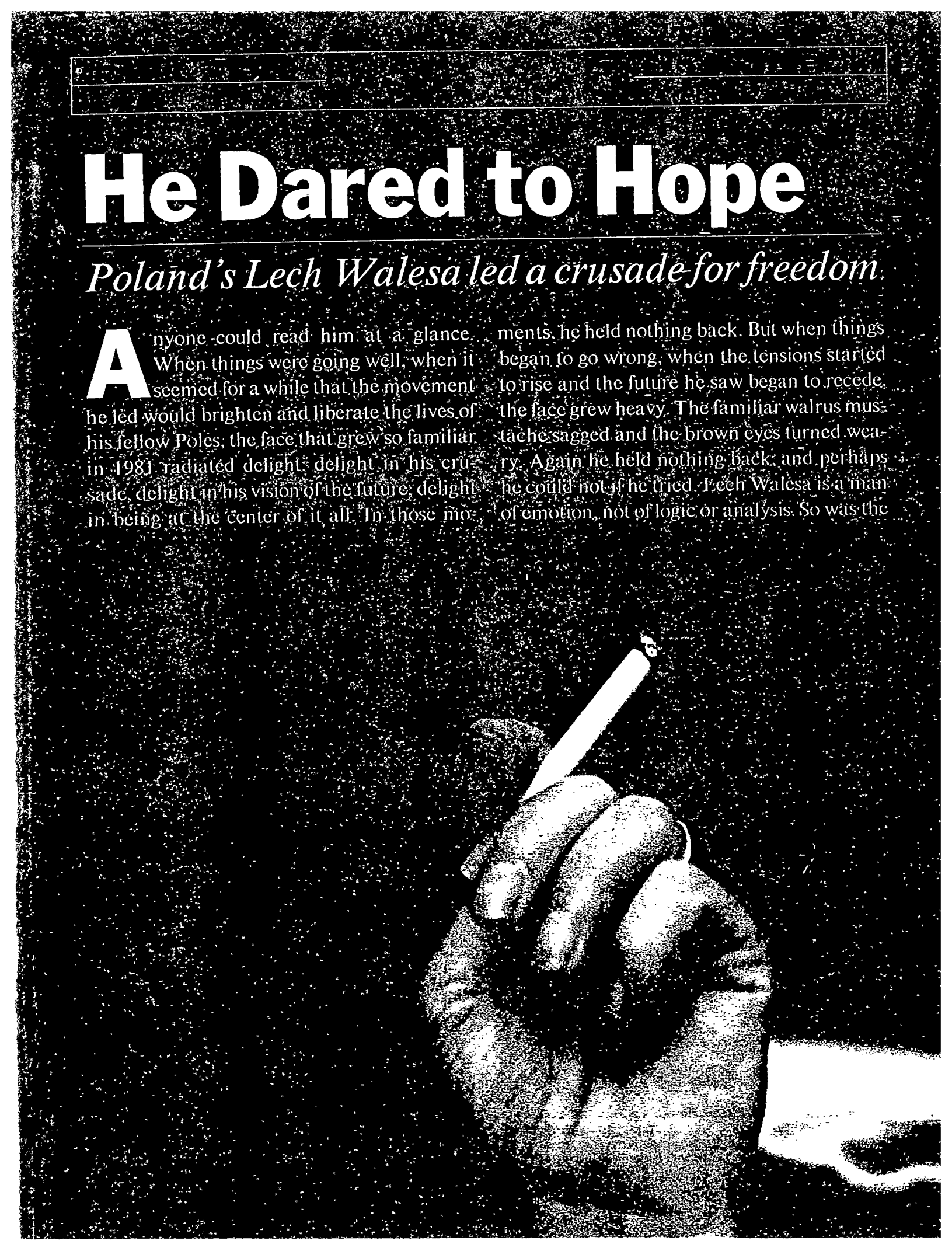


PHOTOGRAPH FOR TIME BY RUDI FREY

He Dared to Hope

Poland's Lech Walesa led a crusade for freedom.

Anyone could read him at a glance. When things were going well, when it seemed for a while that the movement he led would brighten and liberate the lives of his fellow Poles, the face that grew so familiar in 1981 radiated delight: delight in his crusade, delight in his vision of the future, delight in being at the center of it all. In those moments, he held nothing back. But when things began to go wrong, when the tensions started to rise and the future he saw began to recede, the face grew heavy. The familiar walrus mustache sagged and the brown eyes turned weary. Again he held nothing back, and perhaps he could not if he tried. Lech Walesa is a man of emotion, not of logic or analysis. So was the



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

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

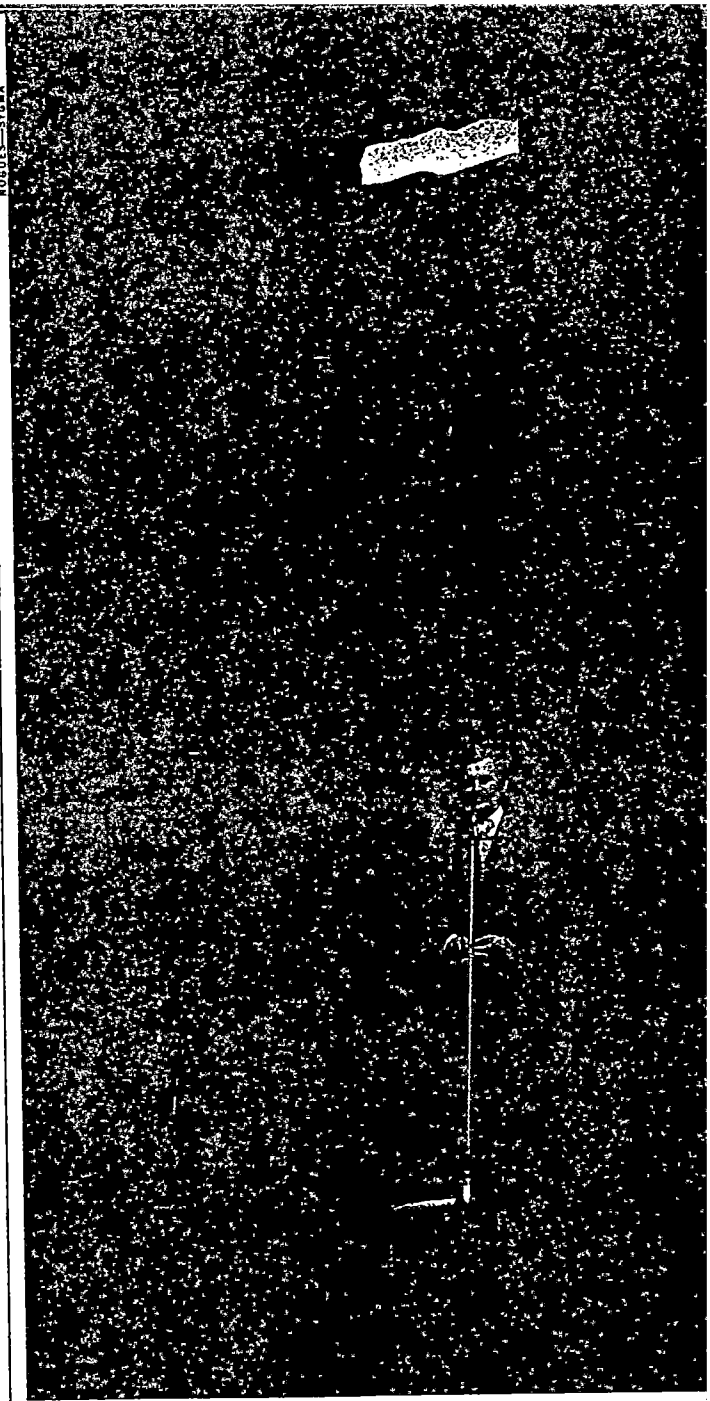
At 6 a.m., Jaruzelski went on the radio "as a soldier and the chief of the Polish government," to announce that the nation was under martial law. He later repeated the grim message on national television, dressed in full military uniform with the white Polish eagle prominently displayed behind him. The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

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

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

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

There was almost a tragic inevitability about the whole sequence of events that ended with Poland's night of the generals. The leading characters in the nation's drama seemed to be following a script for a catastrophe that both Walesa and Jaruzelski could see coming, that neither wanted—and that neither could avoid. For 16 months, Solidarity and the government had been locked in a struggle for control of the country's destiny, while the leaders of Poland's Roman Catholic Church, that age-old bastion of nationalism, appeared like a Greek chorus to intone warnings and admonitions to all.



NOGUES—SYGMA

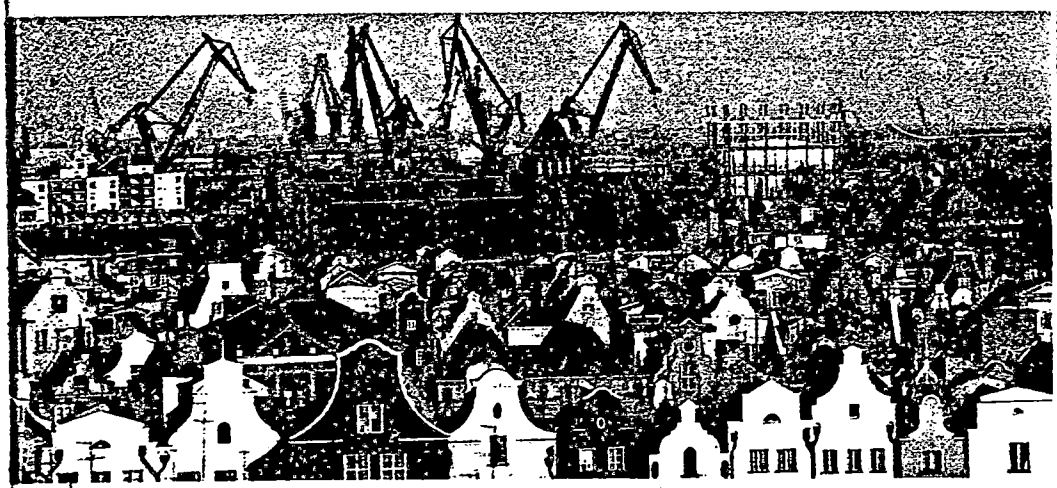
Tangled grammar, but an actor's sure sense of swaying an audience

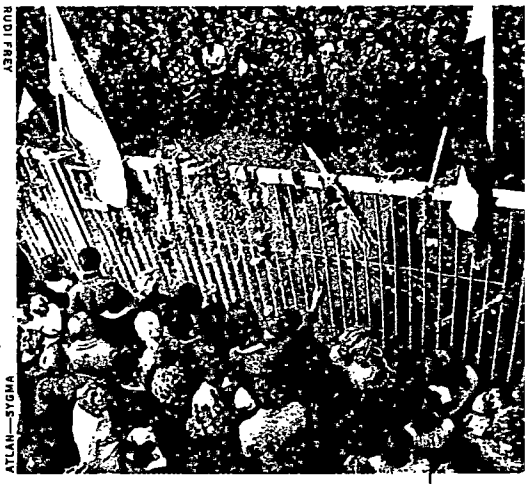
The nation tottered on the verge of total economic collapse. Not since the disaster of Germany's Weimar Republic in the '30s had a modern industrial state faced a peacetime economic failure of such catastrophic dimensions. As the economy faltered, the shortages of food, clothing and other basic necessities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

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

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

MARLOW—MAGNUM





RUDI FABER

ATLAN—SYGMA

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

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

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

In a year marked by widespread political violence, assassins shot a U.S. President, a Pope and a Nobel laureate. The first two victims recovered. The third, Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, died in a lash of bullets, casting a shadow over the cause of Middle East peace that he had courageously espoused. That turbulent region of the world was further shaken by the aggressive acts of the government of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, which bombed an Iraqi nuclear reactor; attempted to destroy a Palestine Liberation Organization headquarters in Beirut, killing 300, mostly civilians; and in effect annexed the Golan Heights.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LASKI—SIPA/BLACK STAR

Walesa and his bodyguard attending early morning services

GORGONI—CONTACT

A sea of worshipers crowds Victory Square in Warsaw to attend Mass d

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

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

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

FABIAN—SYGMA

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

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

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

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

Polish patriotism has been closely bound up with religion ever since the baptism in 966 of the nation's first ruler, Prince Mieszko I. During occupation periods, the Catholic Church kept Polish language and culture alive and served as the main bastion of nationalism. After the Communist takeover in 1945, the church provided a unique alternative to a "godless" Marxist regime. Going to Mass became not only a religious act but a quiet sign of rebellion against the state. Today, 75% to 80% of Poland's 36 million people are practicing Catholics. A deeply religious man, Walesa always wears on his lapel a badge depicting the so-called Black Madonna, a portrait of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child that is in the Czestochowa monastery, 125 miles southwest of Warsaw.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

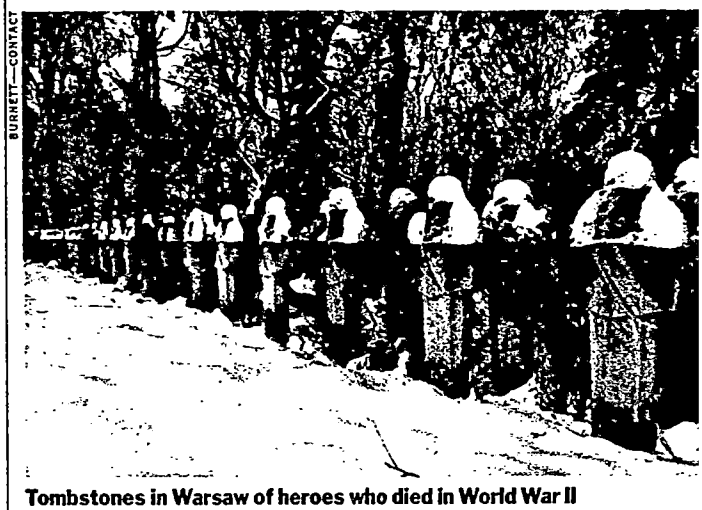
The whole absurd structure was bound to collapse, and it did. When the OPEC nations raised the price of oil in 1973-74 and caused a worldwide recession, Poland's exports, instead of continuing to rise as Gierek planned, began to falter. Unable to lay off any workers—a taboo under the full-employment doctrine of Communism—Gierek had to borrow more and more money from the West to keep going. Poland's foreign debt rose from $4.8 billion in 1974 to $25.5 billion in 1981. Servicing and repayment of the loans, which are owed to 15 Western governments and 501 Western banks, now consume all of Poland's hard currency export earnings, estimated at $6.5 billion for 1981 (*see* ECONOMY & BUSINESS).

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

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

LASKI—SIPA/BLACK STAR

A rare relaxed moment for the former electrician

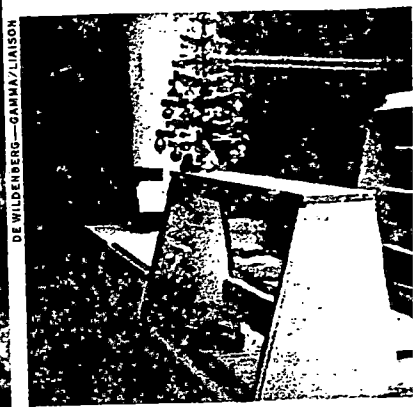


BURNETT—CONTACT

Tombstones in Warsaw of heroes who died in World War II

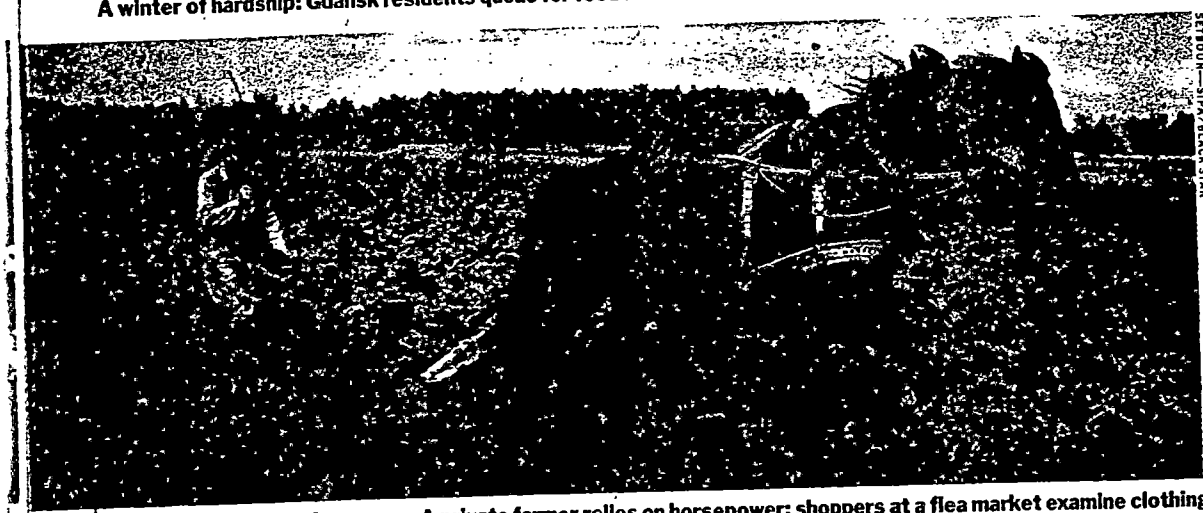
YOUJARO—GAMMA/LIAISON

Coal miner in Katowice



DE WILDENBERG—GAMMA/LIAISON

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



RYA STASZKIEWICZ—SIPA/BLACK STAR

MARC RIBOUD

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

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

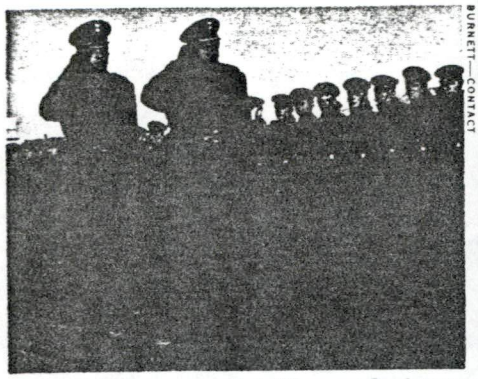
Catholic intellectuals also began to work with the movement. In Cracow, meanwhile, Karol Cardinal Wojtyla emerged as a strong advocate of human rights and promoted an independent intellectual life. In 1974 Communist Party Ideologue Andrzej Werblan called the Cardinal "the only real ideological threat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

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

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

RUDI FREY

The man who ordered martial law: Jaruzelski



BURNETT—CONTACT

BULKA—GAMMA/LIAISON

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

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

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

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

Firmness and patience paid off: the government team finally gave in on almost all of the workers' demands. In addition to the right to strike and form unions, the Warsaw regime granted concessions extraordinary in a Communist country, including reduced censorship and access to the state broadcasting networks for the unions and the church. At a nationally televised ceremony, where strikers and government representatives stood side by side and sang the Polish national anthem, Walesa signed what became known as the Gdansk agreement with a giant souvenir pen bearing the likeness of John Paul II.

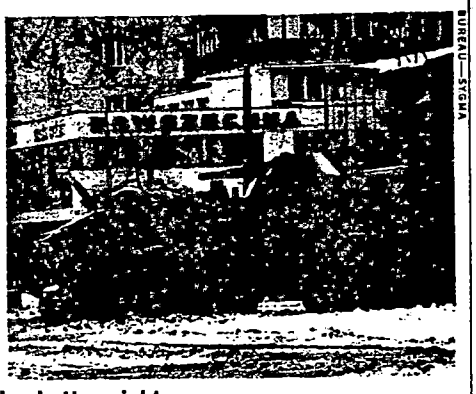
As workers rushed to join up at hastily improvised union locals across the country, Walesa and the other ex-strike leaders quickly found themselves at the head of a labor federation that soon grew to 10 million members—fully a quarter of the Polish population. Organizing and controlling the loosely knit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

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

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

BURNETT—CONTACT

Worshipers waiting to see Black Madonna



BUREAU—SYGMA

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

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

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

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

Some 900,000 Poles quit the Communist party after August 1980, reducing its strength to a mere 2.5 million, only 7% of the population. The resignations increased in October when the Central Committee urged party members, about 1 million of whom belonged to Solidarity, to quit the union. In a strikingly candid statement, Central Committee Member Marian Arendt recently told a Polish weekly: "Mostly it is workers who are leaving [the party]. Once I was so naive as to think that a few evil men were responsible for the errors of the party. Now I no longer have such illusions. There is something wrong in our whole apparatus, in our entire structure." The party was on the verge of total collapse. What was more, Solidarity's surge had started another surprising movement in Poland: a grass-roots crusade for reform that sought to democratize the party from within. Adopting the workers' slogan of ODNOWA (renewal), party reformers tried to make the leadership more responsive to the rank and file. Party Boss Stanislaw Kania, a pragmatic politician who had replaced Gierek in September 1980, shrewdly adopted the cause of renewal in the hope of controlling it from the top and limiting its scope. At the same time, he cooperated with Solidarity to avoid a possibly disastrous confrontation.

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

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

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

Man of the Year

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

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

Indeed, perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Solidarity and Walesa was that they made it possible for Poles once again to speak their minds. In Solidarity bulletins and hundreds of newly established independent newspapers, articles regularly appeared that would shock the most tolerant censor in any other East bloc country. Solidarity's national weekly *Solidarnosc*, for example, last month ran a blistering two-part exposé on the privileges of top Communist officials. In student clubs, journalists' groups and literary unions, there were open discussions of topics that had been forbidden in the universities, such as Poland's history between the world wars. New publications bloomed like wild flowers. Edited by Catholic Intellectual Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the weekly *Solidarnosc* quickly reached a nationwide circulation of 500,000, easily outdistancing the once-prestigious party weekly *Polityka* (circ. 350,000).

Warsaw residents looking over a meager supply of Christmas trees

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

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

Previously banned authors were published again, including Nobel-prizewinning Poet Czeslaw Milosz, a prominent defector of the '50s who returned to Poland for a triumphant visit last June. Adam Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, a 19th century play with anti-Russian overtones, was shown on television. State employed actors elected a new director of the national Polish theater, Kazimierz Dejmek, who had been ousted from the troupe during the 1968 purges. Political films like *Workers 80*, a documentary on the Lenin shipyard strike, and Andrzej Wajda's *Man of Iron*, a fictionalized version of the Gdansk events (in which Walesa played a walk-on part), cleared the censors and played to packed houses in Poland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In turn, many of Walesa's critics felt that he had been too moderate toward an intransigent regime. "He has an enormous tendency to give in, to agree with the government," complained Economist Stefan Kurowski, the principal author of Solidarity's economic program. "He is not intelligent enough. He is prone to listen to advisers who want to make careers." Andrzej Gwiazda, a radical who challenged Walesa for the leadership post, contemptuously called him a "dictatorial, vain fool" and a "blockhead with a mustache."

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

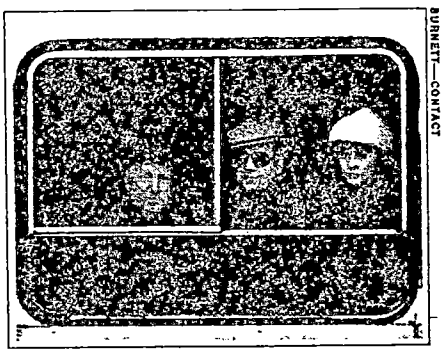
Walesa tried to show that he understood the forces that drove his Solidarity critics, both at the local and national levels. Said he: "You have to remember that in the factories people are not normally interested in politics. They are just normal, gray people, and they say, 'Look, it was pretty bad before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

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

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

The Struggle to Survive

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



BURNETT—CONTACT

Anxious faces on a crowded trolley

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

To ease the strain, apartment complexes formed associations whose members took turns standing in lines for the group. Some stores honored what was called the "night list": shoppers reserving a place in the next morning's queue by signing a piece of paper attached to the door. Still, to be on the safe side, many Poles showed up at 5 a.m. Families with zlotys to spare began hiring pensioners who had time on their own to stand in the hated queues that curled through the gray streets of Poland. Some parents even "rented" their young or disabled children to shoppers who used them as an excuse to jump the lines.

But even after waiting for hours, Poles might enter a store and find it cleaned out. Meat was in particularly short supply, especially the pork that Poles consider to be a staple of their diet. In Warsaw, just before the imposition of martial law, the entire stock of one butcher consisted of half a dozen large salami sausages, which housewives eagerly bought in slices. The hooks that in better times had held dangling sides of beef and pork were being used by one Warsaw butcher with a green thumb as supports for a philodendron that was growing across the ceiling.

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

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

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

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

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

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

On Nov. 4 a potentially historic meeting took place at the government's Parkowa guesthouse in Warsaw. There the bemedaled boss of Poland's Communist Party received the head of a 10 million-member labor union and the spiritual leader of more than 30 million Polish Catholics. For two hours and 20 minutes, Jaruzelski, Walesa and Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Polish Primate, discussed the state of their troubled nation. Walesa came away with Jaruzelski's offer to open negotiations with Solidarity on a wide range of social issues. The three leaders also discussed the general's plan to involve the union and the church in the government's recovery effort. Glemp pronounced himself "a little more optimistic" after the meeting.

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

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

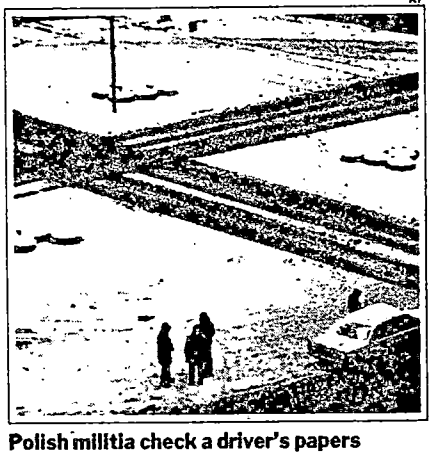
As the split between the union and the government grew wider, the church was wary of getting too closely involved in try-

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

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

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

Poland turned into such a seller's market that many private entrepreneurs accepted only dollars that could be used on the black market at 17 times the official rate (33 zlotys for $1). When a man asked the price of eggs that an old woman was peddling in Warsaw, she curtly replied: "I will only sell for hard currency. My daughter is getting married and I have to buy vodka. Ten cents an egg." Few Poles had any dimes to spare, especially when the price, converted into zlotys at black market rates, proved to be five times what people used to pay in stores. The enraged customer put his foot down, literally, stomping the old woman's basket of eggs to the cheers of bystanders.


AP

Polish militia check a driver's papers

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

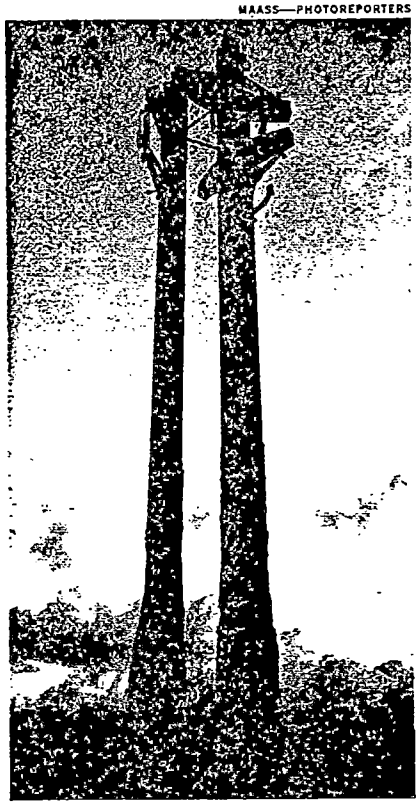
Many Poles had no choice. When a young man was asked why he was peddling a rug rolled under his arm, he pointed to a crack in the sole of his shoe. A young father standing in the snow with a cardboard carton containing two live rabbits explained that he needed to buy baby food for his infant son. Said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

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

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

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

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



MAASS—PHOTOREPORTERS

Gdansk Memorial to victims of 1970 riots

A nation that does not forget.

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

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

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

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

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

"There are few virtues that the Poles do not possess," Winston Churchill once remarked, "and there are few mistakes they have ever avoided." To an extraordinary degree, Lech Walesa embodies the Polish virtues of courage, faith, patriotism, spontaneity. But neither he, nor his lieutenants, nor the men who ruled the country were able to avoid the errors that finally led to tragedy. They were unable to reach a compromise to save the "renewal" that they all claimed to have wanted.

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

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

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

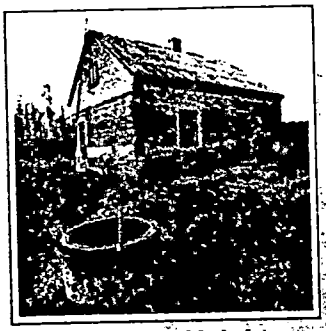
As the months went by and the confrontation that he feared came closer, the strain began to tell on Lech Walesa. His face turned puffy, he smoked as many as two packages of cigarettes daily (often Dunhills given him by newsmen), he developed a chronic, hacking cough and began to suffer from migraine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

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

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

As he became famous, Walesa grew vain in minor ways. He delighted in receiving presents from admirers: a bottle of champagne or a fancy new Irish pipe. One acquisition he liked to show off was a Japanese digital watch that could play 26 international tunes. He would play a song named *Kalinka* and smile slyly. "You recognize this?" he would ask with a laugh. "Russian."

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



Walesa's Popowo birthplace

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

Still, he remained through it all a son of the working class and seemed to draw strength from his contacts with ordinary Poles. He liked nothing better than to show up unannounced at the home of an average family. Driving back to Gdansk from Warsaw one evening, Walesa suddenly directed his driver to stop at the next private home so that he could watch the evening news. When he found that his surprised host was celebrating his saint's day, Walesa stayed to drink vodka with the family.

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

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

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

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

LASKI—BLACK STAR

With Wife Danuta, who is expecting their seventh child

An Interview with Lech Walesa

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

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

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

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

"I know that I will lose today, and tomorrow will be a victory."

Q. And that is your role?

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

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

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

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

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

A. No, my philosophy is based on something else. I think that if I got a bicycle from my father, I should give a car to my son. In order to pass the exam of life, you have to give at least what you got from your parents, more or less in every sphere of life, or at least in the most basic ones: spiritual things and those for the body. I got faith from my parents, and I'm feeding faith, and I try to multiply in a maximum way what I have got. So instead of just making the sign of the cross, I say the Lord's Prayer.

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

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

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

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

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

Q. Not scared, under pressure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


BOCCON-GIBOD—SIPA/BLACK STAR

Q. So what you really convey is this commitment?

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

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

A. I have always had this intuition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. No, I hate it. What do I have? People take off their hats to me, they clap their hands, but tomorrow they might throw stones at me. This is not fun for me. I understand life in different terms. I think that beauty is everywhere, and everything is needed. What would happen if there were no people to clean up? Worms would eat us. There is beauty too in cleaning up.

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

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

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

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

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

Q. What is the Poland that you dream about?

A. Simply a better Poland than today. Throughout history it has been improved 1,000 times, it has been destroyed 1,000 times. We will never reach the point that we will be so satisfied that we cannot improve it. There are no perfect solutions, and there will be no perfect solutions because that would be the end of humanity. There will be falls and rises—here and in your country. We will just build something that somebody will come in and damage.

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

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

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

EXTRA

The Harvard C

FREE COPY CAMBRIDGE, MASS., THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1983

'In Every Factory, Mine

The Speech Lech Walesa Sent Harvard

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

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

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

The speech paints a broad picture of the development of Solidarity, from the Gdansk shipyard strike of August 1980, through the imposition of martial law in December 1981, to the present, with martial law lifted but tension increasing as Communist au-

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

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

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

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

On April 25, Aloian heard from one of the journalists who had met with Walesa at his home. The labor chief would defi-

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

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

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

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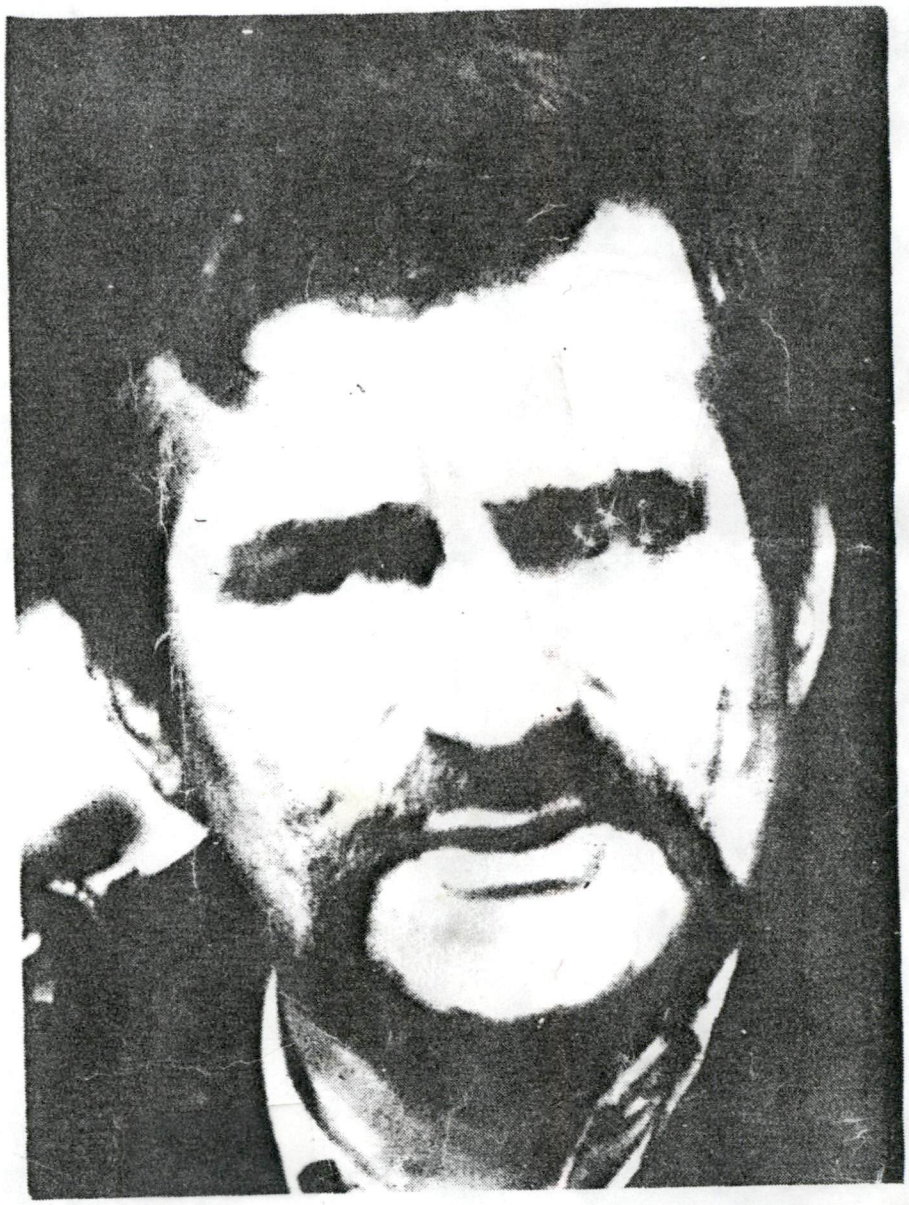

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ment, even suppressed hatred for the system which surrounded them everywhere; yet they felt impotent. They looked upon us—a group of people who secretly dis-

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

ers.

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

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

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

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

●

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

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

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

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My friends from the face
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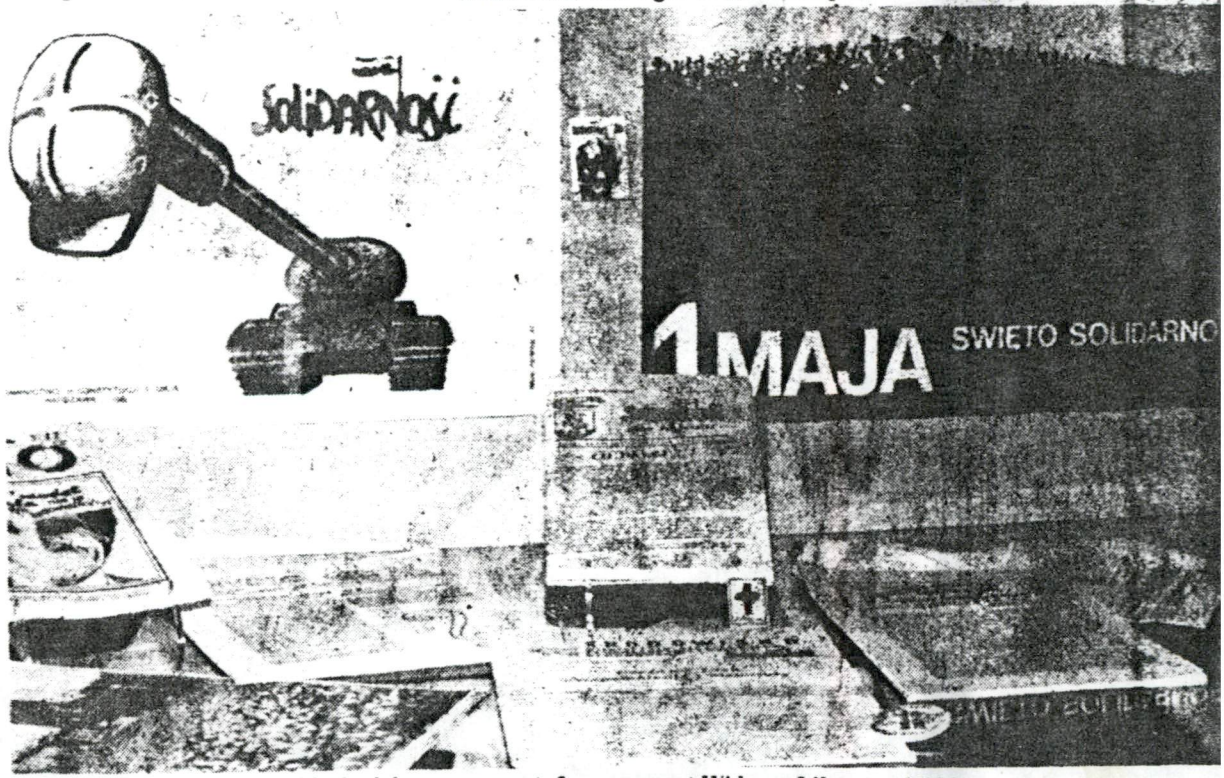


Papers and posters of the Solidarity labor movement, from a recent Widener Library exhibition

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

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

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

brary exhibition

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(continued on back page)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 7, 1989

NOTE FOR CHRISS WINSTON:

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

Thanks.

John

John S. Gardner

The speech he was to give @ Harvard's '83 commencement — he was afraid to leave the country, so it wasn't delivered.

NOTE:

You may wish to use examples illustrating our commitment to democracy and enterprise in Poland, our shared goals and vision.

-- POTUS declared our support during the '89 trip. See Nexis copies of remarks.

-- Later Mosbacher visited Poland to follow up on that, signing several agreements. See Nexis articles.

-- POTUS signed a trade and investment treaty too -- the first one we signed with a newly democratic Eastern European country. See Nexis article.

-- Cheney visited last December -- the first US defense official to do so in many decades. See Nexis articles.

-- Peace Corps volunteers. See fax from Peace Corps and cable commending their work.

-- The Poles have asked us to sign a Joint Declaration of Principles...we should know later this week whether the General signs off on this.

-- Lastly, from a historical perspective:

- o General Kosciuszko's Act of Insurrection document, modeled closely after our Declaration of Independence. See his quotation: "Liberty, Security, Property" -- it fits with the aims of the Solidarity movement led by Walesa.

- o The Polish "May 3 Constitution" -- enormous symbolic value to Poles and the one that the current government is adhering to. This is its Bicentennial year.

- o ...and of course, Paderewski's remains being returned now that Poland is free.

ADD TO THIS: TRADE INITIATIVES FROM USTR (to come)

EASTFOTO

Warsaw's Old Town, systematically destroyed by the Germans in World War II, has been completely restored.

POLAND

Coat of Arms

CONTENTS

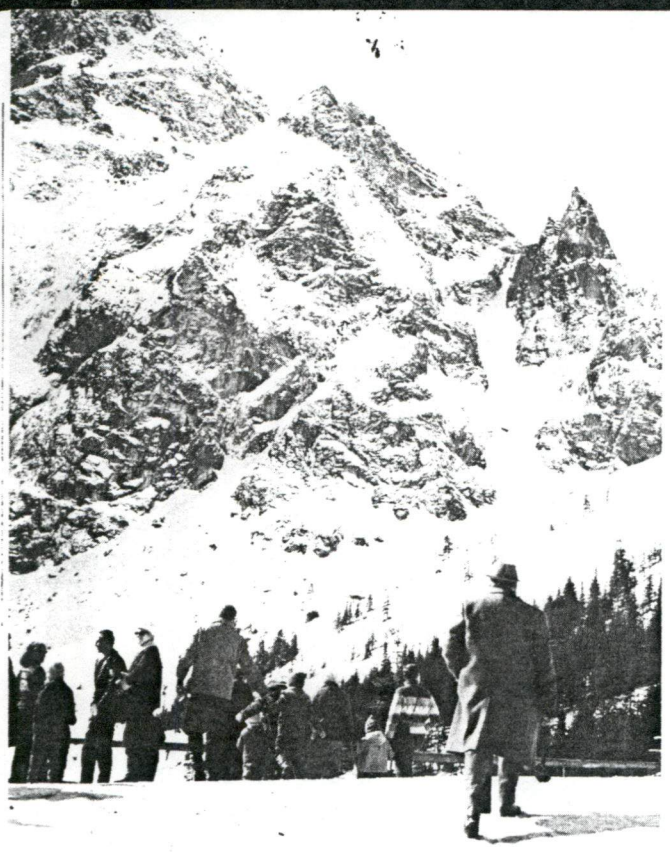
POLAND, pō'lənd, is a country that lies in the plain of northern Europe. It is the largest and most populous of the East Central European countries. Poland is bordered by Communist states and is a member of both the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON, or CMEA), a military and an economic alliance between the USSR and its European satellites.

Throughout its history, Poland has been overshadowed by its powerful neighbors to the west and to the east. The eastward expansion of Germany, beginning in the Middle Ages, was at the expense of Poland. But Poland was able, during periods of Russian weakness, to spread into territory that now belongs to the Soviet Union. In the late 18th century, when both Prussia (which later became the core of a united Germany) and Russia were strong, the Polish state was extinguished and divided between those nations and Austria.

Poland was not revived until 1918, when Russia was in the throes of the Bolshevik Revolution and Germany had been defeated by the western Allies. By 1939 both Germany and the Soviet Union were again powerful and well armed.

INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

Official Name: Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa).
Head of State: Chairman of the Council of State.
Head of Government: Chairman of the Council of Ministers (premier).
Legislature: Sejm (Assembly).
Area: 120,725 square miles (312,677 sq km).
Boundaries: *North,* Baltic Sea; *east,* USSR; *south,* Czechoslovakia; *west,* East Germany.
Elevation: *Highest point,* Rysy (8,199 feet, or 2,499 meters) in the High Tatra mountains.
Population: (1982 est.) 36,100,000.
Capital: Warsaw (Warszawa).
Language: Polish.
Major Religious Group: Roman Catholic.
Monetary Unit: 1 złoty = 100 groszy.
Weights and Measures: Metric system.
Flag: Horizontal halves of white over red.
National Anthem: *Jeszcze Polska nie zginela* (*Poland is not yet lost*).



CZESLAW MOMATIUK, PHOTO RESEARCHERS

The Tatra Mountains on Poland's border with Czechoslovakia attract vacationers and skiers in the winter.

Their invasion of Poland in September 1939 again destroyed the Polish state, which in turn precipitated World War II.

By 1945, Germany had been defeated and the military strength of the Soviet Union was unchallenged in eastern Europe. The part of Poland that had been incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1939 was retained by the USSR. In compensation, Poland received land in the west that had been German. Today the territory of Poland is about 20% smaller than it was on the eve of World War II.

Since World War II, Poland has been dependent on the Soviet Union for economic aid, and Soviet troops have been stationed, though unobtrusively, on Polish soil. These circumstances have severely limited Poland's freedom of action. Despite a revolt against Soviet control in 1956, Poland remains one of the most docile of the Soviet Union's satellites.

Poles, however, have resented their subservience to the Soviet Union. Much of their history has been marked by war with the Russians, and Poles have always tended to see themselves as guardians of Western civilization against Eastern barbarism, with which many Poles identify Soviet Communism. Polish fear of Germany has been as conspicuous as Polish contempt for the Russians. In particular they have dreaded a resurgence of German nationalism, which might threaten Polish occupation of the formerly German territory on the west (the Western Territories). Even though Poland's boundaries are recognized by both West and East Germany, there remains a feeling that Poland is dependent on the Soviet Union for the protection of its frontier along the rivers Odra (Oder) and Nysa (Neisse). The southern boundary with Czechoslovakia follows the Karkonosze and Carpathian mountains, and over most of this distance there is no dispute. There has, however, been bitter disagreement between the two countries regarding the small territory of Teschen (Polish, Cieszyn), important for its coal and steel. At present the territory is divided between them.

1. Land and Natural Resources

Poland is a country of the plain. Except in the mountains, which form Poland's southern boundary, its surface rarely rises to more than 1,000 feet (300 meters) above sea level. Relief, except in the mountains, is gentle, and the country consists essentially of the valleys of two rivers—the Odra and Vistula (Wisła)—and of their tributaries. Both rise in the mountains that border Czechoslovakia on the south, and flow northward to discharge into the Baltic Sea.

The rocks that make up the plain are mostly soft and easily eroded. But areas of older and harder rock are found in south central and southern Poland, which account for small zones of bolder relief. The most important of these areas is formed by two hilly ridges known respectively as the Holy Cross Mountains (Góry Świętokrzyskie) and the Kraków Jura (Jura Krakowska).

During the Quaternary Ice Age most of the plain was covered by ice sheets, which spread southward from Scandinavia. On their retreat they left behind a vast, uneven sheet of sand, gravel, boulders and clay, known as bolder clay. Although this has been largely eroded away from southern Poland, it covers the northern districts of Pomorze (Pomerania) and Mazury (East Prussia). Much of the clay land is poorly drained, and is dotted with large and small lakes, of which Mazury has thousands.

As the ice melted away at the end of the Ice Age, vast torrents of water made their way to the sea, scouring a series of small valleys as they did so. These now lie across the country in a roughly east to west direction, forming shallow depressions that have been of great importance in cutting canal links between the main rivers of central Europe.

Over much of southern Poland a dustlike deposit, known as loess, has been blown from the drying boulder clay to the north. It gives rise to a well-drained and fertile soil, which makes the loess regions agriculturally the most productive in Poland.

The mountains that form the southern boundary of the plain belong to two separate systems. To the southwest are the Karkonosze Mountains, part of the massif of hard, ancient rock that forms Bohemia. To the south lie the higher and more complex mountains of the Carpathian system. These consist of a series of parallel ranges across which movement is difficult. They culminate in the Tatra (Tatry) Mountains, whose highest point reaches 8,199 feet (2,499 meters). The Polish Carpathians, known as Beskidy, are mostly a beautiful forested region, containing a number of resorts, of which Zakopane is the best known.

The two ranges are separated by a gap known as the Moravian Gate, which provides an easily negotiated route from southern Poland, across Czechoslovakia, to Vienna and the Danube basin. The Moravian Gate has played an important role in Polish and East European history, guiding the movement of invaders in the past and today acting as a funnel for road and railway traffic and

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for the movement of trade. Plans have been made to cut a canal through the Moravian Gate to link the Odra Valley with that of the Danube.

Climate. Poland typically has warm summers, with a July average of 64°–68° F (18°–20° C), and long, cold winters. The January average ranges from 23° F to 30° F (−5° C to −1.1° C). Winters are increasingly severe toward the north and the east, where the growing season may be two or three weeks shorter than in the south and west. Although there is a prolonged snow cover over most of the country, the heaviest precipitation is in the summer, when severe thunderstorms are not infrequent. Total precipitation is quite low over the plain, ranging from less than 19 to 25 inches (483–635 mm), but somewhat higher near the Baltic coast and a great deal higher—up to 40 inches (1,016 mm)—in the mountains.

Vegetation and Soils. Poland was once densely forested. Today at least one fifth of its area is under forest, with a heavy concentration of forests in the poor sandy soil region of northern Poland. Broad-leaved trees formerly prevailed, with conifers increasing in importance toward the northeast. Recent plantations have tended to be of softwood, so that the character of the forests is slowly changing.

The soil quality varies greatly. Apart from the thin and stony soils of the mountains, every gradation is found from heavy and poorly drained clays to blowing sands. Most fertile are the loess soils of southern Poland and the loam soils that occur over large areas in the center of the country.

Mineral Resources. Poland has rich reserves of fuels and minerals. Foremost is coal. There are large reserves of soft coal, mainly in the coal basin of Upper Silesia, and small reserves of brown coal or lignite in central Poland. In Upper Silesia, coal underlies an area of about 2,000 square miles (5,180 sq km). Seams are thick and lie at relatively shallow depths, making them suitable for mechanical extraction. Petroleum and natural gas occur in southern Poland, but reserves are nearing exhaustion.

There are valuable sulfur deposits. Zinc and lead are mined in Upper Silesia, and copper in Lower Silesia. Reserves of iron ore are small.

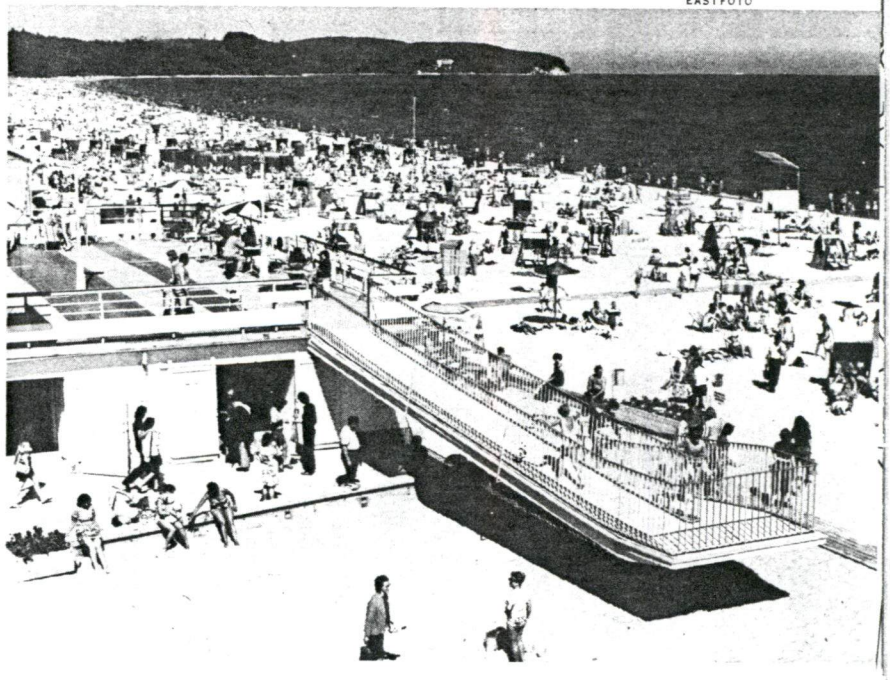
2. The Economy

Poland suffered severely during World War II. The whole country was twice fought over, and the destruction of factories, farms, and farm stock was enormous. Recovery was hindered both by the postwar exactions of the Soviet Union and the changes of boundaries and consequent migration. Poland lost its eastern provinces, notable chiefly for their agricultural and forest resources. But it regained the Western Territories, which were more richly endowed in mineral resources and better developed. The Western Territories, however, were almost depopulated by the emigration of much of their German-speaking population. This loss was far from offset by the immigration of Poles from the territory ceded to the Soviet Union. Because Poland thus suffered a severe shortage of labor at a time when mechanical equipment was scarce and the task of reconstruction overwhelming, rebuilding was slow.

Nationalization of Industry and Commerce. The state nationalized all natural resources and most of the means of production, and attempted to reconstruct the society and economy along Communist lines. To some degree, nationalization was inevitable, since about one third of the country's assets had belonged to Germans who left Poland at the end of the war.

Rebuilding and development were directed by a series of economic plans prepared and implemented by the Central Planning Board (later the State Commission on Economic Planning), set up by the Council of Ministers. By the end of 1946 less than 10% of gross industrial production came from privately owned undertakings, and by 1953 this had fallen to less than 1%. Wholesale and retail trade also passed from private to public hands, and the government used its powers to control the supply of goods to private retailers and thus drive them out of business.

EASTFOTO



The beach at Sopot, on the Gulf of Danzig, is a popular resort with both the Poles and foreigners. It is located only a few miles from the cities of Gdynia to the north and Gdańsk (Danzig) to the south.

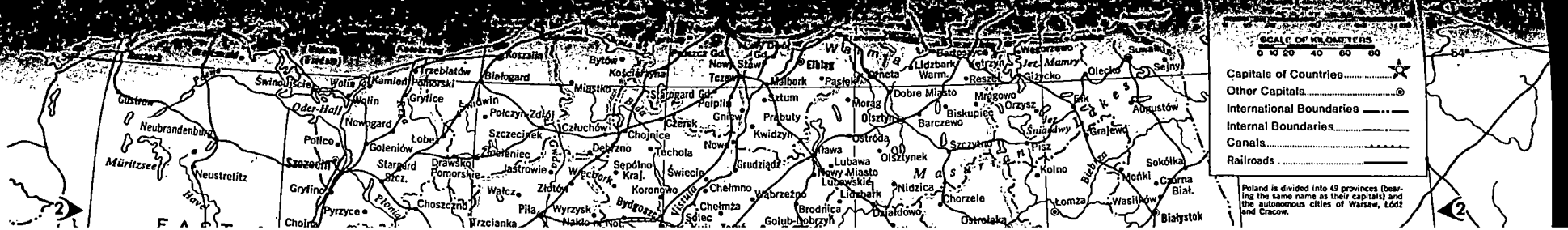
POLAND

Total Population, 34,113,000

PROVINCES

CITIES and TOWNS

OTHER FEATURES



CITIES and TOWNS

Aleksandrów Łódzki, 14,800 ....D 3
Andrespol, 12,500 ....D 3
Andrychów, 14,300 ....D 4
Augustów, 20,200 ....F 2
Bartoszyce, 15,700 ....E 1
Będzin, 42,500 ....B 3
Belchatów, 9,230 ....D 3
Bełżyce, 5,333 ....F 3
Biała Podlaska, 26,700 ....F 3
Białogard, 20,800 ....C 1
Białystok, 182,300 ....F 2
Bielawa, 31,300 ....C 3
Bielsk Podlaski, 14,600 ....F 2
Bielsko-Biała, 114,200 ....D 4
Gostyń, 13,300 ....C 3
Gostynin, 12,200 ....D 2
Grajewo, 11,400 ....F 2
Grodziec, 10,200 ....B 3
Grodzisk Mazowiecki, 21,000 ....E 2
Grójec, 10,400 ....E 3
Grudziądz, 76,600 ....D 2
Gryfice, 13,600 ....B 2
Gryfino, 7,446 ....B 2
Gubin, 15,000 ....B 3
Hajnówka, 14,600 ....F 2
Hrubieszów, 15,500 ....F 3
Iława, 17,100 ....D 2
Iłża, 4,419 ....E 3
Inowrocław, 55,900 ....D 2
Janów Lubelski, 5,944 ....F 3
Łódź, 777,800 ....
Łomża, 26,400 ....F 2
Łosice, 4,197 ....F 2
Łowicz, 21,100 ....D 2
Lubaczów, 8,298 ....F 3
Lubań, 17,500 ....B 3
Lubartów, 10,300 ....F 3
Lubin, 31,900 ....C 3
Lublin, 254,700 ....F 3
Lubliniec, 20,100 ....D 3
Luboń, 17,000 ....C 2
Lubsko, 13,000 ....B 3
Łuków, 16,300 ....F 3
Malbork, 31,500 ....D 1
Maków Mazowiecki, 7,694 ....E 2
Międzyrzec Podlaski, 13,800 ....F 3
Przasnysz, 11,400 ....E 2
Przemyśl, 53,800 ....F 4
Pulawy, 36,400 ....F 3
Pułtusk, 12,800 ....E 2
Pyskowice, 23,300 ....A 3
Rabka, 10,800 ....D 4
Racibórz, 40,600 ....C 3
Radom, 166,000 ....E 3
Radomsko, 31,600 ....D 3
Radziejów, 4,165 ....D 2
Radzionków, 28,200 ....A 3
Rawicz, 14,300 ....C 3
Ruda Śląska, 146,200 ....A 4
Rumia, 23,800 ....D 1
Rybnik, 44,000 ....D 3
Tuchola, [illegible] ....D 2
Turek, 18,700 ....D 2
Tychy, 72,800 ....B 4
Ursus, 30,900 ....E 2
Wąbrzeźno, 11,900 ....D 2
Wadowice, 12,000 ....D 4
Wągrowiec, 16,000 ....C 2
Wałbrzych, 127,400 ....C 3
Wałcz, 19,200 ....C 2
Warsaw (Warszawa) (cap.), 1,377,100 ....E 2
Węgorzewo, 8,522 ....E 1
Wejherowo, 34,600 ....C 1
Wieliczka, 14,000 ....E 3
Wieluń, 14,900 ....D 3
Przemsza (river) ....D 4
Rysy (mt.) ....D 4
San (river) ....F 3
Słupia (river) ....C 1
Śniardwy (lake) ....E 2
Sudeten (mts.) ....B 3
Uznam (Usedom) (isl.) ....B 1
Vistula (river) ....D 2
Warmia (reg.) ....D 1
Warta (river) ....B 2
Wieprz (river) ....F 3
Wisła (Vistula) (river) ....D 2
Wkra (river) ....E 2
Wolin (isl.) ....B 2

In spite of the extensive nationalization of production, the state continued to tolerate, and may even have tacitly encouraged, small private workshops, primarily because the quality of their output was generally higher than that of the state-run operations.

Collectivization of Agriculture. The attempts of the Polish government to control all aspects of the economy were, however, rebuffed in agriculture. Poland traditionally was a land of large estates, which were owned by the aristocracy. Between the two world wars there had been a measure of land reform, which involved the breaking up of some of the estates into peasant holdings. After 1945 the peasants expected this process to continue. But the government, following the Soviet model, planned to combine small holdings and estates into collective farms that were to be operated by government-appointed officials. In those parts of Germany that passed to Poland after World War II, many German-owned estates were taken over by the Polish authorities, and many were run as state farms, particularly in the Western Territories.

Elsewhere, the peasants strenuously resisted attempts to establish collective farms, and forced the government to postpone its plans. These were revived, however, in the 1950's. The government played upon the jealousy of the poor peasants toward the rich, and gradually eliminated the latter. However, the peasants, with very few goods available to them on which to spend their income, withheld produce from the market to protest the attempts at collectivization. This led to acute hardship in the cities. Pressure mounted against the government, which after the uprising of 1956 was compelled virtually to abandon, at least for a time, its plans to collectivize agriculture. Collectivization remains, however, a long-term objective.

About 80% of all cultivated land is in private hands. However, the percentage of land in state or collective farms is slowly increasing. It is noteworthy that productivity is somewhat greater on this public land and, more importantly, that the ratio of output to labor is significantly higher than on peasant land.

The Postwar Shift in the Economy. In the decades that followed World War II, manufactured goods formed a steadily increasing proportion of total production, so that Poland was transformed from a predominantly agricultural country into one primarily engaged in manufacturing. At the end of this period over half of the gross national product was derived from manufacturing, mining, and power production. Less than 20% came from agriculture.

During this same period there was a consequent shift in employment. Agriculture, which had employed more than half the population before the first national plans went into effect after the war, accounted for only 38% in the 1970's. At the same time employment in manufacturing increased.

Poland's concentration on capital-goods industries in the first national plans meant that the production of consumer goods received little encouragement. Clothing, footwear, and all forms of domestic equipment were continuously in short supply, and housing construction was inadequate for local needs. These conditions began to change very slowly in the 1970's, as the state planners diverted more resources from capital-goods to consumer-goods industries.

Poland's Role in the Communist Trading Bloc. Poland's economic plans have been integrated through the machinery of COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), with those of other East European countries, Yugoslavia and Albania excepted. COMECON calls for a degree of specialization and mutual trade between members of the bloc, and it became Poland's role in this integrated system to concentrate on the manufacture of steel and heavy engineering equipment. While Poland welcomed this particular role, it has generally opposed the policy of a complete "socialist division of labor" and has aimed at a more broadly based economic development than envisaged by COMECON.

MINING, POWER, AND MANUFACTURING

Beginning with the plan of 1950–1956, large-scale capital investments were made in mining, hydroelectric development, and iron and steel production. New coal mines were opened up, and coal production rose from 50 million metric tons in 1946 to 130 million in 1970, almost all of it from the Upper Silesian field. Poland became, after Britain and West Germany, Europe's largest producer of coal. Coal mining did not suffer as acutely from the competition of other forms of fuel as happened in many other countries, partly owing to its relative cheapness. Furthermore, Poland retained a significant export trade in coal.

Zinc and lead mining continued to be important, and copper mining was developed in Lower Silesia. Poland ranked among the leaders in the production of sulfur.

The development of power sources other than coal was also one of the goals of the national economic plans. Power generators were built with Soviet aid, the hydroelectric potential of the mountain streams was utilized, and energy was made available to factories and workshops.

The iron-smelting and steel industry has been concentrated on the Upper Silesian coalfield. Its capacity was greatly increased by the incorporation of the previously German sector of the coal basin.

Large additions were made to existing steel plants. A new works was built near Warsaw, and integrated iron and steel works were built at Częstochowa and to the east of Kraków, where the planned city of Nowa Huta was founded in 1949 for the workers in the nearby factory. Since Poland's reserves of iron ore are small, much of the ore for the furnaces is brought by rail from the Soviet Union.

The mechanical and electrical engineering industry was greatly expanded, particularly in Wrocław (Breslau), Poznań, Bydgoszcz, and Upper Silesia. Shipbuilding has been developed at Szczecin (Stettin) and Gdańsk (Danzig), and the manufacture of automobiles at Warsaw.

Other important industrial products include chemicals, textiles, and artificial fertilizers. Food processing is another important industry. An aluminum industry which is based on Hungarian bauxite and domestic brown coal, has also been developed.

AGRICULTURE

The expansion of agriculture in the decades following World War II was little short of remarkable. Gross agricultural output rose by over 80% between 1950 and 1970. Cereal production increased twofold, with a significant shift from

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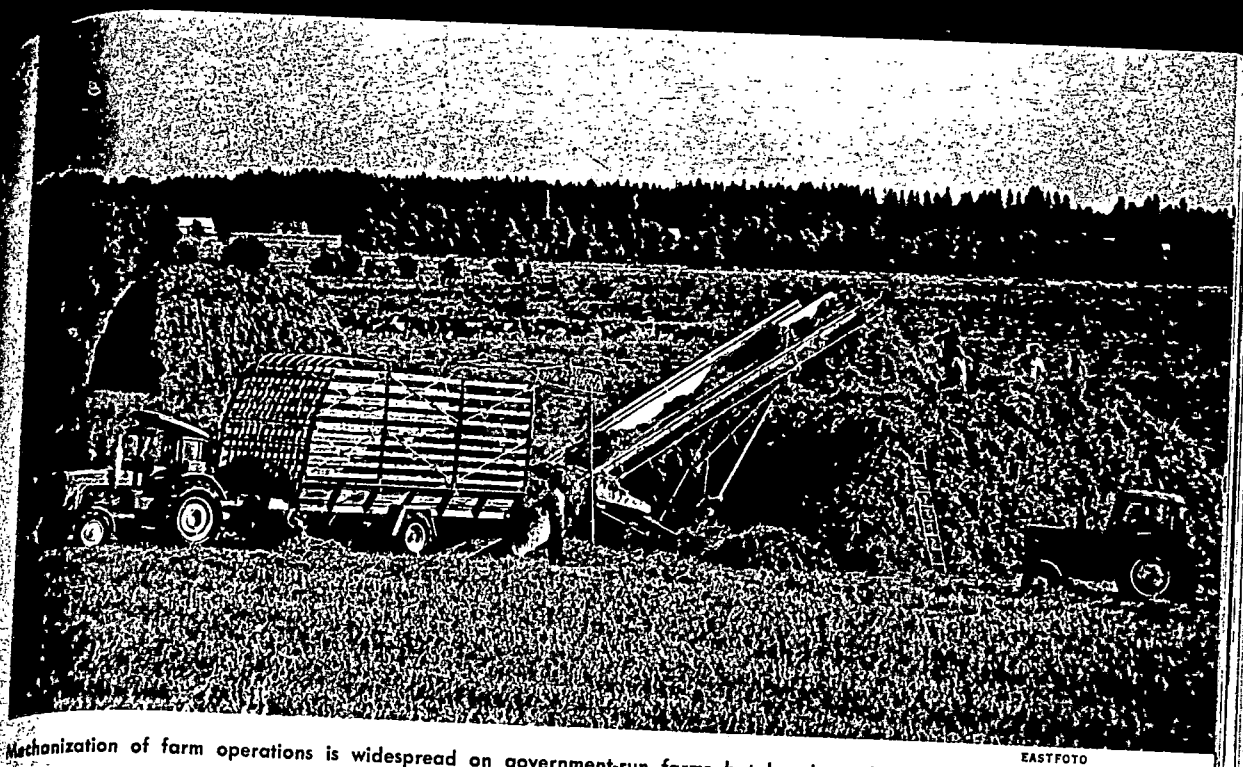


Mechanization of farm operations is widespread on government-run farms but has lagged on peasant holdings. EASTFOTO

rye to wheat. The area planted to oats, grown primarily as fodder, also expanded. The production of potatoes, which supply much of the human diet, doubled. The output of sugar beets, which are grown in rotation with cereals on the better soils, rose threefold. Corn is locally important in the warmer southern districts.

Poland has restored and expanded the number of livestock on its farms, especially pigs and cattle. Few peasant farms are without pigs, and though cattle raising is less important than raising swine, the size of the herds has been increased in an attempt to improve the country's living standard. The number of sheep is restricted by the scarcity of good grazing land. Horses are less in demand since small tractors are replacing them for farm work.

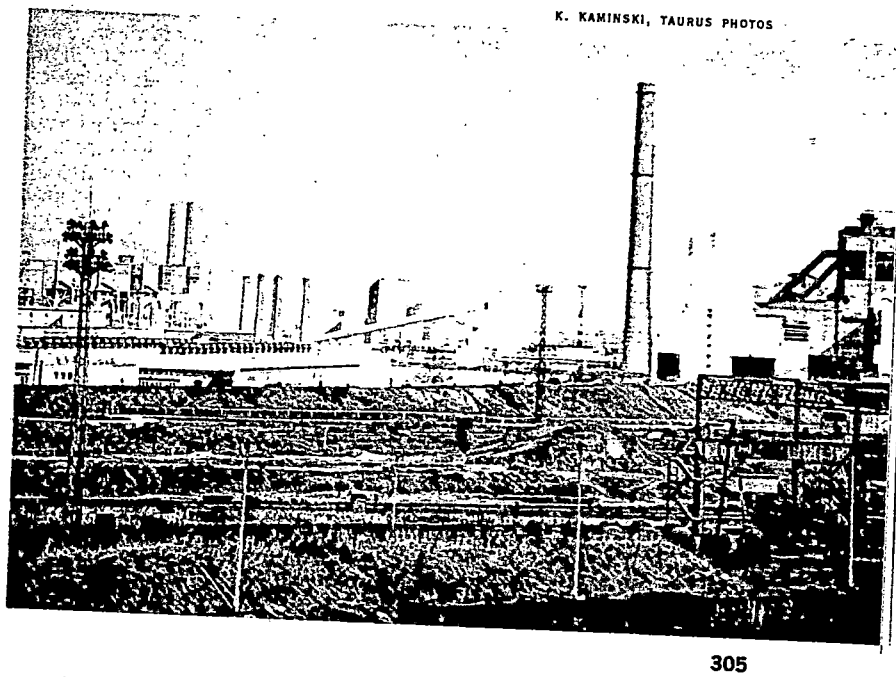
TRANSPORTATION

Poland's internal transportation network was almost completely destroyed during World War II. Rebuilding railroads and bridges and re-equipping docks became a major objective.

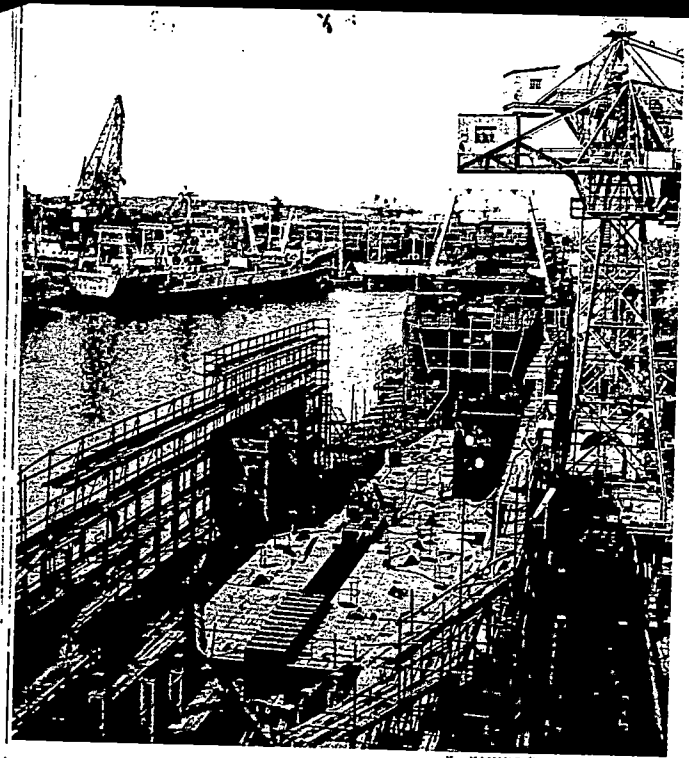
A network of main roads radiates from Warsaw to all parts of the country. They are well maintained but narrow. Cross-country roads, however, are often in very poor condition.

The railroads are relatively more important for both passengers and freight than in western Europe. The total length of track is about 14,425 miles (23,214 km), of which at least 2,000 miles (3,220 km) are electrified. The railroads are much more developed in areas taken from Germany than in the rest of the country.

K. KAMINSKI, TAURUS PHOTOS



The great steel city of Nowa Huta was founded just east of Kraków in 1949. It is a major metallurgical center, based on Polish coal and iron ore that is imported primarily from the Soviet Union.



K. KAMINSKI, TAURUS PHOTOS

Shipbuilding at Gdańsk (above) and Szczecin (Stettin) provide Poland with one of its most profitable exports.

Rivers and canals are of comparatively little importance as transportation routes. However, the Odra is used for freighting Silesian coal to the port of Szczecin (Stettin) and for importing iron ore. Coal and iron ore are also shipped along the Gliwicki Canal, which links the Upper Silesian coalfield with the Odra. The Vistula (Wisła) is too shallow for modern barges.

Trade with fellow members of the Communist bloc goes largely by rail. Seaborne trade with the rest of the world is mainly through the ports of Gdańsk and Szczecin. (Szczecin, on the west bank of the Odra, was included in Poland after World War II since the Odra basin, which formed its hinterland, lay mainly in Poland.) Gdańsk embraces for administrative purposes the port of Gdynia, developed between the two world wars chiefly for the handling of bulk commodities such as coal and iron ore. Gdańsk-Gdynia is served mainly by rail and road since the Vistula is of little value for commerce.

FOREIGN TRADE

The volume of foreign trade steadily increased in the post-World War II period. About two thirds of it is with other members of the Communist bloc. The most important trading partner is the Soviet Union. The integrated specialization in production among members of COMECON has had the effect of increasing the volume of their mutual trade, since their economies are complementary rather than competitive.

Poland has become an important supplier as well as importer of machinery and equipment. Coal has long been a very important export, but it is approximately balanced by the import of petroleum. The latter comes largely from the Soviet Union by way of the "Friendship Pipeline." Iron ore and textile raw materials are significant imports.

Poland at one time was a major exporter of grain to western Europe. Agricultural exports, however, now take the form of animal products with pork products among the most important of its food exports. The amount of grain that must be imported increases as agriculture declines in relative importance in the country's economy and as the population expands. Helping to offset these imports are significant exports of chemicals, textiles and clothing, footwear, and fishing and other vessels.

Apart from the Communist countries, West Germany is Poland's largest trading partner, followed by the United Kingdom and the United States. In the 1970's, Poland became increasingly dependent on the United States for grain.

3. The People

The Poles are a Slavic people. The core of their country was established in the 10th century by Slavic tribes called the Polane (Poljane), who lived along the bend of the Warta River. Gradually other Slavic tribes to the north and the east were brought under their rule. The Poles then spread across the Vistula, where they partially absorbed the Prussian, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian peoples.

Language. The early Slavic tribes of east-central Europe had their distinctive dialects. These were gradually replaced by standard Polish in the area ruled over by the descendants of the Polane. Standard Polish was derived from the speech of the Polane tribes. Traces of the earlier dialects still exist, however, among the Kaszub of eastern Pomerania and in a language akin to Slovak in some areas of the Polish Carpathians.

Population Growth and Composition. The growth of the Polish population was particularly rapid during the Middle Ages, when the Poles suffered much less severely than the rest of Europe from the ravages of the Black Death. Although the population suffered serious declines during the wars of the 17th century, it recovered during the relative peace of the 18th century and again grew rapidly during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The population of Poland on the eve of World War II was more than 35 million. Of this total almost one third belonged to minority peoples, the most numerous being the Ukrainians or Ruthenians, who made up nearly 14% of the total population. The Jewish community numbered nearly 3 million, most of whom spoke Polish and were fully integrated into Polish life. The Ruthenians and a high proportion of the Jewish population lived in the eastern provinces, which in September 1939 were annexed to the USSR.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of Poland's wartime population losses, but these, including the liquidation of Polish Jews, cannot have been less than 6 million.

Poland's overall reduction in population after World War II was due largely to the loss of Germans. The Germans who had been living in the area that became postwar Poland numbered more than 8,765,000 before World War II. They were concentrated in Pomerania, Silesia, in the former German province of Posen, in Gdańsk, and in East Prussia. Their numbers had increased to well over 10 million during the war by the settlement in German-occupied Poland of refugees from Allied bombing in Germany.

As the war drew to its end, many Germans fled before the Soviet troops advancing on Germany. By 1946 the exodus of Germans had reduced the German population in Polish territory

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to about 2,288,000. This was reduced even further by migration during the following year. When migration effectively ceased in the late 1940's, the German-speaking population of Poland had dropped to between 125,000 and 300,000. In 1975 a treaty was signed by Poland and West Germany relating to the further migration of Germans from Poland. The treaty was ratified by West Germany in 1976. It provided for the issuance by Poland, in the succeeding four years, of exit visas to over 100,000 individuals of German extraction wishing to leave Poland for West Germany.

This enormous migration from Poland after World War II was only partially offset by the immigration of about 1.5 million Poles from the eastern territories of Poland that had passed to the Soviet Union, and by the repatriation of about 2,266,000 Poles who had been taken to Germany as forced labor or who had served in the armies of the western Allies.

A census taken in 1946 revealed that the population of Poland within its new boundaries was about 24 million. The birthrate was high during the following years, and the population rose steadily. By 1960 it had reached 30 million. Thereafter the rate of increase slackened, as the birthrate declined from its postwar peak of more than 25 per 1,000 to 18 per 1,000 in 1974. By 1982 the estimated population totaled 36.1 million.

Religion. The Polish population is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. In the 16th century the Reformation made some progress, but this was reversed during the Counter-Reformation. During the following centuries Poland was faced with the hostility of Prussia and Russia, the one Lutheran, the other Orthodox. The effect was to intensify the Catholicism of Poland. Indeed, Russian interference in the internal affairs of Poland and Russia's involvement in the partitioning of Poland in the 18th century had as their immediate cause the Polish treatment of the Orthodox population in the eastern provinces of the country. During the 19th century, when Poland had ceased to exist as an independent state, the Roman Catholic church played a vital role in keeping alive the spirit of nationalism. Without the village priests who identified loyalty to the church with loyalty to the concept of a Poland, it is possible that many Poles would have become assimilated with their powerful neighbors.

With the establishment of the Polish Communist state after World War II, the very existence of the church was threatened. Yet in no other Soviet-bloc country has Catholicism proved so tenacious in resisting the onslaughts of Communism, which is committed to the promotion of atheism. In the decades following World War II, relations between state and church have oscillated: at times the state seemed to be seeking some kind of partial reconciliation with the church; but more frequently their relationship has been marked with hostility, as the state has stripped the church of all but its spiritual power, which has proved to be beyond the state's grasp.

Jewish Population. The Jewish population of Poland numbered about 2,750,000 before World War II, almost 80 times larger than it is today. The Jews lived chiefly in the cities, and of these urban dwellers a higher proportion lived in eastern than in western Poland. In eastern Poland the Pale of Jewish settlement was established during the Russian Czarist period.

HANS KRAMARZ

Hundreds of thousands of Polish Roman Catholics make a pilgrimage in August to Częstochowa monastery.

In some small towns in eastern Poland the Jews formed, if not a majority, at least a large minority. In Warsaw, where they formed a large and closely knit community, they chiefly inhabited the Muranów suburb, to the northwest of the Old City. Although they were to be found in all walks of life, they were most numerous in urban retailing and in handling the cash sales of the peasantry. Their role in landowning and farming was limited.

The liquidation of Polish Jewry began soon after the German conquest of most of the country in September 1939. Two of the most notorious extermination camps—Oświęcim (Auschwitz), near Kraków, and Majdanek, near Lublin—were on Polish soil. Continued harassment of the Jews provoked the so-called Ghetto Rising in Warsaw in April 1943, when Muranów was barricaded and defended by its Jewish population. Its resistance, however, was short-lived. Muranów was completely destroyed, and those of its inhabitants who survived were sent to concentration camps.

The Jewish population of Poland today is estimated to be about 35,000, but no official count has been made. Furthermore, the Polish government has adopted to some degree an anti-Semitic policy.

Cities, Towns, and Villages. When the Polish Republic was established in 1918, only about one quarter of the population lived in cities and towns. Economic development during the interwar years led to a considerable increase in the size of cities. Nevertheless, the urban population was only slightly more than 30% by 1939. As a result of World War II, Poland lost the lightly urbanized eastern provinces, but gained the more heavily urbanized German provinces in the west. Despite the wartime destruction of such cities as Warsaw and Wrocław, the urban population in 1950 made up 40% of the total, and this increased to more than 50% in the 1970's.

The largest city is Warsaw, with a population of almost 1.6 million. It replaced Kraków as

The Russian-built Palace of Culture and Science, viewed from a modern hotel plaza, is Warsaw's tallest building.

DPI, FLORENCE TOMCZYK

Poland's capital in 1596 because of its central location. The castle (*zamek*) was built overlooking the Vistula. To the north lay the Old City; to the west and south there developed elegant suburbs, in which the Polish aristocracy built magnificent urban palaces. Many of them survive, most of which house departments of the Polish government. Industrial and residential suburbs, including Muranów, grew up at a greater distance from the city center, some of them across the Vistula to the east.

Warsaw's growth was very rapid in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and by 1939 it had a population of 1,289,000. It was then more than three quarters destroyed in the fighting in September 1939 before it capitulated to the Germans, during the Ghetto Rising in 1943, and above all during the general rising against the Germans in 1944.

Rebuilding began soon after this. The Polish government decided on the slow and costly process of reconstructing the Old and Inner City in their traditional styles. They used as models the paintings and drawings made between 1770 and 1780 by Bernardo Bellotto, known as the "Younger Canaletto," when he was court painter to the last king of Poland. The result was widely praised as a prime example of period restoration. The cost was immense, and the rebuilding of housing was unquestionably starved of resources as a result. Warsaw became a museum of Polish history, as it was intended to be, and it was indicative of the prevailing mood of patriotism that scarcely a voice was raised in protest against this example of extravagance.

After Warsaw and its surrounding region, the most highly urbanized areas of Poland are Upper Silesia and the Łódź region. Upper Silesia, with a population of about 1.5 million, is the leading center of heavy industry. Although some of its closely spaced cities antedate the rise of modern industry, most grew up in the 19th century, and are among the worst examples in Europe of unplanned urban growth. Much of the housing is deplorable. But the Polish government has established new residential towns around the periphery of the region, made up largely of row houses, which are generally superior to the earlier forms of workers' housing. The largest towns within the industrial region are Katowice, Zabrze, Bytom, and Chorzów, inhabited mainly by miners and workers in the metal industries.

Łódź, the second-largest city, is southwest of Warsaw. A large, sprawling industrial town, it is engaged largely in textile manufacture. It grew up in the mid-19th century and at one time was notorious for its squalor.

Other important urban centers are Kraków, Wrocław, Bydgoszcz, and the port cities of Gdańsk, Gdynia, and Szczecin.

Kraków (Cracow), the medieval capital of Poland, is a city of great beauty and charm. It is located within a bend of the Vistula, and is dominated by its castle, the Wawel, now a museum and art gallery, and the cathedral, which contains the tombs of many of the early kings of Poland. It was considered to be a conservative and aristocratic city, and it is said to have been for this reason that the Communist regime located the largest of its new iron and steel works and its workers' colony of Nowa Huta a short distance from it. Nowa Huta has been incorporated into Kraków, which has thus been transformed into a mainly working-class city.

Wrocław, formerly the German city of Breslau and capital of the former province of Silesia, is an industrial town lying on the Odra River. Before World War II it was a city of great historical interest and an important center of the engineering and metallurgical industries. It was, however, defended by the Germans against the advancing Russians in 1945 and reduced to ruins. The older part of the city has been rebuilt in traditional style.

Gdańsk (Danzig), the old port city near the mouth of the Vistula, was predominantly German-speaking before World War II. Though it had been constituted a "free city" after World

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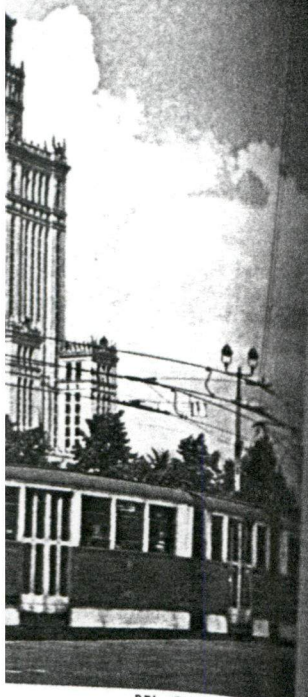

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War I, its population was highly sympathetic to Hitler's Reich. It was the center of heavy fighting in 1945, when it was overrun by the Red Army and severely damaged. The city and its port were rebuilt and reequipped. The older quarters were reconstructed, as in Warsaw and Wrocław, in traditional Renaissance style. The Poles were eager to emphasize that Gdańsk was a Polish city before it passed under German rule. Gdynia, 12 miles (19 km) northwest of Gdańsk, was built up as a port city in the 1920's, and lacks distinction or charm.

Szczecin (Stettin), which is a port city near the mouth of the Odra, was almost wholly destroyed during World War II, and its German population was driven out. It was rebuilt and colonized by Polish immigrants from the lost eastern provinces. Other important industrial cities are Poznań (Posen), Bydgoszcz (Bromberg), Lublin, and Częstochowa. There are many medium-sized and small towns.

Generally, the cottages in the villages line both sides of a street, usually have one story, and are built of wood and thatched according to traditional designs, which vary from one part of the country to another. Peasant costumes are still worn in some areas on holidays and other festive occasions.

4. Culture

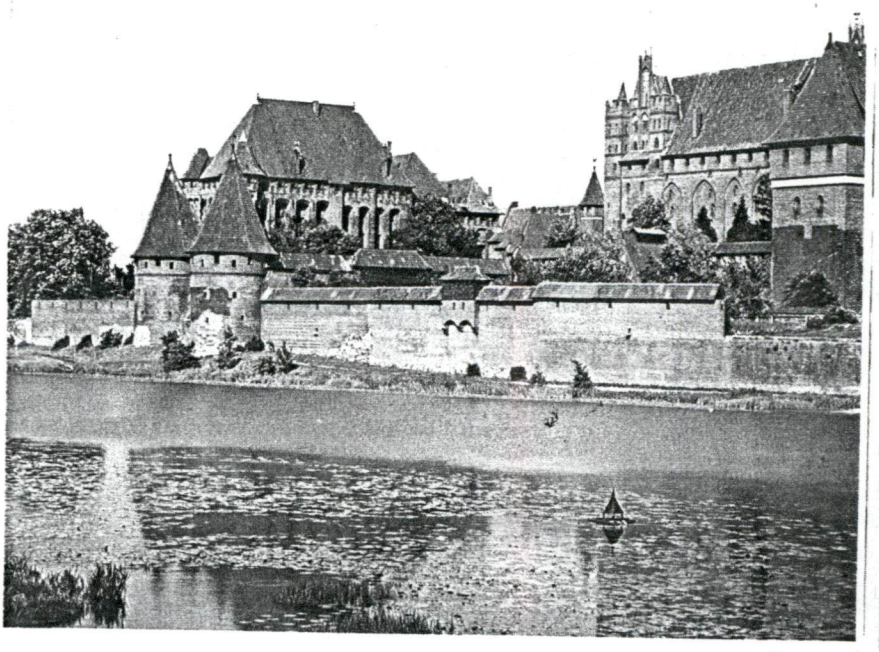
Few European peoples are more deeply conscious of their past than the Poles. This is reflected in their preservation of traditional styles in the postwar rebuilding of ruined cities and of customs that in other Communist countries would have been condemned as bourgeois.

A great deal of Polish culture has an aristocratic quality. The Polish nobility and gentry, shortsighted though they were politically, nevertheless set a standard of graceful living that other sections of society have in varying degrees tried to approximate. In art and architecture, music and dancing, even in daily personal relationships, this quality is apparent. The nobility and gentry were of the same ethnic stock as the peasantry and shared with them the same language. By contrast, the upper classes in the Czech lands tended to be German, and in southeastern Europe they were for a long time Turkish.

Literature. The Polish cultural tradition took shape between the 16th and 19th centuries. By the 16th century a flexible and versatile written language had evolved. A literary tradition began to develop, and within a century a large and varied literature had come into existence. Prominent among a large number of Renaissance writers was Mikołaj Rej, whose most important work was one in prose on the rural life of the Polish gentry. Among early poets was the 16th century humanist Jan Kochanowski, who created a national poetic literature in the classic and humanistic spirit. Outstanding writers in the 18th century included the political reformer Hugo Kołłątaj, the real drafter of the Constitution of 1791; and Ignacy Krasicki, a poet and the author of Poland's first novel, *The Adventures of Mikołaj Doświadczyński* (1776).

The Romantic period was the most distinguished in Polish literature, because the deeply felt tragedy of the partitions and the demise of the Polish state gave rise to intense literary expression. It was dominated by the work of three poets, Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Zygmunt Krasiński. Mickiewicz fled his country with the failure of the 1830–1831 rising against Poland's Russian rulers and became the literary leader of the Poles in exile. He published many poems, but he is chiefly known for his epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*, which presented a sympathetic picture of rural life in Lithuania. Thanks to him, Polish literature came into the orbit of world literature. Słowacki was a poetic dramatist of great power and intensity, whose work revolved around the tragedy of the Polish nation. Krasiński, the last of the three great figures of Polish Romanticism, was also a dramatist whose plays had a deep political purpose. He was a prominent exponent of what has been called Polish

HANS KRAMARZ



Malbork (Marienburg) Castle is one of the largest medieval secular buildings in Europe. It was built by the Teutonic Knights in the 13th century after they had conquered Prussia. The headquarters of the knights in what is now northern Poland, this castle withstood several sieges before the Poles took possession of it in the 15th century.

K. KAMINSKI, TAURUS PHOTOS

The royal castle on Wawel Hill in Kraków was the seat of the kings of Poland in the 14th–16th centuries.

messianism—the view of Poland, "the Christ among the nations," as suffering, dying, and rising again.

The Romantic tradition gave way to a more realistic vein after the failure of the final rising against Russia in 1863–1864. Polish writing became less visionary and concerned itself more with economic and social improvement within a political framework that clearly could not be changed in the near future. The short stories and novels of Bolesław Prus, pseudonym of Aleksander Głowacki, were of paramount importance for the development of the art of realistic narration in Poland. Best known to the West of the writers of this period was Henryk Sienkiewicz, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1905 for *The Teutonic Knights*. His *Quo Vadis* had a world circulation in the millions.

At the turn of the century, realism gave way to symbolism and modernism. One of the outstanding poets of the new era was Jan Kasprowicz, a lyric poet. The gifted novelist Stefan Żeromski brought an unprecedented lyrical vividness to his descriptions of poverty, suffering, and social evil. The novelist Władysław Reymont won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1924 for his novel *The Peasants*. The most creative dramatist of the period was Stanisław Wyspiański.

In the first decade of Poland's rebirth as a sovereign nation, lyric poetry predominated, under the aegis of a group called the Skamandrites. Its outstanding poet was Juljan Tuwim. The novelists generally were realists.

After World War II, socialist realism took root, with literature tending to serve the political aims of the state. However, when Nikita Khrushchev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1956, a temporary "thaw" ensued in Poland that permitted greater literary freedom.

Music. Poland has a rich legacy of folk song and dance, which was refined for performance in the homes of the gentry. Most Polish composers made use of traditional materials, and none more than Chopin, Poland's most famous composer. Karol Kurpiński and Stanisław Moniuszko were leading operatic composers of the 19th century, who used the stage to present various aspects of Polish life and aspirations. The 20th century composer Karol Szymanowski, while never forgetting the national tradition in music, reflected more closely the impressionist trends of western Europe. Witold Lutosławski and Krzysztof Penderecki reflect contemporary trends in musical thought.

Architecture and Painting. Though architecture in Poland has always been influenced by foreign styles, it has never lost its traditional and national flavor. This is shown in the Renaissance architecture of the cities of southern Poland. In the 18th century the landowners built rural manor houses and urban palaces in the restrained classical style known as Palladian. Warsaw contains some of the finest Palladian architecture in Europe. Every effort is made to preserve the older buildings as part of Poland's cultural heritage. This is particularly true in the carefully rebuilt parts of Warsaw, Gdańsk, Poznań, and Wrocław.

Painting developed later than literature and architecture. Bernardo Belloto, an Italian, portrayed Polish life in the late 18th century. Painting in the 19th century was romantic and nationalist, and Jan Matejko, the best-known artist of the period, portrayed heroic scenes from Poland's history.

As in the case of literature, socialist realism was the dominant style in the post-World War II period. However some artists, working without public sanction, painted in the same modernist styles that were current in the non-Communist world.

Cinema. Two Polish film directors gained an international reputation after World War II. Andrzej Wajda directed a trilogy consisting of *A Generation* (1954), *Kanal* (1957), and *Ashes and Diamonds* (1958). Roman Polanski's *Knife in the Water* appeared in 1962. On the strength of this work he was welcomed by foreign producers and continued his work in the United States and elsewhere.

5. Education

In 1918, Poland faced the enormous task of overcoming the inadequacies of the educational systems as they had developed in German-, Russian-, and Austrian-held Poland. In Russian Poland, illiteracy was high. In German Poland, education had been subordinated to other objectives of the state, two of which were to counter the influence of the Roman Catholic Church and to destroy Polish nationalism.

The educational system devised for a united Poland reduced illiteracy to 12% by 1939. Schooling was made compulsory for all between the ages of 8 and 15. Education was organized in two stages, primary and secondary, with a third stage for selected students between the ages of 16 and 18. Private organizations, in particular the Roman Catholic Church, played an important role in organizing education. The Polish authorities permitted teaching in non-Polish languages in communities where these were spoken. In a large number of schools, German, Lithuanian, Russian, Ukrainian, Czech were used.

Education in Communis

War II the Communist more uniform and closely system. Few concessions minorities, and the role in education, in particular blocked. Education in the on Marxist-Leninist lines written to fit the new e The history books now Union as Poland's savior. teaching of the Russian la pulsory, and training in r tific subjects was strengthe

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Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Yiddish, and Hebrew were used.

Education in Communist Poland. After World War II the Communist authorities imposed a more uniform and closely controlled educational system. Few concessions were made to linguistic minorities, and the role of private organizations in education, in particular that of the church, was blocked. Education in the schools was organized on Marxist-Leninist lines. Textbooks were rewritten to fit the new educational philosophy. The history books now portrayed the Soviet Union as Poland's savior. At the same time the teaching of the Russian language was made compulsory, and training in mathematics and scientific subjects was strengthened.

Below the university level, education is organized into three stages. Children are required to attend nursery schools from 4 to 6, in part to indoctrinate them at an early age, in part to allow their mothers to take factory or office jobs. Compulsory schooling continues to the age of 15 and is followed by an optional period of three years, during which the student usually specializes in scientific subjects. In attempting to fulfill its declared objective of creating a skilled and literate work force for a modern industrial society, Poland has undoubtedly achieved considerable success with this educational system. The price has been the suppression of religious education, the loss of the richness and variety of a system that was adjusted to ethnic and regional differences, and the imposition of a crude Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

Before 1939, Poland as it then existed had five universities. The Jagiellonian University in Kraków, founded in 1364, was one of the oldest in Europe. The others were at Warsaw, Poznań, Lwów, and Vilna. The last two are now in the Soviet Union. In addition, there was a Catholic University at Lublin, supported and staffed by the church. This still survives as the only private university in the whole Communist bloc. As a result of boundary changes, Poland acquired the university of Wrocław (Breslau). It has also founded five new universities at Łódź, Lublin, Gdańsk, Katowice, and Toruń. The one at Lublin was clearly designed to counter the influence of the Catholic University of Lublin, located a short distance away on the same street.

There are in addition ten technical universities, in which instruction is geared to the needs of industry; seven agricultural colleges; six institutes specializing in economics and social sciences; and a number of training colleges for teachers, music academies, schools of art and drama, and vocational schools that provide part-time training for those already employed. Medical schools, which were formerly attached to the universities, are now dependent directly on the ministry of health. A number of new academies of medicine were founded in the 1950's.

At the summit of the Polish educational system is the Academy of Sciences. In its organization it is modeled directly on the Soviet Academy, with a number of institutes or divisions corresponding with special fields of knowledge. It is not primarily a teaching institution, though its staff has close links with the University of Warsaw. Its purpose is to carry on research, to provide a link between the government and academic bodies, and, above all, to ensure that higher education and research conform strictly with the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

6. Government

Before World War II, Poland was, according to its constitution, a parliamentary democracy. However the spirt of the constitution was violated when Marshal Piłsudski, minister for war and inspector general of the army, exercised almost dictatorial control in the decade before his death in 1935. This constitution effectively lapsed with the fall of the republic in 1939, though appeal was constantly made to it by the postwar government. A temporary constitution was adopted in 1947, but it was continuously modified in the direction of the Soviet Union's.

A new constitution was adopted on July 22, 1952. Openly modeled on Stalin's constitution of 1936, it provides for a single chamber assembly, or Sejm, elected for a four-year term by all citizens over 17 years old. There is, however, a single list of candidates, so that the elector can vote only for or against the official nominee.

The chief function of the Sejm is to choose the Council of State, which corresponds to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet within the Soviet Union. The chairman of the Council of State is the titular chief of state. The council serves as a kind of collective sovereign body for the Polish state. It can issue binding decrees in time of emergency and is the supreme interpreter of the constitution in cases of dispute. It does not, however, exercise executive functions under normal conditions. These are vested in the Council of Ministers, a kind of cabinet, presided over by a chairman who serves as premier. The Council of Ministers is elected by the Sejm. It is the duty of the Council of Ministers to prepare the budget and to formulate the economic plans, all of which must be submitted to the Sejm for ratification. This constitution establishes certain outward forms of democracy, including the responsibility of the premier and Council of Ministers to the Sejm. They are, however, nominees of the party, as is the Sejm itself. Furthermore, the Council of State also includes nominees of the Communist party.

Communist Party Structure. The Communist party of Poland, known as the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza), was formed in 1948 by a fusion of the Communist Polish Workers' party with the Polish Socialist party. Its membership, always quite small, is about 2.5 million. This is in keeping with the general Communist practice of preferring a small party of indoctrinated and dedicated cadres to a larger group of doubtful loyalty. The party is more highly organized and more active in the industrial cities and the western parts of the country than it is in the east, where the relatively conservative peasantry is numerically dominant.

The local Communist parties elect members to the central committee of the party, which in turn delegates control over all political activity to its politburo (political bureau). The most powerful person within both the central committee and its politburo is its first secretary.

Power in Poland ultimately rests with the central committee and its first secretary, since they in fact control all the institutions of government provided for in the constitution. This is not to say, however, that they are beyond the reach of public pressure. In 1956, in 1970, and in 1980, rioting led to shakeups in the party and the replacement of the first secretary.

Local Government. Following the reform of the administrative structure in 1973–1975, the number of provinces (*województwa*) was increased from 22 to 49, of which three are the metropolitan cities of Warsaw, Łódź, and Kraków. In each there is a twofold structure of civil government and party organization. At the local level of administration there are 2,365 *gminy* (communities), which have replaced the earlier and more complex structure of counties, municipalities, and communes. In each of these lower-order units, peoples' councils, similar to the soviets in the USSR, exercise jurisdiction over local affairs.

These major reforms in local administration had the effect of reducing the size of the bureaucracy, since thousands of jobs were eliminated with the demise of the counties (*powiaty*). Furthermore, increasing the number of provinces meant the reduction of each in size. In this way Warsaw was able to dilute the political importance of the provincial party chiefs.

Defense. Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact (the Eastern European Mutual Aid Treaty). It maintains a standing army with paramilitary units. It is organized on the Soviet model, with three military areas based on Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, and Wrocław. Polish youth are subject to conscription at the age of 18, and may be recalled for service up to 50.

There is also an air force, equipped with Soviet-built planes. The navy consists of a few destroyers and submarines, together with minesweepers and auxiliary craft.

A Soviet force of two divisions is maintained on Polish soil for the ostensible purpose of maintaining communications with the Soviet forces in East Germany. Though stationed away from centers of population and rarely seen, this military presence is a guarantee of the loyalty of Poland to the Soviet Union.

7. History

The Polish state was born in the middle years of the 10th century. It appears in recorded history in 963, and this date is commonly taken to mark its beginning. Poland was formed by Slavic tribes that lived in the area between the Odra and the Vistula rivers. The most important of these Slavic tribes were the Polane (Poljane), literally "the people of the plain." It is from them that Poland derives its name.

The Polane, originally a loosely knit group of tribes, were first brought under a common leadership in the early 10th century. To the north of the Polane lived the Slavic Pomorzanie, literally "the people beside the sea," whose name survives in the regional name of Pomorze (Pomerania). The Slavic Mazowszanie lived to the east in the Vistula Valley. These regional groupings of Slavic tribes persisted through the Middle Ages in Poland and were reflected in Poland's political divisions. Some of the tribes continued to exist in almost complete independence.

The Piast Dynasty. The first historically verifiable member of the family that dominated the area between the Odra and the Vistula was Mieszko I. He founded the Piast dynasty, Piast being the name of one of his family's legendary ancestors. Mieszko (reigned about 963–992), who was recognized as king by Emperor Otto III, and his immediate successor, Boleslav the Brave (Bolesław Chrobry; reigned 992–1025), greatly expanded the limits of their state, conquering territory westward to the Odra, northward to the Baltic, and southward to the mountains. The general limits of the state over which the early Piasts asserted at least nominal control were approximately those of modern Poland, exclusive of its northeastern section. The seat of Piast authority was Gniezno, in the center of their

Highland shepherds wearing traditional costumes drive their sheep into summer pastures in the Tatra uplands.

state. From here it was moved to Poznań, and by their successors in about 1300 to Kraków.

Mieszko converted to Christianity and placed Poland under the direct authority of the pope. Gniezno became the seat of an archbishop, which it remained until the 19th century, when the seat of the archbishop and primate of Poland was moved to Warsaw.

The political history of Poland during the next 500 years is extraordinarily complex. The country continued until the late 14th century to be ruled by members of the Piast dynasty. But for much of this period Poland was not a united country. It was the practice among the Piasts to make provision for younger sons by granting them a duchy or province for their support. The king continued to have a nominal suzerainty over the whole country, but his authority was effective only in those areas that were under his direct control. Periodically, however, those Piast families holding appanages from the crown would die out, and their territories would revert to the king. As a result, the country alternately disintegrated and drew together again.

Among the rulers who restored unity to the country were Casimir (Kazimierz) I, named Odnowiciel, the "Restorer," in the 11th century; Boleslav III, nicknamed Krzywousty, the "Wry-mouthed" (reigned 1102–1138), who tried unsuccessfully to terminate the practice of royal alienation of land; and Vladislav (Władysław) I, called Łokietek, "the Short" (reigned about 1306–1333). Vladislav was succeeded by his only son, Casimir III, known later as Wielki, "the Great" (reigned 1333–1370), the most distinguished ruler Poland was to know. He is remembered for his founding of Poland's first university, the University of Kraków, his patronage of the arts, and the encouragement he gave to the economic development of the country.

The weakness of the Polish crown under the Piasts, coupled with the political divisions within Poland, permitted Germans to encroach on Polish territory. Germans advanced across the Odra, which had served as the western boundary of the early Polish tribes, and much of Pomerania became German in speech. Rulers of the western provinces changed their allegiance from the Polish crown to the Holy Roman Empire, and even Casimir III relinquished the rich province of Silesia to the king of Bohemia. The Polish state was thus in retreat from its earlier boundary along the Odra river.

There were even times when Piast leaders invited Germans to aid them in their internal disputes. In this way the crusading Knights of the Teutonic Order went to East Prussia about 1226, invited by the Polish prince Conrad of Mazowsze (Masovia) to help him defend his borders against the fierce, marauding Prussian tribes. Inevitably, the German knights stayed to occupy the land they had been asked to protect.

The Jagiellonian Dynasty of Poland-Lithuania. Casimir III the Great left no direct heir. The throne passed to his nephew Louis, who was also king of Hungary. In 1382, Louis died and was succeeded as "king of Poland" by his daughter Jadwiga. In 1386 she married Vladislav Jagiello (Władysław Jagiełło), grand duke of Lithuania, who was crowned king of Poland, the first of the Jagiellonian line. In his person he united the Polish state with the vast duchy of Lithuania. For two centuries the two countries were almost continuously united in the sense that they had a common sovereign. By the Union of Lublin in 1569, concluded a few years before the death of the last Jagiellonian king, this personal or dynastic union was replaced by the political union of the kingdom of Poland and the grand principality of Lithuania.

The Poles had already begun to penetrate Lithuania, still largely pagan and tribal in its organization, when the Lithuanian duke Jagiełło became king of Poland. The Polish nobles soon formed a blood brotherhood with the Lithuanian landed aristocracy and carved out for themselves vast estates in this thinly populated land. At the same time the Lithuanians were converted to Roman Catholicism.

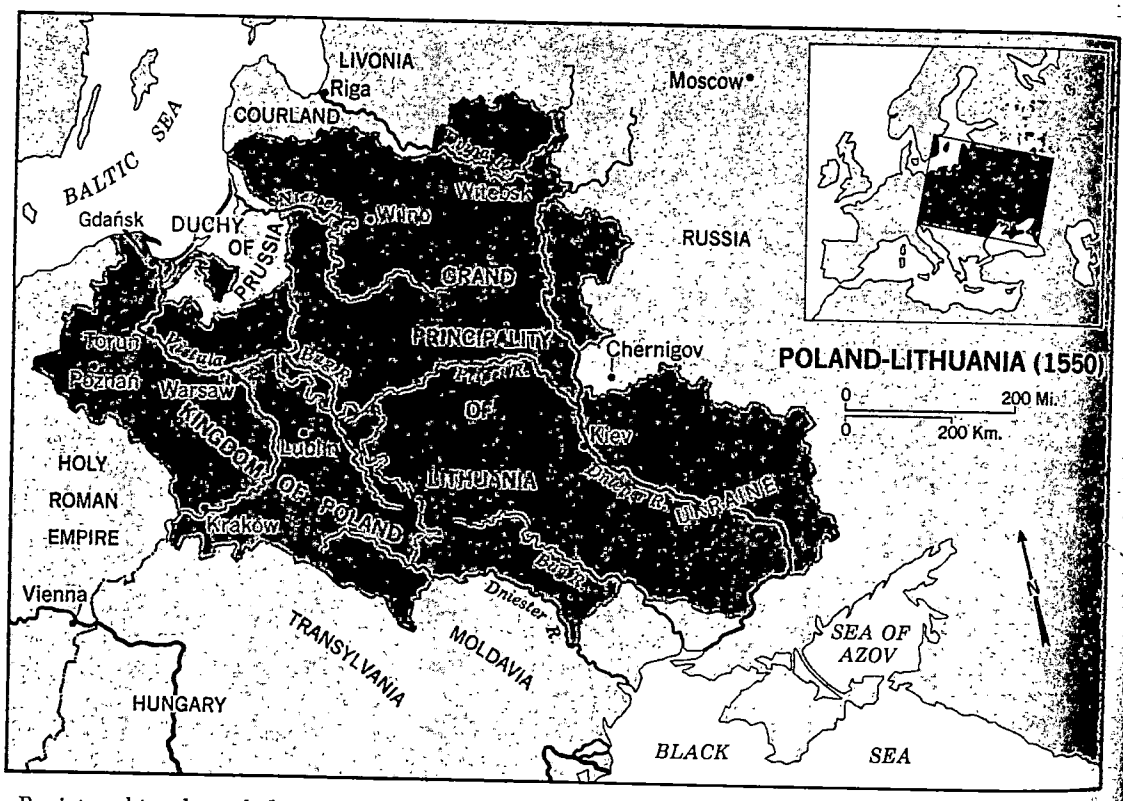
The Poles hoped to use Lithuanian manpower in order to help stem the advance of the Germans. Of the Germans, the Teutonic Knights of Prussia presented the gravest threat because they were well disciplined and efficiently armed and equipped. From their fortress of Malbork (Marienburg), they made raids into Polish territory. But in 1410, Jagiełło and his Polish-Lithuanian army defeated the German knights at Tannenberg (Grunwald). The Poles failed to follow up their victory, but at least they contained the Germans, who thereafter posed no serious threat to them for more than two centuries. The Teutonic Order retained its land in Prussia, though in 1466 it was obliged to accept Polish sovereignty over it. At the Reformation, these Prussian lands were secularized and ultimately passed to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, by whom they were eventually used as a springboard for an attack on Poland.

During the Jagiellonian period, which lasted almost two centuries, Poland became at least outwardly prosperous: the estates of the aristocracy produced grain for export to western Europe, and the merchants of Gdańsk grew rich on trade. Yet all was not well with the Polish state. The kings, in origin Lithuanian rather than Polish, made far-reaching concessions to the gentry, or *szlachta*. This numerous body of landowners gained exemption from taxation in 1374 and the right to fill the major offices of state. The *szlachta* were given wide powers over their tenants, whose status they soon depressed to that of serfs.

Decline of Poland. In 1572, Sigismund (Zygmunt) II, the last king of the house of Jagiełło, died. Thereafter, until the disappearance of Poland at the end of the 18th century, rulers were elected not only from among the Poles but also from various royal and princely houses of Europe. None of the foreign rulers had any deep interest in the fortunes of Poland, and all were prepared to make concessions to the politically powerful landowning gentry to secure election to the throne or to preserve an outward peace and order.

The most successful of these elected kings was Stephen Batory (Báthory; reigned 1575–1586), prince of Transylvania. He was followed by the Vasa kings, members of the Swedish royal family. In 1669 a Pole, Michał Wiśniowiecki, was chosen king. He ruled as Michael I and was followed by another member of the Polish aristocracy, Jan Sobieski, who ruled as John III. John's death in 1696 was followed by the choice of Augustus II, who as Frederick Augustus I was elector of Saxony. His son, who succeeded him as Augustus III, was confirmed as Poland's king in 1736. The last king of Poland, Stanisław

tures in the Tatra uplands.



Poniatowski, who ruled as Stanislav II (reigned 1764–1795), was once again a native Pole.

This succession of weak rulers was confronted with problems that were far more serious than those the Jagiellonian kings had faced. The influence of the gentry continued to grow, and the power they usurped was generally used for selfish ends. Eventually they acquired the right of *liberum veto*, by means of which any one of them could veto the proceedings and decisions of the gentry meeting in the Sejm. Thus no policy could be adopted or consistently pursued, and government gradually came to be replaced by the "golden anarchy" of the Polish gentry.

The spread of serfdom impoverished the peasantry and reduced their demand for goods. Craft industries withered, and the commerce of the small towns dried up. Poland became one of the least progressive countries in Europe.

The political unification of Poland and Lithuania in important respects weakened rather than strengthened the state. The Poles were almost exclusively Roman Catholic, as were many in the Lithuanian aristocracy and gentry. But the peasantry and lesser gentry of at least the southeastern parts of Lithuania were Orthodox and resented the imposition of Catholic practices such as the payment of the tithe. The feudal and social stratification already present in these regions was reinforced by a religious gulf that was to have disastrous consequences.

International Repercussions of Poland's Decline. As Poland's domestic problems increased, so did the power of its neighbors: Prussia to the west, the Habsburg Empire to the south, the Tatars and Turks to the southeast, and Muscovy, or Russia, to the east. The only external threat that Poland had previously faced was from the Germans. Now land-hungry neighbors watched as Poland grew steadily weaker, until at last they fell upon the helpless country and divided it among themselves.

The first intimation of this fate came in the mid-17th century. Poland, which had been able to avoid entanglement in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), became deeply involved in war on its southeastern frontier. Poles were pressing into the Ukrainian steppe, and their leaders were establishing large estates there. This aroused the hostility of two separate groups: the native peoples of the steppe, the seminomadic Tatars, and the mixed group of frontiersmen or Cossacks, whose leader Bohdan Chmielnicki (Ukrainian, Khmelnytzkyi) became the most determined adversary of Poland. The Tatars and Cossacks were supported in their resistance to the Poles by the Turks to the south and the Russians to the north. Poland suffered severely during these confusing frontier wars.

In 1655, Poland was invaded by the Swedes, who sought to extend their control in the Baltic region. The Swedes were joined by the Brandenburgers, and Poland was overrun by foreign armies. The Swedes were victorious until they attacked the hilltop monastery of Jasna Góra at Częstochowa in southern Poland. There they met with unexpectedly stubborn resistance and were defeated. According to Polish legend, the defenders were aided by the direct intervention of a religious ikon, the so-called Black Madonna, which hung within the monastery. In any case, the Poles were heartened by what they considered divine support and forced the Swedes back to the coast. The war dragged on for almost five more years. It ended with the Peace of Oliva (1660), by which Poland lost territory to both Sweden and Brandenburg. Poland was devastated and impoverished, but it had at least survived.

The war in the steppe, however, was not over, in part because the Russian czar had everything to gain from stirring up the Cossacks and Tatars against the Poles. Muscovy began its steady pressure against the Polish-Lithuanian state and in 1667 succeeded in annexing the Kiev region. To the southeast the Turks joined in the war against Poland. They were held by Jan Sobieski, later King John III, the last hero-king of Poland, who ultimately drove them back

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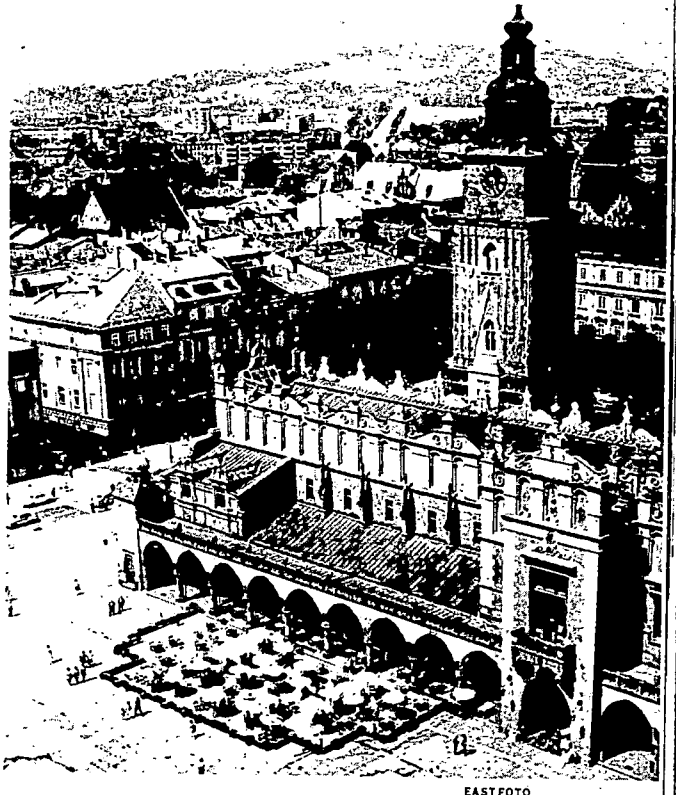
The 18th century was marked by the con... weakness of Poland. The country again ... fought over in the course of the wars be... Sweden and Russia. Augustus II, Poland's ... who was also elector of Saxony, put the ... ests of his Saxon electorate before those of ... Polish kingdom. In 1733, when the Polish ... tried to elect a native Pole as his successor, ... was foiled by the Russian empress Anna Iva... ... who won the succession for the elector's ... who ruled as Augustus III. On the death of ... Augustus III, the last "Saxon" king, in 1763, the ... empress Catherine the Great nominated ... former lover, Stanisław Poniatowski, who ... Poland as Stanislav II. He failed to become ... Catherine's pawn and so won her enmity.

Social and Religious Conditions in Poland Prior to the Partitions. In the 18th century the political ... within Poland was dominated by a small ... of aristocratic families, of which the ... Czartoryski, Lubomirski, Radziwiłł, and Potocki ... among the most important. Each owned ... estates. The Lubomirski were said to have ... 10,000 square miles (26,000 sq km) of ... 31 small towns, and more than 700 villages. The gentry, each of whom held an estate, however small, numbered more than 700,000. They were a turbulent and unruly lot. Many were impoverished. Most were prepared to sell their vote and their sword to the highest bidder, and they tended to form factions centering on one or more of the rich magnates. Towns were numerous but small. Only Warsaw exceeded 50,000 inhabitants by the end of the century, and the urban middle class was small and politically powerless. The rest of the population—no less than 85% of the total—was made up of the peasantry. They were poor, weighed down by feudal obligations to their lords, and wholly without political rights or aspirations.

The social and political problems of Poland tended to assume the outward forms of a religious dispute. Most ethnic Poles were Roman Catholic. Protestantism had made some headway in the towns in the 16th century but had then been largely suppressed by the forces of the Counter-Reformation. Lutheranism had made progress among Lithuanians. But most of the lesser gentry and much of the peasantry in southeastern Poland and southern Lithuania belonged to the Eastern (Orthodox) Church, though some belonged to the compromise Uniate Church, Orthodox in ritual and organization but under the authority of the papacy.

The Partitions of Poland. The dissolution of the Polish state was precipitated by these religious differences. The Roman Catholic *szlachta* had never been well disposed toward their Orthodox peasantry. By the mid-18th century, however, the latter had found a champion in the Russian czar. Under Russian pressure, the Sejm took steps to protect the Orthodox subjects of the Polish state. The Catholic gentry of southeastern Poland, inspired by religious fanaticism, hatred of the Russians, and fear that their control over their own peasants might be restricted, broke into revolt in 1768. The rebellion was suppressed by a Russian army, while Turks, Austrians, and Prussians watched from the sidelines, each eager to be in the forefront in case of any general dismemberment of the Polish-Lithuanian state.



EAST FOTO

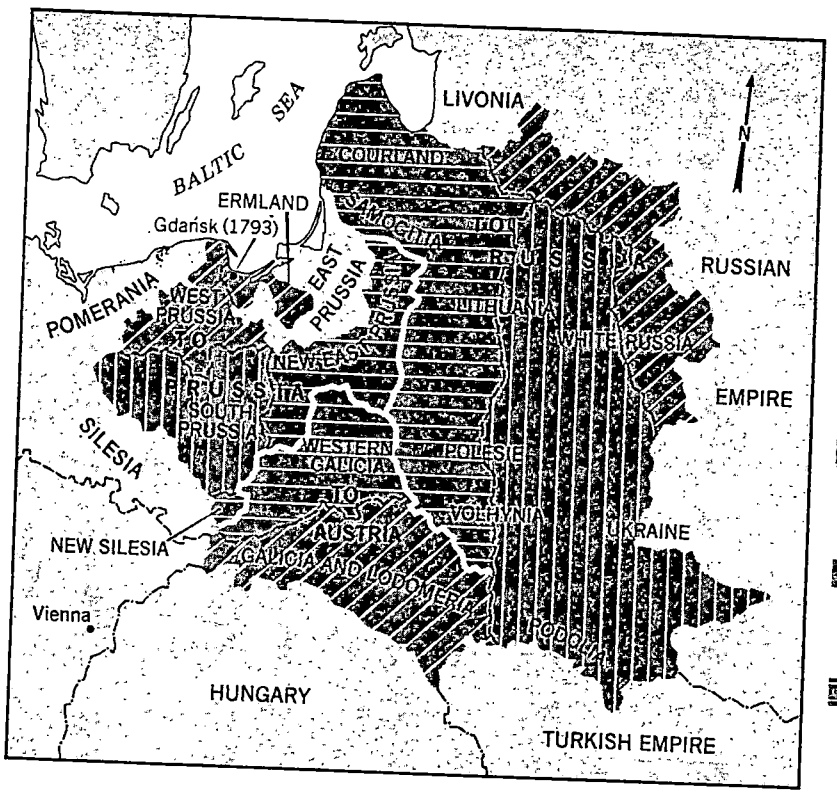
Kraków's historic Cloth Hall, backed by the Town Hall tower, encloses one side of the city's large market square.

The first partition (1772) was organized by the ambassadors of Poland's three most powerful neighbors. Prussia took Ermland and Pomerelia (renamed West Prussia), but without Gdańsk. Austria acquired Galicia, and Russia absorbed a substantial part of what is today White Russia. The Ottoman Empire was too weak to claim a share of the spoils.

The first partition occurred because the Poles lacked the unity and leadership to resist. But the next 20 years were marked not only by an outpouring of visionary, patriotic fervor but also by a realistic attempt to reform the constitution. The reform movement had a strongly anti-Russian character, and its progress was continuously watched and, where possible, opposed by Russian emissaries. A constitution was accepted on May 3, 1791, a date that subsequently became the Polish national day. It was for its time a liberal document. The legislative process was defined; the *liberum veto*, the source of so much inaction in the past, was abolished; a strong executive was established; and the kingship was made hereditary.

Yet there still remained some Poles, chiefly in the steppe region of the southeast, who clung to their ideals of *szlachta* power and "golden anarchy." In 1792 they revolted against the new order and were supported by the Russian empress Catherine. The Russian Army advanced on Warsaw, and, as Catherine prepared to annex a substantial area of Poland, the king of Prussia hastened to ensure that he was not omitted from any division of the spoils.

In the second partition (1793), Russia claimed a vast tract of land from northern Lithuania to the Ukraine, while Prussia took western Poland (Wielkopolska, renamed South Prussia) with the cities of Poznań and Gdańsk. The Sejm was



powerless to resist the Russian Army and unwillingly accepted the demands made. Not so the more patriotic elements among the gentry. These were led by Tadeusz Kościuszko and supported by some of the small middle class and even by some peasants. They turned against the king and seized Warsaw in 1794, but they were quickly overcome by the superior Russian Army.

Catherine the Great was determined to solve the Polish question by destroying Poland. What was left of the state was divided in 1795 (the final settlement was not completed until 1797) among Russia, which took the lion's share, Prussia, and Austria.

A Polish state, the so-called grand duchy of Warsaw, was revived by Napoleon in 1807. It was never more than a puppet state of the French.

Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Poland. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 constituted the so-called Congress kingdom of Poland. It included the greater part of Napoleon's grand duchy of Warsaw, and its kings were to be the Romanov emperors of Russia.

The 19th century was marked on the one hand by continued Polish resistance to foreign, in particular Russian, rule, and on the other by considerable economic progress. In 1830, Polish discontent broke out in a rising against Russian rule. It was undertaken with enthusiasm, but conducted without military or political skill, and was savagely suppressed. A stream of refugees, including the cream of Polish intelligentsia, went into exile, chiefly to France. The Russians replied by suppressing the limited autonomy the Congress kingdom possessed and, after incorporating the kingdom into the Russian Empire, ruled the territory firmly and autocratically. Anti-Russian feeling, however, continued to build up, fanned by the writings of Polish exiles, some of them—by Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki, for example—of the highest literary quality. In 1863 another ill-planned and disastrous rising was ruthlessly suppressed by the Russians. The failure of the 1863 rising and its savage aftermath marked the end of the period of direct action against Russian rule.

In Austrian and Prussian Poland, events followed a similar course. Risings, especially in 1848, were suppressed. In Galicia, the Austrians succeeded in diverting the peasants' wrath from themselves to the peasants' own Polish landlords. Austrian rule, however, was easygoing, and Austria provided a safe haven for those who conspired against Russian and Prussian rule. Prussia's rule over its Polish lands was in some ways the most reactionary of the three, though its economic policies were generally progressive.

In all parts of historic Poland, the second half of the 19th century was marked by social and economic progress rather than by direct political action. In Russian Poland the serfs were freed in 1864, a step designed more to injure the landowning gentry than to conciliate the peasants. Its effect, however, was to give the latter a greater stake in the land and to lead to their more active participation in the national movement. Though no significant revolution was effected in agriculture, manufacturing made considerable advances. Ironworking was expanded in Russian Silesia, and the great textile center of Łódź grew from a village to one of the foremost industrial cities in eastern Europe. At the same time a railway network spread over Poland, a rudimentary educational system was established, and the nation prepared itself for ultimate independence.

It is impossible to overestimate the role of the Roman Catholic Church and clergy in keeping Polish nationalism alive during this period.

Russians were Orthodox and the Prussians Lutheran. To be Catholic was a way of expressing hostility to both, and the church became and has remained a very important symbol of Polish nationhood.

The Prussian government attempted to destroy Polish nationalism by restricting the use of the language and attacking the role of the Catholic Church in protecting Polish culture. The Austrians, however, were Catholic like the Poles, and in Galicia it was impossible to use religion as a rallying point for Polish nationalism.

Establishment of the Polish Republic. World War I marked a turning point in the history of Poland. All three partitioning powers were involved in the struggle, and it seemed to most Poles that they had to back either the Russians or Germany and Austria and extract what concessions they could. The two sides found protagonists respectively in Józef Piłsudski and Roman Dmowski. The former was fanatically anti-Russian. He organized a brigade that fought for the Central Powers against Russia. Dmowski, on the other hand, regarded Germany as the chief enemy of the Poles and argued for the unity of all Slavic peoples, including the Russians, to resist German pretensions.

Events, however, settled the issue. The Russian Revolution and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918) removed Russia from Polish affairs. Piłsudski now turned against the Central Powers as the only force preventing the revival of the Polish state and thus joined with Dmowski. In the meantime, the Polish question had assumed a new dimension. Powers not directly involved in the partitions regarded the revival of the Polish state as important, and U. S. President Woodrow Wilson declared this to be one of the conditions of a peaceful and stable Europe.

The Western allies meeting in Paris could determine in part the territorial shape of the new Poland and could impose their decisions on Germany and Austria. A boundary was traced between Poland and Germany, giving the former the so-called Polish Corridor, South Prussia, including the German province of Posen (Poznań), and a substantial part of the Upper Silesian coal basin. The boundaries with East Prussia, which remained part of Germany, and in Upper Silesia were subject to plebiscites. Gdańsk (Danzig), which was heavily German in language and sympathy but nevertheless served as the chief commercial outlet of Poland, was established as a separate free city under the protection of the League of Nations.

The Western allies had no authority to impose a boundary between Poland and the new Bolshevik Russian republic. The Poles made ambitious claims. In response, the Red Army forces pushed the Polish Army back on Warsaw in July 1920. At the Battle of the Vistula (August 1920), the Poles, led by Piłsudski, checked the Russian advance, then attacked and invaded Russia. The Western allies had urged caution on Piłsudski and had suggested a boundary, the so-called Curzon Line, that was too restricted for Piłsudski's ambitions. When the Russo-Polish war was ended by the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921), the Poles found themselves in possession of a substantial area of White Russian and Ukrainian territory, well to the east of the Curzon Line. In much of it, no ethnic Poles were to be found.

The advance into Russia also raised the question of the Polish boundary with the Lithuanian republic, which had recently been formed from Russian territory. Wilno (Lithuanian, Vilnius), the traditional capital of Lithuania, was included in the new republic. But Wilno was also of great significance in Polish history and culture. It was seized by the Poles in 1922 and incorporated into Poland. The Lithuanians, without allies and unable to resist, closed their borders with Poland and broke off all diplomatic relations for nearly 20 years.

The western boundaries of Poland were not free from trouble. The plebiscite regarding the border with East Prussia went in favor of Germany. The regime established for Gdańsk worked far from smoothly. The city's German population was accused, with reason, of working against the interests of the Polish state. Poland began the construction of the port of Gdynia to the north of Gdańsk on a virgin site that it could control. Gdynia inevitably detracted from the business of Gdańsk, and this further antagonized its Germanophile population.

The industrialized region of Upper Silesia contained a mixed population through which it was extremely difficult to draw a boundary. The line finally approved by the Allied Powers in 1921 awarded to Poland that part of the region that contained most of the coal mines, the coal reserves, the iron-ore deposits, and the industrial enterprises.

There was, lastly, a bitter dispute with Czechoslovakia regarding the duchy of Teschen on Poland's southern border. For much of its history this small territory had been included

A cartoon that appeared at the time of the partitioning of Poland shows Stanislav II, king of Poland, trying to hold on to his crown as the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia select parts of his kingdom to annex.

THE BETTMANN ARCHIVE

within Bohemia and the Habsburg lands. But the Poles claimed that it was ethnically Polish. The real issue, however, was control of its coal mines and iron and steel works. In the end, the territory was partitioned, the Czechs retaining its valuable economic assets.

The Piłsudski Era. The republic of Poland had an unhappy history during its independent existence between the two world wars. The country was, in the first place, pieced together from fragments of territory taken from Prussia, Austria, and Russia. These were in varying stages of economic development. Almost every feature, even the gauge of the railroad tracks, had to be reconciled.

A multiplicity of political parties developed, and these tended to cluster around three groups. The first included nationalists and conservatives, led by men such as Dmowski and the pianist Ignacy Paderewski. They supported free enterprise and a strong central government; they were also in varying degrees anti-Semitic. Next came the parties of the left, including the Polish Socialist party, which derived its strength in part from the fact that Piłsudski had been one of its earliest leaders. These were to some extent Marxist. However, the Communist party itself remained very small because it was so closely identified with Russia's Bolshevik regime. Between these extremes came the agrarian parties, including the Polish Peasant party led by Wincenty Witos.

Marshal Józef Klemens Piłsudski was the chief architect of Poland's independence in the 20th century. From 1926 to his death in 1935 he was virtual dictator of Poland.

CULVER PICTURES

Their declared objectives were land reform and the improvement of the lot of the peasantry. But their effectiveness in these areas was limited, and they tended to become a conservative force in Polish politics.

Strictly political issues were complicated and to some extent obscured by the personalities of the political leaders. From the first, the dominant person was Piłsudski, appointed chief of state and commander of the armed forces in 1918. Attitudes toward him, however, were ambivalent. He was respected for his great achievements during and after the war, and feared for his political ambitions and autocratic tendencies. Indeed, the constitution of 1921 was so framed that the powers of the presidency, to which it was assumed he aspired, would be limited. In fact, he withdrew from public life in 1923.

The first representative government was formed by Paderewski in 1919. It lasted only a short time and was followed by a succession of governments, each representing an unstable coalition of mainly center and rightist parties. Such governments were incapable of curing the ills of the country. The mark was depreciating, and its replacement by a new currency, the złoty, in 1924 was followed by a sharp fall in the value of the latter. Unemployment was high, and the government was unable to raise foreign loans sufficient to carry through its reconstruction programs.

The breakdown of parliamentary government and the failure of the political parties to cope with the economic situation led to Piłsudski's seizure of power in May 1926. Large elements within the army supported him, and the Polish Socialist party came to his help. There were, nevertheless, three days of heavy fighting before the resistance of the government forces could be overcome.

From the first, Piłsudski enjoyed a large measure of popular support, and there was never any significant opposition to his rule. On the other hand, he and his supporters never developed a coherent policy, assuming that all that was needed was the smooth functioning of government. He was a military man who had come to power by force of arms, and under his rule Poland was excessively militarized. Officers were placed in executive positions for which they were ill suited, while at the same time the exclusion from authority of those who had supported the government during the coup of 1926 weakened the army and contributed to its poor performance during the German invasion of 1939.

The political opposition to Piłsudski was weak. He became increasingly conservative in his outlook and did nothing to advance the land reform that was urgently needed by the peasantry. During his last years he helped to formulate a new constitution, which greatly restricted the powers of the elected Sejm and increased the authority of the president and government. He did not, however, live to assume the autocratic position that was thus prepared for him. He died on May 12, 1935.

The Clique of "Colonels." The death of Marshal Piłsudski left a vacuum in Polish politics. The leadership of Poland fell to a clique of "colonels," led by Edward Śmigły-Rydz, who had neither the ability nor the popular appeal to play his role. Factions developed among the followers of the late leader, further weakening the government. The powers of the Sejm were reduced, and government became increasingly unresponsive to the

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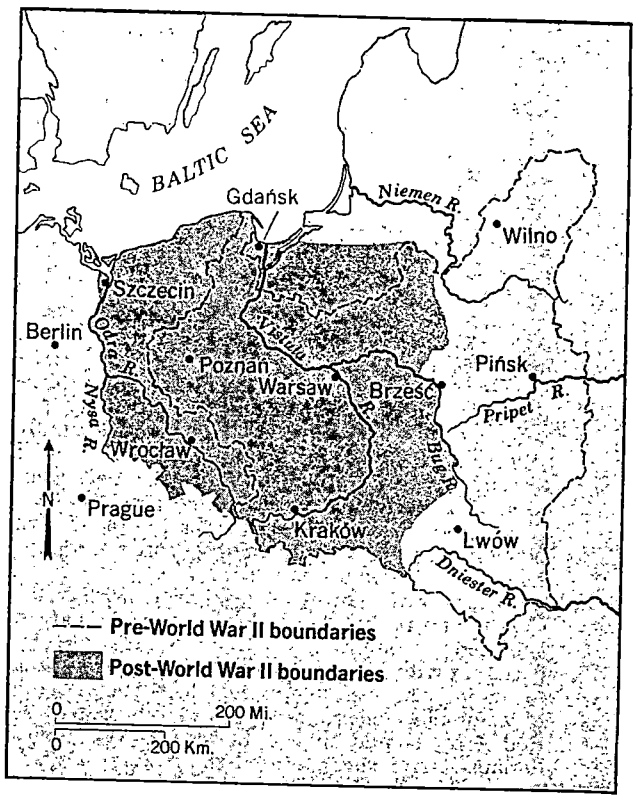
s to support. This was shown in the contin-
ce of the old feuds with Czechoslovakia and
Lithuania and in a certain coolness toward France,
Poland's traditional ally. Polish leaders, notably
the foreign minister Józef Beck, seemed to think
that they could deal with Germany on almost
equal terms at a time when Hitler was rearming
and preparing for war. At the same time, Polish
leaders clung to Piłsudski's view of Poland's role
as the protector of Western values against East-
ern, that is Russian, barbarism. The result was
that Poland was not prepared either militarily or
ideologically for the conflict that lay ahead and
refused, until too late, to recognize the reality of
Germany's threat to all eastern Europe.

The Destruction and Revival of Poland. World War II had as its immediate cause Germany's unacceptable demands for changes in Poland's boundaries. Germany claimed Gdańsk, the "Corridor," and Upper Silesia. But its overriding purpose was to eliminate Poland from the path of its eastward expansion. The Poles mistakenly believed that the fundamental hostility between Germany and the Soviet Union would prevent any collaboration between them. A people as devoted to its own history should have known better, for the partitions had been brought about by just such a combination. The war was preceded by an agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union to partition Poland. With Russian neutrality secured, Germany invaded Poland on Sept. 1, 1939. The campaign was short. But before it had been completed, the Russians invaded Poland from the east and advanced to a prearranged line of partition.

Part of German-occupied Poland was incorporated into Germany. The rest became the "General Government," a puppet state to which unwanted Poles could be driven and where slave labor could be recruited for German factories. Poles were a minority in the Russian-occupied sector. Most of the population was Ukranian, Belorussian, or Lithuanian. The northern part, with the city of Wilno (Vilnius), was incorporated into Lithuania, which in turn was annexed to the Soviet Union in 1940. The rest of Russian-occupied Poland was divided between the Belorussian and Ukrainian republics of the USSR.

In June 1941, German forces crossed the partition line and invaded the Soviet Union. From that time until early in 1944 the whole of Poland was under German rule. The native population was reduced to starvation. The Warsaw rising of the Jews against the Germans in April 1943 was suppressed, and the Jewish suburb of Muranów in Warsaw was leveled and its inhabitants taken to concentration camps. The Jewish population was almost eliminated, and a large part of the Polish population, including many of the intellectuals, suffered similarly. On the other hand, many members of the government, together with a significant part of the army, escaped to the West, where it formed the nucleus of a Polish corps. Within the country there was intense underground activity, and the Home Army (Armia Krajowa) performed invaluable services to the Allied cause. It is noteworthy that the Germans never succeeded in enlisting the support of a single Polish leader of significance.



On the other hand, the Russians sacrificed the goodwill that they might have fallen heir to. They suspected the intentions of all Poles except Communist party members who had been schooled in Moscow. When Poles in Warsaw rose against the Germans in August 1944 in support of the advancing Russians, the latter allowed them to be destroyed by the Germans.

Elements of the Polish government-in-exile in London were regarded by the Soviet Union's leader, Joseph Stalin, as completely under the control of the West. A rival government, the Polish Committee of National Liberation, commonly known as the Lublin Committee, was formed in the Soviet Union, its membership drawn from Poles who had been indoctrinated with Moscow's brand of Marxism. It followed westward in the wake of the Red Army, suppressing or eliminating elements that were supposed to be more nationalist than Marxist.

Well before the end of hostilities the Polish question became one of the more divisive issues confronting the Allied leaders. Both Poland's boundaries and the composition of the future government of Poland were matters of dispute.

The Soviet Union made it clear that, although minor boundary changes would be permitted, Soviet-occupied Poland would not be restored. Stalin encouraged the Poles to occupy the Western Territories, those lands to the west that had once been Polish but had been retained by Germany after World War I. The Oder-Neisse (Odra-Nysa) boundary between Germany and Poland, which placed the Western Territories within Poland, came to be recognized by the Soviet Union's Western allies and even by West Germany.

The composition of the future Polish government was a more difficult issue to resolve. The government-in-exile, headed by Stanisław Mikołajczyk, was in London, whereas a government made up of Soviet nominees, headed by Bolesław Bierut and Edward Osóbka-Morawski, was in Warsaw. The Western powers had obtained from Stalin an undertaking that the new government should be a coalition drawn from both groups. In fact, only two members of the London government, including Mikołajczyk, joined the first postwar administration of Poland.

Communist Poland. The sovietization of Poland began as soon as the Germans had been driven out. Mikołajczyk and the other non-Communist members of the government were exposed to intimidation and pressure. The Peasant party, the only effective democratic party, was consistently vilified. The promised land reform consisted of forced collectivization. All industrial and commercial undertakings, except the very smallest, were nationalized. After two years, Mikołajczyk was forced to leave the country, and all opposition to the Communists ended.

There was, however, dissension within the Communist party. Most Poles were nationalists, and many Communists sought to reconcile nationalism with Marxist beliefs. This was anathema to Stalin, who was determined to reduce Poland to complete dependence on himself, using the Red Army should this be necessary. By 1949 a Stalinist terror had engulfed the country. Władysław Gomułka, foremost among the nationalist members of the party, was forced out of office in 1948–1949 and narrowly escaped death. The country was controlled by Soviet-trained Bierut, and every aspect of life was under the scrutiny of the secret police of Stanisław Radkiewicz.

Stalin died in March 1953. In the following autumn an increase in consumer goods was promised. There was a flurry of literary activity, in which Polish writers attacked the regime and called for greater personal freedom. In June, workers in Poznań rioted to express their demands for better living conditions. The government began to yield. Political prisoners were released, among them Gomułka, and the demand spread for the "democratization" of Poland.

Khrushchev, accompanied by members of the politburo, flew to Warsaw in an effort to restrain the reformers. The Polish leaders, now joined by Gomułka, Edward Ochab, and others, resisted the Soviet demands but promised to remain within the Soviet bloc. Gomułka became first secretary of the party, and the government was filled with his supporters. The system of collective farms collapsed. The liberal Adam Rapacki became foreign minister, and Poland began to look for close political and economic relations with the non-Communist world. There was almost complete freedom of the press, and Poles were able to read Western newspapers.

This "spring in October" was short-lived. Poland remained a one-party state. Censorship was gradually reintroduced. Intellectual freedom was restricted, and the government's relations with the Roman Catholic Church, which had been improving, worsened.

Gomułka, who had returned to power in 1956 in the wake of workers' riots, was himself deposed in 1970 as a result of renewed rioting by workers dissatisfied with high prices and shortages in housing and household goods. He was replaced as first secretary of the party by Edward Gierek, an economic specialist and leader of the powerful local Communist party in Silesia. Gierek committed the government to programs that would meet the workers' grievances.

Virtually the same pattern of events was repeated in the next decade, culminating in countrywide strikes in the summer of 1980. Workers struck the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk on Aug. 13, 1980, and by the end of the month strikes had idled industries throughout the country. On August 31 the government granted the workers the right to strike and to form independent, self-governing trade unions. Within less than a month a nationwide union, Solidarity, had come into being, with Lech Wałęsa at its head. At the same time the Roman Catholic Church won new rights from the government, and on September 6 the Communist party itself faced change within its own organization when Gierek was replaced as party secretary by Stanisław Kania.

Kania's relatively conciliatory policies as party chief were aimed at preventing the Soviet Union from invading the country and at the same time keeping Poland's economy from foundering altogether by placating the workers and farmers with new concessions. But continuing strikes paralyzed the economy, and Solidarity's demands for greater democratization of the governmental process became increasingly insistent.

On Oct. 18, 1981, Kania, who seemed unable to curb dissent, was replaced as party secretary by the premier, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who imposed martial law on December 13. Lech Wałęsa and other Solidarity leaders were among thousands arrested. In response to the martial-law restrictions, the United States imposed economic sanctions against Poland.

Martial law was suspended one year later, but not before the parliament had dissolved all unions, including Solidarity, on Oct. 8, 1982. When a general strike, called for November 10 to protest the dissolution decree, failed to get widespread popular backing, Wałęsa was released from prison, and other leaders were given their freedom in late December. Martial law was formally lifted in July 1983, soon after the eight-day visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland, but many of its controls were preserved by incorporating them into the legal code. Moreover, the government was granted the legal right to impose a state of emergency and assume extraordinary powers in times of disorder and unrest.

NORMAN J. G. POUNDS
Indiana University

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[redacted] Paul Ellison

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

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

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

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

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

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

Millions of people in our countries are also linked by their love of peace. My homeland has experienced too much suffering not to appreciate the value of peace, stability of borders, and internal democracy. We are alarmed at the prospect of the arms race, hostile relations between the world powers and could war. Such a course of events would undoubtedly and tangibly worsen the fate of my people, perhaps to a greater degree than of others. There is no alternative to an accord. Only this direction has a future both on the scale of the respective nations and in world political relations. International institutions established in the name of dialogue are, as a rule, helpless in the face of violence, domination of some states over others, and violations of basic human rights. This situation poses before politicians the task of finding new forms of peaceful accommodation.

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

The 17th month since martial law is passing—and what next? Can Poles sleep in peace? Our Union drew on peaceful forms of struggle for its goals and proved in practice that not a single stone has to be thrown nor a single window broken for relations between the authorities and society to become more human, for workers to feel masters of the plants instead of being manpower.

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

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

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

With cordial greetings.

Lech Walesa

PEACE CORPS NEWS
OF THE UNITED STATES
1990 K Street, NW Washington, DC 20526 **Phone:** 202/606-3010 **Fax:** 202/606-3110

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

DATE: 3/6/91

TIME: 3:30 pm

FROM: Lee Raudonis
Special Assistant to the Director
and Communications Director

TO: Fred Fainz

PHONE: (202) 606-3010

FAX: (202) 606-3110

PHONE: 456-7750

FAX: 456-6218

SUBJECT: Information on Peace Corps Poland program

COMMENTS: Please call if you need further information.

NUMBER OF PAGES (excluding this sheet) 1

THANK YOU FOR YOUR INTEREST IN THE PEACE CORPS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

UNCLASSIFIED

INCUMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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UNCLAS WARSAW 02486

TOPEC

TO: PEACE CORPS DIRECTOR COVERDELL

FROM: AMBASSADOR THOMAS W. SIMONS, JR.

E.O. 12356: N/A
TAGS:
SUBJECT: THE PEACE CORPS CONTRIBUTION IN POLAND

1. (U - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. DEAR MR. DIRECTOR,

I UNDERSTAND YOU WILL SOON BE TESTIFYING ABOUT PEACE CORPS OPERATIONS IN POLAND AND ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, AND I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR YOU TO HAVE AND TO PASS ON MY VIEWS ABOUT HOW WELL THE PEACE CORPS HAS DONE HERE, AND ABOUT ITS FUTURE.

QUITE SIMPLY, THE PEACE CORPS OPERATIONS HAS BEEN THE JEWEL IN OUR CROWN, THE CUTTING EDGE OF THE OVERALL U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO THIS COUNTRY'S PROGRESS TOWARD AN OPEN SOCIETY AND AN OPEN ECONOMY. SINCE I CONSIDER POLAND TO BE IN THE AREA LEAD WHEN IT COMES TO DEMOCRATIZATION AND MARKETIZATION, I BELIEVE THAT CONTRIBUTION HAS REGIONAL SIGNIFICANCE TOO. BUT I KNOW IT HAS BEEN CRITICAL TO OUR NATION'S EFFORT TO HELP POLAND MOVE IN DIRECTIONS WE HAVE SUPPORTED FOR OVER FOUR DECADES, IN THE WONDERFUL NEW WORLD THAT OPENED UP WITH THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1989.

THE PEACE CORPS WAS HERE THE FIRSTEST WITH THE MOSTEST. YOU HAD AN OPERATION ON THE GROUND BY JUNE; THE FIRST VOLUNTEERS WENT OUT AT THE END OF THE SUMMER; I HAD THE IMMENSE PLEASURE OF SWEARING IN YOUR SECOND GROUP IN DECEMBER, AND THEY ARE JUST MOVING THROUGH THE HARD RUNNING IN PROCESS IN LOCALITIES THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH AND EAST OF THE COUNTRY. AND, AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE NOW GETTING READY FOR THE THIRD AND LARGEST GROUP DUE TO GO TO POST LATER THIS YEAR.

YOUR PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN SPECIFICALLY TAILORED TO THE DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES WHICH WE SHARE WITH THE AUTHORITIES OF THE NEW POLAND. THEY ARE IMPORTANT TO BOTH STRANDS OF THE COUNTRY'S PROGRESS: TOWARDS DEMOCRACY AND TOWARDS A MORE MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMY. THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE TEACHERS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD GROUPS WILL HELP OPEN A DOOR NOT JUST TO THE WESTERN CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE FROM WHICH POLAND HAS BEEN ISOLATED THESE MANY YEARS, BUT TO THE WORLD ECONOMY. AND THE SMALL BUSINESS SPECIALISTS OF THE SECOND GROUP WILL HELP SUPPLY SOME OF THE ESSENTIAL HUMAN AND SKILLS INFRASTRUCTURE POLAND MUST HAVE IF IT IS TO DEVELOP A FUNCTIONING AND EFFECTIVE FREE MARKET. SO I CONGRATULATE YOU AND YOUR POLISH COUNTERPARTS ON YOUR CHOICE OF PRIORITIES.

THE PROGRAM APPEARS TO ME TO HAVE BEEN EXCEPTIONALLY

WELL MANAGED. I AND MY COLLEAGUES IN THE EMBASSY KNOW FROM TALKING TO BOTH VOLUNTEERS AND TO THE NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLISH AUTHORITIES INVOLVED WITH THE PROGRAM THAT DIRECTOR BILL LOVELACE AND HIS STAFF ARE ADMIRED AND APPRECIATED FOR THEIR SKILL IN PUTTING AN EFFECTIVE, CAREFULLY TARGETED PROGRAM ON THE GROUND FAST AND GETTING IT RUNNING IN A NEW AND DIFFICULT ENVIRONMENT. THEY HAVE PLAYED A SPLENDID ROLE IN SPEARHEADING AMERICA'S EFFORT TO HELP THE NEW POLAND, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH THEM AS THE PROGRAM EXPANDS. I AM SURE IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE CAREFULLY TAILORED TO POLAND'S NEEDS, AND THAT ITS FUTURE CONTRIBUTION WILL BE AS IMPRESSIVE AS THE STARTUP HAS BEEN. YOU CAN BE PROUD OF YOUR TEAM HERE, AND I KNOW YOU WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE IT YOUR FULL PERSONAL SUPPORT.

SINCERELY, THOMAS W. SIMONS, JR., AMBASSADOR

SIMONS

Total of 81 Volunteers now serving in Poland

120 New Volunteers (trainees) will arrive in June ('91), bringing the total to 201.

The 120 trainees arriving in June will be one of the largest groups of trainees to go to any country in recent years.

COLOR ON POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE

o **The Moravian Gate**

Southern Poland, which borders on the rest of Europe is mountainous and treacherous -- crossing movements are extremely difficult.

Two of the mountain ranges are separated by a gap known as the Moravian Gate, which provides an easily negotiated route from southern Poland, across Czechoslovakia, to Vienna and the Danube basin.

The Moravian gate has played an important role in Polish and East European history, guiding the movement of invaders in the past and today acting as a funnel for road and railway traffic -- as well as the movement of trade.

Perhaps an eloquent analogy could be drawn using the Gate, the West, trade, etc.

o **FAMOUS POLES**

-- the Pope

-- The partitioning of Poland resulted in violent world reaction, much like when General Jarulzelski imposed martial law 200 years later. Extraordinarily, this was a time of the flowering of Polish civilization and culture:

Chopin: Poland's most famous composer, who evoked an eternal Poland through his music.

Sygmunt Krasinski and Juliuz Slowacki: regarded Polish suffering as an almost mythical event, basis for a philosophy of self-sacrifice and ideals of liberty from which the Polish people have never departed.

Krasinski was a dramatist whose plays had deep political purpose -- he was a prominent proponent of what has been called "Polish messianism", the view that Poland was "the Christ among nations, suffering, dying, and rising again."

Slowacki was a poetic dramatist of great power and intensity, whose work revolved around the tragedy of the nation

-- Copernicus, the astronomer

-- See letter from State Department to POTUS concerning the return of Paderewski's remains to Poland -- it gives a proposed delegation list, naming many prominent Polish Americans, notably many members of Congress.

They are all Democrats, so we could note that many proud and hard working Polish Americans have risen to esteemed public office.

-- ((other example of famous Poles and Polish American to come.))

Letter to POTUS from a proud Polish-American woman. GOOD stuff!

5 July 1989

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

Your imminent visit to my country prompts me to reflect on my family's odyssey from Poland to the United States of America, a journey that began in 1957 soon after the uprisings in Poland and Hungary the previous year. This journey continues to this day. In fact, the Ornaf family of Forest Hills, NY, just observed our thirtieth jubilee in our adopted land, a celebration of America, of promises fulfilled, dreams realized, opportunities looming.

My parents, Marata and Antoni Ornaf, arrived in New York harbor on June 19, 1959 with five children, five valises and fifty dollars. My father, now deceased, was a chemist; my mother is a homemaker. Not one of us spoke English. Yet, without the benefit of bilingual education, equal employment statutes or government entitlements, father was soon employed in his chosen profession and, in quick succession, all six children - yes, we have a Brooklyn-born sister! - completed university education. We are proud of our two magna cum laude graduates (Anna Maria and Marata), our Phi Beta Kappa member (Anna Maria), and, at least so far, our one Ph.D (Rafał). But most of all, we are proud of our parents' courage, grateful for their sacrifices in our behalf.

We cherish our American citizenship. We look to what we can do for our country. We volunteer in civic, social and political organizations. Last year, the Bush/Quayle campaign was my particular passion and I was pleased to share it with, inter alia, our mutual friend Morris E. Zukerman who served on your finance committee and at whose suggestion I write this letter. We are a part of your thousand lights; we intend to keep them lit.

As we enter our fourth decade in America, we contemplate our own first generation Americans. Our gift to them is a culture and a tradition. Their gift to their country will be

good citizenship. They are learning that democracy is not a given, but rather a privilege which needs nurturing and entails responsibilities. It is our hope that they will never take it for granted.

And so, Mr. President, please accept our wishes for your own safe and successful journey to Europe. God bless America and szczęść Boże!

Sincerely yours,

Halina Glowacki

Halina Glowacki, née Ornaf

212 Carpathian Way
Raleigh, NC 27615