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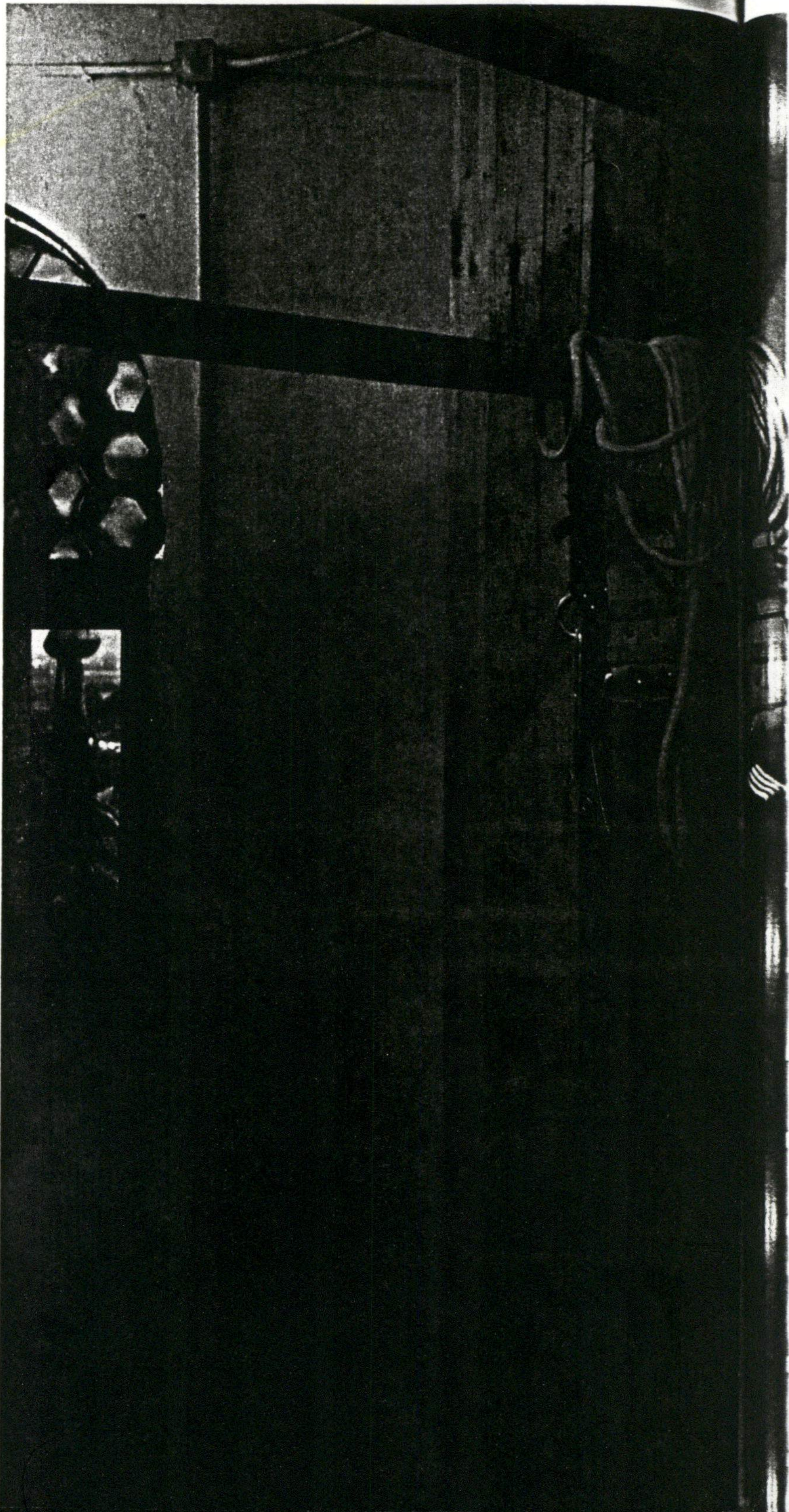
THE HOPE THAT NEVER DIES

By TAD SZULC

Photographs by
JAMES L. STANFIELD
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHER



A symbolic call to national vigilance sounds from a fireman's trumpet in St. Mary's Church in Kraków, Poland's old royal capital. From the same tower seven centuries ago, according to legend, another trumpeter raised the alarm as Mongol hordes stormed the city, his clarion cut short by an arrow in the neck. Echoing that event, a watchman now re-creates the call every hour, day and night, always halting in mid-note. Today, six years after the fall of the free trade union Solidarity, the nation seeks to rescue its virtually paralyzed economy while allowing greater political pluralism. Unlike the recent past, Poland's reforms are no longer at odds with its powerful neighbor: Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is now Poland's principal ally in economic change. American journalist Tad Szulc returned to his native Poland to assess the political climate. Author of several studies of politics and international affairs, Szulc won an Overseas Press Club award for his 1986 biography of Cuba's Fidel Castro.

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CORPUS CHRISTI is the great Roman Catholic festival held after Whitsunday in mid-June, and in Communist-ruled but overwhelmingly Catholic Poland it is an official national holiday. The permanently fatigued Polish people—for daily life there is relentlessly hard—are given a day off, and joyous, colorful processions fill the streets. This is a stubborn land where history and ancient traditions have always battled foreign occupations and regimes imposed by force and where the citizens have been wedded to nonconformity for a thousand years.

A voyage in Poland, then, is an emotional journey through history and tragedy, a sojourn among old and new memories that never die, a glance at hope and despair, and—always—the discovery of extraordinary human beings. It is a pilgrimage along Polish stations of the cross. I undertook it not long ago, a somewhat aged American reporter returning to the place of his birth at a time when history is again being written there—seven years after the rise and fall of the Solidarity free trade union movement, with Poland possibly approaching still another turning in its history.

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holiday in a Communist country may strike an outsider as paradoxical. But as I quickly realized, it seemed perfectly natural to all the proud Poles as well as to their head of state, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who also serves as First Secretary of the Communist Party.

In fact the 64-year-old general had chosen Corpus Christi to receive me at his Warsaw offices overlooking the lovely royal Łazienki Park. It was a relaxed late spring morning with lilacs in bloom round the sunlit statue of a brooding, romantic Frédéric Chopin. Jaruzelski greeted me with the remark that he was delighted to have a midweek holiday to afford

SIGNPOST FOR THE FAITHFUL, a rude cross becomes the site of a roadside prayer meeting outside the village of Ząb in Poland's mountainous south. The nearby town of Wadowice is the birthplace of Karol Wojtyła, the Archbishop of Kraków, who became John Paul II, the first Polish Pope. Despite the official atheism of the Communist Party, the Catholic Church remains a powerful force in Poland.

SYMBOL OF UNITY, the Sandomierz Crown, displayed at Kraków's Wawel Cathedral Museum, recalls the 14th-century reign of King Casimir the Great, who worked to strengthen a nation forged from a group of small principalities.

him time for a quiet, uninterrupted chat, and said immediately that I had come to a "much changed Poland, changed for the better."

Jaruzelski, a ramrod-straight officer with a receding hairline whose military bearing was softened by an easy, comfortable demeanor and an informal light-gray suit and blue necktie, offered me tea, and we spent the next two hours together. In his elegantly classical Polish—rich in historical and literary allusions—he summarized the endless contradictions and paradoxes, many verging on the surreal, that form the phenomenon of today's Poland and the lives of its 37 million inhabitants.

It was the most candid private conversation I have ever had with any Communist leader. The general told me bluntly that his country faced immense economic and social problems that could be solved only by his program of radical reform of the economy. (Such a daring program, including austerity, decentralization, and a turn toward a free-market economy, was formally launched in October 1987.) He said that he welcomed the cooperation of the "moderate opposition" and the Roman Catholic Church to help shape and implement these reforms. But he said he would not deal with opposition financed from abroad, noting with anger that the U. S. Congress had just voted one million dollars to assist what was left of Solidarity. The union said the funds would go for ambulances and medical equipment.

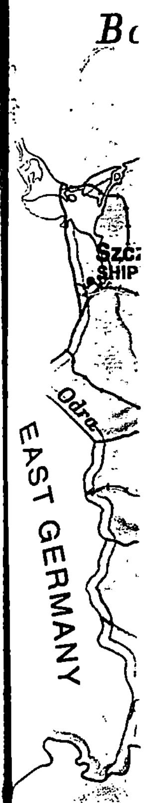
THE PRINCIPAL PARADOX in this land of paradoxes is that the Jaruzelski who seeks to introduce far-reaching reforms in Poland—and allows a degree of political pluralism and relaxation unique in Communism (though Communist rule itself is not open to question)—is the same man who declared martial law on December 13, 1981, and used the army and the secret police to intern 10,000 Solidarity activists and smash the organization's entire framework. This was undoubtedly the worst blow to Polish aspirations since the end of World War II, and the nation has not quite recovered from it.

In 1982, when last we talked, the general hinted that destruction of Solidarity was the only alternative to a Soviet invasion because the Russians thought the union's demands for democracy, along with reforms, placed the whole Communist system in danger.

But now, Jaruzelski emphasized, the mentality of the people in general, including those in power, had changed. He told me that he felt that the Solidarity workers' protests about their conditions and the economy were correct and justified—and many of the ideas emerging from the great ferment of the early 1980s were an inspiration and would be implemented.

Back in those days, the general said, the problems were Solidarity's "nonsensical" political demands, such as the appeal to workers elsewhere in Eastern Europe to rise up in their own Solidarity movements, and the wave of strikes that paralyzed the country.

The months that I spent in Poland in the preparation of this article, driving thousands of miles from the southern Tatra Mountains to the Baltic seashore and from the wooded Soviet border to the farmlands of the East German frontier, confirmed to a significant extent General Jaruzelski's assertion that the "New Poland" he heads *(Continued on page 94)*



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Baltic Sea

Mining area
Centers of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland
World War II death camp

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Szczecin SHIPBUILDING
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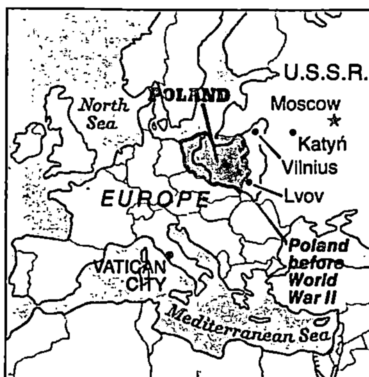
NGS CARTOGRAPHIC DIVISION
DESIGN: BOB PRATT
RESEARCH: DAVID MILLER
PRODUCTION: RAMSEY MURRAY, ISKANDAR BADAY
MAP EDITOR: GUS PLATIS

POLAND

AREA: 120,725 sq mi (312,677 sq km).
POPULATION: 37.3 million.
CAPITAL: Warsaw, pop. 1,659,400.
ECONOMY: Industries: iron and steel, shipbuilding, textiles, mining of coal, copper, zinc, and lead. Agriculture: potatoes, sugar beets, rye.



POLAND DERIVES its name from the Polanie, or "plains people," a Slavic group that settled in northern Europe before the birth of Christ. With few natural obstacles to invasion from east or west, Poland has often suffered from the ambitions of neighboring countries. The 1795 partition of Poland among Russia, Prussia, and Austria wiped the nation from the map. It reappeared as a sovereign state only in 1918, at the end of World War I.

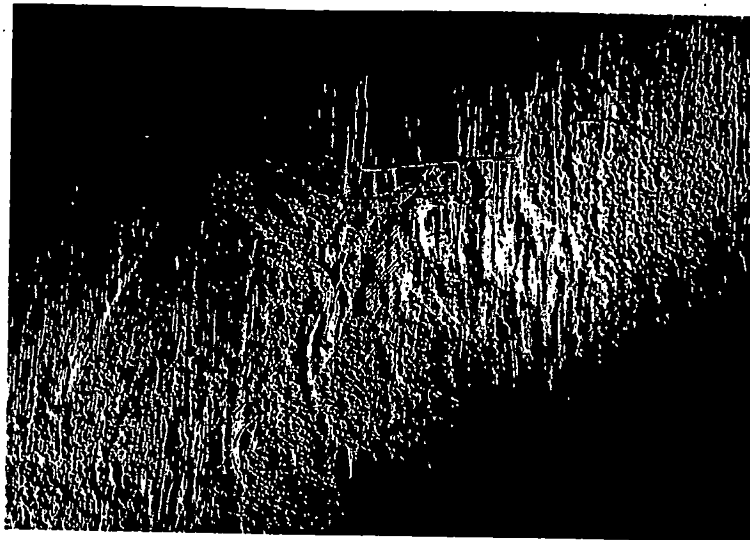
The German invasion of Poland in 1939 sparked the beginning of World War II, during which Poland was overrun again, first by Germans, then by the Soviets. Following the war, Stalin moved Poland westward by placing more than 50,000 square miles of eastern German territory under Polish rule and annexing 100,000 square miles of eastern Poland to the U.S.S.R.

The movement of millions of people to Poland from the provinces swallowed by the Soviets and the displacement of German populations from their homes into occupied Germany constituted one of the most disruptive migrations in postwar Europe.

A SEA OF ADULATION greets Pope John Paul II as he celebrates Mass before a crowd of more than 750,000 worshipers in Gdańsk in June 1987. Wherever he traveled during his third visit to his homeland since becoming Pope, John Paul encountered welcomes, such as this window in Lublin (left) decorated with a Polish flag and pictures of the Pope and the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, the most revered icon of Polish Catholicism. During the Pope's appearance in Gdynia, a man proclaimed his unwavering faith by holding up a crucifix during the entire service (right).

The Pope delighted his audiences and angered government authorities by repeatedly voicing support for the Solidarity union, driven underground since being outlawed in 1981. "I pray for my motherland and for you workers," the Pope told the crowd in Gdańsk, the Baltic seaport city where the union was organized. "I pray for the special heritage of Polish Solidarity." Following the Mass, some 10,000 persons marched beneath Solidarity banners through the streets of Gdańsk until police broke up the demonstration.

In a further act of support John Paul met with Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa and visited the gravesite of the Reverend Jerzy Popiełuszko, a pro-Solidarity priest killed by Polish secret police in 1984. The Pope also said that if Poland instituted reforms leading to more freedoms, the Vatican might establish diplomatic ties with the country, a first among Eastern-bloc nations.

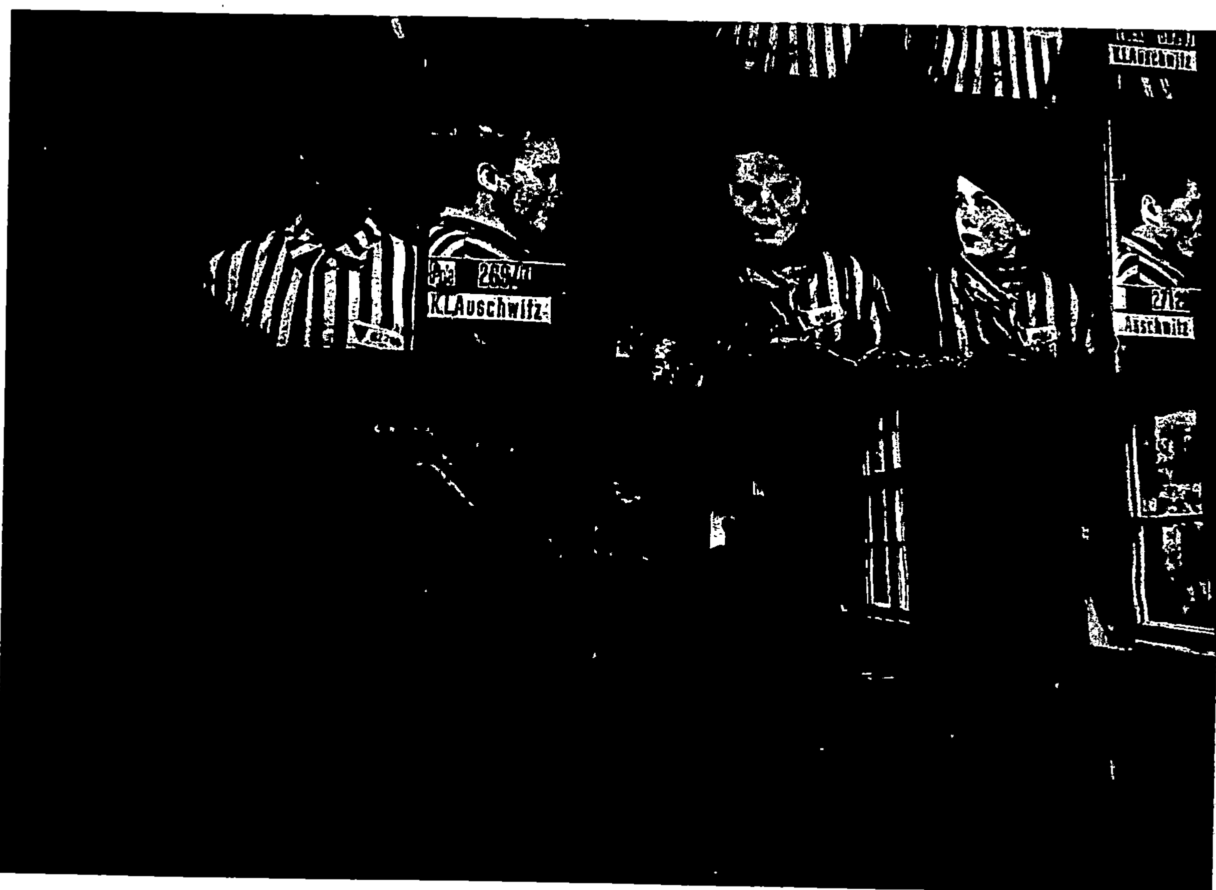


HORRIBLE LEGACY of the Holocaust is preserved as a memorial to the dead and a warning against forgetfulness at a museum in Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau). Rabbi Pinchas Goldberg (left), a Hasidic Jew from Brooklyn, New York, views a mountain of footwear taken from those imprisoned at the Nazi death camp in southern Poland.

Of the more than 20 German concentration camps, Oświęcim is the most notorious because of the number of prisoners exterminated there and because of the hideous human medical experiments carried out by Dr. Josef Mengele. During the German occupation of Poland in World War II, as many as four million persons were killed at Oświęcim in less than five years. Declared a national monument in 1947, the camp retains over the main entrance gate an arch carrying the German slogan "Arbeit Macht Frei—Work Sets You Free."

Upon arrival at the death camp, prisoners deemed unfit for productive labor, women and children included, were often summarily executed. A separate exhibit called "The Fate of Mothers and Children" (below) memorializes them with pictures and articles of clothing.

Architect Stefan Jasienski carved this crucifix (above) in cell 21, where he died on January 1, 1945. It stands as a reminder that, although the Holocaust was aimed primarily at Jews, more than a million of those killed at Oświęcim were not Jewish.



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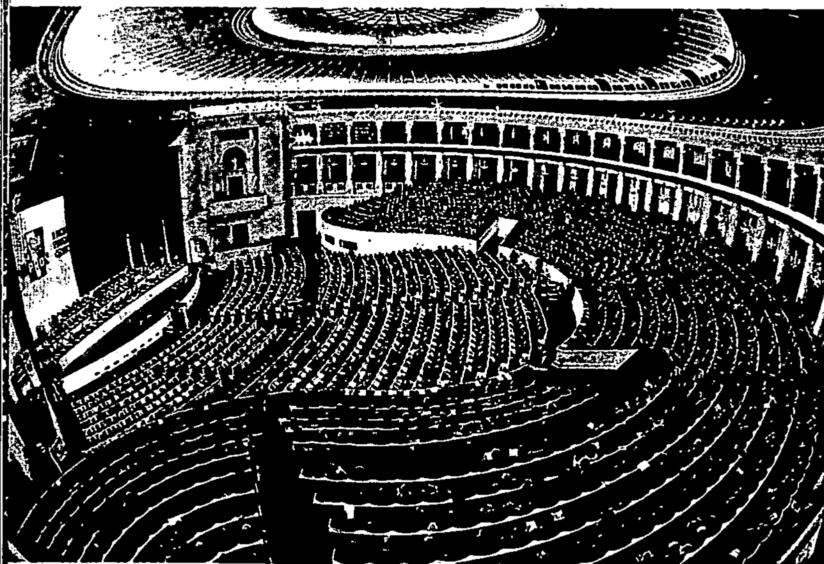
STEPPING OUT on May Day, the international socialist holiday, head of state Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski waves to onlookers (right) as he leads a parade through Warsaw. In that city's Palace of Culture (below) Jaruzelski addresses members of the Patriotic Front of National Rebirth, a group that was created to counter the Solidarity movement.



(Continued from page 84) is becoming "a very open country."

To be sure, Poland is still far from being a Western democracy. Truly free elections even for the Sejm—the Polish parliament—are not yet in the cards. The Communist Party's weekly journal, *Polityka,* is subject to censorship because the regime itself isn't certain from day to day what it wants and what people should be told it wants. There are tensions within the party between factions advocating greater freedom and flexibility and those opposing it, and there are enough cases of harassment of various oppositionists, as dissidents are called in Polish Communist parlance, to suggest strongly that the powerful secret police apparatus, still enjoying considerable autonomy, sides with the hard-liners. And, as every Pole knows, the state still possesses the power of capricious arrest and extended detention without trial.

Nevertheless, loud and active opposition movements do exist. Shortly after I left the country, police broke up a demonstration of 4,000 Solidarity supporters in Gdańsk by driving trucks into their line of march.

I DID NOT HAVE the slightest difficulty in meeting openly with former Solidarity chief Lech Wałęsa, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate—or with the opposition's most brilliant intellectual figures, such as the philosopher Adam Michnik and the medieval historian Bronisław Geremek. I found these leaders, to say nothing of countless private citizens with whom I talked (frequently all night, as is the Polish habit), absolutely outspoken on every imaginable topic—especially whenever it came to criticizing the government and the Communist system.

But both Wałęsa and Józef Cardinal Glemp, Primate of Poland, told me in separate conversations that some form of Polish unity should be built around the government's reform program. Each left me with the impression that they may favor a degree of oppositionist cooperation with the regime under the right conditions. The general told me that "no doors are closed," although he prefers his critics to work through the "consultative council," an advisory body he has created to attract prominent but independent-minded Poles.

Cardinal Glemp told me that in his opinion "General Jaruzelski is a Pole and an intelligent man who has a large sensitivity to moral questions."

"He is a Communist," the cardinal said, "but he is a positive man."

Glemp's stance of compromise is backed by many, but not all, Polish bishops. His judgment runs counter to the view held in more radical opposition circles that Jaruzelski is a Soviet agent because he served in wartime Polish units with the Soviet Army and rose through the ranks of the military and party hierarchies to become defense minister and a Politburo member long before Solidarity.

Michnik, the philosopher who has spent four years behind bars since 1981, does not believe in cooperation with Jaruzelski because, he says, "a Communist regime cannot really reform itself from within." It has to be pressed and pushed, he told me.

Amazingly, many senior government and party officials tend to be stunningly frank.

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The general himself admits that Poland's economy remains a veritable nightmare of managerial and production chaos, characterized by inexplicable shortages of the most elementary items, shoddiness of most goods, and a continuously falling living standard for most of the population.

He must know that his country is turning into an environmental disaster whose magnitude I could observe in my travels. The great river Vistula is polluted by salinity and other industrial waste. Hundred-year-old trees in the forest of Białowieża in the east are threatened by poisonous runoff from a chemical plant. (The forest also happens to be the home of the largest surviving herd of European bison, some 460 animals.) The Polish water table is dropping dangerously because of unregulated deforestation throughout the country. And the air in the cities of Kraków and Katowice is thick with the soot from smoke-belching stacks of their huge steel mills.

The Kraków mill complex, called Nowa Huta, was designed by Soviet planners and ideologues in the early 1950s as "a socialist city" where workers' families would live happily in new high rises—and their minds would not be poisoned by religion.

"But they were wrong on all scores," a former Solidarity newspaper editor told me as we toured the forbidding scene of ugly, grimy apartment buildings and industrial installations. "Instead of a socialist city, they've created a monstrosity. And, finally, they had to capitulate to the pressure of the people and let us have new churches."

AFTER 40 YEARS of Soviet-enforced Marxism-Leninism, the steadily deteriorating quality of life in Poland is a grim daily drama.

"You know, in the end you lose your will to live," said a woman of my acquaintance in Warsaw who works in a government office and tries to be a housekeeper and a mother as well—as best she can.

"I get up at dawn in that tiny apartment of ours—you can forget about getting a larger apartment even if you live to be a hundred—and I prepare breakfast for my husband and the two kids, send the children off to school, then I rush to catch this horribly crowded red

streetcar to get downtown to my office. I quit work around two o'clock, and I go shopping for food and various things we need. Sometimes I stand in a queue at the butcher shop to buy meat with my ration card, but often they run out of meat before my turn comes, so I race elsewhere to get into another line to buy something else we can eat. When I get home, chances are I probably have to walk up the stairs to our apartment on the sixth floor because the elevator is usually out of order. Then I cook dinner, serve it, wash the dishes. And then it's another day tomorrow, just like today. Some life!"

DR. MAGDALENA SOKOŁOWSKA, a leading Polish sociologist and physician, says that women are the greatest victims of the system because the burden of life with its daily responsibilities falls most heavily on them. "Feminism, or women's liberation, does not exist in Poland," says Dr. Sokołowska. "Polish women think simply in terms of survival." They also worry about finding seemingly nonexistent plumbers or electricians as well as about illness in the family, because the public health system in Poland is collapsing from bureaucratic inefficiency. (Polish medicine has high traditions, however, and even today pioneering surgery is performed by such renowned physicians as heart specialist Dr. Zbigniew Religa [pages 106-107]).

Men concentrate on going to work their factory or office shifts, says Dr. Sokołowska, but morale is so low that in the view of a government economist "we have a situation where people *come* to work—rather than actually work. It's a marvelous society in which you don't have to work to get paid by the state." Another economist observes that "if you have access to U. S. dollars, then you can buy anything you want in the Pewex—the dollar stores—but, of course, this creates new frustrations and divisions between Poles with dollars and Poles without them."

It was Alfred Miodowicz, a former steelworker and now the head of the government-sanctioned trade union organization and a member of the Politburo, who summed up the situation best in a conversation we had at his Warsaw office: "Our tragedy is that we are a socialist state without social justice."

Among the sad sights in Poland are not only grown-ups but even teenagers wandering, blind from drink, along sidewalks in broad daylight. Jaruzelski, who is a teetotaler, has tried to combat alcoholism by raising the price of vodka (a bottle containing less than an eighth of a gallon costs the equivalent of a day's salary of a skilled industrial worker). The results are not noticeable: Queues form in front of liquor stores awaiting the 1 p.m. opening, just as they do at food stores.

This rampant alcoholism accounts for low productivity and high absenteeism from work. Statistically, every Pole consumes eight quarts of pure alcohol annually (the equivalent of 16 quarts of 100-proof whiskey), and drunken driving, according to the authorities, was responsible for 1,500 deaths and 10,000 injuries in 1986.

Sociologists attribute the worsening alcohol problem to the immense strains, psychological pressures, and everyday frustrations of life in Poland's postwar industrial society. For four decades Poles have lived from crisis to crisis and from one broken promise to another in cycles of hope and disenchantment. Stress, pollution, diet, and industry-related degenerative diseases are blamed for the alarming drop in

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OFTEN AT ODDS with the government, some of Poland's brightest minds strive to increase intellectual freedom. Elected chancellor of Kraków's Jagiellonian University during Solidarity's days of official acceptance, historian Józef Andrzej Gierowski (facing page) fought for the school's independence from government strictures until his term ended in September 1987. Medieval scholar Bronisław Geremek (above) paid for his role as advisor to Solidarity with time in prison. In the past novelist Tadeusz Konwicki (left) has found it difficult to get his books published in his native country. He and other writers have attracted a growing readership in the West.

life expectancy in Poland; the central statistical office reports that whereas a 30-year-old man in 1965 could have anticipated another 41.7 years of life, today he can look forward to only 39.7 years.

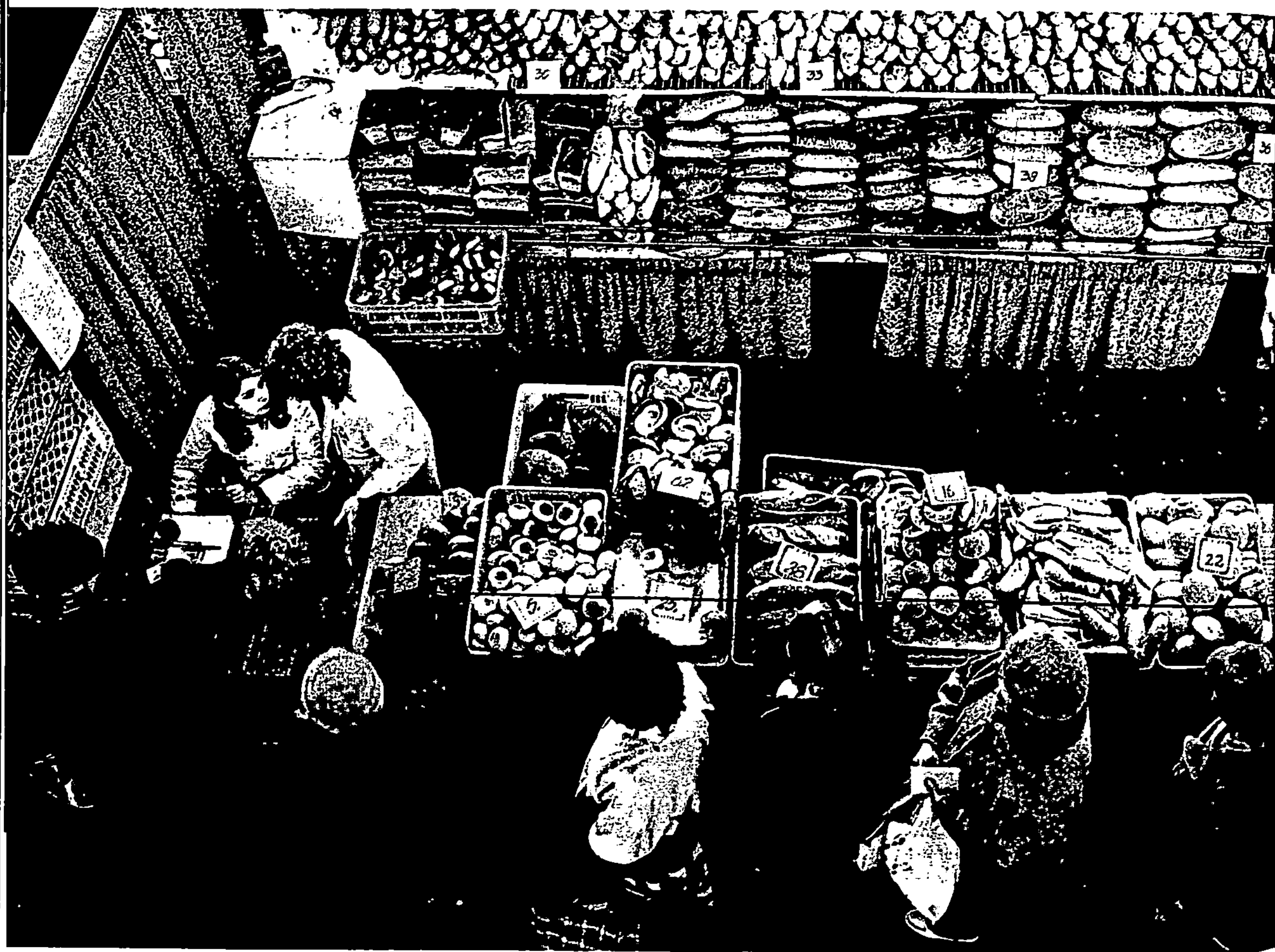
In sum, this is a bitter nation, and General Jaruzelski told me that his overwhelming priority is to create greater trust among his compatriots. It will not be an easy job. In Warsaw I read a front-page article in the Communist Party's daily newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu,* acknowledging that the fundamental Polish problem is that "nobody here has any trust in anybody else." This mistrust embraces everything from government policies to personal relationships.

The Center of Public Opinion Research, created by Jaruzelski in 1982 to assess the national mood, has reported that most Poles feared further deterioration in their quality of life and that a vast majority of high-school graduates felt so hopeless about the future that they wanted to go abroad to earn dollars (51 percent) or as tourists (32 percent, though some "tourists" do not return home).

"There's no country in the world in a state of crisis, with the economy as bad as here, where the society would have trust in the government," Deputy Premier Zdzisław Sadowski told me. "Trust must be created." Sadowski, an internationally known economist who is not a party member, was brought into the government last year and put in charge of reform.

"I am fully aware of the tremendous difficulties that face us," General Jaruzelski himself told me.

That is an astonishing thing for a Communist leader to say. But Communism in this Western-oriented and Catholic land has always been a contradiction in terms. Poles were spared the worst of the show trials and murderous repressions of the Stalin era and experimented as early as 1956 with liberalizing reforms. Land collectivization could not be imposed in Poland, and today some 70 percent of arable land is in private hands, cultivated



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by small farmers who are the framework of the increasingly important market economy. Farming nevertheless is hard work, and young people are fleeing the land en masse.

In my travels I did meet a large number of "rich peasants" and even rural millionaires who own sumptuous houses (at least one with an indoor pool and a sauna), foreign luxury automobiles, and Arabian show horses worth hundreds of thousands of dollars—all perfectly legal.

Interestingly, much of this farm wealth stems from the age-old Polish tradition of presenting flowers on every imaginable occasion. A case in point is Czesław Witczak (below right), a 49-year-old graduate of the agrarian academy at Poznań. Over a lunch of smoked eel, turkey, and venison in his marble-floored mansion with swimming pool in the village of Łankowice, near Bydgoszcz in northwestern Poland, Witczak told me that he made his fortune selling about 200,000 roses annually from the long row of glass-covered hothouses he built several years ago.

OLD POLISH CUSTOMS are reviving with unprecedented vigor these days, presumably as a reaction to Communist egalitarianism of the past era. I had heard that these days Communist men kiss women's hands with an alacrity unmatched by prewar aristocrats, but I was startled and enchanted when I saw a uniformed militia captain bowing to kiss the hand of a uniformed lady militia lieutenant as a morning greeting under a Vistula River bridge in the city of Toruń.

Revivals of Old World gallantry notwithstanding, Poland's heart and mind and tastes are completely in the West. It desperately wants Western technology and is hopelessly drawn to Western culture. A Warsaw weekly was serializing capitalist Lee Iacocca's autobiography last spring, and James Clavell was on the best-seller list along with A. A. Milne. On Polish television *Grease* with John Travolta was seen in March by 20 million viewers.

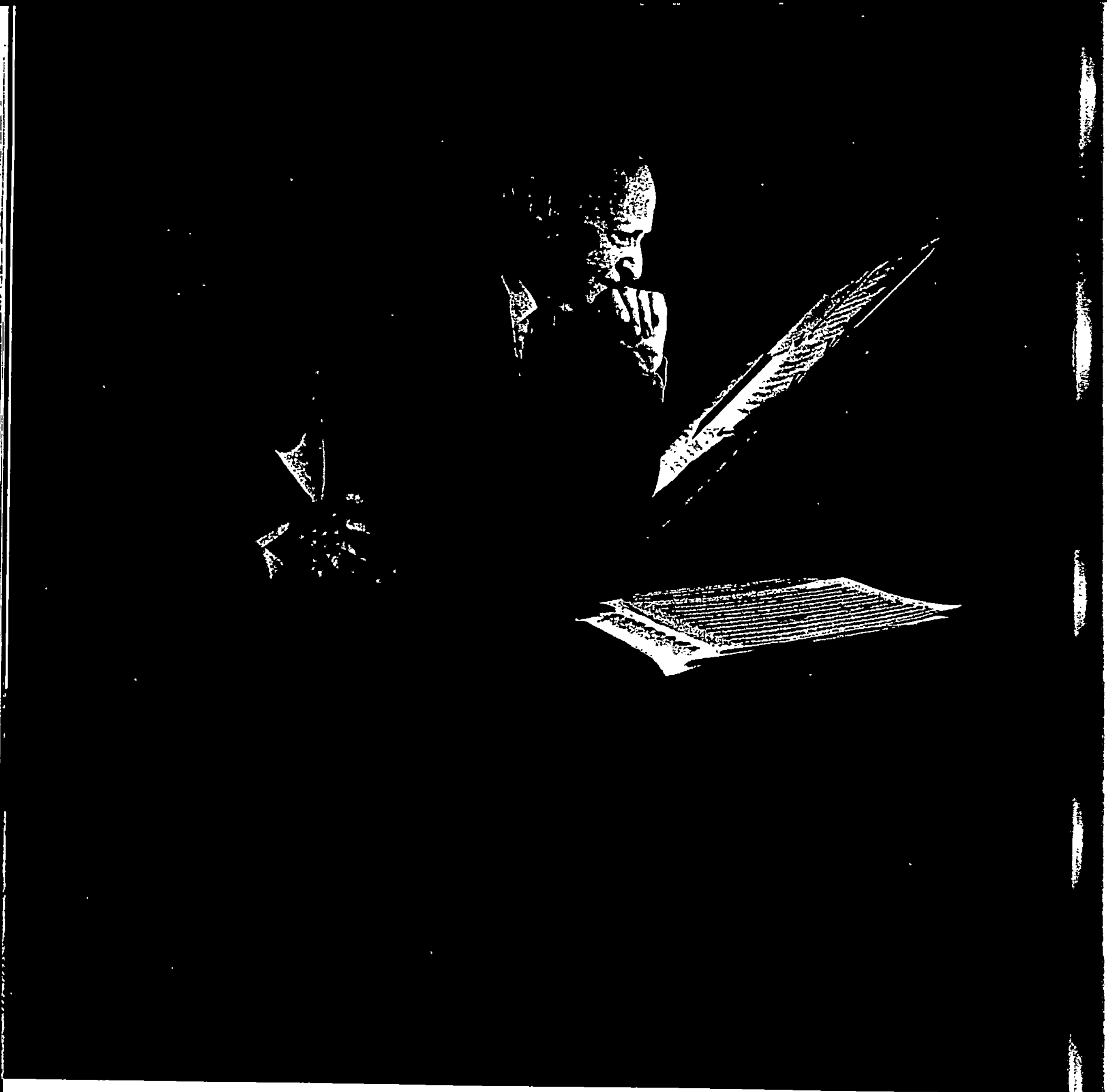
But censorship hobbles Polish writing and undermines the famous Polish cinema. However, if they have time and energy (and the connections needed to obtain tickets), Poles can see superb performances at Warsaw's Grand Opera and Ballet Theater, attend extraordinary concerts, and even watch good TV since pro-Solidarity actors have ended their boycott of state television and are willing to perform again.

On another level there is political humor, an ancient Polish tradition. Pod Egidą is a political cabaret run by a bespectacled middle-aged humorist named Jan Pietrzak in a small Warsaw theater. Over a brandy before the performance, Pietrzak told me that he still had to submit his material to government censors, but added delightedly that on one occasion a friendly censor had confided that the censorship office had used a videotape of his show to teach a class in political humor to aspiring ideological watchdogs.

Though Pietrzak is given much latitude in anti-regime humor, he can also be bitter toward his admiring audience: When they rose in applause one evening, he remarked, "Ah, but I remember when you applauded pro-Stalinist jokes too!"

Tadeusz Konwicki, Poland's foremost living novelist, wrote in a recent book, *Moonrise, Moonset* (published in the United States in

A BOUNTIFUL STOCK of baked goods attracts shoppers in a state-run Warsaw market (facing page), although many consumer items are often in short supply. Making the most of a limited private economy, Czesław Witczak amassed a fortune selling roses grown in his hothouses in the village of Łankowice.



1987): "For two hundred years now, every generation of Poles has had the commandment to save the fatherland encoded in its genes." This was true of the Poles who rose against Russian occupation on two occasions in the 19th century; of the cavalrymen who charged Nazi tanks with lances and sabres in 1939; of the men, women, and children who fought in the great anti-German Warsaw uprisings in 1943 and 1944; and of those who battled against Hitler in the British, American, and Soviet Armies from Italy and France to Ukraine and Berlin.

Patriotic history was relived too in March 1968 when a banned performance of the classic play *Forefathers' Eve* by 19th-century poet Adam Mickiewicz, rich in anti-Russian overtones, triggered student riots and a violent wave of repression by the Gomułka regime. There followed a demented anti-Semitic campaign, showing the darkest side of Polish Communist practices and appealing to the lowest human instincts; at that time there were no more than 40,000 Jews in Poland from the prewar population of three and a half million. Today there are five or six thousand, the rest having fled the country.*

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ABSORBED IN CREATION, Witold Lutosławski (left), an internationally acclaimed composer, ponders a passage in a new piano concerto. Renown came to author Edmund Jan Osmańczyk, at home with his wife, Jolanta, for his monumental Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements.

the leading figures of contemporary Polish culture—and they are world-class figures—is opposition to the Communist system in written works (including novels and poetry) that appear in the extensive underground press, in public statements and in private conversations, and even in music. Ironically, many of them belonged to the Communist Party in their youth—as idealists.

The government finds it useful to let the opposition print and distribute underground publications on the theory that this will not undermine its rule. Instead, underground publishing helps defuse political pressures.

I found Andrzej Wajda, famous for his movies *Man of Marble* and *Man of Iron* (a film about Solidarity that was awarded the top prize at the 1981 Cannes International Film Festival), on location near Warsaw where he was filming Dostoevsky's novel *The Possessed*. His hope, he said, was to make a picture telling the truth about the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943; this great Jewish epic has never been properly told on film, he said.

But he was depressed about the state of

*See "Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland," by Małgorzata Niezabitowska and Tomasz Tomaszewski, in the September 1986 GEOGRAPHIC.

Poland and about the state of Polish moviemaking: "There is no money in this bankrupt country of ours to make good pictures, even inexpensively. And there's still the censorship problem facing us."

The scene he was shooting that day was the burning of a Russian village, and the director patiently rehearsed young actors in their performances. "Maestro," the crew and actors called him. His cap jauntily at an angle, his high boots giving him a cavalier air, Wajda was very much the genius at work.

Epics in Poland, of course, are part of the political geography. As I traveled across the country, history was ever present. There were the Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau) and Majdanek death camps, the one near Kraków and the other outside Lublin, where millions were murdered by the Nazis. (At Oświęcim I was deeply moved by a group of American Lutheran women who softly sang spirituals in front of the death ovens and passed out tiny paper peace doves.)

THE POLISH *VIA CRUCIS* led me to the streets of Poznań in the west, where workers first rose against the regime in 1956, opening the way to the first reformist wave; the neighborhoods in the port city of Gdańsk, where security forces

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stood in the way of postwar Communist rule.

Katyń and Warsaw are bitter memories for Poles, and Jaruzelski and his like-minded friend Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union seemed to understand this when they announced last April that a historical commission was being formed to discover the truth about "gray areas" in Soviet-Polish relations. The assumption is that these areas include Katyń as well as the deportation of perhaps as many as one and a half million Poles to the Soviet Union in 1939, after Soviet forces invaded Poland from the east while Hitler was invading from the west.

IT WAS JOSEPH STALIN who literally pushed Poland even farther westward through the Soviet annexation of eastern Polish provinces—including the cities of Lwów (now Lvov) and Wilno (now Vilnius), to which Poles had great patriotic and sentimental attachment. Stalin compensated Poland by awarding it German lands where Poles had lived for centuries.

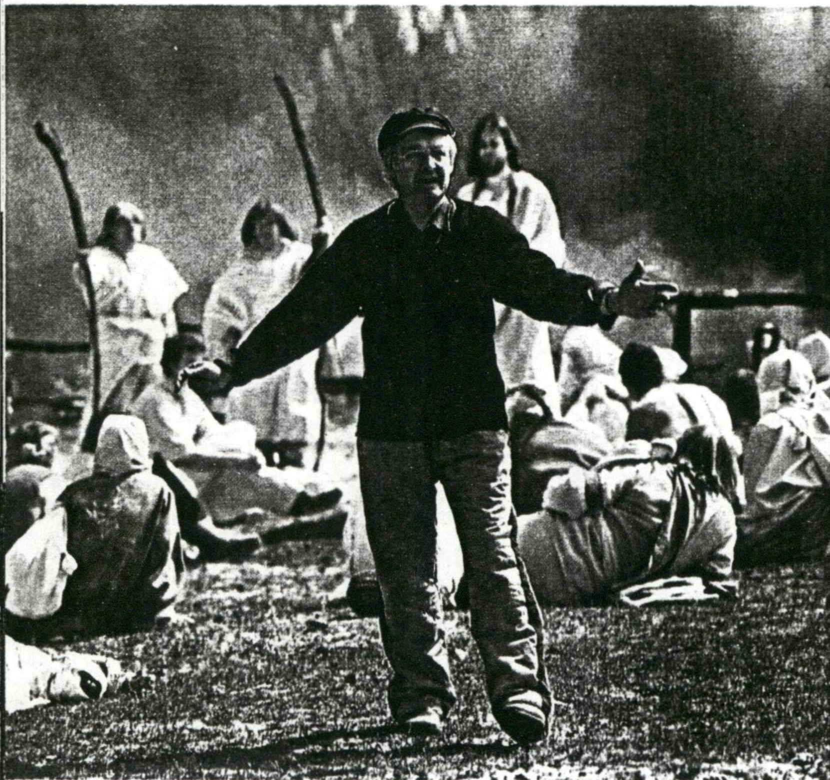
It is one thing to redraw borders or grab territory, but it is another to slide an entire nation as a child slides building blocks. As many as ten million human beings were moved to the west: Polish populations from the provinces swallowed by the Soviets were transported to the former German regions, while Germans were expelled from their homes to make room for them.

Even though Poland's economy was greatly helped by the acquisition of these rich lands, the migration was one of the most massive and dramatic in postwar Europe. It involved terrible emotional and cultural shocks, and the social consequences persist today.

Among those deported was the entire Jaruzelski family, including 16-year-old Wojciech, whose father died in Central Asian exile. Jaruzelski thus spent his youth in what amounted to a Soviet labor camp where prisoners felled trees in surrounding forests. He says Russian *(Continued on page 110)*

HORSEPOWERED WHEELS carry coal to customers in the village of Ratułów near the Czechoslovakian border. Horses and carts remain a common sight in the rural areas of Poland, a nation of 37 million residents that counts about four million privately owned motor vehicles, up from half a million in 1970.

HEAVY-METAL MANIA animates onlookers aping guitar players at a rock concert near Poznań, reflecting Polish affinity for Western pop culture. Poland's premier filmmaker, Andrzej Wajda (below), works on location in the village of Kamieńczyk during the shooting of Fyodor Dostoevsky's novel The Possessed. *Wajda walks a fine line to avoid censorship in creating his often politically sensitive films.*



families who were as poor as the prisoners were kind to him, and "that's when I learned to like the Russian people." Jaruzelski's great-grandfather died in Siberia after being imprisoned for his part in the anti-tsarist uprising in 1863. History in Poland casts a long shadow.

In fact, General Jaruzelski was able in July 1987 to write—for a Soviet ideological journal—that the 1939 Soviet invasion of Poland, and the deportations, were "contradictory to Poland's right of independence."

NINETY-THREE PERCENT of Poland's people are Roman Catholics, most of them fervent believers, and the church is the most powerful non-Communist force in Poland. The dialogue between bishops and high government officials touches on all aspects of national life, and acquired even greater significance in 1978 when Karol Cardinal Wojtyła of Kraków was elected Pope to become John Paul II, the first Polish pontiff in history.

Freedom of worship is absolute in Poland, and in our travels around the country, GEOGRAPHIC photographer Jim Stanfield and I often felt we were enveloped by ritual. Urban cathedrals and rural churches overflowed at almost every Mass year-round. Easter brought moving acts of faith everywhere in the country: At Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, a Bernardine Fathers monastery in the hills southwest of Kraków, 30,000 believers slogged through mud in a cold rain to follow a two-day Passion play procession with the fathers and village actors in the roles of the martyred Christ, Pilate, and Roman soldiers. In the past, we were told, the crowds have become

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Each year millions of Poles undertake pilgrimages to the holiest place in the country, Jasna Góra (Luminous Mountain) Monastery, in Częstochowa to pray at the medieval shrine of the Black Madonna, acclaimed as the Queen of Poland.

The church in Poland is patriotic in the deepest sense and has always been intensely nationalist-minded, in the forefront of defending the Polish identity. It emerged with the advent of Christianity in Poland over a thousand years ago under the Piasts, the first Polish royal dynasty, and has remained ever since an organic part of national life. When the throne was temporarily unoccupied because of a royal absence or death, the Primate of Poland served as *interrex*, the "king between kings."

During the 120 years when Poland ceased to exist, divided late in the 18th century between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the church was the bastion of Polish nationality, the protector of the language and the culture. A mural in a sitting room at the Primate's Residence on Miodowa Street, where Cardinal Glemp received me, depicts the tradition: King Jan III Sobieski, who stemmed the Turkish tide rolling over Europe in the 17th century with a series of great battlefield victories; Marshal Józef Piłsudski, who led Poland into independence after World War I; a wounded Polish soldier at the battle of the Vistula River near Warsaw, when a Soviet invasion was halted in 1920; and a dying Polish Army chaplain blessing the troops.

There has long been a theory in the West that Poles display their faith principally as

an anti-regime gesture. But Cardinal Glemp denied this when I raised the point in a private conversation with him at his Warsaw residence. "There is a vast range of attitudes toward religion," he told me, "but I think that there are fewer and fewer Catholics practicing their religion as a form of opposition, to be against the regime. This is because there is a certain deepening of authentic faith, which runs against superficiality, and churchgoing for opposition reasons would be artificial."

Today Cardinal Glemp plays a crucial if subtle political game with the general's regime. He said that, of course, the church would always be opposed to Communist ideology but recognized that Jaruzelski has taken "little steps" that are "signs of a certain democratization." Glemp and Jaruzelski have met privately more than a dozen times. As both men tell it, there is no reason for continued antagonism between the church and the Communist state, though neither cedes an inch ideologically. And last July the Polish regime reversed itself to authorize a ten-million-dollar, U. S.-funded church foundation to aid small farmers.

AMONG STARTLING CONTRASTS in Poland is the symbolism of the cross and the television antenna in the countryside, where over 40 percent of the population still lives. Along rural roads, particularly in the less developed areas east of Warsaw (known cruelly as "Poland B"—"Poland A" being the more affluent west), one sees a cross or a shrine with a figure of Christ or the Madonna every few miles, with fresh-cut flowers always at the foot.

The vast majority of rural houses, some of them mere huts, proudly display TV antennas (sometimes side by side with a rooftop stork nest). In 1986 nearly ten million TV sets were registered in Poland, roughly one for every four inhabitants, which is astonishing when one considers that a black-and-white set costs the equivalent of the monthly salary of a skilled worker (and 50 percent more than the average wage), and a color set sells for about six times the higher salary.

On the other hand, there are fewer than five million telephones in Poland—one for roughly every seven inhabitants—and much of the countryside has no phone service at all. In the cities one may wait 15 years for a home phone.

Moreover, Poland has been seized with "videomania," and it is estimated that there are some one million videocassette recorders in this enormously indebted and impoverished nation. A VCR costs the average industrial worker the equivalent of 20 monthly paychecks. A Polish-built Polonez automobile requires the proceeds of seven or eight years of such salaries—but the number of privately owned cars surged from half a million in 1970 to nearly four million in 1986.

This hunger for consumer goods—and the prestige that their ownership brings—reflects a reaction to the material denials during the postwar decades as well as the immense frustration of the people in the cities, where families may wait as long as 20 years for an apartment barely large enough for a couple and two children. Young families, like it or not, tend to live with in-laws. A young engineer in Łódź, the second largest city, told me that "if we can't have our own home, we can at least have our own TV in our room, and a small car just to get away once a week."

No matter how crowded the home may be, a visitor is instantly offered tea, coffee, an alcoholic drink, or a cake that the hosts probably can ill afford; yet in Poland it is rude to decline hospitality. There is no rational explanation for Polish economics in terms of what people can afford—VCRs or cars, for instance—and it is therefore accepted that such purchasing power is made possible through the "Polish way"—multiple jobs, moonlighting on government time during working hours, bartering goods and services, bribery, and the colossal black market in foreign currencies and imported or smuggled merchandise.

Perhaps as much as half a billion dollars enters Poland annually in gifts from families living in the United States and elsewhere. And this finances some of the purchases (the current black-market dollar rate is about four times the official rate in złotys).

Poland thrives on contrast. In Warsaw on the eve of the Pope's visit in June 1987, I

GRACEFUL FORM AND NIMBLE GAIT characterize Parys, a purebred Arabian sire raised at the Janów Podlaski stud farm. Poles captured Arabian horses from Ottoman invaders, but the first stock may have arrived even earlier with knights returning from the Crusades. Polish-bred stallions have commanded as much as a million dollars.

watched work crews replacing the Chinese flag on the lampposts (Premier Zhao Ziyang had just completed an official visit) along the main thoroughfares with the yellow-and-white standard of the Vatican. For a week Jaruzelski played proud host to his fellow Pole—"Two Great Poles Together," said the caption under their photograph on the front page of the Communist Party's official newspaper.

Meeting with opposition intellectuals at a Warsaw church, John Paul II walked slowly down the church aisle, and old friends stepped forward to greet him by his diminutive, Lolek.

Later the Pope visited St. Stanisław Kostka Church in Warsaw to pray silently in the flower-filled courtyard at the grave of the Reverend Jerzy Popiełuszko, the popular pro-Solidarity priest who was murdered by Polish secret police in 1984.

Jaruzelski did not comment on that episode but indicated to me that he was not wholly enchanted by the Pontiff's approving public references to Solidarity, though on the whole the papal visit was very "positive." He did not seem disturbed by the Pope's preplanned encounter with Lech Wałęsa in Gdańsk. (When the Pope came to Poland in 1983, after martial law was suspended, Wałęsa was flown in a government helicopter to meet him more discreetly in a village in the Tatra Mountains.)

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SIX YEARS after the destruction of Solidarity, Poles remain locked in controversies and arguments. Naturally much of the debate revolves around Jaruzelski and his motives, real or suspected. While he proclaimed a general amnesty in September 1986—thus making Poland the only Communist country without known political prisoners—and permits reasonably free debate in the Sejm and the newspapers, radio, and television, the resentments against him have not altogether vanished.

Therefore I was astonished when Lech Wałęsa told me during an afternoon we spent together at the residence of the parish priest at St. Brygida's Church in Gdańsk that, sooner or later, "we shall meet [with Jaruzelski] on the way to reform." Wałęsa also surprised me by indicating he shared Jaruzelski's high regard for Gorbachev and his Soviet reform policies, and by saying that Solidarity should change its name to "Reform" to emphasize the need for evolutionary change in Poland.

"Solidarity is immortal as a symbol," he said with his characteristic gesticulation, "and Solidarity will be fulfilled through reform."

At its peak Solidarity's membership reached ten million, more than one-fourth of the total population—including one million Communist Party members.

Wałęsa receives daily streams of political and foreign media visitors at the church residence, which is virtually his Solidarity office, after completing his 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. shift as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard. His freedom to act so openly is another Polish paradox, though plainclothesmen in unmarked cars keep track of visitors.

Seeing Wałęsa for the first time since the euphoria of 1981, I found him much more mature and sophisticated politically, but as enthusiastic and optimistic as ever. His mustache bristling, his voice rising to make a point, he still acts the leader. His views are more moderate, and he recognizes (as he did in his autobiography published in French in Paris in 1987) that he lost control of Solidarity to "radicals" in the months preceding martial law. His conclusion, therefore, is that the next move by democratic groups in Poland should be more thoughtfully prepared.

One of the most fascinating new Polish institutions is the Center of Public Opinion Research that feeds Jaruzelski detailed data (mostly unpleasant) on what people think. Headed by an intense but good-humored army colonel named Stanisław Kwiatkowski, who also is a Ph.D. in philosophy, the center was urgently asked for public relations advice by the Soviet Union after the Chernobyl

FLAMES OF MEMORY burn bright in Warsaw's Powązki Cemetery on August 1, the anniversary of that city's ill-fated uprising against German occupation in 1944. A stone cross memorializes the more than 4,000 Polish officers found buried in a mass grave in 1943 near the village of Katyń in the Soviet Union.

nuclear plant disaster. Colonel Kwiatkowski urged the Soviets to tell the truth—rapidly.

At home, the center informed Jaruzelski in 1986—and the assessment was published in the official press—that in the public view the church is the institution serving the nation best, with only the army and parliament approaching it. The poll omitted any reference to Poland's Communist Party or the government; the omission spoke for itself.

VOICES OF DISSENT find expression through a network of underground printing presses such as this operation (facing page) near Warsaw. Often imprisoned for his antigovernment statements, philosopher Adam Michnik (below) asserts that in Poland today "civil disobedience is the only attitude worthy of respect."

As I think back on my Polish sojourn, I am reminded that detail often helps one understand the whole picture. And the tableau of Poland is full of tiny brushstrokes.

At the great Arabian horse farm at Janów Podlaski, first established by the tsars of Russia 170 years ago, government permission was quietly granted a few years ago to restore the royal crown over the letter J (for Janów) on the brand on the animals' rumps. Auctioned off once a year, the beautiful Polish Arabians are sold for the most part to buyers from the U. S.—and the royal crown symbol goes with them across the Atlantic from the farm on the River Bug along the Polish-Soviet frontier.

At the famous film school in Łódź, I overheard an exasperated director shout at a student actress who was reading her lines woodenly: "For God's sake, put some emotion in this! It was Sartre who wrote the play, not Karl Marx!"

It was also in Łódź that I came upon a two-story building on busy Piotrkowska Street downtown, and a plaque next to the main entrance proudly proclaiming that Artur Rubinstein was born there in 1887, a century ago. The great pianist was the textile city's greatest pride, and I was staring so hard at the inscription that an elderly lady stopped and asked me in Polish: "So maybe you knew Mister Rubinstein?"

I replied that I had known him since I was a child, and then I realized I was standing four houses away from where my grandparents had lived during World War I; I had the address scribbled in my notebook. It was nice to know that a tiny niche of our family history had been preserved, just down the street from the Rubinsteins.

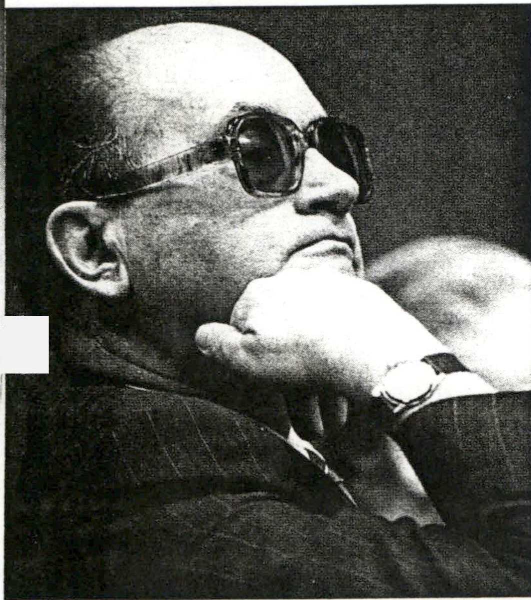
Yet the most significant evocation of the recent Polish past that I encountered was the vivid memory of Antoni Słonimski, a great poet, a man of charm, honor, and humor, a man respected by Stalinists and liberals, the guru of Poland's postwar intellectuals, and the nearest thing to a Polish national conscience. I had the privilege of knowing him before he was killed in a car crash at the age of 81, a dozen years ago, and I knew that he had become a legendary figure.

His most famous remark was a simple one: "When you are in doubt how to act, act decently." I like to think that Antoni Słonimski's injunction will define the behavior of his fellow countrymen as they live through the latest Polish drama. □

SPECIAL REPORT
POLAND

Freedom's Turn

For the first time ever, a Communist regime is peacefully ousted. Now Solidarity's firebrands must transform themselves from rebels to rulers



FILIP HORVAT—PICTURE GROUP

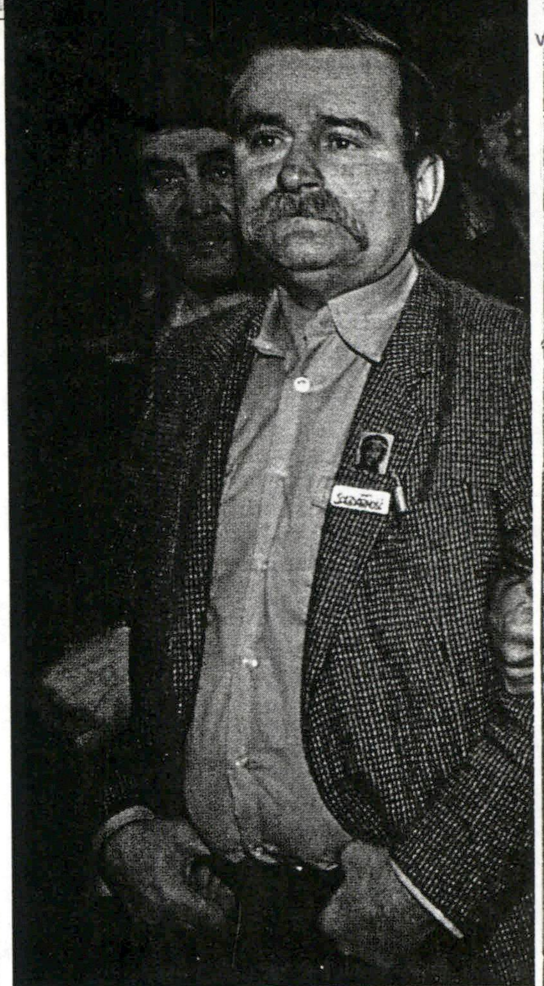
No room to retreat: *President Jaruzelski*

Poland's Communist government once ridiculed Lech Walesa as a sparrow who was trying to pass for an eagle. After imposing martial law in December 1981, the regime confined the upstart electrician to a remote hunting lodge, and when it let him out 11 months later, Walesa promised to be "very prudent." Despite his setbacks, Walesa is a political genius, an instinctive leader who knows what the crowd is thinking before the crowd knows it. Last week, after saying that he did not want to lead a Polish government, Walesa went out and formed one.

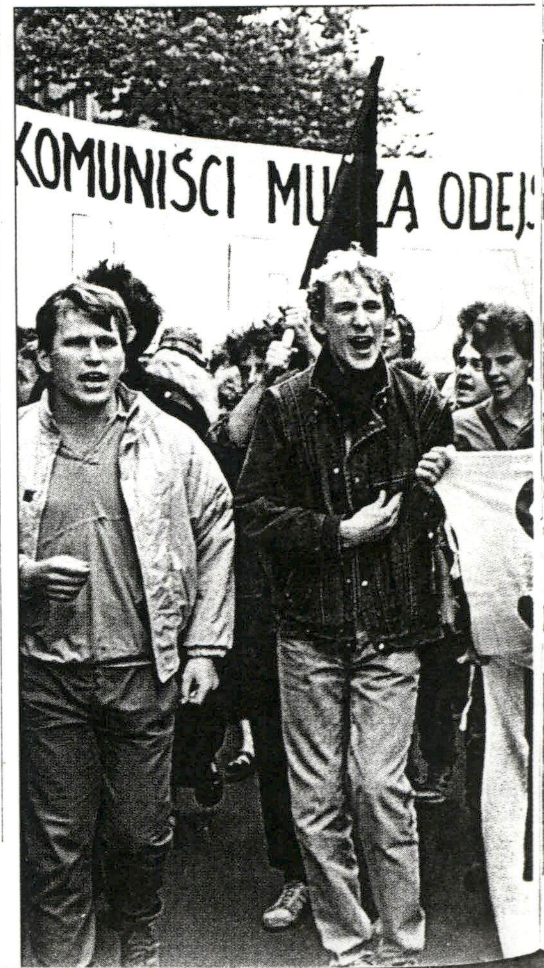
Strictly speaking, it is not a Walesa government; the man who will take over as prime minister this week is a Roman Catholic lawyer-journalist named Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 62, one of the first intellectuals to support Solidarity when the independent trade union was formed in 1980. Nor will the new regime be entirely non-Communist. Poland still has a Communist president, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, and Communists run the huge and torpid bureaucracy. As junior partners in the new coalition, they also will retain control over the Army and the police. But the new government will be led by Solidarity and dominated, from the wings, by Walesa—an unofficial second president.

And that in itself is an astounding development. For the first time in history, a Communist regime has been peacefully turned out of office. Inside what is left of the Iron Curtain, Eastern Europe's largest, most populous and most strategically located country is to be governed more or less democratically. For now, at least, Moscow has acquiesced; under reform-minded President Mikhail Gorbachev, even Soviet satellites supposedly have a right to choose their own leaders. Yet the mere existence of a Solidarity government is an implicit threat to tranquillity throughout the communist world—in the Soviet Union, where restless nationalities are stirring up trouble for Gorbachev, and in countries like East Germany and Czechoslovakia, whose conservative rulers have no use for Gorbachev, much less Walesa. With Marxist regimes under pressure in countries as far off as Afghanistan and Angola, a Polish government led by non-Communists is a potent symbol, suggesting the end of an era.

From his summer home in Maine, George Bush watched democracy's progress in Poland with quiet satisfaction—taking pains, his spokesman said, not to "do anything or say anything to upset the apple cart." The reaction in Poland itself was similarly muted and considerably less sanguine; the prospect of a Solidarity govern-



The East bloc's peaceful revolution: *Walesa (left)*



ment produced no torrent of hope and joy. Perhaps that is because the economy is in such desperate straits, hamstrung by bankrupt smokestack industries, galloping inflation, a crushing foreign debt and a sullen, cynical work force. Now Solidarity has inherited the failures of communism, and there is real doubt whether it can clean up the mess. If the party is over for the Communists, it also has ended, in a sense, for Solidarity's firebrands, who must transform themselves, almost overnight, from rebels to rulers.

Overturning a government can be much easier than running one. But throughout their tortured history, nothing has come easily for the Poles, or for their conquerors. At the start of World War II, Poland was brutally carved up by Germany and Russia. Only last week the Kremlin finally admitted what Western historians have known for decades: that Hitler and Stalin secretly agreed, 50 years ago this week, to divide Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe into spheres of Nazi and Soviet influence. Poland was easily swallowed but difficult to digest. Stalin once complained that imposing communism on the stubborn Poles made as much sense as putting a saddle on a cow. After bitter repressions under a dreary succession of Communist bosses, Jaruzelski was forced to admit, earlier this year, that the Communist Party's leading role in Poland "already is history."

MALANCA—SIPA

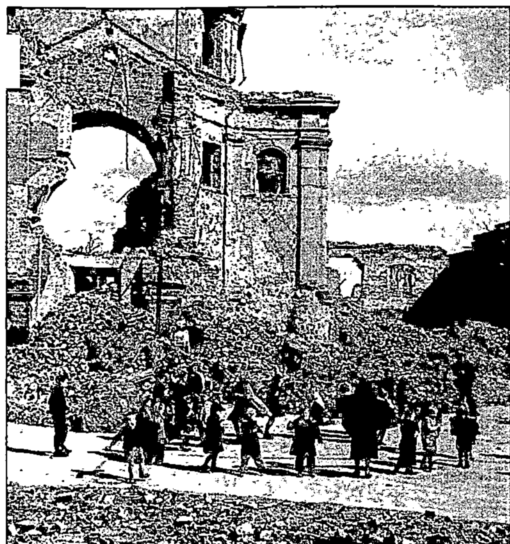
...s peaceful revolution: *Walesa (center) at a demonstration in Gdansk, anti-Jaruzelski protest in Warsaw*

DRUSZCZ WOJIEK—AFP

An election surprise: The general has been retreating for months. Last November, after a wave of summer strikes, his government refused to negotiate with Solidarity, which was still outlawed. In January, the regime offered to negotiate. In April, it legalized Solidarity and invited the union to participate in a partly free election. Jaruzelski gambled that the Polish United Workers' Party, as the Communists officially are known, could hold its own. In June, the voters proved him humiliatingly wrong. Solidarity won 99 of the 100 seats in the Senate, the upper house of Parliament, thereby gaining the power to delay legislation. In the ruling lower house, the Sejm, Solidarity won all of the 161 seats it was allowed to contest.

Although the government still had a working majority, the balance of power in the Sejm lay with two small parties, the Peasants and the Democrats, which in the past had been docile junior partners of the

Four Decades of Repressive Rule



UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

INTERNATIONAL NEWS PHOTOS

1945 *With Warsaw destroyed by World War II, the Soviets installed a Communist government*

1958 *Russian tanks crush a general strike in Poznan, killing more than 70 Poles*

Communists. Now the Communists were losing control of the political situation. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the man Jaruzelski named prime minister late last month, admitted that he could not form a government. Even reform-minded Communist deputies were getting out of line. On Thursday the Sejm voted overwhelmingly for a resolution condemning the Soviet-bloc invasion of Czechoslovakia, which occurred 21 years ago this week and included a contingent of Polish troops led by Jaruzelski's Defense minister.

As the regime floundered, the Peasants and Democrats thought about changing sides. The circumstances were just right for Walesa to carry out what Communist Party leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski later described as "a coup d'état." Walesa sent an aide to Warsaw to tell Solidarity's members of Parliament that he would propose a broad coalition government, including the Peasants and Democrats and any other "pro-reform elements."

No one else: "It's better to stay in opposition," Walesa had said after the June election. "We should wait and prepare for elections in four years' time, when we would be ready to take power." Suddenly, he was prepared to take at least partial power now. Solidarity's stunning victory in June was a mandate that could not be shrugged off, especially since no one else seemed able to govern. As he gathered support for a Solidarity government, Walesa hinted that he himself would be prime minister. "If society wants it, I will have to go to the prime minister's office," he said, "but I would prefer someone else." That made the deal sweeter to the Peasants and the Democrats. But when legislators voted to give him the nomination, he declared: "I will not be prime minister. There are better people than Walesa."

Walesa believes that his place is with what he calls "the angry masses." He chose not to run for Parliament last June. "Solidarity is a labor union," he likes to say, "and I am a union leader." A better leader than an administrator, Walesa might prefer to run for the above-the-fray post of president when Jaruzelski's term expires in 1995. For now, he will keep himself in reserve, in case Poland's problems are too much for Mazowiecki or some subsequent Solidarity prime minister. "Walesa is their last card," says a U.S. official.

Walesa eventually presented Jaruzelski with a list of three potential prime ministers. In addition to Mazowiecki, they in-

The New P.M.: Piety and Pragmatism

Some time ago, Tadeusz Mazowiecki (pronounced tah-DAY-oosh mah-zoh-VYET-skee) authored the first Polish book on Catholic-Marxist dialogue. By most accounts, the next prime minister of Poland is a man who will now practice what he preached. Tall, soft-spoken and sad-eyed, Mazowiecki has a reputation for piety and a knack for compromise. He is also a crusader. Tellingly, the symbol he chose for his magazine Wiez, or Link, an independent Roman Catholic monthly, is Don Quixote tilting at windmills.

Born in 1927, Mazowiecki came of age amid political turmoil. He lost a brother in a Nazi concentration camp. He trained as a lawyer, worked as a journalist and served as an opposition member of Parliament. (He was barred from seeking re-election after investigating the 1970 police massacre of workers in Gdansk.) An early and active supporter of Poland's fledgling labor movement, Mazowiecki emerged in the 1970s as one of the country's leading Catholic laymen—"the epitome," as one insider put it, "of the Warsaw Catholic intellectual."

Mazowiecki met Lech Walesa in August 1980, during the first days of the Gdansk uprising. With Bronislaw Geremek, he brought dissident intellectuals and striking ship workers into alliance. Like Geremek, Mazowiecki stayed on to advise Walesa. For his efforts, he spent a year in a Communist internment camp. In 1988 Mazowiecki helped mediate with striking workers, and this year he took part in the "round table" negotiations that led to Solidarity's legalization. He chose to keep himself off the ballot in June, but was reportedly Polish Cardinal Jozef Glemp's top choice for prime minister. Mazowiecki finds support as well from a higher source: "I am a believer," he said last week, "and I believe that Providence cares for us."

PHOTOREPORTERS

1970 *Polish militia tear-gas workers rioting over food shortages in Gdansk*

PETER MARLOW—MAGNUM

CHRIS NIEDENTHAL—BLACK STAR

1980 *Solidarity shuts down the Gdansk shipyards*

1981 *Martial law is imposed in a Communist crackdown*

cluded Bronislaw Geremek, who leads Solidarity's deputies in the Sejm, and Jacek Kuron, a charismatic intellectual who has made dissidence his life's work. There was no constitutional requirement to give Jaruzelski a choice. "Maybe Walesa wanted to save the general's face, to present him as the decision maker," suggested Klemens Szaniawski, a Solidarity member who is studying at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. Walesa may also have wanted to co-opt Jaruzelski, forcing him to take responsibility for the choice of a prime minister.

CZAREK SOKOLOWSKI—AP

Soft-spoken intellectual: *Mazowiecki*

In any case, the choice was not difficult. Kuron, who has given the Communists almost as much trouble as Walesa, was unthinkable. Something of a carouser, he responded to his nomination by bellowing: "Ridiculous! Ridiculous! If my name is on the list, it can't be serious." Geremek is a serious contender; an able politician and a respected medieval scholar, he might be the next prime minister if Mazowiecki falters. But Mazowiecki, an ardent Catholic, is supported by the country's influential primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, while Geremek is widely believed to be Jewish, a handicap in a nation where anti-Semitism still runs deep. Mazowiecki is not a member of Parliament, but that could be an advantage, since he cannot be blamed for one of the new Sejm's worst decisions. The Sejm indexed salaries to the skyrocketing prices, thereby making it even more difficult for the new government to get inflation under control.

Knowing where you are: As he put together his new coalition, Walesa made a key concession. He promised that the Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry, which controls the police, would remain in Communist hands. And he said Poland would not pull out of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet-led military alliance. "Poland cannot forget where it is situated," he told a West German television interviewer. "You know we are in the Warsaw Pact. That cannot be changed."

In Moscow, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman called Walesa's position "sensible." Yevgeny Primakov, an aide to the vacationing Gorbachev, told a U.S. congressional delegation that the choice of a non-Communist government was "entirely a matter to be decided by Poland." Moscow wants to keep a low profile on nationalist issues that could cause it considerable discomfort this week. Demonstrations are planned in the restless Soviet republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to mark the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact, which eventually ended their independence. And in Prague, protesters planned to observe the 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion, despite a threat by the hard-line Czech government to use force against illegal demonstrations.

What Moscow wants most from Poland is stability, a period of relative calm in which the Soviets can move ahead with their own political and economic reforms. Apparently the Kremlin has concluded that Communists alone can no longer keep the lid on in Poland. Moscow acknowledges tacitly that some form of coalition is needed, and although it obviously would prefer the new regime to be led by some faction other than Solidarity, it cannot say so without appearing to intervene in Poland's internal affairs. If Poland remains unstable despite Solidarity's leadership, Moscow might eventually intervene to stop anti-Soviet riots or an attempt to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. Soviet intervention would not necessarily be military. Even in 1981, Soviet troops did not move; instead, Moscow orchestrated a crackdown by the Polish military.

Gorbachev's reformers do not want any kind of crackdown on Poland. Their program of *perestroika* (restructuring) depends heavily on increased Western loans, trade and technology transfers. All of these would be put at risk by a crackdown on Poland—and doomed by an outright Soviet invasion. Still, the "Polish model"

worries reform-minded Soviets, who fear that the pattern of the early 1980s—strikes and disorders leading to military repression—could be repeated in their country. "God save us from that, because we would be thrown decades backward, as the Polish experience shows," commentator Fyodor Burlatsky wrote in the newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets. "In Poland, they only now are beginning to do what should have been done 10 years ago—to pursue a policy of national consensus."

Bush's path: In Washington and Kennebunkport, the Bush administration took heart. One of the pet theories of the Reagan administration, articulated by former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, was that right-wing "authoritarian" governments can change for the better, but Communist regimes cannot. Bush believes, from personal experience, that communism can indeed be changed. He likes to talk about his 1987 visit to Poland, when he stood on a church balcony with Walesa, looking out over a huge crowd that chanted: "Long live Bush! Long live Solidarity!" During his visit to Poland last month, he supported progress toward political pluralism, offering $119 million in economic assistance. "This is the path to democracy he's been encouraging and his trip to Poland was intended to highlight," said a senior aide. "But he recognizes the process is very fragile, and he doesn't want to do anything to throw it off the path."

ARTHUR GRACE—NEWSWEEK

Supporting Poland's progress toward pluralism: *Walesa with Bush in Gdansk last month*

Solidarity's government must do what the Communists could not do: reduce inflation, put meat and consumer goods onto store shelves and make Polish industry more competitive. In July, Walesa told Bush that Poland needs $10 billion in international aid over the next three years and a reduction—and relaxation of the repayment terms—of its foreign debt, which now stands at $39 billion. Last week Bush was making no promises. Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said it would be "premature" to talk about new assistance for Poland. He promised only that the United States would "increase aid as appropriate and as we can."

At this point, Poland needs discipline as much as it needs money. Economist Jan

Solidarity's Man Can Lead, But Could He Govern?

It seemed almost jarring last week when Lech Walesa, the embodiment of Solidarity, did not assume power along with his party. Indeed, when the gruff, heavyset movement leader submitted the names of three colleagues for the post of prime minister—pointedly excluding his own—even some of his closest advisers were taken by surprise. At the moment of victory, Walesa walked away from the trophy. Some believed it was because he was not prepared for the harsh realities of governing. "What will Walesa do if there's a general strike?" asked Edward Wende, a leading lawyer and Solidarity representative in the Senate. "How will he react—as a union leader or a statesman? It will not be easy."

Walesa, in fact, has never been one to play the traditional, predictable politician. When other politicians intone, Walesa shouts; when they imply, he demands; when they dissemble, he clamors. Even the ubiquitous dark suits that lend an air of authority to the most ordinary political aspirants have always hung stiffly on him. He's more comfortable in T shirts. "He is one of them," said veteran Walesa watcher Lawrence Weschler of The New Yorker. "He has been formed, primordially, by many of the same things that have formed the Polish reality."

Like his countrymen, Walesa has had to learn how to persevere in defeat. From his first days as a lean and feisty union organizer outraged by the killings of fellow strikers in 1970, Walesa's political forays have been followed by at least momentary retreats. In 1970 a protest against price hikes ended in brutal repression. Six years later he was elected to head the Lenin Shipyard's union but then was fired by his shipyard employers. In 1980 Solidarity was born. A year later, when Walesa was arrested and martial law declared, the movement seemed finished. Even last year his star seemed to fade as a younger generation of Solidarity members labeled him a traitor and accused him of caving in to the Communists in strike negotiations.

His reticence last week may have been a shrewdly calculated move. By sidestepping political responsibility now, Walesa will almost surely avoid blame for the inevitable problems of debt, poverty and shortages later. By placing others ahead of him on the rungs of power, Walesa gave Solidarity a safety net. "If Lech Walesa had been made prime minister right now, then when things inevitably blow up in the next couple of months there would have been no fallback position," explains Weschler. He expects that when the next crisis comes, Walesa will again duck power, turning instead to his closest adviser, Bronislaw Geremek. Only if the crisis reaches "Armageddon," Weschler predicts, will Walesa agree to take on the job of prime minister.

Walesa's humility is not feigned. Born in a small clay cottage in the town of Popowo, his formal education consisted of only the primary grades followed by vocational training as an electrician. Thus, when the Nobel laureate (he was awarded the Peace Prize in 1983) says that he feels unqualified for the role of prime minister, he may only be expressing a genuine sense of his own very real unpreparedness. According to White House aides, George Bush shares this assessment. Bush privately describes Walesa as "an exceptionally levelheaded guy who understands his limi-

CHESNOT—SIPA

What Moscow wants is stability: *Gorbachev embraces Jaruzelski in Poland last year*

Vanous of PlanEcon, a Washington firm, prescribes a leadership that can tough it out with both labor and the state enterprises, hold down wages and prices and make drastic changes in the economy through rapid privatization and an opening to foreign capital. "I cannot envision a government representing mostly labor unions essentially pursuing what has to be a Thatcher-type economy," Vanous says, referring to Britain's prime minister.

By late last week it still was not clear how wholeheartedly the Communists would cooperate with the new government, or to what extent the bureaucracy would drag its feet to thwart reform. At a stormy meeting of the party's Central Committee on Saturday, hard-liners argued inconclusively with reformers. "The party Central Committee is prepared to cooperate in a coalition, but not on just any terms," Slawomir Wiatr, the committee's secretary for ideology, said at a news conference after the meeting finally ended. The party's top leaders still had to decide precisely what those terms would be, including the number of seats the Communists would seek to occupy in the new cabinet.

Walesa was hopeful about what lay ahead. "It is an incredible success for our struggle," he told the Associated Press. "But now let us see it in practice." Mazowiecki contemplated his future in an idyllic spot, a glade on the grounds of a home for blind children several miles outside Warsaw. "I find my inspiration here, where there is so much suffering and yet these young children maintain their optimism," he told Polish television. He said his government would be a "wide coalition," not the "grand coalition" that would imply heavy participation by the Communists. He admitted that the prospects were daunting. "I am terrified," he said frankly. But he added: "I think . . . we can do a lot, we can release the forces in ourselves. I think it will not be easy, but it is possible." For a movement that was outlawed until only last April, Solidarity had come a long way. A quickening sense of possibilities might just be enough to carry it through.

RUSSELL WATSON *with* SCOTT SULLIVAN *in Warsaw,* JANE WHITMORE *in Washington,* THOMAS M. DEFRANK *in Kennebunkport and* FRED COLEMAN *in Moscow*

M. PHILIPPOT—SYGMA

JOSEPH CZARNECKI—JB PICTURES

On his own time: *Taking a day to go fishing after winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983, and as a young union organizer during strike talks in 1981*

tations as well as his potential," said one close aide. Walesa may believe as well that if he were to assume a government role, he would squander his greatest strength: his uncanny ability to inspire the Polish people and pave the way for radical change.

But what if Walesa is finally forced to enter government? He may find himself caught between his allegiance to the workers, who want lower prices and higher wages, and his duty to a government that cannot afford to provide either. As prime minister, he would need to provide more than inspiring speeches, more clarity than passion. So far he has not done that. "Walesa loves to be right in the end. So he always says what he means, and then says the exact opposite," observed Jan Rokita, a Solidarity deputy from Cracow. Walesa's sometimes dictatorial style could prove troublesome in a parliamentary government. Though he seeks out and listens to advice, the union leader often makes his decisions "absolutely independently," says Klemens Szaniawski, a Solidarity member now visiting the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. A case in point is the decision Walesa made last week—without telling his closest advisers—to form an alliance government with the two small parties formerly allied with the Communists.

To avoid replacing one form of dictatorship with another, Walesa will have to learn how to make the sort of trade-offs and logrolling deals familiar to lawmakers in Western democracies. Bankers, workers and opposition groups will want concrete results that can come only from compromise and concession. To survive in this new, more complex environment that he himself helped to create, Walesa may have to learn that traditional politics can work, too.

C. S. MANEGOLD *with* SCOTT SULLIVAN *in Warsaw*

Scenes From a Hard Land

NEWSWEEK photographer Arthur Grace spent two weeks earlier this summer taking these portraits of Polish life. Grace, who has visited Poland a dozen times since 1977, says the country is "politically better, but in almost every other way it seems to be worse." Privation is the norm. Young couples there commonly wait 20 years for a home of their own. (Parents often put their children on the waiting list for apartments at birth.) The phone system is so bad that for many weeks this summer, people whose phone numbers began with 4 were unable to get through to those whose numbers began with 3. Not surprisingly, many Poles wish to leave the country. The lines of visa seekers outside Western embassies are often more impressive than those outside meat shops.

In Warsaw, a man sells a dress at the weekly Sunday flea market. Also for sale: secondhand sneakers, old tires, used appliances. Left: A nun at the grave of Roman Catholic priest Jerzy Popieluszko, slain by security officers.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARTHUR GRACE—NEWSWEEK

Complete with sound truck, a Communist tries something new and different in Poland: standing for election. In the countryside, a family travels the timeless way. Half the farms still use horse-drawn plows.

Country Profile: Poland

Official Name: Republic of Poland

Geography

Area: 312,680 sq. km. (about 120,725 sq. mi.); about the size of New Mexico.
Cities (1988): *Capital*—Warsaw (pop. 1.7 million). *Other cities*—Lodz (851,500), Krakow (743,700), Wroclaw (637,400), Poznan (586,500), Gdansk (461,000).
Terrain: Flat plain, except mountains along southern border.
Climate: Temperate continental.

People

Nationality: *Noun*—Pole(s). *Adjective*—Polish.
Population (1990): 37.8 million.
Annual growth rate: Negligible.
Ethnic groups: Polish 98.7%, Ukrainian 0.6%, Byelorussian 0.5%, Jewish 0.05%.
Religions: Roman Catholic 95%, Eastern Orthodox, Uniate, Protestant 5%.
Language: Polish.
Education: *Years compulsory*—8. *Attendance*—97%. *Literacy*—98%.
Health (1989): *Infant mortality rate*—13/1,000. *Life expectancy*—males 68 yrs., females 77 yrs.
Work force (1988): 17 million. *Agriculture*—28.5%. *Industry and construction*—36.5%. *Trade, community services, transport, communications*—18.2%. *Government and other*—16.8%.

Government

Type: Republic.
Independence: 1918.
Constitution: October 1990 (as amended).
Branches: *Executive*—chief of state (president). *Legislative*—bicameral National Assembly (lower house)—*Sejm*, upper house—Senate). *Judicial*—Supreme Court, provincial and local courts.
Administrative subdivisions: 49 provinces (*voivodships*).
Political parties: Almost all freely elected seats in the present parliament are held by members who were supported by Citizens Committees organized by Solidarity before the June 1989 elections. These *Sejm* deputies and senators formed the Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP). As plans are made for parliamentary elections in which all seats will be freely contested, many new parties are emerging.
Suffrage: Universal over age 18.
National holiday: Constitution Day, May 3.
Flag: Two equal-sized horizontal bands of white (upper) and red (lower).

Economy

Growth rate (1989 est.): –1.6%
Per capita GNP: $4,565 (purchasing power parity estimate).
Inflation rate (1990): 4.9%. (November 1990; equals 60% annually).
Natural resources: Coal, sulfur, copper, natural gas, silver, lead, salt.
Agriculture: *Products*—grains, sugarbeets, potatoes, livestock, oilseed.
Industry: *Types*—machine-building, iron and steel, extractive industries, chemicals, ship-building, food-processing, glass beverages, textiles.
Trade (1989 est.): *Exports*—$28.5 billion: machinery and equipment, coal, minerals, metals. *Imports*—$24.4 billion: machinery and equipment, fuels, minerals, metals, agricultural and forestry products.

Membership in International Organizations

UN and several specialized agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the World Bank (IBRD); General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

Government and Politics. Poland has the largest population in Eastern Europe (37.8 million). The government was communist from 1947-89, when, after 9 years of strikes and struggle, the labor union Solidarity, led by electrician Lech Walesa, helped form a government led and dominated by non-communists. In January 1990, the Polish United Workers' (Communist) Party dissolved itself, creating in its place the new party of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland. Most of the property of the former Communist Party was turned over to the state.

Local elections in May 1990 were entirely free. Candidates supported by Solidarity's citizens committees won most of the races they contested. In October 1990, the constitution was amended to allow election of the president by general suffrage and curtail the term of President Wojciech Jaruzelski. In December 1990, Lech Walesa became the first popularly elected president of Poland.

The present government structure reflects compromises made in an agreement between the former communists and the opposition. The bicameral legislature (the National Assembly) comprises the 460-member *Sejm* (lower house) and the 100-member Senate (upper house). The president nominates a prime minister who, together with his cabinet members, must be approved by the *Sejm*. A new constitution is being drafted, and a new parliament will be elected in 1991, probably in October.

Judicial proceedings are carried out through a Supreme Court and provincial and local courts.

The Economy. Poland is undergoing a profound transformation as the government rapidly introduces a free-market system to replace the centrally planned economy of the communists. During 1990, economic reform stopped hyperinflation, stabilized the currency, brought an end to chronic shortages of consumer goods, and produced a sizable trade surplus. At the same time, however, the economy suffered a recession, with sharp declines in industrial production and real incomes and steadily increasing unemployment. The United States and other Western countries have been supporting the growth of a free-enterprise economy by providing direct economic aid, restructuring the debt, rescheduling payments, and encouraging private investment in Poland.

Poland is a member of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, has applied to join the Council of Europe, has a trade and cooperation agreement with the European Community (EC), and wants to join the EC by 1995.

Foreign Trade and Debt. Poland had a current account surplus of more than $1.8 billion for the first three quarters of 1990, but its trade balance suffered during the fourth quarter because of rising oil prices and other factors. Oil deliveries from Iraq (made to offset Iraq's $500 million debt to Poland) stopped in August 1990 in keeping with UN sanctions, while at the same time Soviet deliveries fell below projected levels. With the unification of Germany in October 1990, traditional Polish trade ties with East Germany, one of Poland's major trading partners, were disrupted.

Poland's external debt exceeds $46 billion, and its debt-service ratio (the ratio of hard debt-service obligations to hard-currency earnings) is one of the world's highest, even after successive reschedulings by Poland's commercial and official creditors. Scheduled debt-service payments in 1989 amounted to $5.2 billion (equivalent to about 60% of the value of total exports in hard currency), but only about $1.5 billion was paid. Most of Poland's foreign debt (about $33 billion) is owed to Paris Club governments (official bilateral creditors including the United States), which extended to Poland a rescheduling agreement in 1990. The fifth rescheduling since 1981, the 1990 agreement included a temporary moratorium on debt-service payments.

At a March 15, 1991, meeting, Paris Club members agreed to a minimum 50% reduction of the Polish debt they hold (individual creditors can offer a larger reduction if they choose). They also agreed to a restructuring of Polish debt that will reduce interest payments due over the next 3 years by 80%.

Defense. Poland is reducing armaments to levels agreed upon in the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, signed in Paris in November 1990. About 50,000 Soviet troops remain in Poland under Polish-Soviet agreements, mainly to provide logistical support to Soviet troops stationed on the territory of the former East Germany. Negotiations are underway on their withdrawal and on terms for the transit through Poland of Soviet forces being withdrawn from Germany.

Foreign Relations. Poland is developing a new, independent foreign policy, while strengthening friendly ties to the United States and other Western countries. Poland now has a permanent observer at NATO headquarters and is pursuing associate status in the European Community. Poland took part in the Two-Plus-Four meetings concerning the borders of unified Germany. A Polish-German border treaty confirming existing frontiers was signed in November 1990 and awaits ratification by Germany.

US-Polish Relations. The birth of the Solidarity labor movement in 1980 raised US hopes that progress would be made in Poland's foreign relations as well as in its domestic development. US policy throughout the Solidarity period had two goals:

- To encourage greater respect for human rights and individual freedom; and
- To avoid interference in Poland's internal affairs.

Toward this end, for example, the US government provided $765 million of agricultural assistance during 1981. The United States responded to gradual human rights improvement in Poland in 1983-84 by easing sanctions. After an amnesty for political prisoners was declared in September 1986, the United States began a re-engagement that led to the lifting of sanctions in February 1987, when President Reagan restored Poland's most-favored-nation tariff status. In 1988, the United States and Poland upgraded their diplomatic relations and exchanged ambassadors.

President Bush, who visited Poland as vice president in 1987, paid a state visit in July 1989, shortly after the parliamentary elections in which Solidarity candidates scored an overwhelming victory.

After Walesa's visit to the United States in November 1989, Congress passed the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act, which authorized a $928 million assistance program for Poland and Hungary. Key provisions of the act were a $200 million contribution to the $1 billion international fund to stabilize Poland's currency and a $240 million grant to create an enterprise fund to promote development of Poland's private sector.

The Polish-American Enterprise Fund supports training and technical assistance, primarily in Polish-owned companies, Polish-American joint ventures, and occasionally in subsidiaries or affiliates of US companies with business operations in Poland. The fund focuses on small and medium-sized companies. These and other SEED programs were designed to support the Polish government's economic-reform program and the country's rapid transition to a free-market economy.

During Mazowiecki's visit to Washington in March 1990, the United States and Poland concluded a business and economic agreement to promote closer economic and trade ties. The Senate has ratified the agreement, which is awaiting ation by the *Sejm*.

Poland is reorienting its political and economic relations to pursue an independent foreign policy and to develop a competitive free-market economy. As it does so, the close cooperation that exists in US-Polish relations is expected to continue. ■

POLAND

1905	Pilsudski begins revolutionary activity in Russian-occupied areas; forced to flee.
1916	Germans create puppet government as Russians retreat; Pilsudski and others oppose it.
1917	Polish National Committee formed in Switzerland is recognized by Allies.
1918	As Germans and Austrians surrender, republic is proclaimed; first Polish state since 1772.
1919	Pilsudski abandons attempt to form socialist government in favor of Paderewski, who becomes first premier.
1921	Treaty of Riga ends war with Bolsheviks; gains Poland much territory.
1924	Construction of new port begins at Gdynia.
1926	Severe depression; Russian-German treaty causes fears; Pilsudski seizes power and institutes limited dictatorship.
1935	Pilsudski dies; military government continues.
1939	Secret Nazi-Soviet agreement leads to invasion from West, then East; first shots of World War II fired at Danzig (Gdansk).
1941	Nazi death camp at Auschwitz/Birkenau begins extermination of between one and three million Jews, Gypsies, Poles and others.
1943	Graves of 4,300 Polish officers found in Katyn Forest; Soviets blame Nazis; at Teheran Conference, Roosevelt and Churchill secretly agree to Stalin's demand for Poland.
1944	Soviet army delays entering the capital until Warsaw Uprising is crushed by Germans; 200,000 die.
1945	Boundaries shifted west at Potsdam Conference; U.S. and Britain recognize Soviet-installed government.
1949	Government, now openly communist, begins period of severe Stalinist repression.
1956	Worker protests crushed; Gomulka assumes power and begins limited Stalinization.
1970	Strikes at Gdynia and Gdansk lead to Gomulka's ouster.
1979	Visit of Polish-born Pope John Paul II stirs religious and nationalist feelings.
1980	Czeslaw Milosz wins Nobel Prize for literature; strikes in essential ports and coalfields force legalization of unions; Solidarity, a union of all trades, is formed; electrician Lech Walesa becomes leader.
1981	With up to 10 million Solidarity members demanding free elections, General Jaruzelski imposes martial law and arrests union leaders.
1983	International sanctions lead to lifting of martial law but contribute to rapid decay of Polish economy; Solidarity continues underground; Nobel Prize for peace to Walesa.
1988	As economy crumbles, wave of strikes questions communist ability to govern.
1989	Solidarity relegalized; Jaruzelski agrees to sweeping changes: free-market economy, elections, press freedom; Solidarity gains control of new parliament; Mazowiecki becomes first noncommunist prime minister in Eastern Europe since 1945.
1990	Communist Party disbanded; republic proclaimed; Solidarity splits as Walesa defeats Mazowiecki for presidency; many Poles express dissatisfaction with Solidarity and ruined economy by voting for maverick Polish-Canadian businessman Tyminski; Soviets admit Katyn Forest massacre.

of the Field (1963). In 1967 he played leading roles in three hits: a schoolteacher in inner-city London in *To Sir, with Love*; a black detective from the North investigating a murder in the deep South in *In the Heat of the Night*; and a man about to enter an interracial marriage in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*. In the 1970s he directed and costarred in several films with Bill COSBY. After an absence from the screen, he reemerged in 1988, directing and starring in the chase thriller *Shoot to Kill*.

For further reading:

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Poland. Eastern European nation bordered on the north by the Baltic Sea, the east by the SOVIET UNION, the south by CZECHOSLOVAKIA and the west by GERMANY. Divided among Russia, Prussia and AUSTRIA after 1795, Poland did not gain independence until 1918 under the leadership of Jozef PILSUDSKI, who had led Polish forces in WORLD WAR I for Austria against Russia. In 1920, taking advantage of Russia's internal upheaval, Poland fought for and regained additional territory, which was ceded in a 1921 treaty. In August of 1939 NAZI Germany and the U.S.S.R. signed a treaty containing a covert agreement to divide Poland between them. In September the German invasion of Poland was quickly followed by a Soviet invasion from the east. Poland fell and WORLD WAR II began. Wladyslaw Raczkiewicz formed an exile government in Paris, which moved to London when France was occupied in 1940. In 1941 Germany attacked the U.S.S.R. and took all of Poland. Polish communists fought alongside the Soviets. The Poles formed

Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski (left) and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa sit together during the first session of Poland's newly created senate (July 3, 1989).

an alternate government in 1944, the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which the Soviets recognized. Declaring itself the Provisional Government of Poland, it moved to Lublin, where it was joined by some of the exiled government from London. The Allies recognized it at the YALTA CONFERENCE in 1945. A 1944 treaty between Poland and the U.S.S.R. established their border at the CURZON LINE, but Poland gained territory from Germany to the west in an Allied agreement after the war, so the country was effectively shifted westward and millions of Poles resettled. Elections in 1947 established a "people's republic" in Poland, and in 1952 a new constitution was adopted, thus beginning a repressive, STALINIST government with close ties to the U.S.S.R. Poland's government also sought to abolish the Roman Catholic church. In 1956, following strikes and riots over food shortages and Soviet control, Wladyslaw GOMULKA was elected leader of the United Workers Party. Gomulka eased restrictions on private farming and released Cardinal Stefan WYSZYNSKI, who had been imprisoned in 1953. Strikes again broke out in 1970, and Gomulka was succeeded by Edward GIEREK. Opposition to his government mounted through the decade and peaked in 1979 after the first of three visits by Polish-born Pope JOHN PAUL II. In 1980 a strike that started in the Gdansk shipyards spread to all industries, and the government conceded workers' the right to strike. Lech WALESA formed the SOLIDARITY (*Solidarnoa*) union. It sought workers' rights and liberties. In 1981, following a national strike for a five-day work week, Premier Pinkowski was replaced by General Wojciech JARUZELSKI. Martial law was imposed, Solidarity banned and its leaders arrested. The U.S. responded by initiating economic sanctions. In 1982 curfews were eased and further rioting occurred. Lech Walesa was released from prison and martial law suspended. Following another conciliatory visit by the pope in 1983, the government granted amnesty to political prisoners, releasing 35,000 of them in 1984 on the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic, the remainder were released in 1986. The U.S. loosened its sanctions, which were lifted in 1987. Martial law ended in 1984, but many restrictions were still in force. Food shortages continued, and opposition to the government grew. Following widespread strikes in 1988, the government was forced to recognize Solidarity and allow it to participate in elections in 1989, when Solidarity-backed candidates won overwhelmingly in parliament. The Polish government, still facing shortages, has announced programs to restructure the economy, including plans to privatize industries. Walesa was elected president in 1990.

Polanski, Roman (1933–). Polish actor and director. Polanski is widely considered one of the most original and disturbing film directors of his generation; both his movies and his personal life have generated much controversy. Born in Paris, Polanski grew up in Crakow, Poland. A survivor of the HOLOCAUST, he later attended the Polish Film School at Lodz (1954). During the late 1950s he wrote, directed or acted in several short films. His first feature, *Knife in the Water* (1962), brought Polanski international notice. He subsequently moved to England, where he directed *Repulsion* (1965) and *Cul de Sac* (1966). His first HOLLYWOOD film was *The Fearless Vampire Killers* (1967), a horror film spoof. It was followed by *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), a suspense thriller about witchcraft in New York City that became a popular hit and is regarded as a classic of its genre. The following year Polanski's wife, actress Sharon Tate, was murdered by Charles MANSON. The sensationalism and publicity surrounding the case drove Polanski to seek refuge in England, where he directed a controversial adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1971). Polanski's *Chinatown* (1974), starring Jack NICHOLSON, was an acclaimed mystery in the FILM NOIR style. *The Tenant* (1976), in which Polanski also acted, was a morbid psychological drama. Shortly thereafter Polanski was arrested in California for statutory rape. While awaiting trial he jumped bail, fled the U.S. and settled in France. His subsequent relationship with actress Nastassia Kinski, whom he directed in *Tess* (1981, an adaptation of Thomas HARDY's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*) also caused considerable comment. His later films include *Pirates* (1986) and *Frantic* (1988).

For further reading:

Wexman, Virginia W., *Roman Polanski*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985.

Police. U.K. rock group; formed in 1976 by bassist Sting (Gordon Sumner), guitarist Andy Summers and drummer Stewart Copeland. They stirred little interest in the then punk-dominated music scene until all three dyed their hair blond. Their music was more cerebral than that of their peers, with a pronounced THIRD WORLD influence. Their breakthrough album, *Outlandos d'Amour*, included the hit "Can't Stand Losing You." Although they claim to still exist as a group, all have pursued solo careers since the early 1980s. Their last number-one hit as a group was "Every Breath You Take" in 1983. Sting's solo career included a critically dismissed Broadway appearance in *Threepenny Opera* and film work in *Dune* and *The Bride*. He has made many concert appearances on behalf of Amnesty International, as well as ecological causes.

political correctness ["pc"]. A controversial concept, and the term used to describe it, that surfaced in many American universities in the late 1980s and early 1990s. "Political correctness" or "pc" was especially prominent in humanities departments at Duke and Stanford universities, among other institutions. Faculty members who advocated "political correctness" generally saw the classroom as a forum for instilling "progressive" or "correct" political ideals in their students. PC advocates criticized traditional courses in Western literature and civilization as biased, and instead favored a "multicultural" approach to history and literature. Political correctness aimed at a larger criticism of Western society, which was viewed as controlled by white males at the expense of women and minorities. On some campuses, faculty members whose courses did not conform to so-called "politically correct" ideologies were denounced as racist or sexist and were often denied tenure. Critics of political correctness viewed it as a latter-day left-wing version of MCCARTHYISM. The term was used derisively by those who saw it as an extremist attempt to rewrite history and stifle intellectual debate. President George BUSH weighed in against the idea of political correctness in an address at the University of Michigan in the spring of 1991.

For further reading:

Kimball, Roger, *Tenured Radicals: How Politics Has Corrupted Our Higher Education*. New York: HarperCollins, 1990.

Pollard, Fritz (Frederick Douglas) (1894–1986). American athlete and coach. In 1916, after a sensational season as a halfback for Brown University, Pollard became the first black to be named to an all-American college football team. He was the only black head coach of an NFL team, until Art Snell was named a head coach in 1989.

Pollock, Jackson (1912–1956). American painter. After finishing school in the West, Pollock moved to New York City and enrolled in the Art Students League (1930–33). Pollock was interested in abstract art. His paintings became splotches and splashes and drippings and textures, said by some critics to be thoroughly controlled. His paintings started the art movement that later became known as the "action school." Beginning in 1973 his paintings brought the highest prices ever paid for contemporary art. His *The Search* was sold in 1988 for $4,840,000.

For further reading:

Frank, Elizabeth, *Jackson Pollock, 1912–1956*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1983.

Naifeh, Steven, *Jackson Pollock: An American Genius*. New York: Crown, 1989.

Pol Pot [born Saloth Sar] (1928–). The notorious leader of the Cambodian KHMER ROUGE was born in Kompong Thom province, the youngest of seven children in a family that could be classified as "rich peasants." He attended a Catholic primary school in Phnom Penh and Norodom Sihanouk High School in Kompong Cham City. In 1949 he received a scholarship for a two-year technician's course at the Ecole Francaise de Radioelectricite in Paris. There Pol Pot joined a small group of Cambodian students in the "Marxist Circle." He returned to Phnom Penh in 1953 and later joined the Vietnamese-Khmer UIF cell in the eastern zone. In 1955 he returned to Phnom Penh and became involved with the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party or KPRP. Throughout the 1950s he gained increasing control over party activities in the city. After the murder of party leader Tou Samouth in 1962 (perhaps by the Pol Pot

POLAND

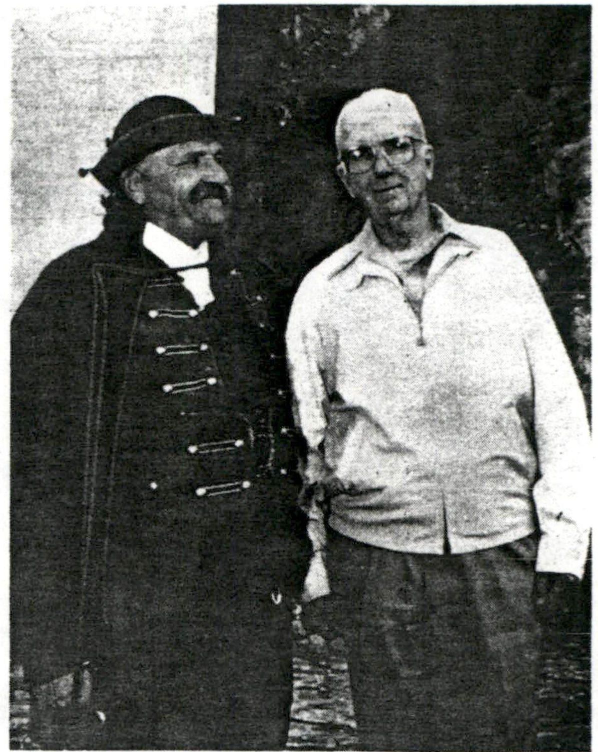
Michener's Harsh Reading

James Michener specializes in long books with short titles that almost always end up on the best-seller list. "Poland,"* the 76-year-old author's latest *magnum opus,* is no exception. Like its predecessors "Hawaii," "Chesapeake" and "Space," "Poland" is the result of years of research, travel and just plain hanging out by the author, who made a dozen visits to the country since he began working on the novel in 1977. Michener interviewed everyone from the archbishop of Cracow—now known as Pope John Paul II—to survivors of Maidanek, a Nazi concentration camp where hundreds of thousands of Poles, Jews and Gypsies were exterminated. But as English-language copies of the book begin to make their way into Poland itself, some Poles are saying that Michener got it wrong.

The critics include both government officials and their detractors. "Michener is sympathetic toward Poland," said Stanislaw Glabinski, director of the government-run Interpress news agency. "But liking and understanding the country are two different things." Krzysztof Sliwinski, the former head of Solidarity's foreign department in Warsaw, says that Michener "wants to say that all Poles are good patriots. [That's a] terrible oversimplification."

Neglect: The novel is a compassionate account of the Polish people's long struggle against oppression. It begins and ends in 1981 with a confrontation between rebellious farmers and the Polish minister of agriculture. In between, Michener sandwiches 700 years of Polish history, told from the viewpoint of three families. All the characters end up being related to each other, but it isn't Michener's novelistic invention that bothers the Poles. It's what he leaves out. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance. Michener "seems honestly lacking in an understanding of the church," says Sliwinski, who faults the book for neglecting the church's primary place in Polish history. Sliwinski said that Michener committed another "stunning" oversight when he skipped Poland's 19th-century uprising against Russia—a clash that many believe is central to Polish attitudes toward its powerful neighbor.

*Random House. $17.95



Stanislaw Moszuk

The author (right) in Poland: Did he get it wrong?

Michener also draws fire for his neglect of Poland's Jews. The 1944 Warsaw uprising gets only a passing glance, and the pogroms that were a regular part of 17th- and 18th-century Jewish life in Poland are covered in a single sentence: "Animosities did sometimes flare." His Polish critics find Michener's treatment of the Soviet Union ideological to a fault. "The book is permeated with anticommunist, anti-Soviet outbursts," Glabinski wrote in the newspaper Polityka. A highly placed government adviser complains that Michener "tends to interpret the postwar period as if it was all imported on Soviet bayonets." Even former Solidarity official Sliwinski pummels Michener's version of Polish history: "All that is bad is attributed to evil power in the East, and that is a very simple philosophy."

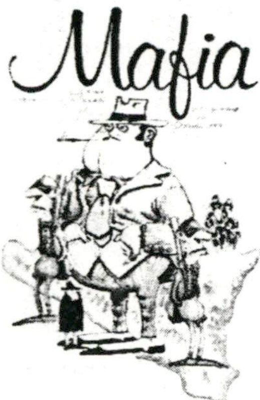
Michener defends the accuracy of his novel. He admits excluding important historical events, but says that in the case of the Warsaw uprising his rural setting ruled out any extensive treatment. Polish critics leave Michener unfazed. "In any divided country," he said, "there's a divided reception." And "Poland" does have Polish defenders. "Even with its mistakes and misunderstandings, there is pretty good information," said Andrzej Werner, a critic at the Institute for Literary Studies.

Michener would like the book to be published in Poland, but he has yet to receive a firm offer. If a deal goes through, Michener could be paid in Polish zlotys. He says he doesn't mind: "I'd go there and spend them." The book would probably be censored, but that doesn't seem to bother Michener either. "I wouldn't be a party to it but it's what a vigorous writer expects to happen."

In the meantime, a Polish-American group is negotiating for the rights to distribute a Polish-language translation in the United States, a project Michener supports. One reason, of course, is that when the translation is published, copies will undoubtedly reach Poland—and the only omissions would be Michener's own.

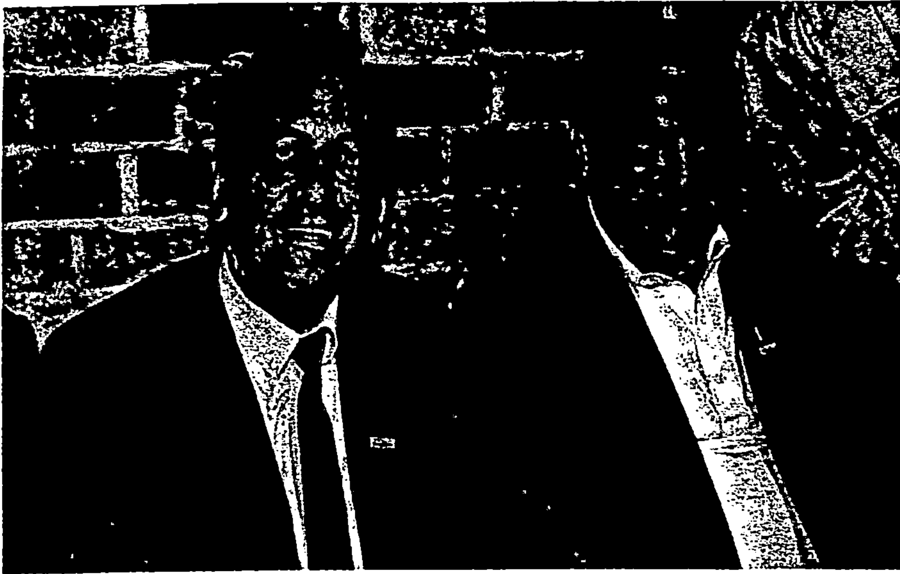
D. D. GUTTENPLAN with DOUGLAS STANGLIN in Warsaw and TESSA NAMUTH in Houston

The Godfather Game



The object is to gain control of Sicily—its airports, real estate, construction projects, banks and, most important, its billion-dollar drug trade. But the players use dice, not guns. From Milan to Messina last week, a board game called Mafia was becoming Italy's answer to Monopoly. The rules call for each Mafia "family," abetted by henchmen, to move around a map of Sicily selling heroin and eluding the police. The state fights back with two policemen, a secret agent and a *prefetto,* or provincial governor. Mafiosi increase their luck when they draw cards giving them a "mole in local headquarters" or a "hired gun from Las Vegas." They lose points to the state for such peccadilloes as "10 bodies at the bottom of the bay."

Not all of Italy thinks it's fun. The real Mafia was involved in crimes that took 280 lives in Sicily last year. Sociologist Pino Arlacchi says that to make a game of the mayhem is "in appalling taste." Father Ennio Pintacuda, who works with a social-studies center in Palermo, agrees: "Children should be educated into revolt and rejection of the Mafia," he says. For the defense, Sergio Battista, a representative of toy sellers in Rome, replies, "That a child identifies with the robbers in a game doesn't mean that he is going to become one." Score one for enterprise. But it left unanswered another unsettling question: whether kids or godfathers are playing, what chance do the real police have for winning the game?



ORBAN/SYGMA

Mazowiecki and Walesa: a warning not to question the legitimacy of government

POLAND

A cabinet shakeup

The prime minister bows to Walesa's demands

In recent weeks, the coalition government of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki has had to grapple with a major rail strike. It also dispatched police to break up two protests by angry farmers demanding guaranteed prices for their produce. But Mazowiecki's most serious problem was a potentially ruinous power struggle between workers and intellectuals in Solidarity, the once-banned trade union movement whose dramatic rise to power last September inspired democratization throughout Eastern Europe. Its leader, former shipyard electrician Lech Walesa, has accused "eggheads" in the Solidarity-led government of destroying Poland's "beautiful revolution" with austere economic policies and collusion with former Communists. In turn, supporters of Mazowiecki have accused Walesa of "despotic" behavior. But last week, under fire from his former ally, Mazowiecki waved the white flag.

In a major speech to parliament on July 6, the prime minister attempted to restore momentum to his government's flagging reform program by bowing to Walesa's key demands. He announced the resignations of several cabinet ministers, including three of the four former Communists who remained in the government as the old regime's price for Solidarity coming to power last fall. He also urged more rapid privatization of state enterprises and proposed that presidential and parliamentary elections be held "significantly earlier" than next spring. But, at the same time, Mazowiecki issued a warning to Walesa. "I see danger on the peaceful Polish road to democracy," he said. "At a time of great change in our part of the world, Poland cannot afford for the legitimacy of the legislative authorities to be questioned."

Mazowiecki's supporters have been outspoken in their opposition to Walesa's ambitious plans to replace former Communist leader Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski as president. The war of words turned into action last month, when 63 top intellectuals resigned from Solidarity's 200-member Citizens' Committee, signalling a fundamental break within the union.

Observers said that Mazowiecki's concessions last week were an attempt to keep Solidarity from disintegrating and to gain Walesa's crucial support as Poland struggles to create a free-market economy. To that end, he won parliamentary approval to fire the ministers of interior, defence and transport, all former Communists, and the minister of agriculture, who is a member of a party formerly allied to the Communists. In an embarrassing reversal for Mazowiecki, however, the parliament, where ex-Communists still hold two-thirds of the seats, refused to back the firing of the communications minister.

With the cabinet shuffle, Mazowiecki appeared to have won some measure of political peace. But it could well be short-lived. At week's end, the country's 2.5 million farmers threatened nationwide roadblocks to protest the government's economic austerity.

ANDREW BILSKI *with BOGDAN TUREK in Warsaw*

SAUDI ARABIA

Pilgrimage to tragedy

Catastrophe strikes in Islam's holy city

It was sweltering hot, nearly 44° C, as devout Moslems attending the last days of the annual haj, or pilgrimage, surged through the 550-m-long pedestrian tunnel connecting Mecca to a tent city in Mina last week. Without warning, Saudi officials said later, a railing on a bridge above the tunnel gave way, sending seven pilgrims tumbling to their deaths on top of people below. Some witnesses said that the air-conditioning system had also failed, adding to the panic as people gasped for breath in the airless tunnel. A stampede ensued. As the frightened pilgrims pushed and shoved their way to exits, hundreds of people were trampled to death. Many more suffocated. "It was an unbearable sight," said one survivor from his hospital bed. "I lay on a heap of more than 20 bodies." In all, at least 1,426 people died, and scores more were seriously injured.

Saudi Arabia's King Fahd described the July 2 tragedy as "the will of almighty God." Said Fahd: "Perhaps it was their fate to become martyrs." But, to Iranian leaders, the accident showed that the Saudis were not fit to administer Islam's holiest shrines around Mecca, which is the birthplace of Mohammed, the seventh-century prophet and founder of Islam. "This is a bitter incident which cannot be taken lightly," said Iran's President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. Iran boycotted the haj for the third year in a row to protest a Saudi ban on political protests and a quota limiting the number of pilgrims from each country. When Iran last allowed its nationals to attend the haj, in 1987, pilgrims staged anti-Western demonstrations, and 402 of them, mostly Iranians, were killed in clashes with security forces.

Most of the two million pilgrims who come to Mecca annually are frail and elderly, making the once-in-a-lifetime haj demanded of Moslems. The Saudi government provides medical care, builds tented pilgrim cities and distributes free umbrellas and cold water. Soldiers patrol the sacred sites, and plainclothes security men mingle with the crowds. Despite all those efforts, hundreds of pilgrims die each year from sunstroke, occasional epidemics—or violence. But while Moslems around the world mourned last week's disaster, their grief was tempered by their belief that pilgrims who die during the haj go straight to paradise.

MARY NEMETH *with correspondents' reports*

Freedom's Turn

For the first time ever, a Communist regime is peacefully ousted. Now Solidarity's firebrands must transform themselves from rebels to rulers

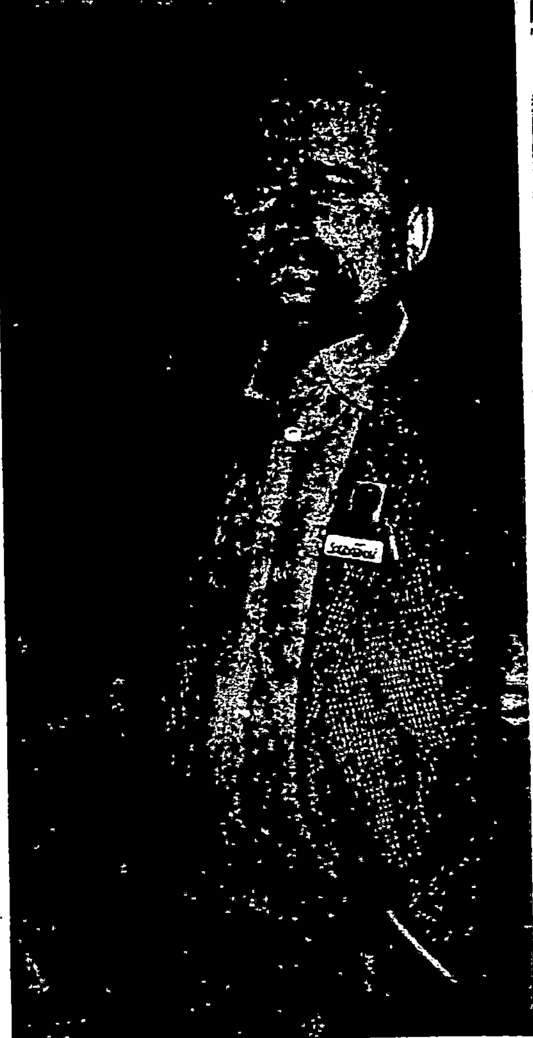
FILIP HORVAT—PICTURE GROUP
No room to retreat: *President Jaruzelski*

Poland's Communist government once ridiculed Lech Walesa as a sparrow who was trying to pass for an eagle. After imposing martial law in December 1981, the regime confined the upstart electrician to a remote hunting lodge, and when it let him out 11 months later, Walesa promised to be "very prudent." Despite his setbacks, Walesa is a political genius, an instinctive leader who knows what the crowd is thinking before the crowd knows it. Last week, after saying that he did not want to lead a Polish government, Walesa went out and formed one.

Strictly speaking, it is not a Walesa government; the man who will take over as prime minister this week is a Roman Catholic lawyer-journalist named Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 62, one of the first intellectuals to support Solidarity when the independent trade union was formed in 1980. Nor will the new regime be entirely non-Communist. Poland still has a Communist president, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, and Communists run the huge and torpid bureaucracy. As junior partners in the new coalition, they also will retain control over the Army and the police. But the new government will be led by Solidarity and dominated, from the wings, by Walesa—an unofficial second president.

And that in itself is an astounding development. For the first time in history, a Communist regime has been peacefully turned out of office. Inside what is left of the Iron Curtain, Eastern Europe's largest, most populous and most strategically located country is to be governed more or less democratically. For now, at least, Moscow has acquiesced; under reform-minded President Mikhail Gorbachev, even Soviet satellites supposedly have a right to choose their own leaders. Yet the mere existence of a Solidarity government is an implicit threat to tranquillity throughout the communist world—in the Soviet Union, where restless nationalities are stirring up trouble for Gorbachev, and in countries like East Germany and Czechoslovakia, whose conservative rulers have no use for Gorbachev, much less Walesa. With Marxist regimes under pressure in countries as far off as Afghanistan and Angola, a Polish government led by non-Communists is a potent symbol, suggesting the end of an era.

From his summer home in Maine, George Bush watched democracy's progress in Poland with quiet satisfaction—taking pains, his spokesman said, not to "do anything or say anything to upset the apple cart." The reaction in Poland itself was similarly muted and considerably less sanguine; the prospect of a Solidarity govern-


The East bloc's peaceful revolution: *Walesa (left)*

ment produced no torrent of hope and joy. Perhaps that is because the economy is in such desperate straits, hamstrung by bankrupt smokestack industries, galloping inflation, a crushing foreign debt and a sullen, cynical work force. Now Solidarity has inherited the failures of communism, and there is real doubt whether it can clean up the mess. If the party is over for the Communists, it also has ended, in a sense, for Solidarity's firebrands, who must transform themselves, almost overnight, from rebels to rulers.

Overturning a government can be much easier than running one. But throughout their tortured history, nothing has come easily for the Poles, or for their conquerors. At the start of World War II, Poland was brutally carved up by Germany and Russia. Only last week the Kremlin finally admitted what Western historians have known for decades: that Hitler and Stalin secretly agreed, 50 years ago this week, to divide Poland and other parts of Eastern Europe into spheres of Nazi and Soviet influence. Poland was easily swallowed but difficult to digest. Stalin once complained that imposing communism on the stubborn Poles made as much sense as putting a saddle on a cow. After bitter repressions under a dreary succession of Communist bosses, Jaruzelski was forced to admit, earlier this year, that the Communist Party's leading role in Poland "already is history."

MALANCA—SIPA

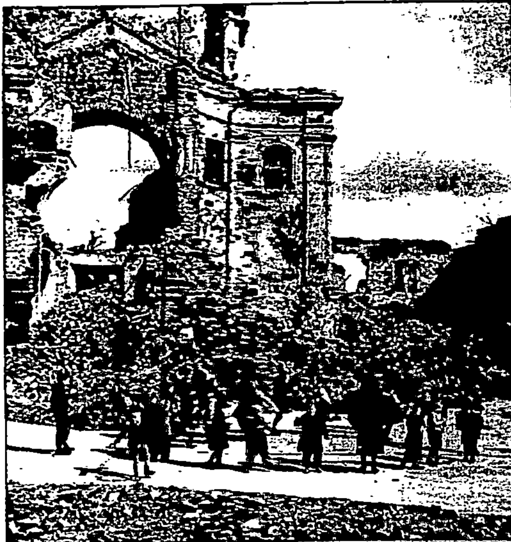
. peaceful revolution: *Wiecki (center) at a demonstration in Gdansk, anti-Jaruzelski protest in Warsaw*

DRUSZCZ WOJIEK—AFP

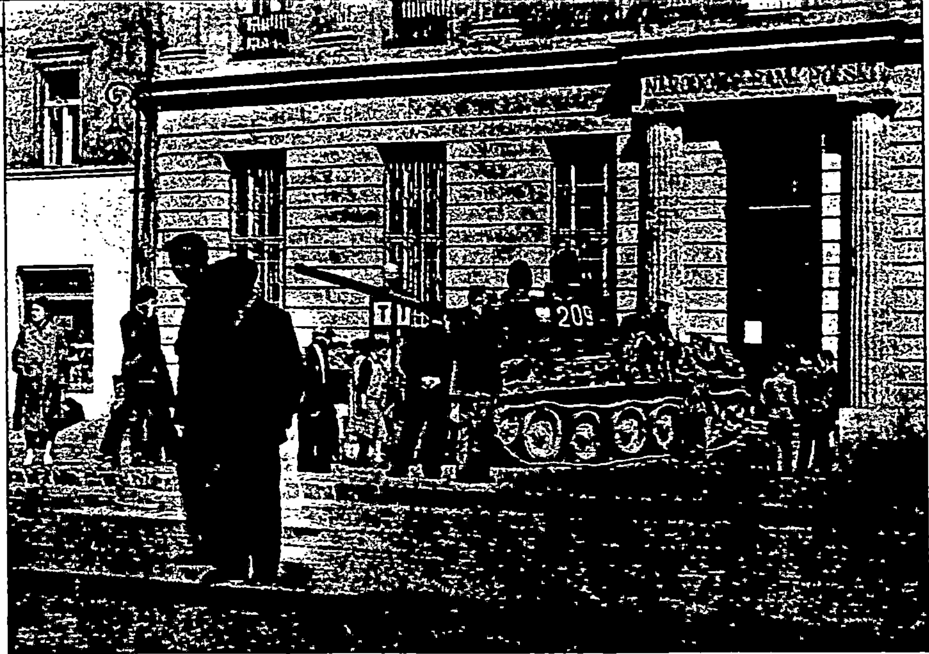
An election surprise: The general has been retreating for months. Last November, after a wave of summer strikes, his government refused to negotiate with Solidarity, which was still outlawed. In January, the regime offered to negotiate. In April, it legalized Solidarity and invited the union to participate in a partly free election. Jaruzelski gambled that the Polish United Workers' Party, as the Communists officially are known, could hold its own. In June, the voters proved him humiliatingly wrong. Solidarity won 99 of the 100 seats in the Senate, the upper house of Parliament, thereby gaining the power to delay legislation. In the ruling lower house, the Sejm, Solidarity won all of the 161 seats it was allowed to contest.

Although the government still had a working majority, the balance of power in the Sejm lay with two small parties, the Peasants and the Democrats, which in the past had been docile junior partners of the

Four Decades of Repressive Rule



UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS



INTERNATIONAL NEWS PHOTOS

1945 *With Warsaw destroyed by World War II, the Soviets installed a Communist government*

1956 *Russian tanks crush a general strike in Poznan, killing more than 70 Poles*

Communists. Now the Communists were losing control of the political situation. Czeslaw Kiszczak, the man Jaruzelski named prime minister late last month, admitted that he could not form a government. Even reform-minded Communist deputies were getting out of line. On Thursday the Sejm voted overwhelmingly for a resolution condemning the Soviet-bloc invasion of Czechoslovakia, which occurred 21 years ago this week and included a contingent of Polish troops led by Jaruzelski's Defense minister.

As the regime floundered, the Peasants and Democrats thought about changing sides. The circumstances were just right for Walesa to carry out what Communist Party leader Mieczyslaw Rakowski later described as "a coup d'état." Walesa sent an aide to Warsaw to tell Solidarity's members of Parliament that he would propose a broad coalition government, including the Peasants and Democrats and any other "pro-reform elements."

No one else: "It's better to stay in opposition," Walesa had said after the June election. "We should wait and prepare for elections in four years' time, when we would be ready to take power." Suddenly, he was prepared to take at least partial power now. Solidarity's stunning victory in June was a mandate that could not be shrugged off, especially since no one else seemed able to govern. As he gathered support for a Solidarity government, Walesa hinted that he himself would be prime minister. "If society wants it, I will have to go to the prime minister's office," he said, "but I would prefer someone else." That made the deal sweeter to the Peasants and the Democrats. But when legislators voted to give him the nomination, he declared: "I will not be prime minister. There are better people than Walesa."

Walesa believes that his place is with what he calls "the angry masses." He chose not to run for Parliament last June. "Solidarity is a labor union," he likes to say, "and I am a union leader." A better leader than an administrator, Walesa might prefer to run for the above-the-fray post of president when Jaruzelski's term expires in 1995. For now, he will keep himself in reserve, in case Poland's problems are too much for Mazowiecki or some subsequent Solidarity prime minister. "Walesa is their last card," says a U.S. official.

Walesa eventually presented Jaruzelski with a list of three potential prime ministers. In addition to Mazowiecki, they in-

The New P.M.: Piety and Pragmatism

Some time ago, Tadeusz Mazowiecki (pronounced tah-DAY-oosh mah-zoh-VYET-skee) authored the first Polish book on Catholic-Marxist dialogue. By most accounts, the next prime minister of Poland is a man who will now practice what he preached. Tall, soft-spoken and sad-eyed, Mazowiecki has a reputation for piety and a knack for compromise. He is also a crusader. Tellingly, the symbol he chose for his magazine Wiez, or Link, an independent Roman Catholic monthly, is Don Quixote tilting at windmills.

Born in 1927, Mazowiecki came of age amid political turmoil. He lost a brother in a Nazi concentration camp. He trained as a lawyer, worked as a journalist and served as an opposition member of Parliament. (He was barred from seeking re-election after investigating the 1970 police massacre of workers in Gdansk.) An early and active supporter of Poland's fledgling labor movement, Mazowiecki emerged in the 1970s as one of the country's leading Catholic laymen—"the epitome," as one insider put it, "of the Warsaw Catholic intellectual."

Mazowiecki met Lech Walesa in August 1980, during the first days of the Gdansk uprising. With Bronislaw Geremek, he brought dissident intellectuals and striking ship workers into alliance. Like Geremek, Mazowiecki stayed on to advise Walesa. For his efforts, he spent a year in a Communist internment camp. In 1988 Mazowiecki helped mediate with striking workers, and this year he took part in the "round table" negotiations that led to Solidarity's legalization. He chose to keep himself off the ballot in June, but was reportedly Polish Cardinal Jozef Glemp's top choice for prime minister. Mazowiecki finds support as well from a higher source: "I am a believer," he said last week, "and I believe that Providence cares for us."

PHOTOREPORTERS

1970 *Polish militia tear-gas workers rioting over food shortages in Gdansk*

PETER MARLOW—MAGNUM

CHRIS NIEDENTHAL—BLACK STAR

1980 *Solidarity shuts down the Gdansk shipyards*

1981 *Martial law is imposed in a Communist crackdown*

cluded Bronislaw Geremek, who leads Solidarity's deputies in the Sejm, and Jacek Kuron, a charismatic intellectual who has made dissidence his life's work. There was no constitutional requirement to give Jaruzelski a choice. "Maybe Walesa wanted to save the general's face, to present him as the decision maker," suggested Klemens Szaniawski, a Solidarity member who is studying at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. Walesa may also have wanted to co-opt Jaruzelski, forcing him to take responsibility for the choice of a prime minister.

In any case, the choice was not difficult. Kuron, who has given the Communists almost as much trouble as Walesa, was unthinkable. Something of a carouser, he responded to his nomination by bellowing: "Ridiculous! Ridiculous! If my name is on the list, it can't be serious." Geremek is a serious contender; an able politician and a respected medieval scholar, he might be the next prime minister if Mazowiecki falters. But Mazowiecki, an ardent Catholic, is supported by the country's influential primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, while Geremek is widely believed to be Jewish, a handicap in a nation where anti-Semitism still runs deep. Mazowiecki is not a member of Parliament, but that could be an advantage, since he cannot be blamed for one of the new Sejm's worst decisions. The Sejm indexed salaries to the skyrocketing prices, thereby making it even more difficult for the new government to get inflation under control.

CZAREK SOKOLOWSKI—AP

Soft-spoken intellectual: *Mazowiecki*

Knowing where you are: As he put together his new coalition, Walesa made a key concession. He promised that the Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry, which controls the police, would remain in Communist hands. And he said Poland would not pull out of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet-led military alliance. "Poland cannot forget where it is situated," he told a West German television interviewer. "You know we are in the Warsaw Pact. That cannot be changed."

In Moscow, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman called Walesa's position "sensible." Yevgeny Primakov, an aide to the vacationing Gorbachev, told a U.S. congressional delegation that the choice of a non-Communist government was "entirely a matter to be decided by Poland." Moscow wants to keep a low profile on nationalist issues that could cause it considerable discomfort this week. Demonstrations are planned in the restless Soviet republics of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia to mark the 50th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact, which eventually ended their independence. And in Prague, protesters planned to observe the 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion, despite a threat by the hard-line Czech government to use force against illegal demonstrations.

What Moscow wants most from Poland is stability, a period of relative calm in which the Soviets can move ahead with their own political and economic reforms. Apparently the Kremlin has concluded that Communists alone can no longer keep the lid on in Poland. Moscow acknowledges tacitly that some form of coalition is needed, and although it obviously would prefer the new regime to be led by some faction other than Solidarity, it cannot say so without appearing to intervene in Poland's internal affairs. If Poland remains unstable despite Solidarity's leadership, Moscow might eventually intervene to stop anti-Soviet riots or an attempt to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. Soviet intervention would not necessarily be military. Even in 1981, Soviet troops did not move; instead, Moscow orchestrated a crackdown by the Polish military.

Gorbachev's reformers do not want any kind of crackdown on Poland. Their program of *perestroika* (restructuring) depends heavily on increased Western loans, trade and technology transfers. All of these would be put at risk by a crackdown on Poland—and doomed by an outright Soviet invasion. Still, the "Polish model"

worries reform-minded Soviets, who fear that the pattern of the early 1980s—strikes and disorders leading to military repression—could be repeated in their country. "God save us from that, because we would be thrown decades backward, as the Polish experience shows," commentator Fyodor Burlatsky wrote in the newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets. "In Poland, they only now are beginning to do what should have been done 10 years ago—to pursue a policy of national consensus."

Bush's path: In Washington and Kennebunkport, the Bush administration took heart. One of the pet theories of the Reagan administration, articulated by former U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, was that right-wing "authoritarian" governments can change for the better, but Communist regimes cannot. Bush believes, from personal experience, that communism can indeed be changed. He likes to talk about his 1987 visit to Poland, when he stood on a church balcony with Walesa, looking out over a huge crowd that chanted: "Long live Bush! Long live Solidarity!" During his visit to Poland last month, he supported progress toward political pluralism, offering $119 million in economic assistance. "This is the path to democracy he's been encouraging and his trip to Poland was intended to highlight," said a senior aide. "But he recognizes the process is very fragile, and he doesn't want to do anything to throw it off the path."

ARTHUR GRACE—NEWSWEEK

Supporting Poland's progress toward pluralism: *Walesa with Bush in Gdansk last month*

Solidarity's government must do what the Communists could not do: reduce inflation, put meat and consumer goods onto store shelves and make Polish industry more competitive. In July, Walesa told Bush that Poland needs $10 billion in international aid over the next three years and a reduction—and relaxation of the repayment terms—of its foreign debt, which now stands at $39 billion. Last week Bush was making no promises. Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said it would be "premature" to talk about new assistance for Poland. He promised only that the United States would "increase aid as appropriate and as we can."

At this point, Poland needs discipline as much as it needs money. Economist Jan

Solidarity's Man Can Lead, But Could He Govern?

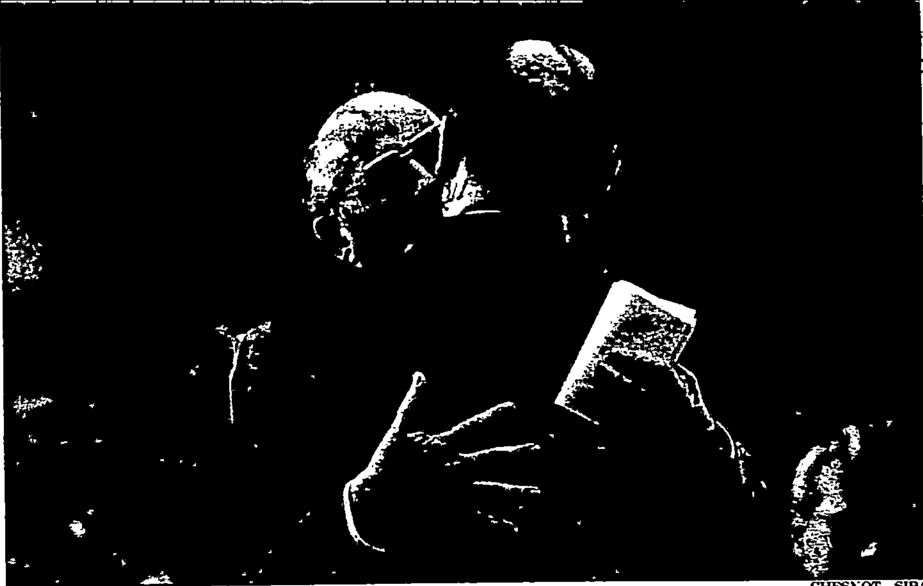
It seemed almost jarring last week when Lech Walesa, the embodiment of Solidarity, did not assume power along with his party. Indeed, when the gruff, heavyset movement leader submitted the names of three colleagues for the post of prime minister—pointedly excluding his own—even some of his closest advisers were taken by surprise. At the moment of victory, Walesa walked away from the trophy. Some believed it was because he was not prepared for the harsh realities of governing. "What will Walesa do if there's a general strike?" asked Edward Wende, a leading lawyer and Solidarity representative in the Senate. "How will he react—as a union leader or a statesman? It will not be easy."

Walesa, in fact, has never been one to play the traditional, predictable politician. When other politicians intone, Walesa shouts; when they imply, he demands; when they dissemble, he clamors. Even the ubiquitous dark suits that lend an air of authority to the most ordinary political aspirants have always hung stiffly on him. He's more comfortable in T shirts. "He is one of them," said veteran Walesa watcher Lawrence Weschler of The New Yorker. "He has been formed, primordially, by many of the same things that have formed the Polish reality."

Like his countrymen, Walesa has had to learn how to persevere in defeat. From his first days as a lean and feisty union organizer outraged by the killings of fellow strikers in 1970, Walesa's political forays have been followed by at least momentary retreats. In 1970 a protest against price hikes ended in brutal repression. Six years later he was elected to head the Lenin Shipyard's union but then was fired by his shipyard employers. In 1980 Solidarity was born. A year later, when Walesa was arrested and martial law declared, the movement seemed finished. Even last year his star seemed to fade as a younger generation of Solidarity members labeled him a traitor and accused him of caving in to the Communists in strike negotiations.

His reticence last week may have been a shrewdly calculated move. By sidestepping political responsibility now, Walesa will almost surely avoid blame for the inevitable problems of debt, poverty and shortages later. By placing others ahead of him on the rungs of power, Walesa gave Solidarity a safety net. "If Lech Walesa had been made prime minister right now, then when things inevitably blow up in the next couple of months there would have been no fallback position," explains Weschler. He expects that when the next crisis comes, Walesa will again duck power, turning instead to his closest adviser, Bronislaw Geremek. Only if the crisis reaches "Armageddon," Weschler predicts, will Walesa agree to take on the job of prime minister.

Walesa's humility is not feigned. Born in a small clay cottage in the town of Popowo, his formal education consisted of only the primary grades followed by vocational training as an electrician. Thus, when the Nobel laureate (he was awarded the Peace Prize in 1983) says that he feels unqualified for the role of prime minister, he may only be expressing a genuine sense of his own very real unpreparedness. According to White House aides, George Bush shares this assessment. Bush privately describes Walesa as "an exceptionally levelheaded guy who understands his limi-



CHESNOT—SIPA

What Moscow wants is stability: *Gorbachev embraces Jaruzelski in Poland last year*

Vanous of PlanEcon, a Washington firm, prescribes a leadership that can tough it out with both labor and the state enterprises, hold down wages and prices and make drastic changes in the economy through rapid privatization and an opening to foreign capital. "I cannot envision a government representing mostly labor unions essentially pursuing what has to be a Thatcher-type economy," Vanous says, referring to Britain's prime minister.

By late last week it still was not clear how wholeheartedly the Communists would cooperate with the new government, or to what extent the bureaucracy would drag its feet to thwart reform. At a stormy meeting of the party's Central Committee on Saturday, hard-liners argued inconclusively with reformers. "The party Central Committee is prepared to cooperate in a coalition, but not on just any terms," Slawomir Wiatr, the committee's secretary for ideology, said at a news conference after the meeting finally ended. The party's top leaders still had to decide precisely what those terms would be, including the number of seats the Communists would seek to occupy in the new cabinet.

Walesa was hopeful about what lay ahead. "It is an incredible success for our struggle," he told the Associated Press. "But now let us see it in practice." Mazowiecki contemplated his future in an idyllic spot, a glade on the grounds of a home for blind children several miles outside Warsaw. "I find my inspiration here, where there is so much suffering and yet these young children maintain their optimism," he told Polish television. He said his government would be a "wide coalition," not the "grand coalition" that would imply heavy participation by the Communists. He admitted that the prospects were daunting. "I am terrified," he said frankly. But he added: "I think . . . we can do a lot, we can release the forces in ourselves. I think it will not be easy, but it is possible." For a movement that was outlawed until only last April, Solidarity had come a long way. A quickening sense of possibilities might just be enough to carry it through.

RUSSELL WATSON *with* SCOTT SULLIVAN *in Warsaw,* JANE WHITMORE *in Washington,* THOMAS M. DEFRANK *in Kennebunkport and* FRED COLEMAN *in Moscow*

M. PHILIPPOT—SYGMA

JOSEPH CZARNECKI—JB PICTURES

On his own time: *Taking a day to go fishing after winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983, and as a young union organizer during strike talks in 1981*

tations as well as his potential," said one close aide. Walesa may believe as well that if he were to assume a government role, he would squander his greatest strength: his uncanny ability to inspire the Polish people and pave the way for radical change.

But what if Walesa is finally forced to enter government? He may find himself caught between his allegiance to the workers, who want lower prices and higher wages, and his duty to a government that cannot afford to provide either. As prime minister, he would need to provide more than inspiring speeches, more clarity than passion. So far he has not done that. "Walesa loves to be right in the end. So he always says what he means, and then says the exact opposite," observed Jan Rokita, a Solidarity deputy from Cracow. Walesa's sometimes dictatorial style could prove troublesome in a parliamentary government. Though he seeks out and listens to advice, the union leader often makes his decisions "absolutely independently," says Klemens Szaniawski, a Solidarity member now visiting the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington. A case in point is the decision Walesa made last week—without telling his closest advisers—to form an alliance government with the two small parties formerly allied with the Communists.

To avoid replacing one form of dictatorship with another, Walesa will have to learn how to make the sort of trade-offs and logrolling deals familiar to lawmakers in Western democracies. Bankers, workers and opposition groups will want concrete results that can come only from compromise and concession. To survive in this new, more complex environment that he himself helped to create, Walesa may have to learn that traditional politics can work, too.

C. S. MANEGOLD *with* SCOTT SULLIVAN *in Warsaw*

Scenes From a Hard Land

NEWSWEEK photographer Arthur Grace spent two weeks earlier this summer taking these portraits of Polish life. Grace, who has visited Poland a dozen times since 1977, says the country is "politically better, but in almost every other way it seems to be worse." Privation is the norm. Young couples there commonly wait 20 years for a home of their own. (Parents often put their children on the waiting list for apartments at birth.) The phone system is so bad that for many weeks this summer, people whose phone numbers began with 4 were unable to get through to those whose numbers began with 3. Not surprisingly, many Poles wish to leave the country. The lines of visa seekers outside Western embassies are often more impressive than those outside meat shops.

In Warsaw, a man sells a dress at the weekly Sunday flea market. Also for sale: secondhand sneakers, old tires, used appliances. Left: A nun at the grave of Roman Catholic priest Jerzy Popieluszko, slain by security officers.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ARTHUR GRACE—NEWSWEEK

Complete with sound truck, a Communist tries something new and different in Poland: standing for election. In the countryside, a family travels the timeless way. Half the farms still use horse-drawn plows.

THE VIEW FROM POLAND
Ameryka My America

BY ERNEST SKALSKI

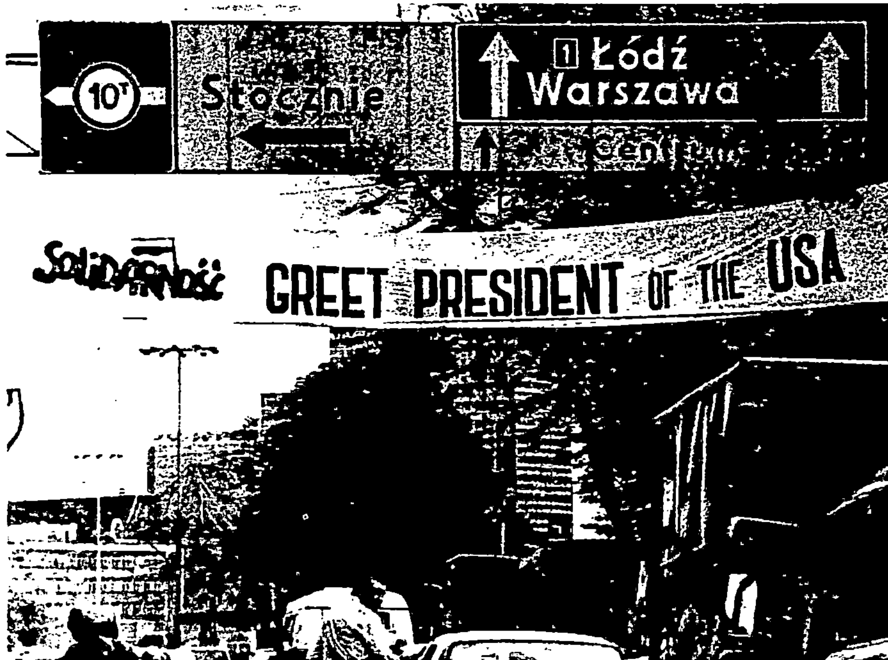


PHOTO BY KRZYSZTOF MILLER

WARSAW

THE DOMINANT chants at the compulsory demonstrations of my youth were silly sing-songs attacking President Truman for using the atomic bomb. Invariably, after looking around to make sure no informant was within earshot, the loudest chanters would then recite sotto voce an equally silly verse, calling on President Truman to drop that bomb because life here was so unbearable.

The idea of an America as good as it was mighty could not be uprooted from the minds of fascinated Poles. The Communist authorities tried vilifying jazz and pointing to the racial discrimination in the U.S., to no avail. They closed down the Information Center at the U.S. Embassy and executed two young men who were frequent visitors for allegedly planning a murder under its influence, but those scare tactics didn't work either. Even an announcement that the potato bug (Colorado beetle) was being dropped from American planes onto Polish farms did nothing to undermine the Poles' admiration for the U.S.

Americans aware of their country's weaknesses are irritated by this admiration, just as we were annoyed by Western Leftists who, until recently, came to Poland looking for confirmation of their utopias. Nevertheless, I am not going to make the usual qualifications. For several generations now, America has lived up to Polish expectations by fulfilling our two fundamental needs: bread and freedom.

Let me start with bread, since it is the more obvious matter. Masses of people from my poor country have been streaming across the Atlantic over the last hundred years. It is a difficult expedition, but it pays. Ready to take any job, a Pole soon finds work in America and earns more than he ever could at home. He also has the chance to become rich, to make a stunning career. Although few Polish immigrants achieve that kind of success, they all can hope for it. They could not hope for anything before.

ERNEST SKALSKI, *a previous* NL *contributor, is a senior editor of* Gazeta Wyborcza, *the independent Polish daily. This article was translated by Anna Husarska.*

Simply making the pilgrimage to America, to an advanced civilization, immediately improves a Pole's standing in his countrymen's eyes. Photographs of his home and car will dazzle those left behind. So will the Western gadgetry he might send to his family, and the dollars.

Should he decide in time to return to Poland for good, he will similarly enjoy a new status. Formerly, he would have had to work most of his life to save enough money for some minor comforts. After just a few years in the U.S., he can buy himself a well-equipped house and a good car. Moreover, the dollars in his account, or hidden under his floor, will afford him not only a standard of living but a sense of security otherwise unattainable.

No wonder the average Pole perceives America as a paradise. Neither the consul at the U.S. Embassy who humiliates him by repeatedly denying a visa, nor the immigration officer who might not let him stay can spoil his dream. Paradise is never easy to get into.

But this one is a rather frightening place at first. While the Pole longs to go to America, he has been warned most of his life that the wolfish laws of capitalism are especially cruel in the U.S. where everyone is out for himself. He soon discovers, though, that the reality is very different.

To begin with, the other Poles he meets have not grown fangs. They cannot solve all his problems, yet they do what they can to help him take his initial steps. As for the Americans, they may compete vigorously in business or on the job, but they do not scream at each other. They do not fight over a piece of merchandise in the store; there is enough for everyone.

The new arrival quickly learns, too, that if he becomes gravely ill, a doctor may well forgo payment. If he suffers a serious accident and lacks insurance, there are always people who will help tide him over. In short, it turns out that the United States is quite hospitable after all.

Now about freedom. America has held out the greatest promise of liberty here since the days when Poland was under the exploitative domination of one foreign emperor after another. A Pole would leave behind the protective structures of family, community and church to start over in the U.S. True, once there he tended to seek out the old dependencies in the Polish ghettos. Still, he felt more liberated than he had ever been. He could make his own choices—he was free, for instance, to escape from freedom.

After World War II, political principles spurred departures more than material concerns. The first wave of postwar emigrants would have stayed to help rebuild their impoverished and devastated country, but they could not abide being enslaved by the Communists. Neither could those who fled martial law in the 1980s.

The painful irony is that consequently many in Poland who have never been to the U.S. are better off. Goods and dollars sent or brought from the other side of the Atlantic improve the general living conditions. Indeed, they have become part of Polish everyday life. You buy a used car, for example, with dollars, not zlotys. Debts are calculated in dollars, even if the money is borrowed and returned in zlotys...

But I'm speaking about bread again, when I am supposed to be speaking about freedom. The point I mean to make is that thanks to America, Poles feel freer in their own country.

All the world knows that at Yalta President Roosevelt sold us down the river to Stalin. In Poland, however, we also know that the deterrent of American bombs and missiles prevented the spread of Communism. America's blunders, even its crimes, do not taint its benevolent deeds in our eyes. Poles regard the anti-Americanism of the Germans, the Dutch and the Japanese—who owe their freedom, security and prosperity to the U.S.—as a mental aberration. Or as a conspiracy directed from Moscow.

It is therefore not surprising that Poles consider Ronald Reagan the greatest American President. Every American President is for us by definition great, but Reagan—viciously portrayed on Communist posters during martial law, as Truman and Eisenhower were under Stalinism—ranks at the top. It was he who staunchly said No to Communism. It was he who forced Mikhail S. Gorbachev to give up missiles in Europe, who obtained from the Soviets genuine concessions on disarmament.

Reagan never visited Poland. George Bush did, and was received with proportionately less enthusiasm than would have greeted his predecessor. The average Pole did not seem to mind, though, that the President promised relatively little aid. He did not believe America would disappoint him.

Such a tenacious faith in the U.S. can be vexing, and not only for Americans critical of their own country or for Western Europeans critical of America. In Poland, as well, many people, particularly intellectuals, are exasperated by this attitude. But they are unable to influence the vast majority of their fellow citizens. The man in the street knows what he knows. And who can say if he is right or wrong? More often than not America fulfills our expectations.

Aside from its tangible value, that fulfillment adds to Polish self-esteem. The Poles are a proud people, but they are also insecure. They praise themselves, they think of themselves as being important, yet at the same time they are not altogether sure of their place among the nations. They need to have their worth attested by others.

So one can imagine the powerful emotions news of Lech Walesa's trip to the U.S. inspired in Poles. Here was this most important country about to acknowledge us in the person of an electrician from Gdansk. Acknowledge us in the most official and ceremonial way possible. The President himself—second only to the Polish Pope in the national affections—would decorate Walesa with the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest honor a civilian can earn.

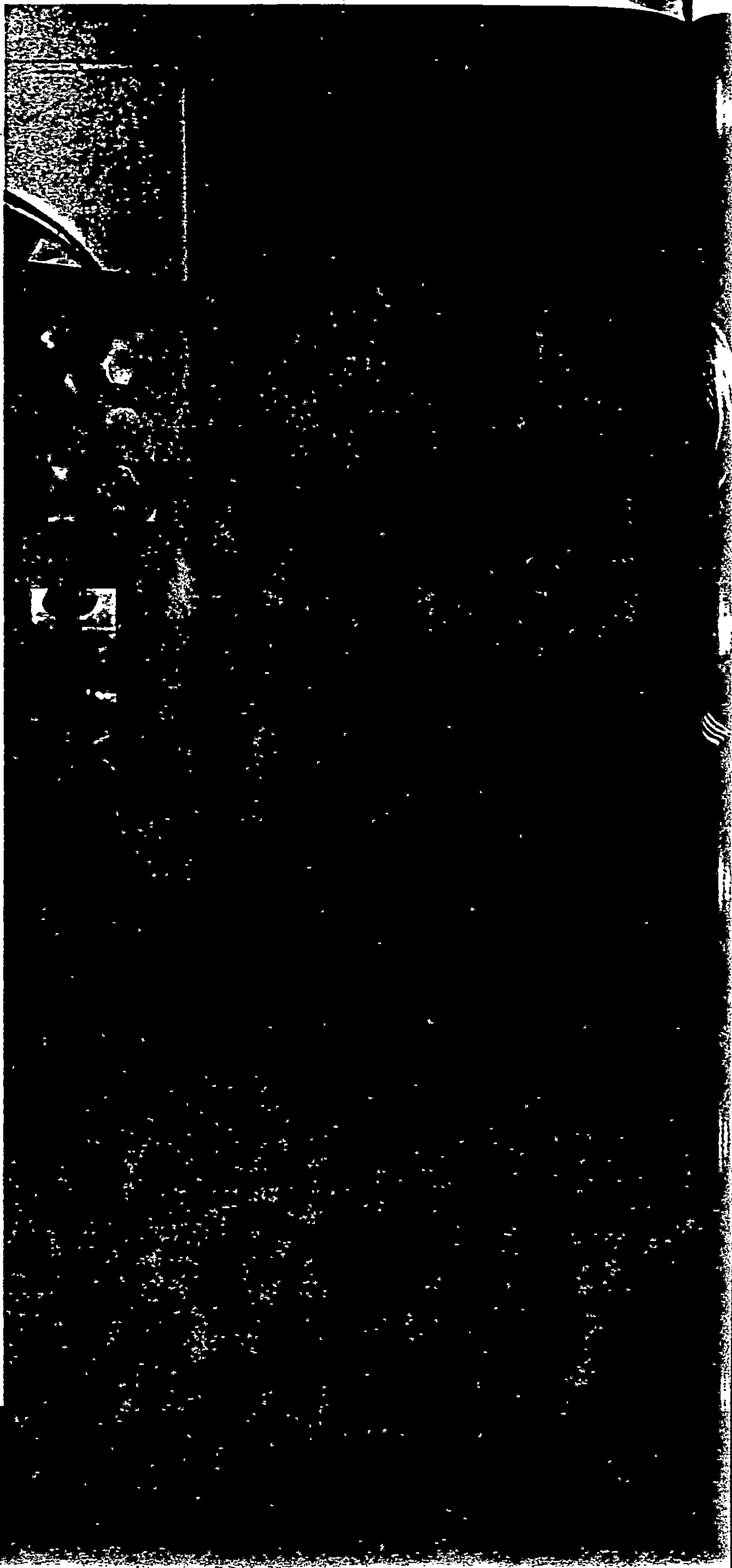
We do not remember Yalta—Yalta is falling to pieces, anyway—we do not remember the years of waiting. Today we feel only the self-respect America has helped to restore to us, and its returning Poland to a position of significance in the world.

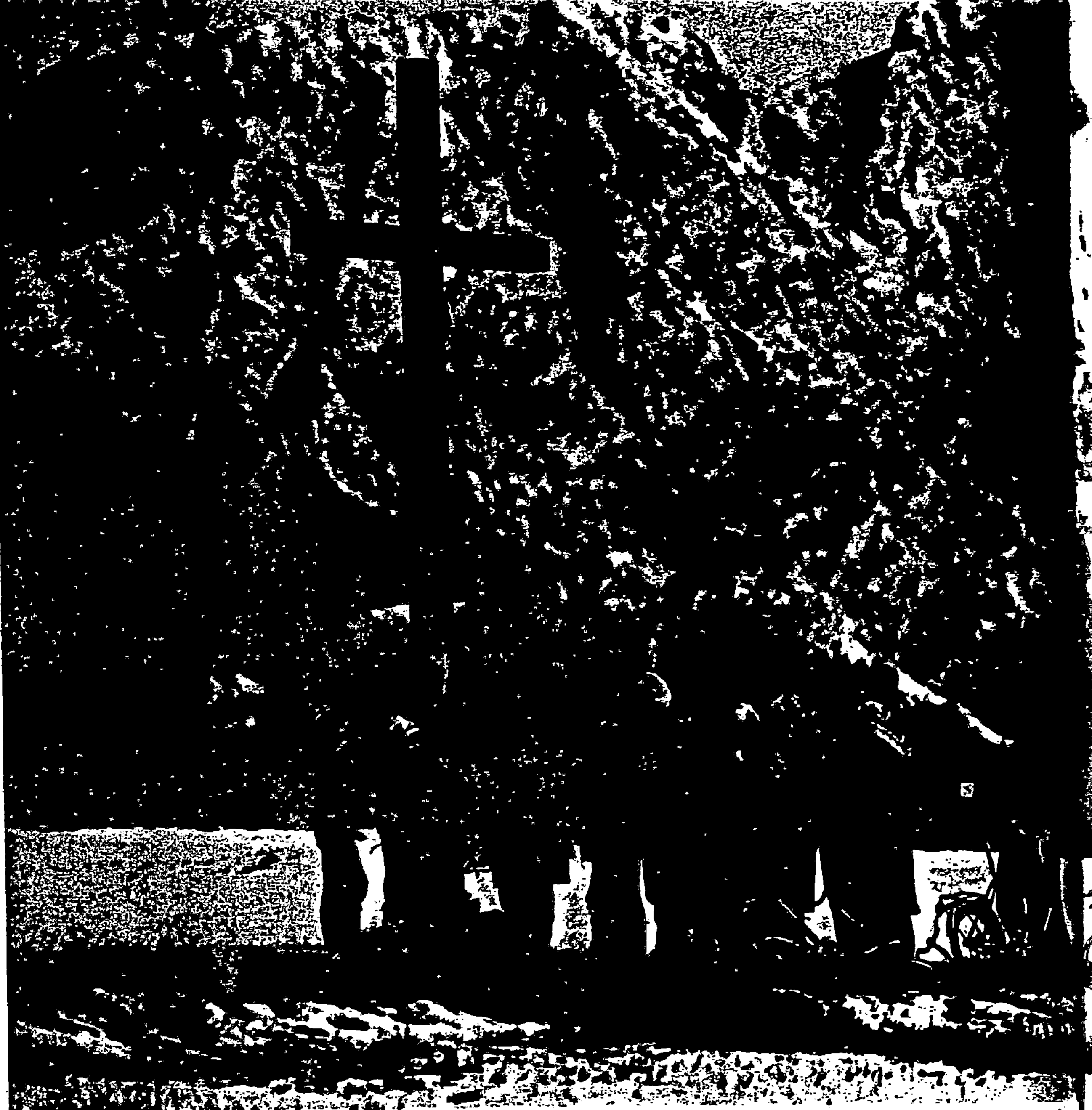
THE HOPE THAT NEVER DIES

By TAD SZULC

Photographs by
JAMES L. STANFIELD
NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHER

A symbolic call to national vigilance sounds from a fireman's trumpet in St. Mary's Church in Kraków, Poland's old royal capital. From the same tower seven centuries ago, according to legend, another trumpeter raised the alarm as Mongol hordes stormed the city, his clarion cut short by an arrow in the neck. Echoing that event, a watchman now re-creates the call every hour, day and night, always halting in mid-note. Today, six years after the fall of the free trade union Solidarity, the nation seeks to rescue its virtually paralyzed economy while allowing greater political pluralism. Unlike the recent past, Poland's reforms are no longer at odds with its powerful neighbor: Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is now Poland's principal ally in economic change. American journalist Tad Szulc returned to his native Poland to assess the political climate. Author of several studies of politics and international affairs, Szulc won an Overseas Press Club award for his 1986 biography of Cuba's Fidel Castro.





CORPUS CHRISTI is the great Roman Catholic festival held after Whitsunday in mid-June, and in Communist-ruled but overwhelmingly Catholic Poland it is an official national holiday. The permanently fatigued Polish people—for daily life there is relentlessly hard—are given a day off, and joyous, colorful processions fill the streets. This is a stubborn land where history and ancient traditions have always battled foreign occupations and regimes imposed by force and where the citizens have been wedded to nonconformity for a thousand years.

A voyage in Poland, then, is an emotional journey through history and tragedy, a sojourn among old and new memories that never die, a glance at hope and despair, and—always—the discovery of extraordinary human beings. It is a pilgrimage along Polish stations of the cross. I undertook it not long ago, a somewhat aged American reporter returning to the place of his birth at a time when history is again being written there—seven years after the rise and fall of the Solidarity free trade union movement, with Poland possibly approaching still another turning in its history.

That a church feast is observed as a high

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holiday in a Communist country may strike an outsider as paradoxical. But as I quickly realized, it seemed perfectly natural to all the proud Poles as well as to their head of state, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who also serves as First Secretary of the Communist Party.

In fact the 64-year-old general had chosen Corpus Christi to receive me at his Warsaw offices overlooking the lovely royal Łazienki Park. It was a relaxed late spring morning with lilacs in bloom round the sunlit statue of a brooding, romantic Frédéric Chopin. Jaruzelski greeted me with the remark that he was delighted to have a midweek holiday to afford

SIGNPOST FOR THE FAITHFUL, a rude cross becomes the site of a roadside prayer meeting outside the village of Ząb in Poland's mountainous south. The nearby town of Wadowice is the birthplace of Karol Wojtyła, the Archbishop of Kraków, who became John Paul II, the first Polish Pope. Despite the official atheism of the Communist Party, the Catholic Church remains a powerful force in Poland.

SYMBOL OF UNITY, the Sandomierz Crown, displayed at Kraków's Wawel Cathedral Museum, recalls the 14th-century reign of King Casimir the Great, who worked to strengthen a nation forged from a group of small principalities.

him time for a quiet, uninterrupted chat, and said immediately that I had come to a "much changed Poland, changed for the better."

Jaruzelski, a ramrod-straight officer with a receding hairline whose military bearing was softened by an easy, comfortable demeanor and an informal light-gray suit and blue necktie, offered me tea, and we spent the next two hours together. In his elegantly classical Polish—rich in historical and literary allusions—he summarized the endless contradictions and paradoxes, many verging on the surreal, that form the phenomenon of today's Poland and the lives of its 37 million inhabitants.

It was the most candid private conversation I have ever had with any Communist leader. The general told me bluntly that his country faced immense economic and social problems that could be solved only by his program of radical reform of the economy. (Such a daring program, including austerity, decentralization, and a turn toward a free-market economy, was formally launched in October 1987.) He said that he welcomed the cooperation of the "moderate opposition" and the Roman Catholic Church to help shape and implement these reforms. But he said he would not deal with opposition financed from abroad, noting with anger that the U. S. Congress had just voted one million dollars to assist what was left of Solidarity. The union said the funds would go for ambulances and medical equipment.

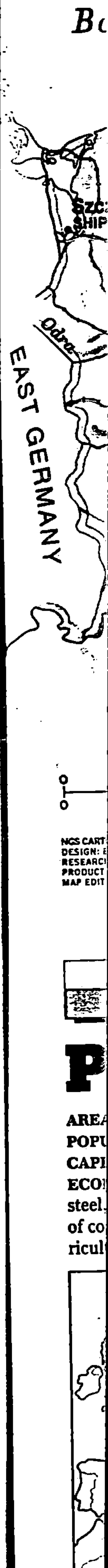
THE PRINCIPAL PARADOX in this land of paradoxes is that the Jaruzelski who seeks to introduce far-reaching reforms in Poland—and allows a degree of political pluralism and relaxation unique in Communism (though Communist rule itself is not open to question)—is the same man who declared martial law on December 13, 1981, and used the army and the secret police to intern 10,000 Solidarity activists and smash the organization's entire framework. This was undoubtedly the worst blow to Polish aspirations since the end of World War II, and the nation has not quite recovered from it.

In 1982, when last we talked, the general hinted that destruction of Solidarity was the only alternative to a Soviet invasion because the Russians thought the union's demands for democracy, along with reforms, placed the whole Communist system in danger.

But now, Jaruzelski emphasized, the mentality of the people in general, including those in power, had changed. He told me that he felt that the Solidarity workers' protests about their conditions and the economy were correct and justified—and many of the ideas emerging from the great ferment of the early 1980s were an inspiration and would be implemented.

Back in those days, the general said, the problems were Solidarity's "nonsensical" political demands, such as the appeal to workers elsewhere in Eastern Europe to rise up in their own Solidarity movements, and the wave of strikes that paralyzed the country.

The months that I spent in Poland in the preparation of this article, driving thousands of miles from the southern Tatra Mountains to the Baltic seashore and from the wooded Soviet border to the farmlands of the East German frontier, confirmed to a significant extent General Jaruzelski's assertion that the "New Poland" he heads *(Continued on page 94)*



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Mining area
Centers of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland
World War II death camp

Baltic Sea
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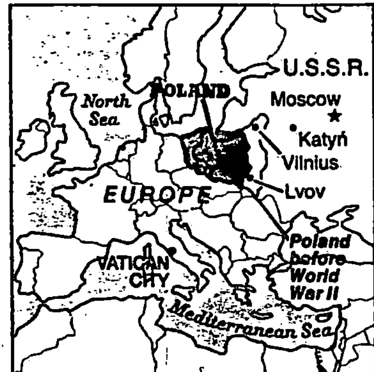
NGS CARTOGRAPHIC DIVISION
DESIGN: BOB PRATT
RESEARCH: DAVID MILLER
PRODUCTION: RAMSEY MURRAY, ISKANDAR BADAY
MAP EDITOR: GUS PLATIS

POLAND

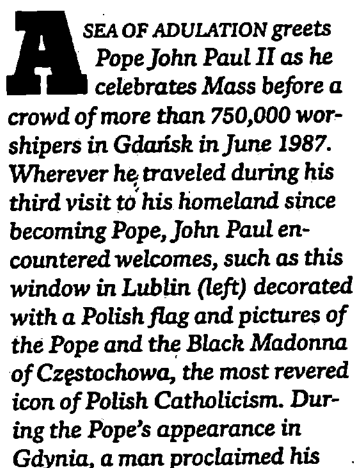
AREA: 120,725 sq mi (312,677 sq km).
POPULATION: 37.3 million.
CAPITAL: Warsaw, pop. 1,659,400.
ECONOMY: Industries: iron and steel, shipbuilding, textiles, mining of coal, copper, zinc, and lead. Agriculture: potatoes, sugar beets, rye.



POLAND DERIVES its name from the Polanie, or "plains people," a Slavic group that settled in northern Europe before the birth of Christ. With few natural obstacles to invasion from east or west, Poland has often suffered from the ambitions of neighboring countries. The 1795 partition of Poland among Russia, Prussia, and Austria wiped the nation from the map. It reappeared as a sovereign state only in 1918, at the end of World War I.

The German invasion of Poland in 1939 sparked the beginning of World War II, during which Poland was overrun again, first by Germans, then by the Soviets. Following the war, Stalin moved Poland westward by placing more than 50,000 square miles of eastern German territory under Polish rule and annexing 100,000 square miles of eastern Poland to the U.S.S.R.

The movement of millions of people to Poland from the provinces swallowed by the Soviets and the displacement of German populations from their homes into occupied Germany constituted one of the most disruptive migrations in postwar Europe.



A SEA OF ADULATION greets Pope John Paul II as he celebrates Mass before a crowd of more than 750,000 worshipers in Gdańsk in June 1987. Wherever he traveled during his third visit to his homeland since becoming Pope, John Paul encountered welcomes, such as this window in Lublin (left) decorated with a Polish flag and pictures of the Pope and the Black Madonna of Częstochowa, the most revered icon of Polish Catholicism. During the Pope's appearance in Gdynia, a man proclaimed his unwavering faith by holding up a crucifix during the entire service (right).

The Pope delighted his audiences and angered government authorities by repeatedly voicing support for the Solidarity union, driven underground since being outlawed in 1981. "I pray for my motherland and for you workers," the Pope told the crowd in Gdańsk, the Baltic seaport city where the union was organized. "I pray for the special heritage of Polish Solidarity." Following the Mass, some 10,000 persons marched beneath Solidarity banners through the streets of Gdańsk until police broke up the demonstration.

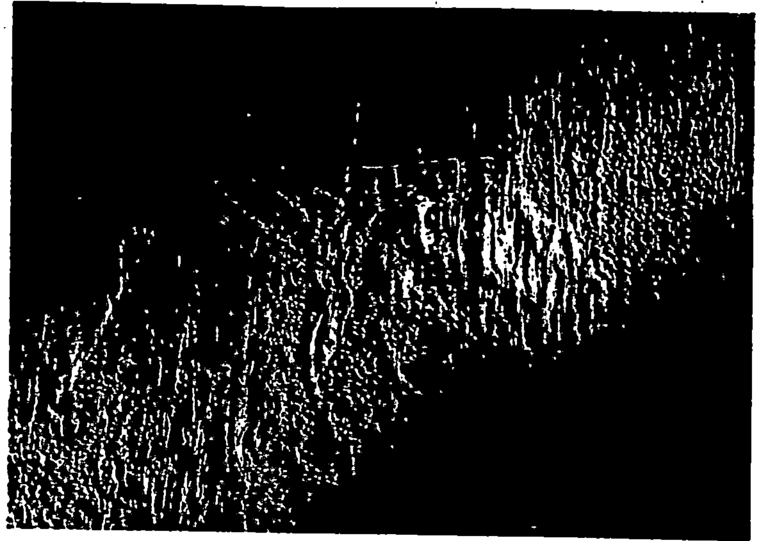
In a further act of support John Paul met with Solidarity leader Lech Wałęsa and visited the gravesite of the Reverend Jerzy Popiełuszko, a pro-Solidarity priest killed by Polish secret police in 1984. The Pope also said that if Poland instituted reforms leading to more freedoms, the Vatican might establish diplomatic ties with the country, a first among Eastern-bloc nations.

HORRIBLE LEGACY *of the Holocaust is preserved as a memorial to the dead and a warning against forgetfulness at a museum in Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau). Rabbi Pinchas Goldberg (left), a Hasidic Jew from Brooklyn, New York, views a mountain of footwear taken from those imprisoned at the Nazi death camp in southern Poland.*

Of the more than 20 German concentration camps, Oświęcim is the most notorious because of the number of prisoners exterminated there and because of the hideous human medical experiments carried out by Dr. Josef Mengele. During the German occupation of Poland in World War II, as many as four million persons were killed at Oświęcim in less than five years. Declared a national monument in 1947, the camp retains over the main entrance gate an arch carrying the German slogan "Arbeit Macht Frei—Work Sets You Free."

Upon arrival at the death camp, prisoners deemed unfit for productive labor, women and children included, were often summarily executed. A separate exhibit called "The Fate of Mothers and Children" (below) memorializes them with pictures and articles of clothing.

Architect Stefan Jasienski carved this crucifix (above) in cell 21, where he died on January 1, 1945. It stands as a reminder that, although the Holocaust was aimed primarily at Jews, more than a million of those killed at Oświęcim were not Jewish.



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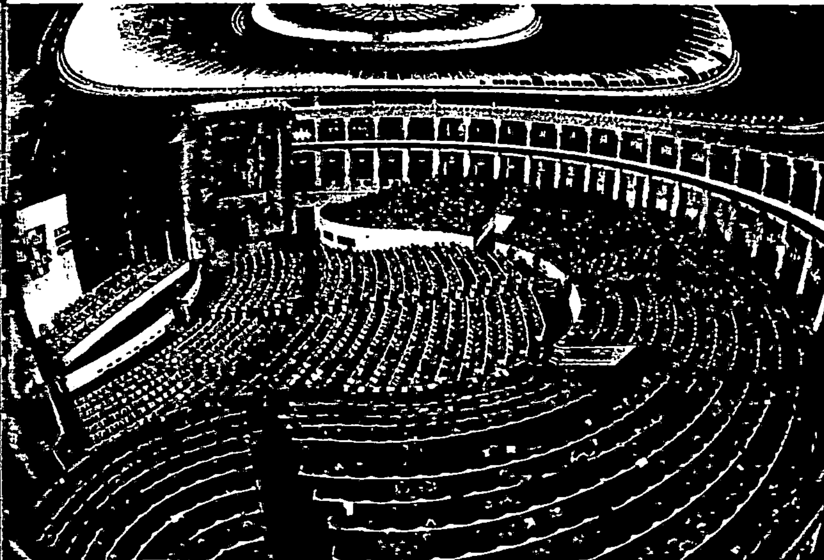
STEPPING OUT on May Day, the international socialist holiday, head of state Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski waves to onlookers (right) as he leads a parade through Warsaw. In that city's Palace of Culture (below) Jaruzelski addresses members of the Patriotic Front of National Rebirth, a group that was created to counter the Solidarity movement.



(Continued from page 84) is becoming "a very open country."

To be sure, Poland is still far from being a Western democracy. Truly free elections even for the Sejm—the Polish parliament—are not yet in the cards. The Communist Party's weekly journal, *Polityka,* is subject to censorship because the regime itself isn't certain from day to day what it wants and what people should be told it wants. There are tensions within the party between factions advocating greater freedom and flexibility and those opposing it, and there are enough cases of harassment of various oppositionists, as dissidents are called in Polish Communist parlance, to suggest strongly that the powerful secret police apparatus, still enjoying considerable autonomy, sides with the hard-liners. And, as every Pole knows, the state still possesses the power of capricious arrest and extended detention without trial.

Nevertheless, loud and active opposition movements do exist. Shortly after I left the country, police broke up a demonstration of 4,000 Solidarity supporters in Gdańsk by driving trucks into their line of march.

I DID NOT HAVE the slightest difficulty in meeting openly with former Solidarity chief Lech Wałęsa, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate—or with the opposition's most brilliant intellectual figures, such as the philosopher Adam Michnik and the medieval historian Bronisław Geremek. I found these leaders, to say nothing of countless private citizens with whom I talked (frequently all night, as is the Polish habit), absolutely outspoken on every imaginable topic—especially whenever it came to criticizing the government and the Communist system.

But both Wałęsa and Józef Cardinal Glemp, Primate of Poland, told me in separate conversations that some form of Polish unity should be built around the government's reform program. Each left me with the impression that they may favor a degree of oppositionist cooperation with the regime under the right conditions. The general told me that "no doors are closed," although he prefers his critics to work through the "consultative council," an advisory body he has created to attract prominent but independent-minded Poles.

Cardinal Glemp told me that in his opinion "General Jaruzelski is a Pole and an intelligent man who has a large sensitivity to moral questions."

"He is a Communist," the cardinal said, "but he is a positive man."

Glemp's stance of compromise is backed by many, but not all, Polish bishops. His judgment runs counter to the view held in more radical opposition circles that Jaruzelski is a Soviet agent because he served in wartime Polish units with the Soviet Army and rose through the ranks of the military and party hierarchies to become defense minister and a Politburo member long before Solidarity.

Michnik, the philosopher who has spent four years behind bars since 1981, does not believe in cooperation with Jaruzelski because, he says, "a Communist regime cannot really reform itself from within." It has to be pressed and pushed, he told me.

Amazingly, many senior government and party officials tend to be stunningly frank.

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The general himself admits that Poland's economy remains a veritable nightmare of managerial and production chaos, characterized by inexplicable shortages of the most elementary items, shoddiness of most goods, and a continuously falling living standard for most of the population.

He must know that his country is turning into an environmental disaster whose magnitude I could observe in my travels. The great river Vistula is polluted by salinity and other industrial waste. Hundred-year-old trees in the forest of Białowieża in the east are threatened by poisonous runoff from a chemical plant. (The forest also happens to be the home of the largest surviving herd of European bison, some 460 animals.) The Polish water table is dropping dangerously because of unregulated deforestation throughout the country. And the air in the cities of Kraków and Katowice is thick with the soot from smoke-belching stacks of their huge steel mills.

The Kraków mill complex, called Nowa Huta, was designed by Soviet planners and ideologues in the early 1950s as "a socialist city" where workers' families would live happily in new high rises—and their minds would not be poisoned by religion.

"But they were wrong on all scores," a former Solidarity newspaper editor told me as we toured the forbidding scene of ugly, grimy apartment buildings and industrial installations. "Instead of a socialist city, they've created a monstrosity. And, finally, they had to capitulate to the pressure of the people and let us have new churches."

After 40 years of Soviet-enforced Marxism-Leninism, the steadily deteriorating quality of life in Poland is a grim daily drama.

"You know, in the end you lose your will to live," said a woman of my acquaintance in Warsaw who works in a government office and tries to be a housekeeper and a mother as well—as best she can.

"I get up at dawn in that tiny apartment of ours—you can forget about getting a larger apartment even if you live to be a hundred—and I prepare breakfast for my husband and the two kids, send the children off to school, then I rush to catch this horribly crowded red

streetcar to get downtown to my office. I quit work around two o'clock, and I go shopping for food and various things we need. Sometimes I stand in a queue at the butcher shop to buy meat with my ration card, but often they run out of meat before my turn comes, so I race elsewhere to get into another line to buy something else we can eat. When I get home, chances are I probably have to walk up the stairs to our apartment on the sixth floor because the elevator is usually out of order. Then I cook dinner, serve it, wash the dishes. And then it's another day tomorrow, just like today. Some life!"

DR. MAGDALENA SOKOŁOWSKA, a leading Polish sociologist and physician, says that women are the greatest victims of the system because the burden of life with its daily responsibilities falls most heavily on them. "Feminism, or women's liberation, does not exist in Poland," says Dr. Sokołowska. "Polish women think simply in terms of survival." They also worry about finding seemingly nonexistent plumbers or electricians as well as about illness in the family, because the public health system in Poland is collapsing from bureaucratic inefficiency. (Polish medicine has high traditions, however, and even today pioneering surgery is performed by such renowned physicians as heart specialist Dr. Zbigniew Religa [pages 106-107]).

Men concentrate on going to work their factory or office shifts, says Dr. Sokołowska, but morale is so low that in the view of a government economist "we have a situation where people *come* to work—rather than actually work. It's a marvelous society in which you don't have to work to get paid by the state." Another economist observes that "if you have access to U. S. dollars, then you can buy anything you want in the Pewex—the dollar stores—but, of course, this creates new frustrations and divisions between Poles with dollars and Poles without them."

It was Alfred Miodowicz, a former steelworker and now the head of the government-sanctioned trade union organization and a member of the Politburo, who summed up the situation best in a conversation we had at his Warsaw office: "Our tragedy is that we are a socialist state without social justice."

Among the sad sights in Poland are not only grown-ups but even teenagers wandering, blind from drink, along sidewalks in broad daylight. Jaruzelski, who is a teetotaler, has tried to combat alcoholism by raising the price of vodka (a bottle containing less than an eighth of a gallon costs the equivalent of a day's salary of a skilled industrial worker). The results are not noticeable: Queues form in front of liquor stores awaiting the 1 p.m. opening, just as they do at food stores.

This rampant alcoholism accounts for low productivity and high absenteeism from work. Statistically, every Pole consumes eight quarts of pure alcohol annually (the equivalent of 16 quarts of 100-proof whiskey), and drunken driving, according to the authorities, was responsible for 1,500 deaths and 10,000 injuries in 1986.

Sociologists attribute the worsening alcohol problem to the immense strains, psychological pressures, and everyday frustrations of life in Poland's postwar industrial society. For four decades Poles have lived from crisis to crisis and from one broken promise to another in cycles of hope and disenchantment. Stress, pollution, diet, and industry-related degenerative diseases are blamed for the alarming drop in

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OFTEN AT ODDS with the government, some of Poland's brightest minds strive to increase intellectual freedom. Elected chancellor of Kraków's Jagiellonian University during Solidarity's days of official acceptance, historian Józef Andrzej Gierowski (facing page) fought for the school's independence from government strictures until his term ended in September 1987. Medieval scholar Bronisław Geremek (above) paid for his role as advisor to Solidarity with time in prison. In the past novelist Tadeusz Konwicki (left) has found it difficult to get his books published in his native country. He and other writers have attracted a growing readership in the West.

life expectancy in Poland; the central statistical office reports that whereas a 30-year-old man in 1965 could have anticipated another 41.7 years of life, today he can look forward to only 39.7 years.

In sum, this is a bitter nation, and General Jaruzelski told me that his overwhelming priority is to create greater trust among his compatriots. It will not be an easy job. In Warsaw I read a front-page article in the Communist Party's daily newspaper, *Trybuna Ludu*, acknowledging that the fundamental Polish problem is that "nobody here has any trust in anybody else." This mistrust embraces everything from government policies to personal relationships.

The Center of Public Opinion Research, created by Jaruzelski in 1982 to assess the national mood, has reported that most Poles feared further deterioration in their quality of life and that a vast majority of high-school graduates felt so hopeless about the future that they wanted to go abroad to earn dollars (51 percent) or as tourists (32 percent, though some "tourists" do not return home).

"There's no country in the world in a state of crisis, with the economy as bad as here, where the society would have trust in the government," Deputy Premier Zdzisław Sadowski told me. "Trust must be created." Sadowski, an internationally known economist who is not a party member, was brought into the government last year and put in charge of reform.

"I am fully aware of the tremendous difficulties that face us," General Jaruzelski himself told me.

That is an astonishing thing for a Communist leader to say. But Communism in this Western-oriented and Catholic land has always been a contradiction in terms. Poles were spared the worst of the show trials and murderous repressions of the Stalin era and experimented as early as 1956 with liberalizing reforms. Land collectivization could not be imposed in Poland, and today some 70 percent of arable land is in private hands, cultivated

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by small farmers who are the framework of the increasingly important market economy. Farming nevertheless is hard work, and young people are fleeing the land en masse.

In my travels I did meet a large number of "rich peasants" and even rural millionaires who own sumptuous houses (at least one with an indoor pool and a sauna), foreign luxury automobiles, and Arabian show horses worth hundreds of thousands of dollars—all perfectly legal.

Interestingly, much of this farm wealth stems from the age-old Polish tradition of presenting flowers on every imaginable occasion. A case in point is Czesław Witczak (below right), a 49-year-old graduate of the agrarian academy at Poznań. Over a lunch of smoked eel, turkey, and venison in his marble-floored mansion with swimming pool in the village of Łankowice, near Bydgoszcz in northwestern Poland, Witczak told me that he made his fortune selling about 200,000 roses annually from the long row of glass-covered hothouses he built several years ago.

OLD POLISH CUSTOMS are reviving with unprecedented vigor these days, presumably as a reaction to Communist egalitarianism of the past era. I had heard that these days Communist men kiss women's hands with an alacrity unmatched by prewar aristocrats, but I was startled and enchanted when I saw a uniformed militia captain bowing to kiss the hand of a uniformed lady militia lieutenant as a morning greeting under a Vistula River bridge in the city of Toruń.

Revivals of Old World gallantry notwithstanding, Poland's heart and mind and tastes are completely in the West. It desperately wants Western technology and is hopelessly drawn to Western culture. A Warsaw weekly was serializing capitalist Lee Iacocca's autobiography last spring, and James Clavell was on the best-seller list along with A. A. Milne. On Polish television *Grease* with John Travolta was seen in March by 20 million viewers.

But censorship hobbles Polish writing and undermines the famous Polish cinema. However, if they have time and energy (and the connections needed to obtain tickets), Poles can see superb performances at Warsaw's Grand Opera and Ballet Theater, attend extraordinary concerts, and even watch good TV since pro-Solidarity actors have ended their boycott of state television and are willing to perform again.

On another level there is political humor, an ancient Polish tradition. Pod Egidą is a political cabaret run by a bespectacled middle-aged humorist named Jan Pietrzak in a small Warsaw theater. Over a brandy before the performance, Pietrzak told me that he still had to submit his material to government censors, but added delightedly that on one occasion a friendly censor had confided that the censorship office had used a videotape of his show to teach a class in political humor to aspiring ideological watchdogs.

Though Pietrzak is given much latitude in anti-regime humor, he can also be bitter toward his admiring audience: When they rose in applause one evening, he remarked, "Ah, but I remember when you applauded pro-Stalinist jokes too!"

Tadeusz Konwicki, Poland's foremost living novelist, wrote in a recent book, *Moonrise, Moonset* (published in the United States in

A BOUNTIFUL STOCK of baked goods attracts shoppers in a state-run Warsaw market (facing page), although many consumer items are often in short supply. Making the most of a limited private economy, Czesław Witczak amassed a fortune selling roses grown in his hothouses in the village of Łankowice.

1987): "For two hundred years now, every generation of Poles has had the commandment to save the fatherland encoded in its genes." This was true of the Poles who rose against Russian occupation on two occasions in the 19th century; of the cavalrymen who charged Nazi tanks with lances and sabres in 1939; of the men, women, and children who fought in the great anti-German Warsaw uprisings in 1943 and 1944; and of those who battled against Hitler in the British, American, and Soviet Armies from Italy and France to Ukraine and Berlin.

Patriotic history was relived too in March 1968 when a banned performance of the classic play *Forefathers' Eve* by 19th-century poet Adam Mickiewicz, rich in anti-Russian overtones, triggered student riots and a violent wave of repression by the Gomułka regime. There followed a demented anti-Semitic campaign, showing the darkest side of Polish Communist practices and appealing to the lowest human instincts; at that time there were no more than 40,000 Jews in Poland from the prewar population of three and a half million. Today there are five or six thousand, the rest having fled the country.*

The common denominator among most of

ABSORBED IN CREATION, Witold Lutosławski (left), an internationally acclaimed composer, ponders a passage in a new piano concerto. Renown came to author Edmund Jan Osmańczyk, at home with his wife, Jolanta, for his monumental Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements.

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the leading figures of contemporary Polish culture—and they are world-class figures—is opposition to the Communist system in written works (including novels and poetry) that appear in the extensive underground press, in public statements and in private conversations, and even in music. Ironically, many of them belonged to the Communist Party in their youth—as idealists.

The government finds it useful to let the opposition print and distribute underground publications on the theory that this will not undermine its rule. Instead, underground publishing helps defuse political pressures.

I found Andrzej Wajda, famous for his movies *Man of Marble* and *Man of Iron* (a film about Solidarity that was awarded the top prize at the 1981 Cannes International Film Festival), on location near Warsaw where he was filming Dostoevsky's novel *The Possessed*. His hope, he said, was to make a picture telling the truth about the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in 1943; this great Jewish epic has never been properly told on film, he said.

But he was depressed about the state of

*See "Remnants: The Last Jews of Poland," by Małgorzata Niezabitowska and Tomasz Tomaszewski, in the September 1986 GEOGRAPHIC.

Poland and about the state of Polish moviemaking: "There is no money in this bankrupt country of ours to make good pictures, even inexpensively. And there's still the censorship problem facing us."

The scene he was shooting that day was the burning of a Russian village, and the director patiently rehearsed young actors in their performances. "Maestro," the crew and actors called him. His cap jauntily at an angle, his high boots giving him a cavalier air, Wajda was very much the genius at work.

Epics in Poland, of course, are part of the political geography. As I traveled across the country, history was ever present. There were the Oświęcim-Brzezinka (Auschwitz-Birkenau) and Majdanek death camps, the one near Kraków and the other outside Lublin, where millions were murdered by the Nazis. (At Oświęcim I was deeply moved by a group of American Lutheran women who softly sang spirituals in front of the death ovens and passed out tiny paper peace doves.)

THE POLISH *VIA CRUCIS* led me to the streets of Poznań in the west, where workers first rose against the regime in 1956, opening the way to the first reformist wave; the neighborhoods in the port city of Gdańsk, where security forces

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Katyń and Warsaw are bitter memories for Poles, and Jaruzelski and his like-minded friend Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union seemed to understand this when they announced last April that a historical commission was being formed to discover the truth about "gray areas" in Soviet-Polish relations. The assumption is that these areas include Katyń as well as the deportation of perhaps as many as one and a half million Poles to the Soviet Union in 1939, after Soviet forces invaded Poland from the east while Hitler was invading from the west.

IT WAS JOSEPH STALIN who literally pushed Poland even farther westward through the Soviet annexation of eastern Polish provinces—including the cities of Lwów (now Lvov) and Wilno (now Vilnius), to which Poles had great patriotic and sentimental attachment. Stalin compensated Poland by awarding it German lands where Poles had lived for centuries.

It is one thing to redraw borders or grab territory, but it is another to slide an entire nation as a child slides building blocks. As many as ten million human beings were moved to the west: Polish populations from the provinces swallowed by the Soviets were transported to the former German regions, while Germans were expelled from their homes to make room for them.

Even though Poland's economy was greatly helped by the acquisition of these rich lands, the migration was one of the most massive and dramatic in postwar Europe. It involved terrible emotional and cultural shocks, and the social consequences persist today.

Among those deported was the entire Jaruzelski family, including 16-year-old Wojciech, whose father died in Central Asian exile. Jaruzelski thus spent his youth in what amounted to a Soviet labor camp where prisoners felled trees in surrounding forests. He says Russian *(Continued on page 110)*

HORSEPOWERED WHEELS carry coal to customers in the village of Ratułów near the Czechoslovakian border. Horses and carts remain a common sight in the rural areas of Poland, a nation of 37 million residents that counts about four million privately owned motor vehicles, up from half a million in 1970.

HEAVY-METAL MANIA animates onlookers aping guitar players at a rock concert near Poznań, reflecting Polish affinity for Western pop culture. Poland's premier film-maker, Andrzej Wajda (below), works on location in the village of Kamieńczyk during the shooting of Fyodor Dostoevsky's novel The Possessed. *Wajda walks a fine line to avoid censorship in creating his often politically sensitive films.*

families who were as poor as the prisoners were kind to him, and "that's when I learned to like the Russian people." Jaruzelski's great-grandfather died in Siberia after being imprisoned for his part in the anti-tsarist uprising in 1863. History in Poland casts a long shadow.

In fact, General Jaruzelski was able in July 1987 to write—for a Soviet ideological journal—that the 1939 Soviet invasion of Poland, and the deportations, were "contradictory to Poland's right of independence."

NINETY-THREE PERCENT of Poland's people are Roman Catholics, most of them fervent believers, and the church is the most powerful non-Communist force in Poland. The dialogue between bishops and high government officials touches on all aspects of national life, and acquired even greater significance in 1978 when Karol Cardinal Wojtyła of Kraków was elected Pope to become John Paul II, the first Polish pontiff in history.

Freedom of worship is absolute in Poland, and in our travels around the country, GEOGRAPHIC photographer Jim Stanfield and I often felt we were enveloped by ritual. Urban cathedrals and rural churches overflowed at almost every Mass year-round. Easter brought moving acts of faith everywhere in the country: At Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, a Bernardine Fathers monastery in the hills southwest of Kraków, 30,000 believers slogged through mud in a cold rain to follow a two-day Passion play procession with the fathers and village actors in the roles of the martyred Christ, Pilate, and Roman soldiers. In the past, we were told, the crowds have become

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Each year millions of Poles undertake pilgrimages to the holiest place in the country, Jasna Góra (Luminous Mountain) Monastery, in Częstochowa to pray at the medieval shrine of the Black Madonna, acclaimed as the Queen of Poland.

The church in Poland is patriotic in the deepest sense and has always been intensely nationalist-minded, in the forefront of defending the Polish identity. It emerged with the advent of Christianity in Poland over a thousand years ago under the Piasts, the first Polish royal dynasty, and has remained ever since an organic part of national life. When the throne was temporarily unoccupied because of a royal absence or death, the Primate of Poland served as *interrex*, the "king between kings."

During the 120 years when Poland ceased to exist, divided late in the 18th century between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the church was the bastion of Polish nationality, the protector of the language and the culture. A mural in a sitting room at the Primate's Residence on Miodowa Street, where Cardinal Glemp received me, depicts the tradition: King Jan III Sobieski, who stemmed the Turkish tide rolling over Europe in the 17th century with a series of great battlefield victories; Marshal Józef Piłsudski, who led Poland into independence after World War I; a wounded Polish soldier at the battle of the Vistula River near Warsaw, when a Soviet invasion was halted in 1920; and a dying Polish Army chaplain blessing the troops.

There has long been a theory in the West that Poles display their faith principally as

an anti-regime gesture. But Cardinal Glemp denied this when I raised the point in a private conversation with him at his Warsaw residence. "There is a vast range of attitudes toward religion," he told me, "but I think that there are fewer and fewer Catholics practicing their religion as a form of opposition, to be against the regime. This is because there is a certain deepening of authentic faith, which runs against superficiality, and churchgoing for opposition reasons would be artificial."

Today Cardinal Glemp plays a crucial if subtle political game with the general's regime. He said that, of course, the church would always be opposed to Communist ideology but recognized that Jaruzelski has taken "little steps" that are "signs of a certain democratization." Glemp and Jaruzelski have met privately more than a dozen times. As both men tell it, there is no reason for continued antagonism between the church and the Communist state, though neither cedes an inch ideologically. And last July the Polish regime reversed itself to authorize a ten-million-dollar, U. S.-funded church foundation to aid small farmers.

AMONG STARTLING CONTRASTS in Poland is the symbolism of the cross and the television antenna in the countryside, where over 40 percent of the population still lives. Along rural roads, particularly in the less developed areas east of Warsaw (known cruelly as "Poland B"—"Poland A" being the more affluent west), one sees a cross or a shrine with a figure of Christ or the Madonna every few miles, with fresh-cut flowers always at the foot.

The vast majority of rural houses, some of them mere huts, proudly display TV antennas (sometimes side by side with a rooftop stork nest). In 1986 nearly ten million TV sets were registered in Poland, roughly one for every four inhabitants, which is astonishing when one considers that a black-and-white set costs the equivalent of the monthly salary of a skilled worker (and 50 percent more than the average wage), and a color set sells for about six times the higher salary.

On the other hand, there are fewer than five million telephones in Poland—one for roughly every seven inhabitants—and much of the countryside has no phone service at all. In the cities one may wait 15 years for a home phone.

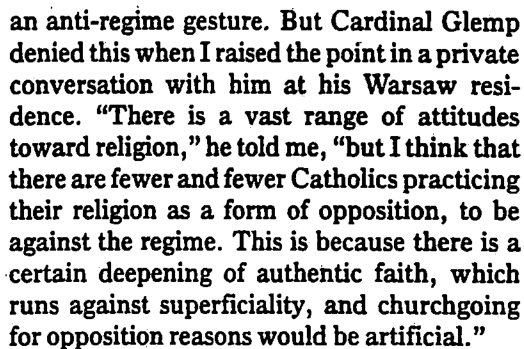
Moreover, Poland has been seized with "videomania," and it is estimated that there are some one million videocassette recorders in this enormously indebted and impoverished nation. A VCR costs the average industrial worker the equivalent of 20 monthly paychecks. A Polish-built Polonez automobile requires the proceeds of seven or eight years of such salaries—but the number of privately owned cars surged from half a million in 1970 to nearly four million in 1986.

This hunger for consumer goods—and the prestige that their ownership brings—reflects a reaction to the material denials during the postwar decades as well as the immense frustration of the people in the cities, where families may wait as long as 20 years for an apartment barely large enough for a couple and two children. Young families, like it or not, tend to live with in-laws. A young engineer in Łódź, the second largest city, told me that "if we can't have our own home, we can at least have our own TV in our room, and a small car just to get away once a week."

No matter how crowded the home may be, a visitor is instantly offered tea, coffee, an alcoholic drink, or a cake that the hosts probably can ill afford; yet in Poland it is rude to decline hospitality. There is no rational explanation for Polish economics in terms of what people can afford—VCRs or cars, for instance—and it is therefore accepted that such purchasing power is made possible through the "Polish way"—multiple jobs, moonlighting on government time during working hours, bartering goods and services, bribery, and the colossal black market in foreign currencies and imported or smuggled merchandise.

Perhaps as much as half a billion dollars enters Poland annually in gifts from families living in the United States and elsewhere. And this finances some of the purchases (the current black-market dollar rate is about four times the official rate in złotys).

Poland thrives on contrast. In Warsaw on the eve of the Pope's visit in June 1987, I



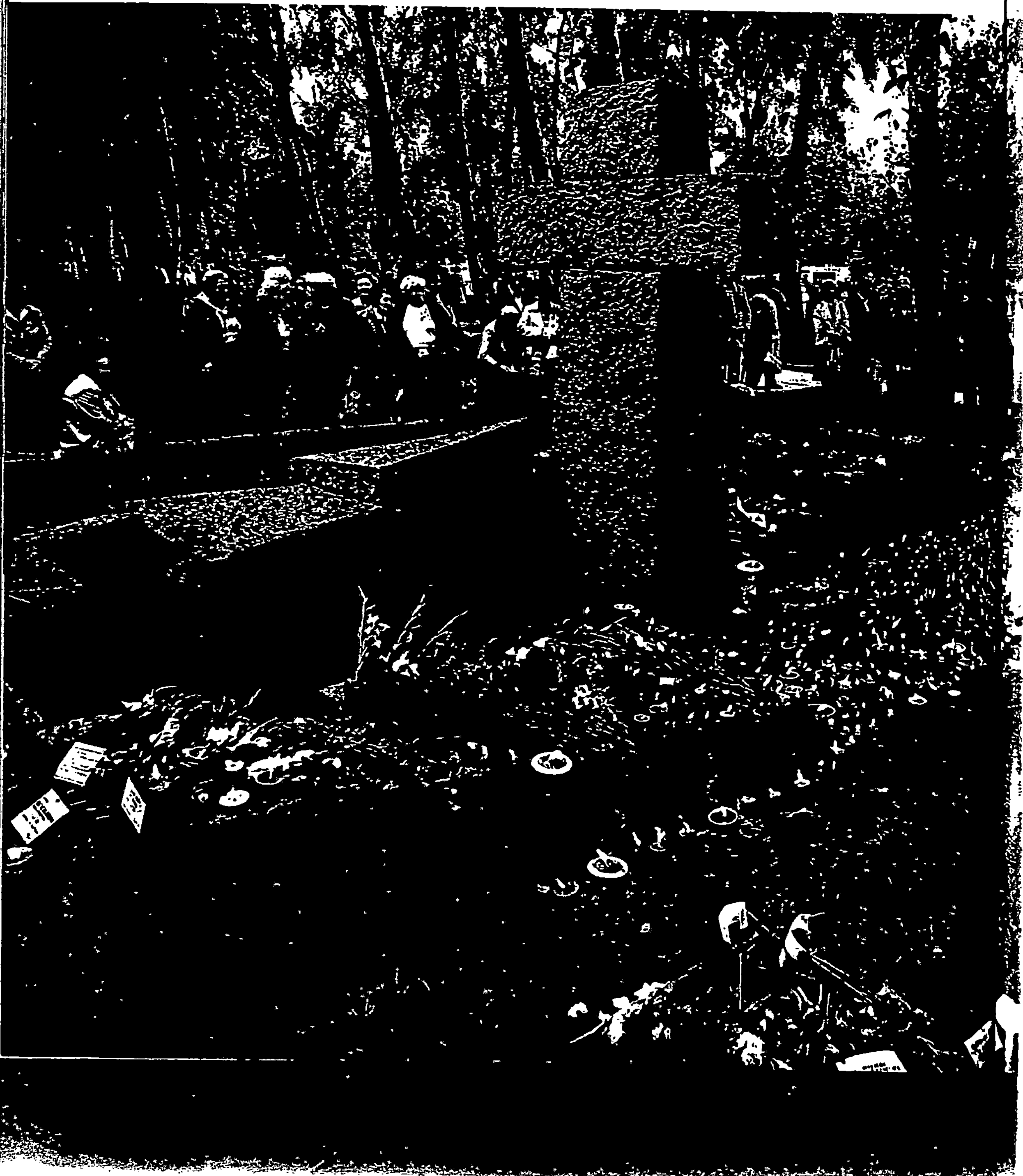
GRACEFUL FORM AND NIMBLE GAIT characterize Parys, a purebred Arabian sire raised at the Janów Podlaski stud farm. Poles captured Arabian horses from Ottoman invaders, but the first stock may have arrived even earlier with knights returning from the Crusades. Polish-bred stallions have commanded as much as a million dollars.

watched work crews replacing the Chinese flag on the lampposts (Premier Zhao Ziyang had just completed an official visit) along the main thoroughfares with the yellow-and-white standard of the Vatican. For a week Jaruzelski played proud host to his fellow Pole—"Two Great Poles Together," said the caption under their photograph on the front page of the Communist Party's official newspaper.

Meeting with opposition intellectuals at a Warsaw church, John Paul II walked slowly down the church aisle, and old friends stepped forward to greet him by his diminutive, Lolek.

Later the Pope visited St. Stanisław Kostka Church in Warsaw to pray silently in the flower-filled courtyard at the grave of the Reverend Jerzy Popiełuszko, the popular pro-Solidarity priest who was murdered by Polish secret police in 1984.

Jaruzelski did not comment on that episode but indicated to me that he was not wholly enchanted by the Pontiff's approving public references to Solidarity, though on the whole the papal visit was very "positive." He did not seem disturbed by the Pope's preplanned encounter with Lech Wałęsa in Gdańsk. (When the Pope came to Poland in 1983, after martial law was suspended, Wałęsa was flown in a government helicopter to meet him more discreetly in a village in the Tatra Mountains.)



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SIX YEARS after the destruction of Solidarity, Poles remain locked in controversies and arguments. Naturally much of the debate revolves around Jaruzelski and his motives, real or suspected. While he proclaimed a general amnesty in September 1986—thus making Poland the only Communist country without known political prisoners—and permits reasonably free debate in the Sejm and the newspapers, radio, and television, the resentments against him have not altogether vanished.

Therefore I was astonished when Lech Wałęsa told me during an afternoon we spent together at the residence of the parish priest at St. Brygida's Church in Gdańsk that, sooner or later, "we shall meet [with Jaruzelski] on the way to reform." Wałęsa also surprised me by indicating he shared Jaruzelski's high regard for Gorbachev and his Soviet reform policies, and by saying that Solidarity should change its name to "Reform" to emphasize the need for evolutionary change in Poland.

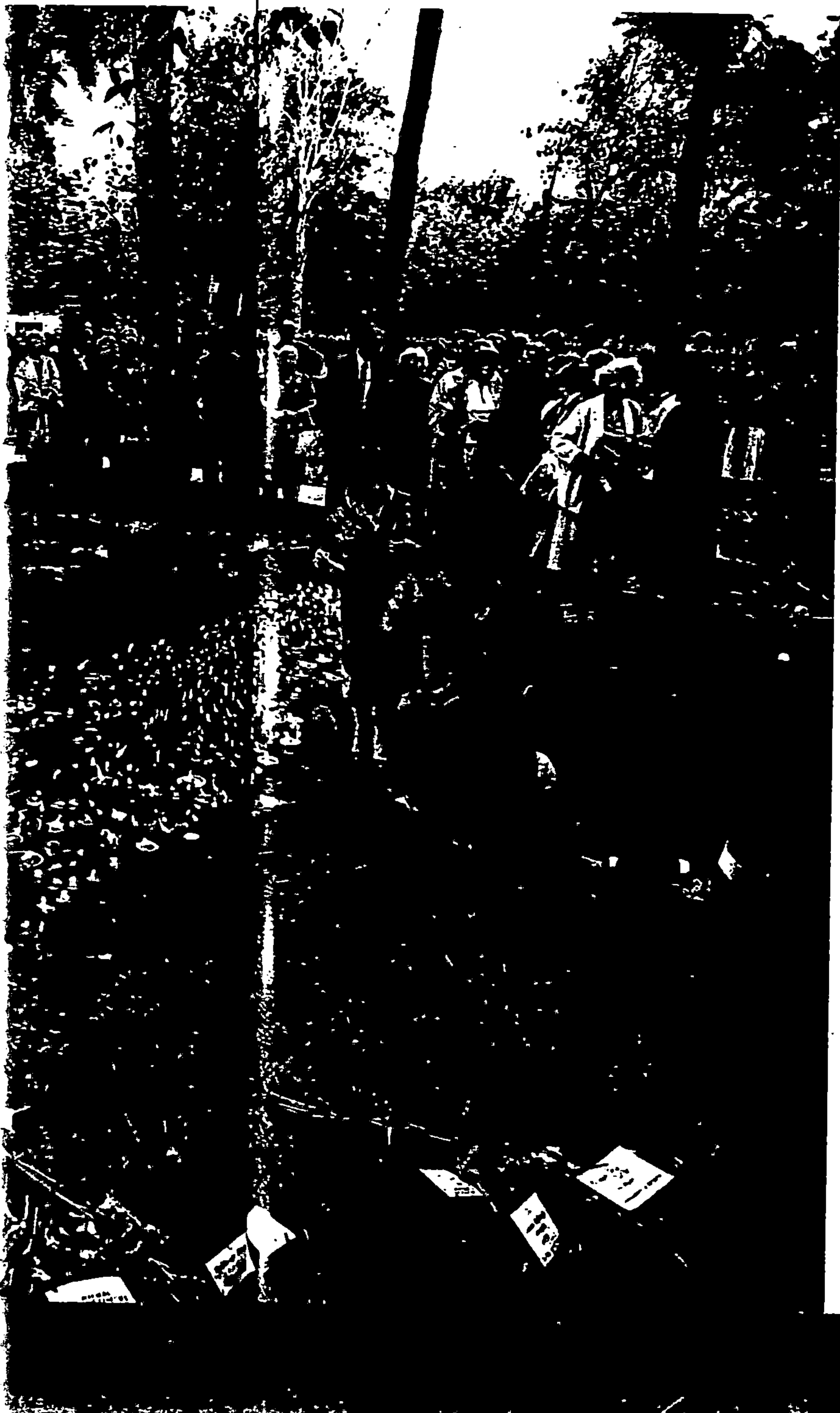
"Solidarity is immortal as a symbol," he said with his characteristic gesticulation, "and Solidarity will be fulfilled through reform."

At its peak Solidarity's membership reached ten million, more than one-fourth of the total population—including one million Communist Party members.

Wałęsa receives daily streams of political and foreign media visitors at the church residence, which is virtually his Solidarity office, after completing his 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. shift as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard. His freedom to act so openly is another Polish paradox, though plainclothesmen in unmarked cars keep track of visitors.

Seeing Wałęsa for the first time since the euphoria of 1981, I found him much more mature and sophisticated politically, but as enthusiastic and optimistic as ever. His mustache bristling, his voice rising to make a point, he still acts the leader. His views are more moderate, and he recognizes (as he did in his autobiography published in French in Paris in 1987) that he lost control of Solidarity to "radicals" in the months preceding martial law. His conclusion, therefore, is that the next move by democratic groups in Poland should be more thoughtfully prepared.

One of the most fascinating new Polish institutions is the Center of Public Opinion Research that feeds Jaruzelski detailed data (mostly unpleasant) on what people think. Headed by an intense but good-humored army colonel named Stanisław Kwiatkowski, who also is a Ph.D. in philosophy, the center was urgently asked for public relations advice by the Soviet Union after the Chernobyl



FLAMES OF MEMORY burn bright in Warsaw's Powązki Cemetery on August 1, the anniversary of that city's ill-fated uprising against German occupation in 1944. A stone cross memorializes the more than 4,000 Polish officers found buried in a mass grave in 1943 near the village of Katyń in the Soviet Union.

nuclear plant disaster. Colonel Kwiatkowski urged the Soviets to tell the truth—rapidly.

At home, the center informed Jaruzelski in 1986—and the assessment was published in the official press—that in the public view the church is the institution serving the nation best, with only the army and parliament approaching it. The poll omitted any reference to Poland's Communist Party or the government; the omission spoke for itself.

VOICES OF DISSENT find expression through a network of underground printing presses such as this operation (facing page) near Warsaw. Often imprisoned for his antigovernment statements, philosopher Adam Michnik (below) asserts that in Poland today "civil disobedience is the only attitude worthy of respect."

AS I THINK BACK ON my Polish sojourn, I am reminded that detail often helps one understand the whole picture. And the tableau of Poland is full of tiny brushstrokes.

At the great Arabian horse farm at Janów Podlaski, first established by the tsars of Russia 170 years ago, government permission was quietly granted a few years ago to restore the royal crown over the letter J (for Janów) on the brand on the animals' rumps. Auctioned off once a year, the beautiful Polish Arabians are sold for the most part to buyers from the U. S.—and the royal crown symbol goes with them across the Atlantic from the farm on the River Bug along the Polish-Soviet frontier.

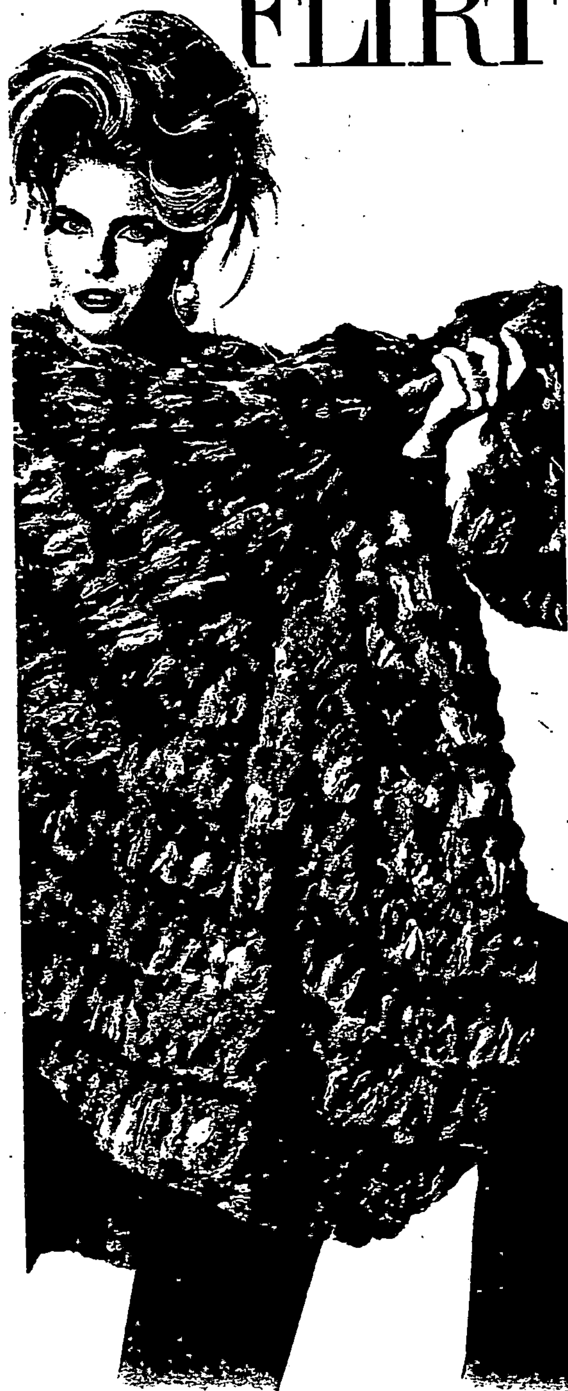
At the famous film school in Łódź, I overheard an exasperated director shout at a student actress who was reading her lines woodenly: "For God's sake, put some emotion in this! It was Sartre who wrote the play, not Karl Marx!"

It was also in Łódź that I came upon a two-story building on busy Piotrkowska Street downtown, and a plaque next to the main entrance proudly proclaiming that Artur Rubinstein was born there in 1887, a century ago. The great pianist was the textile city's greatest pride, and I was staring so hard at the inscription that an elderly lady stopped and asked me in Polish: "So maybe you knew Mister Rubinstein?"

I replied that I had known him since I was a child, and then I realized I was standing four houses away from where my grandparents had lived during World War I; I had the address scribbled in my notebook. It was nice to know that a tiny niche of our family history had been preserved, just down the street from the Rubinsteins.

Yet the most significant evocation of the recent Polish past that I encountered was the vivid memory of Antoni Słonimski, a great poet, a man of charm, honor, and humor, a man respected by Stalinists and liberals, the guru of Poland's postwar intellectuals, and the nearest thing to a Polish national conscience. I had the privilege of knowing him before he was killed in a car crash at the age of 81, a dozen years ago, and I knew that he had become a legendary figure.

His most famous remark was a simple one: "When you are in doubt how to act, act decently." I like to think that Antoni Słonimski's injunction will define the behavior of his fellow countrymen as they live through the latest Polish drama. □



About Men

BY MICHAEL T. KAUFMAN

PAUL COX

Kissing Customs

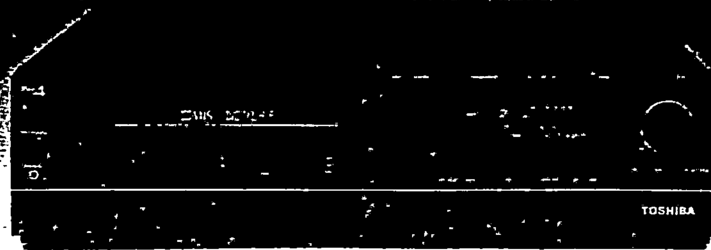
I returned not long ago from from a three-year assignment in Poland, where men kiss the hands of women as a matter of course when they meet. When I first arrived in Warsaw, I did not think this was such a great idea. At the time I thought of myself as a democratic kid from the streets of New York, and the notion of bending over and brushing my lips over the back of a woman's hand struck me as offensively feudal and hopelessly effete. Each time some perfectly fine woman offered me the back of her hand to kiss, I stammered my apology, saying something like, "Gosh, no offense intended, but where I come from we don't carry on like this, and while I respect you enormously, can't we make do with a simple handshake?"

I was at the time mindful of what my feminist friends back home might have said. I do not think they would have wanted me to kiss the hands of all women simply because they were women. They would have, rightly, seen this as a sexist custom, pointing out that not even in the grip of the most obsequious compulsions would anyone kiss the hand of a man.

But then I began to realize that the Polish custom had one particularly subtle and attractive aspect. After 40 years of living under an unpopular Communist Government that sought to restrict society to the proletarian standard of some concocted Soviet model, the Poles were [illegible] once urged them to do, Poles intuitively responded by assuming the manners of dukes and barons. In such circumstances it was pleasant and instructive to watch factory workers, mailmen, soldiers, peasants and high-school students kiss the hands held out to them while the Communist Party people, often identifiable by their wide ties and out-of-date suits, maintained stiff though ideologically correct postures.

Under this kind of social pressure, I kissed. At first it was tricky. There was nothing in my Upper West Side of Manhattan public-school education that prepared me for the act. I had to experiment. I think my first attempts were perhaps too noisy. They may also have been too moist. I realized that

Improve your vision 40%



Toshiba's SV-970 Super VHS VCR offers an obvious 40% improvement in picture quality over conventional VCRs. It may even offer an improvement over *all* VCRs.

According to *Video Review*, the SV-970 "...stands out from the rest." With "...every digital special effect worth considering, including zoom, shuttle-controlled variable slow-motion and on-screen multiple channel scan."

And "...just about every feature and technology that engineers have been able to shoehorn into one model."

In other words the SV-970 hardly has room for improvement.

In Touch with Tomorrow

TOSHIBA

In 1979, both these Pinot Grigio wines sold for under $6.

Cavit still does.

Both Cavit and Santa Margherita are produced from the finest Pinot Grigio grapes which are grown in the Tre Venezie region of Italy.

Both have a delightful freshness and color, and both are exquisitely dry and complex.

Both wines are international gold medal winners.

Only Cavit still sells for under $6.

The real advantage of hand-kissing was that it provided a ritual that enriched the routine of everyday life. I was struck by how few such rituals exist in my own society.

aristocrats take the hands extended to them and swoosh down without making real contact. I was trying for slightly more commitment.

Eventually, I got it right. And, to my surprise, I liked it. Each new encounter became a challenge. I found I needed to make subtle little alterations in technique as the situations demanded. For instance, if the woman was younger, I would bring her hand to my lips. If she was older, I would bring my lips to her hand. When I could not tell if she was younger or older, I went on the premise that she was younger. Sometimes you could play out little dramas. It was nothing serious or marriage-threatening, but you could, by kissing with more than normal pressure, make yourself noticed — and you could notice yourself being noticed. Or you could imagine you were somebody else, which, at least in my case, can be pleasant.

The real advantage of hand-kissing, I came to realize, was that it provided a ritual that enriched the routine of everyday life. Whenever I returned to the West on holidays I was struck by how few such rituals existed in my own society. Hardly anyone shook hands, let alone kissed them. Instead, waiters would tell me their names before taking my order and wish me a good day as they took my money. But I never felt they really cared. I would be called by strangers who wanted to sell me something over the phone, and they would address me as Mike. I would try to squelch them with what I thought was chilling irony and say, "Make that Mr. Mike." No one got it, but some said, "That's cute: Mr. Mike."

In this cultural context, I doubt that the United States is ready for hand-kissing. We

feminists and getting your nose broken. And, to our credit, we have limited tolerance for lah-di-dah.

Still, I think it would be good to have some gesture or ritual that signifies at least minimal mutual respect. The idea would be to affirm something less than intimacy but more than passing acquaintance. What I have in mind would be useful for both intersexual and intrasexual contacts. It would replace the exchange of monosyllables like "hi" and "yo."

My suggestion is that we shake hands every day with the people we hold in esteem. The practice, as common in Poland as hand-kissing, is, I realize, not unknown here. But in America it is sporadic and all too casual.

Since returning from Poland, I've renewed many acquaintances. Among them was a person whose actions had once offended my sense of ethics. We chatted civilly enough, talking of our families and our recent experiences, but I did not offer him my hand. I did this as a point of honor — and to send a message. Had I been talking to a Pole, he might have reddened, stammered or walked away. But my old acquaintance didn't even notice. In this country, the symbolism of such a small act is lost. Of course, I could have thrown a rock through one of his windows, or cursed his parentage, or even turned abruptly from him, but all that would have been overkill for the graveness of his offense.

As for kissing the hands of women, my reflex, unfortunately, is waning. Under the social pressures of democracy, the Polish impulses that would have me turn wrists and kiss are growing fainter and fainter. The kid from

times, the most importaant and absolutely necessary element of a decision is to say "no to a friend."

Our society has many small "c" corruptions. They are the subtle sins, the vague vices.

I have always been intrigued by the concept of the seven deadly sins which, as you remember, included such things as sloth and gluttony. Let me, with a nod to Ghandi who first attempted to rewrite the seven deadly sins, give you mine. They are:

SEVEN DEADLY SINS (REVISED)
Wealth without conscience.
Success without sharing.Health without empathy.
Price without humility.
Knowledge without wisdom.
Pleasure without moderation.
Luxury without sharing.

Beware of the sins that sneak up on you while you think you are out "doing good." Beware of the corruption of the small "c's."

AMENDMENT V – "The ultimate challenge of a nonprofit organization is to create a good society."

You ultimately cannot have a successful organization in a corrupt society. Nonprofits must not only work for successful specifics – they must work for a successful society.

Winston Churchill once said,

> "We built our buildings and then they built us."

I am convinced that is true. All you need to do is see the English school children going to look at Westminster Abbey and other English institutions with awe to recognize how tradition inculcates people with patriotism, morality, and even chivalry. It clearly applies to ethical behavior. One scholar stated it this way:

> "We all know if only from experience that to be human means being born and reared in families and as part of neighborhoods and communities with whom we share a way of life instead of habits and beliefs – a system of values. Without those concrete and specific values, few individuals could long survive. A common life together in the United States depends upon habits and attitudes we do not have to think about: concern for the welfare of children, a sense of lawfulness, and a respect for property."

Our institutions are clearly part of a larger culture and community, and we must keep in mind that ultimately we have an obligation not only to serve our clients, but to build a just and stable society.

I am intrigued about the relationship between the word "integrate" and the word "integrity." One author states:

> "The noun 'integrity' is derived from the verb 'to integrate.' If we are going to think and behave with full integrity, then we must learn how to integrate our different ways of perceiving the world so as to develop a multi-dimensional integrated world view. To behave ethically is to behave with integrity."

I believe that it is of immense importance that we try our best to integrate the great complexity of human experience into our daily lives. I believe a nation remains great only as long as it remains moral. Arnold Toynbee, after spending a lifetime in the study of decline of nations, says:

> "The autopsy of history is that all great nations commit suicide."

Numerous historians, including Toynbee, traced the decline of nations to a growth of hedonism, self-indulgence, and loss of values. The role of the national character has forever been a contributor to the rise and fall of nations.

The United States is just faced down its greatest external enemy. And, today, our greatest dangers are not foreign enemies, but internal inadequacies. It is greed, over indulgence, selfishness, hostility, arrogance, carelessness, and narcissism.

Saul Bellow, the Nobel laureate novelist from Chicago, observed recently that

> "the excess of liberty in American culture is as serious as the deprivation of liberty in the Soviet Union."

I believe we have an excess of liberty in the U.S. In attempting to be tolerant, we wiped out all the rules. I saw someone the other day referred to as "a Catholic lesbian feminist nun." It is hard these days to find a standard to which we can hold people. We live, as one author put it, in "the Golden Age of Exoneration." Everything is relative. Our moral compasses gyrate wildly – there is no true north. But history shows that is not a sustainable trait in a society.

So I commend you not only on the good work you do for Colorado – which is immense – but also because you are asking tough questions about "tough choices." Thank you.

Free Enterprise

EASTERN EUROPE'S FUTURE

By KEVIN J. PRICE, *Executive Director, Free Enterprise Education Center*

Delivered before the Rotary International and the Rotary Club of Warsaw City, Warsaw, Poland, May 12, 1991

I AM pleased to be with you here today and to share with you the free market discussion. This topic is important, because many of the activities that are part of the free market – marketing, capitalization, etc. – cannot be done without a free enterprise system. In this session we will examine the elements of the free market, the role of government in a free society, and other aspects of the free enterprise system.

The U.S.: Not Always Free

America did not just get a successful free enterprise system by magic or luck. The United States rose out of revolution to gain the freedoms we all enjoy today. We empathize with you as a nation that has had a similar experience. We have seen you struggle for many of the same ideas, beliefs, and desires that made the U.S. possible.

Just over 200 years ago, the American colonies was in a serious conflict with a tyrant of its own. This dictator was not Marxism, but monarchy. Yet, the list of grievances we had were very similar to those of Eastern Europe towards their own leaders.

The Declaration of Independence made the following charges against England:

–The King prevented free elections.

—He kept "standing armies" from a foreign land among us, without consent of the people.

—He taxed us without our consent.

—England used us as a colony for their economic benefit.

These offenses are only a small part of the total case made by the colonies towards the monarch.

I am sure this list sounds familiar, because I saw most of them in our newspapers in relationship to Eastern Europe.

Like you in Eastern Europe, our Revolutionary War required individuals to put their careers, families, and personal well being at risk. The result of this effort was one of the most prosperous and free nations in history. This did not come simply from overthrowing a dictator. It was important for our nation to develop a government that would cultivate a free society: economically, socially, and politically. In a moment we will examine the elements of the American system of government, particularly those elements that have allowed the U.S. to be so successful economically.

But first, I would like to note that the people of Poland have long respected the importance of a free society. This fact is reflected in your great Constitution that went into effect two hundred years ago this month.

I have had an opportunity to study it while here in Poland and have been impressed with its commitment to individual freedom as reflected in the following quote:

> "We publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people."

I believe this is an excellent objective, one that should be pursued by the people of Eastern Europe today. It may have been too progressive for Europe in the 18th century. But it is an excellent goal as we approach the 21st century. Now, let's examine the U.S. system.

The U.S. Constitution

The founding fathers of the U.S. forged together a government built on a Constitution that assured individual liberty. It is a small document that gives very specific powers to the federal government, leaving the rest of the powers to the fifty states of the Union and the people.

It is not my belief that the people of Poland must have a Constitution identical to ours to have a successful, free market, economy. It is obviously very important that your government is sensitive to your own particular culture. It is interesting to note, however, that the German and Japanese Constitutions are extremely similar to ours, since we helped them establish their governments after World War II. This has allowed both of them to enjoy incredible economic growth since that time. Therefore, it does seem that our Constitution has qualities that are successful in any culture. The most important of those qualities is the respect of the individual. Two very important elements of our Constitution are:

—The role of government in business is to assure that the business environment is fair and to prohibit corrupt practices. Essentially, government's role is to protect individuals from other individuals.

—Although our government is largely "democratic," it is described as a "republic." A republic has two important characteristics:

—It means that those in office are accountable to all of the people

—It means that the U.S. is a nation of law.

This last point is very important. This means that all opinion and beliefs are protected under the law — even those views that are unpopular with the majority. Democracies have allowed for the majority to harm the minority, Republics protect everyone.

These are just a few of the important elements of government in a free society. Again, the American system is not necessarily perfect for every country. However, it has enjoyed a track record that is unprecedented.

When Will Eastern Europe Prosper?

When Eastern Europe will prosper is a question on the hearts and minds of virtually every person in this part of the world. So much has already been accomplished towards creating an environment conducive for you to succeed; but, in light of enormous unemployment and inflation, you want to know when things will turn around for you.

It is a legitimate question and one that needs to be addressed. However, it would be impossible for me to simply put a time frame on it. Much of it depends on the type of government Poland forms.

We can make an assessment of what it will take for Eastern Europe to experience a turn around by taking a look at other nations that rose out of economic despair. We could spend a whole day doing this. Chile had the worse inflation of any country in the world twenty years ago, today it is among the lowest. West Germany was in total economic ruin after the war, today it has a very powerful economy, even with the challenges raised by reunification. However, when we look around the world for a prosperous country, virtually everyone notes the enormous success of Japan.

Following World War II Japan was in ruin, two of its largest cities were flattened by atomic bombs, the infrastructure was virtually non-existent, it was in a terrible state. According to economists James Gwartney and Richard Stroup in their book *Economics: Private and Public Choice,*

> "The Japanese people in 1950 were poor and their methods of production primitive. Forty-two percent of the Japanese labor force was employed in agriculture, compared with 12 percent in the U.S."

The individual earning of the average Japanese was one-eighth that of the average American.

The authors state that "the transformation of the Japanese economy during the last three decades is the success story of the postwar era. Today the Japanese economy is the third largest in the world. Adjusted for inflation, the GNP of Japan grew approximately 9.5 percent annually between 1950 and 1980. During that period, the income of the typical Japanese family measured in dollars of constant purchasing power, doubled every eight years."

How did they do it? Gwartney and Stroup list three major factors that have led to Japanese success. Each of them are grounded in the belief that the free enterprise system is the best way for economic growth.

—Japanese management and workers cooperate as a team to succeed in the market place, rather than oppose one another as in the case of labor unions. This is reflected in the fact that the Japanese have company unions rather than labor unions. Company unions are inclusive, when they say "us against them" they mean competitors. When labor unions say "us against them" they mean management. These subtle differences are crucial in the success of Japanese corporations.

—There is great emphasis on savings and investment. The typical Japanese laborer in urban areas saves approximately 20 percent of his income.

Finally, the tax system encourages economic growth by staying very low. In fact, their taxes are the lowest of any industrialized country in the world.

The Japanese began to notice a dramatic change in their economy immediately after the war. The average salary of the typical Japanese worker doubled in the period of 1950 to 1960 alone. I believe that the lesson to be learned from most countries that have enjoyed great prosperity is that government has played a limited role and has allowed the free market to prevail.

Foundations of a Free Enterprise System

Texas A & M University is one of the leading schools in the United States in the field of economics. The University founded an institute on economics called the Center for Education and Research in Free Enterprise. That organization has established five "Foundations" of the free enterprise system. According to the Center, these foundations are essential for any economy to succeed.

Private Property: Private property is wealth and power. Private ownership disperses power and conserves resources.

Economic Freedom: Freedom of choice for individuals and businesses.

Economic Incentives: Rewards: profit, high income, job satisfaction. Punishments: losses, failure, low income, unemployment.

Competitive Markets: Markets provide information and promote cooperation. Competition protects consumers and workers. It encourages product variety and low prices.

Limited Government: Rule-maker and umpire to protect property and freedom, and to promote competition.

These foundations are very important and, I believe, they help provide for us freedom in a nutshell. Let's discuss these in more detail. Each of these foundations have one thing in common: they provide for an economic system that serves the people, not the other way around.

Private Property. Private property is more than land or real estate, it is all kinds of personal possessions. It includes food, clothing, cars, and money. In a free society, property rights have three characteristics.

1) The owner's right to determine how his/her property is used.

2) The owner's right to transfer ownership to someone else.

3) The owner's right to enjoy income and other benefits that come his way as a result of his ownership of the property.

To enjoy all of the aspects of ownership, requires that the owner has the right to exercise each of these rights. What are the benefits of private property? The Center brings out two important points.

—Allowing private property allows for power to be dispersed. Since ownership of property is the same as the ownership of power. Property dispersed among the people, makes the people powerful. Property concentrated in the government makes the government powerful. Private property, thus, prevents power and property from being abused.

—Private property encourages the conservation of our resources, because when property is privately owned it is naturally better taken care of. The Center notes,

> "If property is mistreated and loses value, the individual owner loses some wealth. If we do not have these rights of ownership, we have little reason to maintain or take care of property."

In sum, property is wealth. The rights of private ownership of property encourages us to work hard and be productive so that we can own property, leading to economic growth, which increases opportunities for everyone.

Economic freedom. In America, economic freedom is generally considered one of the many freedoms we enjoy; such as freedom of speech and religion. There are, in a free society, freedoms for both businesses and individuals. Let's examine the economic freedoms of businesses first.

—The right to start or discontinue businesses.

—The right to purchase resources that they can pay for.

—The right to choose technology.

—The right to produce products and to offer it for sale at any price.

—The right to invest and save in any way.

—You also are allowed to fail in a free society.

Individual economic freedoms include

—The right to buy any good or service available provided he can pay for it.

—The right to offer his services for any type of job.

—The right to quit any job.

—The right to use his own resources in whatever way he wishes, consistent with the rights of others.

Again, these rights do not include the guaranteeing of success. That is up to the initiative of the individual. This initiative is linked to the next point of our discussion, and the third foundation, economic incentives.

Economic incentives. Economic incentives for businesses and individuals include the following:

—Businesses seek high profits.

—Property owners want the highest price for their resources.

—Workers want the highest salary as possible.

—Consumers want the lowest prices and highest quality.

The free enterprise system comes closer to meeting these desires than any other system, because individuals have reason to believe that their situation will always improve.

Although businesses seek high profits, they make sure thay are not so high that they cannot compete. Although property owners want high selling prices for their resources, they will keep that price reasonable to make a property more competitive. Workers in a free market will tend to cooperate with their employers to establish salaries that do not hurt a business's ability to compete, since wages is one of the biggest expenditures of most businesses. The big winner in the free enterprise system is the consumer — each and everyone of us — because each of these other parts of the free enterprise machine work together to accommodate customers.

Rewards for economic activity include money, better benefits, better facilities and more. These are all positive incentives.

But there are also negative incentives, or punishments. In a free enterprise system, punishments take the form of losses: loss jobs, profits, opportunities, etc. In a free market economy, it is the responsibility of the business and the individuals in a business, to succeed or fail. This is why a work ethic is very important in a free market economy. In a command economy, where government authorizes the production of goods and competition does not exist, there is little incentive among individuals to produce beyond the minimum necessary. Economic incentives allow for great success, both personal and economic, in a free market. They also allow for failure, if individuals and businesses fail to compete successfully.

The work ethic. In the free market, the work ethic plays an

important role in keeping the economy productive. Every individual has a work ethic, the only question is whether or not it is a good work ethic. A positive work ethic has the following characteristics:

–great importance is placed on personal productivity

–individuals sacrifice, even personal time, to aid the growth of the business they work for

–an attitude of cooperation prevails, both among employees and employers

Employees and employers know that if they do not produce maximum, a competitor will, and that could result in the of jobs and companies. That is one of the most important elements of the free market economy: each individual is responsible for his own economic destiny. His or her ability to succeed depends upon the individual and the individual alone. In a command economy, the government determines:

–where an individual works,

–who an employer hires,

–and the grounds for one being fired.

In a capitalist economy, the market determines all of these factors. Therefore, an individual is completely responsible for his or her economic well being. If an individual does not produce in a way necessary to maintain his job, he could be replaced. More important than this list of negative reasons for having good work habits are the numerous benefits:

–greater profits for your business

–higher profits lead to higher salaries and more benefits

–greater productivity leads to more products and better choices for the whole economy

The benefits of a good work ethic are tremendous and far outweigh any benefit to be derived from a bad work thic.

Ethics in business. In addition to a work ethic, which provides an incentive for individuals to be productive, business ethics provides an incentive for individuals to work honestly.

Business ethics have become a positive force in economics. is more than just preventing businesses from doing wrong, it means doing all that is possible to satisfy customers. The belief in a good business ethic is expressed as the major theme of many businesses:

–Avis rent-a-car says "we try harder."

–Ford car company says "Quality: job one."

–Other more generic slogans include:

–customer is king

–service with a smile

–customer is the employer

It is true that laws exist in every country to make sure businesses work ethically; however, in the free market, other forces seem to have a stronger impact on business ethics. These include organizations like the Better Business Bureau, the media – which reports on bad business practices, and other competitors. On this last point, businesses are always quick to point out the flaws – either in price or quality – that exist in a competitors product. Simply put, in a truly competitive economy, bad business ethics will not work. Companies and individuals that do not maintain a high standard of business ethics face terrible consequences for their behavior, because so many forces keep them in check.

Although it is true that people have made a "profit" through unfair business practices, the typical result in the U.S. for such behavior is that these businesses go under financially or the owners face stiff criminal penalties.

Therefore, one of the most important elements of a successful free market economy, is a strong commitment to business ethics. Good ethics makes the difference between winners and losers.

Competitive markets. The individual or customer is king in the free market. The free market acknowledges the fact that quality means different things to different people. With this in mind, the economy will provide numerous products in an effort to create a larger market. In a free market, each individual has his own votes, and those votes come in the form of money. Unlike political systems, where there is only one winner in a majority vote; in a free market election we are all winners because there are plenty of competitors who are more than happy to broaden their share of the market place. We see how such "voting" works, when a consumer chooses a Coke over a Pepsi. This sends a message to both products, potential success for one and potential problems for the other.

It is in competitive markets, that prices are kept to a minimum and quality to a maximum. Each of the businesses are competiting for your "votes" or money to outdo one another. The beneficiary of all this competition is the consumer, every individual who seeks out products to improve the quality of his life.

Efforts to reduce costs by finding better means of production leads to greater innovation and technological progress. Furthermore, a large number of suppliers and employers prevents any single firm from exploiting individual consumers and workers.

Competition serves as one of the best regulatory forces in an economy. Companies will keep a close eye on one another to make sure that each company's products are safe and beneficial to consumers.

The most attractive aspect of the free enterprise system is that it is beneficial to all. Individuals are not forced to be involved in business dealings, such as buying and selling, in a free market. Instead, all economic activity is conducted on a voluntary basis. Free enterprise is a true economic system, meant for the country as a whole and not for a few aggressive individuals.

Finally, lets discuss the role of government in the free market. Government in a free market plays two very specific and limited roles. They are:

–Rule Maker: government makes and enforces laws governing the conditions under which voluntary transactions are made. Such laws are designed to protect the rights to private property and individual freedom and to preserve and promote competition.

–Umpire: government acts to settle disputes resulting from conflicting interpretations of the rules.

This is very similar to a basketball game, where rules are made by a committee, but are enforced by referees. However, you will not have officials taking free throw shots to help a team that is behind in the free market game. There is no other major economic responsibility for government in a free society, it should never play a parental or coercive role of granting certain benefits to individuals or groups at the expense of others.

To sum up the assessment of free enterprise from this institute; the free market is designed to serve the individual, not the state, through these five basic foundations.

That is why free enterprise is so beneficial to society as a whole. Individuals working together to benefit themselves cre-

ates an economic system of winners. After all, individuals and groups enter into voluntary exchange because they will be better off by making the trade. Economic incentives encourage voluntary exchange and the continued growth of the economic pie.

Megatrends 2000 states that Poland could be a major economic influence by the 21st century.

One of the most popular books in the U.S. today is *Megatrends 2000*, which projects the trends of where the world is going as we approach the 21st century. The authors have a chapter on free market socialism that does an overview of how the government's role in traditionally command economies is declining. One of the bright spots, and a subsection of the book is Poland.

According to the authors, Poland is enjoying a renaissance in its society. Economic and social reforms are largely from the people up, rather than the government down. The importance to this is that the society as a whole is already receptive to the challenges that come with true economic reform. Electoral reform that is the envy of Eastern Europe has already been instituted, to allow individuals to impact the way their government behaves. According to the government's plans, 90 percent of all state-owned factories and businesses will be auctioned off to private owners. The Polish government has decided to "support a radical restructuring of the economy, including a strong emphasis on free-market mechanisms and private enterprise."

Furthermore, "Poland's Communists have "surrendered their monopoly of power. In another era it would be a political earthquake; but today it is the direction the world is going." One specialist with Poland's State School of Planning has gone so far as to say,

> "The dream of an economic system better than capitalism is dead. There is no third way, no model between Stalinism and capitalism that works well."

All this is to say that Poland is on its way to becoming economically influential. It is obvious that it has made important progress in being a leader for Eastern Europe and, I believe, a future player in the world economy. It is true that there is much to be done, but progress is notable.

The significance to *Megatrends 2000* is that it is a very popular book among American readers in general and those in business in particular. Many are exploring the prospects of business opportunities and investments throughout Europe, this important book makes the case that Poland is a viable location to do business.

In closing, I believe that the prospects for Poland are good. It is simply up to you. Your future is in your own hands.

In Praise of Teaching

THOSE WHO CARE, TEACH

By DANIEL J. ESTES, *Associate Professor of Bible, Cedarville College*

Delivered upon Receiving the Sears Foundation Award for Distinguished Teaching, Cedarville, Ohio, May 21, 1991

OUR lives are often punctuated by proverbs. From the time we are young we are told, "A penny saved is a penny earned." "Look before you leap." "Sticks and stones may break your bones, but names will never hurt you." "Early to bed, and early to rise, makes you healthy, wealthy and wise."

When proverbs like these enter the collective memory of a society, they become accepted as unquestioned axioms. In reality, proverbs are short-cuts to thinking. They derive their potency from being concise and memorable, but often this power is purchased at the price of precision. For example, in times of high inflation saving may actually result in diminished buying power. If we look too long before we leap, then we come to realize that he who hesitates is lost. Regardless of what I was told, sticks and stones never hurt me as much as the cruel taunts of other people. And, alas, many a young man has learned that early to bed and early to rise means that the girls go out with the other guys!

Nevertheless, even though proverbs may be imprecise, they are as deeply rooted as dandelions. I would like to re-examine a proverb which has come to be regarded as a truism by much of our American society. I first heard it during my senior year of college, and most recently I read it in the May 8 issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. No doubt most of us have heard it, and many of us may have said it: "Those who can, do; and those who can't, teach."

The cynical depreciation of teachers reflected by this proverb is seconded by many voices in our society. In recent months several best-selling books have attacked the teaching profession for harboring irrelevance, indolence, and incompetence. At the present time our country faces a glut of lawyers, but a widespread shortage of teachers in critical areas. Governmental assistance to all levels of education is being cut, and local tax levies are defeated nearly three out of every four attempts. Not only are teachers paid a fraction of the salaries of other professionals with equal education and experience, but it is not at all uncommon for a recent graduate to accept an entry-level position in industry with compensation greater than that of his professors. At best, teachers are viewed as harmless lightweights. More commonly, they are scorned as underworked eccentrics who couldn't hold down a real job. After all, as the proverb says, those who can, do; and those who can't, teach.

To be sure, many of us could no doubt relate anecdotes and horror stories of teachers who did not teach, classes in which no learning occurred, and courses which were largely a joke. As in every line of work, there are teachers who admirably fit the denegrating caricature drawn so frequently in our society. However, to point to individual cases of patent ineptness does not justify categorical criticism of teachers. It is my contention that when the facts are scrutinized, the popular proverb does not stand.

Metaphors and similes are pictorial proverbs. They use pictures to communicate general truths in concise and memorable ways. Many such figures have been used to illustrate what a teacher is and does. Socrates pictured the teacher as one

In God's Playground

Lucifer Unemployed
by Aleksander Wat,
translated by Lillian Vallee,
foreword by Czeslaw Milosz.
Northwestern University Press,
123 pp., $17.95; $8.95 (paper)

Killing the Second Dog
by Marek Hlasko,
translated by Tomasz Mirkowicz.
Cane Hill Press, 117 pp., $8.95 (paper)

Missing Pieces
by Stanislaw Benski,
translated by Walter Arndt.
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich/A Helen and Kurt Wolff Book, 160 pp., $19.95

Bohin Manor
by Tadeusz Konwicki,
translated by Richard Lourie.
Farrar, Straus and Giroux,
240 pp., $19.95

Rondo
by Kazimierz Brandys,
translated by Jaroslaw Anders.
Farrar, Straus and Giroux,
265 pp., $19.95

The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman
by Andrzej Szczypiorski,
translated by Klara Glowczewska.
Grove Weidenfeld, 204 pp., $16.95

John Bayley

Joseph Conrad once wrote to an English friend enquiring, rather querulously, "What is all this about Jane Austen?" Conrad could not see the point of Jane Austen, nor was his friend able to enlighten him: indeed, it sounds rather as if the skepticism of the great Polish-English novelist made the friend himself begin to wonder whether there could really be anything in Jane Austen's novels after all. No other literary form is so instinctively and involuntarily national, perhaps because nationalism was a growing force when the novel entered its dominant period.

But the novel's brand of nationalism is not a simple matter. It often seems to contradict or undermine the national archetype. John Bull and Jane Austen have nothing very obviously in common. Yet there is a certain logic in the fact that the novel in Poland should concern itself with philosophical and metaphysical questions, with the question, "What should we do, if?"—with extreme situations, hypothetical or actual. Poland's very existence, historically, might seem to depend on such a query. Being Polish has often in the past been a state of mind and spirit rather than a matter of topographical belonging. Conrad remained haunted by the fact that he had "jumped": that like his own Lord Jim he had abandoned ship, in his case the native country. It made him a novelist who asked the basic questions—How does one survive? By what does one live? His nationality, put into works of fiction, expressed itself in abstract terms. Life, the destructive element, had to assume in his novels the plots and places that fiction requires, but its cold reality cannot be localized, even in relation to the sea. No wonder he could not understand Jane Austen, for whom a house, a village, a family, were the essential beginning and end of any fictional enterprise.

Polish fiction is of course rich and various, but it may be that all of it is at least touched by the ultimate bareness and extremity of intellectual perception that is so marked in Conrad. Aleksander Wat, one of the most original Polish writers of the postwar era, gave his own fantastic version of it in *Lucifer Unemployed*, a series of wholly bizarre stories first published in Warsaw in 1927. The second, "Kings in Exile," begins with a sentence that might make us think we are back in the sea world of Conrad's *Nigger of the Narcissus*. "The first mate of the English ship *Cromwell* peered at the horizon...." But in another second we are engulfed in an anarchic world in which nothing makes sense even though all the ingredients seem familiar and recognizable, the sort of world which surrealists and futurists had perceived as coming into objective existence after the chaos of the Great War. Wat was one of the writers who rose to the challenge and tried to find his own correlative fictional world to express what had happened.

Tadeusz Konwicki

He wrote about the nature of that world in *My Century*, a book of memoirs published in London in 1977, and by the University of California Press at Berkeley eleven years later, with the subtitle *The Odyssey of a Polish Intellectual.*

> What I put together in *Lucifer* was a confrontation of all humanity's basic ideas—morality, religion, even love.... But that cerebral questioning and discrediting of love was thorough, taken right to the end. The discrediting of the very idea of personality...everything in general brought into question. Nothing. Period. Finished. *Nihil.*

Czeslaw Milosz put on a tape-recorder many of Wat's recollections at Berkeley in the two years Wat visited there (he died in Paris in 1967), and his collected poems were published in Polish after his death. Wat had had an eventful career and Milosz's tape machine did not lack for material. Wat had been locked up by the Polish authorities for being a Communist in the Twenties, had escaped to the Russian zone after the German occupation of Poland, was again arrested, and subsequently did time in what he calculated to be as many as fourteen prisons.

After the war he returned to Poland from Soviet Central Asia, where he had been searching for his wife and son, who had been deported there. He was soon in trouble with the new Polish regime and forbidden to publish his books, and although things improved in 1956 a serious illness forced him to emigrate soon afterward.

Wat's poems and prose writings made him a cult figure in Poland, even to the younger generation who had grown up after the war, but as with many cult figures it is not easy for the outsider today to see what all the stir was about. Wat's own comments on *Lucifer*, as quoted, have a decidedly passé sound about them. Yet he remains an archetypal man of his time, a figure, as Milosz says, "sorely tried by history," who did not live to see the collapse of communist dogmas "considered untouchable in his day." Wat is interesting on the dialectic he analyzed in himself, the desire that burned in the intellectual, not in the man in the street, for that single "global answer to negation" that communism represented. Like Conrad's destructive element, the deep sea itself, it seemed the only medium that could keep the intellectual afloat.

There is a certain irony in the fact that *Lucifer Unemployed*, which was first published in 1927, takes as its key figure the Christian devil, who is searching for an appropriate occupation. He certainly found it in the message and method of the new Party. Wat compares his early experience to a Graham Greene short story in which some young hoodlums destroy for a joke the whole interior of a man's house: when he returns it looks perfectly normal from the outside but the inside is a void. He compares himself to those young thugs who have stripped the house, "throwing the key into the Vistula," and throws himself upon the only faith that can now exist. The lasting impression of the black joke in *Lucifer Unemployed* lies in its intuition, below the book's conscious level, of what was ultimately to become of that faith.

Fantasy remains a favorite form among Polish writers, although its texture and technique have altered. Swift or Voltaire would be familiar with Wat's satiric vision, which indeed depends in some degree on the reader's own recognition of their traditional way of making fun of things, as when Lucifer, the only being left in the universe who believes in God, nonetheless offers his services to an atheist magazine. That kind of irony would be ignored by Marek Hlasko and his readers, who have, as it were, moved into a world in which the literary medium has become as random, and almost as meaningless, as what it is saying. *Killing the Second Dog* reads like a film script, with the same kind of unpointed and inconsequential dialogue, and many of Hlasko's short novels became films, such as *Next Stop—Paradise*, even though they had been refused publication by the Warsaw censorship.

After leaving Poland, where his rise to fame as a writer had been meteoric, he ended up in Israel, working as a truck driver and manual laborer. Israel is the setting of *Killing the Second Dog*, which has a certain zest as an account of pimping and boozing in Tel Aviv, but whose aimless improvisation becomes predictable and soon begins to pall. Hlasko had led an equally rough and tough life in Poland when young, and he died, worn out, of an overdose of sleeping pills in Wiesbaden in 1969. He was only thirty-five.

Stanislaw Benski's delightful stories, *Missing Pieces*, are very different. They were written, the author remarks, in order to preserve the memory of the last Jews in Poland. Benski, who died in 1988, was the director of a nursing home for old people in Warsaw, and many of his stories have to do with Jews whom he met under his care, invalids in mind as much as in body, who still feel imprisoned in the ghetto or the extermination camp. The author's understanding of their psychology, and the ways in which they still strive in their last years to come alive again, is profoundly moving. In a perceptive introduction to *Killing the Second Dog*, in which he observes that it can be "read" like a film, which may account for its contemporary appeal, Professor Thompson Bradley also compares Hlasko's "phantasmagoric vision of the grotesque reality of everyday life" with the work of Bruno Schulz, who was killed on the street by a Gestapo officer during the war. Certainly Schulz's stories—*The Street of Crocodiles* and *Under the Sign of the Hourglass*—present their own kind of phantasmagoria, but it is, so to speak, a phantasmagoria of coziness and domesticity, not the harshly alienated world of modern Polish fantasy.

And so Schulz for me is more like

mellen

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Benski than he is like Hlasko, and particularly more like these touching tales by Benski of Jews enclosed in their own past, the "missing pieces" of present day diasporic memory. Benski tells us that he writes "about the last residents of small villages, the *shtetlach*, about the pious and impious, the honest and dishonest, the intelligent and the simple, about those who are forever seeing the ghetto walls and the chimneys of the crematoria." Neither Schulz nor Benski is in the least like Kafka or Gogol, the other two writers Professor Bradley mentions in connection with Hlasko, for theirs is the central and by now wholly cosmopolitan way of looking at the world through the eyes of a matter-of-fact incredulity. The specifically Polish version of this vivid incredulity draws both on the traditions of the movies and of abstract philosophy, the two reinforcing each other unexpectedly. In Tadeusz Konwicki's romance, *Bohin Manor*, a third element is added, that of historical fantasy: figures and periods of the past are sandwiched together in the enclave of a small Lithuanian estate presided over by Helena Konwicka, the author's reconstructed, or rather reimagined, grandmother.

Again the movie camera seems the medium that persuades us of the possibility, the absolute normality indeed, of every anachronism that comes within its focus. It may be the rear end of a Polish Fiat, unexpectedly projecting from the hay barn of the manor in the years that followed the subjection of the 1863 uprising against Russia, or the appearance of a heavily mustached Josef Dzhugashvili (the real name of Stalin) in the role of the local chief of police. There is also a man-eating monster roaming the Lithuanian woods called Schicklgruber—the real name of Hitler. The titles themselves of Konwicki's previous novels—*A Dreambook for Our Time*, *Anthropos-Specter-Beast*, *The Polish Complex*—convey the kind of element in which his imagination works. A recent film of his, *Lava*, which was based on Mickiewicz's poem *Forefathers' Eve*, was shown at the 1989 Moscow Film Festival.

The weird and wonderful qualities of *Bohin Manor*, which never loses its readability as well as its "seeability," make unsurprising Neal Ascherson's statement that Konwicki is the most popular writer in Poland today. But he is also highly exportable. The love story he tells—of Helena's betrothal to a neighboring gentleman and her falling for a strange and fascinating Jewish visitor—gives the book the kind of romantic suspense of which Walter Scott and Sienkiewicz were masters. But of course Konwicki is much more conscious and sophisticated in his manipulation of the complex strands of Polish history and society. In an introduction to his excellent translation, Richard Lourie emphasizes the coolness and evenhandedness with which Konwicki depicts and imagines his historical fantasy. The strange Jewish figure who roams the world, suffering, dying and returning to life, finding a brief incongruous resting place in the boudoir of the lady of Bohin manor, reminds us that the Poles too have had their perpetual diaspora; and that, as Andrzej Szczypiorski, author of *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman*, puts it, "Poland without its Jews is no longer the Poland it once was."

Nor is Konwicki indulgent toward the old Polish magnates themselves, the Radziwills and Potockis who once ruled their provinces with a rod of iron. Meanwhile a nice boy, who will afterward become Lenin, is growing up in the house of a school inspector, and Konwicki boldly improvises a prose poem by the young Adam Mickiewicz, whose verse epic set in Lithuania, *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), is, as Richard Lourie points out, even more central to Polish literature than are Pushkin's poems to Russian. Pushkin's son himself is a character in *Bohin Manor*, seeking to atone for his father's poem "To the Slanderers of Russia," dashed off after the Polish-Lithuanian uprising of 1831, and still relevant today for its imperious claim that all "Slav streams" should merge in the "Russian sea."

"Count us out," the Lithuanians might say, as they are saying today. Speaking the oldest Indo-Germanic language in Europe, they are not Slavs at all, and they only accepted Christianity in the fourteenth century, when their dynastic leader formed the alliance with Poland that resulted in the conquest of half of Russia. But so many great Poles—the poets Mickiewicz and Milosz, the liberator Marshal Pilsudski—have come from Lithuania that the Poles have a traditional affection for a country whose native inhabitants are in fact as much anti-Polish as anti-Russian. This awkward fact is as familiar to Milosz, who speaks of it in his marvelous memoir *The Issa Valley*, as it is also to Konwicki.

It happens that Pilsudski, the gruff warrior who preserved the new Polish state from Lenin's invasion in 1920, is also a hero behind the scenes in *Rondo*, whose narrator, Tom, is rumored to be his natural son. This produces an ironic situation, for Tom has little or no interest in politics but is anxious to capture the attention of a leading actress in the Warsaw theater, who is in turn only interested in him as a figure who represents, under the German occupation, the heroic traditions of Polish resistance. Tom's attempt to meet her expectations of him ends in disaster, especially after the war, when his supposed connection with right-wing politics leads to his persecution and imprisonment by the Communist party.

Both *Rondo* by Kazimierz Brandys and *The Beautiful Mrs. Seidenman* by Andrzej Szczypiorski are novels about recent Polish experience, told in a more straightforward and realistic manner than seems common among Polish writers today, although both Brandys and Szczypiorski are subtle narrators whose cerebration, like that of Conrad, is key to the dramatic action and adventure which make up their stories. The beautiful Mrs. Seidenman is a young Jewish widow whose blonde hair and blue eyes, together with a set of false papers, save her in the war years from the Germans' extermination of Polish Jews, until she is betrayed by an informer. She is rescued from the Gestapo only to be forced to flee Poland again twenty years later, when the Communist regime has begun a campaign of anti-Semitism against the small national Jewish population left over from the Holocaust.

Szczypiorski, who was born in 1924, took part in the 1944 Warsaw uprising and was lucky to end the war in a German concentration camp. He then became one of the most popular and celebrated novelists of the new Poland and served as cultural attaché in Denmark, also becoming head of the Polish Authors' League. He was arrested and interned in 1981, after martial law and the troubles which produced Solidarity. In 1989 he was elected to the Polish Senate, remarking that "politics is a boring profession created for ambitious people with no talent—still, I have never declined my civic duty and I won't now." He and Kazimierz Brandys are perhaps the two most respected senior contemporary Polish novelists, although Brandys still lives in France, a self-exile as so many Poles have been, after he had been exiled in earnest after his work for Solidarity, a time chronicled in his *Warsaw Diary: 1979–1981*, and in *Paris/New York: 1982–1984*.

The strengths of both Brandys and Szczypiorski lie in their experiences, which have made them, as artists, experts in sobriety and in a certain sort of realism. What happens to young Tom, and to the beautiful Mrs. Seidenman, is wholly believable, and carries the full impact of historic truth, both in relation to the war and to the Russian-imposed regime that succeeded it. The alternative response where the Polish novel is concerned is represented by Aleksander Wat and by Witold Gombrowicz, two pioneers in the native idiom of fantasy who have exercised a potent influence on their contemporaries and successors. Gombrowicz's "mad" novel, *Ferdydurke*, and his diaries written when self-exiled in Argentina during the war, can still be apprehended through some of the more recent Polish literary personalities, and in their narrative style—not only that of Brandys and Szczypiorski but of Konwicki as well. What strikes one about these novels, however, is their richness and variety, the breadth of experience one encounters in them. "God's Playground," as the old *Respublica* used to be called in its heyday, is still a magic setting for literary enterprise. □

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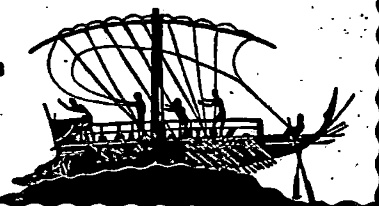

PAPERBACKS & CANADIAN BOOKS

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Poland

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1954 (preceded by the 9th Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee). The new policy was to consist in the search for diversified methods of socializing agricultural production, with the proviso that such measures should promote the growth of production. It was also decided to increase allocations to agriculture, combined with increased allocations to consumption in general, and a reduction of expenditure on investments. At the same time the Congress tried to assess critically the influence of the personality cult that was still persisting in the international workers' movement, and to see to it that the provisions of the Constitution concerning socialist democracy were enforced. That implied large-scale participation in the process of government, *inter alia* by work in the PZPR and the allied parties. The point was to ensure the efficient action necessary for the implementation of the very ambitious plan to industrialize the country and thus to lift it out of the backwardness inherited from the past. These ideas could not easily be carried out because many activists of the PZPR upheld the belief that the class struggle was increasing as socialism was being built, and because of the strong dogmatic tendencies within the party. This led to the preservation of the concept of the rightist and nationalist deviation.

The year 1956 saw a new stage in the evolution of political life in Poland. In February of that year the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held its 20th Congress, which proved of vital importance for the international workers' movement as it revealed the consequences of the personality cult and thus stimulated a more penetrating revaluation of the methods of introducing socialist conditions both in Poland and in other people's democracies. Society at large pressed for the same since it was increasingly disenchanted by the growing problems, falling real wages, insufficient measures intended to raise living standards, bureaucratization of the state agencies, and infringements of the rule of law (for instance, with respect to the former members of the Home Army and to the Church). The measures, undertaken by the PZPR after 1954, intended to democratize political life and to raise living standards, proved insufficient, the more so as industrialization and advances in education and culture (cf. sections 3 and 4 below) had resulted in a numerical increase of the working class and a general rise in the political awareness of the nation, which wanted to take a more active part in the process of government and in the programming of social change. This meant that the entire system of the feedback between the national economy, on the one hand, and the social structure and the processes taking place in social consciousness, on the other, became extremely intricate. The strike in the Cegielski Works (then called the Stalin Works) in Poznań, which broke out as a result of bureaucratic incompetence and tardiness, was a drastic indicator of the growing contradictions and problems. The strike was not only economic but also political in character and led to mass demonstrations by the inhabitants of Poznań. An attempt to suppress the unrest by force resulted in attacks on public buildings and clashes with security forces, and consequently in casualties.

Under those circumstances further steps were taken to restore the socialist rule of

"AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF POLAND"
JERZY TOPOLSKI

nauts, the public came to regard him as the "eighth astronaut."

Powys, John Cowper (1872–1963). British author. Although he also wrote poetry and essays on a variety of topics, Powys is best known for his idiosyncratic historical novels, which frequently evoke the Dorset countryside where he was raised. His first novel was *Wood and Stone* (1915), but his first major success came with *Wolf Solent* (1929). His best known work is *A Gastonbury Romance* (1932), an ambitious historical novel influenced by myth and legend. He also produced a notable *Autobiography* (1934). Later works include *Porius* (1951) and *The Brazen Head* (1956). There are conflicting critical assessments of Powys's ability as a writer. Powys's two brothers were also men of letters. **Llewelyn Powys** (1884–1939) was an essayist and novelist whose work includes *The Pathetic Fallacy* (1928). **T(heodore) F(rancis) Powys** (1875–1953) was the author of *Mr. Weston's Good Wine* (1927).

Poznan. Polish industrial city on the Warta River, 167 miles west of Warsaw. From June 28 to 30, 1956, the city was the site of the Poznan riots, in which workers dissatisfied with living conditions, the presence of Soviet troops, and the policies of the Polish government, broke out in armed rebellion. Although official government figures listed approximately 50 killed and 400 wounded, Western witnesses reported 200–300 dead. The riots resulted in the installation of a more liberal government under Wladyslaw GOMULKA.

pragmatism. See William JAMES.

Prague. Capital city of CZECHOSLOVAKIA, situated on the Vltava River. Prague's history in the 20th century in many ways mirrors and encapsulates that of Europe, particularly central Europe. In 1918, after WORLD WAR I, it became the capital of the new Czech republic. Occupied by the Germans in 1939, before the start of WORLD WAR II, during the war it escaped the bombing that devastated many European cities. It was liberated by the Soviet army in 1945. Prague was the scene of the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia and the mysterious death of Jan MASARYK in 1948; the PRAGUE SPRING of 1968; and a focal point of Czech resistance to the SOVIET INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA in August of that same year. In 1977, Czech dissidents formed the human rights group CHARTER 77 in Prague. In 1989, the city was the site of popular mass demonstrations against the communist government. In 1990, its citizens celebrated the end of more than 40 years of communist rule. Prague retains many of its original, pre-20th-century architectural features.

Prague Spring. Term used to characterize a series of economic and political reforms in CZECHOSLOVAKIA, and the period during which they occurred. The Prague Spring developed under the guidance of Alexander DUBCEK, who had been named first secretary of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party on January 5, 1968. It also coincided with the ouster of hardline communist President Antonin NOVOTNY (Mar. 22, 1968), who had long kept Czechoslovakia in the grip of STALINISM. At a conference in Brno (Mar. 16, 1968), Dubcek promised the "widest possible democratization" for the country, including the relaxation of censorship. He promised to build "socialism with a human face" and to "bring in new people

On August 21, 1968, Soviet tanks rolled into Wenceslas Square in Prague, ending the Prague Spring.

lic. Constitutional democracy in France began two centuries ago this summer, and in a few days, leaders from all over the world will be in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

On May 3, 1991, the Polish Constitution will also be 200 years old. Your Constitution of 1791 was crushed, but never forgotten. And now this generation's calling is to redeem the promise of a free Polish Republic. Poland has not been lost so long as the Polish spirit lives.

America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless you and your efforts. Long live Poland! Long live Poland! Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:28 p.m. in the main chamber of the Parliament Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Council of State; Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Speaker of the Lower House of the National Assembly; Andrzej Stelmachowski, Speaker of the Senate; and Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The Paris Club was a group of major Western industrialized nations that lent money to developing countries.

White House Fact Sheet on Proposed Assistance for Poland and Hungary

July 10, 1989

In his speech today to the Polish Parliament, the President presented a comprehensive package of six measures to help Poland meet the historic challenges of the 1990's. The measures take into account the ongoing, hopeful, democratic change in Poland.

The measures recognize that successful market economic reform and democratization in Poland, and elsewhere in East Central Europe, can lay the basis for European stability and security.

The package of measures consists of the following:

Intensified Concerted Western Action for Poland and Hungary

Proposal

The President is proposing that nations of the Summit Seven intensify their concerted action to support economic reforms based on political pluralism in Poland and Hungary. Complementary efforts by leading industrial democracies will provide a powerful impetus to economic recovery and progress in these nations as they face a turning point. Other interested countries could contribute to this process as well.

Scope

Efforts will involve work with the Polish and Hungarian Governments, and with other official and independent organizations in those countries, to gather information and provide feedback on issues of mutual concern. Involved governments will also work as appropriate with representatives of the IMF, World Bank, EC Commission, and other multilateral and private sector institutions.

Specific issues addressed could include:

- Needed economic reforms;
- Timing and conditions for new credits; and
- Concrete support for privatization and private business, environmental projects, management and training initiatives, social safety nets to accompany restructuring, housing, etc.

These efforts would not undercut or replace existing institutions such as the World Bank, Paris Club, or IMF.

Next Steps

The President will discuss this proposal in

Paris with the leaders of the other Summit Seven nations—the United Kingdom, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, Italy, and Canada.

Polish-American Enterprise Fund

Proposal

Poland's economic recovery will require a strong entrepreneurial sector, growing fast and generating wealth to benefit the whole nation. To support this process, the President has proposed the U.S. and Poland establish a Polish-American Enterprise Fund. The President is asking Congress to provide $100 million for this initiative. The Fund will be managed by a board of distinguished U.S. and Polish representatives.

Purpose

The Fund will promote the development of the private sector in Poland. It will be empowered to disburse hard currency loans or venture capital grants for approved projects, including:

- Private sector development (business loans/grants, possible establishment of a private sector development bank);
- Privatization of state firms (e.g., provide funding for entrepreneurs to buy into state firms);
- Technical assistance or training programs in support of or run by Poland's private sector;
- Funding of export projects partly or wholly private;
- Joint ventures between private Polish and American investors (e.g., encourage participation of private Polish firms in joint ventures).

World Bank Loans

Proposal

The President will encourage the World Bank to approve two economically viable project loans for Poland totaling $325 million. The loans for industrial restructuring and agricultural industrial development are intended to improve the competitiveness of Poland's exports.

Background

- The industrial restructuring loan ($250 million) is to be used for import of technology and equipment used in restructuring projects in plants producing chemical fibers, petrochemicals, polypropylene for packaging, particle board, and nitrogen; and the foreign currency costs associated with outside technical assistance for these projects.
- The agricultural industrial development loan ($75 million) would be used for purchase of equipment and technology licensing abroad, and foreign exchange costs for technical assistance for plants engaged in frozen fruit and vegetable processing, meat and other food processing.
- The loans are for 17 years with a 6-year period of grace before repayment begins.
- A Polish bank will relend the money to individual firms. These loans to and repayment by sub-borrowers will be in dollars—facilitating repayment of the overall loan to the World Bank.

U.S.-Poland Bilateral Rescheduling Agreements

Proposal

The President will ask his counterparts in the Paris Club to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt.

Background

Poland's foreign debt of nearly $40 billion is owed mainly to Western government creditors.

- The United States Government's share of this debt is about $2.2 billion, mostly in the form of credit guarantees extended by the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Export-Import Bank.
- The Paris Club agreed to reschedule Poland's debt service to official creditors 4 times in the past 8 years.
- However, until March 1989, Poland had not proceeded to negotiate and sign the bilateral agreements from the last two reschedulings, in late 1985 and 1987.
- Negotiations on the two outstanding bilaterals were revived earlier this year when the Government of Poland sought to resolve this issue with its creditors.

The Agreements and Next Steps

On July 10, the U.S. and Poland will sign the two pending bilateral agreements covering the 1985 and 1987 reschedulings.

- This paves the way for further agreements between Poland and its creditors on rescheduling the country's official debt.
- A Paris Club rescheduling on debt service obligations falling due in 1989 would allow Poland to defer payments of about $5 billion.
- A new Paris Club rescheduling agreement would normalize Poland's financial relations and would provide export credit agencies a legal basis for resumption of credit if governments decide such credits are warranted.

ENVIRONMENTAL INITIATIVES

Proposal

The President has stressed the need for fresh international efforts to preserve and improve the environment, humanity's common heritage. Following up on his Mainz speech, which singled out East-West cooperation on the environment, the President has proposed three environmental initiatives for Poland totaling $15 million, concentrated in the magnificent medieval capital of Krakow. This splendid city, designated by UNESCO as a world monument, is suffering from severe pollution.

Retrofit an Existing Coal-Fired Plant

This is a $10 million initiative to retrofit an existing coal-fired plant in the Krakow area with advanced clean coal technology. This retrofit will reduce sulphur dioxide emissions from a 100 MW plant by 60 to 65 percent. Nitrogen oxide emissions will also be reduced.

- The initial phase of the project will include an assessment of the major coal-fired plants in the Krakow region to determine the best control strategies for these facilities. A specific plant would then be selected and the optimal technology for installation at this facility would be chosen.
- Following selection, the project will proceed into the design phase. This would involve the fabrication and installation of the equipment.
- The final phase of the project would include operation and analysis of the data. It is assumed that Poland will take over responsibility for the operation of the project and that the data would be made available to the U.S. The U.S. will provide technical support to Poland as needed.

Air Quality Monitoring Network

This is a $1 million project for an air quality monitoring network in the Krakow metropolitan area, as part of Poland's national air monitoring network, to include monitors and related equipment for measuring sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide, particulate, carbon monoxide, ozone, and lead; and data storage/processing equipment.

Water Quality and Availability

This is a $4 million initiative to improve water quality and availability in Krakow.

- Using the city's 1986–2010 program of environmental protection and water economy as a guide, EPA and Polish experts will perform a comprehensive assessment of Krakow's current and future drinking water and wastewater needs to select and test treatment methods best suited to local conditions.
- To determine the optimal, least-cost engineering solutions, the program will examine streamflow records and data on the health of a variety of aquatic species, test for stream and drinking water purity, and identify water quality standards according to use.
- The program will emphasize recycling, pollution prevention, and low-cost approaches such as land treatment of effluents.

AGREEMENT ON EXCHANGE OF CULTURAL CENTERS

Purpose

The President has called for the U.S. to support imaginative educational and cultural programs with Poland. The agreement signed on July 10 will allow the U.S. to establish a cultural and information center in Warsaw and allow Poland the right to

establish a similar center in the United States.

Background

This will be the first time either country will be able to conduct public information and cultural programs at a site physically removed from the Embassies or consulates. The centers still will be considered an integral part of the diplomatic services of the two countries.

- The American center in Poland will be under the direction of the U.S. Information Agency, which operates similar centers in many countries around the world.
- A site in Warsaw still must be identified and renovated for the new American center, but we would hope to open it sometime in early 1990. First-year construction and operational costs are expected to be $1.1 million.

Operation

The centers will serve as focal points for a wide range of cultural and information activities, including:

- Operating a full-service library including reference use and lending of books, periodicals, films, videocassettes, and other materials;
- Sponsoring of concerts, recitals, exhibits, film, television, and video showings;
- Seminars featuring professionals, scientists, and cultural personalities from various fields;
- Courses of English or Polish language.

Note: The Paris Club was a group of major Western industrialized nations that lent money to developing countries.

Remarks to Polish Little League Baseball Players in Warsaw
July 10, 1989

Hey, listen, you guys sit down now! Everybody sit down. I'm not going to be that long, but it's more comfortable sitting.

First, I want to thank Ambassador and Mrs. Davis and Dr. Hale, who you just heard from—Ann Kokoshko over here, who is the founder of the Polish Little League Foundation. And I really came to thank all of you, because I've been looking forward to this very much.

The Little League program has now come to Poland. And listen to these words from the Little League pledge: "I trust in God. I love my country and will respect its laws. I will play fair to strive to win. But win or lose, I will always do my best." Remember those words, because their spirit is Poland's spirit.

You know, I don't know how closely you follow big league baseball in the United States, but I think of some great Polish-American ballplayers when I'm here today, legends in American sports: Ted Kluszewski, Greg Luzinski, Tony Kubek—either he's pronouncing it wrong or I am—I don't know which one. [*Laughter*] You remember the Niekro brothers? Does that ring a bell with any of you guys—Phil and Joe? These are Polish guys. They won more games than any pair of brothers in big league history. I'm indebted to Rawlings for bringing this equipment. I want to thank the coaches that were here. And again, I want to thank Stan back here, of Windham, Connecticut, who is just—his whole life is baseball.

You know, 13 days from now, in the United States, is a big day. For on that day, America's Baseball Hall of Fame will induct the first former Little Leaguer—first guy to play Little League now going into the Hall of Fame. He's a Polish-American—Carl Yastrzemski. [*Laughter*] He's a great ballplayer for the Boston Red Sox. We got any Red Sox uniforms? No, okay—but anyway, a great player for the Red Sox. And in that Hall of Fame—which is the big thing for our game—he's joining three other Polish-Americans: Al Simmons, Stan Coveleski, and then Stan Musial. You know, he's been here in Poland. Last time I was here, I saw him here. That guy was already climbing toward Major League fame when the Little