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Series: Davis, Mark, Files
Subseries: Subject File, 1989-1991

OA/ID Number: 13873
Folder ID Number: 13873-014

Folder Title:
Poland / Detroit, 4/17/89

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**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HAMTRAMCK
CITY HALL**

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989/NOON

**THANK YOU PAUL. CARDINAL SZOKA (SHA-KA). BOB,
THANK YOU FOR THAT PRESENTATION. IT'S GOOD TO SEE THE
MICHIGAN DELEGATION HAS TURNED OUT FOR THIS EVENT.
BREAD AND SALT ARE BOTH OF THE EARTH, AN ANCIENT SYMBOL
OF A LIFE LEAVENED BY HEALTH AND PROSPERITY.**

- 2 -

IN THIS SAME SPIRIT, I WISH YOU ALL THE SAME. NOW, IF I MAY, I WANT TO ADDRESS THE HEALTH AND PROSPERITY OF A WHOLE NATION -- THE PROUD PEOPLE OF POLAND.

AMERICANS ARE NOT MILDLY SYMPATHETIC SPECTATORS OF EVENTS IN POLAND. WE ARE BOUND TO POLAND BY A VERY SPECIAL BOND, A BOND OF BLOOD, OF CULTURE AND SHARED VALUES. SO IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT, AS DRAMATIC CHANGE COMES TO POLAND, WE SHARE THE ASPIRATIONS AND EXCITEMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

- 3 -

IN MY INAUGURAL ADDRESS, I SPOKE OF THE NEW BREEZE OF FREEDOM GAINING STRENGTH AROUND THE WORLD. "IN MAN'S HEART," I SAID, "IF NOT IN FACT, THE DAY OF THE DICTATOR IS OVER. THE TOTALITARIAN ERA IS PASSING, ITS OLD IDEAS BLOWN AWAY LIKE LEAVES FROM AN ANCIENT LIFELESS TREE."

I SPOKE OF THE SPREADING RECOGNITION THAT PROSPERITY CAN ONLY COME FROM A FREE MARKET AND THE CREATIVE GENIUS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

- 4 -

I SPOKE OF THE NEW POTENCY OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS -- OF FREE SPEECH, FREE ELECTIONS AND THE EXERCISE OF FREE WILL.

WE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED THAT THE IDEAS OF DEMOCRACY ARE RETURNING WITH RENEWED FORCE IN EUROPE -- THE HOMELAND OF PHILOSOPHERS OF FREEDOM WHOSE IDEALS HAVE BEEN SO FULLY REALIZED IN AMERICA.

- 5 -

VICTOR HUGO SAID: "AN INVASION OF ARMIES CAN BE RESISTED, BUT NOT AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME." MY FRIENDS, LIBERTY IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME IN EASTERN EUROPE . . .

FOR ALMOST HALF A CENTURY, THE SUPPRESSION OF FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE, SUSTAINED BY THE MILITARY POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION, HAS KEPT NATION FROM NATION, NEIGHBOR FROM NEIGHBOR.

- 6 -

AS EAST AND WEST SEEK TO REDUCE ARMS, IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT ARMS ARE A SYMPTOM, NOT A SOURCE, OF TENSION. THE TRUE SOURCE OF TENSION IS THE IMPOSED AND UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE.

HOW CAN THERE BE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD AS LONG AS NATIONS AND PEOPLES ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE -- A RIGHT EXPLICITLY PROMISED THEM BY AGREEMENTS AMONG THE VICTORIOUS POWERS AT THE END OF WORLD WAR TWO?

- 7 -

HOW CAN THERE BE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AS LONG AS NATIONS, WHICH ONCE STOOD PROUDLY AT THE FRONT RANK OF INDUSTRIAL POWERS, ARE IMPOVERISHED BY A DISCREDITED IDEOLOGY AND STIFLING AUTHORITARIANISM?

THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER ACCEPTED THE LEGITIMACY OF EUROPE'S DIVISION. WE ACCEPT NO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE THAT DENY THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF NATIONS

YET THE WINDS OF CHANGE ARE SHAPING A NEW EUROPEAN DESTINY. WESTERN EUROPE IS RESURGENT.

- 8 -

EASTERN EUROPE IS AWAKENING TO YEARNINGS FOR DEMOCRACY, INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY. IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE SOUND OF VOICES LONG SILENT, AND THE SIGHT OF THE RULERS CONSULTING THE RULED. WE SEE "NEW THINKING" IN SOME ASPECTS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THESE STIRRINGS PRESAGE MEANINGFUL, LASTING AND MORE FAR-REACHING CHANGE.

- 9 -

LET NO ONE DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT IN OUR DESIRE TO SEE REFORM SUCCEED IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE WELCOME THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE GREATER RECOGNITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, MARKET INCENTIVES AND ELECTIONS.

EAST AND WEST ARE NEGOTIATING ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES, FROM ARMS REDUCTIONS TO THE ENVIRONMENT.

- 10 -

BUT THE COLD WAR BEGAN IN EASTERN EUROPE; IF IT IS TO END, IT WILL END IN THIS CRUCIBLE OF WORLD CONFLICT -- AND IT MUST END. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO SEE EAST AND CENTRAL EUROPE FREE, PROSPEROUS AND AT PEACE. WITH PRUDENCE, REALISM AND PATIENCE, WE SEEK TO PROMOTE THE EVOLUTION OF FREEDOM -- THE OPPORTUNITIES SPARKED BY THE HELSINKI ACCORDS AND DEEPENING EAST-WEST CONTACT.

IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES IN THE REGION.

- 11 -

IN EACH CASE, WE LOOKED FOR PROGRESS IN ITS INTERNATIONAL POSTURE AND INTERNAL PRACTICES -- IN HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURAL OPENNESS, EMIGRATION ISSUES, OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM. WHILE WE WANT RELATIONS TO IMPROVE, THERE ARE CERTAIN ACTS WE WILL NOT CONDONE OR ACCEPT -- BEHAVIOR THAT CAN SHIFT RELATIONS IN THE WRONG DIRECTION: HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, TECHNOLOGY THEFT, AND HOSTILE INTELLIGENCE OR FOREIGN POLICY ACTIONS AGAINST US.

- 12 -

SOME REGIMES ARE NOW SEEKING TO WIN POPULAR LEGITIMACY THROUGH REFORMS. IN HUNGARY, A NEW LEADERSHIP IS EXPERIMENTING WITH REFORMS THAT MAY PERMIT A POLITICAL PLURALISM THAT ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO WOULD HAVE BEEN UNTHINKABLE. AND IN POLAND, ON APRIL 5, SOLIDARITY LEADER LECH WALESA AND INTERIOR MINISTER KISZCZAK SIGNED AGREEMENTS THAT, IF FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED, WILL BE A WATERSHED IN THE POSTWAR HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE.

- 13 -

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ROUNDTABLE AGREEMENTS, THE FREE TRADE UNION SOLIDARITY WILL BE FORMALLY RESTORED, A FREE OPPOSITION PRESS WILL BE LEGALIZED, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL AND OTHER FREE ASSOCIATIONS WILL BE PERMITTED, AND ELECTIONS FOR A NEW POLISH SENATE WILL BE HELD. THESE AGREEMENTS TESTIFY TO THE REALISM OF GENERAL JARUZELSKI AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

- 14 -

AND THEY ARE INSPIRING TESTIMONY TO THE SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE INDOMITABLE SPIRIT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE -- AND THE STRENGTH AND WISDOM OF LECH WALESA . . .

POLAND FACES, AND WILL CONTINUE TO FACE FOR SOME TIME, SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. A MODERN FRENCH WRITER OBSERVED THAT COMMUNISM IS NOT ANOTHER FORM OF ECONOMICS. IT IS THE DEATH OF ECONOMICS.

- 15 -

IN POLAND, AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM CRIPPLED BY THE INEFFICIENCIES OF CENTRAL PLANNING, ALMOST PROVED THE DEATH OF INITIATIVE AND ENTERPRISE. ALMOST. BUT ECONOMIC REFORMS CAN STILL GIVE FREE REIN TO THE ENTERPRISING IMPULSE AND CREATIVE SPIRIT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

THE POLISH PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THE MAGNITUDE OF THIS CHALLENGE. DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN POLAND HAVE ASKED FOR THE MORAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF THE WEST.

- 16 -

AND THE WEST WILL RESPOND. MY ADMINISTRATION IS COMPLETING A THOROUGH REVIEW OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD POLAND AND ALL OF EASTERN EUROPE.

I HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED WAYS THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP POLAND. WE WILL NOT ACT UNCONDITIONALLY. WE WILL NOT OFFER UNSOUND CREDITS. WE WILL NOT OFFER AID WITHOUT REQUIRING SOUND ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN RETURN.

- 17 -

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT POLAND IS STILL A MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT. WE MUST TAKE NO STEPS THAT COMPROMISE THE SECURITY OF THE WEST.

THE CONGRESS, THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, OUR ALLIES AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, MUST WORK IN CONCERT IF POLISH DEMOCRACY IS TO TAKE ROOT ANEW, AND SUSTAIN ITSELF. WE CAN AND MUST ANSWER THIS CALL TO FREEDOM.

- 18 -

AND IT IS PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE, HERE IN HAMTRAMCK, FOR ME TO SALUTE THE MEMBERS AND LEADERS OF THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT FOR HANGING TOUGH WITH SOLIDARITY THROUGH ITS DARKEST DAYS.

THE POLES ARE NOW TAKING CONCRETE STEPS THAT DESERVE OUR ACTIVE SUPPORT. I HAVE DECIDED ON SPECIFIC STEPS BY THE UNITED STATES, CAREFULLY CHOSEN TO RECOGNIZE REFORMS UNDERWAY, AND TO ENCOURAGE REFORMS YET TO COME ONCE SOLIDARITY IS LEGAL:

- 19 -

-- I WILL ASK CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN PROVIDING POLAND ACCESS TO OUR GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES, WHICH OFFERS SELECTIVE TARIFF RELIEF TO BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES.

-- WE WILL WORK WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN THE PARIS CLUB TO DEVELOP SUSTAINABLE NEW SCHEDULES FOR POLAND TO REPAY ITS DEBT, EASING A HEAVY BURDEN SO THAT A FREE MARKET CAN GROW.

- 20 -

-- I WILL ALSO ASK CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN AUTHORIZING THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION TO OPERATE IN POLAND, TO THE BENEFIT OF BOTH POLISH AND U.S. INVESTORS.

-- WE WILL PROPOSE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PRIVATE BUSINESS AGREEMENT WITH POLAND TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION BETWEEN U.S. FIRMS AND POLAND'S PRIVATE BUSINESSES. BOTH SIDES CAN BENEFIT.

- 21 -

-- THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO CONSIDER SUPPORTING, ON THEIR MERITS, VIABLE LOANS TO THE PRIVATE-SECTOR BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE ROUNDTABLE AGREEMENTS CLEAR THE WAY FOR POLAND TO BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND ON PROGRAMS THAT SUPPORT SOUND, NEW, MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC POLICIES.

- 22 -

-- WE WILL ENCOURAGE BUSINESS AND PRIVATE NON-PROFIT GROUPS TO DEVELOP INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS TO SWAP POLISH DEBT FOR EQUITY IN POLISH ENTERPRISES; AND FOR CHARITABLE, HUMANITARIAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROJECTS.

-- WE WILL SUPPORT IMAGINATIVE EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMS TO HELP LIBERATE THE CREATIVE ENERGIES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

- 23 -

WHEN I VISITED POLAND IN SEPTEMBER, 1987, I TOLD CHAIRMAN JARUZELSKI AND LECH WALESIA THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT WOULD RESPOND QUICKLY AND IMAGINATIVELY TO SIGNIFICANT INTERNAL REFORM OF THE KIND WE SEE NOW. BOTH OF THEM VALUED THAT ASSURANCE. SO IT IS ESPECIALLY GRATIFYING FOR ME TO WITNESS THE CHANGES NOW TAKING PLACE IN POLAND, AND TO ANNOUNCE THESE IMPORTANT CHANGES IN U.S. POLICY. THE UNITED STATES KEEPS ITS PROMISES.

- 24 -

IF POLAND'S EXPERIMENT SUCCEEDS, OTHER COUNTRIES MAY FOLLOW. WHILE WE MUST STILL DIFFERENTIATE AMONG THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE, POLAND OFFERS TWO LESSONS FOR ALL. FIRST, THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION. SECOND, HELP FROM THE WEST WILL COME IN CONCERT WITH LIBERALIZATION. OUR FRIENDS AND EUROPEAN ALLIES SHARE THIS PHILOSOPHY.

- 25 -

THE WEST CAN NOW BE BOLD IN PROPOSING A VISION OF THE EUROPEAN FUTURE: WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN THERE WILL BE NO BARRIERS TO THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, GOODS AND IDEAS. WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN EASTERN EUROPEAN PEOPLES WILL BE FREE TO CHOOSE THEIR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND TO VOTE FOR THE PARTY OF THEIR CHOICE IN REGULAR, CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

- 26 -

WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WILL BE FREE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN PEACEFUL COURSE IN THE WORLD, INCLUDING CLOSER TIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE. AND WE ENVISION AN EASTERN EUROPE IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION HAS RENOUNCED MILITARY INTERVENTION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF ITS POLICY -- ON ANY PRETEXT . . . WE SHARE AN UNWAVERING CONVICTION THAT ONE DAY ALL THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE WILL LIVE IN FREEDOM.

- 27 -

NEXT MONTH, AT A SUMMIT OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, THE LEADERS OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL DISCUSS THESE CONCERNS. THESE ARE NOT BILATERAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. THEY ARE, RATHER, THE CONCERN OF ALL THE WESTERN ALLIES, CALLING FOR COMMON APPROACHES. THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD UNDERSTAND, IN TURN, THAT A FREE DEMOCRATIC EASTERN EUROPE AS WE ENVISION IT WOULD THREATEN NO ONE AND NO COUNTRY.

- 28 -

SUCH AN EVOLUTION WOULD IMPLY, AND REINFORCE, THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN ALL DIMENSIONS -- ARMS REDUCTIONS, POLITICAL RELATIONS, TRADE -- IN WAYS THAT ENHANCE THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF ALL OF EUROPE. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY.

WHAT HAS BROUGHT US TO THIS OPENING? THE UNITY AND STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRACIES, AND SOMETHING ELSE -- THE BOLD NEW THINKING IN THE SOVIET UNION; THE INNATE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM IN THE HEARTS OF ALL MEN.

- 29 -

WE WILL NOT WAVER IN OUR DEDICATION TO FREEDOM NOW. IF WE ARE WISE, UNITED AND READY TO SEIZE THE MOMENT, WE WILL BE REMEMBERED AS THE GENERATION THAT HELPED ALL OF EUROPE FIND ITS DESTINY IN FREEDOM.

TWO CENTURIES AGO, A POLISH PATRIOT NAMED THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO (KOSH-SCHOO-SKOH) CAME TO THESE AMERICAN SHORES TO STAND FOR FREEDOM.

- 30 -

LET US HONOR AND REMEMBER THIS HERO OF OUR OWN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM BY EXTENDING OUR HAND TO THOSE WHO WORK THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, AND WALK THE COBBLED STREETS OF WARSAW. LET US RECALL THE WORDS OF THE POLES WHO STRUGGLED FOR INDEPENDENCE: "FOR YOUR FREEDOM AND OURS." LET US SUPPORT THE PEACEFUL EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN POLAND. THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY KNOWS NO LIMITS; THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, NO BORDERS.

- 31 -

GOD BLESS POLAND, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA. THANK YOU.

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THE VICE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Friday, January 29, 1988

CONTACT: 202/456-6772

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

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

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

* * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Mass media of communication. The regular broadcasting of a radio program for general reception was begun by the Polish radio cooperative in 1926, and by September 1939 there were 10 radio stations and around 1,000,000 subscribers. After World War II Polish radio began anew. Experiments with television were begun in 1948, and regular broadcasting started in 1956, first in Warsaw and then in Łódź. By the 1970s the National Committee of Polish Radio and Television had at its disposal almost 20 radio stations and more than half a dozen television centres. On a ratio per thousand people, however, Poland still held a low place among European countries in respect of subscribers to radio and television.

The beginnings of the Polish press date from the 16th century, when irregularly printed information sheets and leaflets began to appear. In 1661 the first permanent periodical, the *Merkuriusz Polski Ordynaryjny* ("Current Polish Mercury"), was published in Kraków. The growth of the periodical press continued through the period of foreign domination, and before World War II there were more than 2,500 publications, some of them in the languages of minority groups, although average circulation was small. The most readable daily, the *Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny*, had a circulation of only 150,000. By 1975 the leading dailies were *Trybuna Ludu* (organ of the Polish United Workers' Party), *Życie Warszawy* (independent), *Dziennik Ludowy* (organ of the Supreme Executive of the United Peasant Party), and *Kurier Polski* (organ of the Democratic Party). Most of the dailies, and political and social writings generally, are issued under the Prasa imprint, and distribution is in the hands of Ruch, a nationwide group.

PROSPECTS

Poland is a proud country with roots deep in the past. Its cultural life, in particular, has been very rich, drawing on a thousand years of tradition and sustaining the national spirit when Polish frontiers and indeed the Polish state collapsed as a result of the country's unfavourable historical and geographical position. Since the blows suffered during World War II, the government has attempted to build a new state without losing sight of tradition. By the 1970s much had been accomplished in economic growth, especially in heavy industry, and in reform of education and cultural life. But, as Polish experts acknowledged, much remained to be done in both economic and social life to raise standards to those of western Europe. (J.A.K./A.H.D.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY. The quinquennial *Poland, a Handbook* is a comprehensive outline of the country and its society issued by the government of Poland; an extensive list of Polish-language publications available in English translation, *Polish Books in English, 1945-1971* (1974), compiled by JANINA HOSKINS, was issued by the U.S. Library of Congress; the basic Polish source is KAROL J. ESTREICHER, *Bibliografia Polska* (39 vol., 1870); the most extensive reference work is the *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, 13 vol. (1962-70), published by the Polish Academy of Sciences; R.H. OSBORNE, *East Central Europe*, ch. 8 (1967), a concise geographical summary of facts about the land and its people; INSTITUTE OF BRITISH GEOGRAPHERS, *Problems of Applied Geography: Proceedings of the Anglo-Polish Seminar, Keele, Sept. 9-20, 1962* (1964), contains important contributions on contemporary industrialization and urbanization in Poland and on their influence on land use and agriculture; J. BOGUCKI, *The Fine Arts in Poland Today* (Eng. trans. 1967); J.Z. LOZINSKI and A. MILOBEDSKI, *Guide to Architecture in Poland* (Eng. trans. 1967), includes an introductory outline that concisely describes the development of architecture in the territory that constitutes Poland today, with maps of selected architectural monuments and a list of all the buildings located; J.C. FISHER (ed.), *City and Regional Planning in Poland* (1966), a comprehensive record of city and regional planning in Poland from theories and methods to specific case studies; *Polish Statistical Yearbook*, up-to-date statistics published annually.

Poland, History of

Poland is a nation whose often tragic history is yet coloured by past eminence and a vital role played in Euro-

pean history. Emerging from a loose union of Slavic tribes in the 9th century, Poland had become by the late Middle Ages a virtual empire with the highest level of civilization in eastern Europe; it was a bulwark of the **Roman Catholic faith there**. Polish political theory, culture, and science had a vitalizing effect on the mainstream of European thought, and ideals such as religious toleration were pioneered in Poland at a time when most of Europe was engaged in bitter persecution. Although it virtually disappeared as a state after the three partitions of the late 18th century, Poland was re-established after World War I. Its invasion by Germany in 1939 was the event that marked the outbreak of World War II.

This article is divided into the following sections:

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I. Poland during the Middle Ages, 966-1492

THE FOUNDING OF THE PIAST KINGDOM, 966-1025

Early origins. The Poles belong to the North Indo-European language group comprising the Slavs, the Balts, and the Germans. The primordial homeland of the Slavs can be located in the immediate vicinity of the most ancient settlements of the Germans and Balts, the area occupied by the "Poles" lying in the basins of the Oder and Vistula rivers. The Polish nation originated from a union of such West Slavic tribes as the Polanians (Polanie), Vistulans (Wiślanie), Silesians (Ślężanie), East Pomeranians (Pomorzanie), and Mazovians (Mazowianie). These "Polish" tribes shared a basically common culture and language and were much more closely related to each other than, for example, the Germanic tribes who founded the Franconian or German kingdom about 800-1024. Chronicles and geographical descriptions of Carolingian, Saxonian, Arabian, and Byzantine origin have described in some detail these Polish tribes, their names, and the regions where they lived. The Polanie tribe (open-country dwellers) lived in the fertile Polish heartland crossed by the Warta River, and this was the group after which the later Polish nation was named. Besides the Polanie tribe, there were approximately 20 Polish tribes that formed small states between the years 800 and 960. The individual tribes owed allegiance to regional leaders, chosen from an assembly of all free Polish males as commanders in case of war. These were the beginnings from which the dynasties of hereditary kings, princes, or dukes slowly evolved. Each tribe commanded several well-fortified castles or fortresses, the larger castles developing into principalities or "castle districts." There were usually fortified city-settlements (*suburbia*) near all the larger castles even in very early times. Inhabited by artisans, workmen, and merchants, these cities also served as refuges on occasion. As early as 900-1025, along the Baltic Sea coast, there were large trading centres with between 6,000 and 10,000 inhabitants; these included Wolin (Wollin) and Szczecin (Stet-

The
Polanie
tribe

came to the fore, to be succeeded in the 19th century by a flowering of literature and music. Until the 20th century, cultural life was mainly focussed on and supported by the nobility and, latterly, by the merchant bourgeoisie.

Fundamental changes in Poland's cultural life really occurred only after 1945, when great social changes, together with a quite different revolution wrought by the introduction of mass media, made culture available to the masses. This process contributed to the rapid decline of folk culture and its regional variations.

The ethnic basis of folk culture. The traditional folk culture of Poland is disappearing rapidly. In the Little Poland region, however, there is still a marked distinction between the Lachy (extra-Carpathian peoples) and the Górale, or mountain people (from *góra*, "mountain"). The Górale of the Podhale area, in particular, have a most distinctive folk culture, with characteristic costumes, decoration, architecture, and music. The Górale living in the Silesian part of the Carpathians form a similarly distinctive group. Also in Silesia, the folk tradition of the ancestral Polish population around Opole is very distinctive. In Great Poland, the Sieradzanie from the middle Warta, the Kujawiacy from the upper Noteć, and the Krajniacy of the Pomeranian frontier all have their own folk culture. In Mazovia, the inhabitants of the Łowicz area are noted for their costumes and decorative skills, and the Kurpie from the middle Narew, together with the inhabitants of the Opoczno area, to the north of the Holy Cross Mountains, are also significant. In Pomerania the Kashubians are the most distinct folk group, followed by the Kociewacy from the lower Wisła, and the Borowiacy from the Tuchola area. Among the Polish population of former East Prussia there is a sharp cultural distinction between the Catholic Warmiacy, from the Olsztyn area, and the Protestant Mazurians, who are very close to the neighbouring Kurpie.

Literature. The oldest traces of Polish folklore are preserved in the medieval Latin works of the chroniclers, who handed down numerous lay and religious legends. From the Renaissance period, many texts of Polish folk plays survive. The systematic collection of songs and other works, which were to prove a stimulus to much of Polish culture, was not started until the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

The first half of the 19th century witnessed the flowering of the three greatest Polish poets (Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki, and Zygmunt Krasiński), while in the second half, and at the beginning of the 20th century, the great Polish prose writers—including the Nobel Prize winners Henryk Sienkiewicz and Władysław Reymont—were active.

Music. The dance rhythms of the *krakowiak*, *mazur* (*mazurek*, *kujawiak*, *oberek*), and *polonaise* are particularly characteristic of Polish folk music. The music of the Górale of the Podhale has a different character: in contrast to the monodic, or elegiac, music of other regions, it is polyphonic, blending a number of discrete melodies. The oldest remnants of church music stem from the Middle Ages, and the most outstanding works—notably the compositions of Wacław of Szamotuły and Mikołaj Gomółka—date from the 16th century. The development of modern musical forms—symphony, opera, and chamber music—may be traced from the end of the 18th century. Folk music was a major source of musical content (as in the opera *Krakowiacy i Górale* [*The Cracovians and the Highlanders*]), and, inspired by it, the most famous of Polish composers, Frédéric Chopin, composed much of his work for the piano. In the second half of the 19th century, Stanisław Moniuszko created the popular operas *Halka*, *Straszny Dwór*, and *Hrabina* and also was a leading exponent of the solo song. At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, famous Polish performers came onto the world stage, the pianists Ignacy Paderewski and Artur Schnabel heading a procession of violinists, conductors, and singers. The most outstanding composer of the first half of the 20th century was Karol Szymanowski, and contemporary Polish composers are known far beyond the national boundaries, having won many prizes in interna-

tional competitions. The leading contemporary symphony orchestras—the National Philharmonic of Warsaw and the Great Symphonic Orchestra of the Polish Radio and Television, from Katowice—have also achieved international successes.

Folk music continues to be propagated by Mazowsze and Śląsk, two representative song and dance groups, and other musical forms by such chamber groups as the Capella Bydgosciensis and the Musicae Antiquae Collegium Varsoviense. Many festivals and international music competitions are held in Poland, the Chopin piano competition, which takes place every five years, being probably the best known. Poland also has a rich variety of musical societies and magazines devoted to music.

The visual arts. The oldest examples of the visual arts in Poland are survivals from the prehistoric period, chiefly pottery. From the Middle Ages many fine examples of Romanesque and Gothic architecture, both secular and religious, have been preserved, together with outstanding sculptures, among which the wooden altar triptych of Veit Stoss, in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Kraków, is the most famous. The architecture and sculpture of the Renaissance and Baroque periods were formed under Italian influence but nevertheless developed individual Polish forms, as, for example, in the characteristic Renaissance attics. The best preserved urban architecture of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance is that of the old town in Kraków, together with Wawel Castle. The classicism of the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th left its most valuable monuments in Warsaw, as can be seen in the palace in Łazienki Park.

Painting attained its greatest development in the second half of the 19th century, representing styles developing at that time in western Europe, but again with specific national characteristics. The greatest fame was achieved by the creator of monumental historic pictures Jan Matejko, by Henryk Siemiradzki, and by a number of landscape and genre painters.

Theatre and motion pictures. A Polish religious theatre existed in the Middle Ages, with initially mystery and later morality plays. In the 16th century the court theatre, with the first native dramas, appeared. In the 17th century and at the beginning of the 18th, opera and ballet troupes, mostly foreign, performed in the courts of the kings and the magnates. Only in the reign of the last king, Stanisław II August Poniatowski, did the first public Polish national theatre come into being, first in Warsaw and later in other towns. The most outstanding figure of this period of the theatre was the actor, director, and author Wojciech Bogusławski. After the downfall of the Polish state, the theatre played an enormous part in the survival of the Polish language and spirit. Among the actors and actresses of this period, Helena Modjeska achieved major international status. In the interwar period, acting and staging in Poland reached a very high level. During the 1960s, the Polish Laboratory Theatre (the official title is Teatr 13 Rzędów, "Theatre of 13 Rows") in Wrocław gained an international reputation for its experimental work in the training of actors and in methods of theatrical production. Under the direction of Jerzy Grotowski, it toured western Europe and the United States, where many critics have acclaimed its artistic theories and its performances as representative of the most important new direction in theatre since the work of Konstantin Stanislavsky at the Moscow Art Theatre in the early decades of the 20th century.

The beginnings of Polish cinema date from before World War I. In 1909 the first film-producing company, Sfinks (Sphinx), was formed, and this, with others, was active in the interwar period. Film production at this period was not, however, marked by a high artistic and technical level, despite many ambitious attempts. After World War II, Polish films had a series of international successes, and particularly in the 1950s and early '60s when Andrzej Wajda and Andrzej Munk came to the forefront as directors. By the early 1970s, however, the quality of films had diminished, and the number of both cinemas and audiences decreased, a trend also observable in other countries.

Early
literature

International
music
competitions

The Polish
Laboratory
Theatre

tin), on the mouth of the Oder River, and Truso (later Elbląg) and Gdańsk (Danzig), founded before 990 on the mouth of the Vistula River. The ancient foreign trade routes linking this area with distant regions stimulated the founding and development of small states. The most significant trade route from East to West connected Ratisbon (now Regensburg)—Vienna and Cracow with Kiev and Byzantium (now Istanbul). A well-developed monetary exchange system made it possible for the individual dukes to raise tariffs and tributes, in this manner exerting their sovereign rights on the monetary economy. In all probability, mining of precious metals and iron ores must have taken place in Upper Silesia and in the Polish Central Highlands at that time.

Because of its advantageous location with regard to foreign trade, the region grew into a larger state under the dynasty of the Wiślanie (or Vistulans). One of the dynasty's dukes was described as very powerful as early as 875, and, in all probability, his rule already extended over the Lędzianie (who lived either on the upper Vistula or the upper Warta River) and perhaps even over some of the East Slavonic tribes on the Bug and San rivers. Around 875 to 880 his state and Silesia came under the sovereign rule of the Great Moravian Empire, led by Prince Svato-pluk (ruled 870–894). Under his reign, Christianity was introduced in both its Latin and Greek forms through the disciples of "the apostles of the Slavs," Cyril (died 869) and Methodius (died 885). Destroying the Great Moravian Empire, the Magyars conquered and settled the Hungarian lands from about 896 to 907. This restored the independence of southern Poland for a short time until it came under the control of the Bohemian dukes Boleslav I (died 972) and Boleslav II (ruled from about 973 to 999).

Both the Latin and Eastern Orthodox faiths were already well established in the area by this time, and the first bishopric of Cracow was established in 969. Even though nothing is known about a local dynasty, a territorial association was formed a few decades later, consisting of the tribes of southern Poland, commonly known as Little Poland (Małopolska). Little Poland, with the exception of a few border regions, covered the same area as the bishopric of Cracow.

The Piast dynasty. The second and politically more important founding of a state took place under the Polanie dynasty. The descendants of "Piast," the legendary founder of the dynasty—Siemowit (Ziemowit), Leszek (Lestko), and Siemomysł (Ziemomysł)—united the lands around Poznań, Kruszwica, Gniezno, and Kalisz, and this region later became known as Great Poland (Wielkopolska).

Mieszko I, c. 963–992. Siemomysł's son, Mieszko I, was the first of the Piast dukes to have his biography recorded in detail in the chronicles of that time. Through his desire to conquer Western Pomerania along the Oder River to the trading cities of Szczecin and Wolin, Mieszko I came into contact with the German kingdom, whose ruler Otto I the Great (the Holy Roman emperor) had conquered and subjugated Bohemia in 950 and all the Polabian tribes (between the Elbe and the Oder rivers) between 936 and 955. This extended the sovereignty of the German king to the Oder River, and, for the time being, Mieszko acknowledged Otto's supremacy and entered into a close trade and cultural relationship with the Duchy of Saxony, Otto's homeland. To counter the German threat, Mieszko I entered into an alliance with the Bohemian duke Boleslav II, marrying his sister, Dubravka (Dąbrówka), in 965. Baptized in 966, he promoted the general spread of Christianity in his lands, although a few small Christian communities had already been in existence. In consequence, the year 966 is considered to be the year that marks the founding of Poland. The bishopric of Poznań was established in 968 and placed under the sovereignty of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. During the Great Slav Rebellion in 983, Germany lost its territory east of the Elbe and Saale rivers. In tacit agreement with Germany, Mieszko I conquered the entire coastal region of the Baltic Sea, including Szczecin, during 967 to 990. After dissolving his treaty with Bohemia, he further

added Silesia and Little Poland to his other conquests. This established Mieszko as the ruler of an empire covering about 96,500 square miles (or 250,000 square kilometres) and populated by 1,250,000 people. Poland was now larger and more powerful than the Scandinavian countries, Hungary, or Bohemia. Of decisive importance for the later development of internal unity was the fact that Mieszko submitted to the formal supremacy of the Holy See in Rome around 990. He took this step in order to avoid being subjected to the authority of the German Church.

Bolesław I the Brave, 992–1025. The eldest son of Mieszko I, Bolesław, further enlarged his empire, going beyond the ethnic boundaries of the Polish tribes. With Bolesław's help, the Holy Roman emperor Otto III set up his own Polish metropolitanate (church province), with the bishoprics of Cracow, Wrocław, and Kołobrzeg and the archbishopric of Gniezno, at the Congress of Gniezno (1000). The first bishop of Prague, Adalbert (Voytěch), became the national patron saint of Poland in that year, following his martyrdom in 977 during his missionary work with the heathen Prussians in Samland in east Prussia. When Otto III died, Bolesław I conquered Bohemia, Moravia, the German borderlands in Lusatia (Lausitz), west of the Oder River, and probably also Slovakia between 1003 and 1004. But the new king of Germany, Henry II (ruled 1002–24), reconquered Bohemia and also led three campaigns against Bolesław I, without success. In 1018 Bolesław turned east, occupying Kiev for a short period and regaining the borderland at the Bug and San rivers, which had belonged to Poland before 981. Bolesław I was crowned king (presumably with the consent of the Holy See in Rome) in 1024–25, and the new kingdom became gradually known under the name of Poland (Polonia) even during his reign. After his death the Polish monarchy came to be the secular symbol of the country's unity, in spite of all the partitions and divisions that the future held in store.

UNITY AND DISINTEGRATION, 1025–1241

Attempts to expand Polish domination. *Mieszko II Lambert, 1025–34.* One of the younger sons of Bolesław I, Mieszko II Lambert was well educated but did not possess the strategic and statesmanlike talents of his father. After victorious campaigns against the barbarian Polabs in 1030, he attacked the German king Conrad II, who, in alliance with the Russian grand prince Yaroslav of Kiev, attacked Poland (1031), further supported by rebellions within the country. Eventually, about 1033, Mieszko was forced to recognize German supremacy. His death in 1034 thus came at the height of a crisis. The boom in foreign trade that had been a factor in the establishment of the Piast empire had come to a close; the regional overlords were in a state of rebellion, and the barbarian insurrections deeply affected the barely established organization of the church. Chaos followed for the next few years (1034–39), the Bohemian duke Bretislav I occupying Silesia, totally devastating Great Poland, and resettling many of its inhabitants in Bohemia. The coastal regions from Szczecin to Gdańsk seceded from the Polish crown for about a century. The bishopric of Kołobrzeg—and with it the entire Christian movement in Western Pomerania—foundered again.

Casimir I the Restorer, 1039–58. A former monk, Casimir (Kazimierz) I slowly restored Poland with the help of the German king Henry III. Both Great Poland and Little Poland recognized Casimir I as their duke in 1039–40. Mazovia followed in 1047 and Silesia recognized him in 1050, but Casimir had to pay tribute to Bohemia for Silesia.

Bolesław II the Bold, 1058–79. Casimir's successor, Bolesław II, continued the power politics of Bolesław I, leading many successful campaigns into Hungary (1060–77) and Kiev (1068–77). He also maintained the independence of Poland from Germany by skillfully taking advantage of a controversy between the German king Henry IV and Pope Gregory VII. With the help of the Pope, he also renewed the crown of Poland. But after Henry IV had regained power (1077), a party of Polish

nobles rebelled in his favour against Bolesław. For reasons unknown, Bolesław had decreed the execution of Bishop Stanisław of Cracow in 1078, and this led to open rebellion. Bolesław was forced to flee to Hungary, where he died in exile in 1081. His younger brother Władysław I Herman (1079–1102) sided with the imperial party and in 1088–89 married Judith, Henry's sister, and relinquished all claims to the Polish crown.

Bolesław III the Wry-Mouthed, 1102–38. Władysław's younger son, Bolesław III, again strengthened the position of the Polish monarchy, expelling his elder brothers and his half brother Zbigniew (1107). Two years later he drove back a campaign of the German king Henry V into Silesia. In difficult campaigns, he reconquered all of the Western Pomeranian lands during 1113–22 and incorporated Eastern Pomerania and Gdańsk into Poland. Bolesław then ordered the final and complete Christianization of Western Pomerania and forced Polish rule on the land of Lubusz (Lebus), on the Oder, thus restoring the previous boundaries of the empire of Mieszko I. But the German emperor Lothair finally pushed the German frontier to the banks of the Oder and the western shores of the Neisse (Nysa) River. Bolesław was forced to swear allegiance to Lothair in return for Western Pomerania and the island of Rügen in 1135.

The period of division. Endeavouring to reconcile the separatist demands of the provinces with the needs of national unity, Bolesław III divided Poland among his sons, with the result that Poland ceased to be a united state for two centuries. The eldest son, who was already prince of Silesia and also owned Pomorze (Pomerania), was to have seniority over his brothers and rule over "the land of the senior," with its capital in Cracow; this territory stretched from western Little Poland to central Poland and on to the Baltic shore (eastern Pomerania and Gdańsk). His brothers ruled over Great Poland with Poznań and western Kujavia; Mazovia (in the basin of the middle Vistula) and eastern Kujavia (within the Vistula bend); and Sandomierz (east of Little Poland).

The seniority system. A "seniority constitution" was also introduced with this arrangement, but the plan immediately led to strife. The first "senior," Władysław II the Exile (1138–46), was forced into exile and fled to Germany. His brother Bolesław IV the Curly, hereditary duke of Mazovia, asserted himself as senior between 1146 and 1173, but this led to conflict with the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, who intervened twice (1163 and 1172) to secure Silesia for the sons of Władysław II. Władysław's sons divided it among themselves and founded the lineage of the Silesian Piasts; yet another son became the third senior. Of these sons, Mieszko III the Old (1173–77) was exiled from Cracow during a rebellion in 1177 but succeeded in retaining his hereditary land, Great Poland. His youngest brother, Casimir II the Just (1177–94), succeeded as senior after him and, in 1186, also acquired Mazovia, thus becoming the ancestor of the Mazovian line of the Piasts. After the Congress of Łęczyca in 1180, the land of the senior—Little Poland with its capital, the city of Cracow—became a hereditary land like the other lands. Both Pope Alexander III and the emperor Frederick I recognized this decision, but one of its great disadvantages was that the internal unity of Poland would be constantly exposed to foreign hereditary claims as a result. Leszek the White was the last duke who claimed the honour of senior with some success, but he was assassinated together with other Piast dukes in 1227.

Territorial losses. The internal disintegration of Poland led to the secession of the lands along the Baltic Sea and other border regions. Bogusław I (who ruled about 1156–87), the son of Warcisław I, was forced to yield Western Pomerania to the Danish crown. Even the reigning governor of Eastern Pomerania and Gdańsk, Świętopełk I (died 1266), took advantage of the weakness of the Piasts. Instrumental in the assassination of Leszek the White, he asserted his country's independence and styled himself sovereign duke of Eastern Pomerania, though regarded as a usurper by the Piasts.

The Teutonic Order. The establishment of the Order of the Teutonic Knights, a German crusading organization

that had lost a sphere for its activities in Palestine, was of dangerous consequence for Poland. His lands harried by heathen Lithuanians, Jatvingians, and Prussians, Duke Konrad I of Mazovia (died 1247) called for help from the Teutonic Order in 1225–26, leaving them the lands of Chełmno (Kulm) east of the lower Vistula River as a territorial base for combat and control of the Prussians in 1228–30. The grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Hermann von Salza, received sovereign rights over the "masterless heathen country" of the Prussians in the Golden Bull of Rimini (1226) from the emperor Frederick II and in the Privilegium of Rieti (1234) from Pope Gregory IX. His Order then tried to create an independent state, in spite of Konrad I's claim to sovereignty over the land. In the event, the Order established a system of local government in Chełmno and in Prussia. The subjugation and Christianization of Prussia was completed by 1283. The Teutonic Order soon became the principal military power in Europe, for it was in possession of about 20 provinces (bailiwicks) in Germany and Italy alone and received reinforcements from all the knightly bodies in Europe for its wars.

Internal developments. In Poland the era of knight-hood, from about 1025 to 1241, saw the emergence of a Latin church organization and, in architecture, the development of the Romanesque style. By now the Polish aristocracy owned large landed estates and also occupied the most important administrative positions at court and in the provinces. With the division of the country into six to nine provinces and the continuous partition of the country itself from 1138 on, similar posts were also established within each individual duchy. The division into castle districts, each under a feudal baron, remained within the individual sections of the country. Fortified by mighty ramparts, the cities were under the patronage of the chief castles. The internal unity of the Polish nation remained intact in spite of the many partitions and, in accordance with Polish law, the dukes exercised no personal power but a collective sovereignty. From about 1058 Cracow was considered the common capital for about five centuries. The most important protector of the unity of Poland was the metropolitanate of Gniezno. The church supremacy of Magdeburg was once again postulated in 1133, but it was definitely rejected and Gniezno won recognition as its own church province. The archbishopric of Gniezno held the largest estates in Poland (1136), controlling 149 cities and villages. The oldest monastery of Poland was established about 1044 in Tyńiec (near Cracow) by the Benedictines. The Order of the Cistercians led the second wave of founding monasteries, mainly from Morimond (Burgundia) and Altenberg (near Cologne).

THE MONGOL INVASIONS AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM, 1241–1382

The Mongol invasion (1241–42), in Poland's period of division, turned the tide of Poland's history. The Mongol leader Batu Khan first conquered Kiev and most of the Russian principalities before defeating the Polish army at Chmielnik and the Silesian knights of the Teutonic Order at Legnica (Liegnitz; 1241). This frustrated the attempt of the two Silesian dukes Henry I (1201–38) and Henry II (1238–41) to unite all the Polish lands. The Mongols retired in 1242 in order to elect a new great khan in Mongolia but still remained masters, for another 50 years, of Red Ruthenia (Red Russia), east of Little Poland; from this base their repeated raids devastated Poland. Meanwhile, Great Poland and especially Mazovia suffered from raids by the heathen Lithuanians (1246–1307) and Jatvingians (1248–82). The Mazovian border region around Drohiczyn on the Bug River was lost to Mongol Red Ruthenia around 1241–52, and the land of Lubus with its river passage across the Oder River to the Askanians of Brandenburg, about 1249–52.

Attempts at reunification. When Bishop Stanisław was canonized in 1253, Poland acquired a new national patron saint whose cult spread rapidly in the church province of Gniezno. As part of the community of the Holy See, Polish church members contributed the special levy,

Supremacy of the Teutonic Order

The Mongol raids

Re-establishment
of the
kingdom

Peter's Penny, to Rome. The Synod of Łęczysca (1285) further promoted unity by demanding the advancement of the Polish language. The Bohemian king Vaclav II (1278–1305) attempted a new dynastic reunification of Poland. Establishing his sovereignty over most of the Silesian duchies around 1289–91, he also gained supremacy over the Duchy of Cracow in 1291–92.

Przemysł II. His opponent was Przemysł II (1279–96), who had reunited Great Poland (including Gniezno) in 1279 and Eastern Pomerania in 1294 and who became the first Piast duke to regain direct rule over more than just a sector region. His coronation by the archbishop in 1295 in Gniezno re-established the kingdom of Poland. Przemysł was assassinated in 1296, however, presumably at the instigation of the Margrave of Brandenburg.

Vaclav II. Vaclav (Wacław) II (1300–05) of Bohemia, who succeeded him as king, ruled over about two-thirds of all Polish territory. Vaclav II himself considered these lands as almost an extension of Bohemia and, consequently, as part of the Holy Roman Empire. His early death in 1305 and the assassination of his son Vaclav (Wacław) III the following year left both the Polish and the Bohemian thrones vacant.

Władysław I the Short, 1314–33. The opportunity had now arrived for the minor Piast prince Władysław the Short to establish himself. Władysław cleverly availed himself of the support of Hungary and the traditional protection of the Holy See. He occupied Little Poland in 1305 and sought the help of the Teutonic Order to regain Eastern Pomerania in 1308. The Teutonic Knights, however, bought the interests to these lands from the Brandenburg rulers and established themselves as the legal authority, incorporating Eastern Pomerania into Prussia. By 1314 Władysław had secured Great Poland, and in 1320 he was crowned king of Poland as Władysław I with the consent of the Roman Curia. This act restored the Polish Crown through a national dynasty, and for the next 475 years the crown was to remain the symbol of unity for Poland. The Piast dukes welcomed immigrant Germans and Flemings into Polish territories, and resettlement took place according to the municipal law of Magdeburg, based on German law, which was applied first to the great old cities of Wrocław (1241), Poznań (1253), and Cracow (1257).

Struggle against the Teutonic Order. The new king Władysław I, faced the opposition of a coalition between Bohemia and the Teutonic Order. The new Bohemian king, John of Luxemburg, laid claim to the Polish crown, and almost all of the Piast dukes in Silesia had recognized him as their feudal lord by 1327–29. Only the little principality of Wieluń (1321–29) was loyal to Władysław I. He instituted lawsuits against the Teutonic Order for the sovereignty of Eastern Pomerania but without success. The Teutonic Knights and the Bohemians terribly devastated Great Poland, especially in the war of 1328–32.

Alliance with Hungary and Lithuania. At the Battle of Płowce (1331), however, Władysław drove them back and, in alliance with Hungary and Lithuania, secured Poland. Ties with Hungary were strengthened by the marriage of Władysław's daughter Elizabeth (Elżbieta) to the new Angevin king of Hungary, Charles I, in 1320, and the Polish crown prince Casimir (Kazimierz) was married to the Lithuanian princess Anna (Aldona) in 1325, thus creating a pact with Lithuania.

Casimir III the Great, 1333–70. Władysław's son Casimir was a highly talented statesman and administrator. During the congresses of Trenčín and Vyšehrad in Upper Hungary (Slovakia), he persuaded John I of Luxemburg to relinquish his claims to the Polish crown. In return, after an unsuccessful campaign in 1348 and in face of the Silesian Piast dukes' support of the Bohemian crown, Casimir was forced to renounce finally all demands on Silesia, the country's most densely populated and wealthiest region. In the Treaty of Kalisz in 1343, Casimir relinquished all claims to Eastern Pomerania in favour of the Teutonic Order—for the time being. Instead, he coerced the Piast dukes of Mazovia to recognize him as their overlord and seized parts of Mazovia. He also regained

Treaty of
Kalisz

some of the lands in the west that had been annexed by Brandenburg. Between 1340 and 1352 Casimir won Red Ruthenia with the cities of Przemyśl, Lwów (Lvov), and Halicz; and in 1366 he extended his rule over the Ruthenian principalities of Chełm, Betz, Włodzimierz, and Podolia. Poland had now become a power, and at the Congress of Cracow, Casimir functioned as a mediator between Emperor Charles IV of Bohemia and Louis (Ludwig) I of Hungary. Casimir died in 1370 without a male heir, but in his will he appointed his grandson Casimir to be prince of Pomerania and awarded him parts of the Polish territory to tie Western Pomerania to Poland.

Louis I of Hungary, 1370–82. Poland nevertheless remained a unified kingdom under Casimir's successor, his nephew Louis I of Hungary. The only losses were some border areas annexed by Brandenburg and Lithuania. Louis, however, regarded Poland as his secondary kingdom, and a specially appointed governor took over the administration of Halicz Ruthenia. The Polish aristocracy, a deciding factor in the succession to the throne of Poland in 1370 and 1382, obtained from Louis the grant of special privileges at Košice (Kaschau; 1374), which formed the basis of a Polish "Magna Carta."

Internal developments and reform. *Construction of cities and buildings.* The years from 1320 to 1382 marked the founding of new cities. During the reign of Casimir the Great, as many as 47 new cities were founded in Little Poland and 32 in Great Poland. Casimir also established local courts of justice for the cities of Little Poland (1356) and Great Poland (1365), in order to separate his country from the jurisdiction of Magdeburg and the need for its appellate court. A great builder, Casimir was said to have found a country of wood and left a country of stone: he ordered the construction of 53 castles and fortifications for 27 cities, and during his reign numerous Gothic town halls and merchant houses were erected.

Role of the nobility. Even though a new social class of burghers and merchants evolved in the cities of Poland, the aristocracy remained the most influential group in politics. The first confederation of nobles in Polish history was founded in Great Poland in 1352–56. Since the previous official positions in the separate palatinates of Poland had long before become the benefices of the aristocracy, Casimir and Louis appointed a governor (*starosta capitaneus*) for each section of the country, after the example set by Vaclav II (1291). The office of *starosta* remained the most important branch of executive power during the next 470 years. In the Statute of Wiślica (about 1346) Casimir codified the law that was in force in Little Poland. This *jus Polonicum*—the law of the nobility (as opposed to the *jus Teutonicum*, which was the law for the burgher-peasant population of Poland)—was later extended and applied throughout Poland, including Red Ruthenia and Podolia.

The church. The Catholic Church influenced the character of public life in Poland. Poland had lost Silesia in 1348, but the Silesian bishopric of Wrocław remained under the church authority of Gniezno for another 400 years. The Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian mendicant preaching orders had already built 80 monasteries in the metropolitanate of Gniezno by 1382. Yet, in spite of the power of the Catholic Church, the ideal of religious tolerance became so entrenched in the consciousness of the Polish people that Casimir the Great found it advisable to establish it as one of his basic policies. In addition to Gniezno, the metropolitanate of Halicz-Lwów was established; and a separate Eastern Orthodox metropolitanate in Halicz (later Lwów), and an Armenian bishopric (later archbishopric) of Lwów were founded. Casimir's kingdom was the only continental European country where several Christian creeds were able to live side by side for any length of time two centuries before the Reformation.

Protection of the Jews. Casimir the Great also provided, with the Statute of Wiślica (1346), protection for the Jews from pogroms and ritual murders at the hands of the Christians. When the Black Death raged through the German lands between 1348 and 1352, over 300 Jewish communities were either destroyed or expelled from their

Religious
tolerance

homelands. The survivors migrated to Poland. Ever since, the majority of Polish Jews has consisted of Ashkenazim (from Germany). Retaining their own Middle High German language—later evolved into Yiddish—most of the Jews rejected any language assimilation until their near extermination by the Nazis during World War II. The Poland of Casimir thus developed into a cosmopolitan empire: Poles, Germans, Ruthenians, Flemings, Walachians, Jews, Armenians, and even Tatars and Karaites living together. There were then about a dozen official languages of administration and worship. Religious and political tolerance was reflected in the founding in 1364 of the University of Cracow, after Prague the second oldest university in Central or Eastern Europe, whose brilliant faculty of law prepared for the later juridical thinking during the Renaissance in Europe.

THE JAGIELLON DYNASTY, 1382-1492

Jadwiga and Władysław II Jagiełło. The union between Poland and Hungary was broken with the death of Louis because the Hungarian aristocracy chose his eldest daughter, Maria, to be their queen, whereas the Polish aristocracy gave preference to his ten-year-old daughter Jadwiga (1384). This was the first step in the direction of developing an elected Polish monarch. The Polish aristocracy favoured a dynastic alliance with Lithuania, especially in order to regain Red Ruthenia and Podolia, which had become estranged from Poland under Louis's regime.

Union of Poland and Lithuania. The grand duke of Lithuania (from 1377 to 1401), Jagiełło (Jogailas), was still a heathen; but after adoption by the widow queen Elizabeth in the Union of Krewa (1385), he was married to the crown princess Jadwiga. Jagiełło thus accepted the Catholic faith and became the recognized "Master and King of Poland" under the assumed name of Władysław II Jagiełło in 1386. This procedure created a Polish-Lithuanian union, a union that continued under the Jagiełło dynasty during the following 183 years. But the effect was that Poland was able to incorporate, during 1385-86, a state about four times as large as the original Polish realm. The bishopric of Wilno was established in 1387 to convert the Lithuanian people to the Catholic faith. Another area belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church. The polyethnic, multireligious, and legal-constitutional structure of the Jagiełło empire was more complicated than ever before. The authority of Władysław II also included the old Russian capital Kiev, which had come under Lithuanian suzerainty in 1366 and was now reduced to the status of a residential border town, set up as a buffer against the Mongols and Tatars. To the southeast of these lands stretched more than 58,000 square miles (or about 150,000 square kilometres) of almost uninhabited steppe country, which belonged to Lithuania in name only. The annexation of Lithuania secured the eastern boundaries of Poland against the attacks of the Mongol and Tatar tribes as well as against those from the great principality of Moscow, then under Mongol and Tatar control. It meant also, however, that Poland had to defend Lithuania against the incursions of the Teutonic Order. With the help of the Lithuanians (1387), Poland was able to renew the incorporation of Red Ruthenia and Podolia and to assert its authority over the principality of Moldavia (1387-1497), until then a minor country under Hungarian rule. This meant access to the direct trading route to the Orient, and Poland now became a partner in the rich Oriental commerce that flowed via the cities of Kaffa (Feodosia, in the Crimea) and Akkerman (now Belgorod-Dnestrovsky).

Władysław II and Vytautas. Władysław II and Jadwiga reigned together until Jadwiga's death in 1399. Władysław then ruled as the sole king of Poland (1399-1434). In Lithuania, Władysław found it expedient to acknowledge his cousin Vytautas (Witold; 1392-1430), first as governor, then as duke (1401), and finally as grand duke of Lithuania (1413). But he himself kept supreme command. To free his hands to attack the Tatars and annex Moscow, Vytautas surrendered the Duchy of Samogitia (Zmudz), which linked the Teutonic Order lands of Prus-

sia and of Courland, to the Teutonic Order in 1398 in return for the cessation of all hostilities between them. He suffered a grave defeat in 1399, however, on the Vorskla River against the Mongols of the Golden Horde, which ended Lithuania's eastward expansion. Vytautas also supported rebellions in the still pagan Samogitia (1401 and 1409), which prompted the Teutonic grand master Ulrich von Jungingen to declare war against Władysław II in 1409. The Teutonic Knights suffered a decisive defeat in the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg) in 1410, which broke the power of the Teutonic Order. The first Treaty of Toruń (1411) returned Samogitia to Lithuania; the return of Eastern Pomerania to Poland was discussed at the Council of Constance (1414-18) and was a factor in two later wars (1421-22 and 1431-35), but the Order remained in possession of the territory. When the Protestant Hussite rebellion broke out in 1419, Władysław II favoured the Hussites, even promoting his relative Sigismund (Zygmunt) as the Hussite candidate for the Bohemian throne in 1422. Because this brought him under suspicion of being a heretic and friend of the heathens, Władysław felt obliged to issue the strong Edict of Wieluń in 1424, against Hussite trends among the Polish nobility, and he crushed a pro-Hussite confederation of the lower Polish nobility in 1438-39. Władysław had obtained 16 mainly German mountain cities in the Spisz (south of the High Tatra Mountains) in 1412, thus giving Poland a share in the mining activities of upper Hungary, the richest in Europe at that time.

Władysław III, 1434-44. Władysław II was succeeded on his death by his ten-year-old son, Władysław III, the chief position in the realm being held by the most eminent of the Cracow magnates, Zbigniew of Oleśnica, bishop of Cracow and one of the previous king's chief advisers. Władysław III renewed the Polish-Hungarian union with the help of the Hungarian commander in chief János Hunyadi (1443-44). Under the influence of the strongly Catholic Zbigniew of Oleśnica, he organized a crusade in order to save Byzantium, which was then threatened by the Ottoman Empire. Władysław died when only 20 in the catastrophic defeat of Varna (1444) on the coast of the Black Sea. The Ottoman troops conquered Byzantium in 1453 and marched immediately against Hungary. The threat was delayed for some decades, however when Hunyadi defeated the Ottomans in 1456. But the Hungarian imperial administration of Hunyadi terminated the Polish-Hungarian union.

Casimir IV Jagiellończyk, 1447-92. The younger brother of Władysław III, Casimir, had been ruling as the grand duke of Lithuania since 1440, but it was only after a long interregnum in Poland that he was finally recognized as the king. He signed a treaty with Moscow that established the Lithuanian boundary about 90 miles (150 kilometres) west of Moscow. This secured the eastern boundary for 37 years. The peace in the east became important when, in 1454, uprising against the rule of the Teutonic knights broke into the open, led by the cities of Gdańsk, Toruń, and Elbląg, which requested Casimir IV to integrate the Prussian-Eastern Pomeranian lands of the Teutonic Knights with Poland (1454). This marked the start of the Thirteen Years' War against the Teutonic Order. The second Treaty of Toruń (1466) recovered for Poland the former Eastern Pomerania (which received the new name of Royal Prussia), along with the bishopric of Warmia (Ermland). The rest of the territory of the Teutonic Knights acknowledged the king of Poland, and Königsberg became the new residence of the Order's grand master. Poland won back the access to the Baltic Sea that it had lost in 1308-09, and Polish rule now stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea for a period of 32 years. Poland became a trading partner with access to the most profitable trading routes crossing the European continent.

Extension of the empire. The King's main interest still lay with the so-often-attempted union with Bohemia and Hungary. Casimir IV succeeded in temporarily acquiring the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1471 (finally acquired 1478-79), for his oldest son Władysław (Vladislav). The smaller Bohemian lands, Moravia and Silesia, remained

Defeat
by the
Mongols

Edict of
Wieluń

Extension
of Polish
rule

under the rule of Matthias I Corvinus, the son of János Hunyadi. But after the death of Matthias, even Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary finally recognized Władysław as their king (1491–92). The result of this dynastic union was the creation of one of the largest empires in Europe. By 1491–92 Casimir IV controlled an area of at least 336,000 square miles (870,000 square kilometres), while his son Władysław ruled the Bohemian lands of the crown of Vaclav and the Hungarian lands of the crown of Stephen, an area of at least 174,000 square miles (450,000 square kilometres). This agglomeration of states was, however, as much torn by internal strife as it was exposed to external danger—the greatest external threat coming from the Ottoman Empire and its ally, the tsar of Moscow.

Privileges
of the
nobility

Growth of the power of the nobility. Political authority in Poland was gradually taken over by the aristocracy. Aided by the mechanism of the election of kings, the many wars, and the tax exemptions, they were able to slowly reorganize the kingdom into a monarchy of the estates. The main organ of aristocratic authority was the Privy Council (1385–1493), which became the Senate after 1493. The rights and privileges of the nobility were successively established between 1422 and 1433, securing for them the right to a voice in political matters, their factual exemption from taxation, and finally the political and judicial maxim of habeas corpus, or no imprisonment without trial. After the Union of Horodło (1413), the regional assemblies slowly grew into provincial diets (*sejmiki*), becoming recognized as standing establishments in all parts of the country with the Privilegium of Nieszawa (1454). In addition to the Polish diet (*sejm*), the Prussian diet held a special position with its own particular law. The lower nobility represented its own interests (which were usually directed against the special hegemony of the aristocracy) through elected delegates.

Development of parliamentarianism. These delegates marked the beginning of parliamentarianism in Poland when they assembled for the first time in a House of Legates at Piotrków (1493). After this, the Polish Senate became the upper house and the House of Legates became the lower house of the Polish Parliament, or Sejm. Lithuania also absorbed the culture and the system of government of Poland through the German municipal laws, introduced by the Polish burghers. According to the statutes of 1386–87, at first only the newly converted Catholic nobles were equal to the nobility of Poland, excluding the Eastern Orthodox Boyars, many of whom seceded to the Tsar of Russia. But the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobles were gradually assimilated into the Polish sphere of interests, and in 1447–93, the first diets of the great principality were formed.

II. The Polish Commonwealth, 1492–1795

THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN EMPIRE, 1492–1572

Union of
Mielnik

After the death of Casimir IV, his second son, John Albert (1492–1501), ascended the throne of Poland, and the two countries were temporarily separated, his third son, Alexander, becoming grand prince of Lithuania. John Albert died early, and Alexander succeeded him as king of Poland (1501–06) through the Union of Mielnik (1501). Poland and Lithuania were thus united again. A statute of 1499 called the combined kingdoms a "republic" for the first time, terming the Union of Mielnik an indivisible body. The social, economic, and constitutional union became even further consolidated under the reign of the fourth of the Jagiellon brothers (Casimir IV's sons), King Sigismund I the Old (1506–48). Ruled by the eldest of the Jagiellons, Władysław (1491–1516) and his son Louis II (1516–26), the combined Kingdom of Bohemia and Hungary remained only loosely connected with the unified Kingdom of Poland-Lithuania.

The Ottoman incursions. The Ottoman Empire directed its attacks mainly against the unified states of the Jagiellons, conquering the commercial trading cities of Kaffa (1475), Kilia, and Akkerman (1484). This meant that Poland was now cut off entirely from the trade with the Orient. In addition, Poland found yet another enemy in the Tatars in the Crimea. These had come under Otto-

man rule in 1475, and from 1492 they undertook pillaging and slave raids into Red Ruthenia and Little Poland. The Tatars of the Crimea pushed into Polish territory with the aid of the Ottomans, reaching Cracow in 1498–99. Now Moldavia had also come under the influence of the Ottomans and Tatars. John Albert, the brilliant Polish commander in chief, had always been victorious against the Tatars, but he suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Moldavians in the forests of Suceava in 1497.

Russian invasion. Tsar Ivan III the Great took advantage of the situation, and, allying himself with the Tatars of the Crimea, he attacked Lithuania twice (1486–94 and 1500–03), capturing all the principalities on the Oka and Desna rivers as far as the middle of the Dnieper River. Another ally of Russia, the German emperor Maximilian I, laid claim to Bohemia and Hungary and prompted the states of the Teutonic Order to rebel against Poland. The result was that the grand master Frederick of Saxony (1498–1510) refused to swear his oath of allegiance, and his successor, Albert (Albrecht) of Hohenzollern, a cousin of the elector of Brandenburg, went so far as to enter into an alliance with Russia (1517). Poland supplied armed help to Lithuania, but in spite of this Russia took the city of Smoleńsk (1514) in the course of two wars (1507–08 and 1512–22). After this, at the First Congress of Vienna (1515), Maximilian changed sides, renouncing the help of both Russia and the Teutonic Order. Instead, he entered into a mutual hereditary agreement with the Jagiellon kings with respect to the succession in Bohemia and Hungary.

Alliance with the Turks. The Ottoman troops advanced all the way through Little Poland (1524), under the leadership of their Sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent, and at the first Battle of Mohács (1526) they conquered the greater part of Hungary, killing King Louis II, the last Hungarian Jagiellon. The Ottomans next posed a great threat to Vienna (1529), and Poland found it wise to conclude a perpetual peace agreement with them in 1533. This did not, however, prevent the Muslims from threatening Poland's southern boundaries from bases in Hungary—a threat that was to last for about 140 years.

Re-establishment of Polish security. Renewed Moldavian and Russian attacks were repelled by the Polish troops under the brilliant leadership of Jan Tarnowski. Sigismund I the Old was able to incorporate the Duchy of Mazovia into his empire after the death of the last of the Piasts in Mazovia (1524–29). His campaign from 1519 to 1522 also secured Polish sovereignty over Prussia. Albert of Hohenzollern became the first secular duke of Prussia to swear an oath of allegiance to Sigismund (1525), and the land came to be known as Ducal Prussia.

Sigismund II Augustus, 1548–72. The son of Sigismund the Old, Sigismund Augustus, was the last Polish Jagiellon. Trying to insure his country against the threats from the Ottoman and Russian empires, he sought alliances with the emperor Charles V and the Roman king Ferdinand I (1549). This at least brought him Charles's final renunciation of any intervention on his part in settling the question of the constitutional position of both Royal and Ducal Prussia. For 24 years Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible had led a war of conquest in order to obtain the remains of the lands of the Teutonic Order in Livonia (1558–82), and he succeeded in occupying part of the territory. This prompted Sigismund Augustus to enter into an agreement (the Union of Wilno [1561]), with the last grand master of the Order, Wilhelm Ketteler, integrating Livonia directly with Poland while Courland (now a secular duchy) had to recognize the authority of Poland. This antagonized Russia, which invaded Poland and conquered the lands of Połock on the Dvina River in the first Nordic War (1563–70). Under pressure of the threat posed by Russia and also because there was no heir to the throne, the Sejm combined the former crown lands, Lithuanian, Royal Prussia, and Livonia in the Union of Lublin, creating a unified and indivisible republic (1569).

Unification of the kingdom. The Polish population now began to integrate the nobility, the burghers, and a large part of the peasantry in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian

High level
of
education

regions in the east. From about 1420, but in particular between 1540 and 1580, the people of densely populated Mazovia began to migrate. Resettling, they colonized the enormous virgin forests in the west of Lithuania—particularly Podlasie. Moving south, they also settled in the Duchy of Prussia. As early as 1582, there were more than 150,000 Jews among the many nationalities of the Polish Commonwealth, more than in all the rest of Europe. The two main parts of the country that comprised the Polish Republic—the crown lands and Lithuania—each retained its own ministers, treasury, and army. Unification was finally accomplished by the consolidation of a common elective kingdom with a functioning Sejm, or Diet, consisting of two houses. The upper house seated about 100 senators, and the lower house approximately 150 delegates. This arrangement created a Royal Republic in 1569, with a constitution that was in many ways similar to the constitutions of England and Hungary, and it remained basically unchanged for the next 226 years.

Constitutional change. Between 1493 and 1569 the Polish Estate Kingdom slowly evolved into a parliamentary monarchy, which was governed almost entirely by the nobility. The Sejm of Piotrków, in 1493, was the first of about 200 diets that would be convened in the course of the next 300 years. From the assembly of the Sejm of Mielnik in 1501, the king was regarded as the president of the Senate, and in 1505 the constitutional act *Nihil Novi* ("No innovations") decreed the making of laws to be the sole right of Parliament. The supreme authority of the aristocracy led to a constantly growing opposition from the ranks of the lower nobility, who were incensed at the aristocracy's virtual escape from the burdens of taxation. The lower nobility at last secured their own appointment to the supervision of the highest courts of appeal and secured the formal recognition of their equality with the aristocracy, together with the prohibition of titles (e.g., duke, prince, margrave, count). The superiority of the aristocracy over the lower nobility continued, however, since the aristocracy still remained in possession of the wealthiest estates of the country, while the lower nobility were very often poor and propertyless.

Trade and wealth. The "Golden Age" of Poland expressed itself in the wealth of the country and a favourable boom in its foreign trade. Raw materials such as grain, lumber, cattle livestock, hemp, flax, and potash showed a lively export trade, especially to the Netherlands and to England, by way of the autonomous free republic of Gdańsk (Danzig), which controlled about 80 percent of Poland's foreign trade on the basis of its monopoly (*jus stapulae*). Second only to Amsterdam, Gdańsk became the most important trading city of central and eastern Europe by 1576. The production of raw materials was in the hands of the propertied Polish nobles, now turned into farming entrepreneurs.

The exploitation of the peasantry. The nobles extended their previous manorial domination over the peasant class with statutes passed in 1496, 1518–20, 1532, and 1543 that reduced the peasants to virtually the same status as property; they came under the jurisdiction of the nobles and, as a result, lived under conditions of virtual slavery as cheap labour for the nobles' farmstead economy. The discovery of the Americas paved the way to the second feudal system in Poland, made possible by the imports of gold and silver from the American continent. In contrast, the same era led to the establishment of modern manufacturing plants and industrial enterprises in western Europe, ushering in the period of early capitalism.

Just as in other countries, the wealth of the Golden Age led to a gradual currency inflation in Poland. Rather than being invested in industrial developments, the money was spent on luxury items for the nobles and, above all, on grandiose building constructions.

Cultural developments. The Renaissance and the Age of Humanism set their stamp for ever after on the spiritual and intellectual life in Poland. The art of book printing (in Cracow alone there were eight printing presses by 1580) and general school education spread. As many as one-quarter of the Polish population were able to read

and write by 1550–80. Young Poles studied at major foreign universities, particularly at Padua, at Bologna, and at the Sorbonne, as well as at the Protestant universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig, Königsberg, Tübingen, and Basel. The department of astronomy at the University of Cracow achieved world renown through Nicolaus Copernicus (Mikołaj Kopernik; 1473–1543) and his work on the motions of the planets. Polish literary language came into its own, supplanting the use of Latin alone by scholars. The first Polish books were printed between 1514 and 1524, and the first Polish translation of the Bible appeared in 1534. Although still partly German, the burgher class was now integrated completely into the cultural mainstream of Poland. It was also of the greatest significance that the political science philosophy of Greco-Roman antiquity found general acceptance at this time, inspiring such works on the theory of political science as Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski's *De Republica Emendanda* ("Of the reform of the Republic"; 1551), which was translated into almost every language spoken in Europe.

The Reformation. The Reformation came to Poland from Germany, Italy, France, and Bohemia between the years 1523 and 1526. Lutheran and Calvinist denominations were established alongside the originally Hussite Bohemian Brethren and the Anti-Trinitarians, or Arians (from about 1562–65). Under the spiritual leadership of Laelius Socinus (1525–62) and Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) the Arians strove for both a rational secularization of religious life and a radical change in society, including the liberation of the peasantry. In spite of the first suppressive edicts of 1520–26, the Reformation gained strength, particularly after the Sejm suspended the secular execution of ecclesiastical sentences (1552). After this, Poland was the only country in Europe without religious persecutions for about the next 130 years. The Lutheran, Calvinist, and Hussite denominations consolidated in 1570 at the Concord of Sandomierz, but this soon disintegrated because of dogmatic differences. The Compact of Warsaw in 1573 removed the Catholic Church from its dominant position, introducing the constitutional equality of all religions—the first enactment in Europe of complete religious tolerance. The Reformation had affected about one-sixth of all parishes in the Polish and Lithuanian regions by 1562–91. The Eastern Orthodox Church was hardly touched by the Reformation, which received its greatest support from the nobility and the educated burgher classes, while the lower middle class and the peasantry in general remained Catholic. The effects of the Reformation persisted only among the German population of Great Poland and that of Royal Prussia (Gdańsk), in addition to a few larger cities, such as Warsaw and Wilno.

THE "SILVER AGE" OF THE ROYAL REPUBLIC, 1572–1648

The Interregnum and reform of the monarchy. *Constitutional reform.* The Interregnum, or period without a ruler, lasted from 1572 to 1575. During this time the republican constitution was further improved and extended. The election of Henry III of Valois (1573–74)—King Henry III of France from 1574—introduced and established the basic rule that not only the council of the aristocracy but also all nobles and squires should elect the king. This meant a formal victory for the lower nobility and the founding of the Polish rule by the nobility. The fundamental basis of the constitution, the "Henrician Articles" of 1573, required the king to swear an oath reducing his authority to no more than that of a contract partner in a sovereign nation of nobles. The king was also obliged to convoke the Sejm every two years; and in the periods between the sessions he was to be advised by a group of senators. Should the king fail to observe any of these articles, the nation was ipso facto absolved from its allegiance.

Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory), 1576–86. The next elected king was Stephen Báthory (Stefan Batory), who had defeated his opponent, the emperor Maximilian II. During his reign the leading statesman Jan Zamoyski

Successful
campaigns
against
Tsar Ivan
IV

rose to the positions of grand chancellor (1578) and grand hetman (commander in chief; 1580). Zamoyski had been instrumental in gaining the victory for the lower nobility during the Interregnum. Now, Stephen Báthory and Zamoyski defeated Tsar Ivan IV with three brilliant campaigns (1578–81), forcing the Russians to return the occupied territories of Livonia and Połock by 1582.

Sigismund III Vasa, 1587–1632. Báthory was succeeded by Sigismund III Vasa, who defeated Maximilian of Austria. Since he was also the legitimate king of Sweden—as the son of John III Vasa of Sweden and of Catherine, daughter of Sigismund I—Sigismund established a brief Polish–Swedish union, but this soon fell apart as the result of Swedish–Lutheran opposition to the Catholic faith of their king.

The Swedish–Polish War of Succession. Revolting against Sigismund III in 1599–1600, Sweden pursued the Swedish–Polish war for 35 years, but Sigismund never relinquished his demands for the Swedish crown. The Polish grand hetmans Zamoyski and Jan Chodkiewicz were at first able to repel the attacks of the Swedes against Livonia (1600–09). They won a famous victory in the Battle of Kirkholm (1605), although outnumbered four to one by the Swedes. In the meantime, a Polish volunteer corps helped the False Dmitry to gain the tsar's throne in 1605–06. Sigismund found it necessary to openly intervene in Russia (1609–13) when a coup d'état took place there. Under the leadership of Stanisław Żółkiewski, the Polish army won a brilliant victory at Kłuszyn (1610) against a sixfold Russian–Swedish majority. Polish troops occupied Moscow (1610–12), but they were driven out by the new tsar, Michael Romanov (1613–18). The important fort of Smoleńsk remained with Poland (1618–54).

The Thirty Years' War. At the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618), Sigismund remained officially neutral but favoured the Austrian side. The Prince of Transylvania had advanced and occupied Vienna, but a decisive victory by the Polish army in 1619 prepared the way for the Austrian victory at the Bila Hora (Weisser Berg, or White Mountain) in 1620. Although the Poles won a decisive victory against the Turks also at the Battle of Chocim on the Dniester River in 1621, the Turkish attacks did not cease for another decade. Taking advantage of this Polish predicament, Sigismund's cousin, Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden, occupied Livonia and its important Baltic seaport Riga (1621). At the Peace of Altmärk, the Swedes temporarily gained possession of Livonia as well as of some Royal Prussian port cities (1629–35).

Władysław IV Vasa, 1632–48. A highly talented field marshal, Sigismund's son Władysław IV (1632–48) assured the existence of Poland when he repelled the renewed attacks of the Turks, Russians, and Swedes (1633–34). He also reconquered, in 1635, the Prussian ports on the Baltic Sea that Sweden had occupied. But his plans to establish a Polish navy that would hold its own against the Swedish domination of the Baltic, to regain sovereign rights over Livonia (1639), and to prepare for an extensive war against the Ottoman Empire (1646–47) were all frustrated by the disinclination of the Polish nobles to wage wars. They wanted peace at any price in order to take advantage of the splendid opportunities opening up on the European market in the wake of the Thirty Years' War.

The Cossack revolt. The prominent powers in northern, eastern, and southeastern Europe had attacked Poland constantly and had forced the republic into repeated compromises on the question of sovereign rights over the Ukraine and the Duchy of Prussia. Meanwhile, the nomadic Ruthenian–Eastern Orthodox farmers—the Cossacks—had established themselves in the Ukraine, and their number was steadily growing with the addition of escaping peasants from Poland and Russia. The Polish landed estate owners could hardly keep them under control over the vastness of the barely populated steppe that the Cossacks inhabited. The Cossacks eventually rebelled against the constant attempts on the part of the Polish

estate owners to reduce them to the state of bonded peasants, and their leaders demanded a position of equality with the Polish nobility. The Cossacks remained the foremost social danger in the republic, allying themselves with the Tatars in 1648.

Poland's access to the Baltic endangered. In 1618 John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg (1608–20) also became duke in Prussia, and thus the two crowns were now in personal union, though the sovereignty over Ducal Prussia remained with the Polish crown. His grandson, however, the Great Elector Frederick William (1640–88), by clever manoeuvring between Sweden and Poland, succeeded in removing Ducal Prussia from Polish sovereignty by the Treaty of Welawa (Wehlau) in 1657. From then on, the Brandenburg state of Prussia became the most dangerous of Poland's neighbours, not least because Frederick William intended to establish a territorial connection between Western Pomerania and the Duchy of Prussia, henceforth a leading aim of Brandenburg–Prussian politics until the First Partition of Poland about 115 years later. It threatened to cut off Poland from its connections with the Baltic Sea.

Economic prosperity. The booming years between 1577 and 1654 became the high point in the history of Polish economics. At that time, Poland was considered, appropriately, the "granary of Europe." Polish grain was exported to France, England, Spain, and sometimes even to Italy and the Near East via Amsterdam, where the most important grain stock exchange was located. Gdańsk soared in importance to the rank of a trade city of world renown. As a result of this foreign-trade boom, the landowners pushed the farmstead economy to its very limits, developing estates into tremendous areas. In many cases the servitude of the peasantry became actual slavery. This caused a number of small rebellions by the peasants, many of whom escaped into the Ukraine.

The liberum veto. The economic power of the magnates encouraged the forming of groups of supporters among propertyless voters who would keep their votes at the disposal of one particular aristocrat, thus enabling the magnate to command entire districts of the provincial *sejm* and, if necessary, even to paralyze it. In this way the original, formal "democracy of nobles" based on about 150,000 voters had evolved into an oligarchy of about 300 families. This was to prove a decisive factor in the later disintegration of the Polish republic. The undermining of the power of the *sejm* culminated in a procedure that made it possible for just one delegate to disrupt it through the liberum veto. The liberum veto was based on the assumption of the political equality of every Polish gentleman, with the corollary that every measure introduced into the *sejm* must be adopted unanimously. Consequently, if any single deputy believed that a measure already approved of by the rest of the house might be injurious to his constituency, he had the right to exclaim "Nie pozwalam," ("I disapprove"), the measure in question falling at once to the ground. All efforts toward increasing the power of the central government were held to be against traditional freedom and were opposed. This principle was extended still further until a deputy, by interposing his individual veto, could at any time dissolve the *sejm*, and all measures previously passed had to be resubmitted for the consideration of the following *sejm*. The liberum veto was used for the first time during the *sejm* of 1652, but before the end of the 17th century it was used so recklessly that all business was frequently brought to a standstill. It thus became the chief instrument of foreign ambassadors or native magnates for dissolving inconvenient sessions, as a deputy could always be bribed to exercise his veto.

The Counter-Reformation. Poland experienced the effects of the Counter-Reformation after the Council of Trent (1545–63). Led by prominent scholars such as Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius (Stanisław Hozjusz), who introduced the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits, in Poland in 1564, a total of approximately 50 Jesuit establishments were founded in the republic between 1564 and 1654. The Jesuit colleges in Połock, Smoleńsk, and Černigov and the Jesuit Academy of Wilno (founded in 1578–80)

Swedish
occupation
of Livonia

were mainly intended for the conversion of Eastern Orthodox Russia to Catholicism. Through their colleges and schools, the Jesuits established a dominant influence on the education of the Polish people that would last for about two centuries. Piotr Skarga was the most prominent theologian and politician among the Jesuits. The Order of the Camaldolese also supported the Counter-Reformation. The Counter-Reformation led to religious disorders; many of the Protestant churches were closed, especially in the large royal cities (particularly between 1574 and 1612); and the number of Protestant parishes diminished, as many of the aristocratic dynasties reverted to Catholicism. By 1650 there were not more than 270 non-Catholic parishes left in the country. Only the established German-Lutheran Church in the city republics of Prussia (Gdańsk, Elbląg) and the Calvinist Church in Lithuania (approximately 140 churches) retained a certain importance. The most significant result of the Counter-Reformation was the Synod of Brześć in 1596, whereby six of the ten Eastern Orthodox eparchies acknowledged the authority of the Holy See in Rome. Declared illegal and schismatic in 1595, the Eastern Orthodox faith was again recognized in 1635. Its spiritual centre became the Academy of Kiev, which had been modelled after the colleges of the Jesuit order. The Protestant academies of Gdańsk and Leszno still retained their European distinction, however, and John Amos Comenius, the philosopher and pedagogue, taught in Leszno.

THE IRON ERA PERIOD OF WARS AND DISINTEGRATION, 1648-97

John II Casimir Vasa, 1648-68. The reign of the last of the Vasa kings in Poland, John II Casimir, is remembered in history as a period of bloody wars and disasters.

The Cossack-Russian invasion. The epoch began with a rebellion of the Ukrainian Cossacks, led by Bohdan Chmielnicki, who heavily defeated the Polish troops in 1648 and 1651, establishing their own military state (1651-54) with the armed assistance of the Tatars of the Crimea and the Ottomans. In the Union of Pereyaslavl, in 1654, the Cossacks acknowledged the authority of the Russian tsar Alexis Mikhaylovich. On the strength of Cossack aid, Alexis attacked Poland, conquering almost the entire eastern part of the country, as far as Lwów, in 1654-55.

The Swedish invasion. Charles X Gustav of Sweden took advantage of the Polish predicament and occupied the Polish and Lithuanian lands of the republic in 1655, receiving some support from the native aristocrats and from Frederick William of Brandenburg. John Casimir fled to Silesia, and the majority of the nobles (among them the future king John III Sobieski) recognized Charles as their king, particularly after he had promised to reconquer the eastern part of Poland from the Russians and Cossacks. The extraordinary brutality of the Swedish army, however, gave rise to a general revolt against Charles, and the Swedes were not able to take the two largest cities of Poland (Gdańsk and Lwów). The brilliant grand hetman Stefan Czarniecki eventually destroyed the Swedish and defeated Frederick William's Brandenburg army between 1655 and 1657. In the treaties of Welawa (Wehlau), Bromberg (Bydgoszcz), and Oliwa (Oliva, 1660), Poland recognized the "superior power of government" of Frederick William over the Duchy of Prussia but reserved the right to reversion with regard to the duchy and did not relinquish this right until 1773.

Settlements and social consequences of the wars. The Ukraine again entered into a union with Poland in 1658, and Russia was decisively defeated in 1660-62. Nevertheless, Russia obtained Smoleńsk and the eastern half of the Ukraine in the truce of Andruszów (Andrusovo; 1667), after the rebellion of Jerzy Lubomirski against the King of Poland. Having been instrumental in bringing about the greatest catastrophe in the history of Poland, John II Casimir finally abdicated in 1668. The war, the bubonic plague, slave raids, and mass murders had reduced the total population to approximately 4,000,000 people, or 45 percent of the former total population. (This was about twice the number lost in World War II.) The cities

suffered worst of all, losing all manufacturing establishments and industrial enterprises along with three-quarters of all their inhabitants. The tremendous costs of the war caused the greatest inflation in the history of Poland. Religious feeling was fanatically inflamed since the war had been conducted in the spirit of a religious struggle, and the Protestant parishes almost totally disappeared. The constitutional maxim of religious tolerance was finally abandoned in 1648-58.

Michael (Korybut) Wiśniowiecki, 1669-73. The short reign of Michael (Korybut) Wiśniowiecki was dominated by internal fighting between the Habsburgs, led by the King, and the French-oriented faction that had gathered around John Sobieski, a military commander of rising fame. The Cossacks seceded again in 1667, allying themselves with the Ottoman Empire (1668), and in the succeeding Turkish attack in 1672-73, the Poles lost Podolia and two-thirds of the Ukraine.

John III Sobieski, 1674-96. A brilliant victory in 1673 established the fame of John Sobieski as the "vanquisher of the Turks," a title that brought him the crown of Poland in 1674. In spite of his many successes in the fight against the Ottomans (1675-76) and despite his liberation of Vienna in 1683—a crucial factor in the development of European history—John III Sobieski was not able to regain the regions in the southeast of the republic held by the Ottomans. He also failed in his attempts to secure the return of the Duchy of Prussia to Poland through treaties with France (1675) and Sweden (1677). Poland's participation in the Holy Alliance against the Ottoman Empire (1684) and the many Turkish campaigns of John III Sobieski (1684-92) eventually aided the development of Austria and Russia as new great European powers. With the Peace of Carlowitz (Karłowice; 1699), Poland again received Podolia and the Ukraine west of the Dnieper River. Given to Russia for two years in 1667 but never returned to Poland, the city of Kiev was recognized as part of Russia in the "perpetual peace" in 1686.

Peace of Carlowitz

THE SAXONIAN ERA AND THE RUSSIAN PROTECTORATE, 1697-1763

Augustus II the Strong, 1697-1733. On the death of John III, no fewer than 18 candidates for the vacant Polish throne presented themselves. The successful competitor was Frederick Augustus I, elector of Saxony, who renounced Lutheranism for the crown. Under his reign as Augustus II the Strong, Poland experienced a new wave of wars and catastrophes. The planned union between the industrially developed Saxony and raw material-producing Poland would have been advantageous for the economy of both countries, but that did not materialize since the King, as ambitious as he was lacking in talent, became involved in a war with Sweden through his alliances with Peter I the Great of Russia and King Frederick IV of Denmark.

The Northern War. These allies attacked Sweden and began the Northern War (1700-21). The Swedish king Charles XII repelled Denmark and Russia in 1700 and marched from Livonia into Poland (1701-02), the latter serving him as the base for his future military operations. Appointing Stanisław Leszczyński (Stanisław II) as puppet King (1704), Charles XII invaded Saxony in 1706 and forced Augustus to abdicate. During the civil war of 1704-10, Swedish troops totally devastated Poland, and the Saxonian and Russian armies fared little better. Cultural losses were enormous, and one-third of all Polish cities lay in ruins. Although by 1702 the population had recovered again, reaching about 8,000,000, war and then the bubonic plague of 1709 took their toll, and other disasters reduced the population to about 6,400,000. Poland was spared any further Swedish occupation when the Swedish troops advanced into the Ukraine, where they suffered a decisive defeat at the Battle of Poltava (1709). Stanisław Leszczyński escaped from Poland in 1710, and Augustus II again assumed the crown with the particular support of Peter the Great of Russia. Breaking all agreements with Poland, the Tsar annexed Swedish-held Livonia (1710), the very land that had given Augustus

Civil war of 1704-10

tus II the pretext to start the war. Then the Tsar turned east and put down the last Cossack rebellion in the Polish Ukraine (1702-04), which the Polish Sejm had provoked by despotically deciding to disband the Cossacks in 1699.

The Prussian situation. The Hohenzollern prince Frederick III had assumed the title of king of Prussia in 1701, with consent of Augustus but without the approval of the republic, which alone had the power to grant this title. In 1715 King Frederick William I tried to acquire the Polish Prussian territory, again with the approval of Augustus. The intervention of Peter the Great, who resided in Gdańsk at the time, frustrated this attempt in 1716, and the Russian troops remained in control of the southern coast of the Baltic Sea. Peter the Great thus assumed the role of protector of the territorial integrity of the Polish republic. From then on, Poland was to all intents and purposes a protectorate of the Russian government, and this relationship lasted until the dissolution of the republic in 1795.

Augustus III, 1733-63. The French-supported candidate, Stanisław Leszczyński, was elected king for the second time after the death of Augustus II in 1733. The Russian and Saxonian armies interfered, however, forcing the election of his opponent, Augustus III, the son of Augustus II. It was in his reign that Prussia definitely and conclusively achieved the position of a European power under its king, Frederick II the Great (1740-86). He annexed Silesia between 1740 and 1745, securing control of the western boundaries of Poland as well as of Polish foreign trade at the points where it was shipped overland to central and western Europe. Inhabited mainly by Poles, the southeastern half of Silesia still retained close political and cultural ties with Poland, but the Prussian annexation ended the church sovereignty of the metropolitanate of Gniezno over Silesia.

The Seven Years' War. During the Seven Years' War (q.v.; 1756-63), the Russian army used the territories of Gdańsk, Toruń, and Poznań as operational bases in their war against Prussia. Frederick II ordered the counterfeiting of Polish money, a measure that severely damaged and inflated the monetary system of the republic.

Social, religious, and political change. During the long and peaceful era between 1716 and 1768, the population grew rapidly, due to both the steady immigration of Germans and the mass exodus of an enslaved peasantry from Russia. By 1772 Poland's population numbered approximately 11,420,000. Comprising more than one-half of all the Jews in the world, the Jewish population of Poland lived in all parts of the country. The Counter-Reformation reached its zenith under the spiritual leadership of the Jesuits, who trained 20,000 students of noble birth annually in their 51 greater colleges and other educational institutions. In 1717 and 1733, laws were passed that restricted the spiritual and secular rights of the dissident (non-Catholic) population. Popular education fell to its lowest level. Spreading through all the other parts of Europe, the Age of Reason affected Poland only by virtue of some individual achievements. Parliamentary life came to an almost complete standstill. Under the reign of Augustus II only four of a total of 13 *sejms* came to an orderly conclusion; under Augustus III only one out of 13 did so, as the result of the use of the liberum veto.

REFORM AND PARTITION DURING THE REIGN OF STANISŁAW II AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI, 1764-95

A former diplomat, Stanisław II August Poniatowski gained the crown of Poland with the help of Russian troops in 1764. Aided by his relatives, the Czartoryski, he tried to introduce political reforms, among other things the temporary abolition of the liberum veto in 1764-66, but his plans failed because of the objections of Catherine II the Great, the Russian empress. Taking advantage of the religious quarrels in Poland, the Empress sent Prince Nikolai V. Repnin as Russian minister to Warsaw with instructions that led to further discord in Polish affairs. Of Poland's population of 11,500,000, about 1,000,000 were dissidents, one-half Protestant and one-half Orthodox. For these people, who had been largely deprived of their rights by the laws of 1717 and 1773, Repnin, in the

name of the Russian empress, demanded absolute religious and political equality with the Catholic population of Poland. He was well aware that an aristocratic and Catholic assembly like the Sejm would never concede such a demand.

Early in 1767 a confederation was formed at Repnin's instigation to send a deputation to Catherine, petitioning her to guarantee the liberties of the republic. Subsequently, but not without a stubborn resistance, the Sejm accepted Catherine's authority; and the so-called fundamental laws were enacted, guaranteeing the liberum veto and all the other ancient abuses as unalterable parts of a Polish constitution ensured by Russia. All the restrictions against the dissidents were repealed at the same time.

Confederation of Bar. These events led to a Catholic uprising known as the Confederation of Bar, aided by the Turks. After four years of fighting (1768-72), the Russian troops were able to gain the upper hand over the confederates. Frederick II of Prussia tried to use this civil war to achieve a partition of Poland, but he met with the resistance of Catherine II. Only the threat of Austrian troops advancing against Russia and the Austrian annexation of some Polish territory in the Carpathian Mountains (1770) forced Catherine to seek help from the Prussian king on his terms—namely, the partition of Poland.

First Partition, 1772. With the First Partition of Poland in 1772, the republic lost about 28 percent of its territory, the Livonian and White Ruthenian regions north of the Dvina River and east of the Druć River falling to Russia. Austria received Little Poland south of the Vistula River and almost all of the Red Ruthenian territory under the name of the Kingdom of Galicia. Prussia obtained the smallest but most valuable property, namely, Royal Prussia, comprising Warmia (Ermland) and a part of Great Poland on both sides of the Noteć River, though without the cities of Gdańsk and Toruń. Through this annexation Prussia had not only acquired the desired land connection between Western Pomerania and East Prussia that it had tried to secure for almost 120 years, but it had also gained control over approximately four-fifths of the total foreign trade of Poland. By levying enormous custom duties on the Polish foreign trade going via this route, Prussia made this its most important source of income. In fact, the partition of Poland was of vital importance to Prussia, for it was now able to shake off the last vestiges of the old Polish sovereign rights. The treaty of 1773 established the full and complete sovereignty of Prussia over its lands.

The period of reform. The shock of the First Partition caused political and economic reforms in Poland—as far as Russia would permit. The taxation system and the army were thoroughly reorganized, and with the Permanent Council, in 1775, Poland installed its first real central government. Many landed estate owners carried out individual peasant emancipations, and almost 200,000 Germans and at least 300,000 Russians emigrated to Poland, a land that was considered free. Slowly, the cities began to flourish again, and the beginnings of an industrial revolution could be observed with the rise in mining activities, the advances of the textile industry, the founding of the first joint-stock companies, and the employment of the first machine equipment. Polish intellectual pursuit and reasoning received fresh impetus when the Age of Reason was finally accepted. The King promoted the political theories of such men as Edmund Burke and George Washington, while the educated Poles advanced the political theories of Montesquieu and Rousseau. But whatever the theory, the concept of modern democracy, including all ranks and classes of society, quickly became established in Poland. The first governmental department for public education in Europe was established in conjunction with the appointment of an education commission in Poland in 1773. Its task was the reorganization of the universities of Cracow and Wilno, as well as the supervision of approximately 80 gymnasiums. The printing of books and the publication of magazines and journals also flourished.

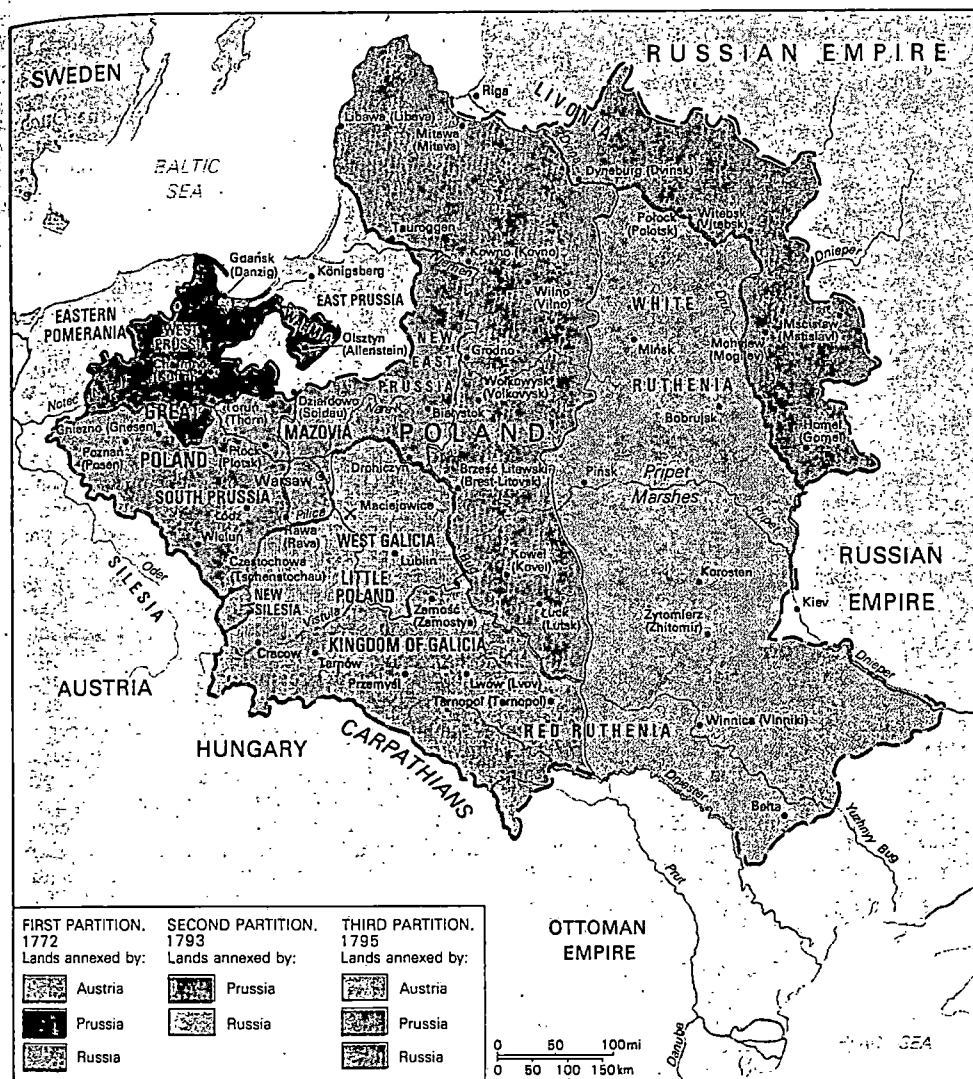
The Constitution of May 3, 1791. The first codified constitution in Europe since antiquity and the second in

Population
growth

Intervention
by
Catherine
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The partitions of Poland, 1772-95.

the world after the United States, the new Polish constitution passed by the "Four Years Sejm" embodied the following ideas: first, the precept of a "people's sovereignty," which included the nobility as well as the metropolitan bourgeoisie; second, the constitutional separation of powers between the executive, legislature, and judiciary; and third, the responsibility of the cabinet to parliament. The liberum veto and all the obstructive machinery of the anomalous old system were abolished. According to its own rules, this constitution had to be revised after 25 years at the latest. But Catherine II considered such a constitution dangerous to the existence and continuation of her own autocratic governmental system; she therefore ordered her troops to invade Poland in 1792, and the reforms were destroyed by force.

The Second and Third Partitions. The Russo-Prussian treaty of 1793 (the Second Partition) placed almost all the Red Ruthenian and White Ruthenian lands under Russian rule, while Prussia received Gdańsk, Toruń, Great Poland, and part of Mazovia. The reaction was inevitable, and in 1794 a general popular insurrection broke out under the leadership of Tadeusz Kościuszko against this latest Russo-Prussian humiliation. Kościuszko achieved a partial liberation of the peasant class and began a general armament of the people, mobilizing more than 150,000 men. At first the Polish forces were almost universally successful; but ultimately Kościuszko was defeated by the Russian troops under Aleksandr Suvorov at the Battle of Maciejowice, and Warsaw capitulated at the end of 1794. Now Russia and Austria—joined later also by Prussia—agreed to the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. Russia annexed the entire territory east of the Niemen and Bug rivers, Austria took almost all of

Little Poland, including Cracow, and Prussia received the remaining lands, including Warsaw. Stanisław II abdicated officially in 1795. For all official purposes, at least, this was the end of the Republic of Poland, which was eradicated from the map of Europe for the next 123 years.

III. Poland under partition, 1795-1914

FOREIGN RULE AND THE DUCHY OF WARSAW, 1795-1815

The Russian sector. With the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, the largest part of the territory fell to Russia. Officially, Catherine II called these partitions a return of Russian territory, even though such a claim dated back 450 years. Proclaiming the unity of all Russians, the largest part of the Uniate Church returned to the fold of the Eastern Orthodox faith. In spite of this, the Polish constitution and culture remained fairly unaffected at first in these "Russian" parts, where at least 1,800,000 Poles, including over 640,000 nobles, still held positions of influence. Because Russia's level of civilization was still extremely low under the reign of the tsars Paul I (1796-1801) and Alexander I (1801-25), the government was unable to administer the area without Polish help. The land had been divided into eight governmental units in 1801; and since the Poles retained basic administrative control, the municipal rights, control of the Polish county courts and of the Polish Sejm remained in force for a number of years (1796-1831). An added factor was that this region had the highest standard of civilization, culture, and education within the realm of the Russian Empire—with the exception of the Baltic Sea provinces—and the fundamental principles of the Russian educational system were based on the essential features of the Polish educational institutions of this region.

The Prussian sector. The Prussian area consisted of the three provinces of West Prussia, South Prussia, and New East Prussia. Together with the province of East Prussia, which had not been under Polish rule since 1657, the country came to be known officially as the Kingdom of Prussia, a part of the Prussian monarchy. Of its population of almost 4,000,000, however, about three-quarters were ethnic Poles.

The Austrian sector. The Kingdom of Galicia, as the Austrian section was known, was repeatedly reorganized administratively. Most of the native intellectuals in both the Prussian and the Austrian sections were replaced by German administrators who governed the lands in their customary autocratic fashion. It is therefore not surprising that in these areas numerous nationalist secret societies were established.

Patriotic
and
conspira-
torial
societies

The struggle of the patriots. As early as 1768, Polish emigrant groups were formed in Hamburg, Dresden, Constantinople, and particularly in Paris. The group of Polish Jacobins organized in Warsaw and Wilno (1792-94) had established connections with the French Revolution, especially through Józef Sułkowski, who had politically supervised Napoleon Bonaparte in his capacity as secret police inspector (1796) of the French Directoire. Branching out from their Jacobin origins, the conspiratorial Society of Polish Republicans, formed in Warsaw around 1798-1800, and the Warsaw Society of the Friends of Science, founded in Warsaw in 1800, served partially as a cover organization for Jacobin activities. The centre of the conspiratorial network was in Paris, but it gained a particularly strong hold in Galicia after the French-Austrian War of 1792-1801. Gen. Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, who had gained his fame from the defense of Warsaw in 1794, established Polish legions in northern Italy in 1797, recruiting men from Austrian prisoners of war of Polish nationality. The legions fought without any political success against Austria between 1797 and 1801.

Russian rule. Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, the Russian foreign minister, tried to re-establish the Polish Republic from the sector occupied by Russia. He was aided in this by the tsar Alexander I. The plan was designed to create a buffer zone against Prussia, then allied with France. The idea lost its rationale, however, when Napoleon I of France attacked Prussia in 1806 and Russia came to the aid of Prussia. The French advance against Poznań and Warsaw paved the way for a general Polish insurrection against Prussia, led mainly by Jan Dąbrowski and Józef Wybicki.

Government
under
Napoleon

The Duchy of Warsaw. Taking some purely Polish areas of the Kingdom of Prussia, Napoleon I created the Duchy of Warsaw, placing it under the rule of the king of Saxony, Frederick Augustus (1807). The constitution dictated by Napoleon I and the introduction of the Code Napoléon called for the personal liberation of the peasants. But the soil remained fundamentally with the landed nobility, and therefore this liberation promoted rather than alleviated the agrarian population surplus in Central Poland, a condition that had existed already for about 300 years. Józef Poniatowski (1763-1813), the nephew of the last king, distinguished himself as field marshal during the war of 1809, when the Duchy of Warsaw acquired the Austrian part of the Second Partition, including Cracow, as well as Zamość, annexed with Galicia in 1772. Thus, the Duchy of Warsaw had by this time grown to almost the same size as the Prussian monarchy. The failure of Napoleon's war against Russia in 1812, however, meant that by 1813 the Duchy of Warsaw had come under Russian administration.

THE KINGDOM OF POLAND AND THE OTHER POLISH LANDS, 1815-31

The Congress of Vienna (1814-15) established the territorial division of Poland (within the boundaries of 1772) until 1918. In accordance with the Prussian demands, the Grand Duchy of Poznań was detached from the authority of the Duchy of Warsaw and incorporated into the Prussian monarchy. Cut off from the Duchy of Warsaw as well, the "Free City of Cracow" was designated to be the

"symbolic capital of the divided Poland," though these intentions came to an end when Austria annexed the city in 1846. Galicia remained an Austrian hereditary land.

The Kingdom of Poland. The main part of the Duchy of Warsaw was given the title of Kingdom of Poland in 1815. Approximately four-fifths of its population (over 4,000,000 in 1827) were ethnic Poles, of whom as many as 325,000 were nobles. This area thus came to be considered as the Polish nucleus. After the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, this Congress Kingdom of Poland, or Congress Poland, as it often came to be called, was united with the Russian Empire, though it retained its own governmental system, its own Sejm, and its own army. Tsar Alexander I was now in command of about three-quarters of all the historically Polish territories and, being not only the tsar of Russia but also the king of Poland, he was well advised to try to win the loyalty of the Polish people.

The constitution of the Kingdom of Poland, passed between 1815 and 1831, was considered the most liberal in all of Europe. The population of the Congress Kingdom of Poland included more voters than France, whose population was six times greater. A severe impediment, however, was the fact that Alexander I reigned with the harshness of an absolute monarch from 1819 on, breaking the constitution several times. This again promoted the creation of secret societies, the most consequential of which was the National Freemasonry (1819-25) under the leadership of Walerian Łukasiński. Similar secret societies were founded in Cracow, Poznań, and especially in the University of Wilno, where the Society of the Philomats functioned as a front for several conspiratorial groups. Even Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish Romantic poet, became involved in the affairs of the Philomats and was sent into exile for some time. The secret societies (such as the National Patriotic Society) continued and flourished, despite repression at the hands of the Russians.

The Rising of 1830. Alexander's successor, autocratic Tsar Nicholas I (1825-55), planned a military campaign against France and Belgium after the revolution in France in July 1830. He was going to send a Polish army to accomplish this, but most of the Polish ensigns banded together to create the November Insurrection on November 29, 1830, under their leader Piotr Wysocki. Almost the entire army and the majority of all Polish politicians joined in the insurrection, and the Sejm proclaimed the ousting of Tsar Nicholas I on January 25, 1831, an act that led to a formal war between Russia and Congress Poland. The war lasted from January to September 1831, the superior Russian forces finally defeating the Poles, who received no response to their appeal for western European protection. About 6,000 leaders of the rising were forced into exile during 1831-32, most of them emigrating to France in what has become known as the Great Emigration.

RUSSIAN REPRISALS AND THE JANUARY INSURRECTION, 1831-64

Repression of Poland. The suppression of the November Insurrection meant heavy reprisals in the Russian as well as in the Prussian Polish areas, even though the latter had no actual part in it. Extensive confiscations of estates, deportations, and enforced recruiting were designed to break the national patriotism of the Poles. The universities of Warsaw and Wilno were suppressed, and Polish students compelled to go to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) and Kiev in Russian Poland. The remainder of the Uniate Church was abolished and converted to Eastern Orthodox between 1831 and 1839, though continuing to exist in Congress Poland until 1875 and in Galicia until 1945. The Organic Statute of 1832 replaced the constitution, the Sejm, and the army in the Kingdom of Poland; and the land was united with the Russian Empire in a true union, although officially the kingdom retained a few autonomous rights.

Polish nationalist groups. The conservative group of emigrants led by Adam J. Czartoryski, the "king in exile," tried to solve the Polish question through legal and diplomatic means. His minimum goal was the restoration

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of the legal status of 1815, which had been violated from the very beginning. The radicals had splintered into many factions, but the Polish Democratic Society founded in 1832 soon emerged as the leading organization. Its Manifesto of Poitiers of 1836 was less realistic than the program set up by the conservative side, because its revolutionary agenda demanded an independent Poland within the borders of 1772. But the Manifesto proclaimed the idea of a land reform without compensation to the present owners, and this drew many supporters. In the years between 1833 and 1846, emissaries and leaders of the partisans of the "left" established secret revolutionary cells in all parts of Poland. These cells were persistently traced down by the authorities, and thousands of their members were deported or imprisoned.

The 1846 insurrection. The Polish Democratic Society gained a certain influence in the country with the installation of a committee in Poznań between 1839 and 1846. This committee drew up a plan for a general revolution, but the Prussian police discovered it in 1846. In spite of this, a central government in Cracow, under the revolutionary leaders Jan Tyssowski and Edward Dembowski, tried to get an insurrection started. The uprising spread to Galicia, where Austrian troops soon put it down, at the same time inciting the local population so that many Galician peasants turned against the revolutionaries. The failure of the 1846 revolt severely weakened Polish participation when a general revolutionary wave swept through Europe during the early spring of 1848-49. Originally, Prussia and Austria had nominally supported Polish demands for independence, but now attempts by the Poles to establish a real independence were resisted by armed force in both countries. The course of this revolutionary struggle showed clearly that the fight was no longer only about the ideal of a unified republic based on the boundaries of 1772 but also about the Romantic Idealism of the time, which favoured individualistic, linguistically and culturally separated nationalities. On the other hand, nationalist ambitions now extended beyond the borders of 1772 for the first time. The Polish question also gained more impetus on the international scene. Adam Mickiewicz founded a new Polish legion in Italy and a little later published the moderate socialist newspaper *La Tribune des Peuples* in Paris (1848-49). The landed gentry of Poznań financed the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* ("The Newspaper of the Rhineland"), the journal through which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1849 proclaimed the national liberation of Poland to be the most important task of the workers' movement of Europe.

Alexander II and the rising of 1863. The Eastern Question and the Crimean War (1853-56) caused violent upheavals within the Russian Empire, which motivated Alexander II (1855-81) to take a more conciliatory stand toward the Kingdom of Poland. A series of reforms were implemented, in their later stages by the autocratic Count Aleksander Wielopolski, who was installed in high office and stood for a national policy of loyal union with Russia. His methods and character lost him the support of the moderate gentry, however, and aroused the outright enmity of the young patriotic radicals, who were influenced by ideas expressed by Napoleon III of France and by the national reunification of Italy (1859-60). (The left wing of these radicals became linked with the Russian liberal movement and the international emigrants in London centred around Karl Marx and Aleksandr Herzen.) Religious ceremonies became occasions of political demonstrations, rioting broke out in Warsaw, and the situation culminated in the widespread insurrection of January 22, 1863, sparked off by Wielopolski's plans to press the revolutionary youth of the cities into the Russian army. The revolutionaries had relied on French and Austrian support, but these hopes proved to be in vain; and to make matters worse, Prussia again cooperated with Russia. As before, the ethnic groups in the Russian sectors—Poles, Lithuanians, and the Catholic White Ruthenes—united in a common war against the Tsar that lasted for 15 months, though the insurrection was finally crushed when the rebel "National Govern-

ment" was detected by the Russian administrative authorities on April 10-11, 1864. The defeat was followed by executions, confiscations, and deportations, and all hopes for the Polish people to establish an autonomous national state were ended for the next half century. The Russian government did proclaim, however, the liberation of its peasants on March 13, 1861, and it extended this to the Kingdom of Poland on March 2, 1864. By so doing, it took the most important traditional premise for the revolution out of the hands of the revolutionaries. The agrarian policy, however, was expressly calculated to stir up ill feeling between the peasants and the country gentry, whom Russia was determined to punish in every way for their leading part in the insurrection. Yet the agrarian reforms accelerated the growth of towns and industry and the new social structure produced both financiers who exploited the great possibilities of the Russian market and a new working class, among whom the first socialist organizations began their secret activity.

Liberation
of the
peasants

THE FOUNDING OF MODERN POLAND, 1864-1914

After the failure of the January Insurrection, a policy of harsh repression fell upon the Poles remaining in the Russian and Prussian sectors. The Russian sector was now officially named the Western Region of the Russian Empire, and its governor general, Mikhail Nikolayevich Muravyov (who became known as the "Hangman of Wilno"), made every effort to stamp out Polish culture altogether.

Russification. The Kingdom of Poland was reorganized into the Land of the Vistula under a purely Russian administration. The University of Warsaw became a Russian university in 1869. Russification of all secondary schools was implemented during the years 1869 to 1874 and of all other public schools after 1885: the Russians very successfully accomplished their aim of keeping illiteracy among the common people at as high a level as possible. Consequently, by 1905 there were relatively fewer schools and students in the Land of the Vistula than there had been in 1815. Nearly all private schools and all social and political activities were prohibited.

Prussian and Austrian Poland. Following the Russian example Otto von Bismarck, the German chancellor, instituted a similar policy, and the Prussian sector was incorporated into the newly founded German Reich. In 1872 the entire school system was Germanized. The Colonization Law of 1886 tried to integrate German peasants into the native Polish population. Polish autonomy was able to achieve some success only in the Austrian sector, where its most important agency was the Galician Provincial Sejm (Diet). The Poles in Austria became the country's second nationality, and they were allowed to participate in the government at Vienna and retained sovereignty over the Ruthenes in Galicia. Galicia itself became the haven of Polish culture, with the University of Cracow, the University of Lwów, and the Academy of Sciences attracting many Polish intellectuals.

Galicia

Industrial growth and social change. The development of modern industry, notably the textile and metal manufacturing industries, as well as mining, made Congress Poland after the abolition of the customs barrier with Russia the most dynamic, industrialized part of the Russian Empire until about 1890. In Congress Poland alone there were more than 400,000 industrial workers by 1910. It was mainly Polish intellectuals who stimulated industrialization in the Russian and Austrian sections, whereas German intellectuals led the industrialization program of the Prussian part—particularly in Upper Silesia, with its 200,000 Polish miners. Due to the many agrarian crises between 1846 and 1892, most of the 3,200,000 descendants of the former nobility moved to the cities in the Russian sector, where they formed the majority of the liberal professions. In the Polish regions of eastern Germany, Congress Poland, and West Galicia, the intellectual classes were mostly without property and therefore dependent on wages, whereas the Poles in the Western Region of the Russian Empire and in East Galicia were mainly wealthy landowners or belonged to the city bourgeoisie. One of the main features of the period

The
consti-
tution of
the
Kingdom

Romantic
revolu-
tionary
idealism

The
Organic
Statute

Mass
emigration
to
Germany

was the mass emigration of Poles from their native lands into the more industrialized parts of Germany, a movement that was to continue for decades to come. Thus, by 1910 more than 100,000 miners of Polish descent were working in the industrial Ruhr district. The rural population of Congress Poland and Galicia was mostly illiterate, and poverty increased there to such an extent that at least 3,500,000 people emigrated between 1890 and 1914, mainly to the United States.

Development of political parties. The first permanent political parties were established in Congress Poland and in exile between 1891 and 1893. The Polish League (LP), founded in 1886-87, was reorganized as the National League (LN) by Roman Dmowski in 1892-93 and later became the nucleus of National Democracy (ND), which was the strongest bourgeois party between 1905 and 1939. The Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was founded in 1892-93 under the patronage of Bolesław Limanowski and subsequently, under the leadership of Józef Piłsudski, became the strongest socialist party (with about 50,000 members) in the entire Russian Empire during the Russian Revolution of 1905. The left-wing socialist party (SDKP; from 1900 SDKPiL, Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania), founded in 1893 and led by Rosa Luxemburg and Junian Marchlewski, remained a minor party in comparison. The 1905 revolution, which swept over Russia, changed political life in all the Polish regions. The National Democracy, led by Roman Dmowski and supported by the majority of the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie, restricted its national platform to the demand for Polish autonomy. For this reason it was allowed to operate legally not only in Congress Poland but in Russian Poland, too, after 1905. The same party also controlled the Polish faction in the Russian Duma, or Parliament (1905-17). The PPS split in 1905-06: the patriotic wing under Józef Piłsudski and Tomasz Arciszewski retained its "radical program for independence," in accordance with the teachings of Friedrich Engels, and took part in the abortive revolution of 1905 against the Russian government; the left wing adjusted its program to an internationalist standpoint and so found it easy later on to merge with the SDKPiL, on the extreme left. The introduction of universal suffrage in Austria, including the Austrian sector of Poland (Galicia), for the parliament in Vienna in 1907 promoted the founding of the agrarian Polish Peasant Party (PSL). This party soon spread its influence to southern Congress Poland, but it split in 1913 into a moderate majority and a radical left. Only in Prussia was the repression of Polish cultural and political life continued, and after 1905 this policy was pursued in an even more severe form. This was the main reason why the Polish National Democrats regarded the German *Reich* rightfully as their main opponent from 1905 on.

IV. Modern Poland, since 1914

THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC, 1914-21

Piłsudski
and
Dmowski

Events during World War I. At the outbreak of World War I, the governments of Austria and Russia tried to use the Polish question as a political weapon. On August 16, 1914, the Austrian government allowed the formation of a Supreme National Committee (NKN) in Galicia, and the organization of a Polish legion recruited mainly from the membership of the followers of Józef Piłsudski. The ultimate goal of Austrian policy was the incorporation of Congress Poland into Galicia. On August 14, 1914, the Russian government recognized the basic right of the Poles to autonomy, particularly in the lands that the Russian troops hoped to conquer. The Polish National Committee (KNP) was formed in November 1914—its chief members coming from the National Democrats, led by Roman Dmowski. The KNP supported the Russian war effort, and Russian forces conquered almost all of Galicia in 1914.

Division of Congress Poland. The troops of the Central Powers—Germany and Austria-Hungary—were able subsequently not only to retake Galicia but to advance deep into Congress Poland. The Central Powers divided it into two military occupation zones, with a Ger-

man governor general in Warsaw and an Austro-Hungarian one in Lublin. The political groups in both of these zones separated into those who believed in adopting a passive stance and the activists. With the majority of the PPS and the left-wing intellectuals on their side, the activists established the Central National Committee (CKN) in December 1915, their goal being to re-establish a Polish republic with the help of the Central Powers.

Creation of a Kingdom of Poland. At the request of the German commander, Gen. Erich Ludendorff, and the German governor general, Hans Hartwig von Beseler, the German and Austrian emperors proclaimed a new Kingdom of Poland on November 5, 1916. The kingdom consisted of both the occupied zones but comprised only about one-sixth of the territory established in 1772. The hopes of both monarchs for more support among the Polish volunteer troops in the Austro-German fight against Russia were in vain, for German aspirations did not match the expectations of the Poles, who had envisioned an eastward expansion of the Kingdom of Poland. Ludendorff, in turn, tried to establish what he himself termed "a national kingdom of Lithuania" in the eastern regions. All these elements now gave the first incentive to an internationalization of the Polish question.

The Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution in March 1917 brought about the two Poland proclamations of the Soviet of Petrograd and the provisional government of Russia. These recognized Poland's right to independence, while the latter insisted on a military alliance with Russia. After this, three Polish army corps were formed from the ranks of the Russian army between May 1917 and May 1918, and France also recruited a Polish volunteer army. Founded by Dmowski on August 15, 1917, in Lausanne, the Polish National Committee (KNP) worked closely with the governments of the Western Allies. In the Kingdom of Poland, Piłsudski and the Polish Legion, now reorganized as the Polish Auxiliary Corps, with about 20,000 men, clashed with the Central Powers. Piłsudski and the majority of his corps were interned in July 1917. The grant of a limited Polish self-government in the Kingdom of Poland and the installation of a Regency Council on September 12, 1917, came too late to overcome the distrust that now divided the Central Powers and the Poles.

The fight for self-determination. The October Revolution in Russia, as well as the proclaimed principle of the "right for self-determination of all nations" as stated by both Lenin and the U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (though both with very different interpretations), gave the Polish question international significance. President Wilson demanded the creation of an "independent Polish state" with a free and secured access to the sea in his well-known "14-points speech" of January 8, 1918. This program was ratified as an integral part of the future peace settlement by the governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy on June 3, 1918. The Central Powers used the "right for self-determination of all nations" in the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk (now Brest, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) in February-March 1918 as a pretext for the separation of the Kingdom of Poland from the Russian Empire, but they apportioned the Chełm province, with its predominantly Polish population, to the Ukraine on February 9, 1918. This infuriated Polish opinion.

Re-establishment of the state. The military collapse of Austria in October 1918 led to the formation of a Polish Liquidation Commission in Cracow on October 28, 1918, which assumed power in Western Galicia. On November 7 a Provisional Government of the Polish Republic was established in Lublin. With the collapse of the German *Reich* in November 1918, Piłsudski was freed from his internment in Germany. Returning to Warsaw, he took control of the whole of Poland on November 11, 1918. The administrations for the regions of Cracow and Lublin also put themselves under his command. November 11, 1918, has thus been generally recognized as the day of the founding of the Second Polish Republic.

The Second Polish Republic. To begin with, the Second Polish Republic consisted of the Kingdom of Poland

as it existed in 1916, the Duchy of Cieszyn, and West Galicia. Poland's losses during World War I numbered about 800,000 dead as well as the destruction of the majority of industrial plants, communications, and the serious disruption of the Polish monetary system and economy.

Internal developments. Piłsudski secured his position of power in the country by reaching an agreement, in January 1919, with the Polish National Committee (KNP) in Paris, headed by Roman Dmowski. The KNP was the recognized official Polish delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. Ignacy Jan Paderewski, a close associate of Dmowski, formed a government in Warsaw in 1919, but the executive power remained in the hands of Piłsudski, as the Polish "chief of state," from November 22, 1918, until December 14, 1922. The succeeding democratic elections led to the formation of a constitutional Sejm, which operated both as the constituent and legislative assembly (1919–22) after the passing of the "Little Constitution" on February 20, 1919. The strongest parties in the country were the National Democrats and the Peasants (PSL), the latter for the most part cooperating with the National Democrats. The left-wing parties commanded only about one-quarter of the votes. The Communist Workers' Party of Poland was founded on December 16, 1918, and Workers' Councils were set up in November 1918. The Councils were broken up by the government in June 1919, and this established and secured a "bourgeois democracy" in Poland as opposed to the "Soviet democracy" in Russia.

The Treaty of Versailles. At the Paris Peace Conference the Polish delegation demanded the surrender of the formerly Prussian sector, Upper Silesia, and southern East Prussia (Mazuria) from Germany. The largest part of the province of Poznań was already under Polish authority because the December 1918 Polish uprising against the Germans in Poznań had engulfed almost the entire province. The Treaty of Versailles, signed on June 28, 1919, awarded Poland the main part of the Prussian sector, providing the desired direct access to the Baltic Sea, even though the port of Gdańsk (Danzig), to which the Poles had laid claim, became a "Free City." The plebiscite in Mazuria, held on July 11, 1920, resulted in a heavy defeat for Poland, partly because of the Polish-Soviet war, and it brought only a few border regions under Polish authority. The Polish population in Upper Silesia rebelled three times against the German administration. In the plebiscite of March 20, 1921, 682 communes voted for Poland and 792 for Germany, but the Poles secured preponderance in the southeastern plebiscite area, which was industrially the most important. The new frontier of October 20, 1921, divided this area: Poland was awarded 76 percent of the coal production, 22 out of 37 blast furnaces, and nine out of 14 steel works, with about 990,000 people. Populated by Poles, Czechs, and Germans, the former Duchy of Cieszyn was the subject of controversy between Poland and Czechoslovakia. On July 28, 1920, it was divided, but in a manner that left a considerable Polish minority in the Czechoslovakian sector.

Territorial disputes. Poland owed its rapid eastward expansion to its quickly recruited and effective army. Evacuation of the territories occupied in the east by the German troops had to be completed by the beginning of February 1919, but every strip of land left by the Germans was promptly taken over by the Red Army. Thus, between November 1918 and February 1919, that army moved westward from the Dnieper to the Bug River line. Piłsudski decided that it was imperative to throw back eastward the forces aiming at imposing a foreign form of government on restored Poland. The central part of historic Lithuania was occupied by the Poles in April 1919. On July 27 the Supreme Council approved a demarcation line between Poland and Lithuania, leaving Wilno on the Polish side. In eastern Galicia the West Ukrainian People's Republic had been established in November 1918, but Polish troops occupied it in June–July 1919. In addition, the Polish Army extended its sphere of influence over the largest part of White Ruthenia and over the

western Ukraine—far beyond the boundary lines of the Second Partition of 1793—without meeting any serious resistance from the Red Army until December 1919, because the Russians were still embroiled in civil war. The Soviets launched a military offensive against Poland between February and May 1920. The militarily and politically ill-advised Polish advance against Kiev in June 1920 led to the Polish-Soviet war that had been brewing for the past one and a half years. The Red Army, under the command of Mikhail Tukhachevsky, advanced, reaching the vicinity of Toruń, Warsaw, and Lwów by July and August 1920. The Polish forces led by Piłsudski defeated the Red Army decisively, however, in a battle on the Vistula between August 16 and 28. This victory crushed the Bolsheviks' last chance of a widespread revolution in central and western Europe. The Polish Army reconquered Central Lithuania with Wilno (Lithuanian Vilnius), western White Ruthenia, western Wolhynia, and East Galicia before the armistice of October 12, 1920. The Soviet government finally recognized this boundary unconditionally in the Peace of Riga on March 18, 1921.

Defeat of
the Red
Army

POLAND BETWEEN THE WARS, 1921–39

The constitution of March 17, 1921, established a parliament consisting of two houses, the Senate and the Sejm. The political forces in the country had splintered up into numerous parties and groups, and this proved a hindrance to the development of a stable, unified parliamentary government.

Domestic policy. Between 1922 and 1926 Poland was governed by frequently changing cabinets that were based mainly on a coalition between the National Democrats, the Christian Democrats, and the moderate Peasant Party. The primary task of these governments was to attempt to eliminate the inflation that the destruction of World War I and the subsequent conflicts had caused. The government stabilized the situation through the introduction of a new currency, the zloty, on February 1, 1924. But the new currency was in danger again by 1925, mainly as the result of a tariff war instigated by the Germans. The financial crisis that followed led to high unemployment and severe unrest among the working people. This, in turn, gave the Communist Party a steadily rising influence, even though it had been declared illegal in 1923. Piłsudski had not been active on the political scene since 1923, but these new developments compelled him to organize a military coup on May 12–15, 1926, in order to take power. Supporting their former leader with a general strike, the PPS played a decisive role in Piłsudski's victory.

The
Piłsudski
coup

The Piłsudski government. Piłsudski headed the government from 1926 to 1930. His rule was a moral dictatorship with only a formal preservation of parliamentary authority. His administration aimed at the "moral cleansing" of society in Poland and at eliminating some of the widespread corruption. Piłsudski relied mainly on the army and the conservative nobility of eastern Poland for his support. Between 1926 and 1927 a right-wing opposition emerged, led by Dmowski. Piłsudski confronted them with his Non-Party Block for Cooperation with the Government (BBWR), which was a loose organization held together only by Piłsudski's personality. At any rate, in the elections to the Sejm held on March 4, 1928, the BBWR succeeded in obtaining one quarter of all the parliamentary seats, though a contributing factor for this political success was the increasing economic prosperity of 1926–29.

The Great Depression. The crisis in the world economy began to affect Poland in October 1929. Unemployment hit about 893,000 workers, excluding agricultural workers—or approximately one-third of those employed in 1931. Production sank between 1931 and 1933 to only 46 percent of the 1913 level. Under the pressure of the general misery and need, the PPS, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), and some others united on November 1, 1929, to form a left-wing opposing coalition (Centrolew, or Centre-Left). Piłsudski employed harsh measures against his opponents, ordering the arrest of about 70 politicians. The Sejm elections of November 1930 gave

the BBWR its desired majority, but the genuine political parties now practically disappeared from the political scene. Piłsudski governed from 1930 to 1935 without holding an official public political office. His authority was based on the support given by the civil service and by his officers' corps and, in particular, the support of the colonels trained in the legions. Piłsudski tried to master the economic crisis through a program of non-intervention and thrift, but he was largely unsuccessful.

The 1935 constitution. A constitutional reform was introduced on April 23, 1935, strengthening the executive branch of government and giving the head of state the power to enact important laws without the approval of Parliament.

Piłsudski's successors. Piłsudski died on May 12, 1935, and the resulting struggle for power, complicated by strikes and demonstrations, soon reduced all parliamentary activity to a complete farce.

Opposition groups. The elections held in September 1935 and November 1938 showed this only too well, and a large part of the population and most of the opposition parties boycotted them. There were violent demonstrations and strikes in 1936 and 1938, and the beginnings of a popular front, bringing left and left-centre parties together, could be noted. The established radical workers' parties, the PPS and the KPP, found a new ally in the Peasant Party, which had now also become radical under its new leader Stanisław Mikołajczyk. Joseph Stalin's reaction to these signs of national unity was to have the Comintern dissolve the Communist Party of Poland in 1938, branding its leaders as provocateurs and capitalist agents. On the right wing, the National Radical Camp (ONR) generated some Fascist groups, but they were dissolved in 1934 and received hardly any support. Founded by the government on March 1, 1937, the Camp of National Unity (OZN) remained an authoritarian association that—like the BBWR—had no real social or political platform.

Social problems. The important social questions of Poland remained unsolved in the time between World Wars I and II. Any permanent solution was beyond the reach of the country's economic resources. The surplus in the agrarian population could only have been eliminated by a comprehensive program of industrialization, but there was no capital to do this. Nevertheless, the agrarian reform based on the laws of July 15, 1920, started the distribution of approximately one-tenth of all arable land. Industrialization made some progress with, for example, the energetic promotion of the chemical industry and the building of the "coal-railroads" from Upper Silesia to the Baltic Sea coast, but the funds necessary for investment in these enterprises stretched Poland's national economy to its limits. The entire 1938 production barely reached the 1913 level. Poland remained an agrarian country, and about two-thirds of its total population depended either directly or indirectly on its agricultural produce. Only one-quarter of the country's inhabitants received their income from industry.

Foreign policy. In its foreign policy, Poland attempted to strengthen its position through alliances with France and Romania (1921). Endangered by political and military cooperation between Germany and the U.S.S.R., as well as by their concerted policy aiming at the revision of existing frontiers, Poland found itself in a hazardous position after the treaties of Locarno (1925) and the April 1926 treaty negotiated by Gustav Stresemann and Georgy Vasilyevich Chicherin of the Soviet Union stating that German-Soviet relations should continue to be based on the 1922 Treaty of Rapallo. Acting under Piłsudski's instruction, Józef Beck, Polish foreign minister, concluded a nonaggression pact with the U.S.S.R. in 1932, and a similar one with Germany in 1934—the latter preserving both Poland's alliance with France and its freedom of action as a member of the League of Nations. This safeguarded Poland's position, at least for a short time (1934–38). But the German *Reich* had by now annexed Austria and the largest part of Czechoslovakia, and it established control over the Slovakian and Lithuanian republics. This placed it in such a strategically favourable

position toward Poland that Adolf Hitler now dispensed with all caution. His proposals for a global solution were aimed at placing Poland in a situation of complete dependence on Germany so that he would be able to make Poland into a base for his planned attack on the U.S.S.R. Observing the guarantee of March 31, 1939, the British government under Neville Chamberlain gave Poland diplomatic, but no military or financial, assistance. This did nothing to prevent the Germans from attacking Poland or to stop the outbreak of World War II. Hitler, on August 23, 1939, concluded with Stalin a nonaggression pact containing a secret protocol dividing Poland into German and Soviet spheres of interest, circumscribed by the Narew, Vistula, and San rivers. This "Fourth Partition of Poland" proved to be the decisive factor leading to the outbreak of World War II.

POLAND DURING WORLD WAR II, 1939–45

Defeat by Germany. The fall of Poland came unexpectedly fast during the September campaign of 1939. Warsaw capitulated on September 27, 1939, after the defeat of the Polish Army. The last organized Polish resistance ended on October 5, 1939. Following German demands, the U.S.S.R. ordered two army corps to invade eastern Poland on September 17, 1939, breaking its earlier agreements of 1921 and 1932. On September 28, 1939, Hitler and Stalin again agreed on a new partition of Poland along the Narew, Bug, and San rivers. Hitler's plans for the creation of a Polish puppet state did not materialize because no collaborator could be found. On October 12, 1939, Hitler gave the order to annex outright the former Prussian section, parts of Mazovia, eastern Great Poland with Łódź, and a border strip in Little Poland.

Soviet annexations. The regions in the Soviet sphere of interest were incorporated into the U.S.S.R. with the added help of supervised plebiscites held between October 22 and November 2, 1939. In contrast with German procedure, the U.S.S.R. based its decisions, at least formally, on the "right for self-determination of the nationalities," hoping in this way to get its demands internationally legalized. The annexation carried out by the U.S.S.R. put the British government into an embarrassing situation. On the one hand, it had guaranteed the security of Poland, while, on the other hand, it did not want to risk a conflict with the U.S.S.R. It was for this reason that on October 26, 1939, the British foreign minister Lord Halifax pointed to the fact that the westward extension of the Soviet boundary approximated the earlier Curzon line of December 8, 1919, and of July 11, 1920. He was the first European statesman to do so, but this explanation became the basis for the later establishment of the boundary between Poland and the U.S.S.R. at the end of World War II.

Polish government-in-exile. The forming of a Polish "government-in-exile" in France, based on the 1935 constitution, assured the survival of the Polish Republic. Its leading statesman and supreme commander was Władysław Sikorski. The Polish government-in-exile moved to the United Kingdom after the defeat of France in June 1940. A civil and military resistance movement was also formed in occupied Poland in September 1939.

German repression. From the very beginning, in October 1939, the occupational policy of the Germans was designed to completely eradicate Polish culture. Almost the entire Polish school system was suppressed. Mass executions of Polish intellectuals were carried out, and the infamous concentration camp of Oświęcim (Auschwitz) was set up. The intention was to Germanize the territory, and mass deportations of Poles and mass settlements of Germans in their place were supposed to accomplish this. Germans from the Baltic states and eastern Poland were transferred to the western Polish lands incorporated into the German *Reich*. The Soviet government also participated in mass deportations of the Polish inhabitants from the eastern parts of their country incorporated into the U.S.S.R.

Alliance with the U.S.S.R. The German attack on the U.S.S.R. on June 22, 1941, changed the situation drasti-

Dissolution of the Communist Party of Poland

Beck's nonaggression pacts

The division of Poland

cally for Poland. Stalin agreed to the annulment of the "Fifth Polish Partition" agreement between the German and the Soviet governments of 1939, but he declined the restitution of the Polish-Soviet border of 1921. In his debate with the British foreign minister, Anthony Eden, on December 16, 1941, he proposed the Curzon Line as the basis for the future Polish-Soviet boundary.

German policy of extermination. The extermination of the Polish intellectuals and the mass deportation of Poles from western Poland (already "incorporated" into the Third Reich) to the so-called General Gouvernement was vigorously pursued. The Polish citizens of Jewish descent were deported to extermination camps, such as Auschwitz and Treblinka, where they were killed, along with the Jews of the greater part of Europe. Neither the belated ghetto risings of Warsaw, Białystok, and Wilno (April-September 1943) nor the special actions taken by the Polish underground were effective enough to halt this extermination. According to the most careful estimates, about 3,350,000 Polish citizens of Jewish descent were slaughtered. Millions of ethnic Poles were sent to forced labour camps in Germany, and hundreds of thousands were executed.

(Ha.Ro.)

Stalin's Polish policy. In September 1939 both Hitler and Stalin hoped that a Polish national state would never rise again. When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, however, Stalin had to reverse his Polish policy. On July 30, 1941, he re-established diplomatic relations with the Polish government in exile in London. A military convention was signed in Moscow on August 14 on organizing a Polish army in Russia.

There were at that time hundreds of thousands of Polish deportees on Soviet territory; in addition, in September and October 1939 the Red Army had captured about 230,670 Polish soldiers, from privates to generals. To command the new Polish army, Stalin freed from imprisonment a Polish officer, Gen. Władysław Anders. Both Sikorski and Anders knew that some 15,000 Polish prisoners, including 8,400 officers, were interned at the Soviet prison camps at Kozelsk, Starobelsk, and Ostashkov. Great, however, was Anders' surprise and anxiety when he was told that he could count on only 448 officers picked from the three camps and grouped in April 1940 at Gryazovets.

By December 1941 Anders had put together two divisions. Finding that he could not organize a really national Polish army, Anders suggested to Sikorski that his units be transferred to the West. During 1942, as a result of an agreement between Stalin and Churchill, 75,000 Polish soldiers were evacuated from the Soviet Union to the Middle East.

As early as November 1941 a small group of Polish Communists was parachuted into German-occupied Poland, where they contacted a few members of the old KPP (dissolved in March 1938); Władysław Gomułka was one of them. In January 1942 the Communist Party of Poland was revived in Warsaw under the name Polish Workers' Party (Polska Partia Robotnicza, or PPR) which in May 1942 formed a nucleus of the People's Army (AL).

On April 13, 1943, the Germans announced the discovery in the Katyn Forest, on the upper Dnepr, of mass graves of Polish officers with their personal papers in their pockets. The names published by the Germans were those of Kozelsk inmates, and the latest entries in their notebooks dated from April 1940. Two days later the Soviet government alleged that Polish prisoners of war, who in 1941 had been engaged in "construction work" west of Smolensk, had been executed by the Germans. On April 17 the Polish government asked the International Committee of the Red Cross to examine the situation on the spot. Eight days later the Soviet government, accusing the Poles of "contact and accord with Hitler," severed diplomatic relations with the Polish government in London for the second time.

During these fateful weeks Sikorski was in the Middle East inspecting the II Polish Army Corps under Anders. Returning to London, Sikorski was killed on July 4 in an

aircraft crash at Gibraltar. Stanisław Mikołajczyk, leader of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), succeeded him as premier. Ignoring the Polish government's views concerning the territorial problems, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill agreed at the Teheran Conference (November 28-December 1, 1943) to Stalin's demand that the Curzon Line be the new Soviet-Polish frontier.

To consolidate his diplomatic victory at Teheran, Stalin instructed the PPR (of which Gomułka became secretary general in November 1943) to form the National Home Council (Krajowa Rada Narodowa, or KRN), which would become the government of the Polish People's Republic with Bolesław Bierut, an old Comintern hand, as president. That was done in the night of December 31.

Even before the severing of diplomatic relations with the legal Polish government, Stalin ordered the organization of a new Polish army, and by March 1944 the 1st Army came into existence. Its first commander was Gen. Zygmunt Berling, a Polish officer who refused to follow Anders, but the majority of officers in command of divisions, regiments, and battalions were detailed from the Red Army. On July 21, 1944, a Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), commonly referred to as the Lublin Committee, was established as an executive branch of the KRN. On July 21 the 1st Belorussian Army Group under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky, into which the 1st Polish Army was incorporated, crossed the Curzon Line. Two days later it liberated Lublin, where the Lublin Committee launched a manifesto in which it declared itself to be "the sole legal Polish executive power." A week later Rokossovsky approached the Vistula River near Warsaw. At the same time Radio Moscow was broadcasting in Polish to the population of Warsaw and calling for a general uprising against the Germans. Foreseeing such an eventuality, Gen. Kazimierz Sosnkowski, who had succeeded Sikorski as commander in chief of the Polish armed forces, on July 7 warned Gen. Tadeusz Komorowski (called General Bór), commander of the 300,000-strong Home Army (Armia Krajowa, or AK), that considering its poor armament he should not order a general anti-German insurrection but that it was imperative that the Poles gain control of an important city before the entry of Soviet troops. On July 25, however, Mikołajczyk informed Jan Stanisław Jankowski, delegate general of the Polish government in German-occupied Poland, that he had full powers to order an uprising in Warsaw. Under this decision, General Komorowski ordered his Warsaw units (40,000 men in all) to start fighting on August 1. As soon as Stalin learned of the uprising, he ordered Rokossovsky to stop the offensive and let the Poles feel their dependence on the actions of the Soviet army. After 63 days of struggle, Komorowski had to surrender on October 2. The AK lost 10,200 men in combat and 13,900 were missing. Of the 950,000 civilian population of Warsaw, about 700,000 were evacuated by the Germans and some 200,000 perished in the fighting. Immediately after surrender Hitler ordered the total destruction of the Polish capital. On January 17, 1945, the Red Army "liberated" Warsaw's empty ruins.

The winter offensive of three Soviet army groups, including two Polish armies of five divisions each, liberated by March 1945 almost all the lands east of the Oder-Neisse Line. In the meantime, at the Yalta Conference (February 4-11), Roosevelt and Churchill sacrificed the legitimacy of the Polish government in exile in London to Stalin by consenting to the formation of a Provisional Polish Government of National Unity, which should include the members of the Lublin administration as well as "other Polish democratic leaders from within Poland and from abroad."

Formation of the People's Republic. On Dec. 31, 1944, the Lublin Committee was reorganized as a provisional government. On April 21 its chairman, Edward Osóbka-Morawski, a left-wing Socialist, signed in Moscow a Polish-Soviet alliance treaty. The Polish Government of National Unity was finally constituted in Mos-

The
Warsaw
uprising

The Katyn
massacre

Poland's
new
frontiers

cow on June 28, 1945. Among its 21 members there were only five newcomers, the most important being Mikołajczyk, who became vice premier. The acting president of the republic was Bierut. This government was transferred to Warsaw, and on July 5 the British and U.S. governments recognized it while withdrawing recognition from the government in London.

On August 2, 1945, at Potsdam, U.S. Pres. Harry S. Truman, the new British prime minister, Clement (later Lord) Attlee, and Stalin issued a declaration establishing a de facto western frontier of Poland along the Oder-Neisse Line. Poland took over the administration of lands held by the Germans to the east of that line, with the exception of the northern part of East Prussia with Königsberg (renamed Kaliningrad), which was incorporated in the Soviet Union. Gdańsk was again a part of Poland. The Potsdam agreement authorized Poland to transfer to the zones of Allied occupation about 3,300,000 Germans (about 4,000,000 had fled westward earlier, dreading the advancing Soviet armies). On August 16, 1945, in Moscow, a Polish-Soviet treaty confirmed Poland's eastern frontier along the Curzon Line. In the east Poland lost 179,460 square kilometres (69,290 square miles) to the Soviet Union. In the west it gained at Germany's expense 102,555 square kilometres (39,596 square miles).

The Bierut era. The sovietization of Poland was Stalin's constant aim, and Bierut was his obedient servant. First, he postponed the general elections while the secret police, supervised by the Soviet Gen. Ivan V. Serov, made mass arrests of prominent political and military leaders. Farms of more than 50 hectares (123.6 acres) were expropriated and at a stroke the landed gentry was pauperized. All industrial establishments employing more than 50 workers were nationalized.

The PPR, PPS, and the Democratic Party were combined in the Democratic Bloc. As Mikołajczyk's PSL refused to join the bloc, Bierut started a ruthless intimidation campaign against its supporters. Nevertheless, at the general elections of January 19, 1947, the PSL received about 84 percent of all votes; the "official" results, however, gave the Communist-controlled bloc 382 seats out of a total of 444. The new Sejm elected Bierut president of the republic, and Józef Cyrankiewicz, a pragmatic Socialist, became premier. Mikołajczyk, accused of being "an ally of foreign imperialists," fled to England in the autumn. In December 1948 the PPS was eliminated by its compulsory merger with the PPR, and the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, or PZPR) was born.

During 1948 Gomułka opposed the collectivization of agriculture in Poland, and in consequence he was dismissed from the party and the government and later (1951) arrested. Bierut, now both president and party leader, asked Marshal Michał Żymierski, a prewar Polish officer, to resign as minister of defense and commander in chief because Stalin wanted this post for Rokossovsky (who, as Konstanty Rokossowski, held it from November 1949 till 1956).

On July 22, 1952, the Sejm approved a Soviet-type constitution. The president of the republic was replaced by a Council of State, and Bierut became premier. In September 1953 he ordered the internment of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Roman Catholic primate of Poland, who opposed the government's interference in church affairs. Bierut abandoned the premiership in March 1954, and Cyrankiewicz returned to that post. In February 1956 Bierut attended the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, at which N.S. Khrushchev denounced Stalin's crimes. This speech fell on Bierut like a thunderbolt. He died on March 12 in Moscow.

The Gomułka era. On March 20 the PZPR Central Committee elected as its first secretary Edward Ochab, who, apparently immediately, and in conjunction with Cyrankiewicz, began to plan for the return of Gomułka. While they were still in the planning stage, an event of historic significance overtook them on June 28: industrial workers in Poznań started a general strike, and a

The
Poznań
general
strike

procession of 50,000 persons demanded bread, freedom, free elections, and the departure of the Russians. This revolt was quelled by force; more than 50 people were killed and many wounded.

When the Central Committee met on October 19 to elect a new Politburo, Khrushchev arrived in Warsaw uninvited. At the same time Soviet divisions were marching on Warsaw. Having elected Gomułka a member, the Central Committee decided that the old Politburo—but with Gomułka—would discuss Polish-Soviet relations with Khrushchev. The meeting took place in the night of October 19–20. Gomułka succeeded in convincing Khrushchev that the PZPR Politburo wished to keep Poland within the Communist camp but as an equal member, and Khrushchev returned to Moscow. On October 21 a new Politburo was elected and Gomułka became first secretary again. He promised to end the compulsory collectivization of agriculture and to reduce the rigour of press censorship. He also released Cardinal Wyszyński from confinement. In November Rokossovsky returned to Moscow with 12 other Soviet officers.

During his 14-year reign Gomułka abandoned the principle of collective leadership, becoming an authoritarian martinet. He picked fresh quarrels with the Roman Catholic Church and imposed economic measures that the workers resented as exploitative. To balance the investments expenditure for the years 1971–75, he announced on December 12, 1970, considerable price increases on 46 items of basic foodstuffs, fuel, and clothing. Two days later workers from Gdańsk, Gdynia, and Szczecin shipyards went on strike, and riots occurred. Gomułka used force against the "counterrevolution": at least 45 workers were killed by militia and more than 1,100 workers and militiamen were injured.

Baltic
riots

Ironically this bloody tragedy occurred shortly after a great success in the field of foreign policy. On December 7, 1970, Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany signed in Warsaw a treaty declaring that the existing German-Polish border along the Oder-Neisse Line "forms the western state frontier of Poland" (the German Democratic Republic had recognized this reality in June 1950).

The Gierek era. On December 20, at a session of the Central Committee, Gomułka and his supporters were ejected from the Politburo. Edward Gierek, the party first secretary in the highly industrialized province of Katowice, assumed the party's leadership as first secretary of the Central Committee. Three days later Piotr Jaroszewicz, a deputy premier from 1952, succeeded Cyrankiewicz as chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The new government started well. Gierek's decision to rebuild the Warsaw Royal Castle, destroyed in 1944 on Hitler's order, roused the patriotic feelings of the nation. The West German Bundestag on May 17, 1972, ratified the Oder-Neisse treaty, and the Holy See soon afterward adjusted the external borders of the new western and northern Polish bishoprics with the internationally recognized frontier. The years 1971–73 were the years of Gierek's "specific economic manoeuvre." Assuming that prosperity in the West would continue, he sought foreign credits to buy plant for the long-overdue modernization of Polish industry. Because wages in Poland were lower than in the West, and energy and raw materials were abundant and cheaper, it seemed reasonable to expect a competitive edge for Polish exports in Western markets and repayment of the debts from hard currency profits. Unfortunately a severe recession that affected the developed market economy in 1974 reduced the chances for success of Gierek's imaginative plan.

Higher prices had become an economic necessity, but when on June 24, 1976, Jaroszewicz announced in the Sejm increases averaging 60 percent on many staples, industrial workers went on strike. The protest movement was so strong that the following day Jaroszewicz told the nation on television that the bill was being withdrawn. There was no bloodbath similar to that of December 1970, but the regime was shaken. Hundreds of protesters were summarily tried and sentenced to prison. A group of Polish intellectuals appealed to the

Protest
strike

Sejm for clemency and for a free flow of information to avert further such disasters.

Pope John Paul II, former Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, archbishop of Kraków, the first Polish and the first non-Italian pope since 1523, visited his native country in June 1979. It was a triumph for him and for the Catholic faithful of Poland, while the Communist government garnered some praise for civility and restraint. During the nine days of his visit the Pope spoke on 32 separate occasions, sometimes to gatherings of more than a million enthusiastic people. (K.M.S.)

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(Ha.Ro./K.M.S.)

Polar Biomes

The polar regions comprise the Arctic, in the north, and the Antarctic, in the south, and although these two are often confused they are indeed poles apart as regards their animal and plant associations, or biomes. The few similarities that exist result chiefly from coldness, widespread aridity, and level of latitudes. (Because of the latitude, day and night practically divide the year in both the Arctic and Antarctic: the sun is continuously above the horizon in summer and below it in winter.) Even the criterion of coldness is elicited mainly in contrast with more hospitable regions, for in the Arctic there is probably no lowland area that does not enjoy for at least one month in each year a mean temperature appreciably above the freezing point, while in the Antarctic only the offshore islands and the coast of Graham Land on the Antarctic Peninsula are favoured with this warming.

Because the arbitrary latitudinal Arctic and Antarctic circles have no meaning as natural boundaries for plants and animals, biologists regard the polar regions in general as lying poleward of the limits of tree growth. One generally recognized natural boundary of the Antarctic is the Antarctic Convergence—a delimitation in the sea, where cold surface-water layers spreading northward from the Antarctic continent meet with and sink below warmer mixed sub-Antarctic waters. This boundary embraces to its south some of the sub-Antarctic islands, such as Heard Island and South Georgia.

In this article, biomes are taken to be more or less climax formations of plants and animals—apart from recent introductions and other disturbances caused by man—considered together and comprising the biota.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

Fossil evidence indicates that in earlier geological ages many parts of the Arctic and Antarctic had temperate or warmer climates favouring quite luxuriant tree growth. Over millions of years the change to relative barrenness has occurred probably both through variations in world climate (the ice caps are no more than 4,500,000 years old) and through the drifting of landmasses poleward from lower latitudes. In any case the polar regions today—especially the Antarctic—are characterized by extremely harsh climates. Precipitation is generally so low—often only a few centimetres (a centimetre is about 0.4 inch) a year—in the highest latitudes that, coupled with the low temperatures and permanently frozen subsoil, there prevails a desert-like barrenness. Nevertheless, the availability of snow meltwater, often throughout the short growing season, and the long-lasting summer daylight favour some limited plant growth.

The Arctic. The highest latitudes in the north are occupied by the Arctic Ocean, the farthest north land being in Greenland and the Arctic Islands of Canada. To the south stretch islands or major landmasses, which in many sectors of the northern polar cap extend into the sub-Arctic and then temperate zones, thus affording more or less continuous dispersal routes for plants and animals from the south. The Arctic Ocean is deep, but the surface is largely covered by floating ice. The land area is commonly rugged, with widespread mountain ranges and glaciers descending to the sea—especially in Greenland, occupied by the world's second-largest ice cap (see ARCTIC ISLANDS; ARCTIC OCEAN).

The Antarctic. The highest latitudes in the south are occupied by the continent of Antarctica, which is largely covered under the world's greatest ice cap. Only on projecting mountains (nunataks) and limited ice-free tracts near the shores can land plants grow. The continent is far more isolated than is any Arctic land, being fully 800 kilometres (500 miles) from the nearest continental landmass, though scattered and usually small sub-Antarctic islands exist and very probably act as "stepping stones" for some limited plant and animal dispersal. Nevertheless, for practical purposes the Antarctic is isolated by formidable sea barriers that have made it extremely difficult for colonization by plants and animals since the last glacial period (see ANTARCTICA).

THE BIOTIC COMPONENT

Arctic and Antarctic plants and animals are extremely well adapted to their harsh and inhospitable environments. The form of adaptation is often similar in both polar regions, but rather few species are common to the two. While their terrestrial and freshwater ecosystems (ecological communities considered as a unit together with the nonliving factors of their environment) are widely different, the far more prolific marine ecosystems are comparable; indeed in both the Arctic and the Antarctic, it is chiefly in the seas that life abounds.

Vegetation. Polar food cycles, from plant producers through various animal consumers, are relatively simple, with few organisms linked together. Unfavourable climatic and soil conditions combine to limit severely plant growth in the Antarctic. But in the Arctic, vegetation is often fairly luxuriant in the southern tundra ranges, and its component plants are very diverse—as also are the dependent animal species. Of Arctic flowering plants and ferns, about 1,000 different species are known from regions north of the tree line. Some of these are confined to the Arctic, but the vast majority range far southward—especially on mountains, in characteristic Arctic-Alpine distribution. The more primitive "lower" plants are less known but probably include almost as many species of mosses as of vascular plants and some 300 species of liverworts. Lichens are probably at least as numerous as the mosses, and the fungi are surely far more so, fully 850 species of fungi having been recorded from Greenland alone. Arctic algae are very numerous—probably more than 2,000 different species, a considerable number of which are limited to the Arctic Ocean. The

Desert-like barrenness

Richness of life in polar seas

Kościuszko

tolerable, however, he joined the Liberal Republican movement in 1872 and supported, though reluctantly, Horace Greeley. Again in 1876 he asserted his political independence as well as his steadfast devotion to the principles of the liberal movement by advocating the candidacy of Samuel Tilden against Hayes. Disappointed by the course of events following the election of 1876, he retired from his former active participation in politics and devoted the remaining years of his life almost exclusively to literary work. It was then that he wrote his valuable historical study entitled *Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1880). A keen observer of men, a profound and sympathetic student of American institutions, politics, and life in general, and a man of calm judgment, he was exceptionally qualified to write the history of one of the great constituent parts of the composite American population during a period the greater part of which he had followed as an eye witness. His object was "to show how strongly and to what extent the arrival of the Germans in large numbers since 1818 had influenced this country politically and socially." He was one of the first thus to recognize the importance of the ethnic problem in American historiography.

While it may be regretted that Körner did not include the German immigration of 1848 and the subsequent years in his history, the omission is partly compensated for by his autobiography which he finished shortly before his death. Although these reminiscences were written at the suggestion of his children and, therefore, record many matters pertaining to his immediate family, they unfold at the same time a fascinating picture of the cultural and political life of the nation and the important part which the German element played in it during the nineteenth century.

[The chief source of information is Körner's autobiography published under the title, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896: Life Sketches Written at the Suggestion of His Children* (1909), ed. by Thomas J. McCormack. H. A. Rattermann's German biography, *Gustav Körner, Deutsch-Amerikanischer Jurist, Staatsmann, Diplomat und Geschichtsschreiber* (1902), is based essentially upon Körner's "Memoirs," the manuscript of which was placed at the author's disposal by the family. Other sources include: J. M. Palmer, *Bench and Bar of Ill.* (1899), vol. I; Newton Bateman and others, *Hist. Encyc. of Ill. and Hist. of St. Clair County* (1907), vol. I; *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, Apr. 10, 1896.] J. G.

KOŚCIUSZKO, TADEUSZ ANDRZEJ BONAWENTURA (Feb. 12, 1746-Oct. 15, 1817), Revolutionary soldier and Polish patriot, was born in the Palatinate of Breesc in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (now Palatinate of Polesie, Poland). His father, an impoverished member

Kościuszko

of the small gentry, was a notary and cultivated part of the estate of Count Flemming. An aged uncle taught the youthful Kościuszko drawing, mathematics, and French. Alone he read Plutarch and became enamored of the heroes of antiquity. In his thirteenth year his father died and he was sent to the Jesuit College at Breesc; there he remained until he entered the Royal School at Warsaw in 1765. Four years later he graduated with the rank of captain and received a scholarship to France where, at Mézières, he studied engineering and artillery. Returning to Poland in 1774, he found few opportunities for his talents; and after an unfortunate love affair with Ludvika Sosnowska, in the course of which he almost lost his life at the hands of her father's retainers, he returned to Paris. There the announcement of the American Revolution stirred his imagination: he borrowed money and came to America. He arrived in Philadelphia in August 1776 and applied to various committees for appointment to service. The Pennsylvania Committee of Defense employed him, with Payne and De Lisle, to draw up plans for fortifying the Delaware River. The success of this work gained him a commission as colonel of engineers in the Continental Army (Oct. 18, 1776). In the spring of 1777 he joined the Northern Army under General Gates at Ticonderoga, where he advised the fortification of Mount Defiance. The failure to fortify this hill and its occupation by Burgoyne lost Ticonderoga to the Americans. Kościuszko's choice of battlefields and his erection of fortifications contributed greatly to the brilliant victory of the American forces over Burgoyne at Saratoga. In the spring of 1778 he was placed in charge of the building of fortifications at West Point, where he remained from March 1778 to June 1780. During his residence at West Point he formed an intimate friendship with Gates, and when the latter became commander in the South, he asked to have Kościuszko accompany him as chief of engineers. Before Kościuszko could join the army, however, Gates, following the battle of Camden, was removed and was replaced by Nathanael Greene [*q.v.*]. During the winter of 1780-81 Kościuszko explored the Catawba River. During Greene's masterly retreat before Lord Cornwallis in the campaign of 1781 Kościuszko was in charge of transportation. During the winter of 1782 he was stationed near Charleston, S. C., where he was more conspicuous as an officer of cavalry than as an engineer. He was among the first of the Continentals to enter Charleston after its evacuation by the British. He returned north with Greene in the spring of 1783 and at New-

Koyl

burgh, N. Y., was one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati. On Oct. 13, 1783, Congress made him a brigadier-general.

In July 1784 he left New York for Paris and from there went to Poland. After four years of rural retirement, in October 1789 he became major-general of the Polish army. During the spring of 1792 he led his tiny army in its brave resistance against the Russians; when the King succumbed to Russian intrigue, Kościuszko resigned his commission and determined to return to America. He went to France but in March 1794 returned to Poland to lead the famous rising. After several brilliant successes he became dictator, promulgated a series of liberal reforms, but at last, in October 1794, was defeated and captured by the Russians in the battle of Maciejowice. After two years of captivity he was released by Czar Paul I and in August 1797 he and several companions reached Philadelphia. Congress appropriated over fifteen thousand dollars which was due him and made him a land grant of five hundred acres in Ohio. While in America he visited Gates, Gen. Anthony W. White, and Jefferson. The traditional friendship between Washington and Kościuszko has no historical foundation; their infrequent relations were very formal. In May 1798 he secretly left America and returned to France. In 1800 at the request of Gen. William R. Davie he wrote in French his *Manoeuvres of Horse Artillery*, a translation of which was published in New York in 1808. He continued his brave but futile efforts for Polish freedom until his death in Switzerland in 1817. The funds arising from the sale of his Ohio lands were used to found the Colored School at Newark, N. J., one of the first educational institutions for negroes in America.

[*Memorial Exhibition: Thaddeus Kościuszko* (1927), catalogue of the memorial exhibition at the Anderson Galleries, New York, containing unpublished letters, introduction, etc.; Monica M. Gardner, *Kościuszko* (London, 1920); C. A. Manning, "Kościuszko et les États-Unis," in *Le Monde Slave* (Paris, Nov. 1925); J. Michelet, *La Pologne Martyr* (Paris, 1863); Karl Falkenstein, *Thaddäus Kościuszko* (ed. of 1834); S. Kunasiewicz, *T. Kościuszko w Ameryce* (Lwow, 1876).]

F. M.—n.

KOYL, CHARLES HERSCHEL (Aug. 14, 1855–Dec. 18, 1931), civil engineer, was born in Amherstburg, Ontario, the son of Rev. Ephraim Lillie and Frances (Culp) Koyl. His early life was spent in Ontario, and in 1877 he graduated from Victoria College, Coburg. He continued his education at Johns Hopkins University, where, after two years' study, he was made a fellow in physics. After teaching mathematics and physics at various places in the United States and Canada, in 1887 he became

Koyl

instructor in physics and ~~electrical~~ engineering at Swarthmore College. On June 5, 1888, he patented a parabolic semaphore for use in railway signaling, and the following year was awarded the John Scott Legacy Medal of the Franklin Institute for this invention. In 1890 he began the practice of engineering in New York City. During this period he was for some time president of the National Switch & Signal Company, as well as the National Laying Company. In 1895–96 he was scientific assistant to the commissioner of street cleaning of New York City, and in this capacity did notable work, becoming an authority upon the disposal of municipal wastes.

While at Johns Hopkins he had become interested in municipal water treatment and he later became a pioneer in the treatment of industrial water supplies. In 1900 he was engaged by the Great Northern Railroad as engineer of water service to lessen, if possible, the cost to the road of procuring non-alkaline water for use in the locomotive boilers. He was extraordinarily successful in this undertaking and developed many ingenious schemes for softening water. Through his efforts he was able to effect a further saving of about \$4000 per locomotive per year, by systematic removal of injurious matter from the water before it was put into the boilers.

This work continued to interest Koyl and in 1920 he became engineer of water service for the Chicago, Milwaukee & Saint Paul Railroad. His activities involved not only consideration of the location and design of suitable water-supply and treatment plants, but also the important feature of intensive education and check of employees in the proper handling of the work. Here again he was remarkably successful, and he continued his association with this railroad for the remainder of his life. He was a frequent contributor to technical journals on subjects in his special fields, among his notable papers being the following: "Municipal Refuse Disposal," a letter discussing a paper by J. T. Hetherston (*Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers*, vol. LX, 1908); "Prevention of Pitting in Locomotive Boilers by Exclusion of Dissolved Oxygen from Feedwater" (*Journal of the American Water Works Association*, August 1929); "The Preparation of Water for Railroad Use" (*Ibid.*, July 1930).

Koyl was married at Washington, D. C., Nov. 6, 1885, to Georgiana Thatcher Washburn. After her death, he married Adele T. Sanford, Apr. 27, 1901. He died at Evanston, Ill.

[*Who's Who in Engineering*, 1931; *Who's Who in America*, 1928–29; *Jour. of the Franklin Inst.*, Jan.,

3912

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NSC redraft: 4/4/89

ENDING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE

Draft Presidential Speech

DETROIT

In my inaugural address I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I spoke of the spreading recognition of the free market, and the creative genius of the individual, as the true sources of prosperity. I spoke of the power of the ^{DEMOCRATIC IDEA} ~~idea of democracy~~ -- of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will ^(x) ~~unhampered by the state.~~

A Movement of Opportunity for Europe

We should not be surprised that ^{force} ~~those~~ ideas have new ^{today} ~~new~~ relevance ^{the} ~~in Europe~~ -- ^{of democracy} ~~that continent so central to our own~~ ^{of freedom} ~~whose ideas have found such a full expression in American life~~ ^{the homeland of philosophers of ideas} ~~history, the world's history, and the history of those very~~ ideas.

AN INVASION OF ARMIES CAN BE RESISTED,
VICTOR HUGO "BUT NOT AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME."

Liberty and democracy are ideas whose time has come to
Eastern Europe.

Almost half a century² *and*
For over ~~40~~ years, the suppression of freedom in Eastern
Europe, sustained by the preponderant military power of the
Soviet Union, has ~~cruelly and artificially divided the continent.~~ *REND APART NATION FROM NATION, NEIGHBOR FROM NEIGHBOR*
This art. division is a source of
The result has been continual confrontation and tension, for
Europe, ~~for our country~~, and ~~for~~ the world. As East and West
American
today seek to reduce arms, *WE MUST REMEMBER* they cannot forget that the true
to be found in weapons
source of danger is not the arms, ~~which are just the symptom~~, but
the imposition of an alien political system in Eastern and
Central Europe sustained by force and intimidation.

How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as
nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their ~~own~~ *future* ✓
future -- a right explicitly promised them by the agreements
among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can
there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations, ~~that~~ *which are ranked among the*
~~used to be~~ leading industrial powers, ~~are continually impoverished~~ *are*
by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorship? How can
there be stability and security in Europe so long as the gap
between the two halves -- political, economic, technological,
moral -- is growing?

Today, the winds of change are sweeping across the entire
continent -- a resurgence of Western Europe and its institutions
of unity; *the* a reawakening of yearnings in Eastern Europe for
democracy, independence, and economic progress. Soviet policy,

too, shows signs of change, though these have ~~not~~ yet ~~been~~ ^{to be fully} ~~finally~~ tested.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reduction to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in Eastern Europe.

Thirty-six years ago, President Eisenhower spoke [addressed this same forum] at a similar moment of opportunity, ^{just after} Stalin ~~had~~ just ~~ended~~, ^{P.E. said}

"Now a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union [he said]. Its links to the past, however strong, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make. ... Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they recognize this critical moment.

"We welcome every honest act of peace.

"We care nothing for mere rhetoric.

"We are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds."

That moment

4

The ~~opportunity~~ then proved short-lived. But our hope
opportunities
remains, and ~~the moment~~ beckons again.

Poland and United States Policy

The United States has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence denying nations their sovereign rights.

The American people want to see East and Central Europe free and prosperous, and at peace. ~~Prudently and realistically~~ we have sought to promote an evolution in this direction, pursuing the opportunities afforded by the Helsinki accords and the deepening process of East-West interchange they began.

In recent years, we have developed relations with each country in the region on a step-by-step basis, at whatever pace that country could accept. We looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural *literally* ~~openness~~, consular and emigration issues, control of narcotics trafficking, opposition to terrorism, and other areas of concern to us.

Now some regimes ~~are~~ *are* testing the limits of the new Soviet tolerance and seeking to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with

reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been unthinkable. And in Poland, on April __, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Seven years ago, millions of Americans lit candles in ~~support of Poland's freedom~~, in the hope that the darkness of *Poland's long* repression would some day be lifted, and that Solidarity would resume its rightful place in Polish life.

According to the Roundtable agreements, among the many steps to be taken, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held. *[Signature]*

Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. *A modern French writer once observed that Com is not another form of eco. It is the death of eco.*
In Poland Decades of structural distortion and institutionalized inefficiency -- the inevitable product of a Communist system -- have taken a terrible toll on Poland's well-being. Economic recovery will be slow and ~~very, very~~ *extremely hard won* difficult.

There must be economic reforms that undo the structural distortions and give free rein to the enterprising and creative *impulse* spirit of the Polish people. This will not be painless. But

7

~~Can and must answer the call to freedom~~
But we ~~can and should respond~~. The Congress, the Polish-American community, U.S. labor leaders, ~~the American people, and~~ our allies and ~~the~~ international financial institutions, ^{MUST} ~~should~~ ^{IN CONCEPT} ~~work together to support democracy in Poland as political and economic reforms take root over time.~~ ^{if democracy is take root over time.}

our agenda

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve support. I have decided on some specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway and to encourage the reforms yet to come:

- J
- As Polish society opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educations, cultural, and training programs to ~~reach out and~~ support the emerging private sector.
 - The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity ^{and} for charitable, humanitarian, and environmental projects.
 - We will ^{purpose} ~~offer to begin~~ negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, intended to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides could benefit.

- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress for legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which eliminates tariffs on some products from developing countries.
- We will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to operate in Poland. OPIC can benefit both Poland and U.S. investors.
- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, supporting viable private sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.
- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debts.

- The US believes that*
- ~~As~~ ^{clear the way for} the Roundtable accords are implemented, Poland will be ~~on a stand by arrangement~~ able to work with the International Monetary Fund and the ~~that will support sound, new, market-oriented economic policies~~ World Bank on programs that support sound, new, market-oriented economic policies.
- to develop a program* → ~~Poland's changing~~ ^{It is esp. gratifying for me to witness the changes taking place in Poland.}
- ~~For me, this new development brings special gratification.~~

When I visited Poland in September 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a

significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. And I will keep my word.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow.

While ~~the countries of Eastern Europe differ~~, and we must still differentiate among them, Poland holds a lesson for others. *the nations of EE offer 2 all East*

There will be no internal progress without significant political and economic liberalization. *the West will provide help in step with such steps of liberalization. Our European allies share this philosophy.*

Ending Europe's Division

This is a moment for America to renew its historic commitment to ~~seek an end to~~ the division of Europe. Such a goal will require not simply arms reductions -- though we will pursue these with all our energy. It will require a major step forward in ~~the~~ political relations between East and West, ~~the~~ political conditions that ^{MOTIVATE} underlie the military deployments.

The West need no longer hesitate to describe its vision of Europe's future: We see the elimination of all barriers to free movement of people, goods, and ideas -- ~~most notoriously the~~ Berlin Wall ^{but} ~~all the barriers along the dividing line~~. We see East European peoples free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular,

contested elections. We see East European countries free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has definitively and authoritatively renounced all right to intervene militarily and all excuses for doing so -- a convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. [LET THE S.U. former left the grim spectre of fear, fear of another Budapest, fear of another Prague] AND OTHER EE concerns.]

The Soviet Union can be assured, in turn, that a free, ^{Party?} democratic Eastern Europe ~~as we envision it~~ would threaten no (one) and no country. Such an evolution would imply, and reinforce, the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions -- arms reductions, political relations, trade -- in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

Soviet leaders talk of a "Common European Home," suggesting a new approach to European security. But they frequently say it must be built on "existing realities." That's the catch. The denial of self-determination and democracy in Eastern Europe is an "existing reality" that we cannot accept and that offers no hope for peace, security, and cooperation in Europe. Nor is it consistent with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accords or the United Nations Charter. ✓✓✓

Next month, at a Summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues.

They are not a bilateral matter between the United States and the Soviet Union -- though there will be occasions for us to raise our concerns with the Soviets. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for ^a common approaches. But it is high time we put these issues at the top of our common agenda, lest a lack of vision fritter away a historic opportunity and allow others -- ~~dangerously~~ ^{more ominous} to shape Europe's future according to a very different vision.

We may be at a turning point in Europe's postwar history -- but we will see our vision realized only if we have the discipline and courage to do what is right. ~~It is~~ ^{have} the unity and strength of the democracies that brought us to ~~this point~~ ^{this opening}; (this is not the moment to relax those policies.)

We must maintain and modernize our forces, while we pursue arms reduction. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in a way that lets our adversaries evade their hard choices.

There is so much to be gained. If we are wise, and strong, and united, we can be the generation that made Europe free.

Thank you.

SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

Draft Presidential Statement

Seven years ago, Americans lit candles in support of Poland's freedom, in the hope that the darkness of repression would some day be lifted and that Solidarity would resume its rightful place in Polish life.

This week, Poland took a great stride forward. In Warsaw, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

According to the Roundtable agreements, among the many steps to be taken, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and free national elections for a new Polish senate will be held.

These agreements do not bring full democracy. But the degree of pluralism and of freedom that they institutionalize will take Poland far from totalitarianism.

The Roundtable agreements are inspiring testimony to the indomitable spirit of the Polish people; to the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa and Solidarity; to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church; and to the realism of the Polish authorities.

Poland has started on an uphill road of peaceful change. It represents a historic opportunity, but major challenges remain.

The legacy of mistrust and bad faith cannot be erased overnight. Many are skeptical about whether the Polish authorities will keep their word as people begin to test their new freedoms to the full. So, steps toward democracy must be taken and not reversed. Agreements must be implemented. Disputes must be worked out fairly.

Second, Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. Structural reforms are needed to undo the institutionalized waste and mismanagement that are the product of the Communist system, and to give free rein to the enterprising and creative spirit of the Polish people. Patience and indeed sacrifice will be necessary in the short run if the benefits of freedom are to be fully realized. That is why the political reforms -- making the Polish people partners -- are so important. But there are no guarantees and there will be no easy successes.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of the challenge. Poland's democratic forces have asked for the West's help. While they pursue democratization and economic reform, their friends should stand with them, not just in words, but in actions.

The United States Government has just completed a thorough review, in the National Security Council, of our policy toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular. I have considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not repeat

the mistakes of the 1970's by throwing money at a problem, or rewarding promises rather than actions. We will not take unconditional steps, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. And even as Poland takes steps of political reform, it is still a member of the Warsaw Pact, and we will take no steps that compromise our security.

But we can and should respond now. The Congress, the Polish-American community, U.S. labor leaders, the American people, and our allies and international financial institutions should work together to support the cause of democracy in Poland as political and economic reforms take root over time.

Specifically:

- As Poland opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educational, cultural, and training programs to reach out and support the emerging private sector.
- My administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity and for charitable, humanitarian, and environmental projects.
- We will offer to begin negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses.
- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress for legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized

System of Preferences (GSP), which eliminates tariffs on products from developing countries.

- I will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to operate in Poland. OPIC can benefit both Poland and U.S. investors.
- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, viable private sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.
- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debts.
- [-- As the Roundtable accords are implemented, Poland will be able to work with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on programs that support sound, new, market-oriented economic policies.]

For me, this development brings special gratification. When I visited Poland in September 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. And I will keep my word.

We recall the words of the Polish fighters for independence: "For your freedom and ours." We know that Poland's struggle for democracy is our struggle too. If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. A cornerstone for true, sustainable, and democratic stability in Europe will have been laid.

America today renews its historic commitment to see the division of Europe ended. The winds of change are sweeping across Europe -- a resurgence of Western Europe and its institutions of unity; a reawakening of yearnings in Eastern Europe for freedom, democracy, independence, and prosperity. Soviet policy, too, shows signs of change, though these have not yet been finally tested. As East and West seek to reduce arms and the danger of war, they cannot forget that the true source of tension and instability in Europe is not the arms but the continuing, cruel, and unacceptable division of the continent imposed by Soviet power.

The Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end there as well.

While all the countries of that region differ, they all deserve better than the dead hand of a discredited system imposed upon them. Perhaps Poland will mark a new beginning for all of Eastern Europe. The American people surely hope so, and will engage constructively, creatively, and generously toward that end.



President Bush greeting the crowd from the steps of City Hall in Hamtramck, Mich. Applauding was Edmund Cardinal Szoka of Detroit.

Bush Unveils Aid Plan for Poland Linked to Recent Liberalization

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

HAMTRAMCK, Mich., April 17 — Declaring that "the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny," President Bush today announced an economic aid program for Poland that acknowledges Warsaw's recent agreement to allow free elections.

In a speech intended to link a modest package of American economic benefits to political change not only in Poland but throughout Eastern Europe, Mr. Bush said the "stirrings" toward open political expression in the Soviet bloc were viewed by the United States "with prudence, realism and patience." [Excerpts, page A12.]

"If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow," Mr. Bush told an enthusiastic audience of thousands that crammed the rain-soaked streets outside the City Hall of this largely Polish-American community, which is surrounded by Detroit.

Polish Accord 'a Watershed'

He cited as "a watershed in the post-war history of Eastern Europe" the agreement this month calling for the first free and open elections in Poland since World War II and providing for the Solidarity trade union to regain legal status.

As the measures were announced, a Warsaw court officially restored the union's legal status in fulfillment of the agreement between the Government and union leaders. [Page A12.]

The President provided few specific figures in his speech. But the eight-point economic package he outlined for

Poland, which is burdened by \$39 billion in foreign debt, included these measures:

¶ Elimination of tariffs on selected Polish imports through the Generalized System of Preferences, a move that is subject to Congressional approval. This system of preferential tariffs is traditionally used by the United States to assist less developed nations.

¶ A program of American guaranteed loans through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, also subject to Congressional approval, to stimulate private investment in Poland. The corporation is intended to stimulate private enterprise abroad through United States Government

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

Bush Unveils Program of Economic Aid to Poland

Continued From Page A1

guarantees of investments and credits.

¶An initiative by the Commerce Department, the Small Business Administration and American business organizations to expand the role of American companies in Poland's relatively small private sector.

¶Efforts by the Administration to "explore new exchanges, training and educational programs to support the private sector in Poland.

¶A call for debt-for-equity trades under which American investors, including commercial banks, would purchase a portion of an outstanding Polish bank debt, usually at a discount.

¶Collaboration with the "Paris club," a group of major industrialized nations, "to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow." Of its \$39 billion debt, Poland owes \$26 billion to Western industrialized nations and Japan, mostly to West Germany. About \$2.4 billion is owed to the United States.

¶Support for conditional new loans to Poland from the International Monetary Fund. But Mr. Bush indicated that these loans would be oriented toward "market-oriented economic policies." The I.M.F. is considering an immediate loan of \$300 million, while the World Bank tentatively plans \$250 million in its first round of loans.

¶Consideration of private-sector loans by the International Finance Corporation to support Poland's private sector. The corporation, a World Bank subsidiary, backs private enterprise in developing countries, approved a loan of about \$14 million for Poland last fall.

Earlier, Administration officials said that World Bank loans to Poland might amount to about \$1 billion, annually within three or four years.

A White House spokesman, Roman Popadiuk, said the benefits from tariff relief could range from \$3.5 million to \$25 million, depending on the types of products selected and how quickly and aggressively Poland makes use of its new opportunities to export to the United States.

The United States imported \$417 million in merchandise from Poland last year, largely ham, fish, textile and steel. It exported \$304 million in goods, mostly grain.

No Unconditional Help

Mr. Bush said his proposals for assisting Poland and restoring its battered economy were contingent on the Warsaw Government's political and economic moves.

"We will not act unconditionally," he said. "We will not offer unsound credits. We will not offer aid without requiring sound economic practices in return. We must remember that Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West."

Although Mr. Bush said the United States "has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division," he went on to declare that Warsaw was "now taking concrete steps that deserve our active support."

Brent Scowcroft, the national security adviser, who traveled to Michigan with Mr. Bush, said the aid pack-

The accord on free elections and Solidarity's status is cited.

age hinged on, among other things, the ability of Polish officials to reach an agreement with the I.M.F. that would "improve their economic performance to get loans." Asked if this meant more capitalist ventures, Mr. Scowcroft nodded in agreement.

Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, said that in the aftermath of the Polish agreement, Mr. Bush was considering a trip to Poland, but he said there were no plans yet.

Bush Visited in 1987

Mr. Bush recalled that he visited Poland as Vice President in September 1987. "I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and Government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind that we now see," he said, referring to Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Communist leader, and Lech Walesa, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and founder of Solidarity.

"Both of them valued that assurance," he said. "So it is especially gratifying for us today to witness the changes now taking place in Poland and to announce these new changes in U.S. policy. The United States of America keeps its promises."

Mr. Bush ended his 22-minute speech

to applause from the flag-waving crowd after he said, in Polish, "Niech żyje Polska"—Let Poland live.

During his visit to Hamtramck (pronounced ham-TRAM-ick), he had lunch with Polish-American community leaders. The menu included dill pickle soup, veal cutlet, stuffed cabbage, kielbasa and kapusta pierogi (dumplings), nalesniki (blintzes), walnut torte, Polish vodka and coffee.

Solidarity Is Hopeful

Special to The New York Times

WARSAW, April 17 — Asked about the proposals put forward by President Bush, Bronislaw Geremek, a Solidarity adviser, said today, "We are waiting for this speech with hope, because we think the changes in Poland, this democratic change, should be helped by a clever, intelligent Western economic policy."

Such help should include relief for Poland's foreign debt burden, he said, as well as an "intelligent policy" of investment and joint ventures between Polish and Western companies. He said he was not yet familiar with the details of Mr. Bush's speech, however.

Mr. Walesa was quoted as saying in Gdansk: "Bush is a great man and he knows Polish issues very well. This is quite big as an initial proposal. Let's wait for the next step."

The state television reported Mr. Bush's speech on its regular nightly news program, without giving details. A Government spokesman, Ryszard Straus, said there would be no official response to the American proposals until Tuesday.

Excerpts From Speech By Bush on Polish Aid

Following are excerpts from President Bush's address today in Hamtramck, Mich., as recorded by The New York Times through the facilities of Cable News Network.

Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond, a bond of blood, of culture and shared values. And so it is only natural that, as dramatic change comes to Poland, we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.

In my inaugural address, I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. In man's heart, I said, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient leafless tree.

How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling authoritarianism? The United States — and let's be clear on this — has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations.

And yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent. And Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity.

Some regimes are now seeking to win popular legitimacy through reform. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been absolutely unthinkable. And in Poland on April 5, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if faithfully implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

I have decided, as your President, on specific steps to be taken by the United States, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms under way, and to encourage reforms yet to come now that Solidarnosc is legal:

¶ I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our General, our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries.

¶ We will work with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow.

¶ I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in

Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors.

¶ We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides can benefit.

¶ The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation.

¶ We believe that the roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies.

¶ We will encourage business and private nonprofit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish

**'Help from the
West will come in
concert with
liberalization.'**

debt for equity in Polish enterprises, and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.

¶ We will support imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And while we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization.

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, I will meet with the leaders of the Western democracies. The leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these concerns. And these are not bilateral issues just between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should understand, in turn, that a free democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country.



**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN**

April 17, 1989

SCHEDULE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989

EVENTS:

Address to Citizens of Hamtramck, Michigan
Luncheon with Members of the American Polish Community

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Office of Presidential Advance
John G. Keller, Jr. - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Kathy Kamionek - 202/456-7565

Detroit, Michigan Signal - 313/567-7701

ADVANCE:

Gordon James - LEAD
John Hutchison - PRESS
Jim Burke - USSS
Harris Millerd - WHCA
Sean Byrne - MIL. AIDE
Rick Betz - AFI

WEATHER:

Cloudy/Mid 50's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

8:45 am Vans depart West Basement en
route Andrews Air Force Base.

9:15 am Guests and Staff with own trans-
portation should arrive Andrews
Air Force Base.

9:25 am Those manifested on Marine One
should proceed to board.

9:30 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Marine One and departs White
House en route Andrews Air Force Base.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

THE PRESIDENT
A. Card
B. Scowcroft
S. Studdert
M. Fitzwater
T. McBride
Mil. Aide
Doctor
2 USSS

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

9:40 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base and
proceeds to board Air Force One.

9:45 am

THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Detroit, Michigan.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 15 Minutes)
(Interchange: None)
(Time Change: None)
(Food Service: Continental Breakfast)

11:00 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Selfridge Air Force Base, Detroit, Michigan.

Met by:

The Honorable James Blanchard
Governor of Michigan

Brigadier General David T. Arendts
Wing Commander, Selfridge Air National Guard Base

The Honorable John Engler
Senate Majority Leader, Michigan

The Honorable Paul Hillegonds
House Republican Leader, Michigan

Ms. Ronna Romney
National Committeewoman, Michigan/
Co-Chair Bush Campaign, Michigan '88

Mr. L. Brooks Patterson
Co-Chair Bush Campaign, Michigan '88

Mr. Chuck Yob
Finance Co-Chair Bush Campaign, Michigan '88

Mr. William Lucas
Former Gubernatorial Candidate, Michigan

Mr. John Rakolta, Jr.
President, Walbridge Aldinger

11:10 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Selfridge Air Force Base en route Hamtramck, Michigan.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	G. James
Spare	T. McBride Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT B. Scowcroft A. Card
Follow Up	
Control	J. Swift S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater Official Photographer Medic
WHCA	
Camera I	
Staff Van	Remaining Staff
Guest Van	Remaining Guests
Press Van I	B. Zanca
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Hamtramck City Hall,
Guests and Staff will be escorted to
the Guest and Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than
12:30 pm for transport to Under the
Eagle Restaurant.

11:40 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Hamtramck City Hall,
Hamtramck, Michigan and proceeds to Holding Room.

Met by:

The Honorable Robert Kozaren
Mayor of Hamtramck

Cardinal Edmund Szoka
Archbishop of Detroit

The Honorable Walter Paruk
District Court Judge

Mr. Edward J. Moskal
National President, Polish American Congress

Mr. Paul C. Odrobina
Hamtramck City Council Chairman

Mr. Nick Frontczak
Hamtramck City Council Member

Ms. Helen Justewicz
Hamtramck City Council Member

Mr. Edward Rojek
Hamtramck City Council Member

Mr. Sam Iaquinto
Hamtramck City Council Member

Mr. Bob Cwierniewicz
Aide to the Mayor of Hamtramck

Mr. Joseph Grzecki
City Treasurer

Mrs. Ethel Fiddler
City Clerk

11:43 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room.

11:50 am THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

11:51 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

EVENT: ADDRESS TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

OPEN PRESS

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

REMARKS

11:52 am THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Dais and remains standing.

11:54 am THE PRESIDENT participates in traditional Polish Welcoming Ceremony conducted by Mayor Kozaren and Gabriela and Emilia Juocys.

11:55 am Invocation will be given by Cardinal Szoka.

11:56 am THE PRESIDENT is introduced by Councilman Paul Odrobina for Remarks.

11:58 am THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

12:18 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Dais, and proceeds to Holding Room.

12:20 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room.

12:30 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

12:35 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Hamtramck City Hall en route Under the Eagle Restaurant.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	G. James
Spare	T. McBride Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT A. Card B. Scowcroft Cardinal Szoka
Follow Up	
Control	J. Swift S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater Official Photographer Medic
WHCA	
Camera I	
Staff Van	Remaining Staff
Guest Van	Remaining Guests

Press Van I B. Zanca
Press Van II
Press Van III

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Under the Eagle Restaurant,
Guests and Staff will be escorted to the
Luncheon.

Please board Motorcade no later than
1:10 pm for transport to Selfridge Air
Force Base.

12:40 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Under the Eagle Restaurant
and proceeds inside to Seat.

Met by:

Mrs. Teresa Peczeniuk
Owner, Under the Eagle Restaurant

Mrs. Zuzana Slupek
Mother of Owner, Under the Eagle Restaurant

EVENT: LUNCHEON WITH MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN POLISH
COMMUNITY

POOL COVERAGE

12:42 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Seat and participates in
Luncheon.

1:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Luncheon and proceeds to Motorcade.

1:15 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Under the Eagle Restaurant en route Selfridge Air Force Base.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead	G. James
Spare	T. McBride Doctor
LIMO	THE PRESIDENT A. Card B. Scowcroft Sen. Engler
Follow Up	
Control	S. Studdert Mil. Aide
Support	M. Fitzwater Official Photographer Medic
WHCA	
Camera I	
Staff Van	Remaining Staff
Guest Van	Remaining Guests
Press Van I	B. Zanca
Press Van II	
Press Van III	

(Drive Time: 30 Minutes)

1:45 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Selfridge Air Force Base
and proceeds to board Air Force One.

Met by:

Brigadier General and Mrs. David T. Arendts
(Barbara)
Wing Commander, Selfridge Air National Guard Base

Captain John T. Williams
Selfridge Air National Guard Base, Naval Commander

Lt. Colonel Donald E. Odell, USAF
Selfridge Public Affairs Officer
(Recipient of Prisoner of War Medal - Vietnam)

Lt. Colonel Clayton T. Gadd
Selfridge Air Force Reserve Commander

1:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Detroit, Michigan en route
Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 5 Minutes)
(Interchange: None)
(Time Change: None)
(Food Service: Sandwiches/Snacks)

2:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
and proceeds to board Marine One.

3:00 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base
en route White House.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

THE PRESIDENT

A. Card

B. Scowcroft

S. Studdert

M. Fitzwater

T. McBride

Mil. Aide

Doctor

2 USSS

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

3:10 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989

EVENT: Address to Citizens of Hamtramck, Michigan

TIME: 11:50 a.m. - 12:20 p.m.

DATE: Monday, April 17, 1989

LOCATION: Hamtramck City Hall

ATTENDEES: 5000

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: The pre-program will include ethnic music by a Polka band, local Polish dancers, and the Hamtramck Senior High School Band. Some local dignitaries will be introduced prior to the arrival of THE PRESIDENT. The backdrop will be the City Hall building with a large banner saying "Hamtramck, A Touch of Europe in America." Flanking the stage will be two large Solidarity banners above two large Polish Flags hanging above bleachers occupied by 230 of the local dignitaries and citizens in native costume. One banner will be in English and the other in Polish.

THE PRESIDENT arrives Hamtramck City Hall and is met by The Honorable Robert Kozaren, Mayor of Hamtramck; Cardinal Edmund Szoka, Archbishop of Detroit; The Honorable Walter Paruk, District Court Judge; Mr. Edward J. Moskal, National President, Polish American Congress; Mr. Paul C. Odrobina, Hamtramck City Council Chairman; Mr. Nick Frontczak, Ms. Helen Justewicz, Mr. Edward Rojek, and Mr. Sam Iaquinto, Hamtramck City Council Members; Mr. Joseph Grzecki, City Treasurer; Mrs. Ethel Fiddler, City Clerk; Mr. Bob Cwierniewicz, Aide to the Mayor of Hamtramck. THE PRESIDENT proceeds to holding room. THE PRESIDENT arrives holding room. THE PRESIDENT departs holding room and proceeds to off-stage announcement area. THE PRESIDENT arrives off-stage announcement area and holds briefly. Already on stage will be Cardinal Szoka, Mayor Kozaren, Mr. Moskal, and Mr. Odrobina. THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Dais and remains standing. Mayor Kozaren will welcome THE PRESIDENT by introducing two young Polish girls, Gabriela and Emilia Juocys, to conduct a traditional Polish welcoming ceremony with a bread-cross filled with salt.

Cardinal Szoka gives a brief invocation. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Odrobina. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. Upon conclusion of Remarks, THE PRESIDENT departs Dais and proceeds to holding room. THE PRESIDENT departs holding room and proceeds to motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards motorcade and departs Hamtramck City Hall en route Under the Eagle Restaurant.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989

EVENT: Luncheon with Members of the American Polish Community

TIME: 12:40 p.m. - 1:10 p.m.

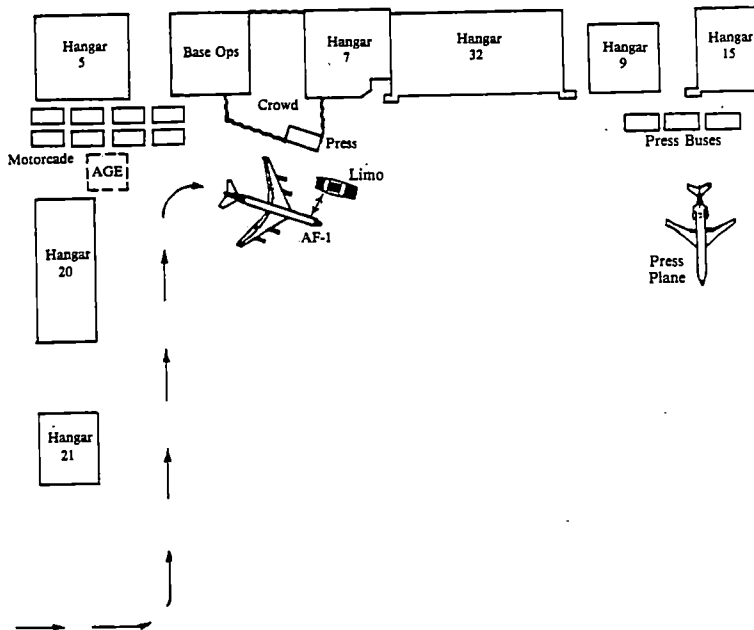
DATE: Monday, April 17, 1989

LOCATION: Under the Eagle Restaurant

PRESS: Pool Coverage

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Under the Eagle Restaurant and is met by Mrs. Teresa Peczeniuk, Owner, Under the Eagle Restaurant; Mrs. Zuzana Slupek, Mother of Owner, Under the Eagle Restaurant (only speaks Polish). THE PRESIDENT will be escorted inside restaurant to his seat and join the invited guests already in place, who are all prominent community leaders. The Pool Press will be in place for a short photo opportunity and will then be escorted out of the dining room. Lunch is served. Cardinal Edmund C. Szoka gives an invocation. Upon conclusion of the lunch, THE PRESIDENT departs dining room and proceeds to motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards motorcade and departs Under the Eagle Restaurant en route Selfridge Air Force Base.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN
Selfridge Air National Guard Base
Arrival/Departure Diagram
Monday, April 17, 1989



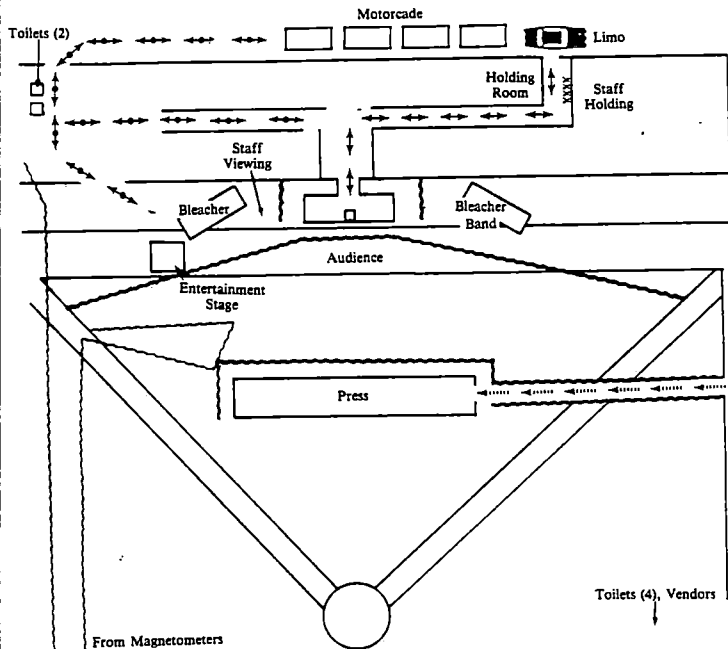
HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

Address to Citizens of

Hamtramck, Michigan

Hamtramck City Hall

Monday, April 17, 1989



KEY:

- THE PRESIDENT
- PRESS
- GUESTS & STAFF
- X GREETER

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN
Address to Citizens of Hamtramck, Michigan
Hamtramck City Hall
Dais Seating Diagram
Monday, April 17, 1989

Mayor
Kozaren

Paul
Odrobina

Cardinal
Szoka

THE
PRESIDENT

Edward
Moskal

Podium

Audience

KEY:

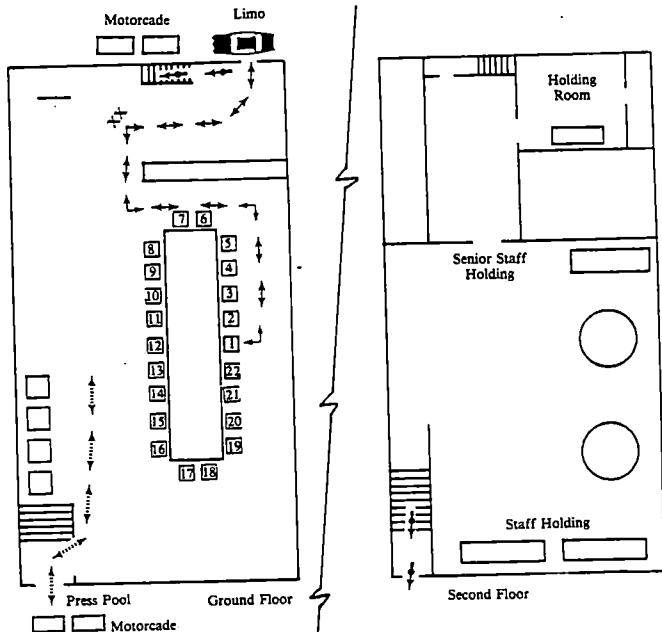
→ THE PRESIDENT

HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

Under the Eagle Restaurant

Lunch with Polish Leaders

Monday, April 17, 1989



1. THE PRESIDENT
2. The Honorable Paul C. Odorina
3. Cardinal Edmund Szoka
4. Mr. Włodzimierz Zmurkiewicz
5. Mr. Kazimierz Olejarczyk
6. Mr. Wallace Ozog
7. Mr. Mitchell Odrobina
8. Mrs. Casmira Odrobina
9. Rev. Stanley E. Milewski
10. Mr. Ronald Kowalski
11. Mr. Edward Moskai

12. Chief of Staff John Sununu
13. Ms. Dianne M. Odrobina
14. Honorable Robert Kozaren
15. Mrs. Virginia Sikora
16. Mr. David Jaye
17. Mr. Frank Stella
18. Mr. Carl Marlinga
19. T.B.D.
20. T.B.D.
21. Mr. Wilhelm Wolf
22. Mrs. Ewa Matuszewski - Juocys

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HAMTRAMCK

CITY HALL

MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989/NOON

**THANK YOU PAUL. CARDINAL SZOKA (SHA-KA). BOB,
THANK YOU FOR THAT PRESENTATION. IT'S GOOD TO SEE THE
MICHIGAN DELEGATION HAS TURNED OUT FOR THIS EVENT.
BREAD AND SALT ARE BOTH OF THE EARTH, AN ANCIENT SYMBOL
OF A LIFE LEAVENED BY HEALTH AND PROSPERITY.**

IN THIS SAME SPIRIT, I WISH YOU ALL THE SAME. NOW, IF I MAY, I WANT TO ADDRESS THE HEALTH AND PROSPERITY OF A WHOLE NATION -- THE PROUD PEOPLE OF POLAND.

AMERICANS ARE NOT MILDLY SYMPATHETIC SPECTATORS OF EVENTS IN POLAND. WE ARE BOUND TO POLAND BY A VERY SPECIAL BOND, A BOND OF BLOOD, OF CULTURE AND SHARED VALUES. SO IT IS ONLY NATURAL THAT, AS DRAMATIC CHANGE COMES TO POLAND, WE SHARE THE ASPIRATIONS AND EXCITEMENT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

IN MY INAUGURAL ADDRESS, I SPOKE OF THE NEW BREEZE OF FREEDOM GAINING STRENGTH AROUND THE WORLD. "IN MAN'S HEART," I SAID, "IF NOT IN FACT, THE DAY OF THE DICTATOR IS OVER. THE TOTALITARIAN ERA IS PASSING, ITS OLD IDEAS BLOWN AWAY LIKE LEAVES FROM AN ANCIENT LIFELESS TREE."

I SPOKE OF THE SPREADING RECOGNITION THAT PROSPERITY CAN ONLY COME FROM A FREE MARKET AND THE CREATIVE GENIUS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

I SPOKE OF THE NEW POTENCY OF DEMOCRATIC IDEAS -- OF FREE SPEECH, FREE ELECTIONS AND THE EXERCISE OF FREE WILL.

WE SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED THAT THE IDEAS OF DEMOCRACY ARE RETURNING WITH RENEWED FORCE IN EUROPE -- THE HOMELAND OF PHILOSOPHERS OF FREEDOM WHOSE IDEALS HAVE BEEN SO FULLY REALIZED IN AMERICA.

VICTOR HUGO SAID: "AN INVASION OF ARMIES CAN BE
RESISTED, BUT NOT AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME." My
FRIENDS, LIBERTY IS AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME IN
EASTERN EUROPE . . .

FOR ALMOST HALF A CENTURY, THE SUPPRESSION OF
FREEDOM IN EASTERN EUROPE, SUSTAINED BY THE MILITARY
POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION, HAS KEPT NATION FROM NATION,
NEIGHBOR FROM NEIGHBOR.

AS EAST AND WEST SEEK TO REDUCE ARMS, IT MUST NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT ARMS ARE A SYMPTOM, NOT A SOURCE, OF TENSION. THE TRUE SOURCE OF TENSION IS THE IMPOSED AND UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE.

HOW CAN THERE BE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AND THE WORLD AS LONG AS NATIONS AND PEOPLES ARE DENIED THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR FUTURE -- A RIGHT EXPLICITLY PROMISED THEM BY AGREEMENTS AMONG THE VICTORIOUS POWERS AT THE END OF WORLD WAR TWO?

HOW CAN THERE BE STABILITY AND SECURITY IN EUROPE AS LONG AS NATIONS, WHICH ONCE STOOD PROUDLY AT THE FRONT RANK OF INDUSTRIAL POWERS, ARE IMPOVERISHED BY A DISCREDITED IDEOLOGY AND STIFLING AUTHORITARIANISM?

THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER ACCEPTED THE LEGITIMACY OF EUROPE'S DIVISION. WE ACCEPT NO SPHERES OF INFLUENCE THAT DENY THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF NATIONS . . .

YET THE WINDS OF CHANGE ARE SHAPING A NEW EUROPEAN DESTINY. WESTERN EUROPE IS RESURGENT.

EASTERN EUROPE IS AWAKENING TO YEARNINGS FOR DEMOCRACY, INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY. IN THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF, WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE SOUND OF VOICES LONG SILENT, AND THE SIGHT OF THE RULERS CONSULTING THE RULED. WE SEE "NEW THINKING" IN SOME ASPECTS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THESE STIRRINGS PRESAGE MEANINGFUL, LASTING AND MORE FAR-REACHING CHANGE.

LET NO ONE DOUBT THE SINCERITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT IN OUR DESIRE TO SEE REFORM SUCCEED IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE WELCOME THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE, AND WE WILL CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE GREATER RECOGNITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, MARKET INCENTIVES AND ELECTIONS.

EAST AND WEST ARE NEGOTIATING ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES, FROM ARMS REDUCTIONS TO THE ENVIRONMENT.

BUT THE COLD WAR BEGAN IN EASTERN EUROPE; IF IT IS TO END, IT WILL END IN THIS CRUCIBLE OF WORLD CONFLICT -- AND IT MUST END. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT TO SEE EAST AND CENTRAL EUROPE FREE, PROSPEROUS AND AT PEACE. WITH PRUDENCE, REALISM AND PATIENCE, WE SEEK TO PROMOTE THE EVOLUTION OF FREEDOM -- THE OPPORTUNITIES SPARKED BY THE HELSINKI ACCORDS AND DEEPENING EAST-WEST CONTACT.

IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES IN THE REGION.

IN EACH CASE, WE LOOKED FOR PROGRESS IN ITS INTERNATIONAL POSTURE AND INTERNAL PRACTICES -- IN HUMAN RIGHTS, CULTURAL OPENNESS, EMIGRATION ISSUES, OPPOSITION TO TERRORISM. WHILE WE WANT RELATIONS TO IMPROVE, THERE ARE CERTAIN ACTS WE WILL NOT CONDONE OR ACCEPT -- BEHAVIOR THAT CAN SHIFT RELATIONS IN THE WRONG DIRECTION: HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, TECHNOLOGY THEFT, AND HOSTILE INTELLIGENCE OR FOREIGN POLICY ACTIONS AGAINST US.

SOME REGIMES ARE NOW SEEKING TO WIN POPULAR LEGITIMACY THROUGH REFORMS. IN HUNGARY, A NEW LEADERSHIP IS EXPERIMENTING WITH REFORMS THAT MAY PERMIT A POLITICAL PLURALISM THAT ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO WOULD HAVE BEEN UNTHINKABLE. AND IN POLAND, ON APRIL 5, SOLIDARITY LEADER LECH WALESIA AND INTERIOR MINISTER KISZCZAK SIGNED AGREEMENTS THAT, IF FAITHFULLY IMPLEMENTED, WILL BE A WATERSHED IN THE POSTWAR HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE.

AND THEY ARE INSPIRING TESTIMONY TO THE SPIRITUAL
GUIDANCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE INDOMITABLE SPIRIT
OF THE POLISH PEOPLE -- AND THE STRENGTH AND WISDOM OF
LECH WALESA . . .

POLAND FACES, AND WILL CONTINUE TO FACE FOR SOME
TIME, SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. A MODERN FRENCH WRITER
OBSERVED THAT COMMUNISM IS NOT ANOTHER FORM OF
ECONOMICS. IT IS THE DEATH OF ECONOMICS.

IN POLAND, AN ECONOMIC SYSTEM CRIPPLED BY THE INEFFICIENCIES OF CENTRAL PLANNING, ALMOST PROVED THE DEATH OF INITIATIVE AND ENTERPRISE. ALMOST. BUT ECONOMIC REFORMS CAN STILL GIVE FREE REIN TO THE ENTERPRISING IMPULSE AND CREATIVE SPIRIT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

THE POLISH PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THE MAGNITUDE OF THIS CHALLENGE. DEMOCRATIC FORCES IN POLAND HAVE ASKED FOR THE MORAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SUPPORT OF THE WEST.

AND THE WEST WILL RESPOND. MY ADMINISTRATION IS COMPLETING A THOROUGH REVIEW OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD POLAND AND ALL OF EASTERN EUROPE.

I HAVE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED WAYS THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP POLAND. WE WILL NOT ACT UNCONDITIONALLY. WE WILL NOT OFFER UNSOUND CREDITS. WE WILL NOT OFFER AID WITHOUT REQUIRING SOUND ECONOMIC PRACTICES IN RETURN.

WE MUST REMEMBER THAT POLAND IS STILL A MEMBER OF THE WARSAW PACT. WE MUST TAKE NO STEPS THAT COMPROMISE THE SECURITY OF THE WEST.

THE CONGRESS, THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, OUR ALLIES AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, MUST WORK IN CONCERT IF POLISH DEMOCRACY IS TO TAKE ROOT ANEW, AND SUSTAIN ITSELF. WE CAN AND MUST ANSWER THIS CALL TO FREEDOM.

AND IT IS PARTICULARLY APPROPRIATE, HERE IN HAMTRAMCK,
FOR ME TO SALUTE THE MEMBERS AND LEADERS OF THE
AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT FOR HANGING TOUGH WITH
SOLIDARITY THROUGH ITS DARKEST DAYS.

THE POLES ARE NOW TAKING CONCRETE STEPS THAT
DESERVE OUR ACTIVE SUPPORT. I HAVE DECIDED ON SPECIFIC
STEPS BY THE UNITED STATES, CAREFULLY CHOSEN TO
RECOGNIZE REFORMS UNDERWAY, AND TO ENCOURAGE REFORMS
YET TO COME ONCE SOLIDARITY IS LEGAL:

-- I WILL ASK CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN PROVIDING POLAND ACCESS TO OUR GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES, WHICH OFFERS SELECTIVE TARIFF RELIEF TO BENEFICIARY COUNTRIES.

-- WE WILL WORK WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN THE PARIS CLUB TO DEVELOP SUSTAINABLE NEW SCHEDULES FOR POLAND TO REPAY ITS DEBT, EASING A HEAVY BURDEN SO THAT A FREE MARKET CAN GROW.

-- I WILL ALSO ASK CONGRESS TO JOIN ME IN
AUTHORIZING THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION
TO OPERATE IN POLAND, TO THE BENEFIT OF BOTH POLISH AND
U.S. INVESTORS.

-- WE WILL PROPOSE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PRIVATE
BUSINESS AGREEMENT WITH POLAND TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION
BETWEEN U.S. FIRMS AND POLAND'S PRIVATE BUSINESSES.
BOTH SIDES CAN BENEFIT.

-- THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO CONSIDER SUPPORTING, ON THEIR MERITS, VIABLE LOANS TO THE PRIVATE-SECTOR BY THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT THE ROUNDTABLE AGREEMENTS CLEAR THE WAY FOR POLAND TO BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND ON PROGRAMS THAT SUPPORT SOUND, NEW, MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC POLICIES.

-- WE WILL ENCOURAGE BUSINESS AND PRIVATE NON-PROFIT GROUPS TO DEVELOP INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS TO SWAP POLISH DEBT FOR EQUITY IN POLISH ENTERPRISES; AND FOR CHARITABLE, HUMANITARIAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROJECTS.

-- WE WILL SUPPORT IMAGINATIVE EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMS TO HELP LIBERATE THE CREATIVE ENERGIES OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

WHEN I VISITED POLAND IN SEPTEMBER, 1987, I TOLD CHAIRMAN JARUZELSKI AND LECH WALESZA THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT WOULD RESPOND QUICKLY AND IMAGINATIVELY TO SIGNIFICANT INTERNAL REFORM OF THE KIND WE SEE NOW. BOTH OF THEM VALUED THAT ASSURANCE. SO IT IS ESPECIALLY GRATIFYING FOR ME TO WITNESS THE CHANGES NOW TAKING PLACE IN POLAND, AND TO ANNOUNCE THESE IMPORTANT CHANGES IN U.S. POLICY. THE UNITED STATES KEEPS ITS PROMISES.

IF POLAND'S EXPERIMENT SUCCEEDS, OTHER COUNTRIES MAY FOLLOW. WHILE WE MUST STILL DIFFERENTIATE AMONG THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE, POLAND OFFERS TWO LESSONS FOR ALL. FIRST, THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS WITHOUT SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION. SECOND, HELP FROM THE WEST WILL COME IN CONCERT WITH LIBERALIZATION. OUR FRIENDS AND EUROPEAN ALLIES SHARE THIS PHILOSOPHY.

THE WEST CAN NOW BE BOLD IN PROPOSING A VISION OF THE EUROPEAN FUTURE: WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN THERE WILL BE NO BARRIERS TO THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, GOODS AND IDEAS. WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN EASTERN EUROPEAN PEOPLES WILL BE FREE TO CHOOSE THEIR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND TO VOTE FOR THE PARTY OF THEIR CHOICE IN REGULAR, CONTESTED ELECTIONS.

WE DREAM OF THE DAY WHEN EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
WILL BE FREE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN PEACEFUL COURSE IN THE
WORLD, INCLUDING CLOSER TIES WITH WESTERN EUROPE. AND
WE ENVISION AN EASTERN EUROPE IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION
HAS RENOUNCED MILITARY INTERVENTION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF
ITS POLICY -- ON ANY PRETEXT . . . WE SHARE AN
UNWAVERING CONVICTION THAT ONE DAY ALL THE PEOPLES OF
EUROPE WILL LIVE IN FREEDOM.

NEXT MONTH, AT A SUMMIT OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, THE LEADERS OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL DISCUSS THESE CONCERNS. THESE ARE NOT BILATERAL ISSUES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. THEY ARE, RATHER, THE CONCERN OF ALL THE WESTERN ALLIES, CALLING FOR COMMON APPROACHES. THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD UNDERSTAND, IN TURN, THAT A FREE DEMOCRATIC EASTERN EUROPE AS WE ENVISION IT WOULD THREATEN NO ONE AND NO COUNTRY.

SUCH AN EVOLUTION WOULD IMPLY, AND REINFORCE, THE FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN ALL DIMENSIONS -- ARMS REDUCTIONS, POLITICAL RELATIONS, TRADE -- IN WAYS THAT ENHANCE THE SAFETY AND WELL-BEING OF ALL OF EUROPE. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY.

WHAT HAS BROUGHT US TO THIS OPENING? THE UNITY AND STRENGTH OF THE DEMOCRACIES, AND SOMETHING ELSE -- THE BOLD NEW THINKING IN THE SOVIET UNION; THE INNATE DESIRE FOR FREEDOM IN THE HEARTS OF ALL MEN.

WE WILL NOT WAVER IN OUR DEDICATION TO FREEDOM NOW. IF
WE ARE WISE, UNITED AND READY TO SEIZE THE MOMENT, WE
WILL BE REMEMBERED AS THE GENERATION THAT ^{MADE} HELPED ALL OF
EUROPE ^{one} FIND ITS DESTINY IN FREEDOM.

TWO CENTURIES AGO, A POLISH PATRIOT NAMED THADDEUS
KOSCIUSZKO (KOSH-SCHOO-SKOH) CAME TO THESE AMERICAN
SHORES TO STAND FOR FREEDOM.

LET US HONOR AND REMEMBER THIS HERO OF OUR OWN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM BY EXTENDING OUR HAND TO THOSE WHO WORK THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, AND WALK THE COBBLED STREETS OF WARSAW. LET US RECALL THE WORDS OF THE POLES WHO STRUGGLED FOR INDEPENDENCE: "FOR YOUR FREEDOM AND OURS." LET US SUPPORT THE PEACEFUL EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY IN POLAND. THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY KNOWS NO LIMITS; THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, NO BORDERS.

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GOD BLESS POLAND, AND GOD BLESS AMERICA. THANK
YOU.

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