

PRIME MINISTER

VISIT TO POLAND

I attach some articles on Poland sent in by Nicko and Mary Henderson which you may find interesting. I have marked up the key passages. One is by Timothy Garton Ash on Poland's economic and political troubles: the other two by Mary Henderson herself, dating from 1972, on the rebuilding of Warsaw and on the Embassy's silver collection.

C.D.P.

ms

Very interesting and concise

CHARLES POWELL

10 October 1988



Me Pm

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From the Private Secretary

17 October 1988

Thank you so much for the articles on Poland. The Prime Minister read them over the weekend and much enjoyed them. I cannot think what happened to the earlier copies. I must be getting batty.

She also read the one Nicko sent in by Timothy Garton-Ash and found it most perceptive.

Thank you so much.

C. D. Powell

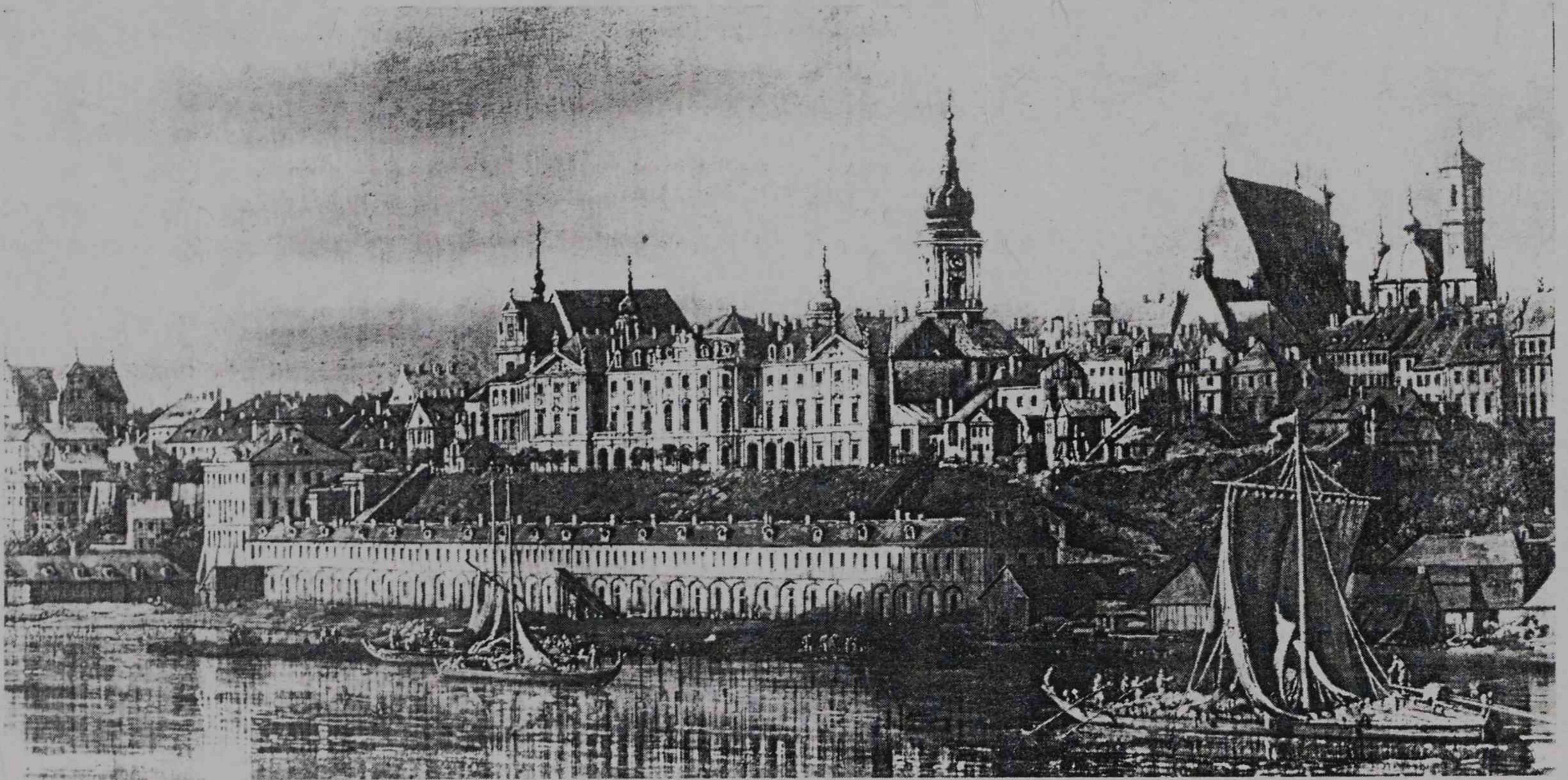
Lady Henderson

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RECONSTRUCTING OLD WARSAW

By MARY HENDERSON

Here the decision to reconstruct the Royal Castle in Warsaw by the Polish Government in 1971 is related to attitudes to history and restoration that are perforce very different from those current in England.



1.—THE RIVER FRONT OF WARSAW CASTLE. A detail from a view of the city by Bellotto

SOON after the December 1970 riots in the Polish seacoast towns of Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin the decision was taken to go ahead with the rebuilding of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. The main part of the old city, within its fortified wall, had been reconstructed by 1954, but Mr. Gomulka had apparently refused to allow the reconstruction programme to include the Royal Castle—even though the Polish Sejm (or Parliament) had passed the necessary legislation in 1949.

For those who are not Polish it may be hard to understand why the Castle should be reconstructed 26 years after the war, when there are more pressing tasks like housing. Many Poles today still have to be content with

one room for their whole family, often no running water, a communal kitchen and primitive bathroom arrangements.

Also why should a Communist regime allow so much money to be spent on a Royal Castle? And why did this decision come at the same time as Mr. Gierek's measures to improve living conditions, get more consumer goods into the shops and let workers' councils have a greater say on policy matters? To understand the Polish attitude it is essential to glance back at history and note what restoration and reconstruction has already been done. In Poland, as in other countries, restoration, preservation and reconstruction throughout history has been influenced by a political as

well as an emotional and artistic impetus.

After the final partition of the country in 1795 preservation offices and detailed archives on historic buildings were created in some parts of the country. But it was only in 1918, when a decree was passed, that the state took over responsibility for the protection and preservation of historical monuments and treasures. It was assisted in this task by the Church. The earlier system was expanded: offices were set up all over the country; inventories supported by drawings, plans and photographs were compiled; and artists, architects and researchers were recruited. Not enough money was available to carry out all the work, but the existence of the offices and the archives and the experience were to prove invaluable in 1945 when the bold plans were drawn up for the large scale restoration and reconstruction of Warsaw, Gdansk, Poznan and Wroclaw, towns which had all lost some 90 per cent of their historical buildings.

During the second World War 6 million Poles were killed (including those who died in bombing raids, street fighting and concentration camps). In Warsaw alone 800,000 inhabitants lost their lives and 710 out of a total of 750 important historical buildings were destroyed. The capital suffered first in 1939 when it was bombed, again in August 1944 during the heroic uprising, and finally before the liberation on January 17, 1945, when Hitler gave the order to "raze the town to the ground"; house by house, monument by monument it was relentlessly and methodically blown up.

In February 1945, after weeks of discussion between historians, town planners, economists and politicians the decision was taken to reconstruct Warsaw



2.—THE CASTLE BEFORE ITS DESTRUCTION IN THE WAR

to rebuild the old part of the city as it had before the German destruction.

There was talk of leaving certain ruins as a vast monument of horror for future generations. An example of this view is the stark, uncomplaining simplicity of the extermination camp at Treblinka where 750,000 persons, mainly Jews, were wiped out. Its scattered commemorative rock grave stones, covered gas chambers, the huge monument of imploring hands reaching to the sky and the simple words "Never again" are perhaps more dramatic than the preserved red brick buildings, the barbed wire and watch towers of Auschwitz where 4 million died. Today undoubtedly both these are historic monuments, but they do not belong to the Polish landscape. And the decision to rebuild Poland's towns and historical buildings was both symbolic of total victory against an enemy who tried to wipe out a nation and an emotional desire to recreate a truly Polish landscape.

Reconstructing from scratch a palace or a church or a whole area—as in the old town areas of Warsaw and Gdansk—was a difficult decision to take and hard to implement when half the population were living in tents or in rooms among the rubble. But its success was due to the fact that it was in character with the Polish spirit. The Poles, whatever their shade of politics, love anything genuinely Polish, they are still traditionalists and fervent Catholics, hence their almost 18th-century politeness and courtesy (except in shops and on public transport).

Many critics have asked why the Poles did not build a completely modern city. The reason is perhaps that modern architecture has as yet no national characteristics. Moreover, William Morris's statement that "Living architectural art and mechanical drudgery cannot be harmonised in art," applies very much to today's losing battle between industrialisation and creative architecture. The new, grey concrete modern apartment houses and shop centres in Warsaw are functional but rarely inspired. Quickly and often badly thrown up, they are not repaired. However, it is very much a feature of Polish Communist Party centres, co-operatives, Church and other organisations to arrange for busloads of culture tours for workers from all over Poland. It would be sad if these, and the former peasant population who now live in Warsaw (approximately 42 per cent of the



3.—A FRAGMENT OF THE CASTLE AFTER THE WAR

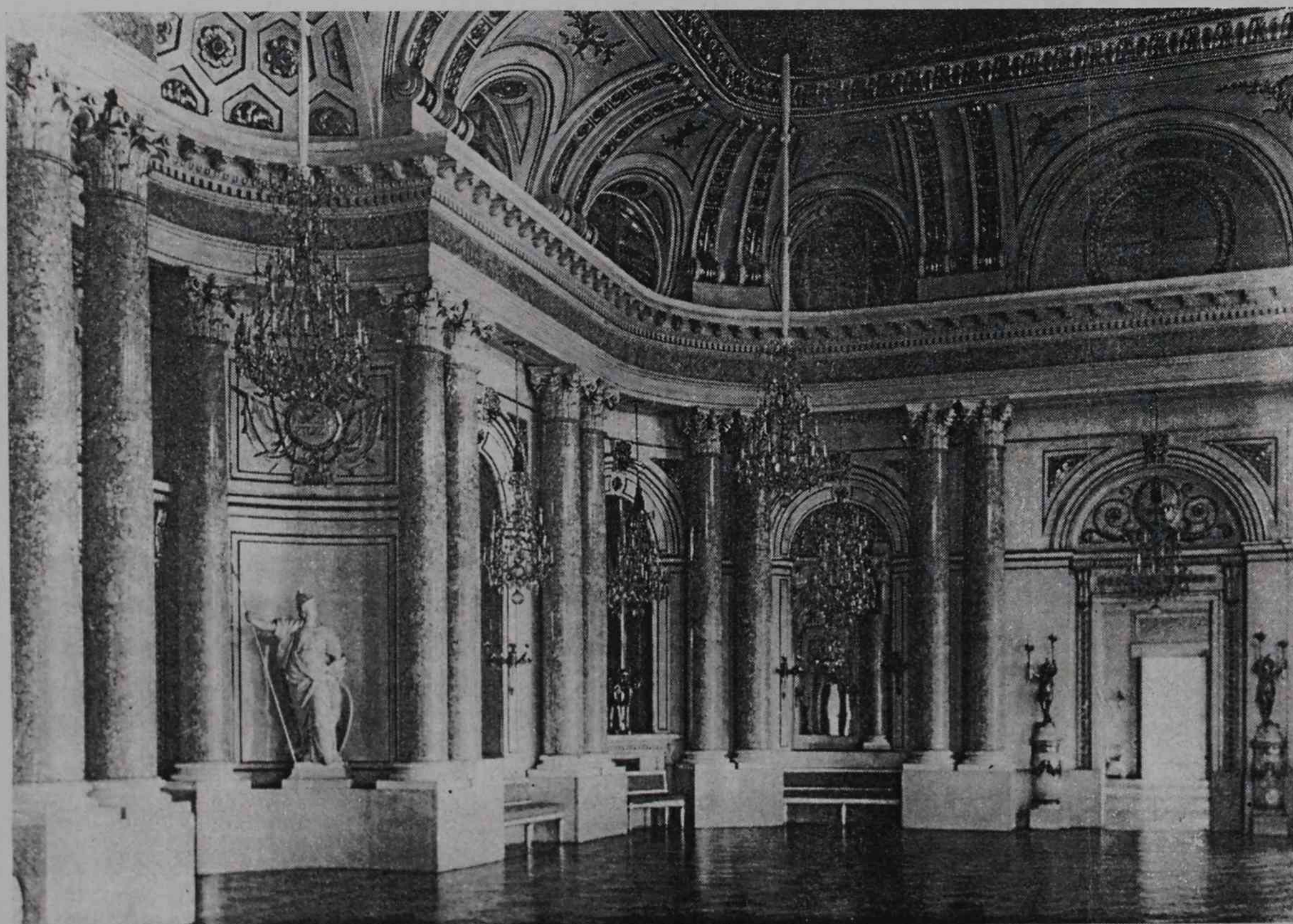
population has moved in since the war from the countryside), were never to see the elegance and beauty of the pre-industrial age. There can be nothing wrong with the historical study of models, it is after all what one does at art school. Walking through the reconstructed old city of Warsaw is a far better lesson than gazing at preserved pieces of rubble in glass cases in a museum.

In Warsaw the main areas where historical monuments and buildings have been reconstructed are the *Stare Miasto* or the Old Town, which was the original town of Warsaw when Krakow was the capital. Built in the 13th century it was reconstructed in the baroque style after the fire in 1607; the *Nowe Miasto* or New Town, built in the 15th century and likewise partially rebuilt in the 17th century but with many later additions; the buildings along Warsaw's Royal Highway, which led

from the Royal Castle to the 17th-century Belvedere Palace through *Nowy Swiat* or New World and past the Lasienki Palace gardens. Outside these areas some 18th- and 19th-century streets, squares and individual buildings of historical interest have been rebuilt, including the Great Theatre (erected in 1825) which now houses the modern Opera, the National Theatre, and the Ballet and Opera schools behind the reconstructed classic façade.

The reconstruction of the old town carefully followed the medieval plans. The four-tier façades were replicas of those built after the fire of 1607. Interiors were modern, except when some important architectural or artistic feature was found. And in the process of rebuilding some valuable gothic wall paintings were unexpectedly uncovered and preserved. The interior of churches was kept extremely simple. Owing to the extent of the destruction the rebuilding plans could allow for more space. The unsightly and unhygienic back houses which had piled close to the elegant 18th-century buildings were not put back. But the character of the buildings, the narrow cobbled streets, the baroque and gothic churches were scrupulously maintained. The houses which had been destroyed round the moat were also not reconstructed; instead this area and the length along the medieval walls were landscaped with grass, trees and shrubs.

Although the façades of the houses on the old market square had been polychromed as late as 1928, the Poles decided to re-do this as it had originally been done in the 16th century. Each house was assigned to a different artist, and the rather ornate result brought a wave of criticism. Now however the colours have mellowed and add a note of gaiety to the square. In the New Town the 19th- and 20th-century houses were not put back. Instead architects filled in between the reconstructed baroque and gothic churches with buildings adapted to the surrounding style. This has been most successful and so are the more sober polychromes. Along one of *Nowe Miasto's*



4.—ONE OF THE NEO-CLASSICAL STATE ROOMS BEFORE ITS DESTRUCTION

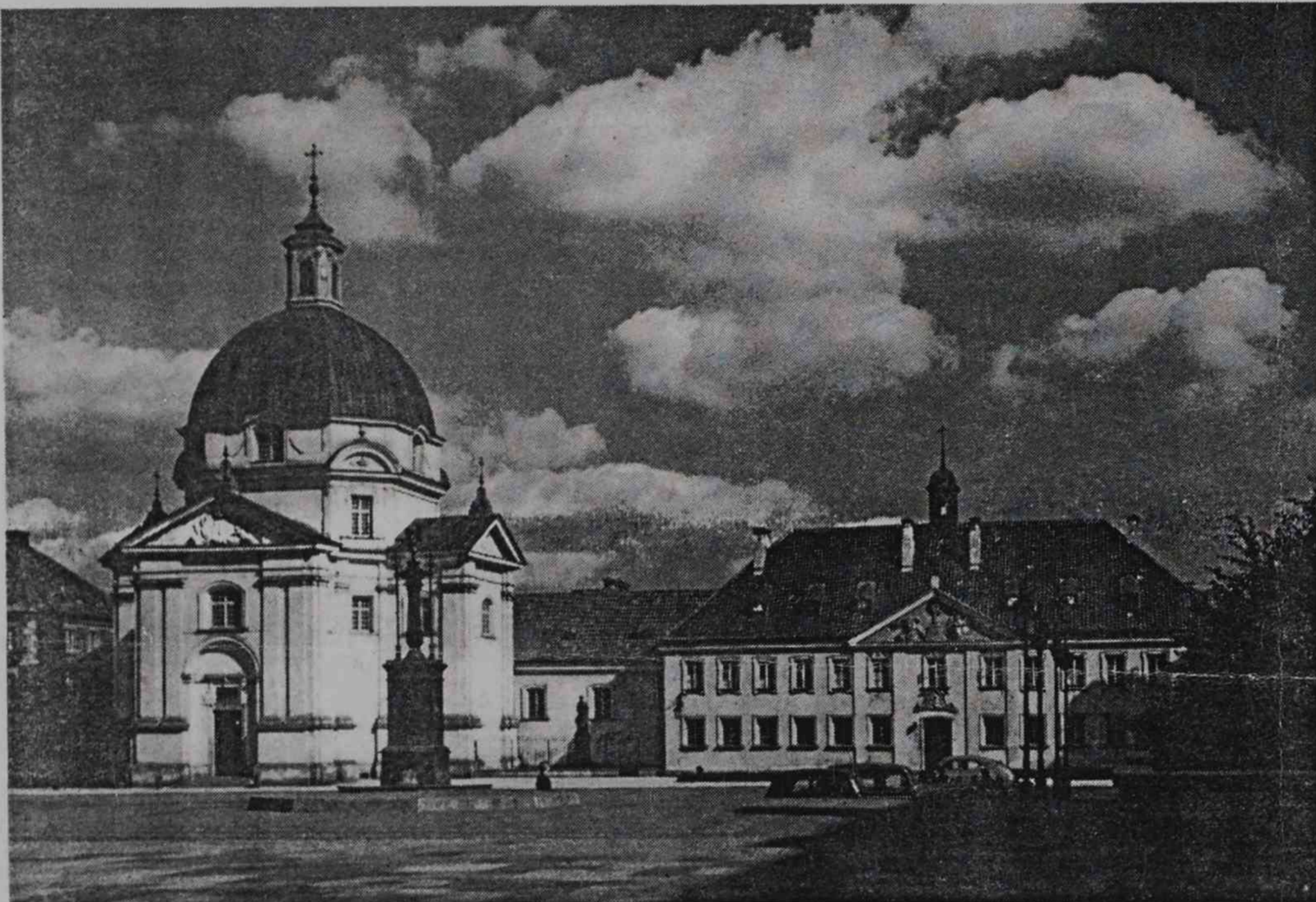
new cobbled streets—Ul Freta 16, is the house where Marie Curie-Skodowska was born. It is now a museum. Ul Freta branches out into the market place *Renek Nowomiejski*, which is dominated by the baroque convent and church of the Benedictine Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. Built by Tylman Van Gameren in 1687 to commemorate King Jean III Sobieski's victory over the Turks in Vienna, it was reconstructed in 1946.

The old Royal Highway no longer stands out as such, but *Nowy Swiat*, Warsaw's Bond Street, has been elegantly rebuilt in early 19th-century style. The simple buildings are uniformly low as the later high and ornate additions were not reconstructed.

Many heroic Polish scholars and artists have been responsible for this unselfish task of love—of putting up and remaking other people's buildings and decorations as an anonymous gift for future generations. But the most important man is no doubt Professor Stanislaw Lorenz, the Director of the National Museum. He was personally responsible for having hidden and saved many historical treasures at the risk of his life. He also had the heart-breaking experience of watching his former German guests, whom he had entertained and shown



5. and 6.—THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT BEFORE AND AFTER RESTORATION



new Polish leadership's "go ahead" on January 20, 1971 was in tune.

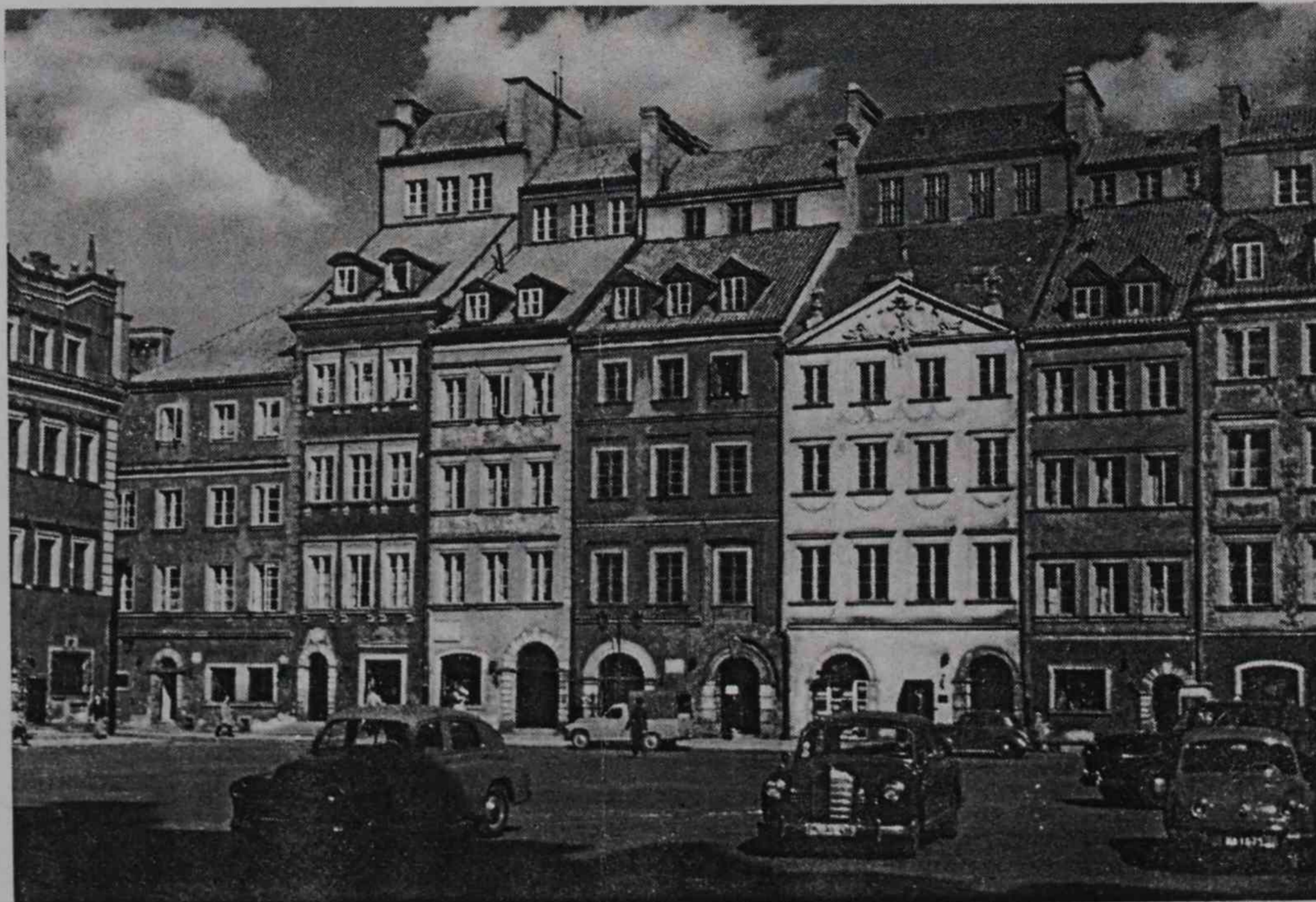
Originally built in the 13th century, the Palace bore traces of gothic, Renaissance and rococo additions. Now the front of the castle is to be reconstructed in the early baroque style, the façade facing the Vistula will be late baroque, while the interiors will be neo-Classical. There are of course some Poles who say that the castle was never an architectural masterpiece. But there is no doubt that it is an essential part of Polish chequered history and of the Polish landscape so elegantly recorded by Bernardo Bellotto.

The last words on the controversy must be Polish ones. To the question: "Why use and appeal all over the world for so much money to rebuild a castle today when there are inadequate roads, railways and houses," a very typical Polish reply is: "Those who are sending money for the castle would not send us money for our roads and houses."

Illustrations; 1-4, National Museum, Warsaw; 5-8, Historical Monuments Inventory Office, Warsaw.

round the museums before the war, use this knowledge to remove meticulously all the most valuable Polish treasures. He even witnessed a former German guest of his, a German Professor, tear out the fireplace from the King's room in the Royal Castle. However, he carefully catalogued and noted the German pillaging and destruction of historical buildings and through the Polish underground sent a complete list to the Polish Government in London. Professor Lorenz has also picked up rubble from the old castle with his own hands, saved doors, mouldings, statues and lamps which are to be used today for the reconstruction. More recently he travelled far and wide to lecture, to collect funds and to bring back the comparatively few but priceless historical treasures he now houses in the National Museum and the reconstructed palaces.

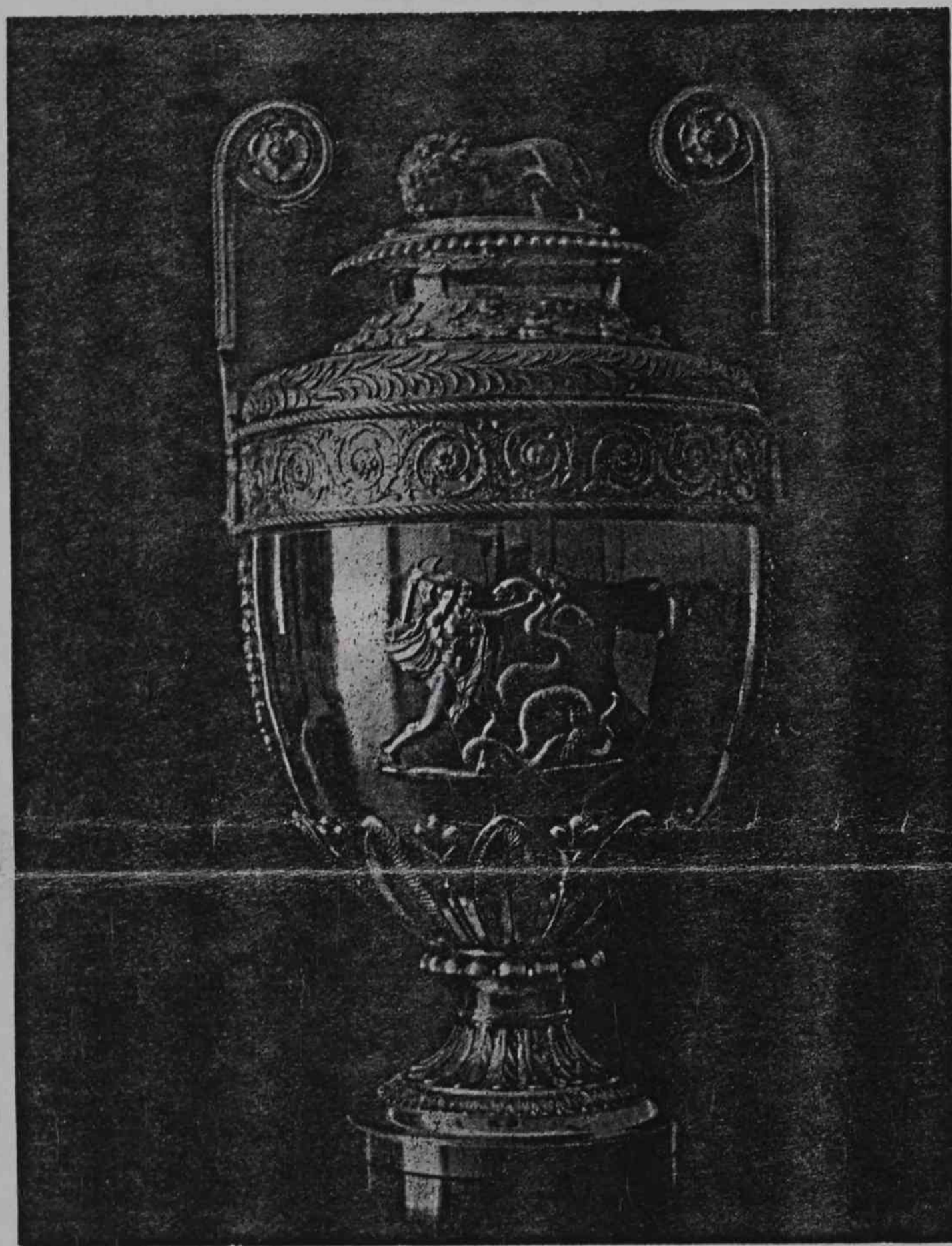
The rebuilding of the Royal Castle will take some eight years. About four years for the main exterior building and another four for the interior decoration and construction. It will cost about £10,000,000. But every nation must have its fairy tale, and if you see the crowds watching the bulldozers preparing the foundations, if you note that even school children have contributed 100 zl. a class (about £2) you will realise that most Poles share Professor Lorenz's enthusiasm and that the



7.—RESTORED HOUSES IN THE MARKET SQUARE

The Beresford Hope Silver

MARY HENDERSON



1 and 2. *The Buenos Aires Cup* designed by John Flaxman (1755–1826), London, maker's mark of B. and J. Smith, hall-mark for 1809. Silver-gilt cup with a lion knob chased with foliage, with applied figures of Hercules and the Hydra on one face and Britannia holding a figure of Victory on the other, 53.3 x 27.9 cm. Inscribed round neck: FROM THE PATRIOTIC FUND AT LLOYDS TO MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM CARR BERESFORD, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ON THE REDUCTION OF THE TOWN OF BUENOS AIRES AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, FOR HIS ABLE, GALLANT AND DISINTERESTED CONDUCT IN THIS IMPORTANT CAPTURE EFFECTED IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1806 BY A SMALL DETACHMENT OF HIS MAJESTY'S NAVAL AND MILITARY FORCES AS RECORDED IN THE LONDON GAZETTE, 13 SEPTEMBER, 1806

All the silver illustrated in this article is in the British Residence, Warsaw

It is not generally known that the British Residence in Warsaw houses some important pieces of the Beresford Hope silver—one of the most remarkable collections of Regency-style English silver and silver-gilt. It is considered to be finer than the famous Wellington silver which is in the British Embassy in Paris.

Originally, there were 176 pieces of

silver, silver-gilt and plate in the Embassy collection in Warsaw; then, during the War, it was all stolen, and only twenty-six pieces have been recovered. But how the silver came to Poland, how it was stolen and how most of the important pieces have been recovered is an intricate and romantic story.

The fine collection of silver, silver-gilt and plate belonged to the

illegitimate son of the first Marquess of Waterford—William Carr Beresford. The latter achieved fame during the Napoleonic Wars. The Duke of Wellington held his courage and organizing ability in high esteem. He was promoted to the rank of General in the British army and Field Marshal in the Portuguese army. He became a Baron and then a Viscount. His most

colourful pursuit, and one from which he escaped disguised as a washerwoman, was the short-lived capture of Buenos Aires in 1806. For this heroic exploit the Patriotic Fund at Lloyds presented to him a silver-gilt cup by Benjamin Smith (1764-1823)—the Buenos Aires Cup. (It was one of a series commissioned by Lloyds during 1803-9 and attributed to John Flaxman (1755-1826) on stylistic grounds; an example of this Trafalgar Vase pattern designed by Flaxman is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Another trophy came from the British Factory at Madeira, which donated a classic three-female-figure, silver-gilt dolphin centre-piece by Paul Storr (1771-1844) marked 1811. (A similar piece is in the Ormonde Collection.)

The dashing General Lord Beresford married his first cousin Louisa, the daughter of William Beresford, Archbishop of Tuam and first Baron Decies, and the widow of Thomas Hope, of Deepdene. The couple had no children, but the step-children added the name of Beresford to Hope and it was through them that the fine collection of silver and plate eventually came into the hands of one of their descendants—Harold Beresford Hope. He was a member of the British Diplomatic Service who, just before the first World War, served in the British Embassy in Berlin. There he fell deeply in love with a Polish lady and she with him. One day, however, he went to the Palais de Dance with another friend and was confronted by the distraught Polish lady, who drew a revolver out of her purse and shot herself in front of him.

Beresford Hope was then transferred to Athens, where in 1917 he died of typhoid fever. (It is believed that he threw himself out of a window while in a state of delirium—the doctors having failed to diagnose the disease.) When his will was read it was found that, in memory of his love for the Polish lady, Beresford Hope had bequeathed his valuable collection to a British Legation in Poland if such a mission should be established in an independent Poland within five years of his death. If there should be no such independent Poland, Beresford Hope stipulated that the 'articles' should be 'used in such an Embassy, Legation or Mission as may be selected by the First Commissioner of H.M. Works or other official having control' of missions abroad.

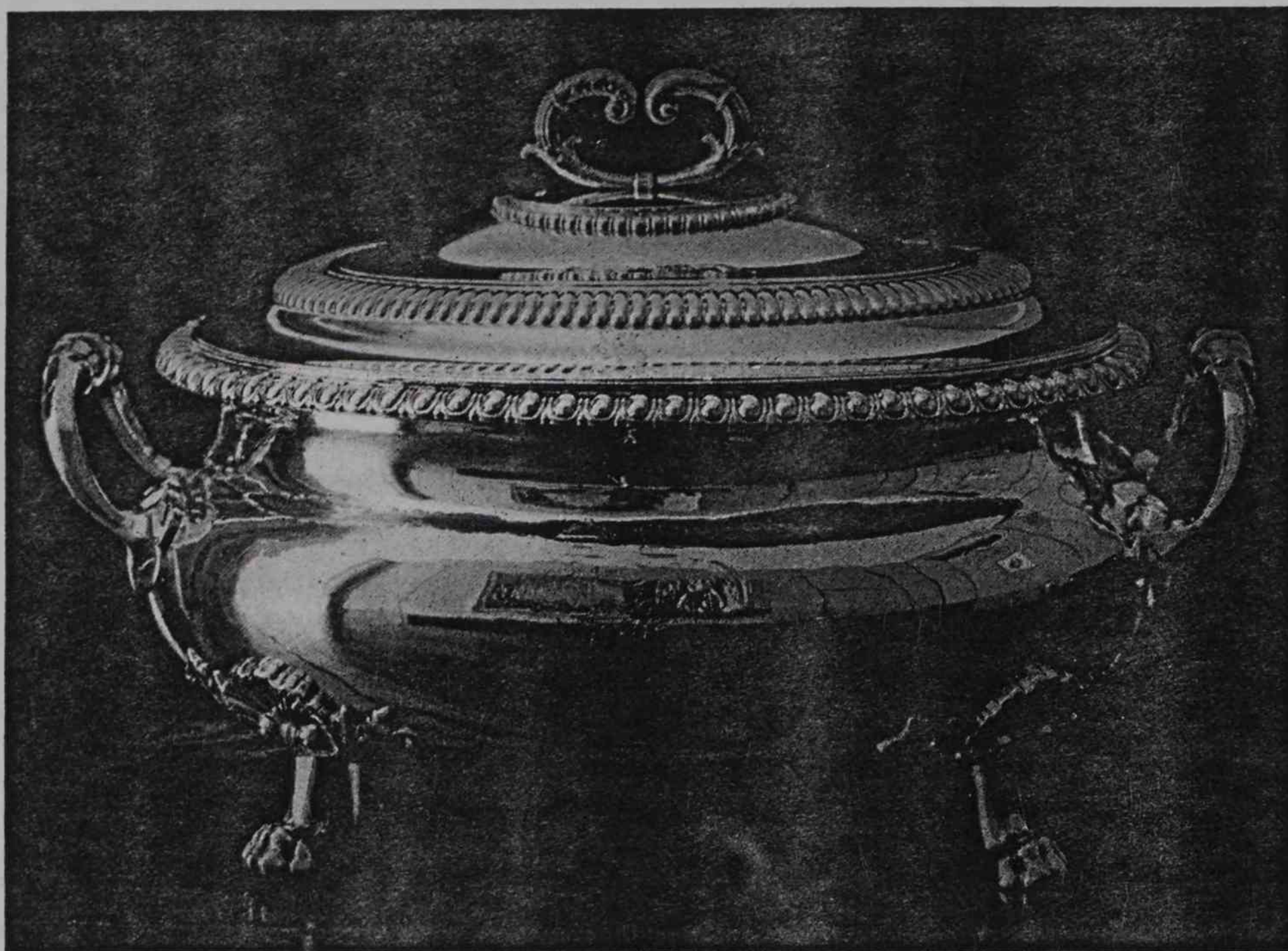
The young diplomat's will clearly stated that he wished the legacy to include 'a complete dinner service and ornaments for the dinner table, suitable



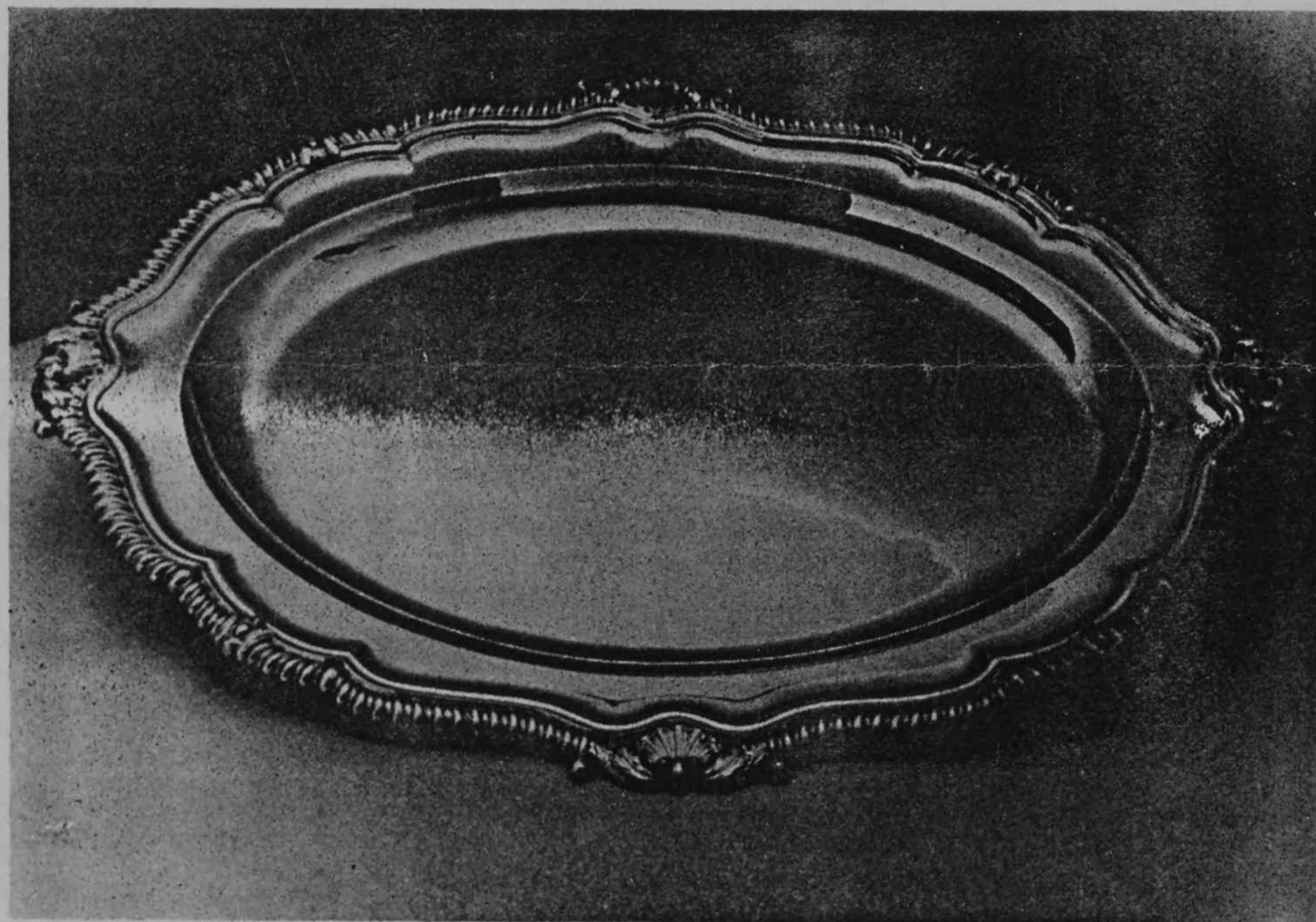
3. *Ice-pail*, one of a set of four, London, maker's mark of Benjamin Smith (1764-1823), hall-mark for 1814. Silver-gilt, vase-shaped, echinus moulding to rim, vine frieze and acanthus decoration on body and reeded handles rising from bearded masks, height 31.7 cm., diameter 25.4 cm. The Beresford coat of arms is engraved on the body and the crests on the cover

4. *Soup tureen*, one of a pair, London, maker's mark of B. and J. Smith, hall-mark for 1811. Silver, with covers and liners, the body decorated with an arcaded anthemion frieze, foliate handles rising from lions' masks, gadrooned base, height 31.1 cm., height over handles 40.6 cm. The Beresford coat of arms is engraved on the body and the crests are on the cover. *Stand for the tureen*, gadroon edge and partially fluted body, volute handles, with Beresford coat of arms and GRV





5. *Oval soup tureen*, one of a pair, London, maker's mark of B. and J. Smith, hall-mark for 1811. Silver, with cover (liner missing), gadrooned lid, with echinus moulding to rim, paw feet with shell knuckles, height 22.2 cm., width 36.8 cm., depth 21.6 cm. The Beresford coat of arms (almost erased) is engraved on the body



6. *Oval meat dish*, London, maker's mark of B. Smith, hall-mark for 1814. Silver, with shaped and shell and gadrooned border, 66 x 49.5 cm. The Beresford coat of arms in engraved on the top and the cypher below

for an Embassy or Legation dinner of twenty-five persons'.

The Polish Republic was proclaimed in Warsaw in November 1918 and ten months later a British Legation was opened there. The Beresford Hope silver, numbering 176 pieces, was moved from Coutts Bank in 1921. It travelled by cruiser to Gdynia and from there to Warsaw (under Naval guard) on a Polish train in a special British carriage.

Not long after its arrival an attempt was made to break through the steel bars in the strong room, but the thieves fled and, although a team of Embassy officials and armed naval ratings awaited their return the next day, they did not reappear. The collection then remained safely in the Embassy until the evacuation of the staff in September 1939, when the heavy silver chests were left behind in the safe. The Embassy building was protected by the American Mission until Pearl Harbour and then the Germans took it over. What happened next is not clear, but, when the Hon. Robin Hankey returned to Warsaw as Chargé d'Affaires in 1945, he immediately went to the strong room and operated the combination he had set in 1939; the Chubb lock functioned perfectly, but the room was empty. Thieves had bored a hole in the brick side wall. Permission was later granted by the Mayor of Warsaw to dig among the ruins of the Embassy, but only one mustard spoon was found.

In May 1946 the Greek-born wife of the Head of Chancery, Mrs. John Russell (now Lady Russell, Ambassador in Madrid), was wandering in the ruins of the old city when she came to a yard selling scrap iron and junk. On a pile of rusty old iron bedsteads she spotted a domed object. On closer examination she found it was a dish-cover with the coat of arms and cypher of George V. Further search revealed a total of thirteen such dish-covers; one was being used as a hand basin by the scrap dealer, who was loath to part with it until Mrs. Russell purchased him an enamel one in exchange.

Although Mrs. Russell did not know about the Beresford Hope silver when she brought back her prize to clean it—having paid a total of 5,000 zlots, which at the time was worth just under £3—it aroused great excitement at the Embassy, where, of course, it was quickly identified. Mrs. Russell's further investigations and those of the Embassy—both official and non-official—eventually led to the return to Poland of the Buenos Aires Cup, two silver-gilt ice-pails and four large silver soup tureens. Two more ice-pails were found

at the London Antique Dealers Fair in 1956, where they were exhibited on the S. J. Phillips stand and spotted by a former member of the Embassy; a pair of candelabra and a large venison dish were eventually tracked down to an antique dealer's shop in New York in 1956 thanks to the co-operation of the New York police.

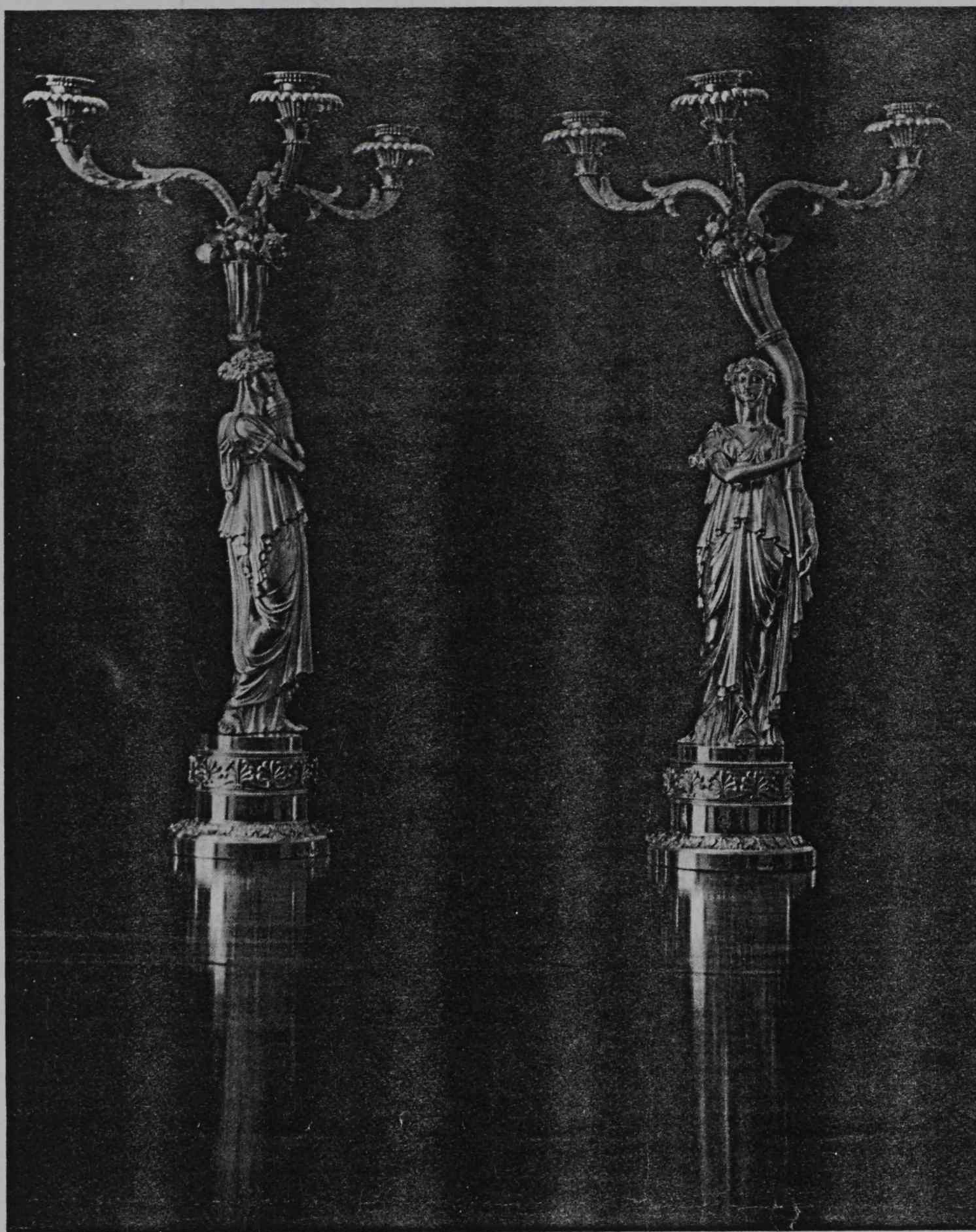
The cloak and dagger recovery trail was varied and stretched from Poland to Sweden, Holland, Rome, Israel, London and New York. It included such evidence as that of Mrs. Russell's rabbit fur dealer who had peeped through a crack in the door of the old Embassy building and reported to have seen the floor covered with silver and 'brass silver'. There were arrests; names changed by deed poll; the illegal use of some foreign mission's bag; a rendezvous at night in a Warsaw suburb; money paid to a friend of a friend; and finally the threat that the whole collection would be melted down. There was one exciting trail which led to a dealer in Rome, who, it was thought, had the second pair of candelabra.

However, this proved wrong as, on closer study, it was noticed that the mitre above the coat of arms showed that the candelabra had been the property of the Archbishop of Tuam, the General's uncle and father-in-law and were probably twin pieces or replicas.

In 1960, the British Ambassador in Warsaw, Sir George Clutton, an expert on antique silver, told the story of the collection to the Director of the National Museum, Professor Stanislaw Lorenz. He also mentioned that the larger pieces were on temporary loan at the Victoria and Albert Museum until the new Residence was built. Professor Lorenz immediately suggested that the collection be exhibited in the National Museum until such time as the new Embassy was built. This he felt would be more in keeping with the Beresford Hope bequest.

Arrangements were then made for an exhibition at the National Museum in Warsaw in 1962. This involved a great deal of work for Sir George Clutton: notes to the Polish Ministries; notes to London; trouble over insurance; and a great deal of research for the catalogue. In all this arduous task Sir George had at the back of his mind the hope that the publicity could bring to light the missing pieces of this valuable collection.

The opening of the exhibition was well attended thanks to Professor Lorenz's hard work, but owing to some unexpected inter-departmental snag all the 1,000 catalogues were impounded



7. Pair of candelabra, London, maker's mark of B. Smith, hall-mark for 1814. Silver-gilt, standing female figures, each holding a cornucopia, from which spring three branches, circular stepped pedestal decorated with acanthus leaves, overall height 66 cm.

by the Ministry of Culture, who likewise cut out all publicity for the exhibition. Sir George, who had written the introduction to the catalogue and had himself lent some of his own silver, was dismayed—to say the least. But it was typical of his humour that he commented that he must be the only British Ambassador whose literary works were confiscated by the authorities of the country to which he was accredited.

The Beresford Hope silver stayed

on loan at the National Museum in Warsaw until the new Residence was opened. It went on display there for the first time at the Queen's Birthday party reception in 1964.

From time to time items still find their way to the state-run antique shops in Warsaw, but the prices are prohibitive and the Department of Environment has stopped buying back. Thanks to Sir George Clutton's research the items in Warsaw are well catalogued.

Reform or Revolution?

Timothy Garton Ash

1.

The word "reform" has been devalued by overuse, both in the writing of Western journalists and scholars and in the rhetoric of Communist leaders. In Lenin's day, "reformism" was the ultimate transgression for Communists: now it is their saving grace. In Western usage, the term has been pressed into service to describe everything from a mere adjustment of economic policy to a fundamental transformation of the system, political as well as economic.

What are the reformers in Poland and Hungary today trying to reform, and why are they trying to reform it? A rather clear answer is given in a remarkable private memorandum leaked earlier this year. It is the work of Mieczyslaw F.

to the development of the mass media, the societies of our countries can 'peer into' the everyday life of the masses under capitalism." The conclusion is drawn a few pages later. If the socialist "formation" does not find the strength to reform itself, Rakowski writes, "the further history of our formation will be marked by shocks and revolutionary explosions, initiated by an increasingly enlightened people."

Well, exactly. Allowing for some slight differences of terminology, this could almost be an academic analysis for the CIA. Yet this is a text by a man who is not only a Politburo member, but who, according to informed rumor, became a Politburo member on the strength of this text. Private statements by Hungarian Politburo members reflect an equally

What the reformers want to reform is thus, in the first place, the economy. Now there is, of course, a more than thirty-year history of attempts at economic reform in Eastern Europe. But as Włodzimierz Brus, the *doyen* of this subject, wrote recently, "with a single exception" these attempts "have failed even in the sense of institutionalising a new system, let alone in exercising a real impact on performance."³ The single exception is Hungary, yet virtually all Hungarian economists now agree that twenty years of the New Economic Mechanism have not effected a real transformation from the command economy to market socialism. Interference by the central political bureaucracy has remained all-pervasive, with loss-making

making losses and devouring subsidies as huge as their façades. They should have been closed long ago: they must be closed now. Subsidizing the production of basic commodities is a great burden on the state budget. Many official prices are wholly unrealistic, in relation to domestic, let alone Western, markets. The subsidies must therefore come down and the prices—up. People will only work better if they can earn more money by doing so. Some people must therefore earn more than others.

What does this perspective of reform imply for a socialist state? Socialism's proudest boast has been full employment. Reform requires unemployment. Socialism promised equality. Reform means more inequality: a second pyramid of inequality, superimposed on the existing pyramid which has the *nomenklatura* sprawled across its peak.⁵ Socialism said "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." It is precisely the unskilled workers, the old, the weak, and the needy who will do worst out of a radical market reform. What is more, according to the sociologists in Poland at least, those who are likely to do badly out of the reform are precisely those who are at present more inclined to give the government their confidence, whereas those who support the idea of reform are least likely to support the government. And anyway, why should anyone believe that this agonizing wrench will actually produce the goods? How many times already has the regime promised jam tomorrow! Where are the guarantees?



Photograph © Jean Gaumy/Magnum Photos

Rakowski, who has just become Poland's new prime minister.¹ Poland, he says, has been living through an economic, social, and political "crisis" (another devalued word!) since 1980, and arguably since 1976. The Polish crisis is sui generis, but "we should not forget that basically symptoms of crisis are becoming apparent in all socialist countries." "Not only Poland," he writes,

but most socialist countries are threatened with relegation to the position of countries incapable of keeping up with the revolution of technological development in capitalism.

And again,

If one could transport a capitalist society into our everyday reality, it would very soon rise up in a revolutionary struggle.

But not only a capitalist society. For "due

¹The leaked document is entitled (in Polish) "Reflections on some aspects of the political and economic situation in the Polish People's Republic in the second half of the 1980s" (hereafter Rakowski, "Reflections..."). The sixty-page typescript is signed and dated "Warsaw. 8.6-10.10 1987." Rakowski has privately confirmed that it is genuine. All translations are my own.

striking realism in the diagnosis of the disease—although neither they nor Rakowski are half so realistic in prescribing the cure. In other words, some men in power see the reality of decay, and the prospect of growing relative backwardness, which I sketched in the first of these articles.² They also see that if they do not do something drastic to modernize their economies, their own people will unkindly invite them to leave the stage. A younger generation, better educated, better informed, relatively unafraid, looking to Gorbachev in the East and the European Community in the West, will just not be kidded by fatuous ideology, paper patriotism, or more promises of jam tomorrow.

²See "The Empire in Decay" (*The New York Review*, September 29), where I also developed the metaphor of "Otomanization" for the long, slow decline of the Soviet empire, and the unplanned, piecemeal, and discontinuous emancipation, both of the constituent states from the imperial center, and of societies from states.

Besides those already thanked in a footnote to that article, I would further express my gratitude to Ivo Banac, Archie Brown, Włodzimierz Brus, Elemér Hankiss, Tony Judt, Leszek Kołakowski, and Jacques Rupnik for their comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

state enterprises consistently bailed out by huge arbitrary tax breaks or subsidies, and with a vast gray area of managerial-bureaucratic "bargaining" instead of the free play of market forces.⁴

The task of economic reform becomes more difficult with every passing year. The gap with the West grows wider. The list of the deferred tasks of modernization grows ever longer—not only closing outdated plants and opening modern ones, but also all that neglected investment in infrastructure, not to mention such luxuries as elementary environmental protection. The inevitable social cost of reform therefore continues to grow, while the regimes' popular credit continues to dwindle. They recognize that a "radical" economic reform is necessary. Those great model enterprises of the heroic phase of Stalinist modernization—the Lenin shipyards, the Lenin steelworks, the Lenin mines—have been

³Quoted from W. Brus, "The Experience of Economic Reforms: 1956-1987," typescript, p. 3. See also his contribution to Volume 2 of the *Economic History of Eastern Europe*, edited by M.C. Kaser (Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁴See János Kornai, "The Hungarian Reform Process: Visions, Hopes, and Reality," in the *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. XXIV (December 1986), pp. 1687-1737.

Seeing both the social cost of economic reform and the political credibility gap, the reformers in both Hungary and Poland are now saying that political reform is the indispensable concomitant of economic reform. Indeed, the new leadership in Hungary declares that political reform is the most important side of the equation. This is in diametric contrast to reforms carried out under János Kádár, whose attraction to neighboring rulers was precisely that they seemed to demonstrate the possibility of successful economic reform without political reform. What is more, the political reforms are at least partly conceived of as what the Polish Politburo member Marian Orzechowski recently called "conscious self-limitation of the Party's power."⁶ The more usual euphemistic terminology is "redefining the leading role of the Party." The "strategy of retreat" is the oldest trick in the book of Communist attempts at economic reform. It dates back to Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP). But as a conscious political strategy, an NPP so to speak, it is more novel. Gorbachev's example has, of course, greatly facilitated this part of the discussion.

What would be "success" for these reforms? A minimal definition of success is easily given: to have averted revolution. A maximal definition is more difficult. For Communist reformers like Rakowski or Grósz it is a fair assumption that maximal success means fulfilling the

⁵For the image of the intersecting pyramids see George Kolankiewicz and Paul Lewis, *Poland: Politics, Economics and Society* (Frances Pinter, 1988), figure 2.1, p. 64, drawing on the work of Iván Szelényi.

⁶See *Trybuna Ludu* (September 6, 1988).

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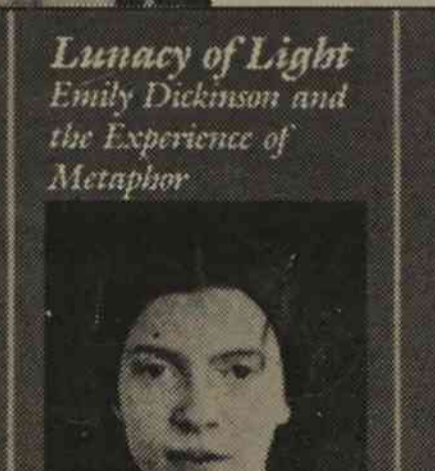
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forty-year-old promise of modernization, making their states respected, competitive members of a larger European community (small c), while at the same time retaining the maximum possible amount of power in their own hands. They want, in other words, to have their cake and eat it. The Party's retreat, if retreat there must be, is tactical or at best strategic. There is a strong element of *reculer pour mieux sauter*. Lower down the Party apparatus, the selfish motive of preserving your own power and privileges may easily outweigh any larger concern about the future of the country. (This is not to imply that those at the top are any less selfish; just that they are less immediately threatened.) All this is human, all too human. There are very few universally valid laws of history, but one of them is: men cling to power.

Yet many of those outside the Party who support the reforms, and whose active participation is essential to their success—economists, journalists, academics, lawyers, some managers, entrepreneurs, private or cooperative farmers, skilled workers—have a different maximal definition of success. This is that reform should become transformation. The Party's retreat should be permanent. The courts really should be courts. Parliament really should be parliament. Unions really should be unions. Reform begun at the behest of Party leaders (out of insight into necessity) would march ineluctably beyond those leaders' maximal goals. The forces of change from above, change from below, and what I have called "change from the side" would somehow combine in the process of transformation: in part willingly, in part unwillingly, but nonetheless combine. The energies of social emancipation would somehow be harnessed to halt, or even reverse, the awful progress of economic and social decay.⁷ Reform would indeed avert violent revolution. But it would effect a peaceful revolution instead.

The state would re-acquire what one might call "internal sovereignty," in the sense well described by an outstanding Polish political scientist, currently living in Rome. "The state is firmly sovereign when it governs society and also serves society, and allows the nation to realize its own subjectivity," writes this author. "Queen of Poland!" he continues, "Queen of Poland, I also wish to entrust you with the difficult task of those who wield authority on Polish soil. The state gains its strength first of all from the support of society." This may not be the language we usually expect from political science, but the words of Pope John Paul II, addressed as it were directly to the icon of the Black Madonna in the monastery of Jasna Góra, nonetheless express an analytical truth.⁸

Now it is obviously germane to ask how the recovery of "internal sovereignty" might relate to the expansion of "external sovereignty," or, to revert to the central metaphor of Ottomanization, how the emancipation of societies

⁷I discussed some forms of social emancipation in "The Opposition" (*The New York Review*, October 13), the second part of this three-part essay. By "change from the side" I mean the strategy of building an extensive autonomous social sphere based on private enterprise, while ignoring rather than directly challenging the socialist state.

⁸This was on his 1983 visit. For the quotation see *Więź*, Nos. 8-10 (August-October, 1983), p. 52.

from states relates to the emancipation of states from the imperial center. Western analysts have paid considerable attention to the cautious manifestation of verbal autonomy in foreign policy by Hungary, the GDR, and, to some extent, Bulgaria, in the years 1983-1985. This might fairly be described as a positive assertion of these states' "limited sovereignty." Under Gorbachev, such daring has not been necessary in foreign policy. At the same time, the external limits on sovereignty for East European states have widened, at least in practice and for the time being. This should facilitate the task of recovering a larger measure of "internal sovereignty," but there is absolutely no guarantee that individual states, or states and societies together, will be able to take the opportunity. The widening of the external bounds is a necessary but by no means a sufficient condition.

The causal connections in the other direction are even less clear. One might argue, theoretically, that a state which can stand on its own two feet, by its own achievements, will have less need of the threat of force and the imperial center. The more a state can depend on its own people the less it need depend on Moscow. But does it follow that the imperial center will have less need of, or hold over it? The peaceful transformation, so fervently desired by most supporters of reform outside the inner power elites, might indeed reasonably be expected to increase the external autonomy and the "strength" of the state, as the Pope suggests. But that is very far from being the primary goal of the political leaders who are currently initiating "reform." Yet before dwelling any more on these putative "problems of success," one is bound to ask what chance, in practice, the Polish or Hungarian reform experiments have of achieving even minimal success, let alone maximal success or peaceful transformation.

2.

Clearly the preconditions are worse in Poland, given the depth of the economic crisis, the inconsistency of the economic reform program and its implementation, the mixture of popular apathy and desperation, and, above all, the continued gulf between the authorities and the most active and organized parts of society. National product per capita is still 13 percent lower than in 1978, and real wages are one fifth lower than in 1980. Inflation has been estimated at 20 percent for August alone, and will probably exceed 100 percent for the year. Increasingly, the dollar has supplanted the zloty as the Polish currency. Consumer supplies have got worse rather than better. And these are seen by the population to be the fruits of the much vaunted "second stage of the economic reform," launched last autumn.

This is, of course, less than wholly fair. Fault can certainly be found with the technical conception of the reform. Its chief architect, Zdzisław Sadowski, is both an able and a reputable reform economist. In the tradition of Oskar Lange and Włodzimierz Brus, he has produced a design for a "socialist market economy." Radical as this is by the standards of most previous reform plans, one might well argue, on the basis of Hungarian experience over the last twenty years, that even in conception it is not radical enough. Sadowski talks in general terms about "equal treatment of the public and private sectors

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and . . . market resource allocation,"⁹ but the detail of the plan, let alone the bureaucratic practice, does not begin to amount to equal treatment for the private sector. The neo-liberals would say that just because there is a strong, authentic Polish tradition of designs for "market socialism," the importance of purely private enterprise—of capitalism blue in tooth and claw—is consistently underrated, not just by Sadowski and his team, but also by some economic advisers to Solidarity who come from the same tradition.

Of more immediate importance than these faults in design, however, is the failure to execute even the existing design. The official "Realization Program of the Second Stage of Economic Reform" of October 1987 is a hastily prepared and cumbersome document, containing a theoretical timetable of 130 "tasks" to be performed over the four years to December 1991, when, it says, all manner of things will be well. The definition of the "tasks" is often vague, but almost a year later one can go down the

The internal obstacles are also of two general kinds. First, there is the passive or active resistance of large parts of the ruling class: the Party apparatus, the industry ministries, the political bureaucracy at provincial and local levels, many managers. Secondly, there is the passive or active resistance of large parts of the working class. The attempt to restore a degree of domestic market equilibrium by sharply increasing the prices of consumer goods while holding down wages can be criticized on purely technical grounds. But the plain fact is that this strategy has also been vitiated by the active resistance of workers who, particularly in the very large factories which were Solidarity strongholds, have easily won large compensatory wage rises by striking, or merely threatening to strike.

Besides this active resistance, moreover, there is a deep and almost universal popular disbelief in the possibility of Jaruzelski's leadership realizing any reform program. If anyone was prepared to give the Jaruzelski team the benefit of the doubt

the self-organized and self-limiting "society" and the self-limiting Communist power. "Society" might be represented in different ways, but somehow, in some form, Solidarity must be included in the compromise. For nearly seven years now, the Communist authorities have done almost everything *except* talk to Solidarity. Any number of consultative bodies, extraordinary concessions to the Church, remarkably liberal censorship, almost free travel to the West, private enterprise, wage rises—anything, everything, except Solidarity. And after nearly seven years the workers in the country's great industrial strongholds stand up and say: Solidarity! So the authorities do what they have so often said they would never do: they start talking to Lech Walesa. Walesa in return manages, with difficulty, to end the last strikes.

A landscape which has seemed increasingly complex and obscure suddenly looks very simple and very familiar. There is an iron gate. On one side there are police; behind the police, the army;



Czechoslovakia, 1966

list and see what has not been done that ought to have been done.

This failure is the result of external and internal obstacles. The external obstacles are of two kinds. First, there are the Western obstacles, having to do particularly with the country's desperate hard currency shortage, the dependence of much of Polish industry and agriculture on components or materials that can only be bought for hard currency, the \$39 billion debt and the conditions imposed by Western banks, governments, and the IMF for continuing at least to "turn over" this debt. According to Sadowski, the government considers balancing the current account with the West to be one of its "main policy objectives," and aims to achieve it by 1991.¹⁰ Most independent economists consider this to be quite unrealistic. Secondly, there are the "Eastern" obstacles, having to do with the need to improve trade balances with the Soviet Union, the direct involvement of the Soviet Union in parts of Polish industry, and the problem of existing commitments inside Comecon.

⁹The quotation is from a speech delivered by Sadowski to the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) in London on June 21, 1988.

¹⁰From Sadowski's speech to the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

after December 13, 1981—and not many were—it has squandered that confidence by the self-confessed failure of what is now called the "first stage of economic reform," which was supposed to be pushed through under the protective carapace of martial law. These two internal obstacles, the popular and the political-bureaucratic, are, moreover, mutually reinforcing. As two leading Solidarity advisers soberly observe, political leaders who do not enjoy social support "become prisoners of their own conservative apparatus, and cannot therefore be consistent promoters of reform."¹¹

For eight years now, Solidarity, the Church, and Western politicians have said that the only way to secure popular support for such painful but indispensable economic reform is a dialogue leading to a historic compromise between

¹¹This quotation comes from a penetrating critique of the authorities' reform program and practice by Ryszard Bugaj and Andrzej Wielowieyski, whose arguments were discussed at a meeting of the "Group of Sixty" intellectual counselors of Solidarity in the crypt of a Warsaw church during the strikes last May. (The same group was summoned by Walesa to Gdansk in September, along with old and new workers' leaders, to help prepare his negotiating strategy.) The Bugaj and Wielowieyski text was subsequently published, after complicated

behind the army, Jaruzelski; behind Jaruzelski, Moscow. On the other side there are workers; behind the workers, Walesa; behind Walesa, the Pope. It looks simple and familiar, but it is not. Two crucial differences between the situation now and that in 1980 were neatly expressed by a worker in the Lenin Shipyard during the strike in May of this year. Today, he said, the external conditions are better, but the internal conditions are worse. In 1980 there was a real fear of Soviet invasion. With Gorbachev, that has greatly diminished. On the other hand, in 1980 there was still some real trust in the capacity of those in power to keep their word, to speak "as Pole talks to Pole." Where is that trust today?

The impossible keeps happening in Poland. It would therefore be more than foolish to make any firm prediction about the outcome of the promised "round table" talks between the authorities and independent representatives of "society," including Lech Walesa. Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, the new prime minister, is both a realist and a Party reformist, as the memorandum quoted above makes clear. He continues to enjoy a certain reputation as a

negotiations, in *Tygodnik Powszechny* of June 19, 1988, but with no less than eighteen censor's cuts. The quotation was among the victims.

The New York Review

"liberal" in the West. But in Poland he is seen as the man who deceived and abused Solidarity while negotiating with it as a deputy prime minister in 1981, and who has passionately even obsessively, defended the imposition of martial law. His appointment is thus turning over an old rather than a new leaf. In any case, the general prognosis can hardly be optimistic. There is deep mistrust of the authorities on the Solidarity side, and a perhaps even deeper fear among those in power of a restored Solidarity. Moreover, it is very difficult to imagine what a restored—or new—Solidarity would look like, and how it could be married to the common goal of economic reform.

If Solidarity was allowed back only on the shop floor in individual factories, then it would have to work as a trade union, fighting for the workers' jobs and wages. As a democratic organization, and competing with the official trade unions for members, it would be almost bound to oppose factory closings and wage squeezes that its own national economic advisers regard as essential. Moreover, no one can seriously believe that it would remain without a national network for long. The alternative is that Solidarity should return in different guise: as the independent watchdog and guarantor of the whole society's interests at the highest levels of the state.

Thus Solidarity might be represented in parliament, together with Catholic and other independent groups. Its experts might participate in a body empowered to oversee the implementation of economic reform. Its representatives or associates might even hold government office. As an independent, legal, national institution, it could then "sell" the painful economic reform program to society as a genuine program for national recovery, supporting measures which as a local trade union it would be bound to oppose. Like Churchill in 1940, Walesa would say, "I have nothing to offer but blood, sweat and tears..." and the nation would rally round. In effect, this is what Lech Walesa and his senior advisers have been proposing to the authorities ever since July 1981.¹²

If it was not possible then, why should it be possible now? Because Gorbachev is not Brezhnev? Because the West wants it, and Poland more than ever needs economic help from the West? But the internal obstacles remain formidable. There is absolutely no blueprint for such an arrangement of power-sharing. The coalitions of 1945-1948 in East Central Europe are hardly an encouraging example. One could just conceivably imagine it working if there were to be a clear, simple, legally defined division of powers between the parties, enforceable by an independent judiciary. But that is out of the question. One might just imagine it working if there was a large amount of mutual confidence between the parties: as in an all-party wartime cabinet. But there is not.

What remains is the compromise of two boxers who recognize that neither can knock the other out, and that the ring is collapsing around them. But whence comes the boxers' staying power? Jaruzelski's staying power still derives from the military and the police (more than the Party apparatus), and ultimately from the Soviet leadership continuing to back him, as Gorbachev did demonstratively during his visit to Poland in July. Walesa's

power rests to some extent (as the government spokesman Jerzy Urban claims) on support from the West, and to some extent on his symbolic importance to the whole of Polish society. But his real muscle still comes, as it has all along, from the workers in a score of giant enterprises: from the miners of Silesia, the shipyard workers of Gdańsk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, the steelworkers of Kraków and Warsaw, the engineering workers of Poznań and Wrocław. If you ask, "Why is Walesa back at the table?" the basic answer is: because those workers put him there.

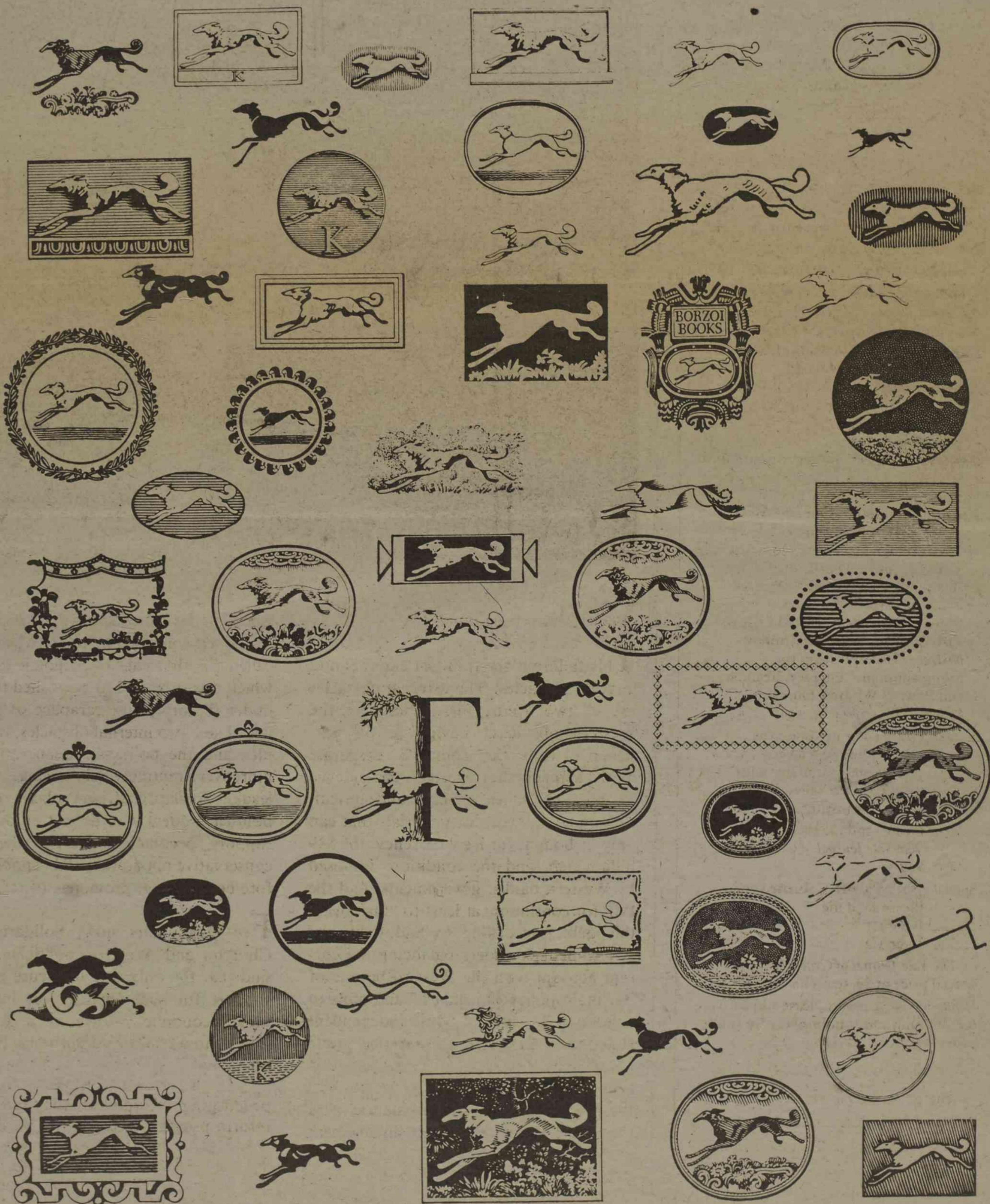
Now the corollary of this is that Solidarity leaders simply cannot afford to risk losing the confidence of these, their

the opinion that "fundamental change for the better can be introduced only when the authorities come to an understanding with society." Quoted in a brief report by the team who conducted the survey (Wladyslaw Adamski, et al.) in *Polityka* (July 23, 1988).

grenadiers, unless they have cast-iron guarantees of a permanent independent role in the country's national political life. Even this time around, it was only with difficulty that Walesa persuaded the angry young men in the Lenin Shipyard and the slow stubborn miners of Jastrzębie to return to work. But the interests of the workers in these industrial strongholds are by no means identical with those of the economy as a whole. During the May strike at the Lenin Shipyard, the workers chanted, "There is no freedom without Solidarity," while loudspeakers broadcast a message from the management saying that the yard would have to be closed altogether. In the pure interest of national economic recovery, however, the Solidarity troops should probably have chanted, "Close the yards! Open a stock exchange!" But no one can seriously expect Solidarity to cut off the branch upon which it sits, unless it has another very solid branch to go to.

One might speculate that for Poland now to break through the immense barriers of alienation and decay, the authorities would have to take not one but two radical steps: restore Solidarity and restore capitalism. An expanded private sector and new mixed forms of ownership in the public sector might generate economic dynamism and harness the energies of the skilled, the young, and the rich, but it would also exacerbate social tensions, and the private sector could never be guaranteed a stable future without political representation (or at least protection) at the highest level. Solidarity, restored as a national, political force, might just conceivably mediate (or at least alleviate) that social conflict, and provide that guarantee, but it could hardly leap over its own Christian-social trade union shadow to become the cutting edge of radical economic

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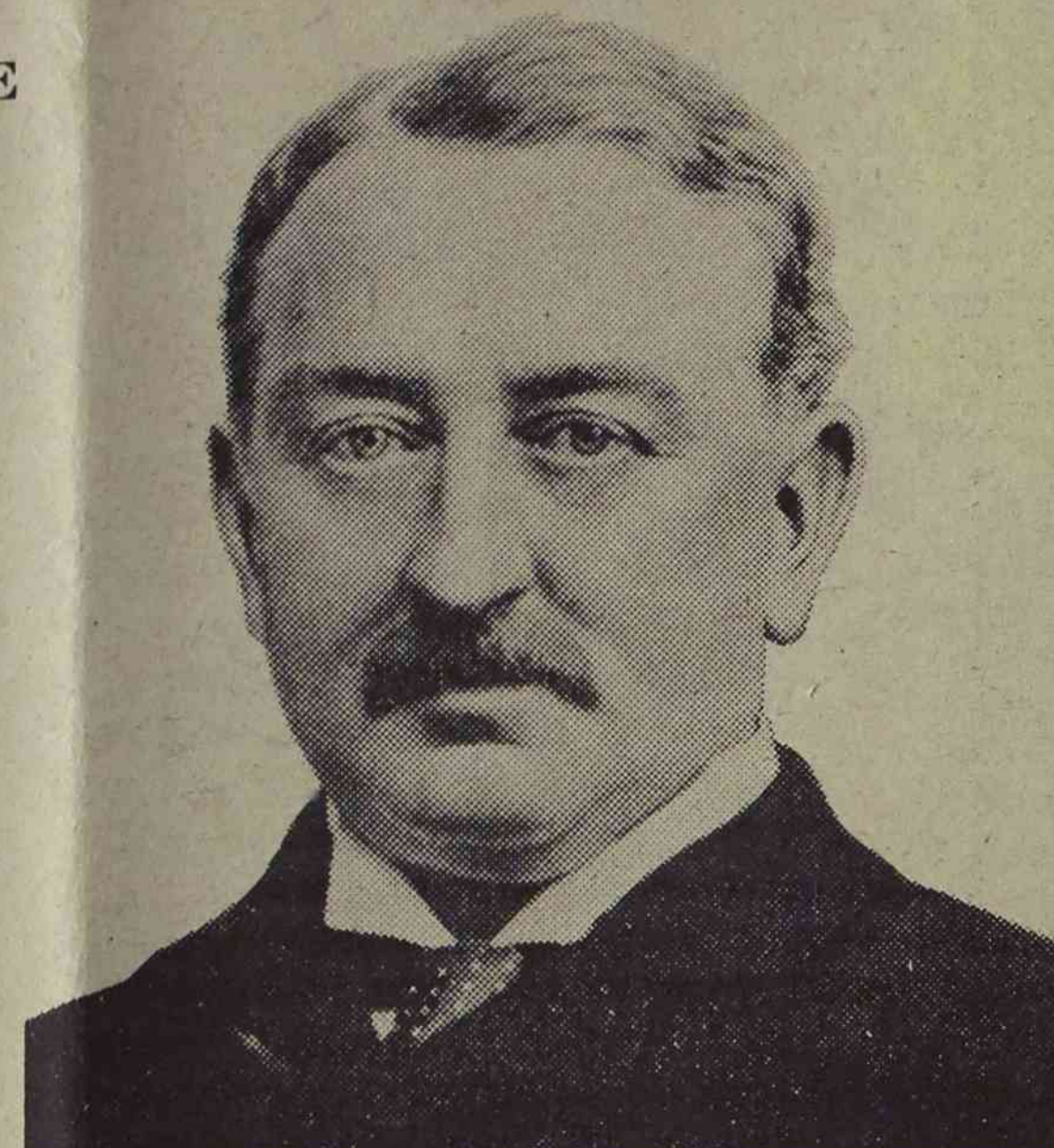
¹²See chapter 6 in my *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (Scribners, 1984; Vintage, 1985) where I describe their abortive negotiations with... Rakowski. According to the latest in a remarkable series of sociological surveys, "Poles '88," no less than 84.3 percent of those asked were of

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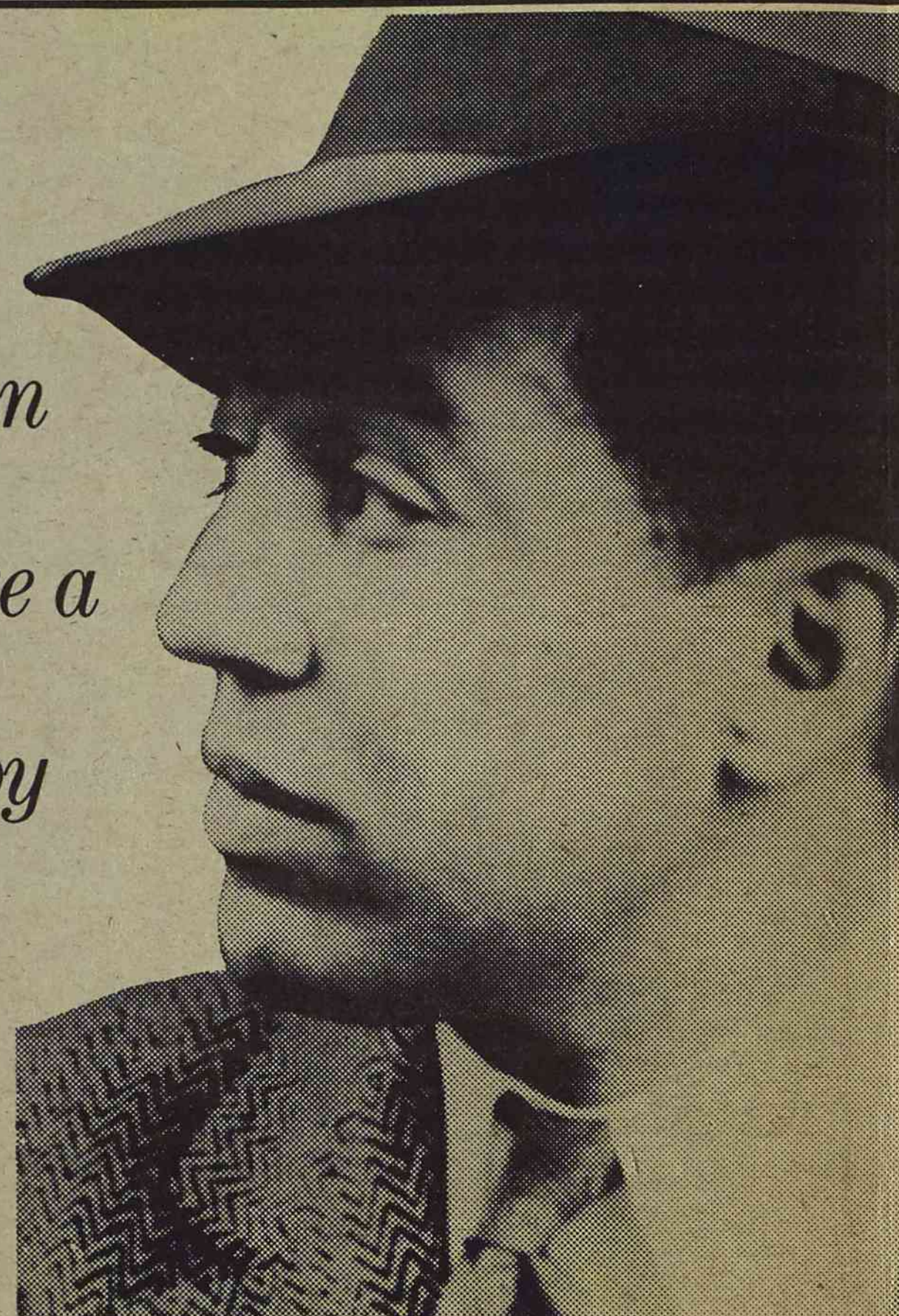
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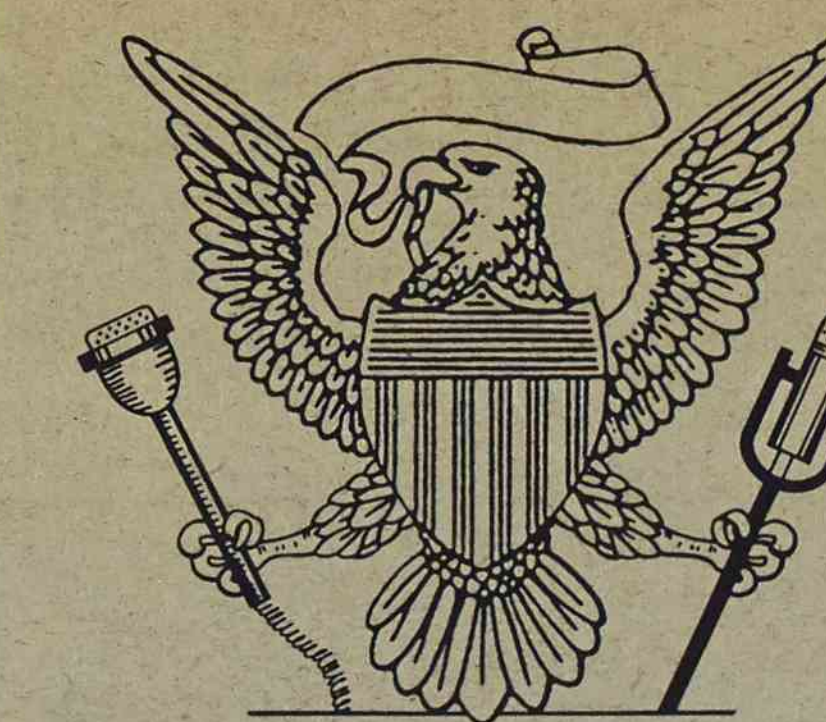
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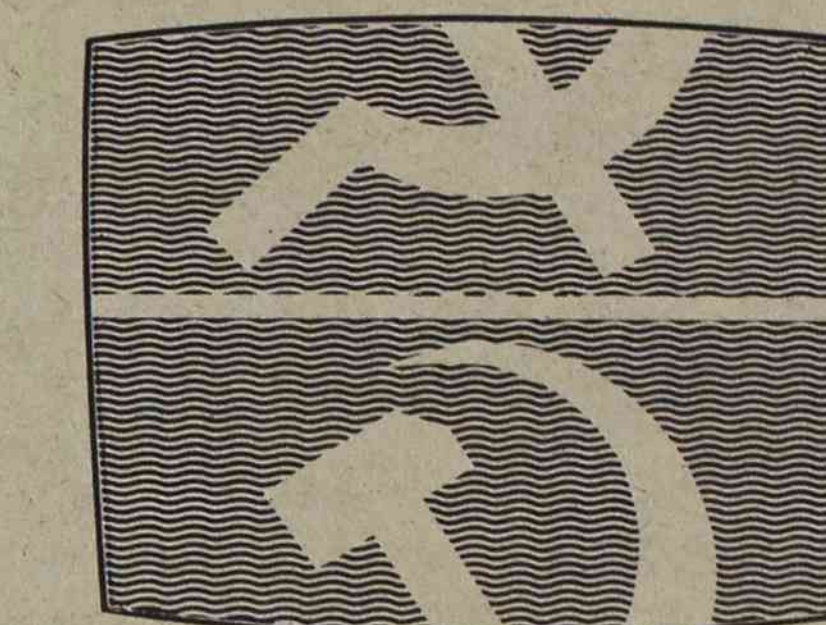
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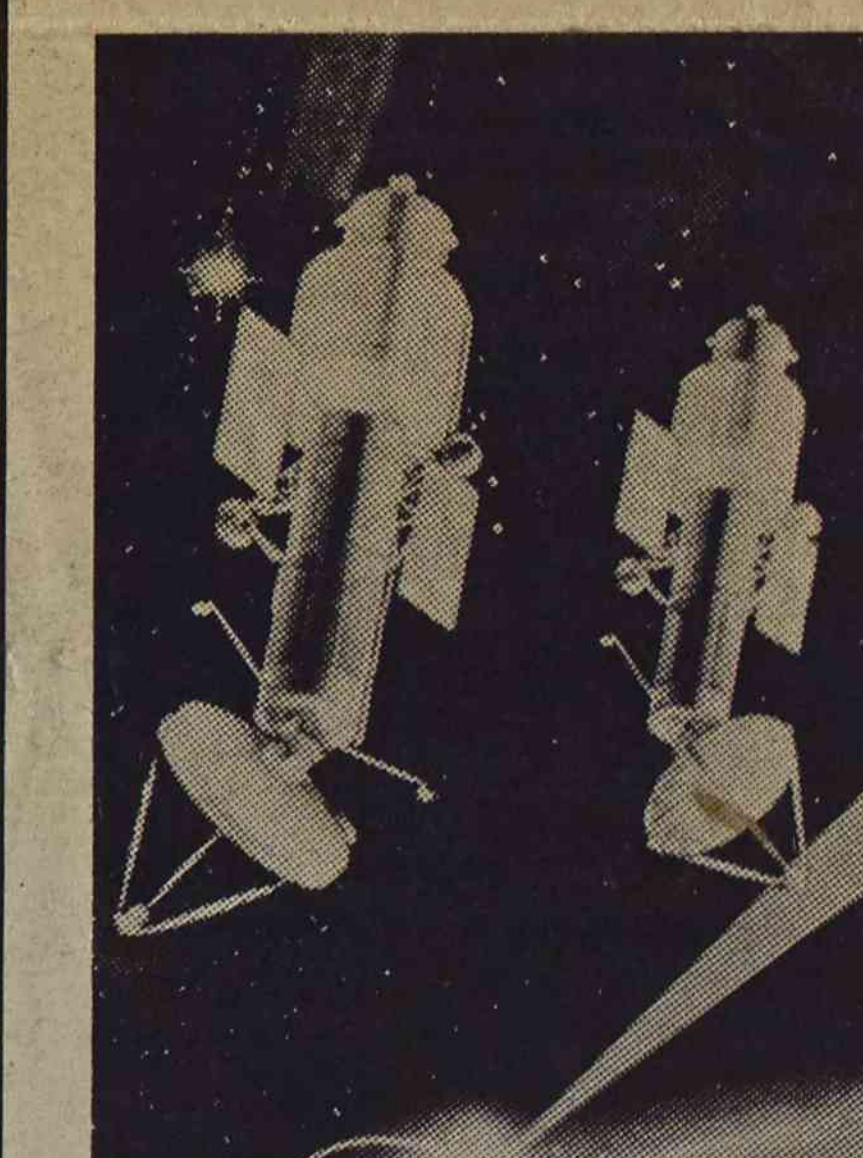
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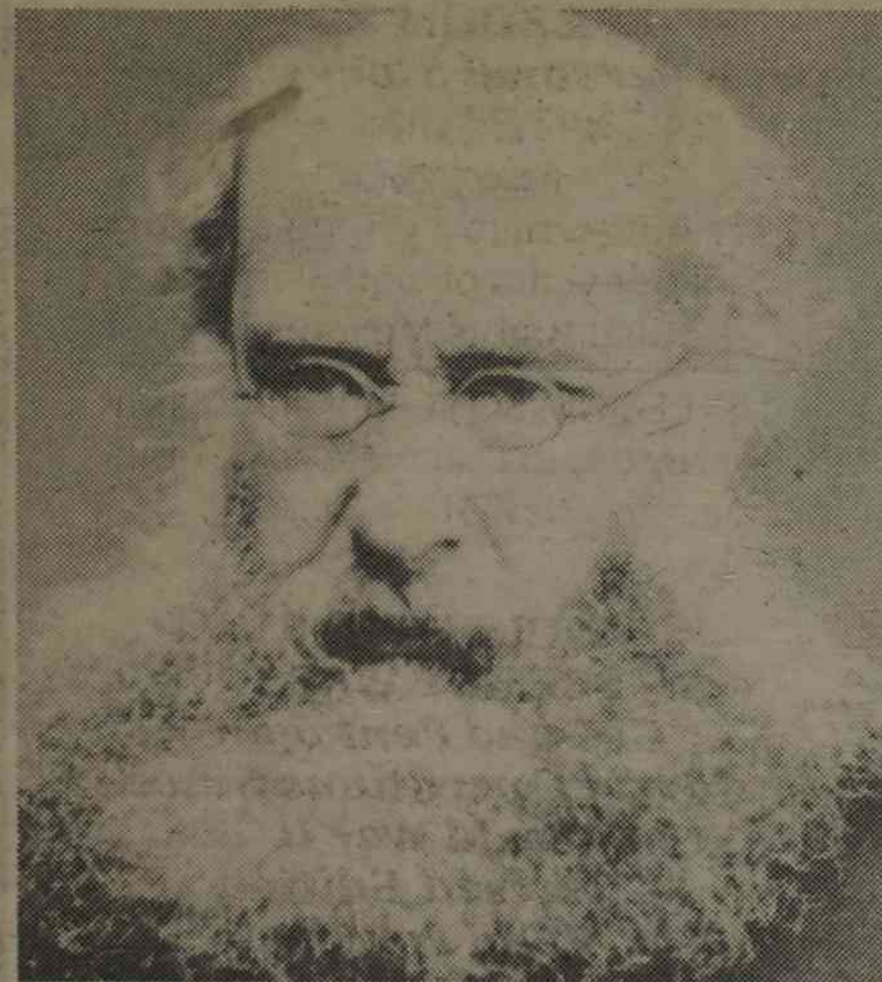
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change. One might say half in jest (and half in mourning) that when a Solidarity branch declares a legal strike against a private employer, Poland will be on the right course.¹³

The most probable outcome, however, remains a continued muddling-through: or, rather, a muddling-down. On all Polish precedents, the result is likely, sooner or later, to be another explosion of popular protest. The result of that explosion would, in turn, depend crucially on the circumstances in the Soviet Union, but if present trends in the Soviet Union continue (and if developments elsewhere in Eastern Europe do not contribute to reversing those trends) it is not completely inconceivable that the historic compromise that could not be achieved by reform might yet be achieved by revolution. In an extraordinary passage of his memorandum, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski writes that some people in power in Poland may still be thinking that if it comes to another revolt, "we call in aid our *raison d'état* and remind people that after all somebody might intervene in our internal affairs. But what," Rakowski goes on, "if that *somebody*, bearing in mind his own interests, does not *want* to intervene?"¹⁴ A thought to concentrate the functionary's mind wonderfully. Of course it would be morally indefensible for anyone in the West to encourage such a terrible gamble, yet equally no one in the West can prevent it. And in the long run of Ottomanization, even a failed revolution is not the last word.

3.

In Hungary, the preconditions are somewhat better. The economic crisis is still not as deep, and, although individual alienation is profound, there is no comparable gulf between "society" and "the authorities." One of the many reform manifestoes to bloom in the Budapest spring was that of a group describing itself as the "March Front." Its twenty signers ranged from Rezső Nyers, who in May became a member of the Politburo, to Miklós Vársárhelyi, who was Imre Nagy's press secretary in 1956 and might now be described as the Nestor of the democratic opposition. The March Front has not actually *done* anything, but in Poland it would not even be possible to get the names on the same piece of paper.

The continuum between critical intelligentsia and reformists-in-government is more substantially exemplified by the present economic reform project. In 1986 a group of reform economists working under the auspices of Imre Pozsgay's Patriotic People's Front produced a radical reform document entitled "Turning Point and Reform." In January 1988, several authors of this document moved into cramped offices in the parliament building, as part of an economic kitchen cabinet working for the deputy prime minister, Péter Medgyessy. In mid-July, the new Central Committee was offered two variants of economic reform, the radical "Plan A" and the more cautious "Plan B." "Plan A," for which the Central Committee voted, was essentially based on the kitchen cabinet's design, which in turn was based on the original document.

Miklós Németh, the Central Committee secretary for economic affairs, has

¹³An alternative approach, still quite popular in Poland, is that of promoting workers' self-management. But the Yugoslav experience suggests that this would be economically disastrous in present Polish circumstances.

¹⁴Rakowski, "Reflections . . ." p. 18.

defined the goal of Plan A as "a genuine market economy, without any qualifying adjectives."¹⁵ It has been officially stated that the private sector could account for as much as 30 percent of this mixed economy. There is to be a real stock exchange. Western majority shareholding should be equally possible in firms from the private, cooperative, and state sectors. The change in forms of ownership inside the socialized sector, vaguely discussed in Poland, is here a detailed plan. The Hungarian reform economists (than whom no one on earth is more ingenious) have worked out a scheme whereby the net worth of a state enterprise would be converted into stocks, which would be given by the state to local councils, pension funds and the like. These councils or pension funds would then have to live (in part at least) off the dividends from these stocks rather than the direct state subsidies they currently receive. They would thus acquire at least a quasi-shareholder's interest in the profitability of the enterprise. Irredeemable loss-makers should go bankrupt, with estimated unemployment of one hundred thousand over the next two to three years. A sharp devaluation should bring at least partial convertibility of the forint within sight. "What is socialism?" asks the joke of the year. Answer: "the longest and most painful road from capitalism to capitalism."

Political reform is seen as indispensable for two reasons. First, to ensure that the political bureaucracy does not continue to vitiate the theoretical autonomy of enterprises, as it has for the last twenty years. What a leading member of the economic think tank laughingly calls the "invisible hand" of the center, should be reduced to an invisible finger. The Party "should be removed from economic life." Economic policy should be the province of the government, supervised and controlled by the parliament. The new company law should provide precise, legally binding definitions of previously political, "negotiable" relationships.

Secondly, political reform must sugar the bitter pill of austerity and win popular support. New courts and new laws delimiting the freedoms of association and speech are one path to this end. An increased role for parliament and local councils, with liberalized election laws, is another. At present the Hungarian parliament meets for just eight days a year. "We want to abolish the Party-state," a leading reformist Politburo member said to me. "We want to reintroduce the principles of Montesquieu in modern form." This is interesting talk from a Politburo member, albeit in a private, background conversation. But as we have seen, words are cheap in the new de-ideologized climate. The deeds have yet to follow. The main economic measures are supposed to be in place by the end of 1988, the constitutional changes perhaps by 1990.

What are the chances? Even if there were no political, bureaucratic, or social hindrances whatsoever to implementing radical economic reform in its purest form, Hungary would still be running to keep up with an increasingly dynamic European Community, and with the "newly industrializing countries." In purely technical terms it is not easy to turn a Lada into a Mercedes while continuing to drive down the motorway. Ingenious as the proposals for new forms of ownership are, one cannot imagine

¹⁵In a radio interview quoted in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts-Eastern Europe (SWB-EE) (June 3, 1988), B/3-4.

them having half the impact of the pure, raw, brutal reprivatization of Thatcherism (so eloquently advocated by the *Towarzystwo Gospodarcze* in Kraków). Radical as the reintroduction of market forces is meant to be, even in design it seems unlikely to reproduce the Schumpeterian "creative gale of destruction." Two percent unemployment is a lot for a socialist country, but "Thatcherism" in Britain brought—and perhaps required—12 percent unemployment to revitalize a much less decrepit economy.

The hard currency debt is a goad to reform, but if the debt-service ratio becomes too steep it can be a major impediment to further reform (witness Poland). The Hungarians reckon they have a breathing space until 1991, when loan repayments to Western banks are due to increase sharply. This is not long. Moreover, while their putative West European competitors have the opportunity of the common market, they still have the burden of Comecon. To adjust your domestic market to Western markets is one thing; to adjust Comecon to your own needs is quite another. So far as I can gather, Hungary's economic policymakers have more or less given up any hope of turning Comecon into a common market, and are merely looking for more realistic bilateral trade with individual countries, including the Soviet Union.¹⁶

Yet for political reasons, the reform package is most unlikely to be fully implemented. For a start, Károly Grósz is not, by all accounts, comparable to Gorbachev, let alone to Mrs. Thatcher. He is a clever, forceful opportunistic politician, but there is no evidence that his present endorsement of radical reform flows from any deep conviction. His Politburo contains only three people whom one could clearly categorize as reformists (Nyers, Pozsgay, and Németh), and in János Berecz he has (*mutatis mutandis*) his Ligachev. The higher ranks of the Party apparatus contain some intelligent, realistic, reform-minded men. But no one really has the first idea how the new separation of powers, or division of roles, between Party and State, Central Committee, parliament and courts is going to work. If the Party is not to make economic policy then what on earth is it to do? Men cling to power: surely here too. I asked an energetic, realistic, and reform-minded new member of the Central Committee secretariat what he was actually going to do there. Well, he replied, we work out the broad strategic lines of policy, and then we pass them on to Party members in the state apparatus. This sounded vaguely familiar.

Then there are the corrupt local oligarchies that flourished under late Kádárism. Can their grip really be broken? On a much smaller scale, Grósz has the problem that Gorbachev faces in the Soviet Union. In theory, he wants to decentralize. But before decentralizing, he has to reestablish central control. And then there is the great unknown of social reaction. The leadership has stated clearly that in the short run reform means that most Hungarians will get poorer. The responsible Politburo member, Miklós Németh, told the Central Committee that "Plan A" would initially mean lower or

¹⁶According to a report in the *Financial Times* (August 9, 1988), "Hungary's iron and steel producers have threatened to consider halting unprofitable exports to other Comecon countries after the Government's withdrawal of subsidies for metal exports." A nice illustration in miniature.

even negative growth and "a lower level of consumption by the population,"¹⁷ not to mention the one hundred thousand unemployed. Hungarian society is too divided for a Polish-style Solidarity movement to seem at all likely, but there has already been one strike in the mines. Repeated local strikes—as in Yugoslavia—and even the founding of independent unions seems possible. Any one of these levels of resistance is probably enough to preempt economic "take-off" in a highly competitive world. Together, they seem almost insuperable.

Except, perhaps, by democracy. But democracy is not on offer. Hungary's Communist rulers quite understandably want to enjoy the benefits of democracy without paying the price of sharing or being obliged to compete for power. Legal definitions of rights can also be ways of

¹⁷SWB-EE (July 15, 1988), C1/1-5.

restricting rights. "An up-to-date practice of jurisdiction can be an even more efficient means of political regulation than direct administrative instructions," the new head of the Central Committee Agit-Prop department rather revealingly observed.¹⁸ What Mr. Grósz calls "opposition" is not what we would call opposition, and what we call opposition Mr. Grósz still calls "the enemy"—a nasty verbal throwback to darker days. While the authorities allowed the populist demonstration for Transylvania, the police broke up a much smaller democratic opposition demonstration on the anniversary of the judicial execution of Imre Nagy, with some brutality.

The liveliest, but also in a way the saddest, meeting I had in Budapest this June was with a group of law students in their

¹⁸*Magyar Hirlap* (June 24, 1988).

early twenties who have been instrumental in setting up the new democratic youth union (FIDESZ). They have a brilliant program. It can be summed up in two words: liberal democracy. As we talked I felt, as I have done so often before, a simple anger. Why should they, who are every bit as civilized, deserving, brave, and clever as their exact contemporaries up the river in Vienna, have to put up with any more half-measures and half-truths. For God's sake, let them have it—now! After all, we know, and they know, and their authorities know, that liberal democracy works: not perfectly of course, nothing ever does, but in all its West European variants better than any of the East European variants of anything else. If Spain can pass peacefully from dictatorship to democracy, why should not Hungary? In morality and ideology, the ruling Party has no answer. Yet no one, not even as a joke, told me

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that socialism is the longest and most painful road from autocracy to democracy.

The sad fact is that socialism has created in all the East European states an array of *domestic* barriers against the transformation to liberal democracy cum mixed economy quite as formidable as those that existed in recent West or South European dictatorships, such as Spain, Portugal, or Greece. These barriers lie not only in the system of politbureaucratic dictatorship (to use Rudolf Bahro's apt term), and not merely in the character and interests of the *nomenklatura* ruling class, but also in the interests, attitudes, and fears of many of the ruled. Of course, in conditions of full external sovereignty, with liberal democracies on all frontiers, these obstacles would simply be swept aside, as they were, gloriously, in Spain, Portugal, and Greece. But those are not the conditions. The Polish revisionist Wladyslaw Bienkowski once wrote a famous text called "The Engines and Brakes of Socialism." We have been discussing the engines and brakes of the transition from socialism. The conclusion is, alas, that even in Hungary, even in the Gorbachev era, the brakes look more powerful than the engines.

One is bound to hope against hope. The Hungarian reformists enter this experiment with that cheerful pessimism which is one of the more attractive features of Hungarian intellectual life. One of the very architects of the entire reform project told me he gives it only a 30-40 percent chance of success. It seems reasonable to suggest that the reform has a rather higher chance of *minimal* success—that is, of averting revolution—if only because of the further diversification of social interests which it will promote. The freeing of the private sector, in particular, means that Hungary might yet have an entrepreneurial bourgeoisie that will go to the barricades—against the revolting workers. Capitalists and Communists, shoulder to shoulder against the proletariat: a suitably Central European outcome for socialism. To estimate the percentage chance of peaceful transformation, by contrast, requires only the fingers of one hand.

4.

"To Generalize is to be an Idiot. To Particularize is the alone Distinction of Merit." We may not go quite so far as William Blake, but virtually all general writing about "Eastern Europe" is either a catalog or, if analytically more ambitious, extrapolates from the one or two countries the author knows best. The above has something of both faults. To concentrate on Poland and Hungary is, in the autumn of 1988, justified by the fact that these are the two countries of East Central Europe in which fundamental reform experiments are underway. Even here, what has been said is fragmentary and tentative. Yet there are many common features as well as differences. I would venture to predict that when the fundamental reform experiment does get underway in Czechoslovakia, there, too, one will recognize many of the features that I have singled out in Poland and Hungary.

In the case of East Germany, the differences will perhaps be greater than the similarities. A state whose annual transfers of hard currency from West Germany cover the total interest burden on its hard currency debt, but a state also whose citizens learn about their own country every night from West German television, is in a different position from its East Central European neighbors—a

position both better and worse. I have not attempted to include Romania or Bulgaria in my analysis.

For the heartlands of contemporary East Central Europe, however, for the more than sixty million Europeans living in the present territories of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, there are certainly the contours of a common fate. The oldest of Central European tales has a German general saying to his Austrian ally: "The situation is serious but not tragic," to which the Austrian general replies: "No, Mein Lieber, the situation is tragic but not serious." One might say that the situation of East Central Europe today is tragic but not hopeless.

It is tragic, because a half-century of immense struggle, upheaval, work, and suffering has produced so little lasting progress. It is fashionable to talk, as Zbigniew Brzezinski does in the title of his Seton-Watson memorial lecture, of Eastern Europe being on its way "back to Central Europe." Polite reference is made to the positive ideal of Central Europe revived by Milan Kundera, Czeslaw Milosz, Václav Havel, György Konrád, and many others.¹⁹ But there can be "return to Central Europe" in a negative as well as a positive sense. The dream of emancipatory modernization, by no means only the property of Communists in 1945, may yet end in a reality, all too familiar from Central European history, of growing relative backwardness vis-à-vis Western, "modern" Europe. It may end in a new version of Giselher Wirsing's "Zwischen-europa" or the intermediate zone identified by Hungarian writers and historians, its economies exporting tin saucepans, bottled fruit, cheap shoes, and cheap labor, importing German tourists and Japanese capital. A zone, that is, of weak states, national prejudice, inequality, poverty, and *shlamassel*. It is almost already true to talk, in the case of Hungary and Poland, of a double dependency—on the great powers to the West as well as to the East.

This situation is tragic because of its toll in avoidable human suffering. At times it seems tragic, too, in the sense of classical tragedy: that is, having a relentless logic quite beyond and in spite of the will of the participants. For the petty functionaries defending their privileges are not really evil; and far less are the unskilled workers defending their jobs in factories that should long since have been shut. The more enlightened leaders in Hungary and Poland today are personally little worse than most politicians in the West. Some genuinely care about their countries as well as themselves. But, good or evil, they can no more avoid entanglement in the web of internal contradictions that socialism has created than Oedipus could avoid marrying his mother.

So entirely hopeless it is not. It is not hopeless, because, within the setting of overall decay, there are possibilities of individual and group emancipation, of free speech, learning, worship, travel, productive work, and self-help, which did not exist even ten years ago. It is not hopeless, because these states do, in theory, possess room for maneuver in which they might restore a larger degree of internal sovereignty. It is not hopeless because the great power to the East is itself convulsed with change, whose outcome no one can predict. It is not hopeless, finally, because the great powers to

¹⁹See my essay, "Does Central Europe Exist?" in *The New York Review* (October 9, 1986).

the West form a more open, successful, attractive, and benign constellation for East Central Europe than at any time in modern history. This is true of the United States, of Western Europe as a whole, and particularly of (West) Germany, on whose approach the future shape of this region once again significantly depends.

To discuss what we in the West can do directly to encourage desirable change in East Central Europe would require another essay, indeed a book.²⁰ But if present trends continue, it is not unreasonable to look ahead to a time when the West will be not, as since Yalta, a tertiary actor in East Central Europe (after the Soviet Union and the countries themselves), but a secondary actor, as important as the Soviet Union, though in different ways. If we are to play this role wisely, however, the first imperative is to see East Central Europe as it really is, and not as a projection of our own fantasies or as a subcategory of Soviet politics. The metaphor of Finlandization, and the terms *glasnost* and *perestroika*, are of limited use in analyzing recent developments in East Central Europe. The impact of Gorbachev and the "new détente" in East-West relations has been great, but also complex, indirect, and ambiguous. Terms like "crisis," "reform," or "stability" are useless without closer definition.

In the first article in this series, I offered the crude metaphor of "Ottomanization" as at least marginally more illuminating than that of "Finlandization." The two faces of Ottomanization, emancipation and decay, each have many dimensions: imperial, regional, and domestic; economic, social, ideological, and political; the emancipation of states from the imperial center; the emancipation of societies from states, in the overlapping spheres of religion, national articulation, "civil society," and private enterprise, and the more or less consciously oppositional variants of each. Revolution, ending in partial failure, is as likely as reform, ending in partial success (i.e., averting revolution). On balance, the former seems more likely in Poland, the latter in Hungary. A maximal success for reform seems scarcely more probable than a maximal success for revolution. Each national case must be studied historically, and for itself. "Every thing is what it is and not another thing," as the great Bishop Butler unshallowly remarked.

As these countries are rediscovering their own histories, so also is history the discipline most urgently called for, if we in the West are to understand their present and peer into their future. History, calling in aid economics, sociology, political science, and even security studies, but above all: history. Czechs, Hungarians, and Poles are rediscovering their own history; and they are making it again. To adapt a German philosopher, whose influence on East Central Europe future historians will record as baneful but transient, confined only to a few decades in the second half of the twentieth century: the peoples of East Central Europe make their own history, although they do not make it just as they please.

—September 27, 1988

This is the last of three articles.

²⁰Two excellent multiauthor volumes are Lincoln Gordon, ed., *Eroding Empire: Western Relations with Eastern Europe* (Brookings, 1987) and William E. Griffith, ed., *Central and Eastern Europe and the West* (Westview Press, forthcoming). I am working on a book about the contemporary German role in this region.

PITCAIRN ISLAND

Only settlement: Adamstown
Population: 57 (1986)

HISTORY. It was discovered by Carteret in 1767, but remained uninhabited until 1790, when it was occupied by 9 mutineers of HMS *Bounty*, with 12 women and 6 men from Tahiti. Nothing was known of their existence until the island was visited in 1808. In 1856 the population having become too large for the island's resources, the inhabitants (194 in number) were, at their own request, removed to Norfolk Island; but 43 of them returned in 1859-64.

AREA AND POPULATION. Pitcairn Island (1.75 sq. miles; 4.6 sq. km) is situated in the Pacific Ocean, nearly equidistant from New Zealand and Panama (25° 04' S. lat., 130° 06' W. long.). Adamstown is the only settlement. The population on 31 Dec. 1986 was 57.

The uninhabited islands of Henderson (12 sq. miles), Ducie (1½ sq. miles) and Oeno (2 sq. miles) were annexed in 1902 and are included in the Pitcairn group.

CLIMATE. An equable climate, with average annual rainfall of 80" (2,000 mm), spread evenly throughout the year. Mean monthly temperatures range from 75°F (24°C) in Jan. to 66°F (19°C) in July.

CONSTITUTION. Pitcairn was brought within the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner for the Western Pacific in 1898 and transferred to the Governor of Fiji in 1952. When Fiji became independent in Oct. 1970, the British High Commissioner in New Zealand was appointed Governor.

The Local Government Ordinance of 1964 constitutes a Council of 10 members, of whom 4 are elected, 5 are nominated (3 by the 4 elected members and 2 by the Governor) and the Island Secretary is an *ex-officio* member. The Island Magistrate, who is elected triennially, presides over the Council; other members hold office for only 1 year. Liaison between Governor and Council is through a Commissioner in the Auckland, New Zealand, office of the British Consulate-General.

Governor: R. A. C. Byatt, CMG (resides in Wellington).
Island Magistrate: Brian Young (elected Dec. 1984).

Flag: British Blue Ensign with the whole arms of Pitcairn in the fly.

TRADE. Fruit, vegetables and curios are sold to passing ships; fuel oil, machinery, building materials, flour, sugar and other foodstuffs are imported.

ROADS. There were (1987) 6 km of roads. In Aug. 1987 motor cycles provided the sole means of personal automotive transport; there were 9 2-wheelers, 16 3-wheelers and 1 4-wheeled motor cycle.

JUSTICE. The Island Court consists of the Island Magistrate and 2 assessors.

EDUCATION. In 1987 there was 1 teacher and 12 pupils.

Books of Reference

A Guide to Pitcairn. Pitcairn Island Administration, Auckland, revised ed. 1982
Ball, I., *Pitcairn: Children of the Bounty.* London, 1973
Ross, A. S. C., and Moverly, A. W., *The Pitcairnese Language.* London, 1964

Statesman's Yearbook 1988-89

POLAND

Capital: Warsaw
Population: 37.6m. (1987)
GNP per capita: US\$6,420 (1985)

Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa

HISTORY. In 1966 Poland celebrated its millennium, but modern Polish history begins with the partitions of the once-powerful kingdom between Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1772, 1793 and 1795. For 19th century events see THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK 1980-81.

On 10 Nov. 1918 independence was proclaimed by Józef Piłsudski, the founder of the Polish Legions during the war. On 28 June 1919 the Treaty of Versailles recognized the independence of Poland.

On 1 Sept. 1939 Germany invaded Poland, on 17 Sept. 1939 Russian troops entered eastern Poland, and on 29 Sept. 1939 the fourth partition of Poland took place. After the German attack on Russia, the Germans occupied the whole of Poland. By March 1945 the country had been liberated by the Russians.

In July 1944 the USSR recognized the Polish Committee of National Liberation (*Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego*) established in Lublin as an executive organ of the National Council of the Homeland (*Krajowa Rada Narodowa*). The Committee was transformed into the Provisional Government in Dec. 1944, and on 28 June 1945, supplemented by members of the Polish Government in London (which had been recognized by the UK and USA), it was re-established—in Moscow—as the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and on 6 July recognized as such by the UK and USA.

Elections were held on 19 Jan. 1947. Of the 12.7 m. votes cast, 11.24 m. were recognized as valid and 9 m. were given for the Communist-dominated 'Democratic Bloc'. After riots in Poznań in June 1956 nationalist anti-Stalinist elements gained control of the Communist Party, under the leadership of Władysław Gomułka.

In 1970 the Federal Republic of Germany recognized Poland's western boundary as laid down by the Potsdam Conference of 1945 (the 'Oder-Neisse line').

In Dec. 1970 strikes and riots in Gdańsk, Szczecin and Gdynia led to the resignation of a number of leaders including Gomułka. He was replaced by Edward Gierek.

The introduction of price rises in June 1976 was again followed by strikes and riots. The rises were withdrawn and some demonstrators were imprisoned. In the campaign of protest which followed a Committee for the Defence of the Workers (KOR) was formed.

The raising of meat prices on 1 July 1980 resulted in a wave of strikes which broadened into generalized wage demands and eventually by mid-Aug. acquired a political character. Workers in Gdańsk, Gdynia and Sopot elected a joint strike committee, led by Lech Wałęsa.

On 24 Aug. Gierek reshuffled the Party and Government leadership. On 31 Aug. the Government and Wałęsa signed the 'Gdańsk Agreements' permitting the formation of independent Trade Unions.

On 5 Sept. Gierek suffered a heart attack and was replaced as First Secretary by Stanisław Kania (Gierek was expelled from the Party in July 1981). On 17 Sept. various Trade Unions decided to form a national confederation ('Solidarity') and applied for legal status, which was granted on 24 Oct. after some Government resistance.

On 9 Feb. the Defence Minister, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski became Prime Minister. At an extraordinary Communist Party congress in July a new leadership was elected. At Solidarity's first national congress (4-10 Sept. and 2-8 Oct. 1981) Wałęsa was re-elected chairman and a radical programme of action was adopted. On 18 Oct. Kania resigned from the Party leadership and was

replaced by Jaruzelski. On 13 Dec. 1981 the Government imposed martial law (*stan wojenny*), banning a wide range of civil liberties, and establishing the rule of a 20-member Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). Solidarity was proscribed and its leaders detained. Martial law was approved by the Sejm on 26 Jan. 1982 with one dissident vote and 5 abstentions. The Party Central Committee approved the measure on 25 Feb. Wałęsa was released in Nov. 1982. On 8 Oct. the Sejm voted (with 12 dissident votes and 9 abstentions) a law dissolving all registered trade unions including Solidarity. These have been replaced by workplace unions which are required to pledge support for the Communist Party and the Constitution. Martial law was suspended in Dec. 1982 and finally lifted in July 1983. An amnesty of 21 July 1984 freed 35,000 common and 652 political prisoners, including 7 Solidarity and 4 KOR leaders. In Nov. 1985 Jaruzelski resigned the Prime Ministership in favour of Zbigniew Messner, and was elected Chairman of the Council of State. In July and Sept. 1986 the Government granted an amnesty to all political prisoners except those accused of terrorism or spying. In Dec. the government established a 56-member Advisory Council of independents from various social spheres.

AREA AND POPULATION. Poland is bounded north by the Baltic and the RSFSR, east by Lithuania, White Russia and the Ukraine, south by Czechoslovakia and west by the German Democratic Republic. Poland comprises an area of 312,683 sq. km (120,628 sq. miles). The country is divided into 49 voivodships (*województwo*) and these in turn are divided into 813 towns and 2,122 wards (*gmina*). The capital is Warsaw (Warszawa).

Area (in sq. km) and population (in 1,000) in 1986 (1984 % urban in brackets).

Voivodship	Area	Population	Voivodship	Area	Population
Biała Podlaska	5,348	300 (32.5)	Opole	8,535	1,020 (50.9)
Białystok	10,055	672 (57.7)	Ostrołęka	6,498	372 (30.9)
Bielsko-Biała	3,704	879 (48.9)	Piła	8,205	469 (53.9)
Bydgoszcz	10,349	1,090 (62.8)	Piotrków	6,266	637 (45.3)
Chelm	3,866	243 (39.9)	Płock	5,117	511 (45.7)
Ciechanów	6,362	420 (33.0)	Poznań	8,151	1,308 (69.7)
Częstochowa	6,182	770 (51.2)	Przemysł	4,437	398 (35.7)
Elbląg	6,103	470 (58.6)	Radom	7,294	733 (44.5)
Gdańsk	7,394	1,411 (76.2)	Rzeszów	4,397	698 (37.7)
Gorzów	8,484	487 (60.4)	Siedlce	8,499	640 (28.7)
Jelenia Góra	4,378	512 (65.3)	Sieradz	4,869	403 (33.1)
Kalisz	6,512	700 (44.5)	Skierniewice	3,960	412 (42.2)
Katowice	6,650	3,946 (87.7)	Słupsk	7,453	400 (53.8)
Kielce	9,211	1,113 (44.4)	Suwałki	10,490	454 (49.9)
Konin	5,139	461 (38.6)	Szczecin	9,981	951 (73.9)
Koszalin	8,470	494 (61.0)	Tarnobrzeg	6,283	584 (34.6)
Kraków (Cracow)	3,254	1,214 (69.1)	Tarnów	4,151	647 (34.2)
Krosno	5,702	480 (32.8)	Toruń	5,348	646 (60.8)
Legnica	4,037	497 (66.6)	Wałbrzych	4,168	738 (88.5)
Leszno	4,154	378 (46.1)	Warsaw	3,788	2,422 (73.0)
Łódź	1,523	1,150 (91.4)	Wrocław	4,402	427 (44.9)
Łomża	6,684	341 (35.7)	Wrocław	6,287	1,119 (72.4)
Lublin	6,792	992 (55.5)	Zamość	6,980	489 (24.9)
Nowy Sącz	5,576	674 (35.5)	Zielona Góra	8,868	654 (59.0)
Olsztyn	12,327	733 (56.4)			

Population (in 1,000) of the largest towns (1985):

Warsaw	1,649	Bydgoszcz	361	Gliwice	213
Łódź	849	Lublin	324	Kielce	201
Kraków (Cracow)	716	Sosnowiec	255	Zabrze	198
Wrocław (Breslau)	636	Częstochowa	247	Toruń	186
Poznań	553	Białystok	245	Tycho	182
Gdańsk (Danzig)	467	Gdynia	243	Bielsko-Biała	174
Szczecin (Stettin)	391	Bytom	239	Ruda Śląska	165
Katowice	363	Radom	214	Olsztyn	147

At the census of 6 Dec. 1984 the population was 37,026,000 (18m. males; 60% urban). Population on 1 Jan. 1987, 37,572,000 (19.2m. females; 22.7m. urban).

density, 120 per sq. km. Vital statistics, 1986 (per 1,000): Marriages, 6.9; divorces, 1.4; live births, 17; deaths, 10.1; infant mortality (per 1,000 live births), 17.3.

The rate of natural growth, 1986, 6.9 per 1,000. Expectation of life in 1984 was 66.8 years. In 1984, 55% of the population was under 30.

Ethnic minorities are not identified. There were estimated to be 1.2m. Germans in 1984. In 1982 there were 900 immigrants and 32,100 emigrants. In 1983 19,200 Germans emigrated. There is a large Polish diaspora, some 65% in USA.

CLIMATE. Climate is continental, marked by long and severe winters. Rainfall amounts are moderate, with a marked summer maximum. Warsaw. Jan. 25°F (-3.9°C), July 66°F (18.9°C). Annual rainfall 22.1" (553 mm). Gdańsk. Jan. 29°F (-1.7°C), July 63°F (17.2°C). Annual rainfall 22" (559 mm). Kraków. Jan. 27°F (-2.8°C), July 67°F (19.4°C). Annual rainfall 29" (729 mm). Poznań. Jan. 30°F (-1.1°C), July 67°F (19.4°C). Annual rainfall 21" (523 mm). Stettin. Jan. 30°F (-1.1°C), July 65°F (18.3°C). Annual rainfall 22" (550 mm). Wrocław. Jan. 30°F (-1.1°C), July 66°F (18.9°C). Annual rainfall 23" (574 mm).

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT. The present Constitution was adopted on 22 July 1952. Amendments were adopted in 1976 and 1983.

The titular head of state is the Chairman of the Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Deputy Chairmen: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Zenon Komender, Tadeusz Mlynczak, Tadeusz Szlachowski.

Since 1983 the Constitution has defined the position of political parties as follows: 'The alliance and cooperation of the Polish United Workers' (i.e. Communist) Party with the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party in the construction of socialism and their cooperation with those social organizations and associations that are grounded in the principles of the system of the Polish People's Republic form the basis of the Patriotic Movement of National Renaissance.' (PRON). The latter was set up on 15 Oct. 1982.

At the 9th, extraordinary, congress of the Communist Party on 19 July 1981 a new Politburo was elected. In March 1988 the Politburo consisted of: Wojciech Jaruzelski (*First Secretary*); Kazimierz Barcikowski; Józef Baryła; Józef Czyrek; Jan Głowczyk; Gen. Czesław Kiszczak (*Minister of the Interior*); Zbigniew Messner (*Prime Minister*); Alfred Miodowicz; Włodzimierz Mokrzyński; Zygmunt Murański; Marian Orzechowski (*Foreign Minister*); Tadeusz Porebski; Gen. Florian Siwicki (*Defence Minister*); Zofia Stepień; Marian Wozniak. Candidate members: Stanisław Bejger; Mieczysław Rakowski (*Chairman, Socio-Economic Council*); Janusz Kubasiewicz; Zbigniew Michalek; Gabriela Rembisz. Ministers not in the Politburo include 3 *Deputy Prime Ministers*: Zdzisław Sadowski (*Chairman, Planning Commission*); Józef Koziol; Zbigniew Szalajda; Gen. Tadeusz Hupałowski (*Chairman, Supreme Chamber of Control*); Bazyli Samojlik (*Finance*); Władysław Gwiazda (*Foreign Economic Co-operation*); Jerzy Jozwiak (*Home Trade*); Lech Domeracki (*Justice*); Janusz Pawłowski (*Labour and Social Policy*); Stanisław Zięba (*Agriculture and Food*); Janusz Komender (*Health and Welfare*); Jerzy Bilip (*Industry*); Jerzy Urban (*Head of Government Press Office*).

In 1986 the Polish United Workers' Party had 2,129,000 (3,091,900 in 1980) members (39% workers, 89% over 30 in 1984), the United Peasants' Party had 498,200 in 1986, and the Democratic Party, 117,700 members. The Socialist Youth Union had 1.5m. members in 1986 (2m. in 1980).

The authority of the republic is vested in the Sejm, elected for 4 years by all citizens over 18. The Sejm elects a Council of State and a Council of Ministers.

The last elections for the Sejm were held on 13 Oct. 1985, having been postponed from March 1984. 410 seats were contested by 2 candidates each, and 50 seats by one candidate who had to obtain 50% of the vote, these latter being mainly Government leaders and 16 independents. All candidates had to support the policies of PRON. Turn-out was said officially to be 78.86%. Solidarity, which had called for a boycott of the election, claimed a turn-out of 66%. (Turn-out was 98.87% in the 1980 election). The 460 seats are distributed as follows: 245 United Workers' Party, 106 United Peasants' Party, 35 Democratic Party, 74 independents, including 21 Catholics. The Speaker of the Sejm is Roman Malinowski.

At a referendum of 29 Nov. 1987 the 28m. voters were asked (i) if they would accept two or three years of sacrifice to save the economy (ii) if they wanted deep democratization of political life. Turn-out was 68%. 44% of the electorate voted for (i) (26% against), 46% for (ii) (24% against), falling short of the 50% approval stipulated to make the conditions legally binding.

Local government is carried out by People's Councils elected every 4 years at voivodship and community level. Alongside these are the offices of state administration. The chairman of the People's Council is the Secretary of the regional organization for the area. Local elections due in 1982 were postponed until 17 June 1984. The Government announced that 74.95% of the 25.9m. electorate had voted (a figure claimed by Solidarity to be inflated by 12-15%). There were some 220,000 candidates, all selected by PRON.

National flag: Horizontally white over red.

National anthem: Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła (words by J. Wybicki, 1797; tune by M. Ogiński, 1796).

DEFENCE. A National Defence Committee was set up in Nov. 1983 with Gen. Jaruzelski at its head. Poland is divided into 3 military districts: Warsaw (the eastern part of Poland); Pomerania (Baltic coast, part of central Poland; headquarters at Bydgoszcz); Silesia (Silesia and southern Poland; headquarters at Wrocław).

Armed forces are on Soviet lines and divided into army and air force (2 years' conscription), navy (3 years), anti-aircraft, rocket and radio-technological units (3 years) and internal security forces (2 years). In 1965 the security forces were taken away from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and placed under the Defence Ministry. The military age extends from the 19th to the 50th year. The strength of the armed forces was (1988) 394,000, plus 87,000 security and frontier forces. Security forces include armoured brigades.

Army. The Army consists of 5 armoured, 8 mechanized, 1 airborne and 1 amphibious assault divisions; 5 artillery brigades; 3 anti-tank regiments; 4 surface-to-surface missile brigades; 1 air defence brigade. Equipment includes 3,400 T-54/-55 and 270 T-72 main battle tanks. Strength (1988) 230,000 (including 168,000 conscripts).

Navy. The fleet comprises 3 *ex*-Soviet diesel electric propelled patrol submarines, 1 new frigate, 2 missile armed modern corvettes, 24 fleet minesweepers, 12 fast missile craft, 15 patrol boats, 40 coastguard patrol boats, 24 minesweepers, 8 inshore minesweepers, 23 medium landing ships, 3 intelligence vessels, 8 training ships, 3 degaussing vessels, 2 salvage ships, 2 torpedo recovery vessels, 18 minor landing craft, 6 surveying vessels, 7 oilers, 20 tugs and 40 auxiliaries and tenders. The Fleet Air Arm has 90 somewhat dated fixed-wing aircraft (including 40 MiG-17s and 40 MiG-21s) and over 60 helicopters. Personnel in 1988 totalled 19,500 comprising 5,200 afloat, 2,500 under training, 4,100 of coastal defence, 2,500 in naval aviation and 5,200 on shore support.

Air Force. The Air Force had a strength (1988) of some 80,000 officers and men and 675 first-line jet aircraft of Soviet design, forming 4 air divisions. There are 11 air defence regiments (33 squadrons) with about 400 MiG-21 and MiG-23 supersonic interceptors, and 6 regiments (18 squadrons) operating variable-geometry MiG-23BM and Su-20, Su-7B and MiG-17 close-support fighters. There are also reconnaissance, ECM, transport, helicopter (including Mi-2s for observation and Mi-24 gunships) and training units. Soviet 'Guideline' 'Goa', 'Ganef', 'Gainful' and 'Gaskin' surface-to-air missiles are operational.

Two Soviet armoured divisions are stationed on Polish territory.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Membership. Poland is a member of UN, Comecon and the Warsaw Pact and was readmitted to IMF in May 1986.

ECONOMY

Planning. For planning history until 1980 see THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK 1981-82, p.1002. Industrialization without sufficient expenditure on infrastructure; neglect of agriculture and the inefficiency of the planning mechanism, exacerbated by higher prices and declining Western demand for exports, and the social unrest since 1980, brought the economy to a state of paralysis. Some foodstuffs are rationed, and price increases were introduced in 1982 and 1984-88. The economy since 1983 has shown some signs of recovery. Economic reforms involving a closer linking of credits, profits and wages with market forces and efficiency were introduced in 1982 and Oct. 1987. A 5-year National Socio-Economic Plan is running from 1986 to 1990, and into this Central Annual Plans are integrated.

Budget. Budget in 1m. zlotys, for calendar years:

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Revenue	1,334,700	2,345,300	2,629,100	3,295,700	3,854,200	4,902,700
Expenditure	1,465,600	2,434,200	2,654,400	3,367,800	3,979,200	4,193,200

Main items of 1986 revenue (in 1m. zlotys): State enterprises, 3,129,300; finance and insurance, 664,200; income tax, 81,700.

Main items of 1986 expenditure (in 1m. zlotys): The economy, 1,933,500; welfare, 511,400; defence, 381,800; administration, 268,500; education, 483,500.

Currency. The currency unit is the *zloty*, divided into 100 *groszy*. The currency consists of notes of 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, 1,000, 2,000 and 5,000 zlotys; and of coins of 10, 20 and 50 groszy and 1, 2, 5, 10, 20 and 50 zlotys. In Jan. 1982 the zloty was substantially devalued against Western currencies. In March 1988, £1 sterling = 313.7 zlotys, US\$1 = 675.93 zlotys.

Banking. The National Bank of Poland (established 1945) is the central bank, has exclusive authority to issue currency, is charged with control of money and credit, and has responsibility for financial implementation of the national economic plan. Since its merger with the former Investment Bank on 1 Jan. 1970 it exercises centralized control over investment financing. The Food Economics Bank (Bank Gospodarki Żywnościowej) has exclusive responsibility for direct financing of rural areas through both short-term and investment loans. It operates banks. The General Savings Bank (Powszechna Kasa Oszczędności) exercises central control over savings activities, transfers and checking transactions, including activities of workers' co-operative banks.

In addition to the National Bank of Poland other authorized foreign-exchange banks are, the Polish Welfare Bank (Bank Polska Kasa Opieki SA) and the Commercial Bank of Warsaw (Bank Handlowy w Warszawie SA). An Export Development Bank was established in 1986.

Deposits in savings institutions amounted to 2.09m. zlotys in 1986.

Weights and Measures. The metric system is in general use.

ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Electricity. Electricity production (1986) 140,000m. kwh. In 1984 97.5% of electricity was produced by coal-powered thermal plants. Supply 127 and 220 volts; 50 Hz. A nuclear power station is being built at Zarnowiec.

Minerals. Poland is a major producer of coal (reserves of some 120,000m. tonnes) and sulphur. Copper reserves are estimated at 56m. tonnes. Production in 1986 (in 1m. tonnes): Coal, 192; brown coal, 67.3; copper ore (1985), 29.4; silver, 829 tonnes. Oil was discovered 80 km off the port of Leba in 1985. Total oil reserves amount to some 100m. tonnes. Crude oil production was 190,000 tonnes in 1987, natural gas 5,825m. cu. metres in 1984.

Agriculture. In 1986 there were 18.8m. hectares of agricultural land, of which 14.4m. hectares were in private hands, 3.5m. in state farms, 0.7m. in co-operatives and 0.07m. in agricultural associations. 14.5m. hectares were arable, 260,000 orchards, 2.5m. meadows, 1.6m. pasture lands.

Collectivization has been largely abandoned. There were 2,317 co-operatives in

1986, 1,271 state farms and 392 agricultural associations. In Dec. 1987 a private, Catholic, Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture was set up to aid farmers with Western finance. A compulsory contributory pension scheme was introduced in 1978 for farmers who turn over their farms to their successors or the State. Private holdings may not exceed 100 hectares. There were 2.84m. in 1986, of which 0.86m. were less than 2 hectares.

Crops	Area (1,000 hectares)			Yield (1,000 tonnes)		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986
Wheat	1,706	1,885	2,025	6,010	6,461	7,502
Rye	3,545	3,083	2,760	9,540	7,600	7,074
Barley	1,055	1,242	1,335	3,555	4,086	4,412
Oats	934	1,086	924	2,604	2,682	2,486
Potatoes	2,147	2,095	2,009	37,437	36,546	39,037
Sugar-beet	473	436	423	16,048	14,664	14,217

Livestock (1986, in thousands): 10,919 cattle (5,207 cows), 18,949 pigs, 4,991 sheep, 1,272 horses, 65,000 poultry. Milk production in 1986 was 15,284m. litres, meat, 3.14m. tonnes.

Tractors in use in 1986: 990,000 (in 15-h.p. units).

Forestry. In 1986, 8.7m. hectares were forests (predominantly coniferous). 68,000 hectares were afforested in 1986, and 25.3m. cu. metres of timber gained.

Fisheries. In 1985 the fishing fleet had 93 deep-sea vessels totalling 314,000 GRT. In 1985 the catch was 650,600 tonnes.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Industry. Production in 1985 (and 1984) (in 1,000 tonnes): Coke, 16,000 (16,600); pig-iron, 9,807 (9,981); crude steel, 16,126 (16,533); rolled steel, 11,845 (12,195); cement, 15,000 (16,600); sulphuric acid (100%), 2,863 (2,769); fertilizers, 2,270 (2,356); aluminium, 47 (46); electrolytic copper, 387 (372); lead, 87 (84); zinc, 180 (176); salt, 4,865 (4,711); sugar, 1,708 (1,767). In 1985, 41 ships over 100 DWT were built (343,000 DWT). 283,000 cars, 54,100 lorries and 8,000 buses were built in 1985.

Output of light industry in 1985 (and 1984): Cotton fabrics, 831m. metres (812); woollen fabrics, 105m. metres (103); synthetic fibres, 75m. metres (75); shoes, 164m. pairs (165); household glass, 88,100 tonnes (81,000); paper, 1,071,000 tonnes (1,042,000); washing machines 739,000 (730,000), refrigerators 578,000 (543,000), and TV sets 610,000 (587,000).

Labour. In 1986 the total number in employment was 17.2m. (8.1m. women in 1984), of whom 4.9m. worked in the private sector, and including in agriculture 4.9m., industry 4.9m., building 1.3m., trade 1.5m. and transport and communications 1.1m. There were 5,000 'seeking jobs'. Founded in Aug. 1980 the 'independent self-governing union' organization Solidarity (Chairman Lech Wałęsa) was dissolved in Oct. 1982 along with all other trade unions. New official unions (OPZZ) established in 1983 took over Solidarity's funds in 1985. OPZZ claimed 7m. members in 1987. There are also some 4,000 small unions not affiliated to OPZZ. Average wage in 1986, 24,095 zlotys per month. A law of Oct. 1982 makes voluntary unemployment an offence; offenders are liable for compulsory labour for the state. There is a standard, statutory 42-hour working week which may be compulsorily extended in certain workplaces, with 38 free Saturdays a year.

Commerce. Trade statistics for calendar years (in 1m. zlotys):

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Imports	963,447	868,908	970,203	1,209,695	1,594,900	1,964,000
Exports	846,209	951,162	1,060,177	1,336,125	1,691,000	2,115,600

Main imports in 1986 (in tonnes): Petroleum, 14.1m.; iron ore, 16.6m.; fertilizers, 5.3m.; wheat, 1.7m.; coal, 1.2m.; passenger cars, 34,300 units.

Main exports in 1986 (in tonnes): Coal, 34.3m.; coke, 1.5m.; copper, 169,000; sulphur, 3.8m.; pharmaceuticals, 46,336m. zlotys; ships, 381,000 DWT.

Foreign trade deals should be made directly with the appropriate foreign trade

enterprise. Information may be obtained from the Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade, Trebacka 4, 00-950 Warsaw. Joint ventures with Western firms are encouraged both at home and abroad. The Western partner may own up to 49% of the shares of ventures on Polish soil, and is guaranteed a share of profits and interest.

57% of Poland's trade is with Comecon countries (30% with the USSR). Soviet exports include plant and equipment and raw materials; Polish exports, machinery, ships, coal, chemicals and consumer goods. In Oct. 1985 Poland signed a trade agreement with the USSR for 1986-90. This gives the USSR a wider role in the Polish economy, particularly in the supply of oil, and reschedules Poland's 5,000m. rouble debt beyond 1990. Federal Germany and UK are Poland's major non-communist trading partners.

In July 1985 Western bankers agreed to reschedule Poland's hard currency debts, spreading total repayment over 1991-97. Polish indebtedness to the West was some US\$33,000m. in 1987. In 1985 a 2% levy was imposed on firms' fixed asset to help repay hard currency debts. Poland does not accept liability for the £495,000 debts of pre-war Danzig (Gdańsk).

Total trade between Poland and UK (British Department of Trade returns £1,000 sterling):

	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Imports to UK	177,057	266,961	320,276	309,746	303,418
Exports and re-exports from UK	151,721	169,962	184,143	182,841	181,451

An Anglo-Polish 10-year agreement on the development of economic, industrial, scientific and technical co-operation was signed on 20 March 1973, and a 10-year programme implementing this was signed on 4 Sept. 1975. Some Polish imports are subject to quota restrictions.

In Feb. 1987 the US restored Poland's most-favoured-nation status and removed other economic sanctions introduced as a response to the imposition of martial law (1981-83).

Tourism. In 1986, 3,851,000 tourists visited Poland (746,000 from the West) and 4,313,000 Polish citizens made visits abroad (957,000 to the West). More liberal passport regulations were introduced for Polish citizens in 1987.

COMMUNICATIONS

Roads. In 1984 Poland had 153,000 km of hard-surfaced roads. Number of motor vehicles: Passenger cars, 3,671,000 (of which, 3,611,000 private); lorries, 780,000 (297,000 private); motor cycles, 1,547,000.

In 1984 road transport carried 2,438m. passengers and 1,421m. tonnes of freight. There were 4,688 fatal road accidents in 1985.

Railways. The length of the standard gauge railway system was (1986) 24,333 km (9,452 km electrified) and ran 121,775m. tonne-km and 48,932m. passenger-km.

Aviation. In 1985 the state airline 'Lot' had 39 aircraft including 5 Il-62s, operated 9 internal and 34 international routes. 1,853,000 passengers were flown and 9,000 tonnes of freight in 1984. There are British Airways, SABENA, KLM, PANAM, Alitalia, Swissair, Air France, Austrian Airlines and Lufthansa services to Okęcie (Warsaw) airport.

Shipping. The principal ports are Gdynia, Gdańsk (Danzig) and Szczecin (Stettin). The merchant marine is grouped into Polish Ocean Lines (150 vessels totalling 1.1m. DWT in 1985) based on Gdynia and operating regular liner services, and the Polish Shipping Company based on Szczecin and operating cargo services. Poland also has a share in the Gdynia America Line. 35.4m. tonnes of freight and 297,000 passengers were carried in 1984.

In 1986 the merchant marine had 261 vessels totalling 2.8m. GRT (including 9 tankers and 17 vessels over 30,000 tons). There are regular lines to London, Hull, China, Indonesia, Australia, Vietnam and some African and Latin-American countries.

Total shipping entering Polish ports in 1984 was 10,081 vessels of 27.2m. NRT. There are 3,997 km of inland navigable waterways. 15.4m. tonnes of freight and 6.5m. passengers were carried in 1984.

Pipeline. In 1986 there were 1,986 km of oil pipeline.

Post and Broadcasting. In 1986 there were 8,297 post offices. In 1987 there were 2.63m. telephones of which 1.98m. were private.

Polskie Radio i Telewizja broadcasts 3 programmes in Polish on long-, medium- and short-waves and on FM. There are 2 TV programmes. Colour programmes are transmitted by SECAM system. Wireless licences in 1984 numbered 9.29m.; television licences, 8.77m.

Cinemas and Theatres. In 1987 there were 2,041 cinemas, 98 theatres and 49 concert halls. In 1986 cinema attendance was 94.3m.; theatres, 7.9m. 39 full-length films were made.

Newspapers (1986). There were 97 newspapers with an overall circulation of 10.63m. and 2,889 other periodicals. The Party newspaper is *Trybuna Ludu* (People's Tribune), weekend circulation 1.1m.

JUSTICE, RELIGION, EDUCATION AND WELFARE

Justice. The penal code was adopted in 1969. Espionage and treason carry the severest penalties. For minor crimes there is provision for probation sentences and fines.

There exist the following courts: The Supreme Court; voivodship, district and special courts. Judges and lay assessors are elected. The State Council elects the judges of the Supreme Court for a term of 5 years, and appoints the Prosecutor-General. The office of the Prosecutor-General is separate from the judiciary. An ombudsman's office was established in 1987.

Family courts were established (1977) for cases involving divorce and domestic relations. Crimes reported in 1983 (and 1984) 466,205 (538,930) including 478 (593) homicides and 1,875 (2,184) rapes.

Religion. In 1978, 93% of the population was baptized into the Catholic Church, and 78% of the population attended church regularly. According to a survey published in the Communist Party journal *Nowe drogi* in 1985, 90% of the population held religious beliefs. Church-State relations are regulated by agreements of 1950, 1956 and 1972. A joint government-episcopal commission was reactivated in Sept. 1980, and religious broadcasting began. The Church has a university (Lublin), an Academy of Catholic Theology and in 1983 46 seminaries. Religious education of children is conducted in 'catechism centres' of which there were some 20,000 in 1985.

The archbishop of Warsaw and Gniezno is the primate of Poland (since 1981, Cardinal Józef Glemp). The Vatican considers the archbishoprics of Lwów and Vilnius (incorporated in the USSR in 1940) as still being under Polish jurisdiction. In 1983 there were 5 archbishoprics, 27 dioceses and 7,496 parishes, 84 bishops, 37,132 monks and nuns and 14,498 churches and 4,201 chapels. In 1986 there were 3 cardinals and 22,381 priests. In Oct. 1978 Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, archbishop of Cracow, was elected Pope as John Paul II.

On 28 June 1972 the Vatican adjusted the Church boundaries, to coincide with the State's western frontier ('Oder-Neisse line') and the 4 apostolic administrators in the former German territories became bishops. In Oct. 1984, the radical priest, Jerzy Popiełuszko was murdered by secret policemen who were subsequently sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Figures for other churches in 1983: Polish Autocephalous Orthodox, 5 dioceses, 218 parishes, 301 churches, 226 priests, 1 monastery, 1 nunnery, 600,000 adherents. Lutheran, 6 dioceses, 121 parishes, 173 churches, 153 chapels, 100 parsons (100,000 adherents in 1975). Uniate, 3 dioceses, 85 parishes, 98 churches, 90 priests (200,000 adherents in 1975). Old-Catholic Mariavite, 3 dioceses, 42 parishes, 55 churches, 29 priests (30,000 adherents in 1975). Methodist, 5 districts, 60 parishes, 57 chapels, 36 parsons (4,133 adherents in 1975). United Evangelical, 200 congregations, 56 chapels, 180 parsons. Seventh-day Adventist, 123 communities, 123 churches, 61 parsons. Baptist, 128 congregations, 58 chapels, 58 parsons (2,300 adherents in 1975). Jews, 16 congregations, 10 synagogues (12,000 adherents in 1978). Epiphany World Mission, 9 chapels and 426 priests. In 1985 there were 2,500 Moslems with 3 mosques and 5 priests.

Education. Basic education from 7 to 15 is free and compulsory. Free secondary education is then optional in general or vocational schools. Primary schools are organized in complexes based on wards under one director ('gmina collective schools'). In 1986-87 there were: Kindergartens, 25,971 with 1.4m. pupils and 86,000 teachers; primary schools, 17,778 with 5,027,600 pupils and 273,000 teachers; secondary schools, 1,135 with 400,000 pupils and 22,000 teachers; vocational schools, 9,333 with 1,600,000 pupils and 83,000 teachers, and 92 institutions of higher education (including 11 universities, 18 polytechnics, 9 agricultural schools, 6 schools of economics, 11 teachers' training colleges and 10 medical schools) with 335,300 students and 57,305 teaching staff.

In 1984 administration of schools was transferred from central to local government.

Health. In 1986 there were 706 hospitals (including 42 mental hospitals) with 248,000 beds, 6,473 dispensaries and 3,289 health centres. There were 75,400 doctors and 17,400 dentists.

Social Security. In 1984, 257,671m. zlotys were paid out in 2.1m. retirement pensions, 76,955 zlotys in family allowances and 77,830 zlotys in sick pay. Pensions were increased by 15% in 1986.

DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES

Of Poland in Great Britain (47 Portland Pl., London, W1N 3AG)
Ambassador: Dr Zbigniew Gertych

Of Great Britain in Poland (Aleje Roz No. 1, Warsaw)
Ambassador: Brian L. Barder.

Of Poland in the USA (2640 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20009)
Ambassador: Jan Kinast.

Of the USA in Poland (Aleje Ujazdowskie 29/31, Warsaw)
Ambassador: John R. Davis, Jr.

Of Poland to the United Nations
Ambassador: Dr Eugeniusz Noworyta.

Books of Reference

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PORTUGAL

República Portuguesa

Capital: Lisbon
 Population: 10.29m. (1986)
 GNP per capita: US\$2,190 (1983)

HISTORY. Portugal has been an independent state since the 12th century, apart from one period of Spanish rule (1580-1640). The monarchy was deposed on 5 Oct. 1910 and a republic established.

A coup on 28 May 1926 established a military provisional government from 1 June. A corporatist constitution was adopted on 19 March 1933 under which a civil dictatorship governed until a fresh coup on 25 April 1974 established a Junta of National Salvation.

Following an attempted revolt on 11 March 1975, the Junta was dissolved and a Supreme Revolutionary Council formed which ruled until 25 April 1976 when constitutional government was resumed; the SRC was renamed the Council of the Revolution, becoming a consultative body until its abolition in 1982.

AREA AND POPULATION. Mainland Portugal is bounded north and east by Spain and south and west by the Atlantic ocean. The Atlantic archipelagoes of the Azores and of Madeira form autonomous but integral parts of the republic, which has a total area of 91,985 sq. km (35,516 sq. miles) and census populations:

1940	7,755,423	1960	8,889,392	1981	9,833,014
1950	8,510,240	1970	8,648,369		

The areas and populations of the districts and Autonomous Regions are:

Districts:	sq. km	Census 1981	Estimate 31 Dec. 1986	Districts:	sq. km	Census 1981	Estimate 31 Dec. 1986
Aveiro	2,808	622,988	660,500	Porto	2,295	1,562,287	1,657,700
Beja	10,225	188,420	179,900	Santarém	6,747	454,123	460,800
Braga	2,673	708,924	763,900	Setúbal	5,064	658,326	761,000
Bragança	6,608	184,252	185,600	Viana de Castelo	2,225	256,814	265,500
Castelo Branco	6,674	234,230	226,000	Vila Real	4,328	264,381	264,100
Coimbra	3,947	436,324	446,200	Viséu	5,007	423,648	424,800
Evora	7,393	180,277	175,600	Total			
Faro	4,960	323,534	339,200	mainland	88,941	9,336,760	9,707,000
Guarda	5,518	205,631	198,300	Autonomous Regions:			
Leiria	3,515	420,229	435,200	Azores	2,247	243,410	253,500
Lisboa	2,761	2,069,467	2,124,100	Madeira	794	252,844	269,500
Portalegre	6,065	142,905	138,600				

At the 1981 census, 29.7% of the population was urban (living in towns of 10,000 and more) and 48.2% were male. The chief cities at 31 Dec. 1984 (and census, 1981) are Lisbon, the capital 807,937 (817,627) and Porto 327,368 (330,199); other towns are Amadora 95,518 (93,663), Setúbal 77,885 (76,812), Coimbra 74,616 (71,782), Braga 63,033 (63,771), Vila Nova de Gaia 62,469 (60,962), Barreiro 50,863 (50,745), Funchal 44,111 (48,638), Almada 42,607 (41,468), Queluz 42,241 (41,112), Odivelas 38,322 (38,546), Evora 34,851 (34,072), Agualva-Cacem 34,341 (34,041) and Oeiras 32,529 (32,046).

The Azores islands lie in the mid-Atlantic ocean, between 1,200 and 1,600 km west of Lisbon. They are divided into 3 widely separated groups with clear channels between, São Miguel (747 sq. km) together with Santa Maria (97 sq. km) being the most easterly; about 100 miles north-west of them lies the central cluster of Terceira (397 sq. km), Graciosa (61 sq. km), São Jorge (238 sq. km), Pico (433 sq. km) and Faial (172 sq. km); still another 150 miles to the north-west are Flores (143 sq. km) and Corvo (17 sq. km), the latter being the most isolated and primitive of the islands. São Miguel contains over half the total population of the archipelago.

Trade with U.K.

	1984	1985
Imports from U.K.	£33,841,000	£40,371,000
Exports to U.K.	119,423,000	108,943,000

The principal imports are machinery, foodstuffs, metal and manufactured metal goods, chemicals and pharmaceutical products. The chief exports are minerals and metals, fishmeal, sugar, cotton and coffee.

CAPITAL.—Metropolitan Lima (including Ψ Callao), population (1983) 5,258,600. Other major cities (with pop census, 1981) are: Arequipa (561,338) Ψ Iquitos (540,560), Ψ Chiclayo (533,266).

FLAG.—Three vertical bands, red, white, red; coat of arms on white band.

NATIONAL DAY.—July 28 (Anniversary of Independence).

BRITISH EMBASSY

Edificio El Pacifico-Washington (Piso 12), Plaza Washington, Avenida Arequipa, Lima.

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, His Excellency John William Richmond Shakespeare, C.M.G., L.V.O. (1983).

1st Secretaries, D. J. Couvell, L.V.O. (*Head of Chancery and Consul*); T. H. Malcolmson (*Commercial*); Miss A. M. Cairncross (*Commercial/Technical Co-operation*).

Defence, Naval, Military and Air Attaché, Capt. G. A. Hogg, R.N.

There are British Consular Offices at Lima and Callao.

British Council Representative, J. England, P.O. Box No. 14.0114, Calle Alberto Lynch 110, San Isidro.

THE PHILIPPINES
(República ng Pilipinas)

President, Corazon C. Aquino b. 1933, elected Feb. 7, 1986, assumed office Feb. 25, 1986.

CABINET MINISTERS

Foreign Affairs, Salvador Laurel.
Finance, Jaime Ongpin.
Justice, Neptali Gonzalez.
Agriculture, Ramon Mitra.
Public Works and Highways, Rogaciano Mercado.
Education, Culture and Sports, Lourdes Quisumbing.
Labour, Roberto Sanchez.
Health, Alfredo Bengzon.
Trade and Industry, Jose Concepcion.
Social Services and Development, Mita Pardo de Tavera.
Economic Planning, Solita Monsod.
Agrarian Reform, Heherson Alvarez.
Information, Teodoro Locsin Jr.
Local Government, Aquilino Pimentel.
Tourism, Jose Antonio Gonzalez.
Natural Resources, Ernesto Maceda.
Human Settlements, Herranino Aquino.
Budget, Alberto Romulo.
Transportation and Communications, Hernando Perez.
National Defence, Juan Ponce Enrile.
Executive Secretary, Joker Arroyo.
Muslim Affairs and Cultural Communities, Candu Muarip.
Political Affairs, Antonio Cuenco.
Chairman, Presidential Commission on Good Government, Jovito Salonga.
Chairman, Presidential Commission on Government Reorganisation, Luis Villafuerte.

Deputy Executive Secretary for Energy, Vicente Paterno.
Science and Technology, Antonio Arrizabal.
Solicitor General, Sedfrey Ordenez.

PHILIPPINE EMBASSY
9a Palace Green, W8 4QE
[01-937 1600/9]

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, His Excellency Juan T. Quimson (1986).

Minister-Counsellor and Consul General, Edmundo Libid.

Commercial Counsellor, Peregrino Sales.

Area and Population.—The Philippines are situated between 21° 20'–4° 30' N. Lat. and 116° 55'–126° 36' E. long., and are distant about 500 miles from the south-east coast of the continent of Asia. (For MAP, see p. 853).

The total land area of the country is 114,834 square miles, of which total 106,914 square miles are contained in the eleven largest islands, the 7,079 other islands having a combined area of 7,929 square miles.

The principal islands are:—

Name	sq. miles	Name	sq. miles
Luzon	40,422	Mindoro	3,759
Mindanao	36,538	Leyte	2,786
Samar	5,050	Cebu	1,703
Negros	4,906	Bohol	1,492
Palawan	4,550	Masbate	1,262
Panay	4,446		

Other groups in the Republic are the Sulu islands (Capital, Jolo), Babuyanes and Batanes; the Catanduanes; and Culion Islands.

The population of the Philippines was estimated (mid 1985) at 55,000,000.

The inhabitants, known as Filipinos, are basically all of Malay stock, with a considerable admixture of Spanish and Chinese blood in many localities, and about 90 per cent of them are Christians, predominantly Roman Catholics. Most of the remainder are Moslems, in the south, and animists and pagans, mainly in the north. There is a Chinese minority estimated at 500,000, and other much smaller foreign communities, notably Spanish, American and Indian.

History.—The Portuguese navigator Magellan came to the Philippines in 1521 and was slain by the natives of Mactan, a small island near Cebu. In 1565 Spain undertook the conquest of the country which was named "Filipinas", after the son of the King of Spain, and in 1571 the city of Manila was founded by the conquistador Legaspi, who subdued the inhabitants of almost all the islands, their conversion being undertaken by the Augustinian friars in Legaspi's train. In 1762 Manila was occupied by a British force, but in 1764 it was restored to Spain. In the Spanish-American War of 1898, Manila was captured by American troops with the help of Filipinos and the Islands were ceded to the United States by the *Treaty of Paris* of Dec. 10, 1898. Despite a rebellion against the U.S. government between 1899 and 1902, the Americans remained in control of the country until 1946.

The Republic of the Philippines came into existence on July 4, 1946 with a presidential form of government based on the American system.

Martial law was imposed on September 21, 1972. This was lifted, except in two southern provinces, on January 17, 1981.

The assassination on Aug. 21, 1983 of Marcos' main political opponent, Benigno Aquino, and a subsequent financial crisis caused a weakening in Marcos' position. Although Marcos gained a majority of votes in the official count of a Presidential election in Feb. 1986, the election was marred by widespread electoral

abuse and his rival, Mrs Corazon Aquino, launched a series of non-violent civil disturbance actions.

On Feb. 22, Defence Minister Enrile and Vice Chief of Staff Ramos broke away from the Marcos government and declared their support for Mrs. Aquino. Thousands of people took to the streets to support their revolt and they were joined by a large section of the Armed Forces. On Feb. 25, Marcos, his family and aides left for Hawaii. Mrs Aquino took over as President. On March 25, she abolished the Batasan (legislature) and promulgated a Freedom (Provisional) Constitution. On June 1, the Constitutional Convention began the drafting of a new constitution.

There is unrest in many of the Islands due to insurgency. Muslim insurgents, the Moro National Liberation Front, operate in western Mindanao and the Sula archipelago, though they are far less active now than in the early 1970s. Most of the current activity is due to the Communist New People's Army, which is strongest in eastern Mindanao, Negros, Samar, Bicol, the mountains of northern Luzon, and Bataan.

Language and Literature.—The official languages are Pilipino and English. Pilipino, the national language, is based on Tagalog, one of the Malay-Polynesian languages and the language of the part of Luzon surrounding Metro Manila. Pilipino is spoken by 29.66 per cent of the total number of households, but local languages and dialects are strong and Cebuano is spoken by 24.20 per cent. of total households. English, which is the language of government and of instruction in secondary and university education, is spoken by at least 44 per cent of the population. Spanish, which ceased to be an official language in 1973, is now spoken by only 3.6 per cent. 89 per cent of the population are literate.

Education.—Secondary and higher education is extensive and there are 37 private universities recognized by the Government, including the Dominican University of Santo Tomas (founded in 1611); there are also 296 State-supported colleges and universities, including the University of the Philippines, founded 1908. Students at private and state colleges and universities in 1984–85 numbered 13,814,359.

Roads and Railways.—The highway system covered 153,528 kilometres in 1983 and there was a total of 1,200,803 registered road vehicles. The Philippine National Railway operate 740 km. of track on Luzon Island.

Shipping.—There are 94 ports of entry in the Philippines and 164,404 vessels of various types totalling 50,467,000 tons, are engaged in inter-island traffic.

Civil Aviation.—There 82 national airports and 137 privately operated airports. Philippine Air Lines have regular flights throughout the Far East, to the U.S.A. and Europe, in addition to inter-island services.

TRADE

	1984	1985
Total imports	\$6,069,612,000	\$5,110,673,000
Total exports	5,390,645,000	4,628,954,000

Trade with U.K.

	1984	1985
Imports from U.K.	£91,751,000	£94,370,000
Exports to U.K.	199,659,000	197,979,000

The Philippines is a predominantly agricultural country, the chief products being rice, coconuts, maize, sugar-cane, abaca (manila hemp), fruits, tobacco and lumber. There is, however, an increasing number of manufacturing industries and it is the policy of the Government to diversify its economy.

Principal exports are sugar, coconut oil, copper concentrate, logs and lumber and copra.

CAPITAL.— Ψ Manila, in the island of Luzon: population (1980): City area, 1,630,485; Manila with suburbs (incl. Quezon City, Pasay City, Caloocan City, Makati, Parañaque, San Juan Mandaluyong and Navotas), 5,925,884. The next largest cities are Ψ Cebu (490,281), Ψ Davao (610,375), Ψ Iloilo (244,027), Ψ Zamboanga (343,722), and Bacolod (262,415).

FLAG.—Equal horizontal bands of blue (above) and red; gold sun with three stars on a white triangle next staff.

NATIONAL DAY.—June 12 (Independence Day).

BRITISH EMBASSY
(P.O. Box 1970 MCC), Manila

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, His Excellency Robin John Taylor McLaren, C.M.G., apptd. 1985.

Counsellor, A. S. Payne, O.B.E.

1st Secretary, N. A. Thorne (*Head of Chancery*).

2nd Secretaries, C. T. Imrie; J. R. Albright (*Commercial*); P. J. Karmy (*Consul*).

Cultural Attaché, H. Salmon (*British Council Representative*).

POLAND

(Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa)

COUNCIL OF STATE

Chairman (i.e. Head of State), Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Deputy Chairmen, T. Mlynczak; K. Barcikowski; Z. Komender; T. Szlachowski.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Prime Minister, Zbigniew Messner.

Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman, Planning Commission, Manfred Gorywoda.

Deputy Prime Ministers, Zbigniew Gertych; Manfred Gorywoda; Nladyслав Gwiazda; Josef Kozix; Zbigniew Szalajda.

Chairman, Supreme Chamber of Control, Tadeusz Hupalowski.

Interior, Lt.-Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak.

Foreign Affairs, Marian Orzechowski.

Defence, Gen. Florian Siwicki.

Finance, Bazyli Samojlik.

Foreign Trade, Andrzej Wojcik.

Justice, Lech Domeradzki.

Higher Education, Science and Technology, Prof. Benon Miskiewicz.

Health and Social Welfare, Mirosław Cybulko.

Labour, Stanisław Gebala.

Culture, Kazimierz Zygmunt.

Metallurgical and Engineering Industries, Janusz Maciejewicz.

Agriculture, Forestry and Food Industry, Stanisław Zieba.

Internal Trade and Services, Jerzy Jozwiak.

Transport, Jan Kaminski.

Raw Materials and Fuels Management, Jerzy Wozniak.

Education, Joanna Michalowska-Gumowska.

Chemical and Light Industries, Edward Grzywa.

Communications, Wladyslaw Majewski.

Mining and Energy, Czeslaw Piotrowski.

Religious Affairs, Adam Lopatka.

Maritime Economy, Adam Nowotnik.

Environmental Protection and Water Economy, Stefan Jarzebski.

Construction, Territorial and Communal Management, Jolef Niewiadomski.



Head of Office for Scientific and Technical Progress, Konrad Tott.
 Government Spokesman, Jerzy Urban.
 Head of Office of Council of Ministers, Michal Janiszewski.
 Youth Affairs, Aleksander Kwasniewski.

POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY

Politburo, K. Barcikowski; J. Baryla; J. Czyrek; J. Glowczyk; W. Jaruzelski; C. Kiszczak; Z. Messner; A. Miodowicz; W. Mokrzyński; Z. Muranski; M. Orzechowski; T. Porebski; F. Siwicki; Z. Stepień; M. Wozniak (full Members); S. Bejger; B. Ferensztajn; J. Kubasiewicz; Z. Michalek; G. Rembisz (candidate members).
 Secretariat, J. Baryla; H. Bednarski; S. Ciosek; K. Cypryniak; J. Czyrek; J. Glowczyk; Z. Porebski; A. Wasilewski; M. Wozniak.

POLISH EMBASSY IN LONDON
 47 Portland Place, W1N 3AG
 [01-580 4324]

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, (new appointment awaited).

Area and Population.—Poland adjoins East Germany in the west, the boundary being formed by the rivers Oder and Neisse, Czechoslovakia in the south, and the U.S.S.R. in the east. (The present frontiers were established at the end of the Second World War.) To the north is the Baltic Sea. The country has an area of 120,628 sq. miles and a population (1984) of 36,745,000. Roman Catholicism is the religion of 95 per cent. of the inhabitants.

Government.—The Polish Commonwealth had ceased to exist in 1795 after three successive partitions in 1772, 1793 and 1795, in which Prussia, Russia and Austria shared. The Republic of Poland (reconstituted within the limits of the old Polish Commonwealth) was proclaimed at Warsaw in November, 1918, and its independence guaranteed by the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles.

German forces invaded Poland on Sept. 1, 1939; on Sept. 17, Russian forces invaded eastern Poland, and on September 21, 1939, Poland was declared by Germany and Russia to have ceased to exist. A line of demarcation was established between the areas occupied by German and Russian forces. At the end of the war a Coalition Government was formed in which the Polish Workers' Party played a large part.

In December, 1948, the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party fused in the new Polish United Workers' Party. This is a Communist Party which closely controls every branch of State activity. A new Constitution modelled on the Soviet Constitution of 1936 was adopted on July 22, 1952, and was modified in February 1976. It changed the title of the country to the Polish People's Republic (*Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa*). It made no provision for a President of the Republic, whose functions were to be jointly exercised by a Council of State. Private ownership of land and freedom of religion were recognized. Church and State were to be separate.

Despite the guarantee of religious freedom in the Constitution, a campaign of encroachment in 1953 culminated in the arrest of the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church, and dissatisfaction with the régime and conditions of life have led periodically to unrest. The expression of severe popular discontent in December 1970 led to the ousting of Gomulka, and substantial Government and Party changes followed. In July 1980 steep rises in food prices but static wages led to widespread strikes. The strikes continued throughout August, causing a major government reshuffle and obliging the government to agree to allow independent trade unions, the right to strike, the easing of censorship and other political and economic demands. The independent trade union movement, Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, became a powerful force but many of its leaders, including Walesa, were detained and union activity suspended when martial law was declared on Dec. 13, 1981. Initially there was some passive resistance to martial law, which was suspended on Dec. 31, 1982, and finally lifted in July 1983.

Education.—Elementary education (ages 7–15) is compulsory and free. Secondary education is optional and free. There are universities at Kraków, Warsaw, Poznań, Łódź, Wrocław, Lublin and Toruń and a considerable number of other towns.

Language and Literature.—Polish is a western Slavonic tongue (see U.S.S.R.), the Latin alphabet being used. Polish literature developed rapidly after the foundation of the University of Cracow (a printing press was established there in 1474 and there Copernicus died in 1543). A national school of poetry and drama survived the dismemberment and the former era of romanticism, whose chief Polish exponent was Adam Mickiewicz, who followed by realistic and historical fiction, including the works of Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916), Nobel Prize-winner for Literature in 1905, Boleslaw Prus (1847–1912), and Stanislaw Reymont (1868–1925), Nobel Prize-winner in 1924.

Production and Industry.—On January 3, 1946, a decree was issued to provide for the nationalization of mines, petroleum resources, water, gas and electricity services, banks, textile factories and large retail stores. At present over 99 per cent of Polish industry is stated to be "socialized", but 68 per cent of agricultural land is privately farmed.

Trade with U.K.

	1984	1985
Imports from U.K.	£169,962,000	£184,100,000
Exports to U.K.	266,961,000	320,300,000

CAPITAL.—Warsaw, on the Vistula, pop. (1984) 1,641,000. Other large towns are Łódź (849,000); Kraków (735,000); Wrocław (632,000); Poznań (571,000); Gdansk (464,000); Szczecin (389,000); Katowice (361,000); Bydgoszcz (358,000).

FLAG.—Equal horizontal stripes of white (above) and red.

NATIONAL DAY.—July 22.

BRITISH EMBASSY

No. 1 Aleja Róż, Warsaw

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, His Excellency Brian Leon Barder (1986).
 Counsellor, N. J. Thorpe (Head of Chancery).
 Defence and Air Attaché, Gp.-Capt. M. R. Jackson.
 Naval and Military Attaché, Lt.-Col. P. de S. Barrow.
 British Council Representative, R. H. Alford, Al. Jerozolimskie 59, 00-697 Warsaw.

PORTUGAL (República Portuguesa)

President of the Republic, Dr. Mario A. Nogueira Lopes Soares, elected, February 16, 1986.

Prime Minister, Dr. Anibal Cavaco Silva.
 State and Internal Administration, Eurico de Melo.
 National Defence, Dr. Leonardo Ribeiro de Almeida.
 Foreign Affairs, Pedro Pires Miranda.
 Finance, Dr. Miguel José Ribeiro Cadilhe.
 Justice, Dr. Mário Ferreira Bastos Raposo.
 Planning and Territorial Administration, Prof. Luis Francisco Valente de Oliveira.
 Agriculture and Fisheries, Alvaro Barreto.
 Education and Culture, Prof. João de Deus Pinheiro.
 Industry and Trade, Fernando Santos Martins.
 Public Works, Transport and Communications, João Maria de Oliveira Martins.
 Health, Leonor Beleza de Mendonça Alves.
 Labour and Social Security, Luis Fernando Mira Amaral.
 Luis Mira Amaral is an Independent.

EMBASSY IN LONDON
 11 Belgrave Square, SW1X 8PP
 [01-235 5331]

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, His Excellency João Hall Themido, G.C.V.O. (1984).
 Minister-Counsellor, Sr. José Maria de A. S. de Lemos Macedo.
 Counsellor, Sr. Paulo G. Castilho.

Area and Population.—Continental Portugal occupies the western part of the Iberian Peninsula, covering an area of 34,000 square miles. It lies between 36° 58'–42° 12' N. lat. and 6° 11' 48'–9° 29' 45" W. long., being 362 miles in length from N. to S., and averaging about 117 in breadth from E. to W. The population (including the Azores and Madeira) was estimated at 10,128,893 in 1984.

Language and Literature.—Portuguese is a Romance language with admixtures of Arabic and other idioms. It is the language of Portugal and Brazil, and is the *lingua franca* of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Portuguese language and literature reached the culminating point of their development in the *Lusíadas* (dealing with the voyage of Vasco da Gama) and other works of Camoens (Camões) (1524–1580).

Government.—From the eleventh century until 1910 the government of Portugal was a monarchy, and for many centuries included the Vice-Royalty of Brazil, which declared its independence in 1822. In 1910 an armed rising in Lisbon drove King Manuel II and the Royal family into exile, and the National Assembly of Aug. 21, 1911, sanctioned a Republican form of government. A period of great political instability ensued until eventually the military stepped in. The Constitution of 1933 gave formal expression to the corporative "Estado Novo" (New State) which was personified by Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister from 1932–68. Dr. Caetano succeeded Salazar as Prime Minister in 1968 but his failure to liberalize the régime or to conclude the wars in the African colonies resulted in his government's over-

throw by a military coup on April 25, 1974. The next two years were characterized by great political turmoil with no fewer than 6 provisional governments between April 1974 and July 1976 but with the failure of an attempted coup by the extreme left in November 1975 the situation began to become more stable.

Constitutional reforms introduced in Aug. 1982 have reduced the President's scope for day-to-day intervention in government but the decision to dissolve the Assembly is still largely the President's. The revisions also ended the military's capacity for political interference, and created two new organs of state, the Constitutional Tribunal and the Council of State, to advise the President.

In the General Election held on Oct. 6, 1985, the Social Democratic Party (P.S.D.) won 88 of the 250 seats; the Socialist Party (P.S.) 57 seats; the Democratic Renewal Party (P.R.D.) 45 seats; the Communist Party (P.C.P.) 38 seats, and the Centre Democratic Party (C.D.S.) 22 seats. Following the elections, the P.S.D. formed a minority government under the leadership of Dr. Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Defence.—Most physically fit males are liable for military service but conscription is becoming increasingly selective as the armed forces were greatly reduced following the end of the colonial wars, and reorganized and re-equipped for a conventional national defence role. The present strength of the Army is about 39,000. One brigade is earmarked for N.A.T.O. service. The Navy consists of about 13,000 officers and men, including 2,600 marines, manning about 60 craft of various types, many of which are obsolete. The present serving strength of the Air Force is about 12,000, (including paratroops) and about 80 aircraft of various types.

Education is free and compulsory for eight years from the age of 7. Secondary education is mainly conducted in State lycées, commercial and industrial schools, but there are also private schools. There are also military, naval, technical and other special schools. There are old established Universities at Coimbra (founded in 1290), Oporto and Lisbon. New Universities have been established at Lisbon, Braga, Aveiro and in the Azores; a University at Faro is expected to open in 1986–87.

Newspapers and Broadcasting.—There are now five morning and three evening daily newspapers in Lisbon and 3 morning papers in Oporto, and 4 main weekly newspapers. There are 2 TV channels (broadcasting in colour) and 4 radio stations (3 state controlled) broadcasting nationwide.

Civil aviation is controlled by the Administração Nacional Aeronáutica. There is an international airport at Portela, about 5 miles from Lisbon, and the airport of Pedras Rubras near Oporto is also used for scheduled international services. There are direct flights between London and Faro in the Algarve.

Agriculture.—The chief agricultural products are cork, cereals, rice, vegetables, olives, figs, citrus fruits, almonds, timber, port wine and table wines. There are extensive forests of pine, cork, eucalyptus and chestnut covering about 20 per cent of the total area of the country.

Minerals.—The principal mineral products are pyrites, wolfram, tin, iron ores, copper and sodium and calcium minerals.

Industry.—The country is so far only moderately industrialized, but is fairly rapidly extending its industries. The principal manufactures, some of which are still protected by high tariffs, are textiles, clothing and footwear, machinery (including electric machinery and transport equipment), foodstuffs (tomato concentrates and canned fish), chemicals, fertilizers, wood, cork, furniture, cement, glassware and pottery. There is a modern steelworks, and two modern and very large shipbuilding and repair yards

They argued that they had many more relevant things to say about the future than the SED believed. Cardinal Joachim Meisner, at the first GDR Roman Catholic convention, stated that GDR Christians wanted to devote their skills to the development of society without having to follow any other star than the star of Bethlehem.

After 18 years of waiting the 365 Jews in the GDR were able to welcome a new rabbi, an American of Polish origin able to speak German.

POLAND

CAPITAL: Warsaw AREA: 313,000 sq km POPULATION: 37,600,000 (1986)
 OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: Polish POLITICAL SYSTEM: people's republic under communist rule
 RULING PARTY: Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP)
 HEAD OF STATE AND PARTY LEADER: Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski (Chairman of Council of State since Nov. 85, PUWP First Secretary since Oct. 81)
 PRINCIPAL MINISTERS: Zbigniew Messner (prime minister), Zdzislaw Sadowski (deputy premier, chairman of planning commission), Marian Orzechowski (foreign affairs), Bazyli Samojlik (finance), Gen. Florian Siwicki (defence), Lt.-Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak (internal affairs)
 INTERNATIONAL ALIGNMENT: Warsaw Pact, Comecon
 CURRENCY: zloty (end-87 £1=Z578.44, US\$1=Z315.78) GNP PER CAPITA: US\$3,900 (1980)
 MAIN EXPORTS: engineering equipment, coal, metals, agricultural produce

THERE was a common recognition that Poland was experiencing a general decline and that the situation would inevitably deteriorate further unless decisive measures were taken. The need for economic and political reforms was accepted by all, but fundamental differences persisted over what these measures should entail. Conviction prevailed that the Government by itself was incapable of managing the country effectively.

The USSR under Mr Gorbachev and Poland itself were in the same 'historic current of change', said General Jaruzelski on 21 February, to prevent 'mummification of socialism'. The country had been experimenting with reforms long before Gorbachev and had enjoyed some of the rights now tentatively offered to Soviet society. Soviet *perestroika*, however, extended the limits of the possible in Poland, and Solidarity's spokesman speculated whether the establishment would now exploit the room for manoeuvre allowed by Mr Gorbachev.

Two main problems were the Government's failure to develop an effective economic policy and its refusal to accept clearly society's right to share in deciding the scope and direction of policy changes. In March new price rises for food averaged 10 per cent and for fuel 40 per cent. In the first eleven months of 1987 industrial production rose more slowly than had been targeted, and less than 70 per cent of planned houses were built. Inflation reached 25 per cent. One-third of the national budget went into industrial and food subsidies. Many plants worked at half capacity. Capital efficiency was low and modernization of the

industrial structure was delayed. Over half the investments were funnelled into money-losing steel and other heavy industries. The harvest produced 26 million tons of 'poor quality' grain. The trade surplus in convertible currency amounted to \$1,200 million and foreign debt increased to \$36,250 million mainly as a result of the fall of the dollar and incomplete servicing of the debt.

The most publicized government initiative was the 'second stage' of the economic reforms accompanied by 'further democratization', launched in April and then elaborated at Central Committee plenums in October and November. The package included drastic price increases in 1988—of 40 per cent in consumer goods and services, 110 per cent in food, 200 per cent in rents and fuel. Compensation would be 'proportional' and linked to productivity. The programme also proposed a permanent prices and incomes policy, decentralization of management and greater autonomy in deciding both prices and investment for self-governing, self-sufficient and self-financing enterprises. Further proposals promised support for private and state-private companies and a stock market to promote private investment, but only a slight reduction of 'central intervention' in economic activity. In an attempt at streamlining the central administration, the number of ministries was reduced from 26 to 19, twelve Ministers were dismissed and Zdzislaw Sadowki, co-architect of the reform proposals, was appointed chairman of the State Planning Commission.

On the political side, the Politburo announced on 18 November a 'radical programme of socialist renewal', which, while strengthening the dominant role of the Party, envisaged some changes, strictly within the existing system: 'socialist constructive' opposition, new forms of 'socialist' self-governing and public associations and 'socialist pluralism' as a permanent element in politics. Earlier, a confidential paper produced by the Politburo suggested attaching a second chamber to the Sejm composed of directly-elected leaders of self-governing local councils. It also disclosed deep divisions within the Party between sincere reformists and hardliners. The whole package would be submitted to a referendum.

Reactions to Government proposals were determined by several factors, not least by continuing deep distrust of the authorities. Solidarity consolidated its leadership by establishing a single top governing body, the National Executive Commission, headed by Lech Walesa and including Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasnyniuk and Bogdan Lis (see AR 1986, p. 108). In April, Solidarity outlined its own economic programme, calling for a mixed economy, freer private enterprise and independent self-government for the workers. It stressed the need to end the Party's '*nomeklatura*' whereby 80 per cent of managers were appointed for loyalty rather than ability. Openly recreated, but condemned by the authorities, the Polish Socialist Party

under Jan Jozef Lipski called for independent social participation in political and economic restructuring.

From 8 to 14 June Pope John Paul II, welcomed by an estimated ten million people, visited nine cities including Warsaw and the coastal towns of Solidarity fame, and met with General Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa. Surprisingly explicit in his support for Solidarity ideals, he lectured the communist leadership on respect for human rights as a basic condition of social and economic progress, and pressed them to allow social and political pluralism. On 21 June the Episcopate confirmed that, following the Pope's teachings, the Church would be more actively involved in the creation of social and professional bodies through which everyone could freely participate in 'deciding on matters that concern society'.

General Jaruzelski consulted Mr Gorbachev at least three times. The Soviet-Polish declaration of 21 April recognized that much animosity existed between the two countries and therefore a joint study of recent history should eliminate 'blank spots' which 'generated nationalist feelings'. Topics so identified in the Polish official press included such taboos as the 1939 Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, the Soviet invasion of Poland in 1939, the fate of Polish officers taken prisoner by the USSR, the Soviet role in the 1944 Warsaw uprising and many others.

International isolation of the country was ended. President Reagan removed the remaining US sanctions imposed in 1981. The IMF and the World Bank suggested radical economic reforms, advising a shift from a strategy tied to austerity to one based on growth. US Vice-President Bush, visiting Warsaw, hinted that American aid would depend on the development of freedom and pluralism. Foreign Ministers from 23 non-communist countries visited Poland and most of them met also Solidarity and other opposition leaders. In May General Jaruzelski launched his plan of gradual nuclear and conventional arms reduction in Central Europe, as a foundation for a Europe 'with a strong identity', from the Atlantic to the Polish eastern frontier. This pan-European approach was confirmed in London by Poland's Foreign Minister, Marian Orzechowski, when in December he invited Mrs Thatcher to visit Poland.

In the referendum of 29 November the people were asked two questions: did they want a) a rush programme of painful economic reforms, and b) a vaguely-formulated Polish model of political democratization. Approval required a majority of all eligible voters. Jaruzelski vigorously campaigned for approval, while Solidarity called for a boycott of this 'propaganda exercise'. The Church remained neutral. Of the 67.2 per cent of the electorate who voted, two-thirds said 'yes' to both questions. But only 44.28 per cent of all 26 million eligible voters responded affirmatively on economic reform and 46.29 per cent

on 'democratization'. For the first time in a communist-ruled country the authorities had lost a vote. Not admitting defeat, the leadership hailed the referendum as the 'Rubicon of democracy' and 'a new chapter in our quest for a national consensus'. One of the leading dissidents, Jacek Kuron, suggested that the people voted against the present leadership, not against the reforms. At the Central Committee plenum on 15 December Jaruzelski admitted that there were doubts about the Party's ability to complete the reforms but reasserted its determination to implement them fully. Only the pace of the reforms would be scaled down, promised Premier Zbigniew Messner.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CAPITAL: Prague AREA: 128,000 sq km POPULATION: 15,600,000 (1986)

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES: Czech and Slovak POLITICAL SYSTEM: federal socialist republic under communist rule

HEAD OF STATE: President Gustáv Husák (since May 75)

RULING PARTY: Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz)

PARTY LEADER: Miloš Jakeš (since Dec. 87)

PRINCIPAL MINISTERS: Lubomír Štrougal (prime minister), Svatopluk Potac (deputy premier, chairman of state planning commission), Bohuslav Chnoupek (foreign affairs), Gen. Milan Vaclavik (defence), Vratislav Vajnar (interior)

INTERNATIONAL ALIGNMENT: Warsaw Pact, Comecon

CURRENCY: koruna (end-87 £1=K9.20, US\$1=K5.25) GNP PER CAPITA: US\$5,820 (1980)

MAIN EXPORTS: machinery, chemicals and fuels, manufactured goods

ALTHOUGH Gustáv Husák resigned the post of General Secretary in December and notwithstanding the repeated declarations of reformist intent, the country's leadership did not succeed in finding the political will for the radical change that Czechoslovakia badly needed. In face of economic performance well below the planned targets, and rising public expectation of change, the tension between reality and requirement continued to determine the scene.

As Mikhail Gorbachev's reformism in the USSR gathered momentum, the leaders of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCz) threw in their lot with their Soviet comrades while tailoring the Czechoslovak reform programme to what they perceived were inescapable local desiderata. The reforms were to be undertaken almost exclusively in the economic field, and even so their scope was to remain limited and their pace slow. There was to be some *glasnost* in the form of more open criticism of shortcomings, but to democratization the leadership paid only lip service. The outline of the changes was promulgated at the March session of the CPCz Central Committee and three draft laws were subsequently published for debate: on the rights of the socialist enterprise, on cooperative ventures, and on agriculture.

The leaders and their advisers could not agree on the final version of what they called the 'comprehensive document' of prospective change,

POLAND

Introductory Survey

Location, Climate, Language, Religion, Flag, Capital

The Polish People's Republic is situated in Eastern Europe, bounded to the north by the Baltic Sea, to the west by the German Democratic Republic, to the south by Czechoslovakia and to the east by the USSR. The climate is temperate in the west but continental in the east. Poland has short summers and cold, snowy winters. Temperatures in Warsaw are generally between -6°C (21°F) and 24°C (75°F). Most of the inhabitants profess Christianity: about 95% are adherents of the Roman Catholic Church but there are numerous other denominations, the largest being the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The language is Polish. The national flag (proportions 8 by 5) has two equal horizontal stripes, of white and red. The capital is Warsaw (Warszawa).

Recent History

Poland, partitioned since the 18th century, was declared an independent republic on 11 November 1918, when the First World War ended. The country was ruled by a military regime from 1926 until 1939, when it was invaded by Nazi Germany (so beginning the Second World War) and by the USSR. The invading powers partitioned Poland again. After Germany declared war on the USSR, in June 1941, its forces occupied the whole of Poland until being driven out by Soviet troops in March 1945.

After the war, a pro-communist 'Polish Committee of National Liberation', established under Soviet auspices in July 1944, was transformed into a Provisional Government. Under the Potsdam Agreement, signed by the major Allied powers in 1945, the former German territories along the line of the rivers Oder and Neisse, and now forming one-third of Poland's total area, came under Polish sovereignty. Poland's frontier with the USSR was also shifted westward. These drastic border changes caused serious problems of resettlement and expulsion.

The election of January 1947 was won by a communist-led 'democratic bloc'. A People's Republic was established in February, with the Polish Workers' Party (PWP), led by Władysław Gomułka, as the dominant political group. Following disputes within the PWP, Gomułka was dismissed in 1948 and arrested in 1949, accused of 'rightist and nationalist deviations'. In December 1948 the communist PWP merged with the Polish Socialist Party to form the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). A new constitution was adopted in July 1952. The Government's strict control eased slightly with the death in 1953 of Marshal Stalin, the Soviet leader, and in 1956 rioting by industrial workers, protesting against food shortages, brought a political crisis which resulted in Gomułka's return to office. Soviet intervention was resisted by the new leaders, and a period of liberalization followed. A programme of economic reform was implemented between 1964 and 1970.

In December 1970 an outbreak of strikes and rioting, caused by a sharp rise in food prices, led to the resignation of Gomułka as party leader, and of Marshal Marian Spychalski, who had been Head of State since April 1968. Józef Cyrankiewicz, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers since 1954, resigned from that post to become the new Head of State. Gomułka was succeeded as First Secretary of the PUWP by Edward Gierek, who gave priority to raising living standards. In March 1972 Cyrankiewicz was succeeded as Head of State by Dr Henryk Jabłoński. In June 1976 substantial rises in food prices were proposed, but strikes and violent demonstrations forced the Government to postpone the increases. In 1978 further unrest was created by the introduction of a compulsory production-linked pension scheme for farmers.

In February 1980 Piotr Jaroszewicz was replaced as Chairman of the Council of Ministers by Edward Babiuch. In July the introduction of higher meat prices led to strikes in factories near Warsaw. A wave of labour unrest began to sweep the country, and many industries and services were disrupted. The Government adopted a conciliatory stance and permitted

pay negotiations with the unofficial strike committees. Workers' demands for higher wages, however, developed into unprecedented protests against the economic and political management of the country, and in August Babiuch resigned. He was succeeded by Józef Pińkowski, a Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, and an extensive government reshuffle was carried out. Shipyard workers along the Baltic, where the port of Gdańsk had been brought to a standstill, continued to press for the right to form free trade unions, independent of the Central Council. The Government was compelled to make concessions and, under agreements concluded with the strike committees of Gdańsk and Szczecin, permission to establish independent trade unions and the right to strike were granted. Self-governing unions were formed under the guidance of Solidarność (Solidarity), the organization involved in the Gdańsk strike.

In September 1980 Gierek was taken ill and was removed from the PUWP leadership. Stanisław Kania was promoted to the post of First Secretary of the Central Committee. The revelation of a series of corruption and mismanagement scandals involving high-ranking officials resulted in further dismissals from the PUWP Central Committee in October. Tension was renewed by the delays in the registration process for the new trade unions, and in particular by the Warsaw Provincial Court's insertion into the statutes of Solidarność of a clause upholding the leading role of the PUWP. The Supreme Court, however, allowed Solidarność's appeal against the lower court. In November the fourth major reshuffle of the Council of Ministers since January took place.

In January 1981 the Central Council of Trade Unions was formally dissolved. The question of the implementation of the five-day working week led to further widespread strike action, but lengthy negotiations between the Government and Solidarność (whose membership had reached an estimated 10m) resulted in a compromise. Pińkowski resigned as Chairman of the Council of Ministers in February, and was succeeded by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Minister of Defence and member of the Politburo. A ministerial reshuffle followed. The announcement of new arrangements for meat and sugar rationing followed by an incident at Bydgoszcz during which Solidarność members were allegedly assaulted by the police, provoked a fresh crisis, and at the end of March the country was paralysed by a four-hour national strike. The formal recognition of Kura Solidarność in May ended the protracted dispute between the Government and Poland's 3.5m. private farmers.

The Council of Ministers was reorganized in June 1981, and again in July. At the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of the PUWP, Kania retained his leadership, under the new system of multi-candidacy and secret ballot. Solidarność's first National Congress was convened in September. Radical proposals for social and economic reform were debated, indicating the union's widening sphere of interest. The worsening shortages of food and other commodities led to further strikes. Kania was replaced by Gen. Jaruzelski as First Secretary of the PUWP in October. In December the authorities used force for the first time to break a sit-in strike at a firemen's college.

Martial law was imposed on 13 December 1981, and a Military Council of National Salvation, led by Gen. Jaruzelski, was set up. All trade union activity was suspended, and Lech Wałęsa and other Solidarność leaders were detained. Violent clashes between workers and the security forces followed, resulting in several deaths and thousands of arrests. Sporadic disturbances continued throughout 1982. There was particularly serious rioting in late August, on the second anniversary of the signing of the Gdańsk Agreement. In October the introduction of the Trade Union Bill, abolishing all existing unions and replacing them with small-scale organizations at factory level, provoked renewed strike action and violent confrontation. The Gdańsk shipyard was militarized.

Lech Wałęsa was released in November 1982. In December the suspension of martial law was announced, and internees were freed. During the year of martial law 10,000 people had

been detained, 15 demonstrators had died and 813 policemen and soldiers had been injured. In 1983 clashes during May Day demonstrations ended a period of relative calm, and, during his visit to Poland in June, the Pope called for dialogue between the authorities and the people. In July martial law was formally lifted, although the Constitution was amended to permit the proclamation of a state of emergency in the event of an internal crisis. The Military Council of National Salvation was dissolved, and an amnesty for most political prisoners and underground activists was granted. In October 1983 Lech Wałęsa was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, resulting in a formal protest by the Polish Government to the Norwegian ambassador in Warsaw.

In November 1983 Gen. Jaruzelski stepped down from the post of Minister of Defence, becoming Chairman of the newly-established National Defence Committee. The amnesty was extended to the end of the year, by which time a total of 1,120 activists had surrendered themselves to the authorities since July. In February 1984 the Sejm voted to prolong its four-year term of office. There were renewed anti-Government protests during May Day celebrations, but in June local elections were reported to have taken place successfully, despite calls by underground activists for a boycott.

To mark the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic in July 1984, a much wider-ranging amnesty was declared. Thousands of detainees were released, and legal proceedings against most of those accused of political offences were abandoned. By December 1984 a total of 366,000 persons had benefited from the amnesty, and over 35,000 had been released from prison or detention. In August US sanctions (imposed following the declaration of martial law in December 1981) were relaxed. The kidnapping and killing in October 1984 of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, an outspoken pro-Solidarność priest, however, brought renewed unrest. Four officers in the Ministry of Internal Affairs were charged with the murder, and Gen. Jaruzelski assumed full personal control of the security forces. In February 1985, after a trial lasting six weeks, all four defendants were found guilty and were given long prison sentences, which were subsequently reduced.

In January 1985 increases averaging over 12% in the prices of basic commodities were announced. The proposed rises were strongly opposed both by OPZZ, the newly-founded National Trade Union Accord, and by members of Solidarność. A general strike call by Solidarność to protest against the increases was withdrawn when the Government announced modifications in the price rises. As in previous years, the May Day celebrations of 1985 were disrupted by clashes between the police and followers of Solidarność, thousands of whom took to the streets throughout Poland to demonstrate their support for the banned trade union. Meanwhile, in Gdańsk three leading Solidarność members had been arrested in February 1985, as a result of their participation in illegal trade union activity, and were put on trial in May. All three men received prison sentences, having been found guilty of attempting to incite public unrest.

In May 1985 the Polish Government was greatly embarrassed by the defection to the West of a member of the PUWP Central Committee, while on a visit to Denmark. In the same month the Sejm approved controversial legislation to amend the penal code. Changes included the introduction of stiffer penalties for criminals and political offenders. At the legislative elections held in October 1985 (postponed from March 1984), new regulations gave voters a choice of two candidates in 410 of the 460 seats, the remaining 50 deputies being elected unopposed on a national list. Solidarność urged a boycott of the polls. Following the elections, Solidarność disputed the Government's estimate that almost 79% of those eligible had voted. As a result of this challenge to the official voting figures, legal proceedings against Lech Wałęsa, the leader of Solidarność, were instigated. In November 1985 Gen. Jaruzelski resigned as Chairman of the Council of Ministers in order to become President of the Council of State. Prof. Zbigniew Messner was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers and pledged to continue the policies of his predecessor. An extensive government reshuffle followed. The number of Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers was reduced to five, three of whom were new appointments.

In early 1986 there was renewed disquiet when it was announced that Lech Wałęsa was to go on trial, charged with slandering state electoral officers. The trial opened in Gdańsk in February, but was abandoned when the charges against Wałęsa were withdrawn. The capture in May 1986 of Zbigniew

Bujak, a leading Solidarność activist who had succeeded in eluding the authorities since December 1981, was a serious set-back for the banned trade union movement. Thousands of demonstrators took part in protests against the detention of Bujak. Further arrests of Solidarność activists followed.

The Tenth Congress of the PUWP opened in June 1986. The incoming 230-member Central Committee, which contained 175 new members, re-elected Gen. Jaruzelski as First Secretary. Seven members of the Political Bureau were replaced. In July the Sejm approved legislation providing for the release from prison of thousands of individuals, including political prisoners. By early September more than 13,000 detainees had been freed. A further 225 detainees (including Zbigniew Bujak), imprisoned on charges of crimes against the State and public order offences, were released in mid-September.

Following the release of almost all remaining political prisoners, the leaders of Solidarność announced the formation of a seven-member council which was to work openly towards the removal of the ban on their movement. It was envisaged that clandestine activities would cease. The Solidarność leadership expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Government. The new council, however, was immediately banned by the Government. In November 1986 the re-election of Alfred Miodowicz, who had become a member of the PUWP Political Bureau in July, to the leadership of OPZZ, the official trade union movement, created further discontent. In December, in an effort to increase popular support, Gen. Jaruzelski established a 56-member Consultative Council, which was attached to the Council of State and comprised mainly non-PUWP members, including a number of independent Catholic activists and former members of Solidarność.

Discontent continued in 1987. In February a bomb exploded outside a PUWP office in Gdynia. Supporters of Solidarność attempted to disrupt the official May Day celebrations in several Polish cities, and 158 demonstrators were arrested. During the third visit to his homeland in June 1987, the Pope urged that human rights be respected. Violent clashes between police and opponents of the Government occurred during the papal visit. In mid-1987 the US Congress approved a \$1m. grant to the Solidarność movement. The leadership of the banned trade union announced that the money was to be used to finance health care. In September the US Vice-President, George Bush, paid a four-day visit to Poland; in addition to his official talks with Gen. Jaruzelski, Vice-President Bush met leaders of Solidarność and of the Roman Catholic Church.

In October 1987 the Government announced plans for radical economic and political reforms, which were to be submitted to the electorate in a national referendum. In a major government reshuffle in late October, many ministries were restructured, and the number of Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers was reduced to three. Prof. Zdzisław Sadowski, an economist and non-PUWP member who had been appointed a Deputy Chairman in May 1987, was in addition appointed Chairman of the Government Planning Commission. Meanwhile, the leadership council of Solidarność, which had been reorganized, urged the electorate to boycott the referendum on the question of reforms. Although 67% of those eligible took part in the referendum, held in late November, only 66% of those who voted favoured rapid economic reform (with attendant hardships, such as the implementation of huge price increases), while 69% of voters favoured political reform. Having failed to secure an endorsement by the requisite 51% of the total electorate, therefore, the Government was obliged to modify its programme. In addition to protests by Solidarność activists throughout 1987, the Government encountered opposition from the Freedom and Peace Group, a pacifist movement which campaigned on behalf of conscientious objectors and on environmental issues. In November 1987 another group of opposition activists attempted to revive the Polish Socialist Party, which had officially ceased to exist in 1948. The Government immediately declared the party to be illegal. In April and May 1988 there were widespread strikes and demonstrations by workers demanding higher wages (after price increases announced in February) and the reinstatement of Solidarność activists who had been dismissed.

In foreign affairs, Poland has close links with the other socialist states of Eastern Europe through its membership of the Warsaw Pact (see p. 205) and the CMEA (p. 124). Relations with the People's Republic of China are improving steadily, and in June 1987 the Chinese Premier visited Poland for talks. Relations with the West deteriorated upon the declaration of

martial law in December 1981, but subsequently improved. In February 1987 President Reagan lifted the remaining US sanctions on Poland, and in September, during US Vice-President Bush's visit to Warsaw, the restoration of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level between the two countries was announced. In 1987 Gen. Jaruzelski paid official visits to Italy, Japan and Greece. A visit to Warsaw by the Federal German Minister of Foreign Affairs in early 1988 gave rise to hopes of an improvement in relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany. Diplomatic links with Israel were re-established in 1986.

Government

Under the 1952 Constitution, the supreme organ of state power is the Sejm (Parliament), a unicameral body comprising 460 deputies elected for a four-year term by all citizens of 18 years and over. The legislative elections of October 1985 were held under new regulations (first introduced at the 1984 local elections) providing for a choice between two candidates in 410 of the 460 seats. A successful candidate must win more than one-half of the valid votes, with the participation of at least 50% of eligible voters. If neither candidate secures the requisite majority, a second election is held, to which the above requirements do not apply. The remaining 50 deputies are directly elected unopposed on a national, or central, list of prominent public figures. From its 460 members the Sejm elects the Council of State (17 members) to be its permanent organ. The Council of State, headed by a President, functions as a collective head of state. Supreme executive power lies with the Council of Ministers, who are appointed or recalled by the Sejm. The Council of Ministers is responsible for its activities to the Sejm and to the Council of State between sessions of the Sejm. The Supreme Board of Control oversees national and local administration. It is responsible to the Sejm, but remains independent of the Government and the Council of State whose activities it supervises.

In February 1976 numerous amendments to the 1952 Constitution were approved. The Republic was for the first time officially described as a socialist state and the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) recognized as the leading political force in the state. The communist PUWP dominates the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (including two other smaller parties), which presents an approved list of candidates for elections to representative bodies. The PUWP's highest authority is the Party Congress, normally convened every five years. The Congress elects a Central Committee (230 members were elected in July 1986) to supervise Party work. To direct its policy, the Committee elects a Political Bureau (Politburo).

Since 1975 local government has been on a two-tier system. The country is divided into 49 provinces (voivodships), each with a People's Council elected for four years. In early 1988 the Sejm approved legislation permitting bodies other than the most social organizations to put forward candidates at local elections.

Defence

Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact. In mid-1987 40,000 Soviet troops were stationed in Poland. Military service normally lasts for two years in the army, internal security forces and air force, and for three years afloat (two years from May 1990) and two years ashore in the navy and special services. According to Western estimates, the strength of the armed forces in July 1987 was 329,000 (including 231,000 conscripts): army 230,000, navy 19,000, air force 80,000. There were 315,000 paramilitary troops. The defence budget for 1987 totalled 424,490m. zlotys.

Economic Affairs

In 1985, according to estimates by the World Bank, Poland's GNP per head (in average 1983-85 prices) was US \$2,050. Poland is traditionally a major exporter of agricultural produce. In 1986 almost 30% of the labour force were employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing. Although co-operative and state farms exist, 71.5% of agricultural land remained in private hands in 1984. Private farms numbered 2.7m. in 1986. Livestock production is important, and meat and meat products normally make significant contributions to Polish exports. The principal crops are rye, wheat, oats, sugar beet and potatoes. Compared with the previous year, the value of exports of food and agricultural produce in 1986 rose by 32% to total more than

213,000m. zlotys. Of this total, exports to the convertible-currency areas accounted for 177,000m. zlotys, in spite of the EEC's imposition of restrictions on agricultural imports from Eastern Europe, following the nuclear power station accident at Chernobyl, in the USSR, in April 1986. Measures to stimulate domestic cereal production successfully reduced grain imports to less than 2m. tons in 1986, compared with 7m. tons in 1980. The 1987 cereal harvest totalled 26.1m. tons, 6% more than in 1986. The horticultural sector suffered a serious setback in early 1987, when severe weather killed 30% of the country's fruit trees.

In 1986 about 30% of the working population were in industry. The contribution of industrial activity to Poland's net material product (NMP) in 1986 was 47.3% in current prices. There are rich deposits of coal, copper, silver and sulphur, and also natural gas. Petroleum deposits are relatively small, and the principal supplier of oil is the USSR. About 80% of Poland's energy needs, however, are derived from coal. The mineral industry is an important source of foreign earnings. Output of hard coal in 1987 totalled 193m. tons. Coal exports, however, fell from 35m. tons in 1986 to 30m. tons in 1987, owing to increased domestic demand. The Polish shipbuilding industry suffered the effects of international recession in the early 1980s, but in 1987 the industry built 50 ships totalling 325,500 dwt, and export earnings in convertible currency totalled US\$151.1m., \$11m. more than in 1986. In terms of roubles, however, the shipbuilding industry's exports fell to 491.8m. in 1987, a decline of 13%. Other important industries are textiles, engineering, steel, cement, chemicals and foodstuffs.

The 1983-85 Plan, aiming for self-sufficiency in food and development of consumer goods production, and giving priority to export production, provided for economic growth of 10.1-11.7% over the three-year period. Between 1983 and 1985, however, after four successive years of decline, growth of 15.7% was achieved. Industrial output increased by 16.3% over the three-year period. Net agricultural production in 1985 was 15.4% higher than in 1982. In 1983-85 exports to the socialist countries rose by 23% in constant prices, but exports to the convertible-currency areas failed to reach the projected growth target.

The 1986-90 Five-Year Plan aimed to consolidate economic development, to improve supplies of food and industrial products, to curb inflation and to raise living standards, with particular emphasis on housing, health and education sectors. It was envisaged that NMP would rise by 16-19% over the five-year period. Compared with 1981-85, investment was to increase by 24% to total 10,000,000m. zlotys. Industrial production was to go up by 16%. Overall agricultural output was planned to rise by 12% compared with 1985. Real income per head was expected to increase by 5%. Energy consumption was to be reduced by 9-11%. The country's export potential was to be developed, with exports planned to rise by 27% between 1986 and 1990. Compared with the previous year, the Polish economy expanded by 4.9% in 1986 and by 2% in 1987. Industrial production rose by 4.2% in 1986 and by 3.3% in 1987. In 1986 agricultural production increased by 4.9%, but in 1987 output fell by 3%, owing to adverse weather.

As a result of excessive investment, financed by overseas borrowing, in the 1970s, foreign loan repayment obligations continue to place a severe strain on resources. Negotiations with Western creditor governments on the rescheduling of Poland's debts were suspended for three years, following the introduction of martial law in December 1981. In December 1985 Poland made a payment of \$265m. to commercial bank creditors, the first repayment of debt principal since 1981. As a result of its failure to obtain significant new credit, however, Poland was unable to make a repayment of \$550m. to Western governments, as agreed in July 1985. In March 1986 Poland and the 'Paris Club' of 17 Western creditor nations reached agreement on the rescheduling of debt obligations of \$2.40m. including the repayment of \$550m. overdue from 1985. In September 1986 Poland signed an agreement with its major Western commercial bank creditors to reschedule \$1,620m. of debt principal that was due for repayment in 1986-87. In June 1986 Poland became a member of the World Bank. Poland also rejoined the IMF, its quota in the Fund being set at SDR68m. and in January 1987 entered negotiations on its request for a stand-by loan. Poland's total debt in convertible currency rose from \$33,500m. in December 1986 to \$37,600m. at the end of 1987, largely owing to the decline in the value of the dollar. In July 1987 Poland reached agreement with Western creditor

banks on the restructuring of debts totalling \$8,000m.: repayments falling due in 1988-93 were to be made instead over a period of 15 years at a reduced rate of interest. In December 1987 a further agreement with the 'Paris Club' was concluded, whereby Poland's debts of \$8,800m., due for repayment in 1986-88, were to be rescheduled over 10 years with a five-year grace period. In April 1986 legislation relating to joint ventures, aimed at encouraging Western investment in Poland, was enacted. Plans to widen the scope of the law were announced in October 1987. In February 1987 the Polish currency was devalued by 19.5% against the US dollar and by 17.4% against the Soviet rouble. In February 1988 the zloty was devalued by 20% against the US dollar.

Another heavy burden on the economy is the system of massive food subsidies. It is hoped that these can be phased out in favour of a more realistic price structure, and drastic price increases on certain basic commodities have been introduced since the early 1980s. Compared with the previous year, retail prices of consumer goods and services rose by 16% in 1986 and by 26% in 1987. Personal incomes went up by 20.3% in 1986 and by 27.4% in the following year. In early 1988 the Government announced that retail prices for goods and services were to rise by an average of 36%. These increases, however, were to be accompanied by income supplements. The 1987 budget deficit totalled 193,000m. zlotys, compared with a projected deficit of 298,000m. Expenditure on subsidies for goods and services reached 1,279,000m. zlotys in 1987, 22.5% more than in 1986. The draft budget for 1988 envisaged a deficit of 369,000m. zlotys, but it was hoped that this could be reduced by 100,000m. zlotys.

Poland is a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), and a contracting party to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT, see p. 56). In 1984 32% of Poland's foreign trade was with the USSR, and, under a protocol signed in October 1985, this percentage was due to increase to 40% by 1990. (Under the same protocol, repayment of a debt of 5,000m. roubles to the USSR was to be deferred until after 1990.) The trade deficit on transactions in roubles fell from 501m. roubles in 1986 to 6m. in 1987. In 1987 exports to the socialist countries went up 5.9%. The surplus on trade with Western countries rose from US \$1,072m. in December 1986 to \$1,240m. in December 1987. Exports to the West rose by 8.4% in 1987, while imports from that area increased by 7%.

Social Welfare

The Polish social welfare system is controlled by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. Locally the system is administered by the Health and Social Welfare Departments of the Presidiums of the National Councils. Medical care is provided free for all workers and rural population. The 1987 budget allocated a total of 665,000m. zlotys to health care and social welfare, 30.1% more than in 1986. At the end of 1987 there were 77,000 physicians and 17,600 dental surgeons in practice. There were 214,500 general hospital beds. A total of 3,305 health centres were in operation. The Polish Red Cross organizes and carries out the care of the sick at home and general home assistance to those who are incapacitated through ill health, etc. Alimony is assured by law to single mothers. Pensions are organized and managed by the Union of Pensioners, Invalids and Retired Persons.

Education

Education is free and compulsory for children between the ages of seven and 14 years. Before the age of seven, children may attend crèches (złobki) and kindergartens (przedszkola). In 1987 more than 96% of six-year olds attended pre-school educational establishments. Basic schooling begins at seven years of age with the eight-year school (szkoła podstawowa). Curricula are uniform throughout Poland. There is a small number of private schools, which are run under state supervision. Secondary education is free to candidates who are successful in the entrance examination, and about 97% of pupils continue their studies. Of these, 77% go to vocational and technical schools (technika zawodowe), or to basic vocational schools (zasadnicze szkoły). The latter provide three-year courses consisting of three days' theoretical and three days' practical training per week, and in addition some general education is given. Vocational technical schools provide five-year courses of general education and vocational training together, and can lead to qualifications for entering higher educational establishments. The remaining 20% of children who leave the eight-year school to continue with their education enter general secondary schools (liceum ogólnokształcące), where four-year courses lead to college or university entrance. There are 92 higher educational establishments in Poland, including 11 universities and 18 technical universities. Expenditure from the government budget on education for 1987 was 495,000m. zlotys. Higher education received 110,000m. zlotys.

Tourism

The Polish Tourist and Country Lovers' Society is responsible for tourism and itself maintains about 260 tourist hotels and hostels throughout the country. Poland is rich in historic cities, such as Wrocław, Kraków and Warsaw. There are 30 health and climatic resorts, while the mountains, forests and rivers provide splendid scenery and excellent facilities for sporting holidays. The Polish tourism industry was badly affected by the nuclear power station accident at Chernobyl, in the USSR, in 1986, which resulted in thousands of holiday cancellations. In 1987 Poland was visited by more than 4.8m. foreign tourists, 19% of whom were from Western countries.

Public Holidays

1988: 1 January (New Year's Day), 4 April (Easter Monday), 1 May (Labour Day), 9 May (Victory Day), 2 June (Corpus Christi), 22 July (Polish National Day), 1 November (All Saints' Day), 25-26 December (Christmas).

1989: 1 January (New Year's Day), 27 March (Easter Monday), 1 May (Labour Day), 9 May (Victory Day), 25 May (Corpus Christi), 22 July (Polish National Day), 1 November (All Saints' Day), 25-26 December (Christmas).

Weights and Measures

The metric system is in force.

Currency and Exchange Rates

100 groszy (singular: grosz) = 1 zloty.

Exchange rates (31 December 1987):

£1 sterling = 592.74 zlotys;

US \$1 = 315.54 zlotys.