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DICTIONARY
OF POLAND**

Second Edition

GEORGE SANFORD

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Editor's Foreword

Poland is by far the largest and most important country in Eastern Europe. It is also the country that has intrigued outsiders most, both in the past and more recently, when events there paved the way for the transformation of the whole region. It is thus fitting that this should have been the first volume in a series that covers all the states. But Poland, more than most places, can only be understood after examining a long and often tumultuous history, from the origins, to the temporary disappearance, to the rebirth and repeated mutations. Beyond history and politics, it is essential to consider the economy, society, culture, and religion of a country.

This task is greatly facilitated by the *Historical Dictionary of Poland*. For all its attention to the present situation, there is ample information on earlier periods. Despite the emphasis on politics, economics, society, culture, and religion are not overlooked. After a brief introduction, more than 500 entries focus on crucial persons, places, events, institutions, and so on. The entries can more readily be inserted into the historical framework, thanks to a comprehensive chronology and a list of rulers. There is also a long list of abbreviations and acronyms from the Communist and post-Communist eras, which is essential to understanding the entries. An extensive bibliography directs readers to further sources of information.

Some very useful sources were produced by the author of this volume. Dr. George Sanford, professor of politics at the University of Bristol, is a leading authority on Poland and has written widely on 20th-century history and politics. His books include *Polish Communism in Crisis*, *Military Rule in Poland*, *Democratization in Poland*, *Poland: The Conquest of History* and *Democratic Government in Poland*.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Note on Polish Spelling and Usage

The Polish alphabet contains most of the Latin letters (the exceptions being q, v, and x), but it also has a number of additional accented letters. The latter may look complicated but, unlike English, have the virtue of generally regular pronunciation. The same applies to most other aspects such as the stress normally falling on the penultimate syllable as well as the pronunciation of the initially awkward-looking combinations of consonants such as rz, cz, or sz.

The Polish alphabet:

a, ą, b, c, ć, d, e, ę, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, ł, m, n, ń, o, ó, p, r, s, ś, t, u, w, y, z, ź, ż.

For a guide to Polish pronunciation, the reader is referred to M. Corbridge-Patkianowski, *Polish* (London: English Universities Press, 1964. "Teach Yourself" series). The most important pointers to remember in the pronunciation of the accented letters is that the cedillas on the ę, and ą, produce nasal, almost "n" sounding equivalents as in the following examples: mądry is pronounced "mondry" and ręce reads "rence." The crossed l is pronounced in Polish almost like the English w, for example, Bolesław = Boleswaf. The ó, as in róg, is pronounced like the English u = "ruk."

The author has used the Polish forms of names and terms as much as possible. The exceptions are twofold. Firstly, the Anglicized version has clearly become predominant in English usage in a limited number of major cases. To avoid confusion this has, therefore, been accepted in such instances as Warsaw, Pomerania, Greater and "Little" Poland, Silesia, and Vistula. Where usage seems more equally balanced, the Polish form has been preferred (so Kraków not Cracow and Szczecin not Stettin).

The other problem is that place names in Poland or on its borders have changed over historical time. There are, therefore, Polish, German, Russian, as well as Ukrainian, Belarusan, or Lithuanian equivalents available whose usage often denotes a national preference, if not claim. The rule has been applied that, aside from the above-mentioned Anglicizations, all

names referring to postwar Poland and to historical periods when Poland was in possession should be in the Polish form. It is difficult to be entirely consistent, as different powers have dominated territories at different times. Sometimes it is fairly clear when to use Danzig not Gdańsk or Breslau not Wrocław, for example, but other cases are more controversial as in such examples as Vilnius, Wilno, and Vilna, or Lvov, Lwów, Lv'iv, and Lemberg. With the emergence of independent Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Lithuanian states, the convention that is most likely to diminish historical hatreds and encourage stability in the region is that the currently dominant power should have its usage preferred, while alternative national forms should be offered as subsidiary alternatives. Another difficulty is that authors resident abroad, or their publishers, apply varying practices in relation to Polish names and title headings. This introduces inconsistencies into the bibliography. A final residual oddity and complication has been the deplorable tendency, especially in the United States, to produce compromise Latinized forms, such as Stanislaus for Stanisław and Boleslaus for Bolesław.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AK	Armia Krajowa/Home Army
AL	Armia Ludowa/People's Army
AWS	Akcja Wyborcza 'Solidarność'/Electoral Action Solidarity
AWS-RS	Akcja Wyborcza 'Solidarność'-Ruch Społeczny/Electoral Action Solidarity-Social Action
BBWR	Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem/Non-Party Bloc for Collaboration with the Government
BBWR	Bezpartyjny Blok Wspierania Reform/Non-Party Bloc for Supporting the Reforms
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CD III RP	Chrześcijańska Demokracja III RP/Christian Democracy of the Third Republic
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COP	Centralny Okręg Przemysłowy/Central Industrial District
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CRZZ	Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych/Central Council of Trade Unions
CUP	Centralny Urząd Planowania/Central Planning Office
DiP	Doświadczenie i Przyszłość/"Experience and Future"
EBRD	European Bank for Research and Development
EU	European Union
FDP	Forum Prawicy Demokratycznej/Forum of the Democratic Right
FJN	Front Jedności Narodowej/National Unity Front
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GISZ	Główny Inspektor Sił Zbrojnych/General Inspector of the Armed Forces
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GUC	Główny Urząd Cel/Main Customs Board

GUKPPiW	Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk/ Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publications, and Entertainments
GUS	Główny Urząd Statystyczny/Main Statistical Office
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KIK	Klub Inteligencji Katolickiej/Catholic Intellectuals Club
KK	Krajowa Komisja/Solidarity's National Commission
KKO	Krajowa Komitet Obywatelski/National Civic Committee
KKP	Krajowa Komisja Porozumiewawcza/Solidarity's National Coordination Commission
KL-D	Kongres Liberalno-Demokratyczny/Liberal-Democratic Congress
KO	Komitet Obywatelski/Civic Committee
KOK	Komitet Obrony Kraju/National Defense Committee
KOR	Komitet Obrony Robotników/Workers' Defense Com- mittee
KPN	Konfederacja Polski Niepodległej/Confederation for an Independent Poland
KPP	Komunistyczna Partia Polski/Communist Party of Poland
KPRP	Komunistyczna Partia Robotnicza Polski/Communist Workers Party of Poland
KRN	Krajowa Rada Narodowa/National Council for the Home- land
KRS	Krajowa Rada Sądownictwa/National Council for the Judiciary
KUL	Katolicki Uniwersytet w Lublinie/Catholic University in Lublin
LOK	Liga Obrony Kraju/League for the Defense of the Country
LPR	League of Polish Families
MKS	Między-Zakładowy Komitet Strajkowy/Inter-Factory Strike Committee
MON	Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej/Ministry of National Defense
MSW	Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych/Ministry of the Inte- rior
MSZ	Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych/Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBP	Narodowy Bank Polski/National Bank of Poland

NFOS	Narodowy Fundusz Ochrony Środowisku/National Fund for Environmental Protection
NIK	Najwyższa Izba Kontroli/Supreme Control Chamber
NSZ	Narodowe Siły Zbrojne/National Armed Forces
NSZZ	Niezależny Samorządowy Związek Zawodowy/ Independent Self-Governing Trade Union
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OKP	Obywatelski Klub Parlamentarny/Civic Parliamentary Club
OPZZ	Ogólnopolskie Porozumienie Związków Zawodowych/ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions
OWP	Obóz Wielkiej Polski/Camp of Great Poland
OZON	Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego/Camp of National Unity
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk/Polish Academy of Sciences
PAP	Polska Agencja Prasowa/Polish Press Agency
PC	Porozumienie (Partia) Centrum/Center Agreement (Party)
PKP	Polskiej Koleje Państwowe/Polish State Railways
PKWN	Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego/Polish Committee of National Liberation
POW	Polska Organizacja Wojskowa/Polish Military Organization
PP	Polish Agreement/Porozumienie Polskie
PPPP	Polska Partia Przyjaciół Piwa/Polish Party of the Friends of Beer
PPR	Polska Partia Robotnicza/Polish Workers' Party
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna/Polish Socialist Party
PR	Polska Rzeczpospolita/Polish Republic
PRiTV	Polskie Radio i Telewizja/Polish Radio and Television
PRL	Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa/Polish People's Republic
PRON	Patriotyczny Ruch Odrodzenia Narodowego/Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe/Polish Peasant Party
PSL-S	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe 'Solidarność'/Polish Peasant Party—"Solidarity"
PUS	Polska Unia Socjaldemokratyczna/Polish Social Democratic Union
PW	Partia Wolności/Freedom Party
PZPR	Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza/Polish United Workers' Party

RD-S	Ruch Demokratyczno-Społeczny/Democratic-Social Movement
RIP	Rzecznik Interesu Publicznego/Spokesman for the Public Interest
RLP	Ruch Ludzi Pracy/Movement for the Working People
RP	Rzeczpospolita Polska
ROAD	Ruch Obywatelski Akcja Demokratyczna/Democratic Action Civic Movement
ROP	Ruch Odbudowy Polski/Movement for Rebuilding Poland
ROPCiO	Ruch Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela/Movement for the Defense of Human and Civic Rights
RS	Ruch Stu/Movement of One Hundred
SD	Stronnictwo Demokratyczne/Democratic Party
SDKPiL	Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy/Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania
SdRP	Socjal-demokracja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej/Social-democracy of the Polish Republic
SGH	Szkoła Główna Handlowa/Main Trade School
SGPiS	Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyki/ Main School for Planning and Statistics
SK-L	Stronnictwo Konserwatywno-Ludowe/Conservative-Popular Party
SL	Stronnictwo Ludowe/Peasant Party
SLD	Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej/Alliance of the Democratic Left
SN	Stronnictwo Narodowe/National Party
SP	Solidarność Pracy/Labor Solidarity
SP	Stronnictwo Pracy/Labor Party
SZP	Służba Zwycięstwu Polski/Service for Polish Victory
TKK	Tymczasowa Komisja Koordynacyjna/Solidarity's Provisional Coordinating Committee
TKN	Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych/Association of Academic Courses
TUR	Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego/Association of Workers' Universities
TVP	Telewizja Polska/Polish Television
UD	Unia Demokratyczna/Democratic Union
UNDO	Ukraińskie-Natsjonalna Demokratyczne Objednienie/Ukrainian National Democratic Union

UOP	Urząd Ochrony Państwa/Office for State Protection
UP	Unia Pracy/Labor Union
UPA	Ukraińska Powstańcza Armia/Ukrainian Liberation Army
UPR	Unia Polityki Realnej/Union of Real Politics
URM	Urząd Rady Ministrów/Office of the Council of Ministers
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UW	Unia Wolności/Freedom Union
WAK	Wyborcza Akcja Katolicka/Catholic Electoral Alliance
WP	Wojsko Polskie/Polish Army
WRON	Wojskowa Rada Ocalenia Narodowego/Military Council for National Salvation
ZboWiD	Związek Bojowników o Wolność i Demokrację/League of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy
ZCh-N	Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe/Christian National Union
ZLP	Związek Literatów Polskich/Union of Polish Writers
Znak	“The Sign”
ZNP	Związek Nauczycielstwo Polskie/Union of Polish Teachers
ZOMO	Zmotoryzowane Odwody Milicji Obywatelskiej/Mobile Units of the Armed Police
ZSL	Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe/United Peasant Party
ZUS	Zakład Ubezpieczeń Społecznych/Social Insurance Enterprise
ZWZ	Związek Walki Zbrojnej/Union for Armed Struggle



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Chronology

9th century	Formation of first distinct Slavonic states on the Oder (Odra) and Vistula basins.
Early 10th century	The Piast dynasty consolidates in Greater Poland and conquers Mazowsze.
966	Adoption of Christianity.
972	Mieszko I annexes West Pomerania.
1000	Gniezno Archbishopric founded. Emperor Otto III recognizes the independence of Poland.
1025	Bolesław the Brave crowned king of Poland.
1138–1306	Period of feudal disintegration.
1241	First Mongol invasion halted despite Polish defeat at Legnica.
1364	Foundation of Kraków University.
1386	Jagiello marries Jadwiga; founds dynasty, which lasts until 1572 as well as the Polish–Lithuanian Union.
1410	Teutonic Knights defeated at Grunwald.
1466	Treaty of Toruń with the Knights.
1505	Promulgation of the <i>Nihil Novi</i> statute.
1569	Union of Lublin.
1573	The elective monarchy established. Confederation of Warsaw guarantees religious toleration.
1596	Union of Brześć (Brest) Greek Catholic, or Uniate, Church established.
1600–29	First Swedish wars.
1648	Chmielnicki's Cossack rebellion in the Ukraine.
1652	W. Siciński uses the first <i>Liberum Veto</i> to break up the Sejm.
1655–60	Swedish "Deluge" on Poland: defense of Częstochowa monastery.
1667	Truce of Andruszowo.
1673	Invading Turks defeated at Chocim.
1683	Jan Sobieski smashes the Turks at Vienna.

- 1699 Treaty of Karlovci with Turkey.
- 1702 The Swedes invade Poland.
- 1704 Augustus dethroned; replaced by Stanisław Leszczyński.
- 1709 Augustus reestablishes himself as king.
- 1717 The “Dumb Sejm” marks Russian domination.
- 1733–35 Struggle between Augustus III and Leszczyński for the throne.
- 1764–66 Convocation Confederation passes constitutional reforms.
- 1766–72 Russia supports the reactionary Confederation of Radom.
- 1772 First Partition of Poland.
- 1773 Commission for National Education established.
- 1788–92 The Four-Year Sejm.
- 1791 Constitution of 3 May passed.
- 1792 Confederation of Targowica and war with Russia.
- 1793 Second Partition of Poland.
- 1794 Tadeusz Kościuszko’s national uprising suppressed.
- 1795 Third Partition of Poland.
- 1797–1803 Polish Legions fight for revolutionary France and Napoleon.
- 1806 Warsaw occupied by French after the uprising in Central Poland.
- 1807 Duchy of Warsaw established; Napoleonic Code introduced.
- 1809 Duchy extended after Napoleon’s defeat of the Austrians.
- 1812 Massive Polish participation in the Russian Campaign.
- 1815 Kingdom of Poland and Free State of Kraków established.
- 1816 Warsaw University founded.
- 1830–31 Suppression of the November Uprising followed by limitation of the kingdom’s autonomy and the Great Emigration.
- 1846 Peasant uprising in Galicia is put down; the Kraków Free State is abolished after the revolution there.
- 1848–49 Uprising in Greater Poland, Galicia, and Silesia; peasants enfranchised in Galicia.
- 1863–64 The January Insurrection.
- 1864 Abolition of serfdom in the Russian Partition.
- 1867 Habsburgs grant Galicia autonomy.
- 1886 Prussia establishes the Colonization Committee; Polish League founded.
- 1892 Polish Socialist Party set up.
- 1892–93 Foundation of the National League, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland (and Lithuania after 1900), and the Polish Social Democratic Party in Galicia and Silesia.

- 1895 Peasant Party established in Galicia.
- 1897 Foundation of National Democratic Party.
- 1898 Anti-Polish Emergency Laws in the Prussian Partition.
- 1905–1907 Revolution in the Russian Partition.
- 1914 Polish Legions formed within the Austrian Army; Supreme National Committee established in Galicia.
- 1915 Russian Poland occupied by the central powers.
- 1917 Dissolution of the Legions; Polish National Committee set up in Lausanne, which moves to Paris; Regency Council established in Warsaw.
- 1918 Poland regains its independence. Józef Piłsudski becomes head of state on 11 November; Ignacy Daszyński forms the first independent government in Lublin.
- 1919–21 Polish Uprisings in Silesia; plebiscites in Warmia and Mazuria.
- 1920 Victory in Polish-Soviet War preserves Poland's independence.
- 1921 Treaty of Riga secures Poland an extended frontier in the east; the Silesian plebiscite confirms the division of disputed territory in the west. March Constitution promulgated.
- 1922 President Gabriel Narutowicz assassinated.
- 1926 Piłsudski seizes power in May.
- 1932 Nonaggression pact with USSR.
- 1934 Nonaggression pact with Germany.
- 1935 April Constitution passed. Piłsudski dies on 12 May.
- 1937 Formation of Camp of National Unity (OZON).
- 1938 Józef Beck's ultimatum to Lithuania forces it to reestablish relations. The Comintern dissolves the Communist Party of Poland. Faced by the capitulation of the Western powers at Munich, Poland occupies the Polish inhabited areas of Cieszyn Silesia.
- 1939 23 August. Nazi-Soviet Pact. 1 September. Hitler invades Poland. 17 September. USSR invades Poland and partitions it on the basis of the pact with Germany. Government-in-Exile established in Paris.
- 1941 Hitler invades USSR. Polish Government-in-Exile in London allies with USSR.
- 1943 Katyń massacre provokes breaking off of Polish-Soviet relations. Warsaw Ghetto Rising.
- 1944 Warsaw Uprising from August to September.

- 1945 Yalta and Potsdam Agreements confirm Provisional Government and de facto Poland's eastern and Oder-Neisse western frontiers.
- 1948 Władysław Gomułka removed from power. Polish United Workers' Party formed through the amalgamation of the PPR and PPS.
- 1956 June. Poznań Rising suppressed. October. Gomułka returns to power. Stalinism modified.
- 1968 "March Events" and suppression of student demonstrations.
- 1970 West Germany legally recognizes Poland's western frontier. Baltic seacoast riots and shootings lead to Gomułka's replacement by Edward Gierek.
- 1976 Radom, Ursus, and other demonstrations lead to cancellation of proposed price increase.
- 1978 Karol Wojtyła elected as Pope John Paul II.
- 1979 First papal visit to Poland.
- 1980 Summer. Wave of strikes against price increases. August. Baltic strikes and negotiation of the Gdańsk, Szczecin, and Jastrzębie Agreements. September. Stanisław Kania replaces Gierek as PZPR first secretary. Formation of NSZZ Solidarity.
- 1981 March. Bydgoszcz Incident and Warsaw Agreement. July. Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress. September–October. Solidarity Congress. 13 December. Declaration of State of War; suppression of Solidarity.
- 1983 July. State of war suspended. Second papal visit.
- 1987 November referendum is a qualified failure.
- 1988 Spring–Summer. New wave of strikes. August. PZPR plenum empowers Czesław Kiszczak to negotiate an "Anti-Crisis Pact" with the opposition. December. Lech Wałęsa sets up Civic Committee (KO).
- 1989 4 March–5 April. Round Table negotiations and Agreement. June. Civic Committee candidates win 99 of the Senate seats and all their allocated seats in the contractual Sejm election. July. Wojciech Jaruzelski elected as president. August. Tadeusz Mazowiecki confirmed as prime minister. Autumn–Winter. Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz' economic "shock therapy" breaks the mounting hyperinflation and stabilizes the currency.

- 1990 The “War at the Top” between Mazowiecki and Wałęsa leads to split in Solidarity between ROAD and the Center Agreement. Jaruzelski agrees to resign. Wałęsa elected as president. Mazowiecki resigns and is replaced as prime minister by J. K. Bielecki.
- 1991 October. The first fully free election produces a fragmented Sejm; Jan Olszewski (ZCh-N) is eventually confirmed as prime minister.
- 1992 After conflicts over the control of the army and the lustration process, Olszewski resigns. Hanna Suchocka (UD) becomes prime minister. The “Little Constitution” is passed by the Sejm.
- 1993 Wałęsa dissolves Sejm after Suchocka government is defeated in late May. Six parties are elected to the Sejm on 19 September: Waldemar Pawlak forms a strong majority PSL (132 seats)-SLD (171 seats) coalition government.
- 1994 February. Poland joins NATO Partnership for Peace. Summer. Treaty signed with Lithuania.
- 1995 March. Pawlak is replaced by Józef Oleksy as prime minister. December. Aleksander Kwaśniewski is elected president.
- 1996 February. Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz replaces Oleksy—accused of being a Russian spy. December. EU Madrid summit sets timetable for accession.
- 1997 May. A new constitution is barely approved in a referendum. June. John Paul’s fifth papal visit. Summer. Floods ravage western and southern Poland. September. The AWS (201 seats) and the UW (60 seats) win a majority in the Sejm election. October. Jerzy Buzek forms an AWS-UW coalition government.
- 1998 January. Ratification of Concordat with Vatican. April. EU entry negotiations begin. Summer–Autumn. The local government reform emerges with 16 provinces. Reforms of pensions, the health service, and education are initiated.
- 1999 March. Poland becomes NATO member. June. Sixth papal visit.
- 2000 May. Buzek continues as prime minister heading a minority government when the UW withdraws. October. Kwaśniewski is reelected decisively on the first ballot for a second term as president.

- 2001 February. Formation of Civic Platform (PO). April. New electoral law. September. The SLD-UP wins 216 of the 460 Sejm seats in the election and three-quarters of the Senate seats. The AWS and UW are eliminated. October. Leszek Miller (SLD) forms a coalition government with the PSL.
- 2002 July. Grzegorz Kołodko replaces Marek Belka as finance minister. August. John Paul pays a short papal visit to his homeland. December. Final EU entry terms are agreed upon in Copenhagen.

Rulers of Poland, 966–2002

PIAST DYNASTY

ca. 960–992	Mieszko I
992–1025	Bolesław I Chrobry (the Brave)
1025–1034	Mieszko II Lambert
1034–1058	Kazimierz I Odnowiciel (the Restorer)
1058–1079	Bolesław II Śmiały (the Bold)
1079–1102	Władysław I Herman
1102–1107	Zbigniew and Bolesław III Krzywousty (Wrymouth)
1107–1138	Bolesław III Krzywousty (Wrymouth)

PERIOD OF FEUDAL DISINTEGRATION AND OF KRAKÓW DUKES

1138–1146	Władysław II Wygnaniec (the Exile)
1146–1173	Bolesław IV Kędzierzawy (the Curly)
1173–1177	Mieszko III Stary (the Old)
1177–1194	Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy (the Just)
1194–1202	Mieszko III Stary (the Old)
1202	Władysław Laskonogi (Spindleshanks)
1202–1210	Leszek Biały (the White)
1210–1211	Mieszko Platonogi (Tanglefoot)
1211–1227	Leszek Biały (the White, resumed reign)
1227–1229	Władysław Laskonogi (Spindleshanks)
1229–1232	Konrad Mazowiecki
1232–1238	Henryk Brodaty (the Bearded)
1238–1241	Henryk Pobożny (the Pious)
1241–1243	Konrad Mazowiecki
1243–1279	Bolesław Wstydlivy (the Chaste)

1279–1288	Leszek Czarny (the Black)
1288–1290	Henryk Probus
1291–1305	Wacław II of Bohemia
1306–1333	Władysław I Łokietek (King of Poland from 1320)
1333–1370	Kazimierz III Wielki (the Great, King of Poland)

ANJOU DYNASTY

1370–1382	Ludwik I, the Hungarian
1383–1399	Jadwiga

JAGIELLONIAN DYNASTY

1386–1434	Władysław II Jagiełło
1434–1444	Władysław III Warneńczyk (of Varna)
1444–1492	Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk (the Jagiellonian)
1492–1501	Jan Olbracht
1501–1506	Aleksander
1506–1548	Zygmunt I Stary (the Old)
1548–1572	Zygmunt II Augustus

ELECTIVE MONARCHS

1573–1574	Henri de Valois
1576–1586	Stefan I Batory
1587–1632	Zygmunt III Waza
1632–1648	Zygmunt IV Waza
1648–1668	Jan II Kazimierz Waza
1669–1673	Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki
1674–1696	Jan III Sobieski
1697–1706	Augustus II the Strong of Saxony (Wettin)
1704–1709	Stanisław Leszczyński
1709–1733	Augustus II the Strong
1733–1736	Stanisław Leszczyński
1733–1763	Augustus III of Saxony (Wettin)
1764–1795	Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski
1795–1918	Period of Partition by Russian, German, and Austrian Empires

HEAD OF STATE

11/1918–12/1922 Józef Piłsudski (1867–1935)

PRESIDENT OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC

12/1922	Gabriel Narutowicz (1865–1922)
12/1922–5/1926	Stanisław Wojciechowski (1869–1953)
6/1926–9/1939	Ignacy Mościcki (1867–1945)
9/1939–6/1947	Władysław Raczkiewicz (1885–1947)

**CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
FOR THE HOMELAND**

11/1944–2/1947 Bolesław Bierut (1892–1956)

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

2/1947–11/1952 Bolesław Bierut (1892–1956)

**CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE
OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

11/1952–8/1964	Aleksander Zawadzki (1894–1964) (died)
8/1964–4/1968	Edward Ochab (1906–1989)
4/1968–11/1970	Marian Spychalski (1906–1980)
12/1970–3/1972	Józef Cyrankiewicz (1911–1989)
3/1972–11/1985	Henryk Jabłoński (1909–)
11/1985–7/1989	Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923–)

The following claimed to be presidents-in-exile in London during the Communist period: August Zaleski, 1947–1972; Stanisław Ostrowski, 1972–1979; Edward Raczyński, 1979–1986; Kazimierz Sabbat, 1986–1989; Ryszard Kaczorowski, 1989–1990, resigned and handed over his insignia to Lech Wałęsa immediately after the latter's election as president.

PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

19 July 1989–22 Dec. 1990	Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923–)
22 Dec. 1990–22 Dec. 1995	Lech Wałęsa (1943–)
22 Dec. 1995–22 Dec. 2000	Aleksander Kwaśniewski (1954–)
22 Dec. 2000	Kwaśniewski reelected for a second five-year term.

Introduction

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Poland lies in the center of Europe, with open frontiers on the Great European Plain to the east and west. It is, however, protected by the Carpathian Mountains to the south and by the Baltic Sea to the north. These geographical realities have conditioned Poland's historical development until recent times. It explains why the country's expansion was mainly east and west but very rarely southward. Likewise, German and Russian threats came from the west and east. Open frontiers also placed a great premium on effective state organization in order to ensure competitive survival. Poland achieved a working balance between the royal power and gentry democracy and maintained itself as a great European state until the 17th century. The reasons for its subsequent decline are outlined in this introduction and in the dictionary entries. The weakening of the central power through mechanisms such as the elective monarchy and the *Liberum Veto* created the proverbial Polish anarchy. Aristocratic clans and their numerous gentry hangers-on ruled their bailiwicks while whittling down the royal power necessary to compete with ever stronger Muscovite and Prussian neighbors. By the end of the 18th century, this process led to the loss of state independence and a threefold partition by Russia, Prussia, and Austria until 1918. After the short interlude of interwar independence, Poland, both as a state and as nation, was threatened by German Nazism during World War II and by Soviet communism subsequently.

The reader should constantly bear in mind how this historical experience has set the agenda until very recently for the resolution of all Poland's international, political, economic, and social problems. Whether foreign rule, a peripheral position relative to Western Europe, or domestic weaknesses have been primarily responsible for Poland's delayed modernization is still hotly disputed. What is clear, however, is that the ending of Soviet control and the communism system in 1989 has created unprecedented opportunities for

Poland. The country has been able to reinterpret its historical experience in a way that now supports the democratic political system and the civic-cultural values desired by the Polish nation. The country's reincorporation in European political-economic and in Euro-Atlantic security structures is also well on the way; for the first time, in quite literally centuries, it now supports the favorable domestic trends, despite the challenge of cultural and social backlashes against the costs of the restructuring transformation. Poland still has a very large economic gap to make up in comparison with its Western partners. Vast social, administrative, and other problems abound, but the framework for a favorable resolution within a few decades is now in place.

From the Origins to the Piast and Jagiellonian Dynasties

The origins of the Poles are wreathed in controversy. It is, however, generally agreed that they developed out of West Slav tribes that settled in the Oder and Vistula basins from the 9th century onward. The partly mythical Piast is held to have established the dynasty named after him some time before the definite emergence of Mieszko I and the Polish state in the middle of the 10th century. By accepting Christianity for himself and for his people in 966, on the basis of his marriage to the Czech (Bohemian) princess Dobrava the previous year, Mieszko gained international recognition as Royal Duke of the Polish state. But the Bohemian connection, as well as bypassing the hostile Germans, turned Poland culturally toward the West. In terms of religious and political values, it was linked to the Vatican and away from Byzantium and the Eastern Orthodoxy of Muscovite Russia. Mieszko's unification of the central Polish heartland state based in Poznań, with its western boundaries lying along the present River Oder frontier, was rounded off southward through the conquest of Moravia and Slovakia and eastward to roughly the current eastern border by his son Bolesław I the Brave. The latter established the Gniezno Archbishopric as the center of the Roman Catholic Church, codified the state administration, and had himself crowned king just before his death in 1025.

But his successors were weakened and pushed back by continual German invasions and the fissiparous tendencies of their feudal vassals. At the death of Bolesław III (Wrymouth) in 1138, the kingdom was divided among his three sons. The subsequent process of feudal disintegration lasted for almost two centuries with the center of gravity moving to Kraków. During this time Poland's very existence faced two new threats. A series of Mongol and Tatar (Tartar) invasions from the east devastated the country on numerous occasions. The most serious thrust in 1241 got as far as Legnica on the Polish-

German frontier before the invaders turned back. Even more seriously, Konrad of Mazowsze introduced the Order of Teutonic Knights into northern Poland in 1226 in order to protect his northern borders against pagan Prussians. The Order of Teutonic Knights, however, exterminated most of the latter, seized Polish territory, encouraged German colonization to its religious-military state, and massacred Polish populations.

A strong Polish central state power was reestablished in Greater Poland, Kraków, and Sandomierz by Władysław I Łokietek (“the Short” or “Little Elbow”). He had himself crowned King in 1320 while his son Kazimierz III (the Great) completed his work in a long and glorious reign from 1333–1370. Kazimierz regained control of Mazowsze as well as the Dobrzyń and Płock Lands in the north. His greatest gains in the east, Halicz Ruthenia, Podolia, Chełm, and Vladimir, more than doubled his father’s territory. Kazimierz’s legal and financial reforms, massive rebuilding program, establishment of the Kraków Academy (University) in 1364, and patronage of culture, moreover, consolidated the domestic foundations of a strong Polish state; this proved as crucial as his military expansion. He was also lucky in that his failure to produce a male heir did not work out badly for Poland. Jadwiga, the daughter of his short-lived successor, Louis the Hungarian, by marrying Grand Duke Jagiełło of Lithuania in 1386, established the Jagiełlonian dynasty and the Polish-Lithuanian union. Both were to carry the dual nation to its greatest heights in late medieval and early modern times.

Władysław II Jagiełło’s great victory over the Teutonic Knights in 1410 removed their threat, but they were not finally defeated until the Thirteen Years’ War of 1454–1466. Poland regained Pomerania, Gdańsk, and Warmia by the Treaty of Toruń, which ended the war. It asserted its suzerainty over the Order of Teutonic Knights, which converted itself into a secular duchy, paying homage to the Polish Crown in 1525. Jagiełło’s successors, the greatest of which were Kazimierz IV (the Jagiełlonian), Zygmunt I (the Old), and Zygmunt II Augustus, ruled what was then the largest and most far-flung state in Europe. It stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea, although Poland failed to recover Silesia and West Pomerania (Szczecin) of the original Piast lands in the west.

The Renaissance period of the late 15th–16th centuries also saw a great flowering of the arts and learning in Poland. The astronomer Nicolaus (Mikołaj) Copernicus (Kopernik) and the humanist writer Jan Kochanowski are the most prominent names of this period. Architecture and building as well as economic life also developed, with Poland’s trade, especially in the Baltic, expanding dramatically. This was the Golden Age of religious toleration in Poland, with humanist values predominating. Calvinism spread among the

magnates and gentry, while Lutheranism became influential in the towns, although the Hussites of Bohemia were repelled. The Counter-Reformation, however, developed with the appearance of the Jesuits in the middle of the 16th century. Regaining the ground lost by Roman Catholicism took a century and contributed to the domestic causes of Poland's decline.

After more than a century and a half of personal dynastic union, Poland and Lithuania were amalgamated into the Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) of both nations by the Union of Lublin of 1569. This catered for the extinction of the Jagiellonian dynasty on Zygmunt II Augustus's death in 1572. Poland then made the disastrous mistake of making its monarchy fully elective. The institution allowed foreign powers to meddle in Poland's domestic affairs by putting up their own dynastic candidates for the throne. Poland's parliamentary institutions, the Sejm and the Senate, had gained great privileges such as the *Nihil Novi* statute earlier in the century. This had prevented the development of Royal Absolutism as in Tudor England. But the decentralized estates model of Polish parliamentarianism now divided the dominant szlachta class of magnates and their very large number of noble-born gentry supporters into warring clans. Their support had to be bid for through concessions and privileges incorporated in a *Pacta Conventa*. This process eventually reduced the executive royal power to naught, while the elected throne became the plaything of chance and circumstance.

The system, however, worked quite well for a while. Stefan Batory of Transylvania (1576–1586) proved a strong and successful ruler. The throne then went to three successive members of the Catholic branch of the Swedish Vasa (Waza) dynasty. The first, Zygmunt III, overextended Poland's capacities through his long, drawn out attempt to regain control of the Swedish throne, which he held as joint king from 1591–1599, before being expelled by his fiercely Lutheran uncle. His expedition to Moscow and the attempt to place his son Władysław on the throne of Muscovy failed, but he expanded the Commonwealth even farther in Smolensk and the Ukraine to its ultimate eastward limits. The Union of Brześć (Brest) of 1596 did not win over the Orthodox masses through liturgical concessions. The church hierarchy, however, accepted papal supremacy and established the Greek Catholic, or Uniate, Church.

The Commonwealth was primarily weakened from within, by the growth of Catholic fanaticism during the Counter-Reformation, the decline of gentry manners, and patriotism into an unproductive Sarmatianism and the peculiar, if not unique, balance of political institutions. The latter continually diminished the central royal power in favor of the aristocratic families, such as the Radziwiłłs, with their huge estates and personal armies. The latter

made up of hangers-on drawn from the large, but often landless and fiercely arrogant, gentry class. This gave them not only control of the local regional Sejms but also overweening influence in the state. Just how harmful this could be was shown during the reign of Jan Kazimierz, elected in 1648. From 1652 onward, when Włodzimierz Siciński used the first *Liberum Veto*, a single Sejm deputy could annul all its work and dissolve it. The Commonwealth, therefore, could not cope with the major external threats that faced it from every side. Bohdan Chmielnicki's enormous Cossack Uprising of 1648–1651 lost Poland the eastern half of the Ukraine by 1660 as well as Smolensk, thus opening the way to Russia's expansion. The Swedish "Deluge" (*Potop*) of 1655–1660 devastated the country, lost Prussia, which was annexed by Brandenburg in 1657, and the Inflanty (Latvia/Southern Estonia). It came within a hairsbreadth of being partitioned. But even now the Commonwealth had the capacity of fighting back under effective leadership, such as that of Hetman Jan Czarniecki in the 1650s and Jan Sobieski, who was elected king as result of his smashing victory of Chocim against the Turks. That Sobieski could not extract any direct benefit for Poland from his even greater victory, which saved Vienna in 1683, and that he could not even have his son elected before his death in 1696 attests to the extent of the Commonwealth's decline.

With Sobieski's passing, Poland really became the plaything of foreign powers. The two Saxon electors who succeeded him cared little for the country's interests. Augustus II was driven out by Charles XII of Sweden and replaced by a rich magnate, Stanisław Leszczyński, from 1704 to 1709. Peter the Great dominated Polish affairs on Augustus's return. This effective control was almost institutionalized by the "Dumb Sejm" of 1717, which was manipulated by the Russian ambassador and his troops. Russia gained the right of interfering in Poland's affairs under the guise of protecting its coreligionists and guaranteeing the "anarchy" caused by gentry privileges. When the next election was won by Leszczyński in 1733, Russia and Austria invaded in order to install their new Saxon puppet, Augustus III. What then followed was the unexpected development of a reform movement within the progressive section of the *szlachta* led by the Czartoryski "family." The latter was composed of their own very large clan and associated allies, such as the Potockis and Lubomirskis. Catherine the Great of Russia again intervened in 1764 to force the election of her erstwhile lover, Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, himself a relative of the Czartoryskis. As the last king of Poland he patronized the arts and was by no means a Russian puppet, although his political influence was weak.

Civil War broke out in Poland with the reactionary Confederation of Radom of 1767 being opposed by the progressives of Bar the following year. The latter's challenge to Russian control and problems in the Turkish War inclined Catherine the Great to join with Prussia and Austria in lopping off large areas of Poland in the First Partition of 1772. The shock caused by this event strengthened the reform movement. It precipitated the establishment of the Commission of National Education and encouraged various other political and social reforms. All this culminated in the work of the Four-Year Sejm of 1788–1792 and the liberal constitution of 3 May 1791. Influenced by the French Revolution, the latter was one of the most progressive documents of its time and has remained a potent symbol in subsequent Polish history. Once again the Polish conservatives formed a confederation, the most infamous in Polish history, of Targowica, to solicit Russian help. The resulting Second Partition of 1793 between Prussia and Russia provoked Tadeusz Kościuszko's last-ditch attempt to preserve the nation through a national uprising. Despite mobilizing the peasants, who won the battle of Raclawice with their picturesque scythes, the Poles were suppressed, very bloodily, by the full might of the Russian army. Russia, Austria, and Prussia divided the remaining Polish lands between them, quelling the last remnants of the nation's independence, in 1795.

Partitioned Poland

The Poles rallied to Napoleon, fighting for him in various Legions. But he made cynical use of their enthusiasm. He sent many of them to perish on the Caribbean island of San Domingo, whose black slaves had revolted against French rule, while others later served in Spain. The only tangible benefit for the Poles was the Duchy of Warsaw, established in 1807 out of territories seized by Prussia during the partitions; even that was to be ruled by the king of Saxony. It was extended two years later with similar lands grabbed by Austria. The Poles also made an enormous contribution to Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. But it is not certain that the dynastically minded and shortsighted emperor would have resurrected a major independent and progressive Polish state to counterpoise his conservative enemies in Central and Eastern Europe, even if he had been successful. The Napoleonic epic, nevertheless, made a huge impact on the Polish consciousness. It was particularly strong during the 19th-century struggle for independence, when it was associated with the Romantic tradition.

Polish conservatives, led by Count Czartoryski, had banked on the Russian Emperor Alexander I. Most of the duchy, less Poznań, was incorporated

within the Russian Empire in 1815 at Vienna in the Congress Kingdom. It was initially given considerable autonomy as long as Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovitch, Alexander's brother, was viceroy, but this was insufficient to prevent the 1830–1831 Uprising. Its bloody suppression was followed by reprisals, mass exile to Siberia, and increasing repression during the reign of Czar Nicholas I. Emigration for political reasons also became widespread. Czartoryski set up what was almost a government-in-exile at the Hotel Lambert in Paris. Radicals established contacts with other revolutionaries in the struggle “for your freedom as well as ours.” It should be remembered that Polish Independence was later the issue on which the founding meeting of Karl Marx's First International was called. The Great Emigration was also a profound intellectual and cultural movement marked by the great music of Fryderyk Chopin and the development of Romantic Messianism in the writings of Adam Mickiewicz and Juliusz Słowacki. Although there were uprisings in Kraków in 1846 and in the Prussian Partition in 1848, the great anti-Russian revolution burst out in January 1863 and took more than a year to be suppressed.

After 1864, the Poles in all three partitions tended to concentrate on “Organic Work.” This aimed to strengthen the economic and cultural resources of their national community and to resist the Russification and Germanization policies of the occupying powers. The building of railways and industrialization was most developed in the Prussian Partition. The revolutionary struggle was always most strongly nationalist there. The Prussian Government attacked the Roman Catholic Church in the *Kulturkampf* of the 1880s, encouraged German colonization through bodies such as the *Hakata*, and attempted to eradicate Polish language and educational facilities. The social conflict was most acute in Russian controlled areas. The rule of law was weak and industrialization patchier. The Polish gentry class in the eastern borderlands (*kresy*) was ruined by Czarist policy. This was, therefore, more fertile ground for the development of two extreme types of revolutionary Marxism; the internationalist type was propagated by Roża Luksemburg, while the fiercely patriotic independence strand of the Polish Socialist Party was epitomized by Józef Piłsudski, who came from the *déclassé* gentry. Political, social, and religious conditions were at their best in Austrian Galicia, though economic development was not. Here the conservatives gained virtual autonomy after 1867 and defended Polish interests in the parliament in Vienna. Galicia thus produced the core of an experienced political and administrative class for independent Poland. It not only sheltered Poles from the more autocratically run partitions but also allowed Piłsudski and others such as Władysław Sikorski to organize riflemen's clubs in the years before World War I.

Independent and Threatened Poland

Much devastated by the war fought on its territory, independent Poland emerged out of the simultaneous defeat of all three of its occupiers. The defeat of the central powers and the political elimination of Russia after the 1917 revolutions permitted the establishment of an independent Polish government with Piłsudski as head of state in November 1918. But it took almost five years of diplomatic disputes and military conflicts before its frontiers were fully established and recognized. The Treaty of Versailles confirmed the Thirteenth Point of American President Woodrow Wilson's war aims, which held that there should be an independent Poland with access to the Baltic Sea. But interallied disputes, especially British Prime Minister Lloyd George's fear that Poland would become France's satellite, led to the establishment of a Free City of Danzig. East Prussia remained German, with Poland obtaining access to the Baltic through the "corridor" that separated it from the rest of Germany. The Poles later constructed their own port at Gdynia. The final frontier with Germany emerged from Polish uprisings in Silesia and a plebiscite there as well as in Allenstein (Olsztyn) and Marienwerder. The eastern border that was confirmed by the Treaty of Riga of 1921 went well beyond the ethnic Polish confines recommended by Lord Curzon in the line named after him. The complicated and long, drawn out political and military conflicts between Ukrainians, Belarusians, Lithuanians, White and Soviet Russians, and Poles ended in 1920. The Poles not only repelled the Soviet advance on Warsaw in the Polish-Soviet War of 1920, but also occupied and gained considerable territory beyond the Curzon Line. Interwar Poland thus became only two-thirds ethnically Polish. Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) remained unreconciled to their territorial losses to Poland. Even relatively minor disputes such as those over Wilno (Vilnius) and Cieszyn also strained relations with Poland's other neighbors, Lithuania and Czechoslovakia.

Independent Poland became a parliamentary democracy very similar to the model of the Third French Republic. Its political and ethnic divisions produced a fragmented party system, which was faithfully reflected by the electoral system based on proportional representation. Governments were, therefore, broadly based but insecure and usually short lived. Political life was dominated by the conflict between Piłsudski, who ceased to be head of state in 1922, and the National Democratic camp inspired by the nationalist ideologue Roman Dmowski. Their conflicts went to the heart of whether Poland should give autonomy to its national minorities or try to Polonize them. Piłsudski, harking back to Jagiellonian conceptions, had hoped that some sort

of federal arrangement might produce a Trialist Polish-Lithuanian/Belarusan-Ukrainian state to balance Germany and to act as a buffer against Soviet Russia. But his schemes were somewhat chimerical at the time, while the rival concept of a unified Polish-dominated state won out on the domestic scene.

The democratic system lasted until May 1926, when Piłsudski, fearing for his control over the Polish army, seized power in an armed coup d'état that caused some hundred deaths. He did not rule directly but through his *Sanacja* (Moral Reform) supporters, many of whom, particularly the colonels, became his ministers. His system of Guided Authoritarianism even kept up the pretense of coexistence with the Sejm until 1930, when opponents were arrested and imprisoned in the Brześć camp. Piłsudski, however, was increasingly aging, ill, and worn out. He failed to modernize the army, to rethink its strategy, or to appreciate the priority of the Nazi German over the Soviet Russian threat after Hitler came to power. His system, although served by able economists such as Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, barely began to industrialize Poland and to alleviate its problems of surplus rural population and dependency on the advanced capitalist economies that exploited its resources. Piłsudski's foreign minister from 1932 onward, Colonel Józef Beck, gained time by signing nonaggression pacts with Germany and the USSR. But his brusque methods lost the confidence of an already irresolute French ally. France had been relied on since the signing of the political and military alliances of 1921, but it now sought a Soviet pact.

When Piłsudski died in 1935, his system continued, with power being shared between the new army commander, Marshal Edward Rydz-Śmigły, Beck, and President Ignacy Mościcki. Beck was certainly unhelpful, but he cannot be blamed for the French failure to resist the remilitarization of the Rhineland in March 1936 or for Great Britain's appeasement of Germany until after Munich. When Hitler turned on Poland in spring 1939, demanding the keys to the country's security, the incorporation of Danzig, and the Corridor in the Reich, Beck spoke for the whole nation in defying him and in securing an Anglo-French guarantee. True to Piłsudski's doctrine of the "Two Enemies," to the end he refused to even consider a Soviet alliance for tactical purposes. The inevitable result in the age of *realpolitik* was the agreement between the two dictators, Hitler and Stalin. The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 23 August 1939, envisaging the "fourth partition" of Poland in its secret annex, allowed Germany to smash Poland in the first modern blitzkrieg, beginning on 1 September, while the USSR invaded and occupied eastern Poland from 17 September onward.

It is impossible to overestimate the effect of World War II on the generation of Poles who lived through it. No rule of law existed for Poles in the

territory incorporated within the Reich or those surviving hand-to-mouth, under conditions of continual repression within the remaining German-controlled General Gouvernement. The Holocaust of Jews and Gypsies (Roma) is well known, but the Polish intellectual and political elites were next in line for extermination. The general population only figured as slave labor in Nazi plans. Conditions were only marginally better in the Soviet-occupied areas. Massive deportations of more than a million Poles into the USSR's heartland were matched by Stalin's April–May 1940 massacre of about 21,000 prisoners of war and other internees in the Katyń forest and other killing-grounds at Kharkov and Miednoje, near Tver, as well as in Ukrainian and Belarusan prisons. The details of how the Western Allies lied on this issue and abandoned their Polish government-in-exile ally after 1941, in order to give priority to the Soviet war effort against Nazi Germany, are covered in the dictionary. Postwar great power deals at Yalta and Potsdam, which led to Poland's new frontiers on the Oder-Neisse in the west and close to the Curzon Line in the east, are also discussed in the dictionary. These deals also condoned the *de facto* establishment of Communist rule within Poland, which was consolidated and turning into Stalinism by the time of the 1947 election.

Poland under Communist Rule

The currently popular argument that Soviet Communist rule was imposed upon Poland from outside is fundamentally true. But a much-delayed socioeconomic revolution was probably a postwar inevitability. The tragedy was that the postwar division of Europe and the Cold War meant that it should come from the hostile East, under Bolshevik Russian auspices, and not from the democratic West. Nevertheless, the reconstruction policies of 1945–1948 and the social, educational, and health reforms were nationally supported, despite their cynical use by the Communists in their drive to power.

The details of the development of Communist Poland's history are covered in the various dictionary entries, but it should be noted that it evolved through a number of different political forms that correspond to successive historical periods. Once the Communists had established their monopoly of power by late 1947, they moved on to implement classic Stalinization policies. The Polish Workers Party (PPR) was amalgamated forcibly with the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) to form the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) in December 1948. A massive industrialization program was accompanied by police terror. The drive to collectivize agriculture was, how-

The Dictionary

– A –

ABAKONOWICZ, MAGDALENA (1930–). Creative artist with an international reputation for her innovations in textiles, tapestries, and sculpture. She graduated from the Fine Arts Academy in **Warsaw** in 1954 and went on to become a professor at the Fine Arts Academy in **Poznań**. She achieved fame in the 1960s for creating a new monumental type of tapestry. She subsequently experimented with novel forms of sculpture in both bronze and stone. By the 1990s, her interests turned to innovative architectural creations, notably the Memorial Tower in Hiroshima, the city in Japan that suffered the first nuclear attack in 1945, and an ecologically based housing development in the La Défense district of Paris. Her work is housed worldwide in numerous museums and collections.

ABRAMOWSKI, EDWARD (1868–1918). Major socialist writer and activist. He was highly influential, especially in cooperative movements before, and again after the Communist period, for his theory of nonstate socialism, adapting utopian anarchist traditions to Polish conditions.

AGRICULTURE. Collectivization was never pressed very hard in Poland, even in the Stalinist period, with the result that more than 80 percent of the land was always farmed by small family-peasant holdings. Although **Wladyslaw Gomułka** revoked many of his initial concessions, **Edward Gierek** introduced pensions for private peasant farmers in the 1970s. By 2000, private farms occupied 57 percent of the country's total area and 84 percent of the land in agricultural use. The large agricultural sector of about two million mainly small and inefficient family plots presented democratic Poland with its most serious economic and social problem.

As late as 1995, 27 percent of the workforce (4.3 million) were still employed in agriculture, which contributed a mere 6.6 percent of the

gross domestic product (GDP). The real problem was that more than half of the plots were less than 5 hectares in size (20 percent of land tilled); the average was 6.7 hectares (only rising to 7.2 hectares by 2000), while a mere 3 percent were held to be fully viable (20 hectares or more), making up a fifth of the agricultural area. However, the countryside is now mechanized, with the previously ubiquitous horse and cart having almost completely vanished into folklore. They have been replaced by 1.3 million tractors (double the 1980 figure), combines, and other modern equipment. The prevailing external assumption that agricultural employment had to be slimmed down to about 800,000 to a million, however, met with strong opposition from Polish governments and from violent Pujadist peasants organized by **Andrzej Lepper**. Less than half of the holdings were, or could potentially become, viable and competitive within the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) framework of the **European Union** (EU). The political will necessary to tackle this fundamental socioeconomic problem was strikingly absent during **Jerzy Buzek's** government.

The fundamental problems of restructuring and rural development and unemployment were sidestepped in the EU entry negotiations, in order to avoid the political backlash. EU assessments noted regularly the absence of any coherent strategy for both the agricultural and **fisheries** sectors. The EU also called for rapid improvements in the veterinary, food standard, and border inspection areas as well. It considered that while Poland had produced much of the required legislative harmonization, especially for sugar, fruits and vegetables, and, to a lesser extent, meat, the country was still incapable of managing the CAP. It lacked a paying agency and administrative control and milk quota management systems. Poland was faced in the final negotiation stage in 2002 with an EU Commission proposal that the introduction of CAP payments should be staggered over a 10-year transition period, starting at 25 percent in the first year of membership. The EU Commission also wanted to break the link between CAP payments and the quantity of production and to scale down the level of CAP subsidy by 20 percent over a seven-year period. The agricultural chapter was one of the last to be closed in 2002, as it awaited what turned out to be a last minute and fudged agreement on these issues between the existing members.

Although Poland is agriculturally self-sufficient, food imports rocketed during the 1990s for reasons of quality and novelty, especially as dairy and milk production was initially unhygienic and primitive. The Agricultural Market Agency (ARR) was forced by peasant and political

pressures to intervene to support prices, especially of pork, wheat, and milk. Low peasant incomes, together with the expensive cost of peasants' social security and agricultural subsidies, thus cost about 9 percent of the state budget. Prospects for cereal, meat, and alcohol exports and fruit and vegetable food processing were brightest as the new millennium started, although total agricultural production declined after 1998. Poland's potential for ecological farming could also be expected to partially counterbalance the EU's need to curtail, not increase, agricultural production. On the other hand, Poland remained (1999) a major agricultural producer; it occupied the first position in the world in the production of rye, 5th in potatoes, 6th in beetroot and pork, 9th in milk, 13th in barley, and 14th in wheat. Overall there was a resigned feeling among Poland's elites that, because agricultural restructuring and slimming down was inevitable, it would be best if it were carried out within a supporting EU framework.

ALLIANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT/SOJUSZ LEWICY DEMOKRATYCZNE (SLD). Initially an umbrella political grouping animated by the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP)** from July 1991 onward in order to widen its appeal and to disassociate itself from its Communist (**Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR]**) past. The SLD electoral alliance gained 60 **Sejm** seats in 1991 (13 groupings), 171 in 1993 (28 groupings), and 164 in 1997. In addition to the SdRP, its main components were the **All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ)**, the **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)** led by Piotr Ikonowicz, the Union of Polish Teachers (ZNP), the Socialist League of Polish Youth, and the Union of Women. The SdRP claimed to have completed its transformation into a normal west European type of social democratic party by assuming the name of the Alliance of the Democratic Left in 1999. This was designed to provide a more integrated organizational framework for its allied political forces. As the strongest party organization with the most united leadership and the second largest membership (about 60,000 claimed) in Poland, it gained a great success in the 2001 election; in alliance with the **Labor Union (UP)**, it won 216 **Sejm** seats and three-quarters of the **Senate** seats. *See also* MILLER, LESZEK; OLEKSY, JÓZEF.

ALL-POLAND ALLIANCE OF TRADE UNIONS/OGÓLNOPOLSKIE POROZUMIENIE ZWIĄZKÓW ZAWODOWYCH (OPZZ).

All trade unions, including **Solidarity**, were banned by the martial law

legislation of 1982. The **Jaruzelski** regime started rebuilding the unions from the factory level upward and gradually developed them into a national federation, the OPZZ, by about 1985. This body, led by **Alfred Miodowicz**, was never as strong as the pre-1980 Communist unions (CRZZ) or Solidarity itself during 1980–1981. But it had a head start in membership terms on the latter and increasingly reflected the interests of its members both against Communist marketization initiatives in the late 1980s and the **Round Table** deal with Solidarity. The OPZZ, therefore, survived into the post-Communist era, establishing the Movement of the Working People (RLP) as its political arm. The latter's chairman, Ewa Spychalska, succeeded Alfred Miodowicz as OPZZ leader from 1991 to 1996 and was, in turn, followed by Józef Wiaderny and Mieczysław Manicki. The OPZZ played a prominent role within the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) after 1993, electing numerous deputies and Senators. Like its Solidarity competitor, it faced the dilemma of reconciling support for the democratic and European aims of its political allies with those of expressing mass popular discontent with the social and economic costs of the modernizing transformation, especially factory closure and unemployment.

ALOT, STANISŁAW (1950–). A **Solidarity** activist, interned during martial law, Alot was a secretary of Solidarity's National Executive Committee, 1992–1998. He played an important role in **Jerzy Buzek**'s pensions reform, as chairman of the Social Insurance Enterprise/Zakład Ubezpieczeń Społecznych (ZUS), from January 1998 to summer 1999.

ALTER, WIKTOR. *See* BUND.

ANDERS, WLADYSŁAW (1892–1970). General. Trained in the Russian Army, he distinguished himself in the newly independent Polish Army's conflicts with the Soviets, 1919–1920. He kept out of interwar Poland's political disputes. Commander of the Nowogród Cavalry Brigade in September 1939, he was imprisoned in the USSR. Liberated in autumn 1941, he led the Polish forces in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which were repatriated through Persia in summer 1942 to the Middle East. He was commander of the Second Polish Army Corps from 1943 to 1945, which fought in the African and Italian Campaigns. Anders opposed **Władysław Sikorski**'s and **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**'s policies of compromise, becoming acting commander in chief of Polish forces in the West, October 1944–1945. He remained a determined opponent of So-

viet power and Communist Poland in émigré politics until his death in London.

ANDRZEJEWSKI, JERZY (1909–1983). A famous novelist, best known for *Ashes and Diamonds*, which **Andrzej Wajda** turned into a significant film, starring **Zbigniew Cybulski**. Andrzejewski, in later life, was a co-founder of the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR) and an important opposition figure, especially as editor of the underground newspaper *Zapis*.

ANJOU DYNASTY. A branch of the French family that ruled in England (the Plantagenets), Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, and Hungary in early medieval times. Their ruling offshoots in Poland were Louis the Hungarian (King of Hungary, 1342, and of Poland as well, 1370–1380, and his daughter Jadwiga (born circa 1374, reigned 1383–1399). Jadwiga patronized the **arts**, renewed the **Kraków** Academy, and annexed Halicz Ruthenia to Poland. She founded the **Jagiellonian dynasty** and the Polish–Lithuanian Union through her marriage to Grand Duke **Władysław II Jagiello** in 1386. *See also* FRANCE.

ARCHITECTURE. The history of Polish architecture can be said to reach back some millennia because of important archeological discoveries. A wooden, early Stone Age house, for example, was discovered in Brześć Kujawski, while a whole defensive settlement from about 550 B.C. was uncovered at **Biskupin**. Pre-Romanesque (10th–11th centuries) remains of Ducal palaces with round chapels have survived in Gniezno, **Kraków**, Giecz, and other places. The flourishing of Romanesque culture from the mid-11th to the beginning of the 13th century has left its mark in such monumental churches, with richly decorated and polychromatic interiors as at Strzelno, Czerwińsk, and Kraków.

The Gothic style (14–15th centuries) was introduced to Poland by religious orders, notably the Cistercians. They built numerous churches and abbeys (Wąchock and Sulejów), in which appeared the first cross-beam vaults and, after a while, red brick. The development of the Gothic style came at an opportune political and economic moment in Poland and was popularized by royal courts, especially by **Kazimierz III** (the Great), as well as by burghers. Whole towns were built on a regularly shaped layout with defensive walls, town squares, and town halls, such as the famous one in **Toruń**, which dates back to the late 13th century. The building in which the Jagiellonian University was established in Kraków in 1364 has survived till the present day.

The Renaissance style in Polish architecture appeared with the arrival of Italian artists in the early 16th century. King **Zygmunt I** (the Old), a great patron of the arts, had the burned-out **Wawel** Castle in Kraków rebuilt according to the plans of Francis the Florentine and Bartolomeo Berrecci. The castle's courtyard was surrounded with magnificent galleries, and the masterpiece of the Polish Renaissance, Zygmunt's Chapel, was built at the same time (1519–1533). The aristocracy and the rich **gentry** built their own chapels and churches on the royal model to house their mausoleums and patronized both Polish and Italian sculptors to adorn them. Among the magnificent Renaissance residences the castles of Pieskowa Skała and Baranów and the town halls of **Sandomierz** and **Zamość** should be mentioned. The characteristic feature of the Renaissance style was its richly decorated walls, screening comb-shaped roofs, as in the **Poznań**, Toruń, and Sandomierz town halls. With the passing of time, the style adapted native Polish mannerisms, such as excessive decoration and neglect of strict architectural rules.

The beginnings of the Baroque appeared in Poland toward the end of the 16th century in such Jesuit churches as Nieśwież, Kalisz, and Kraków. The Baroque style of the time is best represented by the Royal Castle in Warsaw (1600–1619) and in the work of the celebrated architect Giovanni (Jan) Trevano. Warsaw had by that time become the national capital, although Kraków, with its numerous royal and **magnates'** palaces, remained an important cultural center. Monuments, such as Zygmunt's Column in Warsaw, made their first appearance at this time. The mannerism begun by Renaissance architecture continued in the form of excessively colored stuccoes, sparkling marbles, and monumental colonnades, as typified by the castle in Krasiczyn. All this reflected the megalomania of the dominant **Sarmatian** ideology, which declared the racial superiority of the feudal ruling class. In church architecture, the model Counter-Reformation influence became the **Jesuits'** Roman church of Saints Peter and Paul in Kraków, and the fortified monastery of Częstochowa was also built at this time. The Baroque in Poland was closely connected with the country's rebuilding after the Swedish invasions. It introduced an important architectural shift from the earlier emphasis on military defense to the elegant and extravagant style best typified by **Jan Sobieski's** palace at Wilanów outside Warsaw (1681–1692), the work of Augustus Locci. The most outstanding Baroque architect who introduced classical features was the Dutchman, Tylman Gameren, who designed the Krasiński Palace in Warsaw (1680–1699), Saint Anne's church in Kraków, and the Nieborów Palace.

The decline of Sarmatianism and the gradual introduction of French models led to a lighter architectural touch with greater finesse. New residences, such as those designed by Jan Zygmunt Deybel in **Białystok** and Jan Henryk Klemm in Radzyń Podlaski, adopted the classical Versailles type of layout for their gardens.

After 1760, the search for simpler forms drawn from classical models, especially of Ancient Greece and Rome, became widespread. The fine arts flourished to an exceptional degree under the patronage of King Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**. The **Lazienki** Gardens in Warsaw, designed by Dominik Merlini and Jan Christian Kamsetzer, is a typical example of Classicism; but one could also mention numerous other schools, hospitals, and theaters planned by such notable architects as Szymon Bogumił Zug, Stanisław Zawadzki, Piotr Aigner, and Antonio Corazzi. Toward the end of the 18th century the typical Polish country house, a single floor construction with a columned porch, crystallized. Huge urban transformations began to take place along with the construction of great public buildings, such as the National Theater. The style was generally dominated by historical forms, especially the neo-Gothic, represented by Józef Dziekoński, as well as the neo-Renaissance, practiced by Henryk Markoni. The eclectic result in architecture of the early capitalist period was typically the large tenement house for rent with a small backyard.

The 20th century started off with the Secessionist style, represented by the Old Theater of Tadeusz Stryjeński and the Fine Arts Association building of Franciszek Mączyński. In their search for the essential features of the Polish model, architects drew their inspiration from the folk arts, especially the highland style of Zakopane and the already established Polish “manor house” mode. In urban planning the Kraków architects drew on English “Garden City” models, while their Warsaw colleagues tended toward simplified Classical forms, such as the finance house of Jan Heurich or the department store designed by Franciszek Lilpop and Karol Jankowski.

After the regaining of independence, Polish architecture faced new tasks determined by social needs. With the passage of time, especially during the 1930s, new trends began to dominate. A so-called school of modern architecture emerged, using new concrete and steel materials, which produced functional and straightforward buildings without any particular decoration. Its leading figures were E. Norwerth, A. Dygat, and T. Tołwiński, who designed the National Museum in Warsaw.

Urbanism and architecture faced a huge task in rebuilding the devastated country after **World War II**. Whole cities such as Warsaw,

Gdańsk, and Wrocław lay in ruins, as did many of the factories and much of the communications network and even the countryside. The pearls of the Polish architectural heritage, such as the Old Towns of Warsaw and Gdańsk, were eventually rebuilt in their original form, as were the historic parts of other cities, such as **Lublin** and Wrocław. A decade of postwar “Socialist Realism” meant that new housing developments were often modeled on the functional Soviet Stalinist example of large tenement blocks, although only one towering ice-cake skyscraper, the Palace of Culture, was built in Stalin’s name in the center of Warsaw. After 1956, large suburbs were developed with geometrically laid out roads and squares. Whole new towns, such as Nowe Tychy and the iron and steel city of Nowa Huta outside Kraków, arose. Among the great achievements of this period should be included the major road systems, such as the Łazienkowska and East West routes, and the development of large new suburbs, such as Koło, Praga III, and Żoliborz Orchards, in the capital city.

After Stalinism, Polish architects and urban planners succeeded in marrying the best of their native traditions with Soviet as well as Western models in what is widely acknowledged to have been an adventurous, and by no means unsuccessful, exercise in building and civilizing the modern city. The bulk of the building effort, understandably, went into new housing, factories, and other social and cultural construction, but many historic churches were also rebuilt as well as a few entirely modern ones in Sochaczew, Władysławowo, and Tarnów. Postwar Polish architects also achieved recognition in international competitions and left their mark in projects in foreign cities from Lima (where Ryszard Małachowski was the main architect), Madrid, Dublin, Central London, Geneva, and San Francisco (Central Square) to Raleigh, North Carolina (the “Paraboleum”).

One should also note that the Communist system was very fond of monumental sculpture, especially in memory of working-class heroes and, above all, the World War II experience. It patronized and gave full rein in its public monuments, such as the **Westerplatte** Memorial, to the talents of such outstanding sculptors as **Xawery Dunikowski**, Jerzy Badura, Witold Cęckiewicz, Jerzy Jarmuszkiewicz, and Julian Pałka.

ARCISZEWSKI, TOMASZ (1877–1955). **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)** politician. Arciszewski was minister in the first two governments of independent Poland, 1918–1919, and Sejm deputy 1919–1935. As PPS chairman he opposed the Communists’ united front policies during the 1930s and the more pro-Soviet tack of **Władysław Sikorski** and

Stanisław Mikołajczyk during World War II. He was prime minister of the London Government-in-Exile, from November 1944 to July 1945, after Mikołajczyk returned to Poland to participate in the Provisional Government.

AREA AND TERRAIN. In 2000, Poland was territorially the world's 69th largest state and the ninth largest state in Europe (including European Russia and the Ukraine); its area of 312,685 square kilometers (322,577 square kilometers, if coastal waters are included) is roughly the total size of the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic. The bulk of Poland's surface area is composed of a vast plain, with 91 percent less than 300 meters in altitude and the average level being 173 meters. But this conceals wide variations; the **Gdańsk**-Elbląg depression lies below sea level, while large areas of the south rise above 500 meters. Geographers describe the Polish terrain as being composed of four distinct belts. First, there is the low and sandy **Baltic** coastal plain. To its south and east there is a much broader region of undulating forests and picturesque lakes in Pomerania and Mazuria. The central lowlands of **Greater Poland**, Silesia, Mazovia (**Mazowsze**), and Podlasie, make up more than half of Poland's territory. This flat heartland has generally poor and sandy soils, except for some black earth patches in the west. Poland's name is derived from this region; *pole* means field in Polish, and its original Slav inhabitants were the Polanie, or "peoples of the fields." Last come the southern uplands, rising up to the Sudetenland and heavily forested Carpathian Mountains. *See also* TOURISM.

ART. Polish art and **architecture** have both been influenced by Western models, since the adoption of Christianity in the 10th century. Among the earliest milestones are Wit Stwos (about 1447–1533), who sculpted and painted the magnificent wooden altar in the Marian Church in **Kraków**. Renaissance painting, however, did not flourish to the same extent as its sculpture and architecture. An outstanding representative of the former is Stanisław Samostrzelnik (about 1485–1541), a noted portrait and miniature painter. This style was succeeded by the developed Baroque of the late 17th-century period of rebuilding after the Swedish invasions. The burghers who had played such an important role in developing Gothic and Renaissance were now impoverished and replaced completely as patrons by **magnates** and the church. Decorative painting flourished in the splendid interiors of the palaces, churches, and monasteries of the time, as did portraiture, including tomb portraits.

The real development of the fine arts took place during the Classical period, especially under the patronage of King Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**. Portrait painting was increasingly replaced by historical painting, as in the work of M. Bocciarelli. The celebrated **Bernardo Bellotto**, better known as Canaletto, produced panoramic views of the **Warsaw** of his time. Zygmunt Vogel specialized in watercolors, while Jan Piotr Norblin and his pupil, Aleksander Orłowski, produced scenes from the life of small towns and the countryside on canvas.

Nineteenth-century painting assumed more national and patriotic characteristics as a result of the defeat of the 1831 and 1863 Uprisings and life under the **Partitions**. With the early development of capitalism, the middle classes came to the fore and patronized both the large and miniature forms of portrait painting, as typified by Jakub Simmler. Romanticism in painting came somewhat later than in literature, although it demonstrated typically Polish features. Its subjects emphasized strong national and patriotic feelings and the simple Polishness of the countryside as well as a return to an idealized past of Polish independence and greatness, especially during the Middle Ages. Piotr Michałowski, who achieved a wider European reputation, was a bit of an exception, as his topics were drawn from the Napoleonic Wars, scenes from everyday life, and peasant portraits.

A new current of Social-Realism, dealing with the life of the oppressed classes, also developed as the century wore on. The main representatives of Realism were Wojciech Gerson, Franciszek Kostrzewski, Józef Szermentowski, and Aleksander Kotsis. Aleksander Gierymski (*Jewess with Lemons*, *The Trumpets*, and *The Peasant's Coffin*) also flourished during the heyday of Realism, as did Józef Chełmoński (*The Storks* and *Indian Summer*). The most outstanding mid-19th-century painter was **Jan Matejko**. He depicted many of the major scenes in Poland's history, notably *Rejtan*, *The Union of Lublin*, *Batory before Pskow*, *The Battle of Grunwald*, and *The Prussian Homage*, on large canvases. His work is characterized by the originality of the composition and the historically accurate and convincing nature of the detail. In totally different forms, Artur Grottger excelled in drawings and Juliusz Kossak produced a series of magnificent watercolors of scenes of Poland **gentry** life. The direct opposite of Realism was Impressionism, which developed in France and won over such converts as Władysław Podkowiński and Leon Wyczółkowski and also partially influenced Jan Stanisławski and Olga Boznańska.

The final decade of the 19th century saw a turn toward the fantastic and the appearance of the Symbolist School (which, as in **literature**, was

also known as Secessionism or Young Poland). The most famous example of this approach was the poet and painter **Stanisław Wyspiański**. The currents originating out of Young Poland lasted until the 1930s, in the work of the most outstanding interwar painter, Tadeusz Makowski, whose favorite subjects were children (*The Cobbler*, *The Country Yard*, and *The Miser*). The next new school was that of Colorism, developed by the pupils of Józef Pankiewicz, a professor at the Kraków Fine Arts Academy, notably Zygmunt Waliszewski, Jan Cybis, Eugeniusz Eibish, and Hanna Rudzka-Cybisowa.

Painting, as did the other arts, saw a heated debate during 1955–1960 about the philosophical bases of contemporary painting. Abstract painting (“without a subject”) became more popular, originally in geometrical forms (H. Staszewski and Jonas Stern) and later nongeometrical forms (Tadeusz Kantor). At the same time an important sub-current in Polish painting emerged with Primitivists, self-taught painters like Teofil Ociepka and Nikifor.

The contemporary period, from the 1970s onward, has been marked by unceasing experimentation and eclecticism. Work has represented various directions in painting, including a reborn “Figuralism,” as demonstrated by neo-Expressionists, such as J. Narzyński, A. Możejko, and R. Gierszewski. “Realist” approaches also continued as shown in the paintings of Juliusz and Helena Krajewski.

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BABIUCH, EDWARD (1927–). Communist politician. Babiuch was **Edward Gierek**’s main political lieutenant during the 1970s, first as a **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) Central Committee secretary (1970–1980), and then as prime minister (February–August 1980). He was disgraced because of his responsibility for the 1980 crisis. Gierek later, in his memoirs, accused Babiuch of conspiring against him.

BAIRD, TADEUSZ (1928–1981). Baird was an influential modern composer, noted for his three symphonies, concertos, and choral work. He also established the postwar “**Warsaw** Autumn” music festival, which became a significant event in the cultural life of Poland and its capital.

BALCEROWICZ, LESZEK (1947–). An academic economist at the Main School of Planning and Statistics (SGPiS) in **Warsaw** from 1970

to 1989. His radical marketization and industrial restructuring proposals were rejected by the government during 1978–1981. He became one of **Solidarity**'s economic advisers and was associated with "Sieć," the Network of Leading Workplaces, established in April 1981. Balcerowicz emerged as the post-Communist economic supremo, holding the posts of deputy prime minister and minister of finance from October 1989 to autumn 1991. He developed the plan named after him, which stabilized the currency domestically and checked inflation at the cost of growing austerity and unemployment during the first two post-Communist governments of **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** and **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**. Balcerowicz was elected chairman of the new **Freedom Union** (UW) in April 1995 and led the party until 2000. He became deputy prime minister and finance minister again, in the government formed by **Jerzy Buzek** in October 1997 until 2000.

Balcerowicz is identified as the most determined political exponent of the "big bang" strategy of incorporating Poland within the global capitalist economy as quickly as possible. His initial tight monetary policies provoked decreases of about a third in output and the standard of living, leading to strikes and social unrest. Balcerowicz's policies got rid of the Black Market, especially in the Polish **currency**, the *złoty*. A functioning consumer market was established, where prices replaced the massive queuing and other dislocations that had characterized this sector since the mid-1970s. His admirers argue that these achievements gained Western investment and International Monetary Fund support, especially over debt-restructuring and credit requests. They were held to have laid the basis for the country's further economic transformation away from the Communist command economy. But the timescale for privatization, industrial restructuring, and the development of an enterprise economy with the appropriate capitalist infrastructure was extended by Balcerowicz's successors, notably **Grzegorz Kołodko**, who favored economic growth. From 1997 to 2000, Balcerowicz's attempts as deputy premier and minister of finance in Jerzy Buzek's government to maintain financial balance were challenged by the social unrest caused by industrial and agricultural restructuring and pensions and health service reforms prior to **European Union** (EU) entry. Balcerowicz was nominated as chairman of the independent National Bank of Poland in December 2000 and, again, acted as the guardian of a strong currency and of tight monetary policy. These policies brought him into renewed conflict with **Leszek Miller**'s government, especially after Kołodko became finance minister again in July 2002.

BALTIC SEA. The Baltic Sea forms Poland's northern border, and the country has had about 440 kilometers of coastline since 1945. Poland has, however, been cut off from the sea at various times in its history, notably by the Teutonic Knights and by Prussian expansion during the partition period. In the 17th century, Poland also struggled for control of the Baltic with **Sweden**, when Poland's control of the Baltic coastline extended all the way to present-day Latvia, or what historically has been called **Inflanty**. In the 20th century, U.S. President Woodrow **Wilson's Thirteenth Point**, guaranteeing an independent Poland "safe and secure access" to the sea, was only partially fulfilled by the Treaty of Versailles. Germany kept East Prussia, and Danzig (in German; **Gdańsk** in Polish) became a free city, which fell under Nazi control in the 1930s, while the so-called Polish Corridor to the Baltic separated Germany from East Prussia. Since 1945, Poland has returned to its original **Piast** situation, and is now clearly a Baltic-based power with strong Scandinavian connections.

The Baltic is of recent geological origins and is a fairly shallow and freshwater sea. Despite its enclosed character, it is divided into a number of basins and also has some deep bays and numerous islands. The sea temperature ranges from freezing in winter in its northern parts to a maximum of about 18 degrees centigrade in its southern Polish sections, but its climate is also marked by windy and stormy conditions.

Fishing is mainly of eel, herring, and cod and is carried out in the numerous smaller secondary harbors such as Kołobrzeg, Koszalin, and Słupsk. Poland's main ports are in Gdańsk, Gdynia (constructed interwar to circumvent German control), and Świnoujście, the port for Szczecin at the mouth of the River Oder. Their dockyards played crucial political roles during the Polish People's Republic (PRL), notably in the strikes and confrontations with the Communist system that produced **Solidarity** in 1980–1981. The Gdańsk shipyard fell on hard times after 1987, and its closure was a long, drawn out, and deeply emotional and politically controversial issue. The other two yards prospered initially during the Third Republic, until the privatized Szczecin yard went bankrupt in 2002.

One of the unfortunate consequences of communism was the **environmental** pollution of the Baltic, in terms of both industrial waste and sewage, which is only now being tackled. *See also* GDAŃSK; HANSEATIC LEAGUE; INFLANTY.

BANKING. Interwar Poland had an extremely developed banking system, which was destroyed completely during **World War II**. The Central

Bank of Poland and numerous state-owned banks competed in 1938 with no less than 27 private joint-stock banks, 20 banking houses, 19 credit funds, 353 communal savings funds, 975 local credit and savings societies, and almost 6,000 credit societies. The Communist command economy in its Stalinist form originally reduced banks to mere bookkeeping and plan control agencies. The National Bank of Poland (NBP) was controlled by the Ministry of Finance, which took its orders directly from the leading party-state bodies. Commercial operations were heavily centralized in the following three banks: the Commercial Bank serviced foreign trade, the Bank PKO handled domestic and foreign currency accounts, and the Food Economy Bank served State Farms (Państwowe Gospodarstwo Rolne, PGR) and the limited socialized agricultural sector. The latter also supervised the operations of about 1,500 cooperative banks catering to the needs of the predominant private farming sector. This system was tinkered with at various times, but the important 1981 reform gave the National Bank some independence from the government. It also allowed for the creation of independent and self-financing joint-stock banks with foreign capital participation. In practice, little was done because of the political stalemate, although independent export development and state savings banks as well as some commercial banks were established from 1986 onward.

Post-Communist Poland made an early, and probably the most ambitious, start in Eastern Europe under **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** and **Leszek Balcerowicz** to produce an efficient and modern banking sector to service its rapid moves toward economic restructuring and privatization. The number of banks increased dramatically. Despite some failures and scandals (notably the Art-B case), about 100 national banks were functioning successfully by 1993, many branches of foreign banks had been established, and the main state banks were being transformed into joint-stock companies. The number of cooperative banks stabilized at 1,394, compared with 78 commercial banks (1995). New institutions such as a National Clearing House and a “telebank” also emerged. A balanced equilibrium was reached by 1995, when the state share of bank capital fell to 50 percent and it controlled 24 banks compared with a foreign holding of 30 percent, which controlled another 24, while Polish capital owned 36 banks. The state commercial banks that had broken away from the NBP after 1986, therefore, faced growing competition, and the nine major regional firms were privatized between 1993 and 1998. German and Italian bank holdings also accelerated to such an extent that foreign capital’s share was estimated at two-thirds by 1999.

From 1992 to 2000, the NBP concentrated on the traditional steering and oversight functions of a central bank under **Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz**, who exercised tight control over the **currency**, as did her successor, **Leszek Balcerowicz**. The new financial system also encouraged a dramatic expansion of bank accounts, check transactions, credit cards, and mortgage loans. The opening up of the banking and insurance sectors to foreign firms was accelerated by **Jerzy Buzek**'s government, which privatized the PEKAO and Western Banks and started issuing mortgage bank licenses. The Banking Act, which came into force in January 1999, also allowed foreign banks to establish branches in Poland. More significantly, it strengthened the independence of the NBP, while devolving some of its powers, such as setting the interest rate to the Council on Monetary Policy (RPP).

BARTEL, KAZIMIERZ (1882–1941). A Lwów Polytechnic mathematician and professor who became a **Sanacja** politician. He was a minister in various posts during the 1920s and prime minister on three occasions (1926–1930). His main function was to steer Poland through the partially free political period following **Marshal Józef Piłsudski**'s coup d'état in 1926. The system subsequently became much more authoritarian from 1930 onward. He was murdered by the Nazi occupiers.

BARTOSZCZE, ROMAN (1946–). This **Rural Solidarity** activist became a Polish Peasant Party (PSL-Wilanów faction) leader and **Sejm** deputy in 1989. The following year he became the chairman of the reunited PSL and the Peasant Party's candidate in the presidential election, gaining a disappointing 7.15 percent of the vote. Bartoszcze eventually lost a power struggle for control of the PSL with the successors to the United Peasant Party (ZSL) strand of the Communist period, led by **Roman Jagieliński**. *See also* PEASANT PARTIES.

BARTOSZEWSKI, WLADYSLAW (1922–). A historian and university professor, specializing in Polish-Jewish and Polish-German questions, especially during **World War II**, when he participated in the **Warsaw Uprising** of 1944. A dissident who collaborated with Radio Free Europe and the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR), he was interned during the state of war. He was rewarded by the **Solidarity** camp by being made ambassador in Austria from 1990 to 1995. In 1995 he was nominated by President **Lech Wałęsa** to become foreign minister in **Józef Oleksy**'s government (till 1996). He assumed the post again, as he was formally

nonparty, on the recommendation of the **Freedom Union** (UW) in June 2000 (till autumn 2001), when that party and his predecessor, **Bronisław Geremek**, withdrew from **Jerzy Buzek**'s coalition government.

BATORY, STEFAN (1533–1586). Duke of Transylvania, 1571, formally elected king of Poland in 1576, because of his marriage to Anna Jagiellonka (1523–1596). He favored policies of territorial expansion (gaining **Gdańsk** and the **Inflanty**), religious toleration, and cultural development (founding the Wilno Academy). The efforts of this great Renaissance autocrat to strengthen the monarchy through legal and military reforms and to subordinate aristocratic and **gentry** privileges were cut short by his early death.

BATTLE OF BRITAIN 1940. The contribution of the 144 Polish fighter pilots, notably in the Royal Air Force's (RAF) 302 and 303 Squadrons, has struck a very popular chord with Polish public opinion and has been increasingly publicized since 1956. It is claimed that they definitely shot down 204 German planes and probably another 35, between 12 and 14 percent of German losses during the campaign.

BECK, JÓZEF (1894–1944). Colonel. A **Legionary**, who became one of **Józef Piłsudski**'s closest aides after the May 1926 coup and a major **Sanacja** figure. Beck was foreign minister from 1932 to 1939 and dominated this sphere after Piłsudski's death in 1935. His implementation of the Great Man's theory that Poland should balance between two equally dangerous **Russian** and **German** enemies (nonaggression pacts of 1932, with the former, and 1934, with the latter) remains highly controversial. His apparent rapprochement with Adolf Hitler's Germany and lesser reliance on an admittedly moribund French Alliance and a totally unreliable Great Britain was successful in the short term; it gained Poland time and directed Hitler's initial thrust against Czechoslovakia. When Hitler turned on Poland in spring 1939, Beck was able to reflect national sentiment and defy him, gaining guarantees from the Western powers that did not involve formal links with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Whether the latter was wise and whether Poland had any alternative in 1939 or earlier, short of complete submission to the Axis on the Hungarian model, given Hitler's intentions, is still hotly debated. Beck himself crossed over into Romania in September 1939, where he was interned and died in 1944, after writing a rough draft of his memoirs, *Dernier Rapport*. His reputation, blackened by Communist historians

and émigré and Western politicians, who made him into a convenient scapegoat, is now being assessed more fairly.

BELARUS. A state adjoining Poland on the northern half of its eastern frontier, to the north of the **Ukraine** and south of **Lithuania**. On 29 July 1990, it declared its sovereignty and in December 1991 its independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of which it had been a constituent republic since 1919–1922. Belarusian-inhabited lands were part of the Polish-Lithuanian **Commonwealth** until **Russia** acquired them through the **Partitions**. They were divided up between Poland and the USSR by the 1921 **Treaty of Riga**. The former lands were completely reincorporated in the latter in 1939.

The Belarusian Republic has a territory of 207,600 square kilometers and a population of about 10.2 million (1999). Its capital is Minsk (1.7 million), and other major cities are Homel (500,000), Witebsk (350,000), Mogilev (359,000), Grodno (270,000), and Brest (258,000). The Belarusian people have historically had to endure much Polonization, because of dominant Polish aristocracies and **gentry** landowners and, during the last two centuries, Russification. It was estimated (1989) that the population was 79 percent Belarusian, 13 percent Russian, 4.2 percent Polish (but Polish extremist sources claim up to a quarter in Grodno province), and 1.4 percent Jewish. The main religion is Russian Orthodox, as Greek **Uniate** and **Roman Catholic** Churches were much persecuted by the dominant Russian/Soviet power. The new Belarusian elites were slower to disentangle themselves from Russian influence and to democratize and marketize than the Ukraine. Among other factors, they have a strong identity problem, with Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Baltic, German, and Scandinavian tendencies jostling for influence.

President Alaksandar Lukasenka used his direct election and subsequent referenda to establish a form of personal authoritarianism after 1994. He froze his country's tentative democratization and signed union treaties with Russia, but never quite succeeded in reamalgamating with Moscow or in getting the economic support that he had hoped for. As part of his pro-Russian drive, Lukasenka repressed the Polish minority and the Union of Poles and its chairman Tadeusz Gawin. This strengthened Poland's support for the opposition to his regime.

The Belarusian minority in interwar Poland was about a million, or 4 percent. With all the population and border transfers after **World War II**, it is estimated that only about 200,000 individuals, mainly in the **Bialystok**, **Lomza**, and **Olsztyn** areas, still have some degree of Belarusian

consciousness left. There has, however, been a striking revival in Belarusian cultural, and to a lesser extent, political, activity since 1989.

BELKA, MAREK (1952–). An economist (Łódź University graduate) who made his way into politics as President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**'s economic adviser, 1996–1997. He was deputy premier and minister of finance, from February to October 1997, and again, from October 2001 till July 2002. On the latter occasion he was blamed for growing unemployment and for not opposing **Leszek Balcerowicz**'s strictly monetarist control of the National Bank of Poland more firmly.

BELLOTTO, BERNARDO ("Canaletto" 1721–1780). Italian court painter to King Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**, resident in Poland from 1767 onward. He was celebrated for his panoramic views of **Warsaw**. Marcello Bacciarelli (1731–1818) belonged to the same school of painting at the same time.

BELWEDER. A classical palace in **Warsaw**, situated next to the Łazienki Gardens. It was rebuilt by Jakub Kubicki in 1818–1822 on the site of an earlier building that dated back to 1659. Since 1918 this has been the official residence of the head of state. The name is used colloquially to refer to **Józef Piłsudski**'s interwar political camp and, later, to **Lech Wałęsa**'s after his election as president.

BEM, JÓZEF (1794–1850). Revolutionary general and artillery theorist. Bem participated in the 1830–1831 uprising and in the 1848 Vienna revolution. He is best remembered as the heroic commander of the Hungarian forces in their uprising of 1848–1849 against the Russians and the Habsburgs, which made him a symbol of Polish–Hungarian friendship.

BEREZA KARTUSKA. Described as an "isolation camp," it was in fact a concentration camp for political opponents, established by **Sanacja** in 1934–1939, during its period of deepening authoritarianism. Bereza is situated in Polesia, in what is now West **Belarus**. The bulk of its inmates were left wing socialists, Communists, and Ukrainian and Belarusian nationalists.

BERLING, ZYGMUNT (1896–1980). During 1943–1944, General. Berling commanded the Polish Army formed by Stalin in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which, colloquially, is now known after him.

However, he was not a Stalinist stooge and was soon sidetracked and disgraced once the Communists established themselves in Poland.

BERMAN, JAKUB (1901–1984). Berman was part of the Stalinist troika with **Bolesław Bierut** and **Hilary Minc** that ruled Poland from 1948 to March 1956. He was largely responsible for ideological and security questions for most of this period but was disgraced in the run up to “**October**” 1956.

BIAŁYSTOK. A historically important city in northwestern Poland, which is now a significant textile and electronics center, with a population of 281,400 (1997). Białystok contains the architecturally impressive **Branicki** Palace, which was the residence of the important aristocratic family of that name. Its large surrounding province is also a great **tourist** region because of its diversified forests and lakes. It is world famous for the Białowieża National Park, which partly includes the primeval Białowieża Forest (the remainder being on the other side of the Belarusan frontier). The park contains the last remaining bison reservation in Europe, and it is also noted for its wild ponies and the National Museum for the Natural Sciences.

BIELECKI, JAN KRZYSZTOF (1951–). **Solidarity** activist and businessman during the 1980s. Elected to the **Sejm** as a **Civic Committee** deputy, he was one of the founders of, what after 1989, became the **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D). As prime minister from December 1990 to October 1991, he failed to cope with growing economic discontent and political divisions and with **Lech Wałęsa**’s unpredictable interference. Fragmentation within both the successor-Communist and Solidarity camps in the Sejm, together with the disputes with President Wałęsa, prevented a satisfactory constitution and electoral law from being agreed upon. Bielecki lost his Sejm seat when the KL-D failed to win any representation in 1993. He was rewarded with a profitable post in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD).

BIERUT, BOLESŁAW (1892–1956). An interwar Comintern agent and leader of the Muscovite Communist faction during **World War II**. He was chairman of the National Council for the Homeland (KRN), 1944–1947, president of the republic, 1947–1952, and chairman of the Council of Ministers, 1952–1954. But his real power base was as general secretary of the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR), 1948–1956, after **Władysław**

Gomułka's fall from power. The leading figure of a troika, which ran Stalinist Poland for Stalin, he shared power with the security and ideological boss **Jakub Berman** and the capable economic planner **Hilary Minc**. Bierut was a remarkably colorless, although comparatively speaking, decent enough Stalinist bureaucrat. His fortuitous death in Moscow in March 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), just as his Stalinist system was collapsing, saved his reputation from a fuller and more public disgrace.

BISKUPIN. One of the most important postwar archeological discoveries in Poland. It is the site in Bydgoszcz province of a remarkably well-preserved sixth century B.C. Lusatian village.

BLACK MADONNA OF CZĘSTOCHOWA. The most famous painting of the Virgin Mary in Poland is so-called because of the Madonna's dark face. Since 1384 it has been housed in the Pauline chapel of the Jasna Góra Monastery in Częstochowa. It was originally an icon in the Byzantine mode, dating back to the 9th century, although it was touched up in a more Western style in the 15th century. The monastery rallied the Poles by holding out against all the odds, when it was besieged by the Swedes during the "Deluge" of 1655. Consequently the Madonna was dedicated as the patron saint of Poland, and its cult attracted the greatest pilgrimages.

BOBRZYŃSKI, MICHAŁ (1849–1935). A conservative politician in Austrian **Galicia**. He was a prolific writer who founded the **Kraków** School of History, which explained Poland's **Partition** in terms of domestic divisions and weak government.

BOCHNIARZ, HENRYKA (1947–). An economist who graduated from the Main School of Planning and Statistics (SGPiS) in **Warsaw** and who became an academic during the Polish People's Republic (PRL). She developed into a notable spokesperson for business and a well-known television discussant after 1989. Her active role as the president of the Polish Business Council, from 1996 to 1999, and of the Confederation of Private Employers, from 1999 onward, made her one of the best-known women in the public life of the Third Republic.

BOGUSŁAWSKI, WOJCIECH (1757–1829). Often described as the father of Polish theater, he was director of the National Theater, on and off,

from 1783 to 1814. He was also a major dramatist and translator of more than 80 plays and operas.

BOLESŁAW I CHROBRY (known as “the Brave,” ca. 967–1025). Duke of Poland, 992, crowned first king of Poland in 1025. A great warrior, whose successful campaigns against the Germans, Russians, and Czechs expanded and united Poland’s territory. He also set up a strong state power, establishing the Archbishopric of Gniezno in 1000 as the center of the **Roman Catholic** Church in Poland.

BOLESŁAW II THE BOLD (also known as “the Generous,” 1039–1081). Son of **Kazimierz I the Restorer**, ruler of Poland from 1058 and king from 1076–1079. He sided with the Pope in the Investiture Conflict between Gregory VII Hildebrand and Emperor Henry IV, thus gaining his independence from the latter. Taking advantage of the civil war in **Germany**, he had himself crowned as king in 1076. Bolesław was successful in his military ventures against Kiev. But his efforts to establish a strong royal power provoked discontent by the great nobles. In particular, his execution for high treason of the Bishop of **Kraków**, who was later canonized as **Saint Stanisław Szczepanowski** (1030–1079), led to their revolt, which forced him to seek shelter in Hungary. The throne was then assumed by his younger brother, Władysław Herman (ca. 1043–1102).

BOLESŁAW III WRYMOUTH (1085–1138). The younger son of Władysław Herman, he shared the throne and fought for power from 1102 onward, with his brother Zbigniew. After driving Zbigniew out, Bolesław ruled on his own as king of Poland from 1107 to 1138. He defended Głogów against invasion by the German Emperor Henry IV in 1109, but his campaigns against the Bohemians were not so successful. Thanks to the victory of Nakło in 1113, he was able to annex Pomeranian **Gdańsk** and gain control of West Pomerania (the **Szczecin** Lands) by 1122, which allowed him to Christianize their populations. Bolesław, having three adult sons and wanting to prevent dynastic conflicts after his death, divided Poland among them in his will. He attempted to lay down a seniority principle, by which the eldest son would have a decisive say in policy as well as in foreign and ecclesiastical affairs. This son would also inherit the most important lands around **Kraków**, Gniezno, and Pomerania, while the others would receive the less-important regions.

Bolesław thus began the process of regional disintegration in Poland. Supported by various factions and orientations, his sons would fight

among themselves, while their successors would change the frontiers of the division and establish new dynasties in new duchies with their own courts. The breakup of the state deepened and continued for a long period. In the middle of the 13th century Bolesław the Chaste (1226–1279), the duke of Kraków-**Sandomierz**, who was married to the Hungarian princess, Kinga, enjoyed the greatest authority. Kraków's prestige was also strengthened in 1253 by the canonization of its bishop, **Stanisław Szczepanowski**, who had been tried and executed by **Bolesław II the Bold**.

However, despite the absence of a strong, centralized authority, the regional dukes did collaborate together when external dangers threatened. The first unifying tendencies also began to appear at about this time, especially as the original feudal system developed. But a wholly fortuitous event changed Poland's destiny for the next two centuries. One of the most powerful regional dukes, Konrad of Mazowsze (ca. 1187–1247), introduced the Germanic Order of **Teutonic** Knights and settled them for defensive purposes against the pagan Prussians as his vassals in the Chełmno Lands. The Knights, however, freed themselves from Polish influence and conquered Prussia in their own right. They established their own clerical-military state there at the end of the 13th century. The Order of Teutonic Knights constituted such a threat to divided Poland that it provoked the unification policy of **Władysław I** (the Short) and the compensatory eastward expansion of his son **Kazimierz III the Great**.

BONI, MICHAŁ (1954–). Warsaw University academic, **Solidarity** activist, and politician. He became chairman of Solidarity's **Mazowsze** branch (1989–1990), minister of labor and social security in **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**'s government, and secretary of state in that ministry to **Jacek Kuroń** in **Hanna Suchocka**'s government.

BOROWSKI, MAREK (1946–). Economist (graduate of the Main School of Planning, Economics, and Statistics, SGPiS, in **Warsaw**) and prominent (SdRP/SLD) politician. He was deputy premier and minister of finance (October 1993–February 1994) and head of the Office of the Council of Ministers in 1995. A **Sejm** deputy from 1991 onward, he became Sejm marshal in 2001, presiding with considerable finesse over particularly obstreperous Samoobrona (Self-Defense) and right wing opposition deputies.

BRANICKI, JAN KLEMENS (1689–1771). A noble belonging to one of the great **magnate** families and proprietor of vast estates. Branicki was a

prominent supporter of the **Saxon** kings, Augustus II and Augustus III, against the opposing faction led by **Stanisław Leszczyński**, becoming Crown **Hetman** in 1735. In his old age he opposed the monarchical candidacy of Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski** and supported the **Confederation** of Bar against him in 1768.

BREZA, TADEUSZ (1905–1970). Novelist and essayist best known in the Communist period for his satirical works on interwar Poland and on the Vatican.

BRONIEWSKI, WLADYSŁAW (1897–1962). Broniewski was a major and widely read modern poet. He belonged to the Polish Revolutionary Romantic and Socially Lyrical traditions. He was also a patriotically involved officer in the Polish **Legions** during World War I who fought in the **Polish-Soviet War**. Broniewski's main works include: *Dymy nad miastem* (Smoke-Trails over the Town), "*Komuna Paryska*" (The Paris Commune), *Troska i Pieśń* (Concern and Song), and *Krzyk ostateczny* (The Final Cry). Among his patriotic works are *Bagnet na bron* (Fixed Bayonets) and *Drzewo rozpaczające* (The Wailing Tree).

BROTHER ALBERT. See CHMIEŁOWSKI, ADAM.

BRUHL, HENRYK von (1700–1763). Count. Court favorite and chief minister of the two **Saxon** kings, Augustus II and Augustus III, especially after 1738. He was hated bitterly by the Polish **gentry** for his corruption, looting of the Polish exchequer, and for placing Saxon before Polish interests.

BRZOWSKI, STANISŁAW (1878–1911). A cultural and literary philosopher who criticized conservative modes of thought, especially among the Polish **gentry**, and decadent traditions. He founded the so-called philosophy of work and is often regarded as an early Marxist. Arrested and expelled from **Warsaw** University in 1897 for patriotic and **Flying University** activity, he was much discussed during the political and intellectual ferment of the late 1970s. Leszek Kołakowski, the well-known Polish philosopher in exile at Oxford University wrote an influential article about him (*Survey*, 1976); this facilitated the reconciliation between the secular and Catholic wings of the anti-Communist opposition grouped in the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR), which acted as the precursor for **Solidarity**.

BUGAJ, RYSZARD (1944–). Economist and politician. Bugaj was the main economic adviser to the **Solidarity** National Committee in 1980–1981. He led what was called the “realist” school (Waldemar Kuczyński and Andrzej Krajewski) against radicals like Stefan Kurowski and Grzegorz Pałka. Bugaj played important roles at the **Round Table** as cochairman of its subcommittee on self-management and property ownership and after becoming a **Civic Parliamentary Club** (OKP) deputy in 1989 in the **Sejm**’s economic committees. He was one of the most prominent figures in Labor Solidarity and its successor, the **Labor Union** (UP), which he chaired from 1992 until 1997. Bugaj resigned after the UP failure to win any representation in the September 1997 election (4.7 percent of the vote, below the 5 percent threshold).

BUJAK, ZBIGNIEW (1954–). A leading **Solidarity** activist, especially during martial law, when he was the main underground leader who was not arrested until 1985. Bujak was chairman of the influential **Mazowsze** Region (1980–1989), based on the Ursus tractor plant. He was widely considered as an intelligent and genuine workers’ leader, who would be a better-balanced national leader of Solidarity than **Lech Wałęsa**. He played an important role in the **Round Table** and secret Magdalenka negotiations of spring 1989. Elected to the **Sejm** as a **Civic Committee** (KO) candidate in 1989, he cofounded the **Democratic Action Civic Movement** (ROAD) with **Władysław Frasyniuk** in summer 1990, which supported **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**’s presidential candidacy. With the rapid transformation toward democratic capitalism, Bujak was quickly marginalized as a Leftist and real workers’ tribune; he was the only candidate to gain election to the Sejm in 1991 from the Democratic-Social Movement (RD-S), which he had organized. Bujak became chairman of the national committee, calling for a referendum on the abortion issue in 1992. His political career then faded despite election as deputy-chairman of the **Labor Union** (UP) and as a Sejm deputy, 1993–1997. He was appointed chairman of the Main Customs Board (GUC) during 1999–2000, with the task of reforming it in preparation for **European Union** entry. He made a political comeback in autumn 2002 as a candidate for the elected post of president of the city of **Warsaw**.

BUND. The General Jewish Workers’ Alliance, known colloquially as the Bund, emerged in April 1920 as a result of amalgamations with Jewish Social Democratic parties formed earlier in the Austrian and Russian **Partitions**. In interwar Poland, it opposed the more orthodox and Zion-

ist strands and defended the economic and political interests of Jewish workers engaging in much social and cultural work. It collaborated with the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS), but was somewhat hostile to the Communists, who persecuted its leaders, such as Wiktor Alter and Henryk Erlich, after the war and dissolved the party in 1949. Branches survived in the West.

BUZEK, JERZY (1940–). A professor of chemical engineering and a politician. Most unusually, he is a Lutheran, while his wife, Ludgard, is of Silesian German origins and still works at Gliwice Polytechnic, where he had his academic career. Buzek was a key figure in organizing the Upper Silesian branch of **Solidarity** in 1980. He chaired the second round of the 1981 congress in Oliwa, played a prominent role in the Solidarity underground during martial law, and helped draw up the movement's economic program in the late 1980s. A major Solidarity figure during the 1990s, he chaired its fourth, fifth, and sixth congresses, supporting his protégé **Marian Krzaklewski's** leadership and helping him to organize **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS).

Elected to the **Sejm** in 1997, Buzek became prime minister in October 1997. He headed an AWS-UW (**Freedom Union**) coalition, which achieved a dignified, if wary, cohabitation with President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**. His government embarked on important reforms of local government, health, pensions, and **education**. It also accelerated the industrial and agricultural restructuring required prior to **European Union** (EU) entry, meeting with much social discontent. Membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was achieved in March 1999. Buzek did not stand in the 2000 presidential election, leaving the way clear for Krzaklewski, who failed to take advantage. He also led the disintegrating AWS to its shattering electoral defeat and elimination from the Sejm in 2001. Buzek was subsequently blamed for not protecting Poland's interests sufficiently in the preparations for EU entry and for aggravating the economic crisis during the second half of his government through his inactivity.

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CAMP OF GREAT POLAND. *See* DMOWSKI, ROMAN.

CAMP OF NATIONAL UNITY. *See* SANACJA.

CEGIELSKI, HIPOLIT (1815–1868). An important Polish industrialist and social activist in Prussian-controlled **Greater Poland**. He established an agricultural machinery factory and edited two influential newspapers. The railway engineering works named after him was the original source of workers' discontent that erupted in the 1956 **Poznań** Uprising. *See also* "OCTOBER" 1956.

CENSUS. These periodic national statistics-gathering exercises have a long history in Poland. A partial and summary census was held in 1789, while a fuller one based on names took place the following year. The **Duchy of Warsaw** developed this aspect of civic modernity further by carrying out censuses in 1808, 1810, and 1811. The two censuses held interwar on 30 September 1921 and 9 December 1931, although hampered by administrative problems and illiteracy, are indispensable sources of information on the Second Republic. The latter, although held under more settled peacetime conditions than its predecessor, has been criticized for distorting statistics concerning the country's national minority composition. The Polish People's Republic (PRL) held a summary census in 1946 as well as another five increasingly detailed, 10-year censuses.

The Third Republic carried out its first census between 21 May and 8 June 2002, with 20 May as the qualifying residential date. This was organized by the chairman of the **Main Statistical Office** (GUS) on the basis of a detailed questionnaire, distributed to, and collected from, individual households by a large number of census enumerators. Held under unwontedly democratic and normal conditions, this census was expected to provide the most authoritative picture so far of Poland's demographic, family and household, educational, regional, socioeconomic, and occupational composition. Questions were included regarding citizenship and nationality (but not religion) as well as labor mobility and emigration intentions.

CENTER AGREEMENT (PARTY)/Porozumienie Centrum (PC). The Center Agreement was established by the **Kaczyński** twins, **Jarosław** and **Lech**, in May 1990 to support **Lech Wałęsa's** presidential candidacy. It split the **Civic Parliamentary Club** (OKP) and transformed itself into a center-right party in spring 1990. It originally supplied Wałęsa with many key officials in his presidential chancellery (the Kaczyńskis, Sławomir Siwek, Teresa Liszcz, and Jacek Maziarski). But Wałęsa failed to endorse the party as the main force for a presidential majority. This led to a relatively poor showing in the 1991 election, 44 **Sejm** and nine

Senate seats on 8.7 percent of the vote. Its decline, aggravated by the pointless, and increasingly bitter, feud with Wałęsa, precipitated the first stages in its splitting up the following year. It survived for a while as a minor grouplet within the **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), gaining some Sejm seats in 1997. Many of its members, including the Kaczyński twins, carried over and gained successful reelection with the new Law and Justice (PiS) party after 2001.

CENTROLEW. An alliance of left, center, and Christian Democratic parties formed in 1929–1930 to defend parliamentary democracy against **Józef Piłsudski's** growing authoritarianism. The **Sanacja** regime responded by arresting and imprisoning many of the leaders of the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS), **Polish Peasant Party** (PSL—**Piast** and **Wyzwolenie** political tendencies), and other groupings involved in a fortress in Brześć (Brest-on-the-Bug). The celebrated Brześć Trial of 1931 sentenced some to several years' imprisonment, while others like **Wincenty Witos** went into exile, giving rise to strong opposition demands for amnesty during the 1930s. Obvious parallels exist with the 1980s martial law situation.

CHALUBIŃSKI, TYTUS (1820–1889). Doctor. Chałubiński pioneered the treatment of tuberculosis in Poland. He developed Zakopane in the mountains of southeastern Poland as a climatic medical center and tourist spa. He also founded the Tatran Association to foster the sport of mountain climbing in the Tatras.

CHELM. A provincial capital of 70,100 inhabitants (1997) in Central-Eastern Poland, near the River Bug frontier with the **Ukraine**. In the Middle Ages it belonged to the Czerwień Marches (Grody Czerwieńskie), being the seat of the Halicz dukes and of an orthodox bishop. When it was annexed to Poland in 1366 a **Roman Catholic** bishop assumed his seat there, although the region remained very mixed in religious terms. During the Counter-Reformation it became noted as a center of persecution of Greek Catholic **Uniates**. A distinctive cathedral and a Baroque church were built there in the 18th century. Chełm has always been a highly strategic point on the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands, and as such it suffered devastation at Cossack hands during Bohdan Chmielnicki's uprising of 1648–1651. Although it fell to Austria in the Third **Partition**, it was incorporated in the Russian **Congress Kingdom** in 1815, becoming the capital of a separate Gubernia

(province) in 1912. The Chełm region suffered much Russification during this time, the Uniates being persecuted particularly hard by the Czarist authorities. Occupied by the Central Powers for much of World War I, Chełm was ceded by them to the Ukraine in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk but returned to Poland in 1919. *See also* RELIGION.

As Chełm was a center of much resistance activity during **World War II**, the Nazis murdered thousands of its inhabitants in reprisal. Some 90,000 Soviets and 10,000 Italians also perished in neighboring prisoner of war camps. One of the worst **Nazi extermination camps**, Sobibór, was situated quite close. Chełm was one of the earliest towns to be liberated by the Red Army in 1944. The Communist-sponsored Polish Committee of National Liberation (Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego/PKWN) issued their manifesto there on 22 July. After the war, Chełm was rebuilt and much extended. Many industrial plants, such as huge cement works and shoe and leather factories, have been constructed, and the major glassworks has been extended. The town has good educational facilities, the lyceum named after **Stefan Czarniecki**, in particular, registering nationally noted achievements.

CHMIELNICKI, BOHDAN. *See* UKRAINE.

CHMIELOWSKI, ADAM (1845–1916). Known as Brother Albert, he was a friar who founded the Albertine Order. He was also a celebrated painter of portraits, countrysides, and religious subjects. After participating in the 1863 uprising against Russian rule, during which he lost a leg, he was deported to Siberia. On his return, he served the poor in **Kraków** from 1888 until his death. His piety, saintly life, and charitable work, noted during his lifetime, gained him an enormous funeral. His character was depicted by **Stefan Żeromski** in his novel *The Conversion of Judas* (1916). Pope **John Paul II**, taking advantage of his connections with Kraków and the moral lessons to be drawn from his social work, as a victim of Russian tyranny and an earlier equivalent of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, beatified him in 1983 and canonized him as a saint in 1989.

CHODKIEWICZ, JAN KAROL. *See* HETMAN.

CHOPIN (SZOPEN), FREDERYK FRANCISZEK (1810–1849).

Poland's greatest, and most famous, composer and pianist. He was born, to a French father and a Polish mother, in Żelazowa Wola near **Warsaw**, which is now a national shrine, and where his **music** is played regularly.

After a short and intense life, which included a notable romance with the female novelist George Sand, he died in exile, in Paris.

Chopin combined national musical traditions with popular folk themes to create a highly distinctive and original national style in Polish music, which had universal appeal. A mastery of form, extremely developed harmonics, and profoundly rich melodies taken together created artistic values that made an invaluable contribution to the music of European Romanticism. Chopin wrote mainly, although not entirely, for the piano. His compositions include two concertos, nocturnes, sonatas, scherzos, polonaises, mazurkas, preludes, and waltzes. He also innovated new musical forms such as *études* and ballads.

An important competition for outstanding young pianists is held in his memory in Warsaw every five years.

**CHRISTIAN NATIONAL UNION/ZJEDNOCZENIE CHRZES-
CIAŃSKO-NARODOWE (ZCh-N).** Founded in September 1989 as a strongly nationalist-authoritarian Catholic party, stressing the importance of the family and its moral values. It was led by **Wiesław Chrzanowski**, by extremists such as Deputies **Jan Łopuszański** and Stefan Niesiołowski, ex-**Solidarity** worker-leaders like Grzegorz Pałka and Andrzej Słowik, who gained local control of **Łódź**, and national Independence firebrands like **Antoni Macierewicz**. The party was marked by a fanatical intolerance, which gave it a certain ideological hegemony in the post-Communist vacuum of political values. Its Catholic Electoral Alliance (WAK), therefore, did well in the 1991 election, with 49 **Sejm** and nine **Senate** seats on 8.73 percent of the vote. But its subsequent government, led by **Jan Olszewski**, proved a disaster. Minister of Defense Jan Parys accused **Lech Wałęsa** of plotting a military coup, and Minister of the Interior Antoni Macierewicz made an attempt, ruled illegal by the **Constitutional Tribunal**, to reveal so-called secret files on politicians who had allegedly collaborated with the Communist authorities.

The Christian National Union initially refused to compromise on their pet issues of religious instruction in schools and the criminalizing not only of abortion, but of all forms of female birth control. This stimulated the rebirth of a profound Catholic-secular division, reflected in calls for a national referendum on the abortion issue during 1992. Excluded from the Sejm from 1993 to 1997, its development was marked by splits and infighting, although it survived as one of the most important groupings within **Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS)**.

Many of its erstwhile supporters went on to join the **League of Polish Families** (LPR) in the 2001 election.

CHYZANOWSKI, WIESLAW (1923–). A graduate of the Jagiellonian University in **Kraków**, he was a **Home Army** (AK) soldier, who was later imprisoned by the Stalinists for organizing a Catholic Youth League. He subsequently became a Catholic opposition activist and **Solidarity** adviser, joining the Primate's Social Committee but not **Lech Wałęsa's Civic Committee**. He also boycotted the **Round Table**, as he opposed concessions to the Communist regime. Cofounder and leader of the **Christian National Union** (ZCh-N), 1990–1995, he was a fanatical, if short-lived (January–February 1991) minister of justice in **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's** government, reintroducing religious instruction in schools and attempting to criminalize abortion and worse. Despite, or perhaps because of this, he was elected as **Sejm**-marshal for the First Sejm, from 1991 to 1993. He was also a senator from 1997 to 2001.

CIESZKOWSKI, AUGUST (1814–1894). A philosopher and social and political activist, who helped to found the Polish League. His school of thought (which included Bolesław Trentowski and Karol Libelt) adapted Polish Messianism within a Hegelian framework, offering the suffering nation a philosophy of national deliverance through patriotic education and struggle.

CIMOSZEWICZ, WLODZIMIERZ (1950–). Lawyer and politician. A **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) reformer, he was elected to the **Sejm** from 1989 onward, becoming the chairman of the parliamentary club, representing the Parliamentary Left (KLD). As a young and personable standard-bearer for the ex-Communist left in the 1990 presidential election, he did well, gaining 9.21 percent of the vote. With the electoral victory of the left in 1993 Cimoszewicz became deputy-prime minister and minister of justice (October 1993–March 1995), deputy Sejm-marshal (March 1995–February 1996), and prime minister (February 1996–October 1997). In the latter post, he attempted to kick-start reforms and took a more social-liberal line in collaboration with President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, although he did not handle the summer 1997 floods well. Formally nonparty, although elected by the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD), Cimoszewicz kept aloof from the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP) and, therefore, lacked a power base apart from his electoral fief in **Białystok**. He be-

came foreign minister when **Leszek Miller** formed his government in 2001 and worked assiduously to promote Poland's accession into the **European Union (EU)**.

CIOŁKOSZ, ADAM (1901–1978). Socialist politician and historian. Ciołkosz opposed the Soviet takeover of Poland, becoming the leader of the postwar **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)** abroad and a major émigré figure. His wife, Lydia (died 2002), played a similar role, becoming the honorary president of the reunited PPS in 1990.

CIOSEK, STANISŁAW (1939–). A reform-minded Communist functionary, who negotiated with **Solidarity** in 1980–1981 and again in 1988–1989. Appointed ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in November 1989, he played a tactful and skillful role in negotiating democratic Poland's new relationship with Moscow during the period of the collapse of communism and the breakup of the USSR. He continued as ambassador to the Russian Federation until 1996.

CIVIC COMMITTEE/KOMITET OBYWATELSKI “SOLIDARNOŚĆ” (KO). Formed in December 1988 by **Lech Wałęsa** as chairman of **Solidarity**, it grouped together leading opposition figures in a forum that played an important role before and during the **Round Table**. The regional and local committees that it established contributed to the electoral victory in June 1989 and played important roles in the first stage of post-Communist politics during **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** government. The leading Solidarity activist, Henryk Wujec, was its secretary until June 1990, when he was replaced by Wałęsa's nominee, **Zdzisław Najder**. With the development of a fully independent political life, the movement had passed its apogee by the time it was transformed into the National Civic Committee/Krajowy Komitet Obywatelski (KKO) in February 1991.

CIVIC PARLIAMENTARY CLUB/OBYWATELSKI KLUB PARLAMENTARNY (OKP). Formed in July 1989 by the 161 **Sejm** deputies and 99 Senators elected in the June election under the **Solidarity** sponsored **Civic Committee** label. Its first chairman was **Bronisław Gereemek**, until November 1990, when he was replaced by Lech Wałęsa's supporter Mieczysław Gil. The club, which had been composed of various different political tendencies, split up soon afterward.

CIVIC PLATFORM/PLATFORMA OBYWATELSKA (PO). Political party formed by **Donald Tusk**, **Maciej Płażyński**, and **Andrzej Olechowski**, after the latter's success in the 2000 presidential election. Made up of refugees largely from **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) and the **Freedom Union** (UW), its formation hastened their disintegration. The PO gained 65 **Sejm** seats on 12.7 percent of the vote in the 2001 election. It became a secular and clearly liberal conservative party and the largest opposition party to **Leszek Miller's** government.

CLIMATE. Poland has a moderate continental climate, with hot summers and quite cold winters, the mean temperature being between 6 and 8 degrees Centigrade. It lies in a temperate zone, with a somewhat milder climate than other geographically equivalent areas. Its mean annual rainfall of between 600 and 800 millimeters (23.6 to 31.5 inches) is fairly evenly distributed. The heaviest precipitation is in summer, but **Greater Poland** only receives about a third of what reaches the southern uplands. Much of it, especially in the south again, falls as thick snow in winter. Climatic conditions are, at best, only fairly good for **agriculture**. *See also* AREA AND TERRAIN.

COAL MINING. The country has always relied overwhelmingly on coal for its energy (still four-fifths in 1996), but the share of oil and natural gas imports is rising fast. Cheap coal produced energy profligacy and serious environmental damage during the Communist period. Despite the shift toward natural gas, especially from **Russia**, through a pipeline built in the 1990s, Poland produced 3.6 percent of the world's hard coal and 6.8 percent of its brown coal and still remained the seventh largest producer in 1999. Production of hard coal declined from 193 million tons in 1988, to 117 million tons in 1997 and 103 million tons in 2000. The equivalent figures for brown coal increased from 37 million to 63 million, falling back to 60 million tons, as the efficient Bełchatów mine in central Poland remained competitive in world markets.

The collapse of communism opened up the Polish economy to cheaper coal imports and caused a need for drastic pit closures, restructuring into seven consortia and redundancy in the hard coal sector. General employment in coal mining declined from 454,000 in 1992 to a hazily, and probably over, estimated 297,000 in 1998, when it still made up 7.5 percent of the industrial workforce. By 2000, however, it only represented 2.5 percent of the whole workforce. The industry was powerful enough, using **Solidarity** connections, especially in **Katowice** province, to extort

such favorable redundancy and retraining terms from **Jerzy Buzek's** government that more than the initially planned 30,000 (of a proposed cutback of 105,000 by end 2002) volunteered to go in 1998–1999. Two of the consortia were effectively bankrupt at that time, and increasing coal reserves placed the gradualist policy under heavy strain. *See also* ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES.

COMMISSION FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION/KOMISJA EDUKACJI NARODOWEJ. An influential state body, working for national reform through the development of secular and progressive **education** from 1773 to 1794 in Poland. Its most significant personalities were **Hugo Kollątaj** and **Stanisław Staszic**.

COMMONWEALTH. This is the colloquial English phrase used to translate the Polish term *Rzeczpospolita*. Strictly speaking this means republic. It is used directly as such when referring to the interwar and current Polish Republics (Polska Rzeczpospolita, PR) and the Communist (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa, PRL). The word came into general usage from the early 16th century onward. Derived from the Latin *Respublica*, the phrase *Polish Commonwealth* denotes the democratic basis of the **Gentry** Republic, which lasted until Poland's downfall in the **Partitions**. The Polish–**Lithuanian** state after the Union of **Lublin** of 1569 has often been described as the Commonwealth of both Nations (*Rzeczpospolita obojga Narodów*).

COMMUNIST PARTY OF POLAND/ KOMUNISTYCZNA PARTIA POLSKI (KPP). Formed in December 1918 through the union of the **Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania** (SD-KPiL) and the **Polish Socialist Party** left (PPS). Known as the Communist Workers' Party of Poland (KPRP) until 1925. It was banned for supporting the Soviets in the **Polish-Soviet War** of 1920 and led a shadowy existence, gaining some parliamentary representation during the 1920s. Most of its main leaders, such as Adolf Warski (Warszawski), Maria Koszutska (Wera Kostrzewa), and Julian Leszczyński (Leński), perished during Stalin's purges in the 1930s. The party itself, dissolved on Stalin's orders in 1938, was rehabilitated in 1956.

CONFEDERATION. Leagues formed either by individuals, groups, or local units to achieve a certain purpose from medieval times onward. The best-known *konfederacje* were formed in the 18th century, by groups of

magnates and **gentry** opposed to domestic reforms. The most infamous, notably Radom (1767) and Targowica (1792), were inspired and supported by the partitioning powers, mainly **Russia**; hence, Targowica subsequently became a byword in general usage for treasonous collaboration with foreign powers or interests. But the Confederation of Bar of 1768 is remembered as a progressive movement for national rebirth and independence. *See also* HENRICIAN ARTICLES; ROKOSZ.

CONFEDERATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLAND/KONFEDERACJA POLSKI NIEPODLEGLEJ (KPN). Formed in 1979 by strongly anti-Soviet nationalists opposed to the **Workers' Defense Committee's** (KOR) more conciliatory and intrasystem reformist policies. The party, led by **Leszek Moczulski** since its inception, was heavily persecuted by the Communists and opposed the **Round Table** as a sellout to them. Although Moczulski got only 2.5 percent of the vote in the 1990 presidential election, the party emerged as a dynamically growing force in discontented industrial areas threatened by unemployment. It gained 46 **Sejm** and four **Senate** seats on 7.5 percent of the vote in 1991 but failed to qualify in 1993. As the most prominent force in the National Independence camp opposed to **Solidarity** and its successors, it maintained a distinctive Eastern Policy and a populist-authoritarian domestic appeal built around Moczulski's strong leadership during the early 1990s. The party split in August 1996, when Adam Słomka formed the KPN—Patriotic Camp (Oboz Patriotyczny). This became, and unlike Moczulski's grouping, remained, a member of **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), gaining 9 Sejm seats in 1997. Słomka continued the tradition of factionalism and extremist populism by making irresponsible accusations during the **lustration** process.

CONGRESS KINGDOM. The Polish Kingdom, colloquially known as the Congress Kingdom, established in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna, incorporated most of the **Duchy of Warsaw**, less **Poznań** and **Kraków**. A personal union ruled by the Czar of **Russia**, the kingdom lost much of its autonomy after the 1831 Uprising and all of it after the crushing of the 1863 Uprising, when it was reduced to the status of the **Vistula** province, ruled directly by governors-general. Its territory was 127,000 square kilometers, with a population rising from 2.3 million in 1816 to 6.1 million in 1870 and 10 million in 1900.

CONRAD, JOSEPH (1857–1924). Born Teodor Józef Konrad Korzeniowski, Conrad was one of the rare Poles to become a major writer

in English and not his native language. His adventure stories, often based on his experience as a seagoing captain, deal with universal themes, such as heroism, social and individual responsibility, and obedience, which give them a timeless quality. Many of them, such as *Lord Jim*, *Heart of Darkness*, *The Secret Agent*, and the *Nigger of the Narcissus*, have been made into successful films.

CONSTITUTIONAL TRIBUNAL. This legal organ, which has older interwar origins, was established in 1982 and actually constituted in 1985. Its function is to declare whether acts of parliament and regulations issued by the government, the **president**, and other state officials are in accord with the **constitution**. It has become a very influential institution within the checks and balances of the Polish political system, and since 1999, its judgments have become final and authoritative. The extent of its work can be gauged from its activity in 2000, when it ruled on the compatibility of 38 laws and 7 regulations with the constitution and dealt with 25 constitutional petitions and 15 other legal issues. The tribunal is now composed of 15 judges elected by the **Sejm** for single nine-year terms.

CONSTITUTIONS. These have played a very important symbolic role in Polish history. The “progressive” constitutions were those of 3 May 1791, which proclaimed a modern constitutional and sovereign state, of 17 March 1921, which established a democratic system dominated by parliament, and the interim “Little Constitution” of autumn 1992. The latter introduced extremely complicated political mechanisms in order to safeguard post-Communist democracy by striking a balance between the presidential and parliamentary powers. Poland has been considered a semipresidential system since 1989, and a long, drawn out parliamentary debate took place over the document, which would replace the Communist constitution. Although some of the formal presidential powers were curtailed by the April 1997 constitution, the party system and its values works against attempts to strengthen the prime minister and to produce what is known as ‘Chancellor democracy’ in Germany by such means as the constructive vote of no confidence.

In recent times the “authoritarian” constitutions have been Józef Piłsudski’s “presidential” draft of 23 April 1935 and the Communist constitution of 22 July 1952, which was much amended but never replaced by a fully “socialist” document as elsewhere in Communist Eastern Europe. Intermediate and transitional forms were introduced by the 1947

“Little Constitution,” and by the fundamental amendments of 1989 to the 1952 document. The latter, in December 1989, abolished the leading role of the Communist Party and transformed the Polish People’s Republic (PRL) into the current Polish Republic (PR). *See also* SEJM; SENATE.

CONSTRUCTION. The building industry has been almost completely privatized, often with substantial foreign participation, since 1989. The industry has benefited from a boom in the construction of hotels, offices, retailing outlets, and luxury housing apartments and developments in the major cities, notably **Warsaw**, **Gdańsk**, and **Poznań**. On the other hand, residential building almost collapsed in the late 1980s from a 1985 figure of 190,000 completions to a mere 62,1000 in 1995 and only improved to 80,600 in 1998. This has aggravated an already serious housing shortage, one of the country’s major social evils as well as a hindrance to labor mobility. Other constraints are that housing loans and mortgages were not developed until after 2000, while tax allowances have largely favored the rich. On the other hand, the cement industry has been privatized. German, French, British, and Belgian capital have taken up large stakes in the cement industry, although the country’s motorway construction program has been delayed repeatedly.

COPERNICUS (KOPERNIK), MIKOLAJ (1473–1543). One of the world’s greatest astronomers and mathematicians. Born in **Toruń**, he carried on his scientific investigations as a minor cleric in the **Roman Catholic** Church. He presented the heliocentric theory of the movement of the planets, including the Earth, around the Sun in his *On the Revolutions of Heavenly Bodies*. Copernicus also produced the theory that bad money drives out good before Thomas Gresham publicized the idea in England.

CURIE (SKŁODOWSKA), MARIE (1867–1934). As a physicist and chemist working in France with her husband, Pierre Curie, she discovered radiation. She was honored with the rare distinction of winning the Nobel Prize twice. Marie Curie’s memory as a pure scholar dedicated to scientific discovery has always been revered in Poland; her compatriots have also regarded her as one of the most outstanding individuals produced by their country.

CURRENCY. The Polish currency is the zloty (crown). This has (since 1924) been made up of 100 *groszy*, but depreciation rendered this prac-

tically obsolete by the early 1990s. The zloty's value was fixed administratively by the Communist authorities, which produced a flourishing black market value normally at about three times higher than the official rate. **Leszek Balcerowicz** devalued the zloty and made it domestically convertible, as part of his 1990 market reforms, which stemmed hyperinflation. The 1994 inflation rate of 32 percent was also brought down to about 4 to 7 percent by the end of the decade. This allowed full currency convertibility to be achieved by 1995, although some controls on foreign transactions continued. The major currency reform of 1995 also consolidated stability by replacing 10,000 old zloties for a new one and by introducing a whole new set of banknotes and coins.

Despite the above-mentioned reform, the zloty has depreciated gradually, so that it was worth only almost four per American dollar by the end of the decade, compared to its initial launch rate of about three. The crawling-peg form of gradual currency depreciation during the first half of the 1990s was replaced by more volatile exchange-rate movements in the second half of the decade. Poland increased its foreign currency reserves, and was the second East-Central European country after the Czech Republic, to achieve a purely market-determined system in preparation for **European Union** (EU) entry. The full and free market flotation of the zloty, which removed the remaining fluctuation limits that caused automatic National Bank intervention, was decided on by the Council for Monetary Policy/Rada Polityki Pieniężne (RPP) in April 2000. Tight monetary policy by the National Bank of Poland and the decline of inflation to West European levels achieved relative currency stability, for a while, despite a growing deficit in the balance of payments and high unemployment.

CURZON LINE. A line, closely corresponding to Poland's eventual eastern frontier after **World War II**, recommended on mainly ethnic criteria by the Allied Conference of Ambassadors in December 1919. The line was named after Lord Curzon, the British foreign minister, who proposed in July 1920 during the **Polish-Soviet War**, that Soviet forces should halt their offensive there.

CYBULSKI, ZBIGNIEW (1927–1967). One of the most popular postwar Polish film actors. Cybulski has been described as the Polish James Dean, because of his lifestyle, outsider roles such as he had in *Ashes and Diamonds*, and early and tragic death under a train at **Wrocław** railway station. The rumor that his death occurred as he was waving good-bye to

Marlene Dietrich after a romance with her is unsubstantiated, but is part and parcel of his myth.

CYRANKIEWICZ, JÓZEF (1911–1989). An interwar socialist in **Kraków** who survived Auschwitz and Mauthausen. Postwar, he led the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) collaborationist wing, which amalgamated with the Communist **Polish Workers' Party** (PPR) in 1948. Rewarded with **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo membership and the posts of chairman of the Council of Ministers (1947–1952 and 1954–1970) and chairman of the Council of State (1970–1972), his historical reputation suffered from understandable, although somewhat unfair, charges that his political longevity reflected a servile attitude and lack of real political influence. He was a major orator and a cunning politician who aligned the residual PPS faction with the progressive side in Communist Poland's crises, notably in 1956. This alleviated the system's excesses and contributed to its reformist-revolutionary character. He was also notorious for originating many of the political jokes of the 1960s and for a very full love life, marrying, among others, the celebrated actress Nina Andrycz.

CYWIŃSKI, BOGDAN (1939–). Writer, Catholic publicist, and **Solidarity** activist. He helped to organize the **Flying University** of the late 1970s and was the editor of **Znak** from 1993 to 1997. His very influential *Genealogies of the Unconquered* (1972) drew lessons for the anti-Communist camp, which formed during the 1970s, from the experience of Polish intelligentsia opposition against Russian Tsarist rule in the two decades before World War I.

CZARNIECKI, STEFAN (1599–1665). A great military commander, who fought a wide variety of the **Commonwealth's** enemies during a long career. He became **Wojewoda** of Ruthenia, from 1657, and field **Hetman** in 1665. Czarniecki fought the Swedes during 1626–1628 and distinguished himself in the battles of Żółte Wody and Beresteczko, against the Cossacks led by Bohdan Chmielnicki during the Uprising of 1648–1651 in the **Ukraine**. He emerged as the great hero of the terrible national ordeal of the “Deluge,” the **Polish-Swedish War** of 1655–1660, and in many ways substituted for the weak King Jan II Kazimierz. Czarniecki defended **Kraków** and led the guerrilla war against the Swedes, winning the victories of Warka in 1656 and Czarny Ostrów against their Transylvanian allies in 1657. Commanding the Polish expeditionary corps to

Denmark, he defeated the Swedes again at Koldynga in 1658. He was also, finally, victorious against the Muscovites at the battle of Połonka in 1660. Czarniecki has his place in the national lexicon as the prototype brave, faithful, and chivalrous soldier. His name has also been immortalized in the second line of the refrain of the Polish **national anthem** as well as in **Henryk Sienkiewicz's** trilogy.

CZARTORYSKI FAMILY. One of Poland's most outstanding aristocratic families, whose influence became especially important from the first half of the 18th century onward. The so-called family, the large-**magnate** Czartoryski clan composed of their relatives, intermarried relations, and supporters from other notable families, such as the **Potockis**, **Zamoyskis**, and **Lubomirskis**, emerged at about this time. Their ambition was to achieve power in the state by placing one of their family members on the Polish throne. The "family" even presented its own reform program, which it partially succeeded in bringing into effect. The Czartoryski reforms envisaged a centralized state authority, the strengthening of the executive power, the abolition of the **Liberum Veto**, and the curtailment of **gentry** excesses. This was opposed by **Russia** and Prussia as well as by various conservative magnates and their gentry supporters led by the **Radziwills**, who established the **Radom Confederation** in 1767.

Renewed attempts by the "family" to obtain the Elective Monarchy were countered by Catherine the Great of Russia, who secured it for her ex-lover, Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**, in 1764. Although Poniatowski was related to the Czartoryskis, he did not allow them to exercise power on his behalf. The "family," therefore, went into opposition, although it played an influential role in the reforms of the latter part of his reign.

Despite the fact that their main political ambitions were not fulfilled, the "family" produced a large number of outstanding politicians, diplomats, writers, and patrons of the arts. Prince Adam Kazimierz (1734–1823) was a general, who cofounded the College of Chivalry. He was active in the National Education Commission and supported the **Constitution** of 3 May 1791. Among his varied gifts were his notoriety as a literary and theater critic, and he turned his palace in Puławy into a great center of cultural and political life. Perhaps because of these inclinations he had refused to follow the "family's" wishes to compete with Stanisław Augustus for the throne.

The clan's most notable figure, though, was Prince Adam Jerzy (1770–1861), who, as foreign minister to Czar Alexander I, led the

pro-Russian orientation in Poland against Napoleon. After the failure of the 1830–1831 Uprising, he headed the conservative camp within the **Great Emigration**, called the Hotel Lambert, after his residence in Paris, becoming a notable patron of the arts. His policy was to work for the reestablishment of Polish independence by provoking a Franco-British war against Russia. He carried on an exceptionally active and long, drawn out diplomacy to further these ends in Western Europe and the Balkans. The Hotel Lambert was eventually disappointed by the result of the Crimean War, which, together with the failure of Marquis **Aleksander Wielopolski**'s policies within Poland, gave the initiative to the more radical elements who provoked the 1863 Uprising.

CZYREK, JÓZEF (1928–). Czyrek was a major Communist functionary throughout the **Jaruzelski** era. He was minister of foreign affairs (1980–1982), an influential **Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)** Central Committee secretary (1981–1989), who played an important role in bringing about the **Round Table**, and minister of state in Jaruzelski's presidential chancellery (1989–1990).

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DĄBROWSKA, MARIA (1889–1965). A major 20th-century prose writer belonging to the Realist school in her handling of psychological and social issues. Best known for *Nights and Days*, an evocative dissection of **gentry** and intelligentsia life and values in the half century before the Great War (turned into a popular TV series), *Diaries* (five volumes), and collections of stories.

DĄBROWSKI, JAN HENRYK (1755–1818). A general who participated in **Tadeusz Kościuszko**'s uprising in 1794. He established the Polish **Legions** in Italy in 1797 and fought in Napoleon's campaigns in Poland and **Russia** from 1806 to 1813. The Polish **national anthem** is colloquially called Dąbrowski's mazurka as it calls for him and his Legions to return to liberate the homeland.

DASZYŃSKI, IGNACY (1866–1936). A leading interwar left wing socialist, who made his name in prewar **Galicja** as a deputy to the Austrian parliament. He chaired the Polish Liquidation Committee and became the country's first independent prime minister in the so-called **Lublin**

government of 1918. Daszyński led the **Sejm** as its marshal in the late 1920s, in opposition to **Józef Piłsudski's** growing authoritarianism. He was the **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)** chairman in the early 1930s. An influential writer and social activist, he also founded the Association of Workers' Universities/Towarzystwo Uniwersytetu Robotniczego (TUR).

DEJMEK, KAZIMIERZ (1926–2002). Dejmek was a highly influential theater director, first in **Łódź** and then, of the National Theater in **Warsaw**. His most notable productions were of both modern playwrights like **Śławomir Mrożek** and classical works by **Stanisław Wyspiański**. The 1968 banning by the authorities of his production of **Adam Mickiewicz's** *Dziady*, because of its anti-Russian tone, provoked student protests and the “**March Events**.” He was nominated by the **Polish Peasant Party** as minister of culture and the arts, in which post he served from October 1993 to February 1996.

“**DELUGE**.” *See* POLISH-SWEDISH WARS.

DEMOCRATIC ACTION CIVIC MOVEMENT/RUCH OBYWATELSKI AKCJA DEMOKRATYCZNA (ROAD). Founded by **Zbigniew Bujak** and **Władysław Frasyniuk** in July 1990 as part of the political “**War at the Top**,” which split the **Solidarity** conglomerate. It was designed to oppose **Lech Wałęsa's** drive for the presidency and to support the rival candidature of Prime Minister **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**. The bulk of its supporters joined the **Democratic Union (UD)** after the latter's defeat. Bujak himself attempted to float a more Leftist Democratic-Social Movement/Ruch Demokratyczno-Społeczny (RD-S) without much success.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY/STRONNICTWO DEMOKRATYCZNE (SD). Founded as a liberal democratic party in 1937, this was one of the two licensed minor parties of the Communist period. It was granted seats in the **Sejm** and local councils representing the intelligentsia, small traders, and artisans. Although it broke free of communist control in 1989 and made **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** coalition possible, it proved unable to compete with new post-Communist rivals. It was rent by numerous personality and policy divisions and only won a single seat in the 1991 election.

DEMOCRATIC UNION/UNIA DEMOKRATYCZNA (UD). This grew out of the **Democratic Action Civic Movement (ROAD)** established in

summer 1990 to support **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** for the presidency. Developing out of the **Civic Parliamentary Club** (OKP), it became the largest **Sejm** deputies' club; it was supported by major figures, such as **Bronisław Geremek**, **Jacek Kuroń**, and **Władysław Frasyniuk**. But it was bedeviled by the disputes between its social democratic and Christian democrat factions. The Democratic Union was a highly ambiguous force, reflecting its composition as a broad coalition. Most of its leaders preferred a left-of-center option on such issues as the social market and the social welfare net, but the party needed right-of-center coloring, because of the initial post-Communist backlash against socialism. The UD, led by Mazowiecki, barely emerged as the strongest party in 1991, with 62 **Sejm** and 21 **Senate** seats, gaining a disappointing 12.31 percent of the vote. After the stormy interlude of **Jan Olszewski**'s government, it made a comeback, however, as the major force behind **Hanna Suchocka**'s government. It amalgamated with the **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D) to form the **Freedom Union** (UW) in April 1994, which Mazowiecki led for a year, until his replacement by **Leszek Balcerowicz**.

DLUGOSZ, JAN (1415–1480). Humanist historian, cleric, and political adviser. He tutored the sons of **Kazimierz IV the Jagiellonian**. Długosz was the author of *The History of Poland*, the earliest Polish historiographical synthesis.

DMOWSKI, ROMAN (1864–1934). Dmowski was the leading ideologist of the right wing **National Democratic** camp. He was **Józef Piłsudski**'s major political opponent for almost four decades. Before World War I, he favored a pro-**Russian** against Piłsudski's pro-Central Powers' orientation. He then wanted the Polonization of the Eastern Territories against Piłsudski's looser "federal" schemes. Dmowski chaired the Polish National Committee in Paris and was a delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference. He became minister of foreign affairs in 1923, in the unstable parliamentary democracy, which his camp was instrumental in establishing in order to displace Piłsudski. But Dmowski was primarily an ideologue and not an effective politician. The Camp of Great Poland/*Obóz Wielkiej Polski* (OWP), which he inspired in 1928, became an increasingly Integral Nationalist and authoritarian social-solidarity, as well as anti-Semitic, force. Dmowski's ideas and the realistic tradition of power politics that he established remain highly influential to this day. His standing was recognized by the naming of the central roundabout in

Warsaw after him in the 1990s. But the absence of significant ethnic minorities renders his nationalist tradition somewhat artificial, and the parties directly claiming his inheritance have never become electorally significant.

DOBACZYŃSKI, JAN (1910–1994). Lawyer, writer, and political activist. He fought in the **Home Army** (AK), participating in the 1944 **Warsaw** Uprising. After the war, he joined the pro-Communist, patriotic-nationalist **PAX** movement. This political tendency was co-opted by **Wojciech Jaruzelski**, who made Dobraczyński the chairman of his Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) from 1983 to 1989. A prolific writer, his most widely read work, *Meetings with the Madonna*, presents imaginary meetings between the Virgin Mary, depicted in the icon of the Virgin Mary of Częstochowa, and various notable personalities in Poland's history.

DOBRZAŃSKI, HENRYK (1896–1940). A Polish Army major who organized partisan resistance against the Germans in **Kielce** province after the September 1939 campaign, up to the time he was killed in action in June 1940. He was the hero of a well-known film by **Andrzej Wajda** entitled, after his pseudonym, *Hubal*.

DROBNER, BOLESŁAW (1883–1968). A major independent-minded **Polish Socialist Party-Left** (PPS) politician in interwar Poland and immediately after **World War II**. He was sidelined within the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) after 1948, although he was a short-lived reformist First Party secretary in **Kraków** during the **October** thaw of 1956.

DUCHY OF WARSAW. Napoleon established the rump of a French-controlled Polish state in 1807, formally ruled by the king of Saxony, on the basis of his agreement at Tilsit with Czar Alexander I of **Russia**. Mainly composed of lands taken by Prussia in the Second and Third **Partitions**, it was extended with Austrian territory after its defeat in the 1809 campaign. The duchy was abolished in 1815, after Napoleon's defeat.

“DUMB” SEJM. *See* POLISH-SWEDISH WARS; SEJM.

DUNIKOWSKI, XAWERY (1875–1964). Dunikowski was an outstanding sculptor, painter, and pedagogue after **World War II**. He produced a large number of war, and other, memorials.

DZIERŻYŃSKI, FELIKS (1877–1926). A leading extremist radical in the **Russian Bolshevik** and Polish **Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania** (SDKPiL) revolutionary movements before World War I. He was notorious for founding the “Cheka” Secret Police and for directing Bolshevik terror against political opponents, during the revolutionary and civil war periods, 1917–1922. During the **Polish-Soviet War** of 1920, he was politically in charge of establishing **Julian Marchlewski’s** Soviet government in **Białystok**. A member of the highest Bolshevik committees, he gradually extended a stranglehold over the security services as well as over the economy, during the period when Stalin began to take over from Lenin during the latter’s illness and after his death. Dzierżyński has a certain grim popularity in Poland as the Pole who killed the most Russians! The reality was that he was a Stalinist even before Stalin. It is interesting to speculate what might have happened had he not died, fortuitously, during the leadership transition period in the 1920s.

– E –

ECONOMY. Post-Communist Poland faced major problems in dismantling and privatizing the Communist command economy as well as in restructuring obsolescent sectors such as heavy **industry** and **agriculture**. In general the shift to a market system was very rapid in financial terms at the outset, but the abandonment of controls and subsidies within particular sectors has been a long, drawn out process, which still has to be completed. The moves toward a competitive market economy and free trade are being stimulated by **European Union** (EU) requirements ahead of the hoped-for accession date of 2004 for full membership.

The speed of the restructuring and privatization of the economy since 1990 has been dramatic. The percentage share of gross domestic product (GDP) (1998) was industry 24.4, agriculture, **fisheries**, and forestry 28.0, **construction** 7.5, and transport, with services, both state (including **education**, health, and social services) and private, being about half. The corresponding employment shares were industry 24.2, construction 5.9, transport 5.7, and agriculture about 26 percent. About 72 percent of employment is now (2000) in the private sector, which dominated agriculture, construction, and retailing, but was least advanced in transport. Although these domestic transformations were impressive, the country still lagged behind very seriously in terms of international comparisons.

Poland's problem was that although its population was 11 percent of the European Union, its economy was only 3 percent of the EU's; Poles were catching up, but their purchasing power of about 31 percent of the EU average was still only half that of the Greeks or the Portuguese, its poorest members.

Poland's main natural resources, aside from its land, are the huge, and easy to mine, hard coal reserves of Upper and Lower Silesia, which have been estimated to be sufficient to satisfy decreasing consumption for the foreseeable future. It also has large brown coal deposits in the Bełchatów, Konin, Wodzisław, and Rybnik regions, which are extremely useful for generating electricity. More recently, copper in Głogów and sulfur in Tarnobrzeg have been extracted on a large scale. The country also has substantial deposits of rock salt, zinc, and potassium. Poland has some natural gas assets, although these are increasingly dwarfed by **Russian** gas imports. There are only negligible amounts of oil and iron.

Interwar Poland was an underdeveloped country, with agriculture contributing about 45 percent to the gross domestic product; about two-thirds of the workforce was occupied in that sector, with about half being "surplus" and unproductive. Average per capita GDP was equivalent to current Third World levels, especially in the poor eastern rural areas, but advanced professional and intellectual elites were on a general European level, as were the most advanced cities. Economic backwardness and a peripheral situation were aggravated by the enormous human and economic costs of **World War II**.

The Communists imposed a Soviet-type of command economy, which nationalized all the economic means of production except for agriculture and some retail, gastronomic, and handicraft sectors. They also favored a dynamic industrialization policy based on high investment rates, which kept consumption low until the early 1970s. The urban share of the population increased from 39 percent in 1950 to 57.5 percent in 1978 and only increased to 62 percent by the 1990s, when it fell back slightly. This paralleled the swelling of the industrial workforce from 1.2 million in 1946 to 5.2 million in 1978. Heavy industry was given priority in huge plants such as the iron and steel mills of Nowa Huta outside **Kraków** and Huta Warszawa. **Coal mining**, metallurgy, and electronics in Upper Silesia, coal in Rybnik, lignite in Bełchatów, sulfur in Tarnobrzeg, copper in Legnica, fertilizer and chemical production in Puławy, petrochemicals in Płock, and cement in **Chełm** provided the main thrusts of regional industrial development. By 1978 industry made up more than 30 percent of total employment and contributed 52 percent of GDP, compared with 11.6 percent for

construction, a mere 14.5 percent for agriculture, and 21.5 percent for services. Per capita GDP was about \$2,300, about the level for Spain. Official statistics claimed that GDP in Communist Poland increased by roughly 6 percent per annum after 1950.

These figures, although no doubt somewhat inflated in common with most Communist statistics, do give a fair enough picture of the extent of socioeconomic change and development for the first half of the postwar period. The year 1978 can thus be seen as the moment that the Communist economy peaked and began to break down. GDP actually declined in subsequent years. Between 1978 and 1982, industrial output fell by 23 percent and personal consumption by 11 percent, while the hard currency debt rose to \$25 billion by 1981. By 1988 personal consumption had only recovered 12 percent, while per capita GDP was still 9 percent below the 1978 level. Post-1978 economic decline was an essential factor in provoking social discontent and political stalemate of systemic proportions.

Poland emerged out of its prolonged and deep economic recession from 1992 onward when GDP was still 18 percent below the 1989 level and roughly equivalent to that of 1982. Per capita GDP was then about \$2,200, in other words, below the 1978 level. This increased to \$3,875 by 1998 as a result of 5–7 percent growth rates after 1993, although the 6.9 percent peak in 1997 dropped to 4.8 percent in 1998 and fell further in subsequent years. The country's GDP in the late 1990s was \$149.8 billion, roughly three times that of Hungary and the Czech Republic, but less than a 14th of Germany's.

Post-Communist economic policy was generally run very capably, despite disruptive political pressures, especially by the two most prominent finance ministers, **Leszek Balcerowicz** (1989–1991 and 1997–2000) and **Grzegorz Kołodko** (1994–1997 and 2001–). They also collaborated well with **Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz** and the National Bank of Poland, as well as with both state **presidents** to maintain acceptable budgetary, financial, and foreign trade balances while protecting economic growth. The success of Poland's democratic and economic consolidation was marked by membership of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 1996.

Income tax was introduced for the first time in the mid-1990s with three tax rates. Government tax proposals always produced much acrimony between the political parties during the end of year budget debates. Bitter disputes between **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) and the **Freedom Union** (UW) over proposed tax cuts and how to handle a

growing budget deficit even led to a presidential veto by **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** in 1999. Single-digit inflation was achieved by 1998, although the *złoty* currency underwent a gradual devaluation. This was aided by generous debt-forgiveness and rescheduling agreements by external creditors. The foreign debt nationally totaled \$42.8 billion, and repayments were due to start up again by the early years of the new century with the aim of repaying the Paris Club by 2014 and the London Club by 2024.

Foreign trade balances fluctuated during the 1990s but went into growing deficit by the decade's end. Poland had, by then, been completely reintegrated into the world market, while the westward shift away from ex-East European Communist partners was completed. About two-thirds of trade was with the EU (about a third with Germany), with Italy, Russia, **France**, Netherlands, UK, and the Czech Republic being its next most significant trading partners. Unfortunately much of Poland's exports are now in raw materials and semiprocessed products. The challenge of achieving competitiveness in higher technology and manufacturing still has to be faced. Regional neighbors in the Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA)—Hungary, Czech and Slovak Republics, Slovenia, and Romania—also only contributed about 6–7 percent to Poland's trade. Moreover, prospects in this area seem weaker than possible breakthroughs in the ex-Soviet republics.

EDELMAN, MAREK (1922–). A noted cardiologist and public figure, Edelman was the last surviving leader of the 1943 Jewish Uprising in the **Warsaw** ghetto, who also participated in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. Edelman supported the anti-Communist opposition in the 1970s and became prominent in the **Łódź** branch of **Solidarity**. He joined the **Civic Committee** in 1988 and became a significant public figure after 1989, associated with **Democratic Action Civic Movement** (ROAD), the **Democratic Union** (UD), and the **Freedom Union** (UW). In April 1997 he was decorated by President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** with the highest Polish decoration, the Order of the White Eagle.

EDUCATION. This has a long and noble tradition, stretching back to such milestones as the establishment of the **Jagiellonian** University in **Kraków** in 1364 and the **Commission for National Education** in 1773. Education is also revered because of its key contribution toward keeping Polish national and cultural identity alive during the **Partition** and Nazi occupation periods. After **World War II** the educational system not only

eradicated illiteracy but also became open to all and provided the main path for social and professional advancement. The comprehensive and secular, publicly funded and heavily subsidized, open access, nonfee-paying educational system, a major achievement of the Communist period, was challenged after 1989. The early 1990s were characterized by austerity, the pressure for renewed religious instruction by priests in schools—conceded after much controversy in 1991—and the emergence of private, religious, and communally run schools. Public funds were lacking to make organizational amalgamation and closure successful in the state sector. Teachers were also discontented with low earnings, proposals for new curricula and proficiency tests, and redundancy threats.

The primary and secondary educational system remained essentially as it had been for most of the postwar period during the 1990s. This was confirmed by the Law of 7 September 1991, which lay down the following, although a large number of changes were subsequently introduced during the 1990s:

Preschools provide voluntary education in largely public institutions, such as the preschool sections of primary schools, from the ages of three and six, with what is now effectively a compulsory preschooling year at six. This sector started charging fees for meals and additional classes in 1989. It has been hard hit by austerity, especially in rural areas, with a large number of preschools and kindergartens being closed down for financial reasons.

The central feature of Polish secondary schooling was the compulsory eight-class primary school, beginning at age seven. It finished either with satisfactory completion or, in the few cases of pupils not wishing to continue education, at age 18. About 96 percent of pupils continued their education after primary school in a number of different three-to-five-year streams of post-primary education. The most important of these, the general grammar schools (the *lyceum*), took about 20 percent of primary school leavers, providing the bulk of those who pass the *Matura* certificate, the essential requirement for university entrance. This was also the main sector where nonstate schools emerged after 1989, but even in this sector, the figure for religious and social organizations was only in the 5–8 percent range by 2000. Four-year vocational grammar schools trained qualified manual and equivalent white-collar workers. Vocational technical schools usually had five-year courses, producing the more skilled white-collar workers with professional diplomas in their trade. Lastly, three-year elementary vocational schools provided a high level of general and vocational education. The number of such schools and, con-

sequently, the number of places available were cut back after 1989, but practical workplace training has declined.

The above-mentioned features largely continue, although a major reform of the school system was introduced for the 1999 school year. The previous eight years of obligatory primary schooling was replaced by two universally binding cycles of six years primary and three years lower secondary schooling. Overall in the 2000/2001 school year, Poland had a much-reduced preschool sector, including kindergartens for 451,600 pupils (less than half the 1991 figure). On the other hand, the number of primary and secondary schools increased, even though there was much restructuring between different types and the teaching staff was slimmed down in favor of better-educated professionals. There were 16,766 primary schools, with 226,400 teachers of varying types educating 3,220,600 pupils. Meanwhile 2,292 general grammar schools, with 45,600 teachers had 924,200 pupils. This compared with 8,281 vocational and technical schools, with 89,700 teachers and 1,527,900 pupils, as well as 2,567 postgrammar vocational schools, with 200,100 pupils. One should also mention that Poland has a fine tradition of special schools, catering to the needs of the blind, deaf, mentally retarded, and physically handicapped. It also has great strengths in the fields of adult and part-time or evening higher education.

The Polish system of higher education also developed most comprehensively during the postwar Communist period, when it produced about 1,100,000 graduates. In 2000/2001, the country had 310 state higher education institutions, with 1,584,800 students, 261,100 of whom graduated; 15 were universities and 23 were polytechnics (scientific/technical universities). It also had 9 agricultural, 94 economics, 10 medical, 6 physical training, and 15 theological academies, 19 teachers' training colleges, as well as 21 fine arts and 2 maritime training schools. Only 25 private higher schools (out of an estimated 200 or so) were fully recognized (according to the Main Statistical Office GUS), in 2000 educating 66,200 students (13,800 graduates). This expansion has now trebled the participation rate in higher education, compared with the Communist period, to about 37 percent.

Higher education has lost some of its social prestige, along with that of the intelligentsia generally, with the opening up of new commercial vistas; this was reflected in the decline of students in this sector from a peak of 453,700 in 1980 to 340,700 in 1985, which rose to about 400,000 in 1990. The much-reorganized sector subsequently used the new freedoms to achieve dynamic expansion to 1.41 million students in

the varied higher educational institutions by 2000. The number of university students, which had declined from 131,200 in 1980 to 116,900 in 1985, recovered to 141,100 in 1990, and then took off to 443,300 by 2000. There had only been 17,900 university graduates in 1990, compared with 21,700 in 1980, but this also increased to 74,100. The number of fully qualified academic staff members was whittled down from 61,143 in 1990 to 31,134 in 1996, although it rose slightly to 35,284 by 1999 and was supported by an estimated additional 40,000 young or untenured staff. This process eroded traditional academic tenure and involved much regrading, disputes over status and earnings, and new types of short-term academic contracts. The general decline in social prestige compared to new commercial and informational occupations was accompanied by the need to moonlight to supplement low incomes. The Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) was also slimmed down, but its numbers as well as the number of doctorates defended annually rose slightly toward the end of the decade.

ELECTORAL ACTION SOLIDARITY/AKCJA WYBORCZA SOLIDARNOŚĆ (AWS). The AWS was a political formation set up in July 1996 by **Marian Krzaklewski**, as chairman of **Solidarity**, and grouping together a large number of nationalist, Catholic, conservative, and centrist parties. It was brought together by the perceived need to provide a strong alternative to the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) and to avoid the political fragmentation that had given the left such a stunning victory in the 1993 election, followed by four years of power. Despite the fissiparous tendencies demonstrated by quarrelsome politicians, such as **Leszek Moczulski**, **Jarosław Kaczyński**, and **Lech Wałęsa**, the AWS succeeded remarkably well in the September 1997 election. It gained 201 seats in the **Sejm** and 33.83 percent of the vote and provided the backbone for **Jerzy Buzek**'s government. Krzaklewski held aloof, although he had clearly emerged as the leader of the center-right coalition as well as the likely strongest counter-candidate to **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** in the 2000 presidential election.

The AWS parliamentary club had considerable difficulty in maintaining its unity and discipline and suffered from numerous defections, although these did not threaten its political position. A parallel AWS-RS (Social Movement) was established in which Interior Minister **Janusz Tomaszewski** was very influential. In 1999 this became a more institutionalized framework. Unified policymaking between Solidarity and the AWS's other main party political components was not, however,

achieved. The movement fragmented in the run-up to the 2001 election, in which it failed to meet the electoral threshold and to win any representation. Many of its supporters survived politically by jumping ship and joining the **League of Polish Families** (LPR) and the Law and Justice (PiS) parties.

ENDECJA. *See* NATIONAL DEMOCRATS.

ENTAILS/ORDYNACJE. These were arrangements from the late 15th century onward, designed to prevent the division of large **magnate** estates. Inheritance was vested solely in the oldest surviving male. Entails were confirmed by the king and were resorted to by the great land-owning families, such as the **Radziwills**, the Myszkóws, and the Ostrogórskis.

ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES. Poland entered the post-Communist period with a highly polluted environment. This resulted from the excessive postwar concentration on heavy industry and Communist neglect of ecological protection. The forests were threatened by unfiltered industrial emissions. Industrial waste and untreated sewage had been dumped directly into rivers, lakes, and the **Baltic Sea**, causing extensive pollution. The situation was particularly bad in the Silesian industrial region adjoining what had been Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The Association Agreement signed with the European Community (EC) in December 1991 committed Poland to harmonize its environmental protection norms with EC regulations in preparation for full membership. The **Sejm** passed new laws on the protection of nature and forests and established a State Bureau for Environmental Protection and Control with a much-strengthened Inspectorate in 1991. About 1 percent of GDP per annum was assigned, initially, to cleaning up the environment, starting with the 80 most noxious enterprises and the building of coal and fuel purification and desulfurization plants and waste treatment plants. The priority of limiting atmospheric and water pollution and clearing it up was directed by the National Fund for Environmental Protection (NFOS). Drawing on fines paid by polluting enterprises, it has funded new programs that have curtailed lead emissions in exhaust fumes and improved sanitary standards in the dairy industry.

The law of environmental protection in November 1996 confirmed the new monitoring and implementation system and the functions of Regional Environment Inspectors. Despite making huge strides toward

compliance with the **European Union's** (EU) antipollution directives, damage is still being caused by the country's reliance on coal-fired power stations. Enormous tasks, such as bringing water quality up to EU standards, despite the construction or upgrading of hundreds of water plants since 1989 and managing the River **Vistula** (which might cost \$20–\$25 billion over a decade), still face Poland. By 2000 only 53 percent of the population (although fourth-fifths of the cities) benefited from waste treatment plants, while air pollutant emissions still remained very high. One should also mention that Poland, especially a strip of territory along the eastern frontier with **Belarus**, was affected by the plume of radioactive pollution sent up by the Chernobyl nuclear explosion of April 1986.

Renewed efforts were made in this field during the EU entry negotiations. The **Sejm** passed new laws on water quality, waste management, and environmental impact assessment and protection from 2000 onward. These were designed to bring drinking water, air quality, and waste disposal up to EU standards. These efforts, together with an expenditure of 1.7 percent of GDP per annum on the environment, gained the EU's confirmation that alignment with its *acquis* was acceptable, even though much improvement was needed in the country's administrative, especially implementation, inspection, and monitoring, capacities. *See also* COAL MINING.

ERLICH, HENRYK. *See* BUND.

EUROPEAN UNION. The European Economic Community (EEC), established by the 1957 Treaty of Rome, which later turned into the European Community (EC), was viewed by Polish Communist leaders as the economic underpinning of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and of capitalism in Western Europe. Aside from being ideologically hostile, Communist leaders also resented the discriminatory trade barriers that the EU established against Soviet bloc members grouped in the Council on Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). After 1989, with post-Communist Poland rapidly affirming its determination to build a democracy and a market-system economy, the situation changed dramatically. Public opinion polls showed that the Poles overwhelmingly wanted to "Return to Europe." Initially this was confused with rapid EC entry, but as knowledge of what was involved spread, support grew, especially among threatened small peasant farmers and industrial workers, for National-Catholicism and economic protectionism during the transitional stage.

The EC had already responded to Mikhail Gorbachev's detente policy by recognizing COMECON in 1988 and by promising concessions to reforming countries in Eastern Europe. **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** government was supported by a bilateral trade and cooperation agreement signed in September 1989 and with various other forms of economic and technical aid, such as the PHARE program, debt rescheduling and even forgiveness, and the like. But the EC, which transformed itself into the European Union (EU), was more concerned in the early 1990s with deepening the community through the Single European Act, the European Monetary Union, and the Maastricht Agreement, than with widening itself by letting in problem-ridden East European states. More advanced democratic-capitalist rivals like the ex-European neutrals (Austria, Sweden, and Finland) also jumped the queue and entered in 1994. While Poland found itself in the most-favored cohort of post-Communist states, outsiders increasingly felt that Hungary and the Czech Republic had stronger initial positions.

Nevertheless, Poland signed its EC associate member agreement in December 1991. This envisaged that Poland would be integrated into the EC framework and achieve free trade, aside from agricultural products, within a 10-year transition period. The principle of eventual EC entry was accepted by Poland, but only later, and in unspecified terms, by the EC. The EC made "asymmetrical" concessions by promising to lower its tariffs earlier and more completely than Poland. But the EC faced considerable internal strains, as Poland's trading profile was so similar to that of the EC's Mediterranean members, who were also far from completing their modernization. Although the **Sejm** ratified the agreement in July 1992 by 238 votes to 78, and the **Senate** by 75 to 1, studies showed that Poland would lose out through trade liberalization. This proved correct in the event. Much of Poland's manufacturers found it difficult to withstand the pressure of EU competition and exports. Little was promised for her strong agricultural exports because of the constraints of the EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). On the other hand, it was hoped that sufficient competitive enterprises would survive and prosper while its skilled and cheap labor force would attract foreign investment and technology, if only to make up the consumer goods deficit in the domestic market.

The size of the task facing Poland in making itself fit for EU entry was also initially daunting. Completely new financial institutions, such as a **stock exchange** and various other market bodies, have now been established, while older ones, such as the **banking** sector inherited from

communism, have been privatized and modernized. An incredible number of legal rules and economic procedures have been standardized. Post-Communist elites favored EU entry and harmonization as the necessary discipline for economic restructuring and modernization. But public opinion, as shown in massive industrial and rural opposition to the brutal social costs involved in slimming down the **agricultural** and coal and steel sectors, demanded a more gradual and less painful transformation. The political case for EU entry in terms of reinforcing democracy and an open society and in building a favorable European framework remained compelling, however. It counterbalanced fears of economic dependence and social unrest with populist-authoritarian consequences and rural violence, such as **Andrzej Lepper's**, during what would certainly prove to be a long transition period.

The European Commission report of July 1997 approved Poland's readiness to start negotiations for EU membership. These started in Brussels in spring 1998, with Jan Kułakowski, who had been appointed as Polish plenipotentiary, and were completed by his **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) appointed successor, Jan Truszczyński. By July 2002 the screening process had been completed and 26 of the 30 chapters had been negotiated and closed (all bar competition policy, agriculture, regional policy and the crucial fiscal and budgetary provisions). The Nice Treaty, signed at that EU summit in December 2000 in Nice, had also decided that Poland would be given equivalent weight to Spain and allocated 50 members of the European Parliament and 27 votes in the European Council. The main contentious problems in the final negotiations concerned the lengths of the various transition periods concerning free movement of labor and the purchase of land. The EU Commission also proposed that CAP benefits should be staged in for Poland over a 10-year time period, beginning at 25 percent in the first year. The final decisions on the EU side on such outstanding issues were resolved by EU summits in Autumn 2002 under the Danish presidency; Council's negotiations were finalized in December 2002 at Copenhagen. On the Polish side the agreed-upon package was to be put to the electorate for approval in a referendum in Summer 2003. The referendum result was expected to be positive, despite loud and growing opposition by socioeconomic "losers," but the main worry was that turnout might be less than the 50 percent required to make it binding. On the other hand, proentry majorities were highly likely, if required, in the Sejm and a foregone conclusion in the Senate where the SLD, the backbone of **Jerzy Buzek's** pro-European government, had a three-quarters majority. *See also* COAL MINING; ENVIRONMENT; FISHERIES.

“EXPERIENCE AND FUTURE”/DOŚWIADCZENIE I PRZYSZŁOŚĆ (DiP). A discussion group of academics and experts originally sponsored by the **Gierek** regime in the late 1970s. It subsequently moved in an autonomous, even oppositionist, direction. Its four critical reports on the Polish crisis became highly influential documents, both at home and abroad, during 1980–1982.

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“FAMILY,” THE. *See* CZARTORYSKI FAMILY.

FIRLEJ, JAN (ca. 1521–1574). An important court adviser to Kings **Zygmunt I Stary** and Zygmunt II Augustus. He became **marshal** of the crown in 1563 and **Wojewoda** of **Kraków**. An ardent supporter of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, he led the Calvinist **magnates** of **Little Poland**. He played an important role in pushing through the **Warsaw Confederation** in 1573; this guaranteed religious freedom and toleration for the **gentry**, but not for the serfs, who were to follow the religion of their master. This important act failed to halt the growth of the Counter-Reformation.

FISHERIES. The country’s fishing industry had a workforce of about 40,000 in 1996, and the catch of 39,000 tons accounted for 0.4 percent of Gross Domestic product (GDP). The bulk of the catch and value (mainly of Alaskan Pollack in the Bering Sea) was produced by an ageing fleet of 36 factory trawlers, whose capacity was being reduced because of increasingly difficult access to high seas fishing zones. Some 423 smaller vessels caught quotas of cod, herring, and sprats in the **Baltic Sea** set by the International Baltic Sea Fishery Commission. Poland has a National Fisheries Strategy as well as a Structural Policy for Fisheries for 2000–2006. **European Union** (EU) Commission reports indicate, however, that both its alignment with the EU *acquis* and its administrative capacity in this sector remain limited. Progress toward establishing a Fishing Vessels Register has also been slow. The chapter on fisheries was opened in April 1999 and closed provisionally in June 2002. A somewhat unspecific transitional arrangement was agreed upon, which included sprat in the EU’s Baltic regional quota. Poland withdrew all its other derogation requests, but the principles and methods determining access to resources were left for future negotiation.

Fish canning is being modernized to meet EU standards. It is quite significant, as Poland exported 290,000 tons while only importing 160,000 tons in 1999. The industry is heavily regulated, and maritime fishing is already being run down, a process that will only be exacerbated by the EU's Common Fisheries Policy and ever-smaller quotas. On the other hand, Poland has long-established skills and traditions in sweet water fishing. The fish farming of carp and trout has a great potential for expansion once West European markets become open to it.

FISZBACH, TADEUSZ (1935–). Reform Communist politician. He was the **Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)** first secretary in **Gdańsk** province (1975–1982) and established his reform credentials by collaborating with **Solidarity** during the 1980–1981 crisis. Many Poles hoped that he would become leader of the PZPR itself and achieve a national agreement with Solidarity, but this option was carefully stifled by the **Kania-Jaruzelski** faction. Marginalized as commercial attaché in Finland during martial law, he made a comeback as a credible reform Communist in the late 1980s, becoming **Sejm** vice-marshal in 1989. But his influence was so limited in the PZPR that he chose to form an alternative pro-**Lech Wałęsa** grouping, the Polish Social Democratic Union (PUS) when the PZPR dissolved itself and was replaced by the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP)**. Many ex-PZPR Sejm deputies chose, tactically, to join the PUS, but it never established itself as a real political force and faded away as the 1991 election loomed.

FLAG. Poland's flag is made up of the national colors. These are two symmetric horizontal strips, the upper one white and the lower one red. The origins are to be sought in the **Piast** red and white colors of their coat of arms, although something like a national flag only emerged in the 18th century. It has been accepted as the flag of the Polish state since 1919.

FLYING UNIVERSITY. A clandestine Polish higher education organization, independent of the Russian authorities, which had been established during the last two decades or so before independence. This was the model for the Association of Academic Courses (TKN) set up in **Warsaw** by dissident intellectuals in 1978. The TKN continued its highly influential uncensored meetings in private dwellings until Martial Law in December 1981.

FRANCE. France has been Poland's closest historical ally and at various times the object of deep Polish friendship because of shared values and the predominant influence of its culture, language, and even its legal and administrative norms, until fairly recently. The problem, however, is that while their national interests hardly ever conflicted Poland needed France much more than France needed it. Poland could in the past normally depend on French support against **Germany**, but the same was not always true vis-à-vis **Russia**. The French were quite cynical in making functional use of their Polish ally, notably in the Napoleonic period. They also failed to honor the obligations laid down in their political and military alliance of 1921, during the **September Campaign** of 1939, when Poland effectively had to fight on its own. The strong bonds of common political, cultural, and intellectual values shared by both nations since the French Revolution were strengthened by the revolutionary emigrations and the memories of such symbolic figures as **Frederyk Chopin**, **Marie (Sklódowska) Curie**, and Marshal Józef **Poniatowski**.

Nowadays the Poles have a realistic awareness of the limitations of French support; a wide literature during the Communist period played on the disappointments occasioned by the French connection. The Poles' priority, today, is to come to terms with Germany, Russia, their regional neighbors, and their wider European identity. But Paris still has a particular niche in their hearts because of the lasting power of historical memories and symbols; these range back to Henri de Valois, their first elected monarch, "Marysieńka"—**Jan Sobieski**'s wife, **Stanisław Leszczyński**, and, perhaps above all, Maria Walewska, Napoleon's dedicated and symbolically much-neglected and unappreciated Polish mistress, who bore him a son. The name of Walewski has reappeared at various times in French history, most recently in Gaullist politics, while another scion of Polish origins, Michel Poniatowski, became minister of the interior in the 1970s. *See also* ANJOU DYNASTY; GREAT EMIGRATION; LEGIONS; NAPOLEONIC INFLUENCE.

FRANK, HANS. *See* GENERAL-GOUVERNEMENT.

FRASYNIUK, WLADYSŁAW (1954–). A leading working-class **Solidarity** activist, who led its Lower Silesian branch, which was based on **Wrocław**. He was interned and imprisoned from 1982 to 1986, the latter after a notable trial in 1985, which also involved **Adam Michnik** and Bogdan Lis. He was an important member of the **Civic Committee** and of the **Round Table**. With **Zbigniew Bujak**, he established the

Democratic Action Civic Movement (ROAD) in 1990. Unlike his colleague, he retained an influential role in the subsequent **Democratic Union** (UD) as deputy-chairman and, in the **Freedom Union** (UW). In addition, he served as a **Sejm** deputy (1991–2001).

FREDRO, ALEKSANDER (1793–1876). Count and playwright. Fredro is Poland's most outstanding author of light comedies and farces. He depicted Szlachta (**gentry**) life and manners, colorfully as well as perceptively, and also wrote widely read poetry, aphorisms, and memoirs.

FREEDOM PARTY/PARTIA WOLNOŚCI (PW). An extreme Fighting Solidarity wing, split away from the main movement in 1982, later forming the Freedom Party to oppose **Lech Wałęsa's** policies, the **Round Table** deal, and the consequences of **Leszek Balcerowicz's** marketization. Its fiery leader, Kornel Morawiecki, was controversially held by the Electoral Commission to have just failed to collect the 100,000 signatures required to stand in the 1990 presidential election.

FREEDOM UNION/UNIA WOLNOŚCI (UW). Formed as a result of the amalgamation of the **Democratic Union** (UD) with the **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D) in April 1994, it was led by **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** in its first year and subsequently, by **Leszek Balcerowicz**. In opposition to the leftwing (PSL-SLD) governments of 1993–1997, it gained 60 seats on 13.37 percent of the vote in September 1997 and became the junior coalition partner in **Jerzy Buzek's** government with six ministries. The party was an uneasy amalgam of Christian Democratic (Mazowiecki, **Hanna Suchocka**, and **Donald Tusk**) and centrist-liberal (Balcerowicz, **Bronisław Geremek**, and **Władysław Frasyniuk**) tendencies. Its social-secular strand (**Jacek Kuroń**) weakened considerably toward the end of the 1990s. The UW was prone to defections, such as **Jan Maria Rokita's** grouping of six deputies to the Conservative-Popular Party (SK-L) and the **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) in 1997. After 2000 its more Catholic and conservative factions decamped to the **Civic Platform** (PO). The UW failed to win any representation in 2001, as its 4.6 percent was below the required electoral threshold, and it faced an uncertain future thereafter.

FREEMASONRY. This secret, rationalist, and anticlerical, international movement grew out of the Enlightenment. It arose in Poland during the first half of the 18th century (first Lodge in 1735, the **Warsaw** Grand

Lodge in 1769) and expanded during the Reform period. As elsewhere in 19th century Europe, it had very strong conspiratorial links with Polish independence movements, especially on the secular left. Freemasonry existed formally in Poland until 1938, although the influence of the West European Lodges continues to provide speculation for those (usually Catholic-Nationalist) Poles who explain events in terms of conspiracies and occult connections. *See also* MNISZEK, JERZY AUGUST.

FRONTIERS. The post–**World War II** frontiers have been on the Oder-Neisse Rivers to the west and on a line running roughly along what is described as the **Curzon Line**, from east of Grodno to the River Bug on the east. The overall length of these frontiers is 3,582 kilometers, only 528 of which are maritime; the remainder are land ones, with the residual Russian Kaliningrad region (210 kilometers), **Lithuania** (103 kilometers), **Belarus** (416 kilometers), **Ukraine** (529 kilometers), the Czech (790 kilometers) and Slovak (539 kilometers) Republics, and **Germany** (467 kilometers). It has geographical borders in the form of the **Baltic Sea** in the north and the Carpathian and Sudeten Mountain crests in the south.

Poland today is much more compact and squarer (689 by 649 kilometers) than its interwar form, when it had 5,529 kilometers of borders, only 140 of which were with the sea. By 1998 Poland had regulated the administrative line of its state frontiers with all its neighbors except Belarus and **Russia**, including what had been a minor, but ticklish, dispute with Germany over the mouth of the river Oder. After Poland's entry into the **European Union** (EU) its external frontier will be with Russia-Kaliningrad, Belarus, and Ukraine. Measures have already begun to update crossing facilities and to seal frontiers with these countries. The problem of access to Kaliningrad, which formally is part of Russia, became highly controversial in 2002. Moscow demanded extraterritorial access to it, while the EU proposed that Russians would need visas to travel across future EU territory, such as Poland, and eventually, Lithuania.

FRONT MORGES. An anti-**Sanacja** alliance formed in 1936 in Morges, Switzerland, by centrist opposition leaders in exile. The main figures involved were **Władysław Sikorski**, **Wincenty Witos**, **Ignacy Paderewski**, **Wojciech Korfanty**, and General **Józef Haller**.

FRYCZ-MODRZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ (1503–1572). An outstanding progressive and humanist Renaissance thinker and publicist. Frycz is best

known for his treatise *On the Improvement of the Commonwealth . . . (O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej)*, which ranks as one of the earliest examples of modern sociopolitical thought on the European scene.

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GALCZYŃSKI, KONSTANTY ILDEFONS (1905–1953). Gałczyński's poetical work is marked by a lyrical sense of the absurd and the fantastic that mocks bourgeois-intellectual values. But Gałczyński is also popular because he was an excellent craftsman, and his verses struck a typically Polish Romantic chord.

GALICIA. This is the colloquial name for the territory, officially known as the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, occupied by the Habsburg Empire, through its participation in the **partition** of Poland. The region gained autonomy in the 1870s and was legally ceded by Austria to the newly independent Poland by the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye of 1919. Eastern Galicia, with the important city of Lv'iv (Lwów in Polish, Lemberg in German), which has strong historical links with Poland, was occupied by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) in 1939 and is now the West **Ukraine**. In practice Polish (Western) Galicia now corresponds very closely to the similarly more geographically limited postwar area of **Little Poland**.

GARLICKI, LECH (1946–). Professor of constitutional law and judge, he graduated from **Warsaw** University. He was a member of the **Constitutional Tribunal** from 1993 to 2001 on the nomination of the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD). In Summer 2002 he was elected to replace the outgoing Polish incumbent, Jerzy Makarczyk, as a judge of the European Tribunal on Human Rights in Strasburg. His brother, Andrzej, is also a noted Warsaw University academic and the author of well-known studies of **Józef Pilsudski** and interwar Poland.

GDAŃSK. The city of Gdańsk (population 457,900 in 1999) is situated on the **Baltic** seacoast, close to the estuary of the River **Vistula**. Together with the adjoining towns of **Gdynia** (pop. 252,200) and Sopot (pop. 43,100), it forms a continuous urban conurbation known as the Tri-City (Trójmiasto). It is a major port, cultural and university center, and industrial area, with large shipyards and electronic, engineering, chemical, and

food processing plants. The beautiful Old Town in the **Hanseatic** style was destroyed during **World War II**, but has now been largely rebuilt.

Gdańsk, known as Danzig in its German form, has historically been much fought over by Poland and **Germany** and has been controlled by them at different periods of time. Made a “Free City” at Versailles, it, and the so-called Polish Corridor to the Baltic, were Hitler’s pretexts for unleashing war on Poland in 1939. Most of the German population fled at the war’s end and were replaced by Poles, many from the Eastern Territories incorporated into the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR). Gdańsk was a major center of industrial unrest in December 1970, when many workers were killed, and again in summer 1980, when it attained worldwide notoriety as the birthplace of **Solidarity**. In the democratic period the Tri-City has boomed because of its Scandinavian and German connections, despite the long, drawn out saga over the closure of the Gdańsk shipyard by the mid-1990s. *See also* GDAŃSK AGREEMENT; WESTERPLATTE.

GDAŃSK AGREEMENT. Agreement signed in the **Gdansk** shipyard on 31 August 1980 by the Government Commission led by Deputy Prime Minister **Mieczysław Jagielski** and the Inter-Factory Strike Committee, headed by **Lech Wałęsa**. Its main provisions legalized the rights to strike and to organize free **trade unions**. Similar, although not identical, agreements were signed in **Szczecin** on 29 August and in Jastrębie in Silesia on 3 September. The Gdańsk document is generally regarded as the most historically significant.

GDYNIA. A large commercial, fishing, and transport port, picturesquely located on the Bay of Gdańsk, with a population of 252,200 (1997). The port of Gdynia was constructed from 1922 onward by **Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski** as an alternative to the German-dominated Free City of Danzig. It was a center for shipbuilding (notably the Paris Commune shipyard) and for maritime education during the Communist period. The former saw major industrial unrest in both December 1970 and August 1980.

Gdynia held out against the Germans during the 1939 **September campaign**, from the 1st to the 19th day. The Germans expelled much of its population and established the Stutthof concentration camp nearby. An important Polish Resistance movement developed in Gdynia during the Occupation, with a particularly significant role being played by the young (the **Home Army**’s volunteer scouts, the “Szare Szeregi,” or Grey

Ranks). The Germans destroyed the port before withdrawing, but the Poles rebuilt it completely and extended it after the war. Gdynia is now part of the prosperous Tri-City conurbation with **Gdańsk**, and it shares its **tourist** appeal with the Sopot spa.

GENERAL-GOUVERNEMENT. The administrative region established by the occupying Nazi German power in October 1939 out of those areas of Poland not directly incorporated in the Reich or seized by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) (on the basis of the secret annex of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact). After the addition of **Galicia**, following the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, to the earlier established **Warsaw**, **Radom**, **Kraków**, and **Lublin** districts, it had a population of about 17 million. It was ruled from Kraków by Governor-General Hans Frank, who was executed at Nuremberg in 1946 as a war criminal. The population was exploited economically and terrorized without mercy as a preliminary to the implementation of Hitler's plans for Lebensraum, or full German colonialization, involving the extermination of all **Jews** and Polish cultural and political elites and the resettlement of any surviving ordinary Poles beyond the Urals. *See also* GERMANY; WORLD WAR II.

GENTRY/SZLACHTA. The gentry emerged in Poland out of earlier chivalric orders in the 13th–14th centuries. It gained hereditary rights of inheritance to land as well as other rights and privileges, which enabled it to emerge as the dominant social group subordinating the other estates in feudal society. Its later privileges guaranteed the gentry freedom from taxation and the inviolability of their persons and property. During the 16th century, the gentry went on to establish a monopoly of state and ecclesiastical office holding and of parliamentary lawmaking and representation (**Sejm** and **Senate**). After 1572, the gentry also chose the king through the peculiar, and eventually ruinous, institution of the elective monarchy and exploited their serfs unmercifully. What was also odd about the Polish gentry, aside from its unusual powers in the period of its 17th–18th century **Sarmatian** decline, was its huge size. At its peak, it probably totaled as much as 1 in 10 in society.

But the gentry was also an extremely differentiated body in practice. At one extreme were the magnates, the equivalent of the European aristocracy, derived from great families, such as the **Radziwills** or the **Potockis**. They possessed huge latifundium estates and held the highest offices in the state, whose policy and affairs they dominated. Then came

the middle gentry, the real equivalent of the English squirearchy, owning one or more villages. Below them was the “Szlachta zagrodowa,” who owned land but no serfs. Despite their pretensions to full gentry rights, and a distinct Sarmatian origin, they were little better than a yeoman class. At the very bottom was the unruly and venial landless gentry, who survived as retainers at the court of some magnate or as hangers-on of a somewhat richer relative. All, whatever their economic basis or educational level, claimed equal gentry rights and privileges. Despite the reform attempts of the age of Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**, this corrupt and largely parasitic class was instrumental in causing the **Commonwealth**’s decline.

The gentry survived in the Russian **partition**, until the Czarist regime emancipated the serfs and ruined it economically in revenge for its participation in the 1863 Uprising. Its last formal rights were abolished by the interwar Second Republic. Gentry values and models of behavior, however, survived in Poland until modern times and, during the Communist period, even emerged in specific forms, such as gentlemen kissing ladies’ hands.

GEREMEK, BRONISŁAW (1932–). A medieval historian at **Warsaw** University and the Polish Academy of Sciences, who became a leading oppositionist through his part in organizing the **Flying University** in 1978. Geremek was an expert at the **Gdańsk** Shipyard negotiations and a major **Solidarity** adviser and activist during the 1980s. He played an important role in preparing and negotiating the **Round Table**. Elected a **Sejm** deputy in June 1989 (and subsequently), he was considered as a candidate for prime minister and was very influential during **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**’s term as chairman of the **Civic Parliamentary Club** (OKP) as well as of the Sejm’s Constitutional Commission (1989–1991). He supported Mazowiecki for the presidency against **Lech Wałęsa** and helped him organize the **Democratic Union** (UD) as parliamentary club chairman. Geremek remained prominent in the **Freedom Union** (UW). Chairman of the Sejm’s Foreign Affairs Committee from 1991 to 1997, he was foreign minister from 1997 to 2000 in **Jerzy Buzek**’s government. He played an important role in achieving North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) entry in 1999 and in negotiating for **European Union** (EU) membership. On leaving office in 2000, he became chairman of an influential all-party Sejm committee to oversee Poland’s EU entry. He chaired the UW for a while after **Leszek Balcerowicz**’s resignation, but not very successfully, and returned, subsequently, to academic life.

GERMANY. Poland's relationship with its western neighbor is normally characterized in terms of a thousand years of conflict, since Henry I and Otto I began the German drive to the east against the West Slavs. Poland, however, held her own in the earlier periods, especially against the **Teutonic Order**, although her position was weakened when the **Jagiellonian dynasty** gave priority to eastward expansion. Poland's domestic political weakness permitted the rise of Prussia. That power was the main motor behind the country's **partition** and proved the most determined to maintain it. The terrible experience of Nazi rule in Poland during **World War II**, which saw the death of about six million of its inhabitants, is difficult to forgive, let alone forget. But the war had one beneficial consequence in that the expulsion of the Germans at its end produced an almost completely ethnically homogeneous Polish state. The **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** annexed the Eastern Territories, but Poland was recompensed with the Western (or Recovered) Territories and a frontier on the **Oder-Neisse Rivers**, which largely coincided with its original **Piast** lands a millennium earlier.

Since the collapse of communism, Poland's new elites have based their policy on reconciliation with the united Germany, within the framework of a constructive **European Union (EU)**. The Germans have confirmed the 1970 treaty and have given all the required legal-contractual guarantees, accepting their frontier with Poland in their 1990 treaty. Since then Germany has supported Poland's democratization and promoted its case for European Union entry. Verbally, at least, the Franco-German axis has been expanded to include Poland. But sensitive issues, such as residual Polish claims for compensation for World War II Nazi occupation and for Polish forced labor in the Reich, have plagued their relationship in the late 1990s. Germany retaliated with counterclaims for property restitution and gave heavy financial and cultural support to its minority in Silesia. Its elites never fully disowned the revisionist claims of its expellees' organizations.

Many Poles, consequently, still fear that Germany may use its growing power to claim some sort of European mixed status for such regions as Silesia and Pomerania, to which it now has purely historical, not ethnic, claims. Fear of a German buy up of land in its western provinces also caused the Poles to demand a long transitional period in the EU entry negotiations, during which buy ups would be banned. The deepening of democracy and a commitment to Europe in Germany obviated the rebirth of an integral German nationalism that would, inevitably, be primarily directed at Poland. Such fears were, however, reawakened by indiscreet

comments by the Christian Democratic candidate for chancellor, Bavarian Prime Minister Edmund Stoiber, in the 2002 election.

GIEREK, EDWARD (1913–2001). One of the major figures in Communist Poland as **Polish United Workers Party** (PZPR) first secretary, from December 1970 to September 1980. He had experience of the West, interwar, as a coal miner in **France** and Belgium. Gierek was a successful Communist functionary in Silesia, making his reputation as an effective first secretary (1957–1970) in **Katowice** province. The judgment on his decade of rule must be very mixed. On the one hand, Poland developed into a vigorous and open modernizing society. But his economic mismanagement and failure to respond to the demands for political and economic reform caused the workers' outburst of summer 1980. The result was his downfall, the emergence of **Solidarity** as a national movement, and the shaking of communism to such an extent that it never really recovered. Gierek's apologia, *The Interrupted Decade*, published in 1990, became a best-seller. Although interesting on his life and career, it is a wholly unconvincing conspiracy theory interpretation of the reasons for the 1980 crisis. His funeral in 2001 attracted large crowds and occasioned some nostalgia for the best period of the Polish People's Republic (PRL) in the 1970s.

GIERYMSKI, ALEKSANDER (1850–1901). An outstanding 19th-century Impressionist painter of the Realist school, Gierymski is celebrated for his use of color and light in his depiction of Polish countryside and other scenes as well as of Italian architecture.

GIEYSZTOR, ALEKSANDER (1916–1999). A very distinguished **Warsaw** University medieval historian, celebrated for his work on the Royal Castle in Warsaw. He was chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences from 1980 to 1984 and again, after 1990. This position gave him great social influence and allowed him to play an important mediating role in such bodies as **Wojciech Jaruzelski's** Consultative Council.

GLEMP, JÓZEF (1929–). Glemp worked for many years in **Stefan Wyszyński's** secretariat, before becoming bishop of Warmia (1979–1981). He succeeded Wyszyński as primate and archbishop of Gniezno (till 1992) and **Warsaw** in 1981. Pope **John Paul** made him a Cardinal in 1983. Although criticized for being too politically realistic and compromising toward the Communist regime, he increased the influence of the **Roman**

Catholic Church. It became an essential mediator during the 1980s, especially in the negotiations leading up to the 1989 **Round Table**. His Primate's Social Council of about 28 lay Catholics, established in December 1981, played an influential role behind the scenes and produced significant political figures like **Krzysztof Skubiszewski** to serve the Third Republic. Glomp played a less important role in the post-Communist period because of increasingly poor health. He was also overshadowed by the direct role played by Pope John Paul II, with his increasingly frequent pilgrimages to his homeland, and by a new generation of younger clerics.

GOMBROWICZ, WITOLD (1904–1969). Playwright, novelist, and essayist. After studying at the universities of **Warsaw** and Paris, Gombrowicz sought refuge in Argentina in 1939 and, finally, settled in France in 1964. His novels and plays are marked by a fierce debunking of the conventional values and traditions of contemporary culture. Gombrowicz's satirical, almost grotesque, approach is epitomized by his best-known work, the novel, *Ferdydurke* (1935). His play *Iwona, Księżniczka Burgunda* (Yvonne, Princess of Burgundy, 1938) presents similar grotesque themes on how ideas and customs limit the individual. Gombrowicz set out his critical thought in his diary and in no less than 11 volumes of works.

GOMUŁKA, WLADYSŁAW (1905–1982). Widely regarded as the foremost figure in Communist Poland's history. He was first secretary of the **Polish Workers' Party** (PPR) from 1943 to 1948 and of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) from 1956 to 1970. An interwar Communist **trade unionist**, he spent the war in Poland. Although he was an orthodox authoritarian Leninist, he also wanted to adapt socialism to Poland's domestic conditions. This explains why his purging by "Muscovite" Stalinist rivals for his unorthodox views on **agriculture** in 1948 enabled him to become an important popular symbol in 1956, able to effect a compromise with the Kremlin. Although Gomułka confirmed the specific features of the Polish Road to Socialism, such as a largely private agriculture, coexistence with the **Roman Catholic Church**, and a relatively open cultural life, with little police repression, he prevented any further reform. The result was the disappointment of the hopes and support of "**October**" and consumer stagnation caused by his puritanical preference for high investment rates. Gomułka barely survived the **Moczar** "Partisan" faction's turn to National Bolshevism in the disgraceful Anti-Zionist and Antiprogressive "**March Events**" of

1967–1968, by joining in the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. He became an increasingly tired and irascible old man, with few close supporters except Zenon Kliszko. The price increases just before Christmas 1970 provoked the **Baltic Sea** coast riots, the bungled suppression of which caused much loss of life, led the PZPR central apparatus, with Soviet support, to replace him with **Edward Gierek**. Gomułka lived quietly as a pensioner and survived to point out the consequences of Gierek's contrary expansionist policies in the 1980–1981 crisis.

GORECKI, HENRYK MIKOLAJ (1933–). Widely regarded as one of the most original and avant-garde contemporary Polish composers. Despite being highly controversial, he has gained numerous musical awards since the mid-1950s for his highly original concertos, songs, choral works, and symphonies. The composer has moved on from the extreme and challenging modernity of “Scontri” (Collisions, 1960) to the simpler style of the Third Symphony and Lamentation Songs of the 1970s; Gorecki gained worldwide popularity and sales with his fiery, if simpler, Third Symphony (1992).

GRABSKI, STANISŁAW (1871–1949). A right wing politician, he was minister of religion and education twice, as well as a Lwów University professor and brother to the better known **Władysław**.

GRABSKI, WLADYSLAW (1874–1938). **National Democrat** politician, economist, and rural sociologist. Best remembered for his **currency** reform in 1924, which stabilized the *złoty* during his term as prime minister, 1923–1925.

GREAT EMIGRATION. The name given to the 8,000–10,000 strong emigration, mainly to **France**, but also to some other West European countries and the **United States**, following the 1830–1831 Uprising. The independence movement was highly differentiated politically, from the conservative Hotel Lambert to extremely radical groups associated with other European revolutionary bodies. It was also graced by some of Poland's greatest cultural luminaries, such as **Adam Mickiewicz**, **Fryderyk Chopin**, **Juliusz Słowacki**, and **Zygmunt Krasiński**. *See also* CZARTORYSKI FAMILY.

GREATER POLAND/WIELKOPOLSKA. A major historical, if not heartland, region, situated in west-central Poland. The territory on the

basin of the River Warta was inhabited by the Polans, who formed the first Polish state under the **Piast dynasty** in the 9th and 10th centuries, with Gniezno as its capital. Occupied by Prussia during the **partition** period, it became part of the Reich as the Warthegau during **World War II**. The struggle against Germanization is often held to have produced a culturally and economically more disciplined and politically more constitutional Polish character than in the **Russian**-controlled areas.

GREENS. The ecologist movement appeared during the 1980s but split into three major tendencies in 1989. Although a Polish Green Party emerged, these divisions prevented its leader, Janusz Bryczkowski, from gaining sufficient support to compete in the 1990 presidential election. The movement failed to win any seats in the 1991 election, but it has strong local support in **Kraków**.

GRONKIEWICZ-WALTZ, HANNA (1952–). Banker and politician. She was educated at **Warsaw** University, becoming a **Sejm** adviser, 1989–1992. She remained as chair of the Polish National Bank (NBP) for two terms from 1992 to 2000, gaining praise, both at home and abroad, for her capable management of the central bank and for maintaining its independence. Her high reputation gained her a flying start in the 1995 presidential election, but she faded against **Lech Wałęsa**, only gaining 2.76 percent of the vote, despite her strong Catholic and conservative profile. Her achievement was to help the two main finance ministers of the 1990s, **Leszek Balcerowicz** and **Grzegorz Kołodko**, to bring inflation down to under double figures, to increase Poland's attractiveness to foreign investment, and to establish the country's financial institutions on a sound European footing. She became a director of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London in 2001.

GROTOWSKI, JERZY (1933–1999). Founder and director of the experimental Theater Laboratory in **Wrocław** from 1961 to 1984. Grotowski has had a great and creative influence on both postwar Polish theater production and acting, which gained him a worldwide reputation.

GROTTGER, JERZY (1837–1867). One of Poland's most outstanding 19th-century painters, celebrated for his depiction of patriotic themes concerning the 1831 and 1863 Uprisings and various historical themes as well as for a cycle of drawings of **Warsaw**.

GRUNWALD (In German, Tannenburg). Site in Olsztyn province, in what used to be East Prussia, of one of the greatest victories in Polish history. On 15 July 1410, the Polish-Lithuanian forces, led by King Władysław Jagiełło, routed the **Teutonic** Knights, led by their grand master, **Ulrich Von Jungingen**, in one of the major battles of medieval times. This began the Order's decline, although the Poles proved unable to extract much immediate diplomatic benefit from their victory.

Grunwald is such an important symbol of clean and honorable victory in Polish life that many publications and institutions, such as schools, have been named after it. It is, therefore, doubly unfortunate that the name was appropriated by a group sponsored by the national chauvinist faction associated with **Mieczysław Moczar**, within the Communist system, from the late 1960s onward.

GULBINOWICZ, HENRYK (1928–). Ordained a priest in 1950 he came Apostolic Administrator of Vilnius in Lithuania and a professor concerned with the moral and theological education of the clergy. An influential figure in the **Roman Catholic** Church as archbishop of **Wrocław** after 1976 he was named a cardinal by **Pope John Paul II** in 1985.

GWIAZDA, ANDRZEJ (1935–). One of the “historic” leaders of the workers’ upsurge in 1980. Gwiazda was a shipping engineer who was persecuted by the authorities for cofounding the Free Trade Unions of the Coast in 1978. He played an influential role in the **Gdańsk** negotiations and in establishing **Solidarity** but later fell out with **Lech Wałęsa**. He gained 8.8 percent of the vote, coming in third, in the election for national chairman at the 1981 Solidarity Congress. Although interned and arrested as a prominent underground activist (released under the 1984 amnesty), Gwiazda was subsequently marginalized by Wałęsa. He opposed the latter’s **Round Table** policy in Solidarity’s “working group,” allying with Marian Jurczyk and genuine socialist and workers’ forces in “Solidarity 1980,” but played a limited role after that because of sickness.

– H –

HAKATA. The colloquial Polish name for the Deutscher Ostmarkenverein (German Union of the Eastern Marches). It was established in **Poznań** in

1894 in order to encourage **German** colonization and the Germanization of the Prussian **Partition**. The name is drawn from the initials of its three founders Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedemann.

HALL, ALEKSANDER (1953–). Historian and anti-Communist activist, loosely allied to **Solidarity** as leader of the Movement for Young Poland from 1979 onward. Minister for collaboration with political parties in **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**'s government, he formed the Forum of the Democratic Right (FDP); this initially joined the **Democratic Union** (UD), but he decamped to lead the Conservative Party (PK), which he led from 1992 to 1997. His grouping joined **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), becoming part of the Conservative-People's Party (SK-L). Hall was a **Sejm** deputy from 1991 to 1993 and, again, from 1997 to 2001.

HALLER, JÓZEF (Haller de Hallenberg, 1873–1960). General. Commander of a Polish **Legion** on the Eastern Front during World War I then of the Polish Forces in **France**, 1918–1919, which were subsequently transported to fight on Poland's eastern frontier. Haller became a Christian Democratic **Sejm** deputy (1922–1927). Strongly opposed to **Józef Piłsudski**, he was discharged by the latter from the army after the May 1926 coup d'état. During the 1930s, he formed the Labor Party (SP) and opposed **Sanacja** in the **Front Morges**. He was a minister in the Polish Government-in-Exile (1939–1943). He later became a prominent figure in Polish exile politics in England against the Communist regime.

HALLER, STANISŁAW (1872–1940). Like his brother **Józef**, he was a right wing general, who opposed **Maciej Piłsudski** after 1926. Interned after the September 1939 campaign, he was murdered by the Soviet Security Service outside Kharkov, along with the other inmates of the Starobielsk camp, as part of the spring 1940 massacre of Polish prisoners of war, generally referred to as **Katyń**.

HANSEATIC LEAGUE. A league of north German and **Baltic** seacoast ports, which monopolized trade in the Baltic from the 13th to 14th centuries, after which it declined. The main Polish participants were **Gdańsk**, **Szczecin**, **Elbląg**, **Kołobrzeg**, **Stargard**, and at times even inland towns like **Toruń** and **Wrocław**.

HENRICIAN ARTICLES. So called after Henri de Valois, the successful contender in the first "free election" for the Polish throne in 1572–1573,

who, nevertheless, returned to France before assuming it; these articles were the conditions, subsequently amplified and formalized in a document called a *Pacta Conventa*, which had to be accepted by the victorious candidate to the Polish throne. The king bound himself to call a **Sejm** every two years, which had to agree to the levying of taxes and the raising of armed forces. He also agreed to be counseled by 16 permanent senators. The **gentry** also considered that they had the full right to rebel in **confederations** if he failed to respect these articles.

HERMASZEWSKI, MIROSLAW (1941–). Cosmonaut. Hermaszewski became the first Pole in space as a member of the Soviet “*Sojusz 30*” expedition in 1978. A personable individual, he was much publicized by the authorities and promoted to the rank of general.

HETMAN. Title accorded to the supreme commanders of the military forces in Poland and **Lithuania** from the 15th century to 1795. After 1581 the office was granted for life. In the 16th century, the title was changed to grand hetman, with the grand hetman’s deputy being described as field hetman. Among the most famous hetmen were: Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (1560–1621), who defeated the Swedes and Russians and perished fighting the Turks; Stanisław Koniecpolski (1594–1646), who fought the Swedes, Russians, **Tatars**, and Turks; Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547–1620), who fought the same range of enemies as the others but is best known for occupying Moscow in 1606–1613.

HEWELIUSZ, JAN (1611 –1687). Astronomer, particularly noted for his observation of the moon and the comets. He established the **Gdańsk** observatory, with what was at that time the world’s largest telescope, in 1640, and developed **Copernicus**’s work on the movements of the planets.

HLOND, AUGUST (1881–1948). Primate of Poland from 1926 until his death, cardinal 1927, archbishop of **Poznań** and Gniezno 1926, and archbishop of Gniezno and **Warsaw** 1946. Hlond, because of his long career as the **Roman Catholic** Church’s leader, played an influential role in interwar and émigré politics, in reorganizing the dioceses of the Western Territories and in coming to terms with the reality of pro-Soviet governments after **World War II**.

HOCHFELD, JULIAN (1911–1966). A prominent interwar **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) intellectual and activist, Hochfeld attempted to propagate

genuine socialist values and reformist ideas within the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) after 1948. Despite some public success in 1955–1957, he was subsequently marginalized and driven out of **Władysław Gomułka's** establishment.

HOLOUBEK, GUSTAW (1923–). A very popular actor and theater director, who became a **Solidarity** senator in 1989.

HOME ARMY/ARMIA KRAJOWA (AK). The AK, officially established in February 1942, was the resistance army functioning underground on Polish territory during **World War II**. Like its direct predecessors, the Service for Polish Victory/Służba Zwycięstwa Polskie (SZP) and the Union for Armed Struggle/Związek Walki Zbrojnej (ZWZ), it was controlled by the supreme commander and the Government-in-Exile. Its successive commanders, until its official dissolution in January 1945, were Generals **Stefan “Grot” Rowecki**, **Tadeusz “Bór” Komorowski**, and Leopold Okulicki (“Niedźwiadek”). The AK, which at its peak in 1944 was estimated at about 350,000 strong, engaged in numerous diversionary actions against the **German** occupier. It supplied the Allies with essential information about V1 and V2 rocket, submarine, and aircraft bases, enemy troop movements prior to the invasions of Yugoslavia and the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**, and the like. Its most important, and controversial, action was “Operation Tempest” (*Burza*), which led to the **Warsaw Uprising** of summer 1944. This raised the insoluble problem of how to respond to the advancing Red Army. The latter arrested most AK officers and forcibly incorporated its ordinary ranks, first, into the Polish Communist People's Army/Armia Ludowa (AL) of January–July 1944, and then, into its successor Polish Army/Wojsko Polskie (WP). Hardly surprisingly some of the erstwhile AK then opposed the newly established regime in such bodies as the National Armed Forces/Narodowe Siły Zbrojnej (NSZ) and its Freedom and Independence/Wolność i Niepodległość (WiN) and National Military Union/Narodowe Związek Wojskowy (NZW) successors.

HOTEL LAMBERT. *See* CZARTORYSKI FAMILY.

HOZJUSZ, STANISŁAW (1504–1579). **Roman Catholic** bishop and cardinal and writer. He led the Counter-Reformation and introduced the **Jesuits** into Poland, establishing a college for them at Braniewo.

– I –

IGNAR, STEFAN (1908–1991). A major United Peasant Party (ZSL) figure, Ignar became party chairman from 1956 to 1962 and again, in a later reform period, in 1981. On both occasions he expressed the strongly held ZSL grassroots membership desire for greater autonomy from the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR).

INDUSTRY. The share of industry in the national economy peaked during the 1970s at about half and declined subsequently. It was the first sector to pick up after **Leszek Balcerowicz's** reforms. By 1998 industry employed about a quarter of the workforce but produced a third of gross domestic product (GDP) and enjoyed 5 to 7 percent growth rates per annum. After much restructuring, the private sector in industry produced 70 percent of sales, 85 percent of which was then in the dynamic manufacturing sector (four-fifths privately run). Industry employed 3.4 million workers, its most dynamic sectors being food production, mechanical engineering, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, automobiles, metals, and furniture. Textile, clothing, and shoes declined, but glass, cement, wood, and paper overcame their transitional problems much better.

The most fundamental problems of closure, restructuring, modernization, and redundancy were in the largely state-run **coal mining**, metallurgy, and shipbuilding sectors. Modernization and new work practices along with low wages made the **Szczecin** shipyard competitive in the 1990s, although poor and corrupt management eventually contributed to its bankruptcy in 2002. The inefficient **Gdańsk** shipyard was bailed out repeatedly through political considerations, although it was reduced to its final core and bankrupted by the mid-1990s. Steel production and employment also declined dramatically during the 1990s. The June 1998 restructuring plan aimed to close 25 plants and cut employment from 87,000 to 40,000 by 2001, while stabilizing production at 13.4 million tons (10 million in 1998). The two largest steelworks, Huta Katowice and Sendzimir (ex-Lenin) in Nowa Huta, **Kraków**, producing about three-fifths of total output and accounting for 70 percent of employment, have been protected because of their massive regional economic significance. Copper was successfully revitalized and privatized, although the government retained a 51 percent holding in the “Polish Copper” enterprise. Its 29,000 workers successfully exported much of the 447,000 tons of electrolytic copper produced (1997), which maintained the country's position as Europe's largest (and the world's fifth) producer. Despite pit

closures and reorganization, coal mining generated enormous deficits and a huge budgetary drain. The lack of political will and alternative employment possibilities constrained too-radical solutions in running this sector down.

INFLANTY. The historical Polish name for what is now the Estonian and Latvian territory situated around the Bay of Riga. The area was much fought over by the Danes, Swedes, **Russians**, and Poles during the 16th century. The latter held much of it until 1660, after which it was annexed by the Swedes and, then, the Russians. *See also* POLISH-SWEDISH WARS.

INFORMATION SOCIETY. Telecommunications and computer technology had been very seriously neglected before 1989. The number of personal computers (PC) in Poland was only 7.3 per thousand inhabitants in 1994, but this rose to 11.5 percent of all households by 1999. Proposals to privatize, expand, and improve the quality of service of the telephone industry (only 19 lines per hundred Poles in 1995, with extremely low penetration into rural areas) are only slowly being implemented. Despite this, the late 1990s saw an explosion of interest in computing and in the use of the Internet. The information society spread with the publication of a vast number of PC manuals, and the number of retail outlets and computer cafes moved toward European levels. Government offices increasingly used new information technology. It was estimated that the information sector was expanding at between 15 to 30 percent per annum in the last years of the 20th century, and this growth was unlikely to be affected by the decline of Polish **industry**. About 16 percent of the population (5 million) had Internet access in 2000, while 10.2 percent of all households had their own personal computer.

IWASZKIEWICZ, JAROSŁAW (1894–1980). A left-wing novelist and cofounder of the “Skamander” school of poetry, Iwaszkiewicz was also a prototype literary activist of the Communist period. He was editor of the influential cultural journal *Tworczość* (Creativity) and chairman of the Union of Polish Writers (ZLP).

– J –

JABŁOŃSKI, HENRYK (1909–2003). A distinguished modern historian and **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) politician, with a **Polish So-**

cialist Party (PPS) background. He held a variety of party and state positions, most notably becoming minister of education (1965–1972). As chairman of the Council of State (1972–1985) he was responsible for signing the decree declaring the State of War in December 1981.

JADWIGA. *See* JAGIELLONIAN DYNASTY.

JAGIELIŃSKI, ROMAN (1947–). Although of United Peasant Party (ZSL) background, Jagieliński came to favor the capitalist transformation of the Polish countryside preparatory to **European Union** (EU) membership. He was forced to resign as minister of agriculture (March 1995–March 1997), because of leadership and policy disputes with **Waldemar Pawlak**. As a result, he left the Polish **Peasant Party** (PSL) to found and lead the Popular-Democratic Party/Partia Ludowa-Demokratyczna (PL-D). He was reelected to the **Sejm** in 2001, but on the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) label. He had made little headway against the PSL, then led by **Jarosław Kalinowski**, who demanded higher prices, subsidies, and tariff protection for the peasantry. *See also* AGRICULTURE; PEASANT PARTIES.

JAGIELLO. *See* WLADYSŁAW II JAGIELLO.

JAGIELLONIAN DYNASTY. The dynasty established by the marriage of Grand Duke **Władysław Jagiello** to Queen Jadwiga, which ruled Poland-Lithuania from 1386 to 1572 and for shorter periods in Hungary and Bohemia. It defeated the **Teutonic** Knights and laid the basis for the **Commonwealth's** greatness, although in practice, **Lithuania** was mostly controlled by junior offshoots of the family.

JAGIELSKI, MIECZYSLAW (1924–1997). Economist and Communist politician. Jagielski was minister of **agriculture** (1959–1971) and deputy prime minister (1970–1981) as well as Planning Commission chairman (1971–1975). He headed the government commission that negotiated the **Gdańsk Agreement** in August 1980.

JANOWSKI, GABRIEL (1941–). Peasant leader. Active in the Polish **Peasant Party** “Solidarity” (PSL “Solidarność”), he was elected a **Civic Committee** senator in 1989. Chairing the PSL-Popular Understanding, he was a **Sejm** deputy (1991–1993), becoming minister of **agriculture** in **Hanna Suchocka's** government. He gained reelection to the Sejm in

1997 and 2001, on the latter occasion, representing the **League of Polish Families** (LPR). *See also* PEASANT PARTIES; RURAL SOLIDARITY.

JARACZ, STEFAN (1883–1945). Jaracz was a famous interwar theatrical actor and director who survived Auschwitz. The important Ateneum Theater in **Warsaw** was named after him.

JAROSZEWICZ, PIOTR (1909–1992). A political commissar during **World War II**, Jaroszewicz had one of the longest careers in Communist Poland, holding a variety of party and state posts, notably deputy prime minister (1952–1970) and prime minister (1970–February 1980). As the second most important, and allegedly most pro-Soviet, figure of the **Gierek** period, he was accused before the **State Tribunal** in 1984 but amnestied. He and his wife were brutally murdered in their villa outside **Warsaw**, but it was never clarified whether the reasons were political or purely criminal.

JARUZELSKI, WOJCIECH. (1923–). General and politician. Although of **gentry** origins, Jaruzelski served on the Eastern Front and was appointed Poland's youngest general in 1956. He rose rapidly in the army as a capable specialist type of political functionary, becoming head of the Main Political Department (1960–1965), chief of staff (1965–1968), and minister of defense (1968–1983). A member of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo (1970–1989), he became prime minister (February 1981–1985) and PZPR first secretary (October 1981–July 1989). He supported **Stanisław Kania**'s centrist-pragmatist line during the 1980–1981 crisis but eventually replaced him and declared a state of war in December 1981. During martial law he headed the **Military Council of National Salvation** (WRON), remaining as commander in chief and chairman of the National Defense Committee (KOK) up till 1990.

Jaruzelski was instrumental in forcing through the **Round Table** and in arranging the peaceful abdication of Communist power in Poland. Chairman of the Council of State in 1985, he became president (July 1989–December 1990). Jaruzelski ensured that Poland's transition to democracy should take a wholly legal-constitutional form without vindictive sanctions against ex-Communists. His historical role still remains highly controversial. Sections of the post-Communist elite never forgave him for martial law and attempted to accuse him before the **State Tri-**

bunal. His trial for his responsibility for the **Baltic Sea** coast shootings in 1970 started in 2001 but dragged on with repeated postponements.

JASKIERNA, JERZY (1950–). Professor of constitutional law and politics and prominent **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP)/**Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) politician. An active **Sejm** deputy since 1989, he held important Sejm committee and SdRP/SLD parliamentary club positions and was a controversial minister of justice, 1995–1996. He was a key figure within the SLD after its electoral success in 2001 as the chairman of its parliamentary club and chairman of the Sejm’s Foreign Affairs Committee.

JAZZ. Has a long tradition reaching back to when Gershwin’s swing and Broadway musicals were played in the restaurants of interwar Poland’s major cities. Jazz had to go underground and went through a “catacomb period,” as it was repressed by the Stalinist authorities. It has flourished since 1955, with very popular jazz festivals being organized in Sopot (**Gdańsk**’s tourist resort), and the **Warsaw** Jazz Jamboree has become one of the longest established events of its type in Europe.

Polish jazz was particularly popular with students and the young generally, as it was disapproved of, although not repressed as previously, by the Communist authorities after “**October**” 1956. Its most prominent figure initially was Krzysztof “Komeda” (Trzcíński, 1931–1969), whose groups, Sekstet, Trio, and Kwintet, incorporated musicians such as Zbigniew Namyśłowski (1939–), Michał Urbaniak (1946–), Jan “Ptaszyn” Wróblewski (1936–), and Tomasz Stanko (1942–); they were later to set up their own bands and to compose their own jazz styles and tendencies. All of them are still active and are counted among the country’s greatest, and by now much revered, jazz musicians. Komeda composed the sound tracks for a number of notable films by **Andrzej Wajda** and Roman Polanski (*Knife in the Water* and *Rosemary’s Baby*), and his free-flowing and lyrical numbers remain popular to this day.

Polish jazz is often categorized rather loosely under three overlapping streams—traditional, modern, and avant-garde. Traditional Dixieland has been represented since the 1960s by Henryk Majewski (1936–) and his Old Timer’s band, who developed the music of the earlier New Orleans Stompers. Modern, or standard, blues is derived from the American classics of the 1950s, such as Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie, and Miles Davis, and is represented by the previously mentioned Urbaniak, Namyśłowski, and Wróblewski, as well as by such figures as Jerzy Milian,

Wojciech Karoliak, and Andrzej Kurylewicz. Stanko has also gained a world reputation as an avant-gardist, but a wide variety of individuals and bands have also emerged at various times. Poland would also not be the creative culture that it is if it did not also produce significant musical hybrids and crossovers. The adaptation of the classical music of **Frederyk Chopin** to jazz, by players and composers such Andrzej Jagodziński, Leszek Mozdzer, Adam Makowicz, and Włodzimierz Nahorny, has proven to be extremely popular.

JEDWABNE. A village in northeast Poland lying between **Białystok** and Lomza in the area occupied by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) after 17 September 1939. When Nazi **Germany** attacked the USSR in Summer 1941 and Soviet forces retreated, a massacre of its Jewish inhabitants by local Poles took place on 10 July 1941. The incident gained worldwide notoriety in 2001 as a result of the publication of *Neighbours* by Jan Gross, an American political sociologist. Some of the participants in the massacre had been tried and imprisoned by the Communist authorities in the late 1940s, but the affair had not been publicized, as the Polish People's Republic (PRL) gave greater prominence to the vastly more numerous Nazi repressions and massacres of Polish villages in the **General-Gouvernement** during **World War II**.

The Polish authorities in the democratic period reacted with an unreserved apology by President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** and had the incident investigated by a prosecutor, Radosław Ignatiew, representing the Institute of National Memory (IPN). His report in July 2002 confirmed that about 40 local Poles had carried out the massacre in a particularly primitive and barbaric manner. Gross's claims that about 1,600 Jews had been killed were, however, considered excessive. Preliminary exhumation suggested that the number of victims was closer to 300. The investigator was unable to find direct documentation but concluded that the massacre had taken place with the permission and encouragement and, probably, instigation of the occupying Nazi German forces. The debate was significant; it forced Poles to challenge their stereotypes of themselves as noncollaborating resistance heroes who were always the victims, and not the perpetrators, of violence against others during World War II. *See also* JEWS.

JESUITS. The order, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, led the Counter-Reformation in 16th and 17th century Poland. It was particularly important in the education of the sons of the aristocracy and **gen-**

try and in winning them back to **Roman Catholicism**. The Jesuits were invited into Poland in 1564 when King Zygmunt II Augustus accepted the decisions of the Council of Trent. They remained active until 1768, when the restrictions on dissidents were formally lifted.

JEWS. Although Jews are recorded as trading and settling in Poland as early as the 10th century, the first major influx occurred in the 13th century. This was encouraged by rulers such as Bolesław the Pious, with his Statute of Kalisz of 1264, and **Kazimierz III** the Great, in order to foster urban economic development. The Jews developed a separate self-governing and religious community of their own. Some **Roman Catholic** prelates disliked their religious and commercial practices, but Polish rulers welcomed Jewish skills in handicrafts, trade, and estate management, despite the rivalry of newly emerging ethnic Polish traders and guilds. The number of Jews totaled just over half a percent of the population at the end of the 15th century. Conditions in the Polish-Lithuanian **Commonwealth** were exceptionally favorable in the Europe of that time. This encouraged immigration from **Germany**, Hungary, and Bohemia, as well as from the original Iberian Sephardic sources. The number of Jews thus increased to about 5 percent (half a million) by the middle of the 17th century. At that time, about three-quarters of all Jews were to be found in the Commonwealth.

The German model of Polish urban development gave Jews autonomy. A flourishing, if separate and distinctive, intellectual, religious, and economic life thus developed. The Talmudic scholarship of influential Rabbis, such as Solomon Luria (1510–1573) and Moses Isserles of **Kraków** (1525–1572), extended beyond Poland. In their so-called Golden Age, before Poland's **partition**, the Jews governed themselves on the basis of Talmudic law through the Council of the Four Lands and local, mainly urban, communities called Kahals. These collected the required taxes and organized their own form of religious, judicial, and social life. Such cohesive social forms, which fitted in well with Poland's premodern pattern of separate estates, allowed the Jews to survive such blows as massacres during Bohdan Chmielnicki's Uprising of 1648–1657 in **Ukraine**.

Conversion to Roman Catholicism, and thus the attainment of full Polish citizenship, was possible, but only for individuals with indispensable magnate or **gentry** patronage. Group conversion awaited the 18th-century Enlightenment, when it was encouraged by the Frankist movement of the messianic leader Jakub Frank (1726–1791). But economic recession and growing **Sarmatian** intolerance encouraged Jews to

move from large to small towns and rural settlements called *shtetls*. Hasidism, founded by Baal Shem Tov (1700–1760) in Podolia, and fostered by other similar charismatic leaders and their courts, also emerged as a major, and long-lived, emotional force for expressing Jewishness. It proved stronger in maintaining traditional Jewish religious and communal separateness than the reformist *Haskala*, or incorporationist, trend.

The Jewish experience varied significantly under the three partitioning powers. Austrian **Galicia** provided the most legal and political rights and cultural autonomy. The small Jewish minority had fewer civic rights, despite early formal emancipation, in Prussian-controlled **Poznań** and Pomerania, but it prospered much more economically. Conditions were worst, both politically and economically, for the bulk of Polish Jewry that found itself in the **Russian partition**. Despite this, some very wealthy Jewish capitalist families, such as the Kronenbergs, Natansons, and Toeplitzs, emerged. They patronized assimilationist tendencies and progressive synagogues and some even converted to Christianity. They also contributed to Polish cultural life through their ownership of influential newspapers and journals. But the granting of full civic rights to Jews by Marquis **Aleksander Wielopolski** in 1862 was curtailed after the failure of the uprising of the following year, which had been supported by many Jews.

The Czarist authorities, especially after the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, encouraged the spread to Poland of pogroms and anti-Jewish violence on the model that they developed so successfully in Ukraine. The bulk of the poor urban Jews gradually came to live in separate ghettos. They were distinguished from ethnic Poles by highly distinctive clothing, hairstyles, mannerisms, and the Yiddish language. Many, especially in the countryside, had economically exploitative relations with ethnic Poles as retailers, moneylenders, and innkeepers. These factors often diverted Polish peasant and worker discontent into primitive anti-Semitism.

Integral Polish Nationalism was developed in Poland from the 1890s onward by **Roman Dmowski** and the **National Democrats**, although the movement did not become decidedly anti-Semitic until the interwar period. At about the same time, the assimilationists lost ground within the Jewish community to new nationalist and radical currents. Zionism was a form of modern Jewish nationalism propagated by the Vienna-based Teodor Herzl (1860–1904), who advocated a mass return to the historical homeland in Palestine so that Jews would be free to develop their own distinctive identity under conditions of independent national sover-

eignty. Zionism's main ideological rival was the socialist **Bund**, which blended revolutionary Marxist political ideas with aggressive **trade union** practices. Many noted socialist Jews, however, remained staunchly secular and assimilationist. Herman Lieberman, Feliks Perl, and Stanisław Mendelsohn played important roles in the **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)**; **Róża Luksemburg**, Jan Tyszkiewicz, and Józef Unszlicht dominated the **Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (SDKPiL)**.

There were more than three million Jews making up about 10 percent of the population of newly independent Poland in 1918. This made them the second largest national minority after the Ukrainians. Their reactions to the new state were as mixed as their experiences within it. The Jewish community remained divided into Zionist, socialist, orthodox-traditionalist, and assimilationist strands. Extreme judgments have been expressed about interwar Jewry by interested parties. These go as far as Celia Heller's *Edge of Destruction* argument that the community was economically deprived and politically attacked by growing Polish anti-Semitism. The dreadful implication is that the Poles were in some way guilty of preparing the ground for the wholly Nazi-organized Holocaust during **World War II**. It is true that Polish Jews suffered increasingly from economic boycotts and restrictions, especially during the 1930s. National Democrat agitation forced the introduction of separate benches and a *numerus clausus* for Jewish students at some universities. Jewish emigration was also encouraged, especially to Palestine, until British authorities restricted the flow. The situation undoubtedly worsened after 1926, when the Nationalists rivaled **Józef Piłsudski's** camp. Anti-Semitism, however, never became official state policy, only that of sections within Polish society.

While such negative aspects need to be conceded, this is, however, only one side of the picture that must be assessed in its historical and wider international context. On balance, Jews benefited politically from Polish national independence and the development of democracy and pluralism. Poor Jews languished, but others contributed much to Polish commercial, professional, and cultural life. At peak, Jews controlled about half the businesses in interwar Poland, and made up about half the artisans, lawyers, and doctors. Interwar Poland forced its Jewish community into creative responses to the challenges of modernity. New national, social, and religious Jewish identities were defined, supported by a vibrant literature and ethnography.

Poland's defeat in the **September Campaign** of 1939 and occupation by the Germans led to immediate anti-Jewish measures by the Nazis. The

Jewish community lost all its political and economic rights. Jews were deported to the **General-Gouvernement** from the Polish territories annexed to the Nazi Reich. Jews were soon herded together in a number of huge urban ghettos, notably in **Warsaw** and **Łódź**. The Jewish population was worn down by starvation, illness, and casual violence; it was then, from late 1941 onward, transported to a network of **Nazi extermination camps**, notably, although not exclusively, Oświęcim (Auschwitz), Bełżec, Majdanek, Sobibór, and Treblinka; the Nazis had established these on Polish territory purely for strategic reasons. By the time of the Red Army's liberation of Poland during 1944 about 50,000 to 100,000 Polish Jews were still alive, and about a quarter of a million had survived in the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**. Nazi guilt for the genocide of more than 90 percent of Polish Jewry, almost three million people, is universally accepted as one of the most hideous crimes in the history of humankind.

Given the scale and circumstances of the crime, it is regrettable, although not entirely surprising, that a number of secondary controversies have emerged to bedevil subsequent Polish-Jewish relations. The former argue that both were "civictims" in the common disaster that engulfed them. Richard Lukas has shown that as many Poles as Jews lost their lives during World War II. Although some individual Poles may have betrayed fugitive Jews for gain, evidence suggests that the number was inferior to those who saved Jews, at certain risk to their own lives. At any rate, there was no Polish collaboration with the Nazi occupiers and certainly nothing to parallel the actions of Vichy France and its *milice*. Some Jews, however, argue that they were "unequal victims." The Poles, they say, did not do enough to assist the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising or to save Jews in hiding or surviving as Aryans on false papers. The popular argument that there was some sort of connection between alleged interwar Polish anti-Semitism and the Nazi Holocaust is, however, false. The work of the Council for Providing Assistance to Jews (*Żegota*) was unique in Nazi-occupied Europe and was carried out under the worst possible conditions. Martin Gilbert has also demonstrated that primary responsibility lies with the Allied failure to oppose the Nazi Holocaust sufficiently. These highly sensitive controversies have produced a massive academic and polemical literature and an enormous number of "memoirs" by camp and ghetto survivors.

Since World War II, the size of the Jewish community in Poland has dwindled through emigration, from a peak figure of 50,000 to about

6,000, despite a post-1956 influx from the USSR. Paradoxically, the “Jewish question” remained a live issue in Communist politics. It was increasingly used cynically for purely tactical and diversionary purposes. Popular anti-Jewish violence during the unsettled conditions of 1944–1948 was fuelled by the fear of Jewish returnees reclaiming their property and the provocative repression of Soviet secret agents. Notorious outbursts, such as the **Kielce** pogrom of July 1946, in which about 46 Jews perished, still have not been fully clarified. The prominence of individuals of Jewish origins, such as **Jakub Berman**, **Hilary Minc**, and **Roman Zambrowski**, in the top Communist echelons until 1956 also allowed hard-line Polish nationalists in the Natolin faction to argue demagogically during “**October**” that Stalinism had been the work of anti-Polish Jewish Stalinists acting as Soviet agents. Finally, this tactic culminated in the **Moczar** Partisan faction’s scapegoating of residual Jewish members of the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) during 1967–1968. Part of the larger political provocation was designed to cow reformers and Polish society, which culminated in the “**March Events**,” its other main effect was to cause widespread, and largely forced, Jewish emigration. After that, the Communists found it increasingly difficult to practice “anti-Semitism without Jews.” The hard-line/pro-Soviet **Grunwald** faction attempted to do so during the 1980–1981 crisis, but with little success.

Jewish communities in the West, particularly in America, have been highly sensitive and proactive to various controversies that have arisen in Democratic Poland over such issues as the placing of crosses and the siting of a Catholic nunnery within the Auschwitz perimeter. But aspects of the Jewish experience in Poland, such as the world-renowned Jewish Theater in Warsaw, the translation of Yiddish and Hebrew literature into Polish, and the preservation of Jewish monuments still survive and flourish. The fall of communism made it easier for Jews, both from Israel (many of whose forebears had originated in Poland) and the diaspora, to seek out their roots and to maintain their connections with what had historically been the largest Jewish community in the world for long periods. It also encouraged Poles to move away from the closed nationalist-authoritarian and exclusivist Roman Catholic tradition. The shift to European and open democratic values is evidenced by the balanced reaction of Polish society to the hard truths thrown up by the revelations concerning the summer 1941 **Jedwabne** massacre. New generations are thus contributing to a more balanced and dispassionate audit of the very mixed Polish-Jewish experience.

JOHN PAUL II, Pope. *See* WOJTYŁA, KAROL.

JUNGINGEN, ULRICH VON (13??–1410). Succeeded Konrad von Jungingen as grand master of the Order of **Teutonic** Knights in 1407. He aimed to break up the Polish-**Lithuanian** union but was killed leading the knights at the battle of **Grunwald**.

JURCZYK, STEFAN (1935–). A leading **Solidarity** activist and a genuine workers' leader. Jurczyk was chairman of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee in **Szczecin** in August 1980 and then of Solidarity's West Pomerania Region. He was the runner up to **Lech Wałęsa**, with 24 percent of the vote in the election for national chairman at Solidarity's 1981 congress, opposing the latter's undemocratic running of the union and concessions to the Communist regime. Jurczyk was interned and imprisoned under martial law, and subsequently he supported Kornel Morawiecki's anti-incorporationist "Fighting Solidarity" faction in the 1980s, which turned into the **Freedom Party**. He became chairman of "Solidarity 1980" in 1990, opposing what the movement regarded as Wałęsa's and the **Civic Committee**'s deal with the Communist system and sellout to Western capitalism. Jurczyk later made a comeback in local Szczecin politics and was elected a senator for his province in 1997. His political career seemed to have been ended by the **lustration** process which led to the expiry of his senatorial mandate in March 2000. The court ruled that he had not admitted collaboration with the security services in his lustration declaration, but that he should have done so, even though it had been forced upon him. The industrial discontent caused by the bankruptcy and threatened closure of the Szczecin shipyard in 2002, however, allowed him to make yet another comeback as the leader of the resulting national protest committee.

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KACZYŃSKI, JAROSŁAW (1949–). Lawyer and politician. When he was a child, he and his identical twin, **Lech Kaczyński**, appeared in a celebrated film comedy. A law graduate from **Warsaw** University and **Solidarity** activist, he, again with his brother, acted as one of **Lech Wałęsa**'s closest political sidekicks in 1989–1990. A **Civic Committee** member, he was elected to the **Senate** in 1989 and ran *Tygodnik Solidarność* (Solidarity Weekly) for Wałęsa, as editor 1989–1991. With his brother, he co-

founded the Center Understanding to support Wałęsa's presidential campaign, becoming chairman of the **Center Agreement (PC)**, which grew out of it in 1991, and minister of state in charge of the presidential chancellery (December 1990–October 1991). At the time Wałęsa, in a typical fit of personal and political pique, broke with the Kaczyński twins in a vain attempt to blame them for his mistakes and unpopularity. This left Jarosław free to pursue his political ambitions; but he failed to turn the PC into one of Poland's major political parties, despite remaining as its chairman until 1997, because of the incredibly quarrelsome and fragmented character of the Polish right and center. He was elected to the **Sejm** for the PC in 1991–1993, for **Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS)** in 1997, and in 2001 under the Law and Justice (PiS) label.

KACZYŃSKI, LECH (1949–). A lawyer, like his twin brother, **Jarosław**, he shared the career path sketched out in the previous entry. Senator in 1989, he was defeated in his bid to succeed **Lech Wałęsa** as **Solidarity's** national chairman in 1990, having to be content with the post of deputy chairman. He became minister of state for national security in the presidential office in March 1991, but Wałęsa booted him out by the autumn. Returning to **Solidarity** and **Center Agreement (PC)** politics he gained election to the **Sejm** (1991–1993). Appointed chairman of the **Supreme Control Chamber (NIK)** in February 1992, he attacked Wałęsa bitterly from that vantage point until he was replaced in 1995. Returning to the **Sejm** as an **Electoral Action Solidarity** deputy in 1997, he became highly popular as a “law and order” minister of justice in 2000–2001, because of his hard-line speeches favoring harsher punishment for criminals. It was typically in character that he was dismissed by premier **Jerzy Buzek** because of a controversial criminal investigation. Like his brother, he continued in the **Sejm** after 2001 as a prominent figure within the Law and Justice (PiS) grouping becoming party president and chairman of its political board. He was elected by popular vote to the influential position of mayor of Warsaw in 2002.

KADLUBEK, WINCENCY, also known as Kadłubkiem (ca. 1150–1223). Bishop of **Kraków** (1208–1218). He was prominent in developing the cult of his predecessor as bishop in his see, **Stanisław Szczepanowski**, as a victim of royal tyranny. He was the author of an important chronicle in Latin covering Poland's history from the earliest times till 1202. Among his extremely advanced ideas for his time was the argument that citizens had the right of rebellion against an unjust king. Kadłubek was beatified in 1764.

KALINOWSKI, JAROSLAW (1962–). Peasant party politician and **Sejm** deputy (1993–), he became deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture for a few months following the conflict over **Roman Jagieliński**'s removal in March 1997. He replaced **Waldemar Pawlak** as Polish **Peasant Party** (PSL) chairman, following the party's disastrous showing in the October 1997 election. Kalinowski supported President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** and moved the PSL into alliance with the **Labor Union** (UP), notably in local government elections. He fought a good campaign but only gained 5.95 percent of the vote in the presidential election of 2000. After the parliamentary election of the following year, he was instrumental in forming the PSL's coalition with the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD). He thus returned as deputy premier and minister of agriculture in **Leszek Miller**'s government in October 2001.

KANIA, STANISLAW (1927–). A Communist functionary who came to the fore in the **Gierek** period as a Politburo member and party secretary in charge of security. As Gierek's successor as Communist First Party secretary (September 1980–1981), Kania played for time with **Solidarity**, while preventing the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) from being taken over by real reformists. His centrist-pragmatist line was supported by **Wojciech Jaruzelski**, who became his prime minister in February and who replaced him in October 1981. Kania benefited from the post-Communist interest in these events by publishing his highly successful memoirs (*Zatrzymać konfrontację*) in 1991.

KATOWICE. A major industrial center (**coal mining**, iron and steel works, zinc, and electromechanical manufacturing) situated on the Silesian Uplands, with a population of 343,200 (1999). Katowice also has five higher educational facilities, including the Silesian University established in 1968. The city fell under Prussian control in 1742, when Frederick the Great seized Silesia and Germanized the region. It remained so until the Silesian Uprising of 1919 and the Upper Silesian Plebiscite and was legally recognized as part of Poland in 1922. The city defended itself stoutly for three days against the **German** onslaught in September 1939. The Nazis, in reprisal, shot numerous civilian defenders, including young Silesian scouts. They also established numerous concentration and labor camps in the region. At the end of the war, the bulk of the German population fled before the advance of the Red Army, although much of the intermediate "Ślązak," autochthonous Silesian, element remained. *See also* VOLKSDEUTSCHE.

Katowice was rebuilt and redeveloped postwar. It flourished, in particular, during the time that **Edward Gierek** was first secretary of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) in Katowice province from 1957 to 1970. He also favored its development as the capital of Upper Silesia when he was Poland's leader throughout the 1970s. Katowice and the other important adjoining industrial towns of Sosnowiec (population 245,800 in 1997), Bytom (225,000), Gliwice (213,300), Zabrze (201,200), Ruda Śląska (163,500), Rybnik (145,000), and Tychy (133,600) were hard hit by the post-1989 shrinkage of heavy **industry** and coal mining, which had been heavily backed by the Communists. This explains why working class discontent produced much initial support for the **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN), the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP), and **Stanisław Tymiński** in the first post-Communist elections.

KATYŃ. *See* RUSSIA (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS/ SOVIET UNION); WORLD WAR II.

KAZIMIERZ I the RESTORER (1016–1058). As the son of Mieszko II, he assumed the Polish throne in about 1034, with **German** support. He rebuilt Poland after the first great crisis of the early **Piast** state. It had been weakened by his father's unsuccessful conflicts with the Germans and by anti-Christian uprisings. The Bohemian Duke Brzetysław I was also to invade and loot **Greater Poland** in 1038–1039. Kazimierz established an alliance with Kiev by marrying Dobronega, the sister of Grand Duke Jarosław the Wise. This allowed him to suppress Miećław's uprising; he killed Miećław in battle in 1047, annexing his **Mazowsze** lands to Poland. He also managed to regain Silesia from the Bohemians in 1050.

KAZIMIERZ III WIELKI ("the Great," 1310–1370). King of Poland, 1333–1370. Kazimierz was the last of the **Piasts** and one of Poland's greatest medieval rulers. He made a truce with the **Teutonic** Knights and expanded Poland's territory to the east and south. Kazimierz was successful as both a warrior and a diplomat. He gained Silesia by 1345, annexed much of Ruthenia and Podolia, and extended Poland dramatically to the southeast, taking advantage of the disintegration of Kiev. He rounded Poland off to the north by bringing in **Mazowsze** on the borders with the state of the Teutonic Knights. All told, he increased the country's 106,000 square kilometers, which he inherited, to 260,000 by the time of his death. He assured his succession for Louis of Anjou, the king

of Hungary, on condition that the latter accepted his own grandson, Każko, duke of Słupsk (1351–1377), as his subsequent heir. Louis was succeeded by his own young daughter, Jadwiga, who founded the **Jagiellonian dynasty** through her marriage to **Władysław II Jagiello**.

Kazimierz developed Poland's economic and military capabilities and codified its laws. He patronized the arts and learning and prepared the beginnings of the great flourishing of culture during the Renaissance period in the following century. He established Poland's first university in **Kraków** in 1364 on a secular model, borrowed directly from Italy, which excluded undue clerical influence. The Gothic style of **architecture** flourished in the massive building of new brick towns, fortifications, and churches during his reign, notably, the great cathedrals of Kraków and Gniezno. It was said that Kazimierz inherited a Poland of wood and left it in stone.

KAZIMIERZ IV the JAGIELLONIAN (1427–1492). As the younger son of **Władysław II Jagiello**, he became grand duke of **Lithuania** from 1440 and then king of Poland as well from 1444 to 1492. He ascended the throne when his brother, Władysław III, died fighting the Turks in Varna. Aiming to build up a strong and centralized monarchy, Kazimierz gained the support of the medium **gentry** by granting them the privileges of Cerekwica and Nieszawa in 1454. This allowed him to defeat the great magnates of **Little Poland** and the clerical opposition led by Cardinal **Zbigniew Oleśnicki**. He thus eventually won a long conflict with the Papacy and the Polish Episcopacy over his right to nominate bishops. In foreign affairs, the successful outcome of the Thirteen Years War with the **Teutonic** Knights allowed him to annex parts of Royal Prussia, specifically Pomeranian **Gdańsk** and Warmia, to the Polish crown by the **Treaty of Toruń** of 1466. He also gained the Duchy of Oświęcim in 1457 and parts of **Mazowsze** in 1462 and 1476. Kazimierz placed his son Władysław on the Bohemian throne in 1471 and on that of Hungary as well in 1490. This great Renaissance monarch ruled Poland at the height of its political, economic, and cultural development and international success. His successors reaped the rewards in the so-called Golden Age.

KELLES-KRAUZ, KAZIMIERZ (1872–1902, pseud. Michał Luśnia).

A sociologist and socialist theorist concerned with Historical Materialism and its relationship to traditional values. He was not quite a Polish Gramsci, but his influence can be gauged from the fact that the post-Communist **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP) named its research institute after him.

KIELCE. Situated on the River Silnica in the Świętokrzyska Hills, Kielce lies almost in the very center of Poland and had 211,700 inhabitants in 1999. It has a developed heavy **industry**, notably metal, chemical, and mechanical machinery. The city has a palace and cathedral, which belonged for a time to the archbishops of **Kraków**, museums, theaters, and a Higher School of Engineering. Kielce was the field of activity of the educational reformer **Stanisław Staszic**. During **World War II** this region was, because of its favorable terrain, along with **Lublin**, the strongest area of **Home Army** (AK) partisan resistance. Nazi atrocities against the local Polish and **Jewish** populations were so savage that Kielce's population declined by a half during the war period. The **Germans** also established a network of local concentration and labor camps in Ludwików, Granat, Henryków, and Stolarska.

KIEPURA, JAN (1902–1966). Poland's greatest operatic tenor. He achieved a worldwide reputation for his performances in the great opera houses, like La Scala of Milan and the New York Metropolitan Opera, as well as in numerous films and light operas.

KILIŃSKI, JAN (1760–1819). A leader of the insurrection in **Warsaw** against **Russia** in 1794, he is commemorated by a famous statue in Warsaw's Old Town.

KISIELEWSKI, STEFAN (1911–1991). Also known as Kisiel and by his author's pseudonym of Tomasz Staliński. Kisielewski was a notable musical critic and a writer of penetrating novels depicting the reality of life under communism. He is best known as an independent-minded publicist, most notably because of his widely read *feuilletons* in the *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 1945–1953 and 1956–1991, under the pseudonym *Kisiel*. He was a **Znak Sejm** deputy from 1957 to 1965 and again from 1971 to 1974. Although highly critical of the Communist system, he took a neopositive and realist line that it was best to work for liberalization and for reform from within, because of Poland's geopolitical position under Soviet control.

KISZCZAK, CZESŁAW (1925–). A general and Communist politician, who made his name in military intelligence. He was minister of the interior (1981–1990) and a **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo member, during the 1980s. Kiszczak played the leading role on the Communist side in organizing the **Round Table** in summer 1988–spring

1989. Nominated, but not confirmed, as prime minister in summer 1989, his failure opened the way for **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**'s government. Kiszczak was a subtle and flexible politician. He acted as **Wojciech Jaruzelski**'s informal deputy in first repressing the opposition and then negotiating a peaceful evolutionary outcome, while preventing sabotage by the Communist security apparatus. Contrary to their title, his post-Communist memoirs, *General Kiszczak Tells Almost Everything* (1991), did not give much away. After the fall of communism Kiszczak resisted various attempted legal indictments against him successfully.

KOCHANOWSKI, JAN (1530–1584). Kochanowski was a humanist writer and the most outstanding lyrical poet of the Renaissance period in Poland.

KOLBE, RAJMUND (1894–1941). Saint Maximilian Kolbe was a Franciscan who founded the monastery at Niepokolanów, with its celebrated publishing facilities. He perished at Auschwitz, voluntarily taking the place of a condemned man. Kolbe was canonized as a saint in 1982 by his fellow countryman, Pope **John Paul II**, for this ultimate act of self-sacrifice.

KOLŁATAJ, HUGO (1750–1812). Philosopher and writer and one of the most prominent political ideologists of the Age of Enlightenment. He was a member of the **Commission for National Education** and a coauthor of the patriotic reform program and the **constitution** of 3 May 1791. Rector of the **Kraków** Academy and leader of the *Kuźnica* (Forge) reform group during the Four-Year **Sejm**, Kołłątaj was also a key member of the Supreme National Council in 1794.

KOŁOBRZEG. Not far from **Koszalin** lies the commercial and fishing port of Kołobrzeg (population 47,600), which is also a seaside resort and health spa with salt and mud baths. Settled by the Pomeranian Slavs in the 11th century, it was conquered by **Bolesław III Wrymouth**. After that, it was controlled by bishops dependent on Gniezno and Germanized during **Hanseatic** rule from the 14th century onward. In the 17th century, it was taken over by Brandenburg, which, nevertheless, failed to depolonize the local population completely. The First Polish Army fought a bloody battle for its liberation in 1944. This, and the return of the **Baltic Sea** coast to Poland symbolized by “marriages with the sea,” were much commemorated in postwar Poland.

KOŁODKO, GRZEGORZ (1949–). A social democratic economics professor at the **Warsaw Main Trade School** (SGH ex SGPiS), he participated at the **Round Table**. As deputy premier and minister of finance (formally independent, although nominated by the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** [SLD]), from April 1994 to February 1997 he presided over a period of high economic growth and decreasing inflation on the basis of his “Strategy for Poland.” This consolidated the transformation begun by his main rival, the liberal capitalist-inclined **Leszek Balcerowicz**, by dampening down social discontent. Kołodko also negotiated Poland’s entry in the Organization for European Cooperation and Development (OECD) during his tenure.

Kołodko returned to academic life, although he continued as **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**’s economic adviser and commented astringently on his successor’s restrictive monetary policies, which increased unemployment. His identification as the left’s apostle of economic growth rather than financial stringency paved the way for his return as deputy premier and finance minister in July 2002, in **Leszek Miller**’s government.

KOMINEK, BOLESŁAW (1903–1974). The son of a coal miner, he was a priest who was active in Silesia before, and during, **World War II**. He became the first bishop of **Wrocław**, for many centuries, in 1954 and was nominated as its metropolitan archbishop in 1962. He played an active reforming role during the Second Vatican Council of that year. Kominek was also very prominent in the dispute with **Władysław Gomułka**’s regime over the 1965 letter of the Polish bishops to the German bishops asking for forgiveness and mutual reconciliation. He became a cardinal in 1973, in recognition of his reestablishment of links with Europe and **Germany** and his dynamic pastoral role in the western, or recovered, territories.

KOMOROWSKA, MAJA (1937–). One of the most outstanding film, theater, and television actresses of the last three decades in Poland. After graduating in puppetry from the National Theatrical Academy in **Kraków**, she worked in **Opole** with **Jerzy Grotowski**, the celebrated experimental theater director. She established her reputation playing classical dramatic roles at the Contemporary Theater in **Warsaw** in the 1970s. She went on to appear in a number of significant films by **Krzysztof Zanussi** and **Andrzej Wajda**, while maintaining her theatrical roles. Komorowska has been praised for the clarity and precision of her acting.

Her charismatic personality and support for **Solidarity** activists repressed by martial law after December 1981 gained her great moral standing within her profession and in the country.

KOMOROWSKI, BRONISLAW (1952–). A member of the nationalist and then **Solidarity** opposition to communism from the mid-1970s onward. Komorowski became a successful politician after 1989 within, successively, the **Democratic Union** (UD), the **Freedom Union** (UW), and the Conservative-Popular Party (SK-L). He was a **Sejm** deputy from 1991 to 1993 and 1997 to 2001, becoming minister of defense in 2000–2001.

KOMOROWSKI, TADEUSZ (“BÓR”) (1895–1966). General. Komorowski was in the **Home Army** (AK), becoming its commander in 1943–1944 and, therefore, responsible for the **Warsaw** Uprising. He was, somewhat unexpectedly, appointed to succeed **Kazimierz Sosnkowski** as supreme commander of Polish forces in the west, but was captured by the **Germans**.

KONARSKI, STANISLAW (1700–1773). Konarski was a notable political writer and educational reformer whose work made him a precursor, if not the father, of the Polish Enlightenment. He criticized Poland’s anarchic political system, especially the **Liberum Veto**. Konarski founded the Noble’s College in **Warsaw** in 1740 and reformed the schools run by the Piarist Order, which provided the vital secondary **education** for a wholly new and progressive generation.

KONIECPOLSKI, STANISLAW. *See* HETMAN.

KONOPNICKA, MARIA (1842–1910). A widely read patriotic writer in the lyrical style, particularly famous for her children’s stories.

KOPERNIK. *See* COPERNICUS, MIKOLAJ.

KORCZAK, JANUSZ (1878–1942). Born Henryk Goldszmit, he was a doctor, writer, and philanthropic social activist who established the **Jewish** Orphanage in interwar **Warsaw**. He became known for his work as a pedagogue and his ideas on the balance between the direction and self-development of children. Korczak was a heroic figure in his efforts to save children in the Jewish Ghetto established by the Nazis in Warsaw.

He went voluntarily to his death with his children at Treblinka. **Wajda** made a popular film of his life entitled *Korczak*, which became widely known in and outside of Poland during the 1980s.

KORFANTY, WOJCIECH (1873–1939). Politician and leader of the Polish Uprisings against the **Germans** in Silesia after World War I. He was a Christian Democrat (deputy prime minister in 1923) whose opposition to **Józef Piłsudski** led to his imprisonment in the Brześć Camp, along with other **Centrolew** politicians in 1930. Subsequently in exile in Czechoslovakia, he supported the **Morges Front** and became the leader of the Labor Party/Stronnictwo Pracy (SP) before returning to die in Poland in 1939.

KORZENIOWSKI, TEODOR JÓZEF KONRAD. *See* CONRAD, JOSEPH.

KOŚCIUSZKO, TADEUSZ (1747–1817). General and liberal-republican hero. His participation in the American War of Independence has made him the best-known Pole in the United States besides **Kazimierz Pułaski**. He was supreme commander of the Polish forces in the Polish struggle against **Russia** in 1794. Although he emancipated the serfs and won some initial battles, notably at **Raclawice**, he was eventually defeated by overwhelming odds at **Maciejowice** and died in exile in Switzerland.

KOSSAK, WOJCIECH (1856–1942). An artist who is probably Poland's most celebrated painter of battle scenes, notably the ***Raclawice Panorama*** (where **Tadeusz Kościuszko's** scythemen defeated the **Russians** in 1794) and the *Crossing of the Berezina* by the defeated remnants of Napoleon's Grand Army, which invaded Russia in 1812.

KOSTKA-NAPIERSKI, ALEKSANDER (ca. 1620–1655). A controversial figure in Polish history. He was an officer in the Swedish Royal Army, who was executed for leading a peasant's uprising in Podhalia in 1651.

KOSZALIN. A port of 111,900 inhabitants (1997) situated about 10 kilometers from the **Baltic Sea** coast and lying roughly halfway between **Gdańsk** and **Szczecin**. Belonging to regional bishops from the 13th century onward, it subsequently competed for the Baltic trade with its local

rival **Kołobrzeg**, before being annexed by Brandenburg Prussia. Like many towns that returned to Poland in 1945, it did so in a heavily damaged state and had to be rebuilt by the largely new and resettled Polish population. Present-day Koszalin has numerous Gothic buildings, a museum, and a Higher Engineering School. It manufactures wood, metal, electrical, and mechanical products.

KOTAŃSKI, MAREK (1942–2002). Psychiatrist, noted social activist, and founder of movements for combating alcoholism in the 1970s, and subsequently, drug addiction. Kotański established *Monar* in 1981 and was its chairman from 1982 onward. This organization set up a countrywide network that pioneered original therapeutic methods for combating drug addiction. In 1990, he cofounded the Association for Solidarity with AIDS-PLUS, which raised social awareness and understanding of the HIV problem in Poland. His *Markot* organization also helped the homeless by overcoming social prejudice and providing hostels for drug addicts and HIV sufferers. Following his death from a car accident, large crowds and numerous state and church dignitaries, including **Sejm Marshal, Marek Borowski**, paid homage to his work at his funeral in **Jerzy Popiełuszko's** ex-church in the Żolibórz district of **Warsaw**. He was posthumously awarded one of Poland's highest civilian decorations, the Order of Poland Reborn.

KOZAKIEWICZ, MIKOŁAJ (1923–1998). A sociologist and United Peasant Party (ZSL) and then Polish Peasant Party (PSL) politician, who played an influential role as the first post-Communist **Sejm marshal**, 1989–1991. *See also* PEASANT PARTIES.

KRAKÓW. Situated on the lower reaches of the River **Vistula**, Kraków is Poland's second most important city (population 738,200 in 1999). It is regarded as effectively the capital of **Little Poland**. Historically it developed from as early as the 6th century and was the capital of Poland from the 11th to the end of the 16th centuries. It is one of the most historic cities in Eastern Europe. Much of its original **architecture** has survived to the present in the Old Town, most notably the Royal Castle, with its magnificent artistic collections, and the Cathedral on the **Wawel** hill, a large number of outstanding and ancient churches as well as the well-preserved Old Town Square. The **Jagiellonian** University, founded in 1364, is the oldest in Poland and is the center of a thriving cultural, intellectual, and artistic community, which many rate as at least equal to

that of its historic rival, **Warsaw**. Kraków's archbishop has also always been one of the most influential figures in the **Roman Catholic** Church in Poland; it should be remembered that the office was occupied by **Karol Wojtyła** before he became Pope John Paul II.

Although Kraków's notorious political and social conservatism and clericalism are often contrasted with the radicalism and secularism of its Warsaw rival, it is also a major **industrial** and communications center. The building of a huge iron and steel works in the new Nowa Huta suburb during the Communist period strengthened this aspect. The Lenin works have now been symbolically renamed after Sendzimir, but, paradoxically, the former was a hive of industrial unrest during the 1980s. The city itself became a major scene of dissident political and cultural activity when a politically influential ecologist movement emerged during the late 1980s.

KRASICKI, IGNACY (1735–1801). Poet and prose writer, bishop of Warmia from 1766, and bishop of Gniezno from 1795. With Adam Naruszewicz and Stanisław Trembecki, he is one of the great lyric poets of the Enlightenment. He also pioneered the modern Polish novel. Krasicki wrote mock heroic epic poems, such as *Monachomachia*, and fables and was also a publicist. As a satirist he attacked national foibles, such as **Sarmatianism** and the aping of foreign fashions. Krasicki's fables and parables, in which he dissected the world in an allegorical fashion, represent the apogee of his work. He is widely regarded as the Polish La Fontaine.

KRASIŃSKI, ZYGMUNT (1812–1859). As a dramatist and poet Krasiński is usually ranked in the same class as **Adam Mickiewicz** and **Juliusz Słowacki**, his 19th-century patriotic and Romantic counterparts. His work includes historiosophical dramas, such as the *Un-Godly Comedy* and *Iriodion*, and poems in the Messianic style, such as *Before the Dawn*.

KRASZEWSKI, JÓZEF IGNACY (1812–1887). Author of historical novels concerned with social manners, historian, publicist, and cultural activist. Kraszewski was also a great patriot and democrat. He produced an enormous literary output of about 400 works. His writings include *Ułana*, *Latarnia czarnoksiężnika* (The Lantern of the Black Magician), *Złote Jabłko* (The Golden Apple) and *Stara Baśń* (The Old Tale). He was the editor of the influential *Athenaeum* and *Gazeta Polska*.

KRZAKLEWSKI, MARIAN (1950–). A computer programmer and **Solidarity** activist, who became chairman of its Upper Silesian branch (1987–1990). He defeated **Lech Wałęsa**'s nominees to become national chairman in February 1991 and was reelected throughout the 1990s. Krzaklewski took Solidarity in a **trade unionist** direction and reflected the workers' discontent, which brought down **Hanna Suchocka** in 1993. He played a central role in bringing together more than two dozen center and right-wing parties with Solidarity to form the **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), which elected him as chairman in 1996. The AWS won 201 seats (on 33.83 percent of the vote) and became the dominant partner in **Jerzy Buzek**'s coalition government with the **Freedom Union** (UW). Krzaklewski did not enter the **Sejm** and resigned as AWS chairman. Although he started out as the strongest counter-candidate of the right and center to **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** in the 2000 presidential elections, he ran a lackluster campaign and fell into third position behind **Andrzej Olechowski** with only 15.57 percent of the vote. His defeat was instrumental in hastening the AWS collapse in the 2001 election, after which Krzaklewski again became a predominantly trade union figure.

KUBIAK, HIERONIM (1934–). Kubiak was a sociology professor at the **Jagiellonian** University who became a prominent reform Communist in the early 1980s and again at the end of the decade. He chaired the *Kuźnica* (Forge) reform club in **Kraków** and the party committee that produced the critical 1983 report, colloquially named after him, on the causes of social crises in Communist Poland.

KUKLIŃSKI, RYSZARD (1930–). A colonel in the Polish Army's military planning bureau, who, as a longtime spy since 1970, betrayed the plans for Soviet invasion and the domestic imposition of martial law to the Americans, who got him and his family out of Poland in 1981. His 1984 condemnation to death in absentia was laid aside by the **Supreme Court** in 1995. Made an honorary citizen by the cities of **Kraków** and **Gdańsk** in the late 1990s, he has been much praised by the right and center. The moral and political aspects of his cas célèbre remain controversial in a country like Poland, which still places high value on loyalty to the nation-state, but which historically has been much ruled by foreign-controlled regimes.

KUROŃ, JACEK (1934–). Kuroń was one of the most outstanding theorists and activists opposed to the Communist regime. He was impris-

oned and harassed on numerous occasions from the Stalinist period onward. With **Karol Modzelewski**, he wrote *The Open Letter to the Party* (1964), one of the earliest and most influential critiques of state socialism. He was the cofounder and the main leader with **Adam Michnik** of the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR) in 1976. Kuroń played an important political role as a **Solidarity** adviser and spokesman in 1980–1981. He was interned during martial law and subsequently imprisoned.

A **Civic Committee** (KO) member, he figured prominently in the **Round Table** and was considered as one of Solidarity's three choices for the post of prime minister. Elected a **Sejm** deputy from 1989 onward, he was a prominent figure in the **Civic Parliamentary Club** (OKP), **Democratic Action Civic Movement** (ROAD), **Democratic Union** (UD), and **Freedom Union** (UW). He became minister of labor and social policy from September 1989 to January 1991, a post that he held again in **Hanna Suchocka's** government, 1992–1993, playing a crucial role in defusing the labor unrest of this period. Kuroń was a prolific writer, whose political tracts and memoirs were equally influential. He maintained high levels of political popularity during the 1990s, despite a relatively disappointing showing (9.22 percent) as UW candidate in the 1995 presidential election.

KWAŚNIEWSKI, ALEKSANDER (1954–). An economist, **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) youth activist, and junior minister for youth and sports in the late 1980s. This experience gave him sufficient standing without compromising him. It allowed him to emerge as a credible chairman of the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP), promising a new social democratic start when the PZPR was dissolved in January 1990. Kwaśniewski remained as SdRP chairman until 1995 and also played an important role as chairman of the National Assembly's Constitutional Commission and of the SdRP Deputies Club. Projecting a telegenic image of efficient pragmatism with a social conscience Kwaśniewski was elected president of the republic in November 1995, gaining 35.11 percent of the vote on the first ballot and 51.72 percent on the second.

Kwaśniewski provided a balanced and consistent contrast, in both domestic and foreign politics, to his erratic predecessor, **Lech Wałęsa**. He used the mass media very effectively as president to maintain the highest public opinion rankings. He was well supported by his attractive wife, Jolanta, a professional lawyer who gained much respect as first

lady. During the first half of his term (1996–1997), he collaborated easily with the **Alliance of the Democratic Left-Polish Peasant Party** (SLD-PSL) majority in the **Sejm** and with the reformist Prime Minister **Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz**, who shared his social-liberal inclinations. His cohabitation with a hostile **Electoral Action Solidarity-Freedom Union** (AWS-UW) majority after the October 1997 election was facilitated by the 1997 **constitution**'s redefinition of presidential power and his good-natured and laid-back style. He appropriated the role of guardian of the public interest and was described as “president of all the Poles.” The **Buzek** government's mistakes also laid it open to well-timed presidential vetoes and references to the **Constitutional Tribunal**, which forced the revision of reforms such as that of local government, accepting 16, instead of the originally proposed 12, provinces in 1998.

Kwaśniewski represented Poland very capably at the international level and entered the campaign for the 2000 presidential election in a strong position. It was no surprise that he was elected decisively on the first ballot with 53.9 percent of the vote, well ahead of **Andrzej Olechowski** and **Marian Krzaklewski**. The end of cohabitation, signaled by the SLD's electoral triumph in 2001, allowed him to reassert himself as a dominant figure on the Polish political scene. His popularity and standing were reinforced by his mediating role in regard to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and **European Union** (EU) questions and international contacts, such as his very successful official visit to the United States in July 2002, when he was welcomed by President George W. Bush as “my friend Alexander,” a major ally in the war against terrorism.

KWIATKOWSKI, EUGENIUSZ (1888–1974). Engineer, politician, and economist. Kwiatkowski developed Poland's merchant navy and built a new and independent port at **Gdynia** during the 1920s. As minister of industry and trade (1926–1930) and deputy prime minister and minister of finance (1935–1939), he focused Poland's industrialization around the development of a Central Industrial District (COP) that would ensure the security of its war **industries** away from vulnerable frontiers. His technocratic approach and ideas had some influence on Poland's Communist rulers, who, initially after **World War II**, used his talents and prestige as government commissioner for rebuilding the coast.

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LABOR UNION/UNIA PRACA (UP). Formed in June 1992, through the union of **Ryszard Bugaj**'s Labor Solidarity, **Zbigniew Bujak**'s RD-S (Democratic-Social Movement), and a section of the **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)**. It gained 41 seats in 1993 but was marginalized by the **Polish Peasant Party-Alliance of the Democratic Left (PSL-SLD)** governments of 1993–1997. Failing to enter the **Sejm** in September 1997 with 4.47 percent of the vote, its chairman since 1992, Ryszard Bugaj, resigned, and the party attempted to survive through local election alliances with the Polish Peasant Party (PSL). It subsequently went into electoral alliance with the SLD in 2001, gaining 16 Sejm seats under that banner, while one of its leaders, Marek Pol, became a deputy prime minister.

ŁAŃCUT. The famous palace of the **Potocki** clan is situated at Łańcut, a small town of about 17, 000 population, not far to the east of **Rzeszów** in south-east Poland. The 17th- and 18th-century architectural complex of buildings and the carriage museum is one of the country's major tourist attractions.

LANGE, OSKAR (1904–1965). A **Polish Socialist Party (PPS)** socialist in background, Lange developed innovative theories of a non-Stalinist type on economic planning. Although he held the important post of chairman of the Government's Economic Council (1957–1963), **Władysław Gomułka** refused to implement its ideas. The Polish economy was, therefore, not reformed sufficiently to prevent the subsequent social and political crises provoked by its poor performance.

LAPICKI, ANDRZEJ (1924–). A theatrical actor, director, and pedagogue, who also became popular on television. Lapicki supported the opposition, becoming a Solidarity **Civic Parliamentary Club (OKP)** **Sejm** deputy, 1989–1991.

LASKI, JAN (1499–1560). A great theologian and Protestant activist during the Reformation, who attempted to unite the reformed-evangelical currents in Poland in a single national church. He was known in Western Europe as John à Lasco.

LEAGUE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY/LIGA OBRONY KRAJU (LOK). Founded after **World War II** under a different

name, this body encouraged the country's defensive capacities through a wide variety of training and schooling activities. It ran a broad range of leisure, shooting, sporting, yachting, and motoring facilities, including driver training, in the Communist period. It published its own weekly *CZATA* (On Guard).

LEAGUE OF POLISH FAMILIES/LIGA POLKICH RODZIN (LPR).

An umbrella group composed of supporters of **Radio Maryja** and Catholic and conservative defectors from **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS). It achieved unexpected electoral success, gaining 38 **Sejm** seats and 8.3 percent of the vote in 2001, when it filled the political vacuum left by the elimination of the AWS.

LEGIONS. Military formations made up of volunteers, which played important roles in the independence struggle during the period of Poland's **partition**. The best-known Napoleonic Legions fighting on France's side were the Danubian, led by General Karol Kniaziewicz, which was sent to perish in San Domingo in 1801, and the Rhenish, which developed out of the most famous grouping of all, the Legion of General **Jan Henryk Dąbrowski**. The latter was established in Italy in 1797 and is celebrated in the words of the Polish **National Anthem**.

Adam Mickiewicz formed a Legion in **France** during the 1848 "Springtime of the Peoples." Two Legions were originally constituted out of the Riflemens' Clubs formed by **Józef Piłsudski** in **Galicja**; they fought for the Central Powers against **Russia** from 1914 until 1917, when they were dissolved and interned. Many of Piłsudski's key interwar supporters saw service as legionaries. This experience was an integral part of the myth that was later built around the "commander."

LELEWEL, JOACHIM (1786–1861). An outstanding historian, founder of a historiographical school, and radical patriotic activist. Exiled for participating in the 1831 uprising, he led the Polish National Committee and founded the United Polish Emigration, an important component of the **Great Emigration**.

LEM, STANISLAW (1921–). One of the world's greatest science fiction writers, Lem combines literary style with considerable intellectual insight into the development of civilization and technology. His books have been translated into numerous languages, and some of them, such as *Solaris*, have been made into successful films.

LENINO. A battle in October 1943 on the **Belarusan** front, at which the Soviet-sponsored Polish forces of the First **Kościuszko** Division went into action for the first time, sustaining heavy losses. The action was much popularized during the Communist period as a symbol of Polish-Soviet collaboration and friendship. But there has always been a suspicion that the Poles were sacrificed as artillery fodder for reconnaissance purposes during the battle.

LEPPER, ANDRZEJ (1954–). Leader of the peasant Samoobrona/Self-Defense organization, often compared to the similarly extremist 1950s French peasant demagogue, Pierre Poujade. Lepper organized violent demonstrations, road blockages, and takeovers of administrative offices by peasants whose livelihoods were threatened by market forces during the 1990s. He stood in the 1995 presidential election gaining 1.32 percent of the vote and again, in 2000 when he received 3.05 percent of the vote. Lepper became the symbol of violent rural resistance to change by the end of the decade and was arrested and involved in numerous court cases. His movement gained 53 **Sejm** seats (plus two **Senate** seats) on 11.3 percent of the vote in 2001. Lepper became a deputy **marshal** of the Sejm for some weeks, but his intemperate behavior soon forced his resignation.

LESZCZYŃSKI, STANISŁAW (1677–1766). This magnate became king of Poland during 1704–1709, but left the country after the defeat of his Swedish patron, Charles XII, at Poltava in 1709. He resumed the throne, this time with French support, during the War of the Polish Succession of 1733–1736. Once again defeated by the **Russians**, he went into permanent exile in **France** as duke of Lorraine and Bar, where he patronized the arts and made Nancy a great cultural center. His daughter, Maria (1703–1768), married Louis XV of France.

ŁĘTOWSKA, EWA (1940–). A **Warsaw** University graduate and professor of state law in the Polish Academy of Sciences. She gained a high reputation as the first incumbent of the post of spokesman for civic rights (ombudsman) from 1987 to 1991, being seriously considered as a potential nonparty candidate for the presidency in 1990.

LEWIATAN. The colloquial name for the Central Union of Polish Employers in the 19th century and in interwar Poland.

LIBERA, PIOTR (1950–). Priest and auxiliary bishop of **Katowice**. Libera was elected secretary-general of the Polish episcopate, for a five-year term, in May 1998, against the outgoing incumbent, **Tadeusz Pieronek**.

LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS/KONGRES LIBERALNO-DEMOKRATYCZNY (KL-D). A secular-liberal and very elitist, **Gdańsk**-based, centrist party dedicated to building a capitalist market democracy in Poland. Established in February 1990, its main figures were **Donald Tusk**, **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**, the second post-Communist prime minister, and influential ministers in 1991–1992, such as Janusz Lewandowski (ownership transformation), Adam Głapiński (housing), and **Andrzej Zawislak** (industry). It won 37 **Sejm** and six **Senate** seats on 7.48 percent of the vote in 1991, but after failing to gain any Sejm representation in 1993 (3.99 percent of the vote), it amalgamated with the **Democratic Union** (UD) to form the **Freedom Union** (UW) in 1994.

LIBERUM VETO. A procedure that allowed a single deputy in the 17th–18th centuries to break off the work of the **Sejm** and to annul all its previous decisions. It was first applied by Włodzimierz Siciński in 1652 and later used by foreign powers, especially **Russia**, to paralyze Poland's political life through bribed agents.

LIMANOWSKI, BOLESŁAW (1835–1935). A historian and sociologist whose massive works helped to produce the peculiar blend of national and social emancipation in opposition to Marxism that characterized Polish democratic socialism and the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS), which he cofounded.

LINDE, STANISŁAW BOGUMIL (1771–1847). Linde was an outstanding specialist on languages and lexicographer, whose main work was a six-volume *Dictionary of the Polish Language*.

LIPSKI, JAN-JÓZEF (1926–1991). A historian and author of a major account of **Solidarity**'s political development, Lipski cofounded the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR) and became one of its most influential activists. He also helped to refound the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) in 1987, doing his best as chairman to unite its diverse and quarrelsome factions. He was elected a **Civic Committee** (KO) senator in 1989.

LITERATURE. Poland's acceptance of Christianity in A.D. 966 had a decisive influence on the character and language of the early beginnings of Polish literature. Rome's cultural influence led to the development of an international form of Latin writing. It slowly drove out the ancient unwritten folk tradition in the native language, whose traces remained solely in ballads and legends.

Literature during the Middle Ages developed around the royal court, the households of great feudal magnates, church institutions, and, after 1364, at the University of **Kraków**. Medieval Polish literature modeled itself on that of contemporary Europe. It dealt with historical topics, such as the chronicles of Gallus Anonymus at the beginning of the 12th century and of **Wincenty Kadłubek** (1150–1223), and the great history of Poland, the *Annals*, of **Jan Długosz**, while publicists such as Paweł of Włodkowic (about 1370–1435) and Jan Ostroróg (1436–1501) produced important political polemics. The Middle Ages also saw a rich religious literature. This was naturally written in Latin and often dealt with the lives of the saints, such as Wojciech (Adalbert) and Kinga. The first works in the Polish language appeared in the 14th century, at the same time that it also began to seep through into prayers. The oldest religious and chivalric hymn, the “Bogurodzica” (ca. late 13th century), was for a long time the **national anthem** and was intoned before the battle of **Grunwald**. On the other hand, secular poetry also began to develop from the 15th century.

The 16th century is known as the “Golden Age” of Polish culture. The Polish Renaissance began with the intellectually liberating discoveries of **Copernicus**. Secular and humanist tendencies, based on themes concerning the individual and humanity drawn from classical antiquity, began to dominate Polish literature. Representative examples were Biernat of Lublin (ca. 1465–1529), the author of the first book printed in Polish, *Raj Duszy* (The Heaven of the Soul), and Polish-Latin poets, such as Klemens Janicki (1516–1543) and Bishop Jan Dantyszek (1485–1548). The Polish language was enriched and became much more precise in this period. A profane, even Philistine, literature, with elements of criticism of society and customs, also developed. Political writing in Polish emerged somewhat later; the work of Jan Ostroróg was overshadowed by that of **Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski**, who is widely regarded as a precursor of modern theories of state and law. Bringing religious toleration, the Reformation also contributed to the impressive cultural flourishing of this period. Its leading spokesman was the poet **Mikołaj Rej**, who is considered to be the father of Polish literature. The most outstanding poet of the

age was **Jan Kochanowski**, whose works dealt with moral-political problems and the great humanist values. Among representatives of Polish Renaissance prose are **Łukasz Górnicki** and **Piotr Skarga**.

The stormy 17th century, the age of the Baroque and the Counter-Reformation, was marked by numerous wars, magnate revolts, growing social and religious conflicts, and the Cossack Uprising in **Ukraine**. Writers of the period, such as **Wacław Potocki** in his “Chocim War” and memoirs, excelled in drawing their inspiration from these dramatic events. Others, such as **Jan Chryzostom Pasek** (1636–1701), wrote colorful and humorous accounts of their experiences. The Baroque style in Polish literature introduced new creative values and enriched the literary language through its fondness for striking contrasts and very refined and artistic literary forms. **Jan Andrzej Morsztyn** (1621–1693), whose work included a translation of **Corneille’s** *The Cid*, typified the latter. But the Baroque reflected a varied level of quality as it drew in a large number of less talented, often plebeian, writers. They often produced religious songs, trifles, satires, and occasional works. **Saxon** rule, especially the first decades of the 18th century, saw a collapse of Polish culture after a long decline. The period was dominated by devotional-religious works and panegyrics, written in an artificial style using pompous language.

On the other hand, this was succeeded in the middle of the 18th century by the literature of the Enlightenment. Its empirical and rational traits contributed significantly to the rebuilding of the country’s political, social, and economic structures. Writers called for the *naprawa* (literally renovation or repair) of the state. A new and modern consciousness that the “nation” was not only composed of the **gentry**, but of town dwellers and peasants as well, reinforced the pressure for reform. New cultural and academic publications, such as the *Monitor* and the first public theater in **Warsaw**, were established. Polish literature was strongly influenced by the European Enlightenment, but it retained its specific, and highly patriotic, features. The most celebrated poet of the era was **Ignacy Krasicki**. Another lyrical poet was **Franciszek Karpiński**, who wrote the famous carol “God Is Being Born.” Historiography was represented by **Adam Naruszewicz**, while **Stanisław Konarski** denounced the **Liberum Veto** in his work. Theatrical drama and criticism were developed by **Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz** and **Wojciech Bogusławski**, the founder of the National Theater in Warsaw. Progressive thinkers, such as **Józef Wybicki**, **Stanisław Staszic**, and **Hugo Kollataj**, dominated the publicist, especially political, writing of the age and were particularly influential during the Four Year **Sejm** of 1788–1792. They called for political and social re-

forms in the name of the laws of nature, freedom, and human dignity. Polish literature in the age of Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski** was marked by the sharp conflicts between the supporters and opponents of reform; progressive radicals publicized radical changes in mental attitudes and stimulated the rebirth of patriotic sentiments.

The Romantic period in Polish literature began early in the 19th century and reflected the feelings of both the gentry and urban intelligentsia. A young generation of writers broke with the “classics” by emphasizing the priority of artistic feelings and human emotions. It announced the principle of cultural freedom and developed national and folk themes. Although it diverged from the principles of European Romanticism in major respects, Polish Romanticism was particularly important in preserving the feeling of national consciousness in Polish society, particularly during the period of the **partitions**, when it was most threatened. The movement produced a large number of exceptional poets and dramatists, of which **Adam Mickiewicz**, **Juliusz Słowacki**, **Zygmunt Krasiński**, and **Cyprian Kamil Norwid** were the most notable. Many of their works have been translated into foreign languages and deserve to be widely known because of their originality and universal appeal. One should also mention the comic dramatist **Aleksander Fredro**, the writer of historical works **Ignacy Kraszewski**, poets such as Wincenty Pol, Kornel Ujejski, and Władysław Syrokomla, and novelists like Narcyza Zmichowska and Henryk Rzewuski. Numerous excellent literary and cultural journals, such as the *Tygodnik Literacki* (Literary Weekly) in **Poznań** and the *Przegląd Naukowy* (Academic Review) in Warsaw, also developed and played important roles.

The suppression of the January Uprising of 1863 provoked a strong reaction against Romanticism among Polish writers. The failure of armed struggle diverted energies into “**Organic Work**” in the social, economic, and educational fields. Its ideological base became the philosophy of Positivism. Literature drew on contemporary issues and came to have research as well as educational functions. The novel and the fictional story became the most realistic creative forms. The exceptional development of prose in this period is demonstrated by the emergence of such famous names as **Bolesław Prus**, **Henryk Sienkiewicz**, and Eliza Orzeszkowa. A more Naturalist current emerged toward the end of the 19th century, in which such writers as Adolf Dygasiński and Gabriela Zapolska criticized bourgeois morality.

The school that dominated at the turn of the 20th century is known as Modernism, Neo-Romanticism, or “Young Poland” (*Młoda Polska*). Its

representatives were disillusioned by the growing socioeconomic conflicts. Influenced by a rebirth of patriotic feelings and the desire to participate in the national independence struggle, they returned to the ideals and values of the Romantic period. Modernism was a far from uniform current, and it was further complicated by the simultaneous emergence of a “Decadent” movement. The literature of this period assumed varied forms, ranging from the novel and lyrical poetry to dramas dealing with metaphysical subjects. A new interest appeared in psychological analysis. The novels and stories of **Stefan Żeromski** epitomize this era, but one should also mention Andrzej Strug and Waław Berent. Poetry took up religious and antique symbolism and impressionism. Poets of the “Young Poland” school included Leopold Staff, Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, and **Stanisław Wyspiański**. The intellectual-moral problems of the time were aired by such influential journals as *Życie* (Life) and *Krytyka* (Criticism) in Kraków and *Życie* and *Chimera* in Warsaw.

A new current in Polish literature appeared with the regaining of independence in 1918. Fascinated by technological development, young writers broke away from older traditions by approving modern civilization and bourgeois society. Poets became particularly influential in this trend, notably Julian Przyboś (1901–1971), the main ideologist of the Kraków avant-garde, Tadeusz Peiper (1891–1969), as well as the “Skamander” school of poetry grouped around the journal of that name. The best-known names among the latter are Julian Tuwim (1894–1953) and Antoni Słonimski (1895–1976). But very original poetry was also produced by others, such as Maria Jasnorzewska-Pawlikowska (1893–1945) and Kazimiera Iłakowiczówna, the revolutionary **Władysław Broniewski**, Mieczysław Jastrun, and the idiosyncratic **Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński**. A prose writer like Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski was ideologically linked to **Józef Piłsudski**’s camp in his sociopolitical work, while Leon Kruczkowski and **Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz** produced social critiques for the left. Other writers dealt with a wide range of aspects of individual psychology and social life and included Zofia Nałkowska, Pola Gojawiczyńska, Jalu Kurek, and, perhaps most notably in this period, **Maria Dąbrowska**. Writers whose lives stretch almost into contemporary times include Maria Kuncewiczowa, Michał Choromański, Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, and Zofia Kossak-Szczucka. **Tadeusz Breza** and Witold Rudnicki also made their debuts at this time. Literature for children and adolescents was strongly represented by Kornel Makuszyński, Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina, Janusz Meissner, and some of the writings of the great Julian Tuwim. The vision of the catastrophe of civilization presented in

the prose of **Stanisław Witkiewicz** was developed in differing ways by Bruno Schulz and **Witold Gombrowicz**. The independent interwar era also saw a great expansion of cultural journals and the flowering of literary criticism. The most prominent man of letters was the writer, drama critic, and translator of French literature, Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński.

Polish literature went underground during **World War II**. Many writers and cultural figures were either murdered by the **Germans** or died as a result of difficult conditions. Others fought in the resistance or found themselves isolated in emigration. Nevertheless about 40 Polish literary journals appeared underground during the German occupation, maintaining an older tradition that was to reappear again during the 1980s. New talents, such as Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński and Tadeusz Gajcy, emerged.

After the war, Polish literature was dominated by wartime experiences, such as the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, the Nazi concentration camps, and the Holocaust of the **Jews**. The complex and brutal politics of the age was reflected in numerous discussions of the moral dilemmas and choices facing the individual. Amid a whole galaxy, one should mention the names of **Jerzy Andrzejewski** (author of *Ashes and Diamonds* and a founder of the **Workers' Defense Committee**), Wojciech Żukrowski (*From the Country of Silence*), Zofia Nałkowska (*Medallions*), Kazimierz Brandys, Karol Bunsch, and dramatists such as Jerzy Szaniawski and Leon Kruczkowski.

The theory of "Socialist Realism," that literature should help to build a socialist Poland, held very short-lived sway. But the early 1950s were dominated by so-called production works that gave a false and one-sided picture of social relations. Stalinism was, however, curtailed even before "**October**" 1956. Subsequent literature was marked by the work of different generations and varied approaches. Jan Parandowski translated the *Odyseus*, Stanisław Dygat specialized in sensual novels, the young Marek Hłasko (1934–1969) was almost the spokesman for the "October" generation, while Roman Bratny's trilogy on the postwar *Columbus Generation* remains a masterpiece. Other writers worth mentioning include Lesław Bartelski, Marian Brandys, Ernest Bryll, **Jan Dobraczyński**, Stanisław Grochowski, Zbigniew Herbert, Julian Kawalec, Tadeusz Konwicki, **Sławomir Mrożek**, Teodor Parnicki, Jerzy Putrament, Tadeusz Różewicz, and Władysław Terlecki, who were poets whose work is still extremely influential, while **Melchior Wańkowicz** excelled in the burgeoning field of *rapportage* and memoirs. One should also say that censorship of cultural life was relatively

light in Poland after 1956, by comparative Communist standards. Literary life was shaped by a large number of vigorous literary, sociophilosophical, and cultural journals, such as *Tworczość* (Creativity), *Zycie Literackie* (Literary Life), *Kultura* (Culture), and some fairly independent Catholic publications, such as *Więź* (The Link).

The enormous role of culture and literature in Poland is excellently rendered by the writer Mirosław Żuławski:

There are fields of culture which have more universal appeal like Russian literature, French painting or English poetry; but there is no culture, literature and art in the whole world which has more helped a nation, throughout its history, to preserve its identity and which has done more to save it from spiritual death. . . . Five generations of Poles have lived under the occupation of three partitioning states with different cultures, languages and customs. If, despite all this, the Polish nation remained united, if it was capable of maintaining its unity in all sorts of historical circumstances, it owes this to the role that was unceasingly played by literature and the arts, Polish songs, dances and customs.

This quotation gives a fair picture of the weight that needs to be ascribed to Polish culture as an equal twin factor, alongside the role of the **Roman Catholic** Church, in the last two centuries of Polish history.

LITHUANIA. An independent republic since March 1990, its population of 3.69 million (1999) inhabits a territory of 65,200 square kilometers on Poland's northwestern frontier, with the Kaliningrad military district to its west, Latvia to its north, and **Belarus** to its southeast. It was forcibly annexed by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** and incorporated as a Soviet republic in 1940. The independent interwar Republic of Lithuania broke off all diplomatic and other relations with Poland over General Lucjan Żeligowski's military occupation in 1920, on **Józef Piłsudski's** orders, of Wilno (Vilnius, Vilna), which Lithuania claimed as its capital. This central Lithuanian region was formally incorporated into Poland in 1922. The Duchy of Lithuania had historically been linked to the Polish **Commonwealth**, through the personal union with **Władysław Jagiello** in 1385 and the formal Union of **Lublin** in 1569. As a result of the **partitions**, it became part of the Russian Empire until 1918. The strength of the Lithuanian connection and experience for the Poles is best caught by the opening line of **Adam Mickiewicz's** national poem "Pan Tadeusz"—"Lithuania! My Fatherland!"

The Poles regard the Lithuanians in a very friendly and protective way, much like one would a younger brother, because of the **Jagiellonian dynasty** as well as other links; but the Lithuanians' historical memories of the powerful appeal of Polish culture and language on its **gentry** elites have traditionally made them fear Polonization as much as Russification. Consequently, the post-Soviet independence movement, Sajudis, was very chary of Warsaw's overtures and unnecessarily aggressive toward the Polish minority in Lithuania. The situation improved as a result of the electoral victory of Algirdas Brazauskas's successor-Communists in 1993 and with **Lech Wałęsa's** visit to Vilnius. The signing of their Friendship and Collaboration Treaty in April 1994, despite objections by the Association of Poles in Lithuania, has proved a historic milestone in readjusting their relationship.

Poland has not only established friendly relations, but also a strategic partnership with Lithuania since then, and has very strongly supported Lithuania's aspirations to join the **European Union** and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Bilateral exchanges and mutual visits are very intensive; they are supported by a parliamentary assembly as well as numerous parliamentary, governmental, ministerial, and cultural joint councils. Collaboration is strong over transport (the Via Baltica motorway, the Warsaw-Tallin railway, and air traffic control), energy (their electricity grids), maritime issues (through the Council of **Baltic Sea States**), and **environmental** questions. Their trade exchanges have been liberalized and expanded as well (Poland is Lithuania's third largest exporter). Finally, their minority problems have been defused at the state level, through agreements allowing the minorities to preserve their respective cultural identities through the teaching and public use of their national languages and the normal democratic rights of association. Interestingly, such secondary issues as the spelling of Polish and Lithuanian names by minority members in the two countries have proved the most difficult to resolve.

LITTLE POLAND/MALAPOLSKA. The historical region lying in southern and southeastern Poland. *See also* GALICIA.

LÓDŹ. Situated on the Central Poland Plain, with a population that declined from 848, 200 in 1990 to 800, 295 by 1999. Łódź has traditionally been Poland's largest textile center, hence its colloquial, although not fully accurate, description as Poland's "Manchester." As many of the city's factories were originally owned by foreign, especially German,

capital, the city suffered from extreme urban, social, and cultural neglect, which was aggravated by the human and material losses occasioned by Nazi ethnic cleansing policies against Poles and **Jews** during **World War II**. This backwardness only began to be tackled in **Edward Gierek**'s time. The city fell into decline and lost population, as it was hard hit by post-Communist marketization, which involved the closure of many textile works, whose largely female workforce was particularly vulnerable.

LOGA-SOWIŃSKI, IGNACY (1914–1992). A major Communist functionary, who was one of **Władysław Gomułka**'s closest collaborators. He was the boss of the Communist Central Council of Trade Unions/Centralna Rada Związków Zawodowych (CRZZ), from 1956 to 1971, as well as a member of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo.

LOMNICKI, TADEUSZ (1927–1992). An extremely popular theatrical, film, and television actor. For the 1970s generation he epitomized the swashbuckling "Pan Wołodyjowski," the hero of **Henryk Sienkiewicz**'s 17th-century trilogy.

LOPUSZAŃSKI, JAN (1955–). An extreme populist-nationalist and Catholic politician from **Gdańsk**, who started out as a **Sejm** deputy (1989–1993) for the **Civic Committee** and then, the **Christian National Union** (ZCh-N). He worked closely with the reactionary Catholic circles associated with **Radio Maryja** and was reelected to the Sejm in 1997 on the **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) label. He was expelled by the AWS parliamentary club for voting against Poland's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Along with another six similar minded deputies (mainly from the AWS), he formed the Polish Agreement/Porozumienie Polskie (PP) party. He competed with **Andrzej Lepper** and **Tadeusz Wilecki** for the support of the losers in Poland's socioeconomic transformation, playing strongly on anti-European and antiworld capitalist emotions. One of a welter of populist anti-European candidates he got a mere 0.79 percent of the vote in the 2000 presidential election. Despite this he was reelected to the Sejm in 2001 for the **League of Polish Families** (LPR) and continued his campaign against **European Union** (EU) entry.

LOUIS THE HUNGARIAN. *See* ANJOU DYNASTY.

LUBIEŃSKI, KONSTANTY (1910–1977). A social-catholic writer who accepted the need for recognizing and working within the Polish People's Republic (PRL). Although originally associated with **PAX** and **Bolesław Piasecki**, he was instrumental in the split in 1956, which founded the more independent **Znak** grouping. He also animated the Catholic Intellectual Clubs (KIK) movement. A **Sejm** deputy from 1952 until his death, he collaborated closely with **Edward Gierek**'s regime as deputy chairman of its Front of National Unity (FJN). This eventually led to a split within **Znak** in 1976, over proposed constitutional amendments, and to the grouping's replacement by more radically antisystemic organizations, such as the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR).

LUBLIN. An industrial and cultural center, with two universities, one Catholic (Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, KUL) and one state (named after **Marie Curie-Skłodowska**). Situated to the southeast of **Warsaw**, its population was 356,100 (1999). Lublin has a well-preserved Royal Castle and Old Town **architectural** complex, dating from between the 13th and 17th centuries. The Communist-dominated Provisional Government of 1945 is colloquially known as the "Lublin Government," because it had its original seat there. Lublin developed much **industry**, especially a large motorcar factory, under communism. The city played a prominent part in the industrial unrest of 1980, which brought **Solidarity** into existence.

LUBOMIRSKI FAMILY. One of Poland's great aristocratic landed families, whose members played important roles in its political and national life, from the 17th century onward. Field **Hetman** Jerzy Sebastian (1616–1667) led the huge **rokosz** in defense of the "Golden Freedom" of the **gentry** of 1665–1666, which prevented the reform of the state. Other notable figures include: Crown Hetman Hieronym Augustus (1647–1706), who fought against the Swedes and Turks and initiated the **Confederation of Warsaw** in 1704. Prince Zdzisław (1865–1941) was a leading political and social activist during World War I, as President of Warsaw and a member of the conservative and pro-German Regency Council of 1917–1918, which handed over power to **Józef Piłsudski**.

LUKSEMBURG, ROŻA (1871–1919). A revolutionary Social Democrat, ideologist, and politician of Jewish origins, belonging to both the Polish and German movements. With **Julian Marchlewski**, Adolf Warski, and Leon Jogiches (Jan Tyszką), she founded the **Social-Democracy of the**

Kingdom of Poland, in 1893, and of **Lithuania**, in 1900 (SDKPiL), which, after World War I, became one of the main elements of the **Communist Party of Poland** (KPP). After 1898, Luksemburg was primarily active in the German movement. She helped to found the German Communist Party a few days before she was murdered in January 1919 by the right-wing German Officers' Free Corps. As Luksemburg opposed Polish independence with an economic argument favoring the union of the Polish and Russian proletariats, her internationalist ideas were made use of by the Polish Stalinists. Despite this, she was a genuine democrat who warned against the dictatorial potential of the **Russian** Bolsheviks, so she is still popular among far left Socialists.

LUSTRATION. The phrase was technically used by the ancient Greeks to mean ceremonial purification. As such it was applied to the various processes used in the 1990s to deal with individuals still in public life, who had collaborated with the Communist security services. After failed attempts in the early 1990s, the compromise adopted after 1997 involved the setting up of an Institute (and Archive) of National Memory (IPN) and the appointment of a spokesman for the public interest (RIP), **Bogusław Nizieński**. The aim was to test the truthfulness of compulsory declarations by public figures. False ones were to be punished by a lustration court (eventually the Warsaw Provincial Court), with disqualification from holding public office for 10 years. In due course, all citizens were to be allowed to check their security service files.

The lustration process accelerated during the government of **Jerzy Buzek**, especially after the **Constitutional Tribunal** confirmed in October 1998 that the lustration law was in accord with the **constitution**. By April 2000, about 23,000 lustration declarations by people in public life had been submitted to the appeals court in **Warsaw**. The RIP had queried a mere 45 of these (13 **Sejm** deputies, three Senators, and 15 lawyers, while the remainder were a sprinkling of ex-ministers, managers, judges, and politicians). The court refused to consider 9 cases and declared that individuals had lied in only 10 cases. The Warsaw court found in April 2000, for example, that Krzysztof Fuks, an ex-deputy minister of transport had lied in his lustration declaration. It had also earlier cleared notable individuals like Jerzy Osiatyński, **Wiesław Chrzanowski**, and to some extent **Leszek Moczulski** and Aleksander Bentkowski (a **peasant party** [PSL] politician and ex-minister of justice) of collaboration with the Communist security services, at their own request.

The **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) had always wanted to exclude service in, and collaboration with, the external security and intelligence services from the lustration process. **Leszek Miller's** government promised to tackle this thorny issue. The public was educated into the complexities of the problem through the much-discussed cases of **Andrzej Olechowski** and **Sławomir Wiatr**, who freely admitted collaboration on the grounds of serving Poland's national economic and other interests.

LUTOSLAWSKI, WITOLD (1913–1994). An outstanding contemporary composer-conductor, whose symphonic and other works have gained him a worldwide reputation, including a vast number of prizes and awards. He graduated from the **Warsaw** Conservatory in 1932, but unlike most of his counterparts, he always concentrated on composition and never held an academic position. He conducted many notable American and European orchestras, however. His work is considered to have gone through various periods in which he developed his own original style, irrespective of prevailing modes or fashions. His balance between form, content, and emotion is highly rated by musicologists who count him among the great composers of the 20th century. He has been compared with Béla Bartók and Olivier Messiaen, and he is placed with **Frederyk Chopin** and **Karol Szymanowski** in the pantheon of Polish composers.

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MACHARSKI, FRANCISZEK (1927–). Cardinal. A **Jagiellonian** University graduate, he became a priest who worked very closely with **Karol Wojtyła** in the **Kraków** diocese. He replaced him as archbishop of Kraków and was made a cardinal in 1979. This made him ex officio deputy chairman of the Episcopal Council (till 1994), which reflected his personal standing in the church during that period.

MACIEJOWICE. The site of the battle in Siedlce province in east Poland, where **Tadeusz Kościuszko** was defeated on 10 October 1794 by the Czarist **Russian** forces of General Fersen. Kościuszko was wounded and captured. The defeat marked the suppression of his insurrection and opened the way for the complete **partition** of Poland.

MACIEREWICZ, ANTONI (1948–). A fiery member of the National-Catholic, Independence, and **Solidarity** opposition to communism, he

was elected to the **Sejm** for the Christian-National Union (ZCh-N) in 1991. As minister of the interior in **Jan Olszewski's** government in 1992, he is remembered for his bungled attempt to reveal security service files on leading figures, which precipitated the government's defeat. Undeterred, he remained active in right-wing politics, returning as a Sejm deputy for **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS-ZCh-N) in 1997 and for the **League of Polish Families** (LPR) in 2001.

MACKIEWICZ, STANISŁAW ("Cat," 1896–1966). Spokesman for the interwar Wilno conservatives and editor of their influential daily in that city, *Slowo* (The Word). He originally supported **Sanacja** but gradually opposed them as well as **Władysław Sikorski**. He later became prime minister of the London Government-in-Exile in 1954–1955. Like his brother, Józef (1902–1985), he was a sharp-tongued journalist, whose fierce polemics against **Russia**, the Soviets, and Poles who collaborated with the Allied betrayal of postwar Poland and its Eastern Borderlands gained renewed popularity in the early 1990s.

MADALIŃSKI, ANTONI (1739–1805). A reform-minded general who played a prominent part in **Tadeusz Kościuszko's** uprising of 1794, especially at the successful battle of **Raławice**.

MAGDALENKA. *See* ROUND TABLE.

MAGNATES. *See* GENTRY.

MAIN STATISTICAL OFFICE/GLÓWNY URZĄD STATYSTYCZNY (GUS). The leading state statistical bureau in Poland was established in 1918. It survived through the interwar, Communist, and newly democratic eras, maintaining a respectable tradition for both the quantity and the quality of Polish official statistics in even the most difficult periods.

MALINOWSKI, ROMAN (1935–). Economist and **Peasant Party** politician. Malinowski was United Peasant Party (ZSL) chairman (1981–1989), deputy prime minister, and minister of food industry (1981–1985) and **Sejm marshal** (1985–1989). He was very close to **Wojciech Jaruzelski** during the 1980s and was considered as a possible prime minister in summer 1989. His party's change of alliances away from the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) to **Solidarity** made the peaceful transfer of power possible.

“MARCH EVENTS.” The term used to describe the events of March 1968, which are now held to have been provoked by **Mieczysław Moczar**’s “Partisan” faction. This involved the repression of students, following the banning of **Kazimierz Dejmek**’s production of **Adam Mickiewicz**’s play *Dziady* (Forefather’s Eve). The internal purge of the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) was aimed ostensibly at so-called Zionists, but was really designed to cow Polish society and to eliminate the reformist individuals who might have supported the ongoing “Prague Spring.” **Władysław Gomułka** survived at the price of advocating Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. He also had to promote new figures into his leadership, such as **Stefan Olszowski**, **Józef Tejchma**, and **Bolesław Jaszczuk**. The latter’s economic reforms involved the proposed price increases that provoked Gomułka’s downfall in December 1970.

MARCHLEWSKI, JULIAN (1866–1925). A founder and leader of the revolutionary Communist (**Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania**, SDKPiL) movement in Poland and **Germany**. Marchlewski headed the Communist Provisional Government in **Białystok** during the Polish-Soviet War of 1920 and played a prominent role in the International Communist Movement. His death before Stalin’s rise to power, like **Feliks Dzierżyński**’s, allowed later Polish Communists to fabricate a substantial myth around him, but his historical standing faded after 1989.

MARITIME AND COLONIAL LEAGUE. An organization that campaigned from 1928 to 1939 for Poland’s maritime development and proposed that it should have colonies. The Maritime League, founded in 1981, favors the first of these aims.

MARSHAL. The title only emerged with the regaining of national independence, supreme commanders having previously been described as **hetmans**. In Poland’s long military history, therefore, only the following have been accorded the title of marshal: **Józef Piłsudski** (1867–1935), **Edward Rydz-Śmigły** (1886–1941), **Michał (Rola) Żymierski** (1890–1989), **Konstanty Rokossowski** (1896–1968, also a marshal of the USSR), and **Marian Spychalski** (1906–1980). Despite strong rumors during the 1980s, **Wojciech Jaruzelski** was never quite awarded his marshal’s baton. In addition Prince Stanisław **Poniatowski** was a marshal of the French Empire. This title is not to be confused with the presiding

officers of both the **Sejm** and **Senate**, who are also traditionally called marshals.

MATEJKO, JAN (1838–1893). Poland's most outstanding painter during the 19th century. Matejko is particularly celebrated for his enormous patriotic representations of Polish history, such as *The Battle of Grunwald* and *The Prussian Homage*.

MAZOWIECKI, TADEUSZ (1927–). Social-Catholic activist and **Solidarity** politician. He started his career in the Catholic Intellectuals Clubs (KIKs) and was editor of their influential monthly, *Więź* (Link), in **Kraków**, from 1958 to 1981. From 1961 to 1971, he was a **Sejm** deputy for the independent Catholic **Znak** group. He was chairman of the Committee of Experts at the **Gdańsk** Shipyard in August 1980, interned during martial law, a very close adviser to **Lech Wałęsa** throughout the 1980s, as well as editor of *Tygodnik Solidarność* (Solidarity Weekly) in 1981 and 1989. Along with **Bronisław Geremek**, he was the principal opposition architect of the **Round Table**.

As prime minister from August 1989 to December 1990, Mazowiecki dismantled the Communist state efficiently and constitutionally. His finance minister, **Leszek Balcerowicz**, stabilized the economy at the price of growing austerity and unemployment. During 1990 he was involved in the “**War at the Top**” with Wałęsa, which culminated in his coming in only third in the December presidential election, with 18.8 percent of the vote. These events caused the irrevocable splitting up of the Solidarity conglomerate. Mazowiecki founded and led the **Democratic Union** (UD), which gained the most seats to both the Sejm (62) and the **Senate** (21) in the 1991 election, albeit with only 12.3 percent of the vote. The UD kept outside **Jan Olszewski**'s coalition but provided the next prime minister, **Hanna Suchocka**. Mazowiecki became chairman of the new **Freedom Union** (UW) in its first year; because of his international standing, he was called upon to play a prominent role as United Nations commissioner for human rights during the Bosnian crisis (1992–1995).

MAZOWSZE. The historical province based in the central basin of the River **Vistula**, going somewhat beyond the confines of the **Warsaw** region. After the 1998 administrative reform, its area was incorporated in what became the largest of the new provinces, now called the Mazowieckie. This had an area of 35,579 square kilometers with a popula-

tion of 5,072,300 and contained 38 counties (*powiats*), 4 towns of county status, and 325 communes (*gminy*).

MESSNER, ZBIGNIEW (1929–). An academic economist who developed a political career as a result of the 1980 crisis. He became **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) first secretary of the very important **Katowice** province, but was unsuccessful in pushing the “Second Stage” of the necessary economic reforms through as prime minister from 1985 to 1988.

MICHNIK, ADAM (1946–). Michnik was a major opposition figure in Communist Poland. He cofounded the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR), animated the **Flying University**, and became an influential adviser to **Solidarity's** **Mazowsze** branch and to **Zbigniew Bujak** during the 1980–1981 crisis. He was prominent in working for reconciliation and unity between the secular and **Roman Catholic** wings of the anti-Communist opposition. He was interned when martial law was declared in December 1981 and subsequently charged and sentenced for anti-Communist activity, notably in the July 1984 trial with his KOR codefendants **Jacek Kuroń**, Zbigniew Romaszewski, and Henryk Wujec. Released by the 1984 and 1986 amnesties, he became a member of the **Civic Committee** in 1988, despite numerous earlier disagreements with **Lech Wałęsa**. The Communists had demonized him as one of their hate figures, so his prominent role at both the **Round Table** and Magdalenska negotiations was a particularly bitter pill for them to swallow. His strong political standing within the opposing camp, however, led to his appointment as editor of **Solidarity's** newly licensed daily *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Electoral News) in spring 1989. This mouthpiece allowed him to play a crucial role in the summer. His suggestion that **Wojciech Jaruzelski's** election as president should be balanced by a **Solidarity** nomination as prime minister helped to unblock the growing political crisis.

Although elected to the **Sejm** in 1989, Michnik subsequently split with Wałęsa and did not seek reelection in 1991, concentrating on his real vocation as a journalist. He succeeded in turning his paper into Poland's highest quality and largest circulation daily, with a European reputation in the 1990s.

MICKIEWICZ, ADAM (1798–1855). Widely regarded as Poland's greatest poet. Mickiewicz expressed 19th-century Romantic Messianism and the quest for independence. He was in exile, mainly in **France**, where he

was a professor at the Collège de France in Paris for the latter part of his life.

As with the whole of the period of Polish Romanticism, which coincided with the time of independence struggles in Poland, Mickiewicz's deep national and patriotic feelings were expressed in his creative works, such as *Dziady* (Forefather's Eve), *Grażyna*, and *Ballady i Romanse* (Ballads and Romances). His sonnets and the narrative poem *Konrad Wallenrod* had a profound influence upon his whole generation of Poles; this has survived till contemporary times. One should remember that the banning of *Dziady* provoked student demonstrations during the “**March Events**” of 1968. Mickiewicz's best-known work, the narrative epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*, written in a direct and straightforward style, depicts life in his beloved Polish-Lithuanian borderlands (*kresy*) during **Napoleonic** times. Like all his writings in emigration, it is dominated by the deeply held belief that Poland's revolutionary national and democratic cause would eventually triumph and restore independence. This theme, as well as the richness of his verses, explains his powerful and widespread appeal.

MIESZKO I (born between 920 and 940–992). Mieszko founded the **Piast dynasty** and united the Polish Lands. He built a strong and diplomatically accepted state by accepting Christianity in 966, through the intermediary of Bohemia not the **Germans**.

MIKOLAJCZYK, STANISŁAW (1901–1966). A major interwar Peasant Party (**Piast**) politician who became the Polish **Peasant Party's** (PSL) effective leader in 1944–1946. He was a minister in the London Government-in-Exile and became prime minister in 1943–1944, on **Władysław Sikorski's** death. He was replaced by the more hard-line **Tomasz Arciszewski**, when he returned to Poland to participate in the Provisional Government as a deputy prime minister in charge of **agriculture**. As a result of growing Communist harassment, he fled the country in October 1947, while his PSL was amalgamated forcibly with the fellow-traveling Peasant Party (SL) in the United Peasant Party (ZSL). He died in exile in the **United States**, but was never forgiven by many of the Polish emigrés for having collaborated, as they saw it, with the Western powers' **Yalta** sellout of Poland to Stalin.

MILCZANOWSKI, ANDRZEJ (1939–). Law graduate from **Poznań** University, procurator, and **Solidarity** activist in **Szczecin** in 1980–1981.

He received a five-year sentence for underground activities under martial law, but again, became a Szczecin shipyard strike committee activist and **Civic Committee** member in 1988. He was appointed deputy head, and, soon afterward (July 1990), head of the newly established Office for State Protection/Urząd Ochrony Państwa (UOP), controlling the slimmed down and verified post-Communist security police. Milczanowski was the presidentially nominated minister of the interior in the governments of **Hanna Suchocka** and **Waldemar Pawlak** and, initially, in **Józef Oleksy's** (July 1992–December 1995). He resigned on **Lech Wałęsa's** defeat in the presidential election of December 1995, but opened up a major political crisis by accusing Oleksy, in the **Sejm**, of being a **Russian spy**.

MILEWSKI, JERZY (1935–1997). A major **Solidarity** activist, who inspired and led the “Network of Leading Factory Workplaces (*Sieć*)” during the debate on the Law on Workers’ Self-Management in 1981. He directed Solidarity’s Coordinating Bureau Abroad in Brussels from 1982 to 1990. In 1991 he became a presidential adviser and head of the National Security Council.

MILITARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL SALVATION/WOJSKOWA RADA OCALENIA NARODOWEGO (WRON). This was the emergency, extraconstitutional committee established to administer the state of war. Constituted on the night of 12–13 December 1981, it dissolved itself, along with the ending of martial law, on 22 July 1983. Its 22 members, chaired by **Wojciech Jaruzelski**, included all the most prominent generals, such as **Czesław Kiszczak**, **Florian Siwicki**, Tadeusz Tuczapski, Józef Baryła, Tadeusz Hupałowski, Michał Janiszewski, Eugeniusz Molczyk, and Grzegorz Piotrowski, as well as Admiral Ludwik Janczyszyn and Poland’s only astronaut, **Mirosław Hermaszewski**. Its enemies dubbed it the “crow,” as its initials spell out that bird’s name in Polish.

MILLER, LESZEK (1946–). Miller was the darling of the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) reform Communists, as an innovative provincial party secretary in the late 1980s and a crucially placed Central Committee secretary during 1989. As a result, he emerged as the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic’s** (SdRP) general secretary (January 1990–March 1993), forming an effective leadership tandem with **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**. A **Sejm** deputy since 1991, Miller was minister of

labor and social policy (October 1993–February 1996) and minister in charge of the Office of the Council of Ministers (URM). He became the very powerful minister of home and administrative affairs in **Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz's** government (February 1996–October 1997).

Elected as SdRP chairman at its Third Congress in December 1997, he used his popularity with the grassroots membership to encourage younger figures to transform the SdRP. The revised form of **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) became a coherently organized political party, with a Western type of social democratic program by April 1999. Miller led the Alliance of the Democratic Left-Labor Union (SLD-UP) to an outstanding electoral victory in September 2001, when his alliance gained 216 Sejm seats and 41.04 percent of the vote. He formed a coalition government with the Polish **Peasant Party** (PSL) immediately after that. His government had to deal with major problems—unemployment and economic downturn, caused by the preceding government's failure to tackle social and economic restructuring decisively in the second half of its term. Miller and his foreign minister, Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, were also committed to achieving **European Union** (EU) membership, but defended Poland's interests as well as could be expected right up to the final agreement in December 2002.

MIŁOSZ, CZESŁAW (1911–). Miłosz is a poet and writer who fled Poland in 1951, eventually settling in the **United States**. He is well known for a widely read history of Polish **literature** and a pretentious and much-cited essay on intellectual reactions to Stalinism within Poland (*The Captive Mind*). His difficult poetry and novels, dealing with the identity problems of a modern intellectual originating from a mixed nationality environment in Poland's Eastern Borderlands, gained him the Nobel Prize for Literature and a world reputation as the creator of powerful values in the struggle against Soviet totalitarianism.

MINC, HILARY (1905–1974). Minc was a capable and dedicated Communist. He has a bad reputation as the man who established the Soviet command economy in Poland. He was a member of the Stalinist ruling troika before 1956, when he was dismissed.

MIODOWICZ, ALFRED (1929–). A **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo member and leader of the Metal Workers' Union, Miodowicz became the first chairman of the **All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions** (OPZZ) from 1984 to 1991. He built it up as a stronger

force than its **Solidarity** rival. It played an increasingly independent role in the late 1980s and at the **Round Table**, surviving as an important force in the post-Communist period. Miodowicz, himself, never quite lived down his extraordinary feat of appearing even more muddled and less comprehensible than **Lech Wałęsa** in a famous television confrontation in November 1988.

MNISZEK, JERZY AUGUST (1715–1778). A member of the **Potocki** clan, he supported the **Saxon** dynasty and was closely linked to their chief minister, Count **Henryk von Bruhl**. He opposed King Stanisław Augustus (**Poniatowski**) in the **confederations** of **Radom** and Bar. In later life he became one of the founders of **freemasonry** in Poland.

MOCZAR, MIECZYSLAW (1913–1986). A Communist politician who made his career as a security policeman, ultimately becoming minister of the interior (1964–1968). The leader of the “Partisan” faction during the 1960s, he used National Bolshevik and chauvinist slogans to mount an Anti-Zionist campaign aimed directly at the small residual **Jewish** community, but primarily designed to repress party reformists and the public. Moczar succeeded in these aims, but failed to replace **Władysław Gomułka** through the repression of students and a purge of the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) in the 1968 “**March Events**.” The fact that the Kremlin also supported **Edward Gierek** against his leadership claims indicates that, while Moczar did their dirty work for them, the **Russians** were suspicious that his authoritarianism was designed to gain greater independence for the PZPR. Gierek soon sidelined Moczar as chairman of the **Supreme Control Chamber** (NIK) during the 1970s. He made a surprising Politburo comeback during the 1980–1981 crisis, again in a maneuver designed to check reformists.

MOCZULSKI, LESZEK (1930–). Politician, historian, and publicist, co-founder of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civic Rights (ROPCiO) in 1977. Moczulski was the leader, since its inception in 1979, of the **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN). The party, opposing Communist Poland’s subordination to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and harking back to **Józef Piłsudski**’s tradition of Guided Democracy, enshrined in the April 1935 **constitution**, was repressed severely during the 1980s, when Moczulski was imprisoned. It lost out completely to the **Solidarity Civic Committee** in 1989. Moczulski also only got 2.5 percent of the vote in the 1990 presidential election

and withdrew his candidacy in the run-up to the 1995 vote. But its post-Communist policies of nationalism, economic protectionism, social welfare, and a dynamic Eastern Policy gained the KPN much disillusioned industrial worker support and 44 **Sejm** and four **Senate** seats on 8.7 percent of the vote, in the 1991 election, and 22 seats and 5.8 percent of the vote in 1993. Moczulski was widely regarded as a possible strongman leader for the country, in the event of other competitors for the role, like **Lech Wałęsa** or **Stanisław Tymiński**, proving unable to profit from the social backlash against the transitional costs of building a capitalist democracy. His party split in 1995; the strand hostile to Moczulski, led by Adam Słomka, gained Sejm representation in 1997 within **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS).

MODRZEJEWSKA, HELENA (1840–1909). Modrzejewska gained a worldwide reputation as Poland's greatest tragic actress. She was particularly celebrated for her roles in Shakespeare, **Juliusz Słowacki**, and Henrik Ibsen in the **United States** after 1876, where she performed under the name of Modjeska.

MODZELEWSKI, KAROL (1937–). An academic historian from **Wrocław** and opposition activist. He was much imprisoned by the Communist authorities, after writing the very influential *Open Letter to the Party* with **Jacek Kuroń** in 1964. Modzelewski became **Solidarity's** national press spokesman in 1980, but resigned in April 1981, in protest against **Lech Wałęsa's** autocratic and incompetent leadership. He was interned and imprisoned during the early 1980s for his opposition activities in Lower Silesia. Modzelewski became a **Civic Committee** Senator (1989–1991), but his later career within the **Labor Union** (UP) faded because of ill health.

His father, Zygmunt (1900–1954), also a historian, had been a prominent figure in the early Communist period, as minister of foreign affairs (1947–1951) and a member of the Council of State.

MONGOL AND TATAR INVASIONS. The Mongol Horde invaded Poland on numerous occasions in the 12th–13th centuries. The farthest they got was Legnica, in 1241, where they killed Henry the Pious, but then surprisingly, despite their victory, turned back with **Germany** open to them. Other major attacks devastated Poland in 1259–1260 and 1287–1288. Tatar raids on Poland's eastern borderlands continued, primarily from the Crimea in the late 15th century until well into the 17th

century. The latter period of Polish-Tatar conflict and cooperation is immortalized in **Henryk Sienkiewicz's** historical novels of the period.

MONIUSZKO, STANISŁAW (1819–1872). As a composer, Moniuszko created the Polish national opera and innovated his own distinctive genre of songs. Like **Frederyk Chopin**, he was a typical representative of Polish Romanticism. Moniuszko's creative inspiration in popular folk **music** rendered his music exceptionally clear and understandable to different strata of society and extended his appeal outside Poland. His operas dealt with varied themes, *Halka* with social problems and *Straszny Dwór* (The Haunted Manor) with patriotism and everyday customs. The lyrical and ballad-like character of his songs, of which he composed about 280, allowed them to permeate the everyday life of Poles. Moniuszko also composed various comic operas, cantatas, and ballets.

MONTE CASSINO. Battle fought around the heavily fortified site of a Benedictine monastery, on the Germans' Gustav Line between Rome and Naples, between January and May 1944. After repeated Allied failures, the position was finally taken, although with heavy losses, by the Second Polish Corps, commanded by General **Władysław Anders**. Émigré Poles proudly considered this to be their most important military action during **World War II**. The battle was increasingly commemorated nationally after 1989, with streets being named after it.

MORACZEWSKI, JEDRZEJ (1870–1944). Moraczewski was a historian and close political supporter of **Józef Piłsudski** within the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS), both during the struggle for independence and later. His control of the rail workers ensured the success of the May 1926 coup d'état and led to his expulsion from the PPS. He was subsequently a minister and chairman of the **Sanacja trade unions** (ZZZ) during the 1930s.

MORACZEWSKI, KORNEL. *See* FREEDOM PARTY.

MORGES FRONT. An alliance formed at this Swiss resort in 1936 by **Ignacy Paderewski**, **Władysław Sikorski**, **Wincenty Witos**, and other opposition figures to combat the **Sanacja** regime of **Józef Piłsudski's** successors.

MORSZTYN, JAN (1621–1693). A poet and leading exponent of lyrical "court baroque," who sought exile in **France** after being accused of treason.

MOŚCICKI, IGNACY (1867–1946). A Lwów University professor, who rebuilt independent Poland's chemical industry. Designated as president (1926–1939), he played a more prominent role after **Józef Piłsudski's** death in 1935, leading the so-called Castle faction of **Sanacja** liberals. Interned in Romania in September 1939, he transmitted the presidency to **Władysław Raczkiewicz** in Paris.

MOVEMENT FOR THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN AND CIVIC RIGHTS. *See* MOCZULSKI, LESZEK.

MOVEMENT FOR REBUILDING POLAND/RUCH ODBUDOWY POLSKI (ROP). Building on the 6.86 percent of the vote gained by **Jan Olszewski** in the 1995 presidential election, this grouping was formed in autumn 1995 by a number of right-wing and nationalist-independent groupings hostile to both **Lech Wałęsa** and the **Freedom Union** (UW). ROP's strident policies in favor of stronger decommunization and **ustratation** and of closer links with the West, particularly in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), gained it a membership of about 40,000, at peak. Squeezed by **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), it gained only six seats and 5.56 percent of the vote in 1997. This led to loss of membership and leaders, such as **Antoni Macierewicz**, to the AWS. It disintegrated even further and fought the 2001 election, without much success, as a minor faction within the **League of Polish Families** (LPR).

MOVEMENT FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE (RLP). *See* ALL-POLAND ALLIANCE OF TRADE UNIONS.

MROŻEK, SŁAWOMIR (1930–). Mrożek has gained much popular, as well as critical, acclaim for his satirical plays, such as *Tango*, *The Police*, and *The Ambassador*; and his prose essays, such as *The Elephant*. His appeal has been in both Poland and the West, where he lived after 1963.

MUSIC. Poland has a strong musical tradition, going back to medieval times. The names of the main composers are **Frederyk Chopin**, **Karol Szymanowski**, **Stanisław Moniuszko**, **Henryk Wieniawski**, and **Ignacy Paderewski**. Twentieth-century composers with worldwide reputations have been **Krzysztof Penderecki**, **Witold Lutosławski**, **Tadeusz Baird**, and Grażyna Bacewicz. The country has also produced innumerable celebrated conductors and performers, like **Artur Rubin-**

stein, Witold Małcużyński, Halina Czerny-Stefanska, Wanda Wilkomirska, and Ewa Bandrowska-Turska.

Traditional folk music has declined in recent years, endangering the very existence of world-famous song and dance ensembles, such as *Mazowsze*. Radio and television has been swamped with Western tunes and pop groups, but a fair number of Polish performers, such as the everlasting Maryla Rodowicz (born 1945), a blonde who belts out her melodies like Dolly Parton and who bears more than a passing resemblance to her, have held their own. The late 1990s also saw a nostalgic return to Slavonic folk melodies, including those of the Yugoslav couple Goran and Kaya Bregovic.

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NAJDER, ZDZISŁAW (1930–). A literary historian and anti-Communist opposition activist. In exile during the 1980s as director of Radio Free Europe, he was sentenced to death in absentia by the Communist authorities. On his return to Poland, Najder became **Lech Wałęsa**'s chairman of the national **Civic Committee** 1990–1992. He also headed the team of advisers to **Jan Olszewski**, when he became prime minister in 1992. Najder subsequently returned to academic life, as a professor at **Opole** University, building on his reputation as a world expert on the writer **Joseph Conrad**.

NAPOLEONIC INFLUENCE. Both the later Romantic and Realist schools drew different conclusions from Poland's experience during the Napoleonic period. The former viewed it as a time of political liberation and national heroism. They argued that their own activity, as in the **legions**, would be determining factors in regaining independence. The latter pointed to Napoleon's betrayal of Polish hopes; they felt that the conservation of national energies in alliance with the dominant power, usually **Russia**, was the best course. Another influence, transmitted through the **Duchy of Warsaw** established by Napoleon in 1807, was that of French legal and administrative codes, centralized institutions, and the general idea of a strong state. *See also* FRANCE.

NARUTOWICZ, GABRIEL (1865–1922). A university professor of hydraulic engineering, he became minister of public works in 1920–1921. Elected the first president of independent Poland, he was shot within a

week of taking office by a nationalist fanatic, who objected to the votes cast for him in the **Sejm** by representatives of national minorities.

NATIONAL ANTHEM. The present national anthem was preceded by other hymns, most notably the *Bogurodzica* (Carmen Patria), sung by Polish knights on such fields of battle as **Grunwald** or as the foolish young King Władysław III rode to his death at Varna. During **Tadeusz Kościuszko**'s uprising, traditional cavalry melodies were sung to French Revolutionary tunes, such as *Ça Ira* and the *Marseillaise*. The current anthem developed abroad, against this background, as the "Song of the **Legions**" of General **Jan Henryk Dąbrowski** in Italy. Written by **Józef Wybicki**, a well-known publicist and social activist, in 1797, it was first sung in Reggio-Emilia that year. Its enthusiastic reception meant that, with some minor corrections to its original lyrics, it has been Poland's national anthem ever since, although it was not officially adopted by the Polish state until 1926.

The anthem is a lively and traditional Polish mazurka. It opens with stirring words that have touched and uplifted generation after generation of Poles, especially in exile or in hard times, but which brings a lump to the throat even in normal periods: "Poland has not yet perished while we are still alive! What foreign aggression has deprived us of we will recover with our own sabers!" It thus became a powerful symbol of the hope and belief in the recovery of Polish independence. Occupying powers banned it during the **partition** period and during **World War II**, so playing it became a symbolically powerful act of resistance.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATS. (Colloquially known as Endecja). A right-wing political tradition, which emerged toward the end of the 19th century, emphasizing the values of national and social solidarity against Marxist ideas of class struggle. Its founder and main ideologist, **Roman Dmowski**, was an authoritarian integral nationalist and political realist who favored a pro-**Russian** tendency against **Józef Piłsudski**'s Central Powers' orientation. The tradition assumed various forms, such as the Polish League, the National League, and the National Party. A number of parties have competed for its mantle and the name of National Democrats in contemporary Poland. But they were less influential than other national independence rivals, such as the **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN) in the early 1990s.

NATIONAL EMBLEM. The coat of arms of Poland is the white eagle, with its head, crowned since 1989, turned to its right, on a red field. The

basics, with variations in the golden or white colors of the beak and talons and the presence or absence of the crown, go back to **Piast** and **Jagiellonian** times, but it assumed its modern classical form in the 18th century. Banned by the **partitioning** powers, this national insignia retained such symbolic strength that it was readopted by the independent Second Polish Republic in 1919, although it lost its gold colors in 1927 and the crown after **World War II**. The crown was restored in 1989, demonstrating the Third Republic's return to broad historical traditions.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS. Given the intensity of Poland's historical experience, its national symbols in the form of the **national emblem**, **flag**, and **national anthem** have had a particularly deep emotional and psychological significance. The details have varied over time and reflected different domestic values, such as the absence of the crown on the head of the White Eagle in the Communist period and its restoration in 1989.

NAZI EXTERMINATION CAMPS. The Nazi occupiers established their main network in Poland of, what at peak was about 2,000, concentration camps, some of which were used for exterminating what they considered their main racial enemies, notably the **Jews**, Gypsies (*see Roma*), and, initially, educated and professional Slavs, mainly for strategic reasons. The most infamous "death camps," where gassing of selected groups caused the deaths of millions of victims transported from all over Europe, were Auschwitz (Oświęcim)-Birkenau, Treblinka, Sobibór, Bełżec, and Majdanek in **Lublin**. But huge numbers of individuals also died through executions, starvation, and terrible conditions in a wide range of other camps, such as Płaszów, Chelmno, Gross-Rosen, and Stutthof, to mention only the most infamous.

The suffering and the number of deaths caused in these camps are impossible to quantify accurately. The best estimates are that more than six million Poles died during **World War II**. Of these, about 90 percent (roughly 5.4 million) certainly died as a result of purposive Nazi actions in death and concentration camps, the liquidation of Jewish ghettos, roundups, reprisals, and plain everyday terror against the civilian population. While the bulk of the three million Polish Jews who died largely perished in the camps and ghettos, Polish Gentiles died in a wider variety of ways.

NEGRI, POLA (1896–1987). Born Apolonia Chałupiec, she became a great Hollywood star, especially of the silent film. Her most memorable

roles were in historical epics, such as *Ann Boleyn* and *Madame Dubarry*.

NIEDZALKOWSKI, MIECZYSLAW (1893–1940). One of the interwar leaders of the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS), a notable parliamentarian as well as editor of the party's daily newspaper, *Robotnik* (*The Worker*). He was murdered by the Nazis in the Palmiry woods outside **Warsaw**.

NIEMCEWICZ, JULIAN URSYN (1758–1841). A patriotic writer and activist, who took part in both the **Tadeusz Kościuszko** (1794) and 1830 Uprisings. He is best remembered for his political comedies, stories, and memoirs, as well as for a polemic against the Targowica **Confederation**.

NIHIL NOVI STATUTE. The colloquial name for the constitutional law passed by the **Sejm** in 1505. This laid the basis for parliamentary sovereignty, by enacting that the king could not pass any new laws without the approval of the **Senate** and Sejm.

NIZIEŃSKI, BOGUSLAW (1928–). A retired career judge of the **Supreme Court**, Nizieński was appointed the first spokesman for the public interest (RIP) in March 1998. His function was to oversee the **lustration** process and the veracity of declarations by public figures as to their collaboration, or otherwise, with the Communist security services. As the process was highly sensitive and the surviving documentation was incomplete and unreliable, he was involved continually in political controversy, most notably over the hurried and last minute character of the lustration of candidates in the 2000 presidential election.

NORWID, CYPRIAN KAMIL (1821–1883). Best known as a poet but also as a dramatist, painter, and sculptor. He lived in emigration from 1842 onward. Norwid was the author of highly distinctive and “difficult” intellectualized lyrics, dramas, philosophical essays, and novels. He was little known until discovered by the “Young Poland” school in the Neo-Romantic period of Polish **literature** (1880s to 1918). He has come back into fashion recently, especially as an important influence on cultural and intellectual circles.

NOWAK, ZENON (1905–1980). Nowak was an important Communist functionary of the Stalinist and **Gomułka** periods, who held a wide range

of party and state posts. He was regarded as the main spokesman of the hard-line “Natolin” faction in **“October” 1956**.

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OCHAB, EDWARD (1906–1989). Ochab was a “believing” Communist interwar, who rose to the highest Communist ranks postwar (PZPR Politburo member 1954–1968). He played his most significant role from March to October 1956, when he ensured that **Władysław Gomułka** would take over from him peacefully as **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) first secretary in **October**. He was chairman of the Council of State from 1964, until his purging during the **“March Events”** of 1968, after which he played a critical opposition role within the Communist establishment.

“OCTOBER” 1956. Following Stalin’s death in 1953, a “New Course” began in the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR), which spread to the Communist states in Eastern Europe, particularly to Poland, where Stalinism was relaxed significantly by 1955. At that time, a cultural and intellectual “thaw” set in, which encouraged a major process of political and social discontent during 1956.

The **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) divided into two factions, named after the **Warsaw** districts where they met, after **Bolesław Bierut**’s death in March. A hard-line “Natolin” faction wanted to maintain a nationalist-chauvinist orientation, with close pro-Soviet links. The “Puławy” faction wanted to carry out significant domestic reforms and to have looser links with the Soviet patron. The situation was brought to a head by the **Poznań** Uprising of 28 June 1956, when workers’ discontent turned into a major urban outburst, which had to be suppressed by force. After that the PZPR turned to **Władysław Gomułka**. He returned to power in October with massive popular support, even though this involved facing down the whole Soviet leadership led by Nikita Khrushchev, who flew to Warsaw.

In retrospect, “October” was regarded as a great betrayal of the nation’s confidence. Gomułka failed to deliver the structural democratic and economic reforms proposed by the intellectuals and party reformers. But in its time, it was hailed as a path-breaking success for political realism and moderation. Gomułka’s compromise married greater domestic autonomy for the Polish Communist elite, with highly distinctive

features, such as a largely private **agriculture** and a relatively autonomous cultural and religious life. Polish society became pluralist and fairly liberated from party control in 1956. Its subsequent development brought it into collision with the PZPR in the great crises of 1970, 1976, 1980, and the 1980s, over the latter's failure to respond in time with sufficient reform. But 1956 closed the possibility of real Stalinism being applied in Poland. It committed Poland's Communist elite to the pragmatic national-reformist strategy, which culminated in the wholly peaceful "Negotiated Revolution" of 1989 away from the remnants of communism and Soviet control. *See also* NOWAK, ZENON; OCHAB, EDWARD; ROKOSSOWSKI, KONSTANTY.

ODER-NEISSE FRONTIER. The line of the Rivers Oder (Odra) and the Lusatian Neisse (Nysa) was accepted by the Allies at the 1945 **Yalta** and Potsdam conferences as the de facto western **frontier** of Poland, to compensate for its loss of eastern territories to the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR). Full international de jure recognition only came after the Polish-German treaty of December 1970. It was reconfirmed by the treaty with united **Germany** in 1990. The question of Poland's western frontier has assumed a new European dimension in recent years, with the development of Euro-regions and easier border crossing, both for **tourist** and commercial purposes. This aspect will be strengthened with Poland's full membership of the **European Union** (EU) when, it is hoped, it will become just another internal frontier like the Franco-German one. Doubts and fears are still aroused in Poland, however, by the demands of German expellee organizations and by the lack of clarity of right-wing German politicians as to the finality of this frontier.

OGIŃSKI, MICHAŁ KLEOFAS (1765–1833). A composer noted for his polonaises, mazurkas, and romances for the piano. He was also a patriotic activist, who took part in the struggle for independence in **Lithuania** in 1794–1795.

OLBRYCHSKI, DANIEL (1945–). A very popular film and theater actor, who had roles in many of the major films by such directors as **Andrzej Wajda**, **Krzysztof Zanussi**, and Jerzy Hoffman.

OLECHOWSKI, ANDRZEJ (1947–). An economist who became minister of finance in 1992 and minister of foreign affairs on **Lech Wałęsa's** nomination (1993–1995). He was forced into early resignation on both

occasions. Olechowski had some political standing as the leader of an elitist political formation called the Movement of One Hundred (Ruch Stulecia, RS), although he subsequently moved toward the Conservative-Popular Party (SK-L) after 1997. He cultivated the style of a traditional British or **Galician** gentleman, which appealed to voters on the right and center. He was one of the earliest to throw his hat into the ring and to start his campaign, in spring 2000, as an independent candidate for the presidency. Given **Marian Krzaklewski's** poor showing Olechowski gained the middle ground very successfully. He ran out second, with 17.3 percent of the vote, to the eventual first round victor, **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**. This success boosted the performance of the **Civic Platform** (PO) in the 2001 **Sejm** elections. This opened up the way for Olechowski's unsuccessful candidacy for the elected presidency of the city of **Warsaw** in 2002.

OLEKSY, JÓZEF (1946–). **Polish United Workers Party** (PZPR) activist and first secretary of Białą Podlaska province, Oleksy played an important role in 1989 as minister for **trade unions** in **Mieczysław Rakowski's** government and at the **Round Table**. He was a prominent leader of the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP), from its inception in 1990, in friendly rivalry with **Leszek Miller** for the traditionally minded ex-PZPR grassroots membership. A **Sejm** deputy from 1991 onward he was Sejm marshal from 1993 to 1995. Prime minister from March 1995 to February 1996, he was forced to resign by **Lech Wałęsa**-inspired charges that he was a **Russian** spy. Although cleared by the military procuracy after an enormous scandal and demonstratively elected as SdRP chairman, he was sidelined quite quickly by the Miller and the reformist factions in late 1997. Despite accusations of collaboration with the Communist security services, which were held to be proven, he survived the **lustration** process for a remarkably long time, as the court postponed making the judgment definitive. He remained as a Sejm deputy, becoming the chairman of its influential European Affairs Committee after 2001. He also became a member of the convention drawing up the **European Union's constitution** as one of Poland's three representatives on that body. *See* MILCZANOWSKI, ANDRZEJ.

OLEŚNICKI, ZBIGNIEW (1389–1455). Bishop of **Kraków** (1423) and cardinal (1449). Oleśnicki led the anti-**Jagiellonian** as well as the anti-Hussite camp in Poland, defeating the latter in battle in 1439. Although he favored the spiritual over the secular arm, he was also a great humanist patron of the **arts**.

OLSZEWSKI, JAN (1930–). A lawyer who made his name by defending opposition figures accused by the Communist regime. He was also a **Solidarity** adviser and a major go-between to the Communist authorities during the 1980s. Appointed deputy chairman of the **State Tribunal** in 1989, he was elected to the **Sejm** in 1991. He was one of the leaders of the **Christian National Union** (ZCh-N), but his term as prime minister, from December 1991 to May 1992, was uniformly unsuccessful. He failed to widen his unstable five-party government coalition by bringing in the **Democratic Union** (UD) and the **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN). His party's abrasive attempts to criminalize abortion and to introduce religious instruction in schools aroused much opposition. His minister of defense, Jan Parys, quarreled with the Presidential Office over control of the army and was forced to resign after claiming that **Lech Wałęsa** had been preparing a coup after a lunch at Drawsko with discontented officers. Olszewski's government collapsed in disgrace, after his minister of the interior, a fierce ex-Movement for the Defense of Civil and Human Rights (ROPCiO) opposition extremist, **Antoni Macierewicz**, bypassed Sejm procedures in his attempt to reveal official security files on alleged "collaborators" with the Communist secret police.

Olszewski subsequently split with the ZCh-N and formed his own separate, and largely unsuccessful, right-wing parties (Christian Democratic Party and Movement for the Republic). Although he was reelected to the Sejm in 1997, his **Movement for Rebuilding Poland** (ROP) lost out completely to **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), gaining only six seats and 5.56 percent of the vote. Olszewski was even more isolated when he was reelected in 2001 for the ROP on the **League of Polish Families** (LPR) ticket and became a nonaffiliated deputy.

OLSZOWSKI, STEFAN (1931–). As a Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs in the late 1970s, Olszowski was regarded as **Edward Gierek**'s main political rival, propagating a more nationalist and domestic hard line. He resumed both these posts in the early 1980s, but **Wojciech Jaruzelski** effectively ended his political career in 1985.

OLSZTYN. Situated on the Mazurian Plain around three lakes, Olsztyn, which had 172,600 inhabitants in 1999, first developed around its castle. It gained its municipal charter in 1353 and was annexed to Poland away from the control of the **Teutonic Order** in 1454. **Mikołaj Copernicus** was a diocesan administrator here and defended the castle against the Teutonic Knights in the war of 1521. Olsztyn (known as Allenstein) later

fell into Prussian hands and was thoroughly Germanized in the 19th century. As a result of a plebiscite after the World War I, it remained in East Prussia. The Nazis carried out a particularly savage repression of the residual Polish population, and the bulk of the German population fled at the approach of the Red Army. Olsztyn, which had quite literally been half destroyed, was resettled and rebuilt by Poland at the end of the war. Large engineering, rubber (especially tire), and wood factories were established and developed in Olsztyn. Its Gothic cathedral, late-medieval town walls and main gate, Bishop's castle, and Copernicus museum all remain great **tourist** attractions, especially as the town is situated amid the attractive lakes and forests of Warmia and Mazuria.

ONYSZKIEWICZ, JANUSZ (1937–). A **Warsaw** University mathematician, who became **Solidarity**'s press spokesman in 1981 and, after internment, a major activist maintaining foreign links during the 1980s. He was elected a **Civic Committee** (KO) **Sejm** deputy in 1989 and was reelected in 1991 for the **Democratic Union** (UD) and subsequently in 1997 for the **Freedom Union** (UW). Deputy minister of defense in 1990, Onyszkiewicz became the full minister in **Hanna Suchocka**'s government. He repaired the damage done by his controversial predecessor, Jan Parys, who had quarreled with **Lech Wałęsa** and his presidential advisers over the control of the army. Onyszkiewicz's main achievement as minister of defense (1997–2000) in **Jerzy Buzek**'s government was to take Poland into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1999. *See also* OLSZEWSKI, JAN.

OPOLE. A provincial capital, situated on the River Oder, with a population of 129,500 (1999). It was a settlement of one of the Slav tribes, the Opolan, and part of **Piast**-ruled territory as far as back as the 9th and 10th centuries. It became a vassal of the Bohemian crown in the 14th century. After the local Piast dynasty died out in 1532, it fell under Habsburg control, until it was annexed by Prussia in 1740. That this eastern part of Lower Silesia was never fully Germanized is shown by the extent of Polish support during the Silesian Uprisings immediately after World War I. Nevertheless it remained in German hands until 1945 and was a notable center of the Nazi extermination policy during **World War II**. Opole, which had been 60 percent destroyed by military activity, was resettled and rebuilt by Poland postwar.

Present-day Opole is not only a beautiful city, with splendid Gothic buildings, including a Gothic cathedral, but also a major educational and

cultural center, with higher educational institutions and theaters as well as a museum. It also has much **industry**, especially in building materials (cement works), leather and textiles, transport engineering, food processing, and wood. German minority parties have done well here in elections, but this reflected the demand for Silesian autonomy and the influence of large German subsidies rather than any desire to return to **Germany**.

"ORGANIC WORK." This term describes the policy adopted by much of Poland's **gentry** and middle classes during the 19th century, who abandoned insurrectionary methods as a viable way of opposing the partitioning powers. They concentrated on developing Poland's economy and on raising the social, educational, and cultural level of their national community. The aim was to ensure the latter's survival and to force reforms and concessions from the occupying powers, while waiting for a propitious moment in European politics that might favor the cause of Polish independence. This strategy developed earliest (the 1840s) and was always strongest in **Poznań** and **Greater Poland**, where the movement was initially led by the prominent Polish activist, Dr. Karol Marcinkowski (1800–1846). Conditions were less propitious in the **Russian Partition**, although Count Andrzej **Zamoyski** established an influential Agricultural Society. The trend was also strengthened by the development of the **Warsaw**-based Positivist School of thought from the 1870s onward. Revolutionary methods were also derided by the **Galician** conservatives in a nationally influential political pamphlet published in 1869 called "Stańczyk's Portfolio," after the court jester of King **Zygmunt I**. "Organic Work," although used by conservatives as a way of opposing radicals, was, however, largely a Realist reaction against earlier forms of Romanticism. It became a predominant national attitude in the period between the suppression of the 1863–1864 Uprising and the turn of the century.

ORSZULIK, ALOJZY (1928–). **Roman Catholic** priest. Director of the Episcopal Press Bureau and assistant secretary-general of the episcopate. Orszulik played an important political role as a mediator in 1980–1981 and 1988–1989, especially at the **Round Table**. He was involved in negotiating the Concordat (1990–1993) and became bishop of Łowicz in 1992.

ORZECZOWSKI, MARIAN (1931–). Historian and Communist politician. Minister of foreign affairs (1985–1988) and **Polish United Work-**

ers' Party's (PZPR) ideologist. Orzechowski played a crucial role as a Central Committee secretary during the party's final transformation, ensuring that the leadership in its successor party would pass to younger individuals. He retained influence in the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP), as chairman of its parliamentary club in 1990.

OSÓBKA-MORAWSKI, EDWARD (1909–1997). An interwar **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) politician, who was Poland's last non-Communist prime minister (1944–1947) before **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**. Although he joined the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR), he was sidelined subsequently by the Communists. He remained an internal critic, reemerging as an honorary leader of one the new PPS (Reborn) factions in the late 1980s.

OSSOLIŃSKI FAMILY. One of the great clans of late **Commonwealth** Poland. Zbigniew (1555–1623) was **wojewoda** of **Sandomierz** province and supported King Zygmunt III **Vasa** against Zebrzydowski's rebellion. His son Jerzy (1595–1650) was a crown chancellor, who attempted to strengthen the royal power during the reign of Jan II Kazimierz. A later scion, Józef Maksymilian (1748–1826), was a writer and notable politician, who organized Polish cultural life in **Galicja**. His most lasting achievement was to establish the Ossolineum Foundation in **Lwów**.

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PACTA CONVENTA. *See* HENRICIAN ARTICLES.

PADEREWSKI, IGNACY (1860–1941). Composer, pianist, especially celebrated for his rendering of **Frederyk Chopin**, and politician. He represented Poland in the **United States** during World War I and at the Versailles Peace Conference. His world reputation as a musician gave him a certain moral and symbolic standing as prime minister and minister of foreign affairs from 1919 to 1920, but he failed to heal the split between the **Roman Dmowski** and **Józef Piłsudski** camps. After the latter's coup in 1926, Paderewski supported the liberal opposition, notably in the **Front Morges** of 1936. He became chairman of the National Council in Paris and London after the September 1939 defeat.

PARTITIONS OF POLAND. Austria, Prussia, and **Russia** partitioned Poland off the map of Europe in three successive annexations of its territory in 1772, 1793 (without Austria), and 1795. The reasons for this lay in a wide variety of domestic and international factors. These have not only been a matter of subsequent historical debate but have also caused bitter divisions among the Poles themselves; what balance of blame should be ascribed to Poland's domestic weaknesses as against the actions of aggressive neighbors? The **Commonwealth** was exhausted by long, drawn out **Polish-Swedish wars**. Conflicts with the Cossacks in **Ukraine** and with Russia also led to the loss of territory. The latter effectively controlled the country from about 1717 onward. Catherine the Great had her candidate, Stanisław August **Poniatowski**, elected as king in 1764. The treasonous behavior of sections of the magnates and **gentry** enabled Russia to maintain its influence under the guise of guaranteeing their privileges and "Golden Freedom." It also allowed Russia to block the attempted introduction of reforms proposed by the progressive magnates and their gentry, grouped around the **Czartoryski Family**.

In 1767 the conservative opposition, supported by Russian troops and Ambassador Nicholas Repnin, organized **confederations** in Słupsk, **Toruń**, and, most importantly, **Radom**, for this purpose. This was counterbalanced by the formation of the armed Confederation of Bar in Podolia (1768–1772) against King Stanisław, the dissidents, and Russia. Its aims were to define and limit the rights and privileges of the various estates and to defend the Catholic religion and the independence of the state. One of its most distinguished military commanders was **Kazimierz Pułaski**, who subsequently became a hero of the American War of Independence. But the four-year civil war weakened an already enfeebled country further. It provided the pretext for intervention by foreign powers and their seizure of Polish territory.

FIRST PARTITION, 1772.

Russia, involved in difficulties in its war with Turkey and with its control of Poland, threatened by the Bar Confederation, agreed to Prussian proposals for a partition of Poland. The spoils distributed by the partition treaties between Russia, Prussia, and Austria were as follows. Prussia gained Warmia, Pomerania, Malbork, and parts of **Greater Poland** and Kujawy up to the River Notec, although **Gdańsk** and **Toruń** remained free. Its gains of 36,300 square kilometers were much smaller than those of its partitioning partners; but they gave Prussia control of what, politi-

cally and economically, were the most strategically important parts of Poland. Austria gained poorly populated areas of southern **Little Poland** and **Galicja**, which included **Kraków** and **Sandomierz** provinces, without their cities, and parts of Podolia and Volhynia; its gains totaled 81,900 square kilometers. Russia, hardly surprisingly, gained the most territory, 93,000 square kilometers. It annexed Polish **Inflanty**, **Belarus** to the east of the Rivers Dvina, Drucz, and Dnieper, as well as parts of Polock, Vitebsk, Minsk, and Mscisław provinces. As a result of the First Partition, Poland lost about 29 percent of its territory of 733 square kilometers and about 14 million or 35 percent of its population.

SECOND PARTITION, 1793.

Concerned by Poland's rejuvenation effected by the reforms of the Four-Year **Sejm** and by the influence of the French Revolution, Russia again agreed to Prussian overtures to partition Poland in 1793; but this time Austria was excluded. Prussia seized 57,100 square kilometers, gaining Gdańsk, Toruń, and the remainder of Greater Poland and Kujawy, as well as parts of **Mazowsze**. Russia annexed a huge territory of 250,200 square kilometers, which basically gave it most of Belarus and the East Ukraine up to a line to the east of Druja-Pinsk-Kamieniec Podolski.

THIRD PARTITION, 1795.

The Second Partition, and the humiliation of its forced acceptance by the **Commonwealth's** last **Sejm**, caused a profound upheaval in Poland. This provoked **Tadeusz Kościuszko's** Uprising, which counted on gaining the support of Revolutionary **France** and of previously passive classes, such as the peasants and the townspeople of Poland. After its bloody suppression, by the Russian Army, led by General Alexander Suvorov, the three partitioning powers, after some argument, wiped Poland off the map of Europe in October 1795 as follows: Austria, which feared being left out again, took the initiative this time, annexing the city of Kraków and the Pilica region, thus gaining 47,000 square kilometers. Prussia seized areas up to the Rivers Pilica, Bug, and Niemen, totaling 48,000 square kilometers. Russia now met Prussia on that line, annexing 120,000 square kilometers, involving the remaining Polish territories in **Lithuania**, Ukraine, and West Belarus.

Poland thus ceased to exist. This was regarded as an unparalleled event, if not a crime, by European opinion. All told, Russia gained

463,200, Prussia 141,400, and Austria 128,900 square kilometers from the partitions. These new frontiers only survived until the emergence of the **Duchy of Warsaw** on the basis of the Tilsit Agreement of 1807, between Napoleon and Czar Alexander I. But the duchy was abolished by the victorious anti-**Napoleonic** coalition at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. It established a new Kingdom of Poland, popularly known as the **Congress Kingdom**, which confirmed Russia's earlier gains and its additional control of most of the lands that had fallen to Prussia by the Third Partition. The Grand Duchy of **Poznań** went straight back to Prussia. A Free City of Kraków was also established, which was formally incorporated by Austria after the 1846 revolution. It is, perhaps, not quite accurate to describe the Vienna arrangements as a "fourth partition" of Poland, as the country lost its independence in 1795, and Napoleon's greatest mistake was his failure to challenge this historical verdict. But the frontiers confirmed at Vienna were to last, with very minor adjustments, until the end of World War I.

The Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland during **World War II**, from 17 September 1939 onward, on the basis of the Nazi-Soviet agreement named after their respective foreign ministers (the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 23 August 1939) is also often colloquially referred to as the Fourth Partition of Poland.

PARTY "X." *See* TYMIŃSKI, STANISŁAW.

PARYS, JAN. *See* CHRISTIAN NATIONAL UNION; OLSZEWSKI, JAN.

PAWLAK, WALDEMAR (1959–). He emerged as the leader of the post United **Peasant Party** (ZSL), the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), after the conflicts in 1991 between **Roman Bartoszcze** and **Roman Jagieliński**. The "Program Alliance," which he led in the 1991 election, gained a very creditable 48 **Sejm** and seven **Senate** seats. He was nominated as prime minister but failed to form a government in spring 1992. His time came when after the great PSL success in the 1993 election (192 Sejm seats), he became prime minister from October 1993 to March 1995, leading a coalition with the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD). After much internal bickering within the PSL, he was replaced as its leader by **Jarosław Kalinowski** in November 1997. He continued as a PSL deputy after 2001, having been a member of the Sejm since 1989.

PAX. An association of patriotic priests, established by **Bolesław Piasecki** after **World War II**. It had its own press, publishing house, and commercial enterprise selling religious objects. The movement became more progressive in the 1980s, when it survived by supporting **Wojciech Jaruzelski**. It seemed doomed to split up and be assimilated by the new Christian Democratic and Christian National parties of the post-Communist period, but it survived surprisingly well, largely owing to its publishing activities.

PEASANT PARTIES. The high percentage of individual smallholders in Poland provided the social base for specifically peasant parties from the mid-19th century onward. They were particularly strong in Austrian **Galicia**. In the interwar period, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) organized in two main political tendencies or currents, whose most notable leader was **Wincenty Witos**; more prosperous peasants, especially in **Poznań** province, supported the “**Piast**,” which often allied with the *Endecja*, while the poorer peasants backed the more radical “**Wyzwolenie**” (Liberation) organization. After **World War II** the Communists split the peasant party and then forcibly reunited it as the United Peasant Party (ZSL) in 1947. This was granted substantial representation in the **Sejm** and local councils and was allowed to function as an influential pressure group in the countryside during their period of rule.

After 1989 peasant politics became very confused and marked by continual splits. The ZSL tendency continued in a new form, led by **Roman Jagieliński** supporting small peasants opposed to marketization. Their two main rivals, led initially by such individuals as **Roman Bartoszcze**, **Józef Ślisz**, and Henryk Bąk, developed out of the 1980s **Rural Solidarity** and generally favored the capitalist development of the countryside and even, **European Union** (EU) membership. The peasants put up two rival alliances in the 1991 election. The PSL “Program Alliance,” led by **Waldemar Pawlak**, gained 48 Sejm and seven **Senate** seats on 8.73 percent of the vote, while the Solidarity “Peasant Alliance” won 28 Sejm seats on 5.46 percent of the vote. Pawlak’s PSL did stunningly well, with 132 seats in 1993; but poor and corrupt performance in government, divisions between its protectionist and reform wings, and the internal leadership bickering, which led to Pawlak’s replacement as chairman by **Jarosław Kalinowski**, all contributed to their 1997 electoral disaster of only 27 seats. The PSL made a qualified comeback in the 2001 elections, when its 42 Sejm seats and 9.4 percent of the vote allowed it to become the junior coalition partner in **Leszek Miller**’s government.

PENDERECKI, KRZYSZTOF (1933–). He studied at the National Music Academy in **Kraków**. Composer of modern orchestral symphonies and concertos as well as conductor and professor. Penderecki's work has gained him a world reputation similar to that of his two great Polish contemporaries **Witold Lutosławski** and Andrzej Panufnik (1914–1991), and this has been marked in numerous awards, such as that of Best Living Composer in 2000.

Among Penderecki's best-known orchestral works are “Threnody for the Victims of Hiroshima” and his second symphony, the concerto for violin, viola, and cello, his chamber music, including the string quartet piece “Partita,” as well as such celebrated vocal-instrumental compositions as “The Passion According to Saint Luke” and the “Polish Requiem.” One should also mention his operatic works, *The Devils of Loudun*, *Paradise Lost*, and *The Black Mask*. Penderecki has also conducted major orchestras, notably in the **United States**, China, and Europe, especially **Germany**. He is also the artistic director of the Sinfonia Varsovia orchestra.

PERMANENT COUNCIL/RADA NIEUSTAJĄCA. This was the executive body that ruled Poland from 1775 to 1789. Headed by King Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**, it was composed of 18 **Sejm** deputies and 18 **Senators**. It also had the equivalent of five ministerial departments, which controlled legislation and the state administration. The council has a dubious historical reputation, as it was regarded as an instrument of **Russian** control by the reform movement of the time as well as by subsequent Polish patriots.

PIASECKI, BOLESŁAW (1915–1979). A nationalist extremist leading the National-Radical Camp—Falanga—in the 1930s, Piasecki apparently made a deal with his Soviet captors at the end of **World War II**. This allowed him to establish and lead the Nationalist-Progressive Catholic **PAX** movement, which was hostile to the **Roman Catholic** hierarchy. He also established a commercial publishing empire that sold devotional objects. Piasecki played a damaging hard-line and pro-Soviet role at various times in Polish politics, notably in 1956 and 1968. The movement evolved in a more reformist direction after his death, especially under the leadership of **Ryszard Reiff** in the early 1980s.

PIAST DYNASTY. The first royal dynasty, which ruled Poland from the ninth century to 1370. Its first historically confirmed figure is **Mieszko I**,

who united Poland. He established it in the European states system by accepting Christianity in 966, having married the Bohemian Princess Dobrava the previous year. Mieszko subsequently conquered Pomerania up to the mouth of the River Oder, defeating the Germans at the battle of Cedynia in 972 and establishing the city of **Gdańsk**.

The earlier origins of the Piasts, who ruled the Polanie (literally peoples of the fields) from the city of Gniezno, are wreathed in legend and controversy. According to the anonymous chronicler, Gallus, the Piast dynasty was established by a peasant of that name during the ninth century. Gallus's work, written in 1113–1115, constitutes a basic source on the history of Poland at this time. Piast's line was continued by the shadowy figures of Siemowit, Leszek, and Ziemomysł, before Mieszko emerged as the first royal duke. All the same, however, one should note that the name *Piast* did not emerge as a formal dynastic classification until, possibly, as late as the 18th century.

The Piast dynasty from **Bolesław I Chrobry** (the Brave), Mieszko's successor, to **Kazimierz III** (the Great) expanded Poland to both the west and the east, while maintaining its internal cohesion and development as one of the great states in Europe. This glorious period contrasts with the subsequent time of feudal disintegration and civil war, when small rumps of what had been Piast Poland were largely ruled by the **Kraków** dukes.

PIERONEK, TADEUSZ (1934–). Bishop who played a highly influential role as a church intermediary between the Communist authorities and **Solidarity** during the 1980s and especially at the **Round Table**. He was secretary-general of the Polish episcopate from 1993 to 1998.

PIŁSUDSKI, JÓZEF (1867–1935). Politician and **marshal** of Poland. Born in Wilno of decaying **gentry** origins, he dedicated himself to the struggle for Polish independence against **Russia**. He became the leader of the **Polish Socialist Party's** (PPS) nationalist-revolutionary wing, organized Riflemen's Clubs, and commanded the First Legionary Brigade, fighting the Russians on the side of the Central Powers in 1914. He was interned in Magdeburg by the Germans in 1917 and only released in time to become head of state in November 1918, a position that he occupied till December 1922. His conception of a federation with an independent and friendly **Ukraine** came to naught, despite Poland's victory in the 1920 war with Soviet Russia, which enabled Poland to retain much of its eastern borderlands by the 1921 **Treaty of Riga**. Piłsudski also lost out

to the **National Democrats** domestically, who asserted the dominance of a parliamentary system based on Third French Republic lines over his presidential ideas. Piłsudski partly withdrew from political life but maintained his control over the army.

Piłsudski seized power by an armed coup d'état in May 1926, forcing President Stanisław Wojciechowski to resign, and replaced him with his nominee, **Ignacy Moś cicki**, who remained in that post until 1939. From 1926 until his death, Piłsudski was minister of war and general inspector of the armed forces (GISZ). He generally ruled by nominating his closest supporters, many of whom were colonels, to run the government for him on his orders. His **Sanacja** regime (moral reform) became more dictatorial and repressive, with political opponents being imprisoned in **Bereza Kartuska** after 1930. Piłsudski was, however, too old and too ill to carry out his great plans for Poland.

The judgment on his rule, despite much glorification in the 1990s, should be a decidedly negative one. He failed to modernize Poland's military forces or to adopt new strategies. His foreign policy, practiced by Colonel **Józef Beck**, may have gained Poland some extra time but was too anti-Russian to cope with the **German** Nazi threat. Despite the best efforts of capable economists like **Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski**, the country was only partially modernized and developed industrially, with large sections of the population rotting as "surplus" in the countryside. Historically, therefore, the Piłsudski who helped to regain Poland's independence deserves a generally positive assessment, while his period of rule can, at best, rate very mixed reviews. Political scientists were also quick to point out the structural similarities between his authoritarian system, monopolizing power but not really controlling or mobilizing a recalcitrant society, and post-1956 Communist regimes. This did not prevent Piłsudski from being venerated by post-1989 national independence circles; but democrats remembered that his "strong state" had been marked by military and economic incompetence and had failed to prevent the country's "fourth **partition**" by its ruthless neighbors.

PISKORSKI, PAWEŁ (1968–). A **Warsaw** University history graduate, who made an early start to his political career as chairman of the National Students Association (NZS). He became a close adviser of **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki** and successively general-secretary and deputy chairman of the **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D). He then became a prominent activist in the **Freedom Union** (UW) and ran its 1997 election campaign very successfully, being elected to the **Sejm** as a deputy for

Warsaw. He emerged as the young and dynamic president of Warsaw from 1999 to 2001. The breakdown of the UW's municipal alliance with **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) caused the former to form a coalition with the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD). Piskorski also became mayor of the city's main central commune in April 2000, but was soon replaced by a government commissioner. Piskorski saved his career by leaving the sinking UW ship and gained reelection to the Sejm in 2001 as a leading member of the newly constituted **Civic Platform** (PO).

PLAŻYŃSKI, MACIEJ (1958–). An independent student activist within the **Solidarity** underground in the **Baltic Sea** coast region in the 1980s, he did not complete his degree, as a result, at **Gdańsk** University until 1991. Associated with various liberal conservative groupings (notably the Conservative Party) he was the governor of Gdańsk province from 1990 to 1996. A founder leader of **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS), he was immediately chosen as the **marshal** of the Third Sejm (1997–2001) on election as a deputy in 1997. He was very influential in that position on the course of **Jerzy Buzek**'s government and in animating the AWS's Social Movement (RS). Foreseeing the AWS's imminent disintegration, he formed the **Civic Platform** (PO) along with **Donald Tusk** and **Andrzej Olechowski** in January 2001, in time for it to achieve a good election result in September. He subsequently assumed the politically crucial position of chairman of its parliamentary club.

POLANIEC MANIFESTO. Połaniec is a small town in Tarnobrzeg province in southwest Poland. **Tadeusz Kościuszko** issued his famous manifesto here on 7 May 1794. This was designed to gain peasant support for his insurrection. It was incomplete in promising the abolition of serfdom and in guaranteeing peasant landownership, as Kościuszko did not wish to lose the support of the **gentry** for the national cause. The latter's opposition led to the manifesto's annulment after the defeat of the uprising.

POLISH PARTY OF THE FRIENDS OF BEER/POLSKA PARTIA PRZYJACIÓŁ PIWA (PPPP). The party was founded in December 1990 by the actor and satirist, Janusz Rewiński, who became its chairman (until February 1993). The label was adopted by a managerial group for the 1991 election, when it won 16 **Sejm** seats on 3.27 percent of the vote. The party split into two parliamentary groups colloquially known as the "Large Beer," made up of the politically serious managers who

later allied with the liberals, and the “Small Beer,” who remained as the irreverent satirists of the *Polish Zoo*.

POLISH PRESS AGENCY (PAP). Founded after **World War II**, this was the official and authoritative press agency during the Communist period. It was reformed in 1983 and 1990 while the Polish Telegraphic Agency (PAT) and the Central Photographic Agency (CAF) were amalgamated with it in 1991. The Sejm legislated in 1997 that it should be transformed into a joint stock company. The State Treasury was to retain a controlling 51 per cent of the shares while the remainder could be sold to private interests.

POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY/POLSKA PARTIA SOCJALISTYCZNA (PPS). The main democratic socialist party in Poland’s history, originally founded in Paris in 1892. The original party was undoubtedly revolutionary, but the majority, headed by **Józef Piłsudski** and his supporters, gave priority to the struggle for national independence over the cause of the social conflict with capitalism that was advocated by the **Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania** (SDKPiL). Sections of the PPS-Left hived off to join the latter in the interwar **Communist Party of Poland** (KPP). The PPS itself had moderate electoral support, as a wholly parliamentary and trade unionist socialist party, but it also remained patriotically opposed to the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) as well as to Piłsudski’s dictatorship. Its most notable leaders were **Mieczysław Niedziałkowski**, **Ignacy Daszyński**, **Tomasz Arciszewski**, and **Zygmunt Zaremba** (1895–1967).

After **World War II**, a radicalized wing led by **Józef Cyrankiewicz** collaborated with the **Polish Workers’ Party** (PPR) and eventually amalgamated with it in 1948 in the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR). An independent PPS remained in exile, animated by **Adam** and **Lydia Ciołkosz**, which was reborn in the underground opposition to communism. After its demise, a large number of competing socialist groups emerged, all claiming title to the PPS label. The main groups united together for a while under the leadership of a grand old opposition intellectual gentleman called **Jan-Józef Lipski**, but they largely remained quarrelsome ideological and sectarian factions opposed to both the successor-Communist **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP) and Labor **Solidarity**. The main PPS faction fell under the influence of the lively left-winger, **Piotr Ikonowicz**, from the mid-1990s onward.

POLISH-SOVIET WAR. Hostilities between the newly independent Poland and Bolshevik **Russia** broke out in November 1918 and continued almost uninterrupted on the **Lithuanian** and **Belarusan** fronts. By early 1920 Polish troops had advanced up to the Berezina and Dvina Rivers. Polish historians claim that Soviet preparations for a massive offensive toward **Germany** through Poland were countered by **Józef Piłsudski's** offensive into **Ukraine**, starting on 25 April 1920. Despite the occupation of Kiev by 7 May, the support of Semeon Petlura's forces was insufficient to prevent the Bolshevik counteroffensive led by General (later Marshal) Mikhail Tukhachevsky from pushing the Poles back toward the **Vistula** and Lwów extremely rapidly. The commander in chief, Piłsudski, and his chief of staff, General Lucjan Żeligowski, regrouped their forces. Supported by such outstanding generals as **Władysław Sikorski** and **Józef Haller**, they counterattacked an exposed Soviet flank in mid-August from the outskirts of **Warsaw**.

It was claimed later that the plan for the overwhelming victory, the so-called Miracle on the Vistula, or the eighteenth decisive battle of the world, as it was dubbed by Lord D'Abernon, had been worked out on the advice of the French General Maxime Weygand. But there is little specific evidence to support this argument, which was largely political propaganda by Piłsudski's domestic and external enemies. Further Polish successes followed the battle of Warsaw on the eastern borderlands, culminating in **Edward Rydz-Śmigły's** victory on the River Niemen in November. The December armistice was followed by the **Treaty of Riga** in March 1921. The latter confirmed Poland's possession of substantial western sections of Belarus and Ukraine for the interwar period until the Soviet occupation of September 1939.

POLISH-SWEDISH WARS. The origins of these wars, which started toward the end of the 16th century and ended at the beginning of the 18th century, was a conflict over the **Inflanty** as well as **Vasa** dynastic ambitions concerning both Poland and Sweden.

King **Stefan Batory** had strengthened Poland's position in the Inflanty by gaining victory in three campaigns against the Muscovite state of Ivan the Terrible. After his sudden and childless death, his successor, elected as king, was Zygmunt III, the son of Sweden's ruler Jan III Waza and Katarzyna (Catherine), of the **Jagiellonian** family. Zygmunt III came to be disliked by the Poles for his weakness toward the **Jesuits** and the magnates, his pro-Habsburg policy, and his unceasing efforts to regain the Swedish throne, even at the price of war. After his father's death, he

inherited the Swedish throne and had himself crowned in 1592, remaining King until 1598. The idea of a joint king with Poland was, however, unpopular in Sweden. When Zygmunt recognized northern Estonia as Polish territory, a revolt burst out against him, and Swedish troops invaded the Inflanty. The war lasted from 1600 to 1629 and, at first, went well for the **Commonwealth**. The victory of **Hetman** Jan Karol Chodkiewicz at Kirchholm in 1605 forced a Swedish retreat; the latter, however, retained part of the Inflanty.

Zygmunt's turbulent and catastrophically incompetent rule, which involved simultaneous wars with Sweden, Muscovy, and the Turks, provoked conflicts within Poland. A section of the magnates and **gentry**, discontented with his foreign policy, revolted in the great **rokosz** of 1606–1608, led by Crown Marshal Mikołaj Zebrzydowski (1553–1620). The rebellion was suppressed and a successful military campaign temporarily gained Zygmunt the throne of Muscovy for his son, Władysław. In order to counter a Swedish alliance with Brandenburg, Zygmunt signed a treaty with the latter's elector. Ducal Prussia thus passed under Hohenzollern rule, thereby effectively undoing the **Prussian Homage** of 1525. The war with Sweden continued, while Zygmunt got involved in additional conflicts with the Turks, which resulted in a defeat at Cecora in 1620, but was redressed the following year by the victory at Chocim. Despite victories at Oliwa, Czarne, and Puck, Poland lost ground in the final stage of its war with Sweden after 1626. Sweden, buoyed up by Gustavus Adolphus's great successes in the early stage of the Thirty Years War, retained part of the Inflanty, occupied the castles and fortifications along the **Baltic** seacoast, and collected the customs dues from **Gdańsk**. Peace was finally achieved in 1629 through the Treaty of Stary Targ (Altmark); it was extended for another 26 years by the Treaty of Szumiska Wieś (Stumsdorff) of 1635. The Swedes agreed to return the Polish fleet, which they had captured, and to withdraw from all the territory they had occupied, except Inflanty. On Poland's side, Władysław IV (Zygmunt's son and successor) promised to renounce all claims to the Swedish throne.

In 1655 the Swedes, led by King Charles X Gustavus, broke the truce and invaded Poland with the aim of occupying the Baltic coastline. Poland at that time was ruled by Jan Kazimierz (reigned 1648–1668), who had married Marie-Louise of the French line of Gonzaga, the widow of his deceased brother, Władysław IV. Weakened by the withdrawal of discontented gentry and by the betrayal of magnates such as the **Radziwiłł family**, who effectively handed over **Lithuania**, the Royal Army

was forced to surrender very rapidly. Jan Kazimierz sought refuge in Silesia, and the Swedes occupied the rest of the country. This period is known in Polish history as the Potop, or “Deluge,” of 1655–1660, as the Swedes occupied the whole of the country from north to south, including **Kraków**.

The country descended into chaos and the disorder of pillage and rape. As both town and countryside were destroyed the armed resistance that this provoked came from both the gentry and town dwellers. The feelings of hatred were envenomed by the difference in religion between the Catholic Poles and their Protestant invaders. The armed resistance and successful defense of the Jasna Góra monastery near Częstochowa, which housed the **Black Madonna**, became a symbolic act that mobilized the nation. A widespread partisan movement developed among the population. Hetman **Stefan Czarniecki** (1599–1665) remained loyal to the king. His effective guerrilla warfare culminated in victory at the battle of Warka in 1656. During this time, Charles X, supported by the elector of Brandenburg, intended to use his victory to partition Poland between Sweden, Brandenburg, Transylvania, and Ukraine. But these plans proved somewhat premature. He was abandoned by the elector of Brandenburg, who was bought over by Jan Kazimierz at the price of the final abandonment of Ducal Prussia by the Treaty of Welawa in 1657. In 1660, successful diplomacy by **France** led to the signing of the Treaty of Oliwa, which brought the “Deluge” to an end. The latter’s consequences for Poland were enormous. It aggravated its internal crisis, as Poland’s magnates conspired endlessly to place their candidates on the throne in the next royal election, while the **Sejm** was increasingly paralyzed by the use of the **Liberum Veto**.

The next war with Sweden, the Northern War of 1700–1721, involved **Russia**, **Saxony**, and Denmark, while Poland and Prussia joined in subsequently. Charles XII of Sweden invaded the Commonwealth in 1702. The country at the time was ruled very lethargically by Augustus III the Strong, the Wettin elector of Saxony. The Swedes were initially successful at the battle of Kliszów in 1702. Once again a substantial part of the country found itself under their occupation. The discontented sections of the gentry opposed to Augustus dethroned him. In 1704, to replace him, they elected a rich magnate, **Stanisław Leszczyński**, who was wholly dependent upon the Swedes. Augustus had earlier secured Russian support by signing a one-sided treaty. Poland thus found itself with two “kings,” both of whom sacrificed Polish interests to further their dynastic ambitions. Hence the famous proverb that “one lot went to the Saxon,

the other to the woods,” which rhymes rather better in Polish as “*Jedni do Sasa, drudzy do Lasa*.” Despite being supported by Russia, Augustus was defeated repeatedly. After the Swedes invaded Saxony, he abdicated the Polish Crown. He regained it in 1709, after the defeat of Charles XII at Poltava. Leszczyński left Poland, although he returned to become king again for a short while in 1733, once again with French support, this time from his son-in-law, Louis XV. The madcap Charles XII, fittingly, died in battle in 1718, and defeated Sweden made peace at Nystadt in 1721. Russia thus gained southeastern Finland and Swedish Inflanty. Poland paid a heavy price for the support that Russia had given to Augustus. At the “Dumb Sejm” of 1717, so-called because it was overawed by the presence of the Russian ambassador and his troops, Poland was forced to accept a legal framework for future interference in her internal affairs. Russia’s guarantee of the gentry’s “Golden Freedom” in due course was a prime factor leading to the country’s downfall and **partition**.

The wars between Poland and Sweden exhausted the two main protagonists and contributed to the loss of their Great Power status in Europe. It opened up the way for the rise of their deadly enemies, Russia and Prussia. Relations between Poland and Sweden were never as competitive again. Consequently the basis was laid for their future friendship and collaboration in the Baltic area. In recent times, both had a mutual interest in increasing their autonomy in relation to Great Power blocs. Neutral Sweden supported Polish initiatives, such as **Adam Rapacki**’s, during the Communist period, for nuclear and military disengagement in Central Europe, as well as in the Baltic. After the fall of communism close collaboration has taken place within the Council of Baltic States. Following Polish membership of the European Union the transformation of the Baltic into the EU’s “internal sea” will become a realistic possibility.

POLISH UNITED WORKERS’ PARTY/POLSKA ZJEDNOCZONA PARTIA ROBOTNICZA (PZPR). The PZPR, formed from the unification of the **Polish Workers’ Party** (PPR) with the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS), monopolized power in Communist Poland from 1948 to 1989. Its turbulent history saw its transformation from a Soviet Stalinist satellite into a fairly domestically autonomous Communist party, developing its own “Polish Road to Socialism” from “**October**” 1956 onward. Despite the great crises that regularly punctuated its period of rule, it responded to its conflicts with society with sufficient concessions to develop a highly original form of pluralist-authoritarianism, which pre-

vented a national tragedy on the lines of Hungary in 1956. At peak, in 1980, it had about three million members, which included high percentages of the educated and professional classes. But its failure to incorporate the workers sufficiently led to the outbreak of industrial discontent in 1980, which contributed significantly to the downfall of communism by 1989.

Its successive first (or general) secretaries were: **Bolesław Bierut** (1945–1956), **Edward Ochab** (March–October 1956), **Władysław Gomułka** (1956–1970), **Edward Gierek** (1970–1980), **Stanisław Kania** (1980–1981), **Wojciech Jaruzelski** (1981–1989), and **Mieczysław F. Rakowski** (1989–January 1990). The PZPR disintegrated during 1989 and formally dissolved itself in late January 1990. The **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP) and, for a while, the Polish Social-Democratic Union (PUS) emerged out of its ruins.

POLISH WORKERS' PARTY/POLSKA PARTIA ROBOTNICZA (PPR). The Communist party was reformed under clandestine wartime conditions in **Warsaw** in January 1942, the original **Communist Party of Poland** (KPP) having been dissolved in 1938 by Stalin, who killed most of its leaders in his Great Purge. Its early leaders were either killed by the Germans, as in the cases of Paweł Finder and Małgorzata Fornalska, or disposed of each other, as is highly likely in Bolesław Mołojec's conspiratorial shooting of Marcei Nowotko, before being himself executed in turn by the party. All this opened the way for **Władysław Gomułka**, who was first secretary from 1943 until 1948. The PPR took over power for the Communists during and after **World War II**. It was amalgamated with the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) as the new **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) at the unification congress of December 1948.

POLISH ZOO. A cross between the popular British TV program *Spitting Image* and the *Muppet Show* in the early 1990s. It became an exceptionally popular weekly Polish TV program satirizing all the main protagonists in the post-Communist "political zoo."

POLONIA. This is the term used to describe Polish communities abroad. As a result of Poland's historical experience, which caused large-scale emigration for political, as well as for purely economic reasons, at least 8–10 million Poles, or their descendants, now live abroad. Estimates must necessarily be somewhat hazy, but the figures for individuals of Polish origins are as follows: about 7,000,000 in the **United States**, a

declining 1,000,000 in the ex-Soviet Republics, 750,000 in **France**, 450,000 in Brazil, 324,000 in Canada, a possible 800,000 in **Germany**, 150,000 in both Australia and the United Kingdom, and 115,000 in Argentina. Studies show that such communities had little real influence on the policy of “host” countries toward Poland, although they contributed much toward strengthening cultural, **tourist**, and **trade** links. More recently Polonias supported **Solidarity**, but the collapse of communism in 1989 dissolved their hostility to what had been the postwar Communist state as against the Polish nation. After **Lech Wałęsa**’s election as president by universal suffrage in December 1990, the head of the London Government-in-Exile handed over his insignia to him, in recognition of the ending of the previous distinction. Full integration into the top social and political levels was long delayed by informal discrimination by WASP groups and values in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Assimilation has dissolved much of the erstwhile cohesiveness and distinctiveness of Polonias, but this is counteracted by the growth of new forms of multiculturalism. They have clearly moved on from their political exile and *emigracja* character to being a novel mixture of new transnational cultural and old labor emigration communal trends.

PONIATOWSKI FAMILY. A family that played a prominent role in 18th-century Poland. Stanisław Augustus (1732–1798), the last king of Poland (1764–1795), may have owed his election to being Catherine the Great’s lover, but he played an honorable, although not wholly capable, role as a supporter of the efforts to reform and modernize the country. His dashing nephew, Prince-Marshal Józef (1763–1813), commanded the armed forces of the **Duchy of Warsaw**, fighting on **Napoleon**’s side after 1806. His death by drowning in the River Elster during the Battle of Leipzig is one of the great Romantic episodes in Poland’s history, known to every schoolchild in the country.

POPIELUSZKO, JERZY (1947–1984). A radical **Roman Catholic** priest who turned his Church of Saint Stanisław Kostka in northern **Warsaw** into a center of **Solidarity** and Catholic opposition during martial law. His fiery sermons and contacts with workers in the Huta Warszawa iron and steel works made him an important symbol of the battle for human and civil rights. “Father Jerzy,” as he was known, was much harassed and detained by the police. He was kidnapped near **Toruń** on 19 October 1984 and subsequently killed, with his body being thrown in the River **Vistula**. The per-

petrators were three secret policemen, led by Captain Grzegorz Piotrowski, working in a special surveillance department of the Ministry of the Interior (MSW) headed by Colonel Adam Pietruszka. At the trial in Bydgoszcz in early 1985, these two individuals were sentenced to 25 years imprisonment, while their subordinates, Leszek Pękała and Waldemar Chmielewski, received 15-year terms. Whether theirs was an isolated initiative or part of a wider attempt by hard-liners to provoke the **Jaruzelski** regime into greater repression has never been determined. The two generals, Zenon Płatek and Władysław Ciasa, responsible to **Czesław Kiszczak** within the MSW for the department, were subsequently investigated, but not brought to trial, after the fall of communism. Popiełuszko's church in the Żolibórz suburb of Warsaw became an important shrine and was visited by foreign statesmen.

POPULATION. In 1999 Poland had the 30th largest population in the world and made up 0.8 of the global population. It had the eighth largest population in Europe, composing 5.3 percent of the continent's population.

Poland suffered huge population losses, losing about six million of its citizens, during **World War II**. Roughly one in six Poles died either directly at the hands of the Nazis or as a consequence of their actions. The ratios are comparable to those for Yugoslavia and the ex-Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), but are only one in 64 for France, one in 126 for the United Kingdom, and one in 716 for the **United States**. A high birthrate and a decreased death rate increased the population rapidly from 23.93 million in 1946 to 29.77 in 1960, 32.64 in 1970, 35.41 in 1980 (just under the peak interwar figure), 38.12 million in 1990, and 38.65 million in 2000. On the other hand, older estimates that the country's population would rise to well over 40 million in future have not been fulfilled. The reason is that the national increase in population declined from 19.1 percent in 1950 to 9.6 percent in 1980 to 4.1 percent in 1990. It then collapsed in the 1990s to 1.2 percent in 1995 and 0.3 percent in 2000, while 1999 even saw a nil reproduction rate. Poland's prognosis now fits in with the general European one of stagnating, or even declining, population. A United Nations report (UNFPA/2001) even forecast that Poland would still have its current population of 38 million in 2025, and that this would fall, on current trends, to 33 million in 2050.

The profile of the population also changed dramatically during the postwar period as a result of both demographic change and socio-economic modernization. Comparing 1946 with 1996, population density

increased from 76 to 124 per square kilometer, the percentage of urban dwellers had gone from 34 to 61.6 percent, life expectancy for females rose from 64 to 75.3 years, while that of males increased from less than 58 to more than 68 years and is rising; the female share of the population declined from 57 to 52.7 percent. Until recently, Poland had a baby boom; the stresses and strains of an extremely young and dynamic society produced politically shattering consequences, which have often been underestimated, even before the great outburst of 1980. Although the 1990 birthrate of 14.3 per thousand fell to 10.2 by 1998, the productive (18–59 years old) sector of the population increased during the 1990s. While the 1990 ratio had been 70 nonworking individuals for every 100 working ones, the proportion fell to 63 for every 100 by 2000.

A huge “migration of the peoples” took place at the end of World War II. Almost the entire German population fled at the approach of the Red Army. Some four and a half million, largely ethnic, Poles who had been deported by the Soviets from Poland’s interwar Eastern Territories eventually found their way back to Poland and contributed to the repopulation of the Western, or Recovered, Territories and Pomerania. The result was that the postwar country became an extremely homogeneous nation (over 98 percent) of ethnic, and largely **Roman Catholic**, Poles. Even the **Jewish** minority, whose prewar total of about three million had been largely exterminated by the Nazis, saw its residual postwar ranks of about 30,000 diminished by further emigration, especially during the “Anti-Zionist” excesses of 1967–1968. Other national minorities, especially the few hundred thousand remaining **Belarusans** and **Ukrainians**, not to mention any residual individuals of German origins, were, inevitably, heavily Polonized just by living in a modern state with all its demands. “Intermediate” or autochthonous peoples, such as the Ślązaks of Lower Silesia, the Kaszubs of Mazuria, and the Lemkos, who had been resettled to Pomerania from the southeastern highlands after the Ukrainian terrorist atrocities of 1944–1947 reemerged, however, after the fall of communism.

After 1956, there was another influx of a few hundred thousand Poles from the USSR and an efflux of somewhat larger numbers, both then and again in the 1970s and 1980s, to **Germany**. Immigration to Poland subsequently remained at a minimum level of a few thousand per annum until the post-Communist movements of refugees and the economically desperate in the 1990s. Emigration, which had also previously been slight, took off substantially during the late 1970s, because of the continuing economic crisis and domestic unemployment; it totaled a mini-

mum of 266,000 for the 1980s decade and about the same in the 1990s. *See also* CENSUS.

POTOCKI FAMILY. One of the most prominent great magnate families, which played its most important role in the 18th century. The basis of the power of such families were huge latifundia, the support of impoverished and wholly dependent **gentry**, and very often their own armed forces. The whole of such clans and the individuals who headed them competed for power in the state as well as in the provinces; they opposed a strong royal power and presented their own candidates for the throne as, and when, it suited their interests. The Potockis were no exception to this rule. They were initially closely associated with the **Czartoryski Family** in their campaign against the election of Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski** as king. But they moved over to support the latter as he became more reformist.

Many of the Potockis were excellent soldiers; for example, Grand **Hetman** Mikołaj Potocki (ca. 1593–1651) fought the Turks at the battle of Cecora in 1620 and smashed the Cossacks at Paniowce in 1633. But the family also produced black sheep like Stanisław Szczesny Potocki (1751–1805). He was an officer, and then artillery general, in the Royal Army, who played an unsavory role in Poland's history by collaborating with the partitioning powers. He organized the Targowica **Confederation** of 1792, together with Seweryn Rzewuski, Franciszek Ksawery Branicki, and Szymon Kossakowski and his brother, Józef, the bishop of **Inflanty**.

The Potockis, however, also produced many enlightened politicians and publicists. Stanisław Kostka Potocki (1755–1821) was a general and politician who contributed to the development of Polish **education** and the establishment of the University of **Warsaw**. He was dismissed from his ministerial post in the **Congress Kingdom** for his anticlerical views and his proposal to abolish the monastic orders in Poland. Ignacy Potocki (1750–1809) was a prominent member of the **Commission for National Education** in 1773, a coauthor of the **Constitution** of 3 May 1791, and a member of the Insurrectionary Government of 1793, who participated in **Tadeusz Kościuszko's** Uprising the following year. Antoni Protazy Potocki (1761–1801), the **wojewoda** (provincial governor) of Kiev, had a considerable talent for business. He established banks, trading enterprises, and clearing houses in Poland's main cities as well as a commercial fleet on the Black Sea. Count Jan Potocki (1761–1815) graduated from the Military School in Vienna and served as a knight of

Malta. He knew eight foreign languages, wrote all his work in French, and became a learned Polish archeologist and voyager. He achieved fame as the author of the philosophical treatise cast as a Gothic novel, the *Manuscript Found in Saragossa*. Countess Delfina Potocka (ca. 1807–1877), a notable patroness of the arts and a star of the salons of Europe because of her looks and talent, also deserves mention. She was a friend, and some even think inspiration, to **Fryderyk Chopin** and the writer **Zygmunt Krasiński**.

The Potockis reappear at many other times playing varied roles in Polish history up till **World War II**. Some, particularly the **Radziwiłł** branch, were even moved by patriotic motives, despite differing values and interests, to offer their services to their country during the Communist period.

POZNAŃ. Situated on the River Warta, Poznań is the historic capital of **Greater Poland** and one of the country's major cities, with a population of 576,900 (1999). It is a large industrial, communications and cultural center, with a famous university named after **Adam Mickiewicz**. It has a well-preserved **architectural** complex in the Old Town and an ancient Cathedral that is the seat of Poland's oldest bishopric, established in 968. The annual International Trade Fair, first held in 1921, has a European, even worldwide, reputation.

Poznań historically suffered the brunt of attempted Germanization during the **partition** and Nazi periods. It, therefore, has traditionally favored strong links with **France** and Western Europe and even counterbalancing alliances with **Russia**. The inhabitants of the Poznań region are held to have developed strong managerial and **industrial** disciplines, and the belief in hard work also extends to its prosperous peasantry. *See also* CEGIELSKI, HIPOLIT.

POZNAŃ UPRISING. *See* "OCTOBER" 1956.

PRESIDENTS. The post of head of state has usually been honorific in modern Poland since 1918, with the exception of **Józef Piłsudski**, **Ignacy Mościcki** (1935–1939), **Wojciech Jaruzelski**, and **Lech Wałęsa**, who either had, or sought, executive powers. The incumbents of the post have been: Józef Piłsudski (formally described as head of state, 1918–1922), **Gabriel Narutowicz** (9–16 December 1922, on which day he was assassinated), Stanisław Wojciechowski (1922–[forced to resign by Piłsudski in] May 1926), Ignacy Mościcki

(1926–[resigned and transferred powers] September 1939), **Władysław Raczkiewicz** (1939 until his death in exile in 1947). The office, post-war, was held by **Bolesław Bierut** (1947–1952), Wojciech Jaruzelski (July 1989–December 1990), Lech Wałęsa (elected December 1990), and **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** (December 1995– [reelected in 2000 for five years]). The latter's powers were limited somewhat by the 1997 **constitution** as well as by cohabitation with a hostile **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) and **Freedom Union** (UW) **Sejm** majority from October 1997 till September 2001, so the office has become somewhat less semipresidential than previously. The office of head of state was described as chairman of the collegial Council of State in Communist Poland, from 1952 to 1989, and its incumbents are set out in the list of Poland's rulers.

PRIMATES OF POLAND. The position of head of the **Roman Catholic Church** in Poland has also entailed great political influence. Primates, for example, held the position of *interrex* after 1572 following the death of a king. In recent times, the primate has held the archbishoprics of Gniezno and **Warsaw**, has chaired the Episcopal Conference, and has invariably become a cardinal. Since independence, the post has been occupied by **August Hlond** (1926–1948), **Stefan Wyszyński** (1948–1981), and **Józef Glemp** (1981–).

PRUS, BOLESŁAW (1847–1912). Born Aleksander Głowacki, he became one of Poland's greatest novelists, his work being marked by a Realist and Positivist style. His greatest Naturalist works, such as *Lalka* (The Doll) and *Faraon* (The Pharaoh) were made into major films in the Communist period.

PRUSSIAN HOMAGE 1525. Poland failed to draw the full benefit from its victory at **Grunwald** in 1410. The two Treaties of **Toruń**—of 1411 and 1466—with the **Teutonic Order** only ensured a return of part of the lands allowing Poland access to the **Baltic Sea**. The remainder was kept by the order, albeit as a vassal of the Polish crown. The order's last grand master, Albrecht of the line of Brandenburg-Hohenzollern, after an unsuccessful military conflict with Poland in 1519–1521, converted to Lutheranism and became the first secular ruler of the newly formed Ducal Prussia, which was to last from 1525 to 1657. In 1525 he paid homage for these territories as a hereditary vassal of the Polish crown to King **Zygmunt I** (“the Old”) in the Main

Square of **Kraków**. This event is known in Polish history as the Prussian Homage.

Polish settlement in Ducal Prussia was concentrated mainly in its southern and southeastern territories. When Albrecht's successors died childless, Ducal Prussia fell under the rule of the elector of Brandenburg. In 1657, despite the opposition of the local population, Ducal Prussia gained its full independence, thus beginning the process of Germanization of Poland's erstwhile northern and western provinces. In 1710 Frederick III Hohenzollern had himself crowned as King Frederick I of Prussia. His successor, Frederick II the Great (1712–1786), enlarged Brandenburg-Prussia by seizing Silesia in 1740 and by initiating the First **Partition** of Poland.

The Prussian Homage and the Battle of Grunwald are the subjects of two of the most famous paintings by the 19th-century Polish painter, **Jan Matejko**.

PULASKI, KAZIMIERZ (1746–1779). General. Pułaski was a commander in the Bar **Confederation**. He has become a national hero in the **United States**, with numerous towns named after him, through his death at Savannah, fighting in their War of Independence against the British.

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RACŁAWICE. The site of the battle, in **Kielce** province, where **Tadeusz Kościuszko** outmaneuvered and defeated the Czarist forces of General Tormasov on 4 April 1794 during his insurrection. Although large numbers were not involved in the battle and it did not open the way to **Warsaw**, it had enormous psychological and historical significance for all Polish patriots, then, and subsequently. The role of new social classes in the independence struggle, such as the peasant scythemen, led by Bartosz Głowacki (ca. 1758–1794), is commemorated in **Wojciech Kosak's** monumental *Raclawicka Panorama*, one of Poland's most famous paintings.

RACZKIEWICZ, WLADYSLAW (1885–1947). A right-wing, hard-line nationalist interwar **Sanacja** politician who became the president-in-exile in Paris in 1939, when **Ignacy Mościcki** was interned in Romania.

RADIO MARYJA. Established by Father Tadeusz Rydzik, this private radio station gained an audience of millions from the mid-1990s onward. It was supported by traditionalist **Roman Catholic** priests and their flocks who felt threatened by the new freedoms of secularization and capitalism, such as pornography and sexual promiscuity. Its populist tones also appealed to groups such as pensioners, peasants, and manual workers who were largely being left out of the newfound prosperity and who wanted economic protectionism and barriers against European competition and corruption. Although disapproved of by the church hierarchy, Radio Maryja is held to have influenced both the **constitutional** referendum and the elections in 1997. Its influence was very strong within the **League of Polish Families** (LPR), which benefited from the disintegration of **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) to gain significant **Sejm** representation in 2001.

RADKIEWICZ, STANISLAW (1903–1987). A Communist functionary who was the nearest thing Poland ever came to having a full-blooded Stalinist police chief (minister of public security, from 1944 to 1954). He was effectively purged even before the collapse of **Bolesław Bierut's** system in 1956.

RADOM. The town lies on the River Mleczna, with 232,800 inhabitants (1997). A large **industrial** center, it was noted during the Communist period for its metal, radio, television, telephone, shoe, cigarette, building material, porcelain, glass, and food products. Radom has its own museum and ancient municipal rights, which fostered its early commerce and handicrafts, although its main industrial development occurred in the 19th century. Radom became an important center for **Gentry** Assemblies, notably the **Confederation** of 1767, inspired by the **Russian** ambassador, Nicholas Repnin, with **Radziwill** support, against the reforming **Czartoryski Family**.

The people of Radom suffered a particularly heavy martyrdom during **World War II**. The Nazis established it as a district capital, deported and massacred the large **Jewish** population, shot more than 1,300 citizens in numerous public executions, and murdered thousands in the adjoining Firlej and Wincentów camps. The Polish **Home Army** (AK) was particularly active in the region and carried out many notable armed actions against German personnel and their buildings.

Radom's main claim to fame in the Communist period was the huge workers' demonstration of 25 June 1976 against a large increase in food

prices. The population effectively took over the city for a few hours, ransacking and setting fire to the provincial party headquarters. The protest later degenerated into more indiscriminate rioting and looting, which damaged the city's shops and center and caused four deaths. **Edward Gierek's** immediate climb-down defused the issue nationally, but Radom was punished with the loss of state subsidies. Many of the alleged rioters were forced to run the gauntlet and were beaten by the police. Subsequent legal actions against them, as well as against the Płock and Ursus tractor factory demonstrators, were largely curtailed. These events were crucial in stimulating the organization of the **Workers' Defense Committee (KOR)** in their support with all the enormous national consequences that followed. On the other hand, the legal prosecution of the police involved in the 1976 brutalities did not start until 2002.

RADZIWIŁŁ FAMILY. One of the most, if not the most, prominent aristocratic families in Polish history up until the **partitions**. Holders of huge estates in **Lithuania**, they usually played a negative role by intriguing with foreign states. They led many of the **Confederations** in the 17th and 18th centuries against the central power. They would have dearly loved to control the latter, but as that was usually denied by coalitions of the other major families, they played a generally destructive role in the country's history.

The family's power and fortune were established by an outstanding individual, Prince Mikołaj, called "the Black" (1515–1565). As the chancellor of Lithuania, he was a bitter opponent of the Polish-Lithuanian Union of **Lublin**. Most importantly, he was also a cousin of the Queen of Poland, Barbara Radziwiłłówna (1520–1551), who married King Zygmunt II Augustus in 1550. The Radziwiłłs used their favored position to enrich themselves at every opportunity and to strengthen their privileges and their influence over the state's policy. This provoked widespread **gentry** opposition, especially against Barbara's coronation.

Prince Janusz (1612–1655), the Lithuanian **hetman**, was one of the most powerful magnates there and sought to increase his influence by supporting the dissidents. He fought the Cossacks and Muscovy, but surrendered Lithuania, treasonably, to the Swedes in 1655.

An equally disastrous role in Polish history was played by Prince Karol Stanisław, called "Panie Kochanku" (Beloved Sir), because of his habitual use of the phrase (1734–1790). He was **wojewoda** of Wilno and a bitter enemy of all progress. Opposing the reforms proposed by the **Czartoryskis** and King Stanisław Augustus **Poniatowski**, he led

the **Radom Confederation** of 1767. The latter, inspired by **Russia** and backed by its troops, forced the “Cardinal Laws” through the **Sejm** in 1768. These reconfirmed the so-called Golden Freedom of the gentry and their rights, such as the **Liberum Veto**, the legal security of their persons, and the serfdom of the peasantry. The right of guaranteeing the “Cardinal Laws” was given, and this constituted the treasonable betrayal of their country’s interests that contributed to the First **Partition**, in 1772, to Catherine the Great of Russia.

A much brighter episode in the family’s history is provided by the creative life of Princess Franciszka Urszula Radziwiłł, née Wiśniowiecka (1705–1753). She wrote 16 theatrical plays, becoming the first Polish dramatist, and also translated Molière into Polish.

RADZIWIŁOWICZ, JERZY (1950–). A famous, very versatile and sensitive, film, theater, and television actor, who is also a professor at the Theatrical Academy in **Kraków**. His notable dramatic roles include the great classics from Shakespeare, **Adam Mickiewicz**, Chekhov, T. S. Eliot, **Stanisław Wyspiański**, and Goethe, to **Ślawomir Mrożek**, **Witold Gombrowicz**, and Franz Kafka, as well as his own much-praised translation of Molière. His most famous film role was that of the socialist idealist Birkut, crushed by Stalinism, in **Andrzej Wajda**’s *Man of Marble* and *Man of Iron*, which gained worldwide notice during the heyday of **Solidarity**. Since then, he has appeared increasingly in productions directed by French and German directors, notably Jacques Rivette (“Secret défense” and “Marie et Julien”), Michel Piccoli (“La Plage Noir,” 2001) and Wolfgang Panzer (“Bill Diamond,” 1999).

RAKOWSKI, MIECZYSLAW FRANCISZEK (1926–). Prominent Communist politician and journalist. Rakowski made his name as the editor of the Warsaw weekly *Polityka*, from 1958 to 1982, which he turned into a high quality current affairs journal with a worldwide reputation. It also became the main mouthpiece for the liberal intelligentsia in Polish politics by developing a consistently reformist line.

Rakowski entered politics directly as **Wojciech Jaruzelski**’s deputy premier in 1981 (till 1985). He also became his main negotiator with **Solidarity** as chairman of the Committee on **Trade Unions**, but his failure to clinch a deal in summer 1981 led to a hardening of the **Polish United Workers’ Party** (PZPR) line and eventually to martial law. Rakowski was, therefore, in an invidious position during the early 1980s. He was sidelined as a deputy **Sejm marshal** (1985–1988) and was almost exiled

politically as ambassador to London. He survived, however, to play a leading role in the events that led to the ending of Communist power.

As the last Communist prime minister (September 1988–July 1989), Rakowski supported the Communist reform line and the **Round Table** negotiations and agreement, but also started marketization. He succeeded Jaruzelski in July 1989 and became the last first secretary of the PZPR. By then, he was too closely associated with the party bureaucracy, however. He was, therefore, brushed aside as a leadership candidate for the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP), successor to the PZPR, which emerged at the January 1990 congress, by younger and less compromised figures like **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** and **Leszek Miller**. Rakowski continued as a prominent journalist editing *Dziś* (Today) and as a prolific writer of widely read political memoirs.

RAPACKI, ADAM (1909–1970). Rapacki was a prominent politician of ex-socialist background, of the early and middle Communist periods and a member of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo, from 1948 to 1968. An economist by training, he belonged postwar to the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) strand that collaborated with the Communists, becoming minister of shipping and higher education. He made his greatest mark as minister of foreign affairs, from 1956 until 1968, when he resigned in protest against the **“March Events.”** He is best remembered for the Rapacki Plan of 1957 for a Nuclear-Free Zone in East-Central Europe. The proposal for regional disarmament was rejected far too easily by the Western Powers, because of the vested interests and intellectual rigidity of their ruling elites at that time. It served later as a model for similar schemes of this type elsewhere.

RATAJ, MACIEJ (1884–1940). Rataj was a **Peasant Party** leader who played an important role in the struggle for independence and in the interwar period. He was a minister and **Sejm marshal** in the first half of the 1920s and then opposed **Józef Piłsudski's** antidemocratic course. Rataj was murdered by the Germans in the Palmiry Woods outside **Warsaw** in 1940; about 1,700 prisoners from the Pawiak prison, including the socialist leader, **Mieczysław Niedzałkowski**, were shot there in 20 batches.

REFORMATION. *See* ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

REIFF, RYSZARD (1923–). A **PAX** activist, Reiff was a prominent journalist in the movement's newspapers *Dziś i Jutro* (Today and Tomorrow)

and *Świat Powszechny* (Universal World). He succeeded **Bolesław Piasecki** as PAX's leader and moved it in a more liberal direction (1979–1982). He was the only member of the Council of State to oppose the declaration of martial law in December 1982. His pro-**Solidarity** sympathies led to his being elected as a **Civic Committee** senator in 1989.

REJ, MIKOLAJ (1505–1569). One of the earliest and most outstanding Polish writers of the Reformation, often dubbed the father of Polish **literature**. He wrote influential moral and educational tracts. Rej favored the program of the “execution of the laws” of the medium **gentry**. This was designed to gain them land and to limit aristocratic and clergy excesses by codifying the law, reforming the judicial, financial, and military systems as well as confirming religious toleration and the Polish-**Lithuanian** Union.

REJTAN, TADEUSZ (1746–1780). A Bar confederate who has become a famous figure by absolutely refusing to accept the First **Partition**, despite its inevitability at the extraordinary **Sejm** of 1773. He later went mad and committed suicide. The phrase “Rejtan attitudes,” to denote uncompromising refusal, has passed into the Polish vocabulary and is widely used, especially by intellectuals.

RELIGION. Although **Roman Catholicism** has played, and continues to play, a dominant role in Polish life, other religions have also always existed. Polish history, except during the Counter-Reformation, has generally been noted for its high degree of religious tolerance. During the Communist period, atheism was encouraged, with little success, by such official bodies as the League of Atheists and Freethinkers. The Communists succeeded in producing a secular society but failed to limit the Roman Catholic Church's growing influence after “**October**” 1956. A paradoxical side effect though, was that apart from the Orthodox, who belonged almost entirely to the Ukrainian national minority, the regime tended to encourage minor religions as a counterweight to Roman Catholicism as well as to demonstrate its tolerance. For example, it protected the 80,000 Mariavite “Old Catholics,” who had broken away from Rome in 1906 and barely been tolerated in interwar Poland, and the 8,000 or so Armenians.

It was estimated (1999) that the main non-Roman Catholic religions were composed as follows. There were about 561,400 Orthodox, who in

practice are difficult to differentiate from about 110,000 Greek Catholics. Some 125,000 Protestants, mostly Augsburg-Evangelicals, but with some Reformed Calvinists, were grouped, after 1958, in the Polish Ecumenical Council, while another 150,000 belonged to sects outside it. The most dramatic increase, in the latter, was in the 123,052-strong community of Jehovah's Witnesses, who along with other sects, took advantage of the new freedom to proselytize aggressively. As in the West, much concern was expressed in the 1990s about young people who had allegedly been brainwashed into joining religious communities. Of the remainder, about 5,000 were Moslems, mainly of **Tatar** origins. Less than a quarter (perhaps 1,400) of the residual **Jewish** community were estimated to actually practice the Hebraic faith.

REYMONT, WLADYSLAW (1867–1925). A prominent Realist prose writer belonging to the *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland) school. His main works are withering critiques of early High Capitalism in *The Promised Land*, which was turned into one of **Andrzej Wajda's** best films, and of rural suffering in his epic work *The Peasants*. He was also capable of observing everyday life and manners sharply, as in *The Comédienne* and *Ferment*, as well as of writing on a wide historical canvas, as in his trilogy on the *Year 1794*. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1924.

ROKITA, JAN MARIA (1959–). **Solidarity** activist and politician. Rokita was elected as a **Civic Committee (KO) Sejm** deputy in **Kraków** in 1989 and then became highly influential within the **Democratic Union (UD)**. He was minister-head of the Office of the Council of Ministers (URM) under **Hanna Suchocka** (1992–1993), but failed to reform the central governmental structure. Rokita left the **Freedom Union (UW)** and cofounded the Conservative Popular-Party/*Stronnictwo Konserwatywno-Ludowe* (SK-L) with **Aleksander Hall's** Conservative Party in January 1997. This gained Sejm representation within **Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS)** in the September election, and Rokita became the latter's chairman in 1998. The SK-L was one of the strongest forces behind the establishment of the **Civic Platform** (*Platforma Obywatelskie, PO*) in 2001, and Rokita was reelected to the Sejm in the September parliamentary elections.

ROKOSSOWSKI, KONSTANTY (1896–1968). Although allegedly of Polish background, Rokossovsky, as he was known in his **Russian** form,

made his career in the Red Army, rising to the highest rank of **marshal** as a successful front commander during **World War II**. In 1949 Stalin sent him to **Warsaw** to adopt Polish citizenship and to oversee the Polish Army as a Polish marshal, minister of defense, and a **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Politburo member. Rokossowski was primarily a military technician with a limited political role, but he naturally sided with the Soviet Stalinist "Natolin" faction in 1956. His recall, along with that of numerous other Soviet generals, was one of the main popular and symbolic demands of "**October**." One suspects that he was only too glad to return to Moscow in November 1956 to reassume Soviet citizenship and to spend the last years of his life as Soviet deputy minister of defense.

ROKOSZ. A term initially used to denote the gathering of the whole **gentry** as a **Sejm**. Monarchs only conceded this right for the purposes of electing a new king. A "Rokosz," therefore, came to mean a gentry revolt in which a **confederation** would be formed against the royal power, as in the most famous cases of Zebrzydowski in 1606–1607 and Lubomirski in 1665–1666.

ROMA. Popularly regarded as Gypsies (*cygany*), their communities are estimated as totaling 13,000–15,000, having suffered huge losses in the Nazi **extermination camps** during **World War II**. Experts divide them into two main groups, which differ considerably in their respective traditions and cultural behavior. The Polish Roma, or lowland Gypsies, mainly inhabit such towns as Górzów Wielkopolski, Mława, Olsztyn, and Zgierz, while an offshoot (Bergitha Roma) inhabits the southern Carpathian regions. Members of the second group are loosely described as the Hungarian Gypsies.

The Roma have two cultural-social organizations, the Center for Roma Culture in Tarnów and the Association of Polish Roma in Oświęcim. Most Polish Roma are now **Roman Catholic** and have abandoned the traditional traveling way of life, which is very difficult to maintain in any modern society, socialist or capitalist. The Communist system attempted to force them to settle down and to accept the habits and disciplines of an **industrial** society. The new democratic system has made great efforts to protect their rights and to **educate** their children, but the latter is, regrettably, often regarded by the Roma as a form of assimilation. On the other hand, Polish society, as shown by public opinion polls, still nurtures strong, often racial and color, prejudices against the Roma, and occasional unpleasant incidents still occur.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM. Poland's history is traditionally perceived as having produced an exceptionally close relationship between being Polish by nationality and Roman Catholic in **religion**. The stereotype idea of the "Polak-Katolik" (Catholic-Pole) has gained widespread prominence because of the Poles' self-perceptions. They viewed their role, through a thousand years of nationhood, as being Europe's bulwark against the Turks, **Mongols**, and **Tatars**. They also considered that their Catholicism differentiated them from Protestant German, Orthodox Russian, and more recently, atheistic Soviet, neighbors. In addition, postwar Poland became extremely homogeneous in religious as well as in other ways; about 95.7 percent of the Polish population are baptized Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholicism was accepted in 966 by **Mieszko I** for largely political reasons. This was linked to his marriage to the Bohemian Princess, Dobrava, which was designed to secure the Czech alliance against **Germany** as well as to strengthen his position against the pagan Polabian Slavs. The date of 966, however, signifies the recognition of Mieszko as royal duke and the country's emergence on the international scene. It explains why the millennium of Poland's history has been so closely identified with the thousand years of the Roman Catholic Church's association with Poland and why church and state clashed over the commemoration of the anniversary in 1966. In practice, Poland's initial Christianization only largely affected Mieszko's nobility. Mieszko placed his country symbolically in the hands of the Papacy through the "Dagome iudex" at the end of his reign; but the growth of the church was slow. The first bishopric was established in **Poznań**. The Gniezno archbishopric, established in 1000 to commemorate the martyrdom of Saint Wojciech (Adalbert) during his attempted missionary conversion of the Prussians, became the primate's seat. The church then developed its organization and spread the process of Christianization in the century or so following the reign of **Bolesław I Chrobry** (the Brave). This was completed with many churches being built and the parish network being established when local bishops became independent of the state power during the period of feudal disintegration in the 12th to 13th centuries.

The reemergence of a strong monarchy extended the Roman Catholic Church to new eastern areas as a result of the Polish-**Lithuanian** Union, but it also saw the reduction of its earlier feudal privileges. Polish spokesmen at the Councils of Basel and Constance argued for a restriction of papal power, while monarchs such as **Władysław II Jagiello** and **Kazimierz IV the Jagiellonian** gained the right of nominating bishops.

While monarchs maintained the independence of their policy from that of the Papacy, they opposed the spread of Hussitism from Bohemia, which affected the **gentry** and the **Kraków** Academy, through the Edict of Wieluń of 1424. Hussite military forces were defeated by Cardinal **Zbigniew Oleśnicki** in 1439.

Humanism developed very strongly, in an atmosphere of exceptional religious toleration, in Poland from the middle of the 15th century onward. It fueled anticlerical sentiments among the magnates and gentry, who demanded the curtailment of church privileges and its landholding (about 12 percent at that time). These ideas were expressed in an important “Memorial” by Jan Ostroróg (ca. 1436–1501), the **wojewoda** of Poznań. The **Sejms** of the time laid down that force should not be used to resolve religious differences and that the secular power should not enforce the sentences of clerical courts, as had happened in the Spanish Inquisition. About a fifth of the gentry accepted Protestantism during the early period of the Reformation in the 16th century. Extremist and dogmatic Calvinism and Arianism (the Polish Brothers), however, emerged, demanding a complete political and doctrinal break with Rome. This developed a counterreaction among moderates and the beginnings of the Counter-Reformation, which was developed by an influx of **Jesuits** and the growth of their influence from the second half of the 16th century onward. The first results were attempts to unite the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches. The Synod of Brześć (Brest) in 1596 established the Greek **Uniate** church, which kept its own liturgy while accepting Papal authority. The compromise was opposed by the Orthodox to such an extent that King Władysław IV had to agree to their autonomy by 1633. But Polonization in **Ukraine** meant forced conversion to Roman Catholicism. This was a major grievance provoking Bohdan Chmielnicki’s rebellion.

The religious conflicts of the period masked the new **Vasa dynasty**’s attempts under Zygmunt III to establish a strong and centralized royal absolutism. The effective failure of this effort by the time of Zebrzydowski’s revolt (**rokosz**) of 1606–1608 meant that the Counter-Reformation then adopted the values and the interests of the “Golden Freedom” of an increasingly fanatical and obscurantist gentry. Papal and Habsburg interests worked hand in hand during the 17th century, to Poland’s detriment. The triumph of the Counter-Reformation thus strengthened political and cultural decay. It ended Poland’s famed religious toleration, which had made it almost unique, and described as a “state without stakes,” on the European continent. The Polish Arians were expelled in 1658–1660, Protestant

rights were curtailed and finally limited by 1717, while most Orthodox dioceses were abolished. Even among the **Jews**, Jakub Frank (1726–1791) led a strong (Frankist) movement that encouraged conversion to Catholicism.

The leadership of the Polish Church generally supported the Papacy in opposing the Enlightenment and the reform movement from the 1770s onward. They made the best deals they could with the new occupying powers in the Austrian and Russian **Partitions**. The Four-Year Sejm's limitation of clerical privileges and proposed takeover of clerical lands was opposed so bitterly that the revolutionaries executed two bishops, Józef Kossakowski and Ignacy Massalski, for treason in 1794. The church's divided attitude toward **Napoleon** and the **Duchy of Warsaw** was rewarded by initial concessions in the **Congress Kingdom**. The two great insurrections of 1830 and 1863 were, however, followed by repression and Russification, which inevitably involved the church and pushed it into opposition. The same occurred in the Prussian Partition, where Archbishop Mieczysław Ledóchowski of Poznań was forced into exile in 1876 during the *Kulturkampf*. The Austrian pattern was the other way around, with autonomy being conceded to **Galicia** after 1867 by the strongly Catholic Habsburgs.

The Roman Catholic Church in Poland established its exceptional relationship with the nation by supporting Polish national and socio-economic aspirations as well as its moral values, language, and culture during the partition period. This was not true of Vatican policy in general and sometimes also did not apply to the Episcopal leadership. But the church, as understood by its parish priests, monks, and nuns at the lower levels, encouraged the development of what can be described as a Polish counter-community in opposition to Russification and Germanization. This forged the "Catholic-Pole" equation, discussed in the introductory paragraph, which was to recur with equal force in the **World War II** and Communist periods.

Only about two-thirds of independent interwar Poland was ethnically Polish and Roman Catholic. There was no separation of church and state in the interwar period, as the Roman Catholic Church was given a leading, although formally not too privileged, position by the 1921 and 1925 **constitutions** and the Concordat of 10 February 1925 with the Vatican. This aggravated the situation of the Ukrainian Orthodox, but Jews, Protestants, and Greek Catholics had full freedom of religion. Independence allowed the Roman Catholic Church to organize itself in full and to promote its religious mission. It developed a strong Catholic Action

movement and allied with the **National Democratic** and Christian Democratic Parties, with numerous bishops and priests being elected to parliament. But it also retained a strong social-catholic, even worker-priest, tradition as demonstrated in **Stefan Wyszyński's** early career. **Primate August Hlond**, however, supported some **Sanacja** clerical-corporatist initiatives in the 1930s.

The church was persecuted by the Nazi occupiers as an aspect of Polish nationalism and social-cultural life. Numerous bishops and about 3,000 priests, monks, and nuns were killed, while others were imprisoned, the church's organization was destroyed, and a large number of churches were demolished. The most important postwar social change affecting religion was, however, that the almost homogeneously Polish nation became largely Roman Catholic, with the elimination or expulsion of most ethnic minorities.

The church also came into conflict with the new Communist system, especially in the Stalinist period. The Agreement of 14 April 1950, which replaced the arrangements of the 1925 Concordat, moved in a more secular direction, limiting some of the church's privileges. Conflicts arose over the nationalization of church lands, the appointment of bishops to the Recovered (Western) Territories, the licensing of new church building, the training of priests, and religious instruction in schools. Church and state were formally separated by the 1952 constitution. Primate **Stefan Wyszyński** was placed under house arrest during the early 1950s, nine bishops and some hundred priests and monks were tried and sentenced, while the regime attempted to limit the church's **educational** role and social influence and to reduce it to a "Silent Church."

Wyszyński, however, supported **Władysław Gomułka** and the national-domestic Communist forces in 1956. He was a realist who wanted to avoid bloodshed, so he established an uneasy coexistence with the system in exchange for permission for the church to promote its religious and pastoral missions. This did not rule out the recurrence of a variety of bitter church-state conflicts, but it meant that neither side could extirpate the other. The church gradually became stronger by widening its political and social as well as purely religious roles. This occurred through the church-state conflicts in the 1960s over Poland's millennium and the letter to the German bishops, proposing mutual forgiveness and reconciliation. This meant that, unlike **France**, few regions or social groups really even began to be dechristianized as a result of Poland's post-war socioeconomic modernization and secularization. The church also maintained astoundingly high levels of religious practice among these

believers, although there were some significant urban-rural and intelligentsia-working class distinctions over time. These factors allied to the church's powerful organizational network allowed it to embed itself in Polish society. It became the **Polish United Workers Party's** (PZPR) main rival after 1956 and a formidable opponent checkmating its efforts to spread Marxism-Leninism and to transform Poland into a totalitarian system. The church was not only conceded such autonomous bodies as Catholic Intellectuals Clubs (KIKs) and **Znak** after 1956, but also a number of fairly independent periodicals such as *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly) while the Catholic University in **Lublin** (KUL) was allowed to develop.

Although its role was initially passive and defensive and described as "protective" of Polish society during the first half of Communist rule, the church developed its influence under **Edward Gierek**. He normalized relations with both the Polish church, in his efforts to incorporate believers in the building of socialism, and the Vatican, which he visited officially in December 1977. The church was, therefore, in a position to extend its protection to the numerous dissident groups, such as the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR), which emerged in the second half of the 1980s. The election of Cardinal **Karol Wojtyła** of Kraków as Pope John Paul II in 1978, however, transformed the political situation and church-state relations out of all recognition. His return visit to his homeland in June 1979 was a psychological bombshell; the mass crowds and enthusiasm demonstrated how much greater his appeal was than that of the PZPR, thus accelerating its decline and the workers' challenge of 1980.

The church, under both Wyszyński and his successor, **Józef Glemp**, used its influence during 1980–1981 to prevent a basic confrontation that might provoke the armed suppression of a national uprising. But they also maneuvered themselves into the position of mediator between **Solidarity** and the Communist regime as well in the innumerable local and social conflicts that broke out during this time. When Solidarity was suppressed during martial law, the Roman Catholic Church became the last remaining independent spokesman for Polish society. This role was supported by the Pope's visits of 1983 and 1987, although they were of decreasing political, and of increasing pastoral, significance. The church leadership balanced **Wojciech Jaruzelski's** efforts to stabilize the situation during the 1980s, doing just enough to ensure his failure and that the political stalemate and socioeconomic blockage should continue until international and domestic changes favored the opposition at the end of the

decade. The church's "spokesman" role was developed to the full, while clerical intermediaries such as Bishop Stanisław Dąbrowski and Father **Alojzy Orszulik** were indispensable in preparing the **Round Table** and in helping to smooth over the controversies involved in negotiating the final agreement as well as later guaranteeing its no-victimization aspects. Freedom of religious belief and organization was confirmed in the Law of 17 April 1989 and guaranteed in the subsequent constitutional changes.

With the dismantling of communism in Poland by **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** government and the withdrawal of Soviet power, the church once again reverted to a more "normal" political role. A number of political parties, notably the **Christian National Union** (ZCh-N) and the Christian Democratic Labor Party, led by Władysław Siła-Nowicki and Kazimierz Switoń, attempted to appropriate its political mantle. But Glemp and the Episcopal hierarchy were careful not to get tied too closely to any political party. They extracted their political price for the downfall of communism by pushing through their favored issues, the highly contentious questions of reinstating religious instruction in schools and banning abortion by criminalizing it. The latter issue rumbled on divisively, including calls for a national referendum, until early 1993, when some minor concessions concerning rape and incest victims and women whose lives would be endangered were included in the draft of the bill that was finally accepted. An attempted easing of the law by the left-wing governments of 1993–1997 was struck down by the **Constitutional Tribunal**.

The church and its leaders, who had enjoyed the highest levels of popularity when in "opposition," now found themselves sinking to more normal and average levels, especially as there was a bit of a popular backlash against its alleged excessive influence in post-Communist Poland. Although a Concordat was negotiated with the Vatican by **Hanna Suchocka**, its ratification was postponed as a result of controversies with the Polish **Peasant Party-Alliance of the Democratic Left** (PSL-SLD) governments of 1993–1997 until January 1998. The Roman Catholic hierarchy was embarrassed by integral nationalist and anti-European remarks made by its parish priests. **Lech Wałęsa's** parish priest in the Saint Brigid parish of **Gdańsk**, Father Henryk Jankowski, is a strong example of such a populist extremist. The Polish bishops eventually heeded Pope John Paul's calls to build a social and Catholic Europe and came down firmly against them. They also kept their distance from the populist and vastly popular mouthings of **Radio Maryja**,

animated by Father Tadeusz Rydzik in the mid- to late-1990s. Other extremists like Kazimierz Switoń, who was arrested just prior to Pope John Paul's 1999 visit, provoked the legal regulation by the Sejm of the perimeter of the eight major **Nazi extermination camps** by planting numerous crosses at Auschwitz alongside the papal one.

The Roman Catholic Church remains a formidable organization, with 118 bishops, including three cardinals. It consisted (1998) of 27 dioceses and 9,701 parishes serviced by 26, 879 priests and supported by 1,445 monks. The expanding trend is illustrated by the rise of the number of priests to 27,610 by 1999. In addition it had what, by modern European standards, is the enormous number of 43 monasteries with 17,900 monks and 104 nunneries with 25,424 nuns. Unlike the difficulty that most other European countries were experiencing in recruiting, more than 9,000 individuals were studying in Poland's 41 seminaries. No less than 17,188 churches and chapels were in service, with more under construction, while a great expansion of its catechism points and publications took place in the early 1990s. Commentators considered that the previously mentioned factors, historical tradition, and its great strength as a "People's Church" gave it an exceptionally favorable position to resist secularization. But, as it had lost its "tribune" role against communism, it was bound to lose some ground, despite the popularity of the papal visits in 1997, 1999, and 2002.

ROMANOV DYNASTY. This family ruled **Russia** from 1613 to 1917. It emerged from one of the oldest and richest **gentry** (Boyar) families. The dynasty was established by Michael Romanov, who led the revolt against the Polish occupation of Moscow. The February Revolution of 1917 deposed the last ruling czar, Nicholas II.

Romanov rule had a particularly dramatic effect on Poland's history. Peter the Great established informal Russian control over the country as early as 1717, while Catherine the Great took the lead in all three **partitions** that wiped Poland off the map of Europe. Russia took the lion's share of Polish territory, including, after 1815, **Warsaw**, the capital city, and incorporated the whole of **Belarus** and **Ukraine**. A short period of relatively liberal autonomy in the **Congress Kingdom** under Czar Alexander I was followed by increasing repression and Russification after the 1830 and 1863 Uprisings. Czar Nicholas I (1796–1855) became known as the "Gendarme of Europe," because of his opposition to, and bloody suppression of, all progressive trends on the European continent. He had himself crowned as king of Poland, a practice that, despite being widely regarded as illegal, was continued by his successors up until 1917.

ROSATI, DARIUSZ (1946–). A **Warsaw** economics professor (SGPiS, now SGH), he proved a very capable and personable minister of foreign affairs from December 1995 to October 1997. Nominated by the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD), he collaborated well with President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** and built up the momentum for membership in both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and **European Union** (EU). He became a member of the influential Council on Monetary Policy (RPP) in 1998.

ROUND TABLE. In August 1988 the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) decided to negotiate a social contract by incorporating parts of the former **Solidarity** opposition within a reformed system in order to break the political stalemate and economic paralysis that had characterized the 1980s. The initial negotiations, overseen by interior minister, General **Czesław Kiszczak**, stalled during the autumn, but the situation was brought to a head by **Lech Wałęsa**'s organization of his **Civic Committee** on 18 December and by the **Jaruzelski** leadership's decisions during January. The Round Table negotiations between the Government-Coalition and Solidarity-Opposition sides then took place on various different levels between 6 February and 5 April 1989. Plenary sessions of all 57 main participants only took place twice on the opening and closing dates. The bulk of the work was done in three major committees, on **Trade Union** Pluralism, Economic and Social Pluralism, and Questions of Political Reform, and in 10 additional specialist subgroups, all of which co-opted large numbers of extra members and advisers. The real political deals, along with all the preparatory procedural agreements, were brokered in secret, and informal talks between the leaderships of both sides headed by Kiszczak and Wałęsa, held at the Interior Ministry villa at Magdalenka outside **Warsaw**. "Magdalenka" thus entered into popular vocabulary as a shorthand term for arcane behind-the-scenes control of the public proceedings.

The very long agreement produced by the Round Table was made up of detailed individual sections reflecting the terms struck by the individual committees and subgroups, but the most significant parts were the immediate political understandings. The agreement involved the establishment of an Upper Chamber, the **Senate**, to be elected by wholly free elections, and of an executive presidency, which it was informally understood would be filled by Jaruzelski. Partly free, "contractual" elections would be held for the **Sejm** (where the Solidarity-Opposition side would be allowed to contest 35 percent of the seats). During the event,

the June 1989 elections began the process that led to the controlled abdication of Communist power by the formation of the government of **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**. The latter then implemented the Round Table agreements on the Rule of Law, political and trade union rights, and economic reform much more rapidly and radically than had been envisaged.

ROWECKI, STEFAN ("Grot," 1895–1944). General. A **Legionary** in origin, Rowecki was a professional soldier during the interwar period, who commanded the **Home Army** within Poland from 1940 to 1943. Captured by the Germans, he was murdered at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

RUBINSTEIN, ARTUR (1887–1982). Virtuoso pianist. He played mainly abroad from 1906 onward, settling in **France** and the **United States**. Rubinstein is best remembered for his performances of **Frederyk Chopin** and **Karol Szymanowski**, those most quintessential of Polish composers.

RURAL SOLIDARITY/NIEZALEŻNY SAMORZĄDNY ZWIĄZEK ZAWODOWY ROLNIKÓW INDIWIDUALNYCH "SOLIDARNOŚĆ." The Communist regime very bitterly opposed the establishment of an independent **trade union** for the individual peasant farmers who worked the bulk of Polish **agriculture**, in late 1980 and early 1981. This led to much rural unrest and protest, especially in southeastern Poland, which culminated in the unofficial establishment of such a body in **Poznań** in March 1981. However, the Communist leadership was forced to concede the registration of Rural Solidarity in April 1981 after the Bydgoszcz crisis, which had been provoked by this issue. Its chairman was the extremely young (born 1950) and personable Jan Kułaj.

Rural Solidarity was made illegal during martial law, although an underground committee was set up to organize resistance in the countryside. It was made legal again, along with the main **Solidarity**, in April 1989 and renamed itself the Polish **Peasant Party "Solidarity"** (PSL-S "Solidarność") in September of that year. Its first two leaders were **Józef Ślisz** and **Gabriel Janowski**, both of whom were elected **Civic Committee** senators in 1989, while another important notable, Artur Balazs, was the minister for rural development in **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** government. The party stood for the rapid capitalist development of the countryside and a blending of Solidarity, Catholic, and

interwar Peasant Party traditions; it also supported **Lech Wałęsa**'s presidential campaign and his call for accelerated decommunization. This current was always strongly opposed to the successors of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) of the Communist period, and it, therefore, had a distant relationship with the main Polish Peasant Party (PSL) during 1990–1991. It participated in the Peasant Alliance that won 28 **Sejm** and five **Senate** seats on 5.46 percent of the vote in the October 1991 election.

RUSSIA (UNION of SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS/SOVIET UNION). Russia has been Poland's eastern neighbor for much of its history. Since 1991, though, their only common border has been in the Kaliningrad region, the East Prussian military district around Königsberg annexed by the USSR at the end of **World War II**. They are now separated by the republics of **Belarus** and **Ukraine**. The latter have gained their independence from the erstwhile Russian imperial control that marked both the Czarist **Romanov** and Soviet Communist periods. This has resulted in the resumption of the separate and distinct relations with Poland, which had largely been suppressed by Russian domination for the last three centuries.

Historically, Poland was at least Muscovy's equal, until roughly speaking the late 17th century after the **Truce of Andruszowo**. Poland benefited from the disintegration of Kievan Rus and the **Mongol** invasions in the 12th to 13th centuries to expand eastward. Its long-term influence over the lands lying in between Poland and the expansionary and autocratic state of Muscovy was consolidated by the Polish-**Lithuanian** Union under the **Jagiellonian dynasty**. Poland's control of the Baltic **Inflanty** seacoast was challenged unsuccessfully by Ivan IV the Terrible, who assumed the title of Czar in 1547. The Poles occupied Moscow in 1607 during the "Time of Troubles," but the establishment of the **Romanov dynasty** in 1613 marked the transformation of Muscovy into Russia, as understood in modern territorial and state terms. Before long Russia took advantage of Poland's domestic political failings and its external weakening, occasioned by **Bohdan Chmielnicki**'s Uprising and the **Polish-Swedish Wars**, to become Poland's dominant eastern neighbor. By the end of the 17th century, Russia had gained much of Ukraine and was expanding rapidly into Siberia. Peter the Great modernized the state and gained Russia access to the **Baltic**. The **Saxon** kings became Russian clients, and Poland effectively became a Russian satellite. The process was confirmed by the "Dumb

Sejm” of 1717 and again, when the Russians expelled **Stanisław Leszczyński** in the 1730s.

Poland’s decline, despite the belated reform and independence efforts of the late 18th century, culminated in its total **partition** by its three aggressive Russian, Prussian, and Austro-Habsburg neighbors. As a result, the eastern and central parts of Poland became part of the Russian Empire. They remained so until 1918, aside from the short and limited experience of the **Duchy of Warsaw** established by Napoleon. Russia subsequently reasserted its control in the **Congress Kingdom**, where an initially liberal regime was followed by fierce repression after the 1831 and 1863 Uprisings. The Poles were successful in resisting the attempts to Russify them and regained their independence as a result of the changed balance of power caused by the defeat of both **Germany** and Russia at the end of World War I and the latter’s collapse into revolution.

The Second Republic’s relations with what eventually emerged as the Bolshevik-controlled **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)** were dominated by two fundamental factors. First, the **Polish-Soviet War** of 1920 confirmed the overwhelming Polish perception that the USSR was a permanent threat and an irreconcilable national and socio-ideological enemy. The Soviets never reconciled themselves to the frontier established by the **Treaty of Riga**, which left substantial Belarusian and Ukrainian minorities in Poland. They were also hostile to what they regarded as bourgeois democracy in Poland and to the country’s alliances and connections with Western Europe. Second, despite its nomenclature, the USSR never really became a federal system until Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforms led to its ultimate breakup. The USSR was always basically the old Russian Empire writ large. Centralized control was exerted over the non-Russian nationalities through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and subservient Republican Communist parties. The result was that most Poles, especially **Józef Piłsudski**, feared the USSR as the major threat to their independence and national security as well as to their social and cultural values.

Piłsudski’s **Sanacja** camp was committed to the concept of the “two enemies.” In practice Foreign Minister **Józef Beck** did his best to balance between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia during the 1930s; but Poland was eventually destroyed by their agreement in the August 1939 Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, which led to the country’s “fourth partition.” As in Czarist times, Poles in the Eastern territories annexed by the USSR relived, during **World War II**, their forebears’ experience of imprison-

ment, interrogation, torture, mass deportation, and exile to Siberia and elsewhere. The massacre by the Soviet Security Service (NKVD) on Stalin's orders, of 14,700 prisoners of war held in the Kozielsk, Starobielsk, and Ostaszków camps at **Katyń**, outside Kharkov, and at Miednoje near Tver, as well as the killing of another 7,000 Polish internees and deportees in various prisons in Belarus and Ukraine in spring 1940 remains the most powerful symbol of what has been called the "Polish Gehenna."

While there was support for major reforms, Communist power was only established in postwar Poland, which now definitely lost its Eastern territories to the USSR and moved to the **Oder-Neisse frontier** in the west, because of the USSR's military and political control of the region. This allowed the **Polish Workers' Party** (PPR) to subordinate, and eventually digest, the indigenous **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) and the Polish **Peasant Party** (PSL) by 1948, before going into a short-lived Stalinist phase.

Communist Poland remained formally sovereign. In reality its independence was circumscribed by Soviet hegemony, which maintained the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) in power. The effect of national protests in 1956, 1970, and 1980, though, was to move the PZPR toward a greater degree of autonomy from the Kremlin. It also made ever-greater concessions to Polish society. The ultimate limits to Poland's development away from the Soviet camp thus remained, but the tight controls of the Stalinist period changed dramatically within these parameters. Poland's role in the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) changed from satellite and colonial status to being much more that of an obstreperous client. The **Solidarity** experience finally demonstrated that much of the nation was opposed to a system that had never been tested democratically in a free election and that was perceived as being a form of Russian-imposed imperialism. The remainder was lost to the Soviet cause as a result of the political stalemate and economic stagnation of the **Jaruzelski** period. The dam was broken by Gorbachev's withdrawal of the Brezhnev Doctrine—that a threat to communism in Eastern Europe entailed Soviet invasion as in 1956 in Hungary or 1968 in Czechoslovakia. Events then moved far too rapidly to be contained. But the extent of earlier changes in Poland had been so great that a wholly constitutional "Negotiated Revolution" was possible. The systemic transformation toward liberal democracy also entailed the restoration of full national sovereignty and the withdrawal of the Soviet military garrison.

The anti-Soviet backlash in Poland did not have sufficient time to turn into an anti-Russian one before the collapse of the USSR's "Outer Empire" in Eastern Europe in 1989 was followed by the disintegration of its "Inner Empire" and the breakup of the USSR itself in 1991. The traditional Polish stereotype, of cultural superiority toward backward and hostile Russians and as the last political and religious bulwark of Western values and civilization against the Asiatic hordes to the east, was quickly submerged by the strength of the Polish "Return to Europe." It was also confused by the emergence of independent Ukrainian and Belarusian states and by the uncertainties of post-Communist Russia's domestic and external evolution. Poland in the 1990s concentrated on achieving membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and in negotiating for **European Union** (EU) membership. Fairly good, or at least normal, relations were established with Boris Yeltsin's Russia despite Polish public opinion's indignation over the repression of Chechnya. Relations deteriorated slightly when Vladimir Putin became president, notably over the issue of Russian access to Kaliningrad.

But one should also conclude by saying that, while the Poles have always feared, and continue to fear, the authoritarian and imperialist Russian/Soviet state, this has been offset by the deep Polish liking for Russians as people and for the marvels of their literature, music, and spirituality. The Poles also remain undecided over whether to support Ukraine against Russia or to help the latter to develop Western institutions and values and market practices.

RYDZ-ŚMIGLY, EDWARD (1886–1941). **Marshal** and **Sanacja** politician. Rydz (Śmigły was the pseudonym and the normally used Polish form is Śmigły-Rydz) was one of **Józef Piłsudski**'s closest legionary and military collaborators in the struggle for independence and in the conflicts of 1918–1920 with the Soviets. He had an artistic and musical temperament, but Piłsudski considered him a capable military technician without much political ability. He, therefore, succeeded Piłsudski on his death as General Inspector of the Armed Forces (GISZ) but, unexpectedly, asserted his political standing. A prime minister's circular in March 1936 instructed all state officials to regard him as "the second person in the state." He became, however, more influential than both President Ignacy Mościcki and Foreign Minister **Józef Beck** in the troika, which dominated Sanacja Poland after Piłsudski. Rydz was only partially successful in his efforts to build up a right-wing Camp of National Unity

(OZON) and to win over the **National Democrats**. He also gained some popularity by reactivating the Franco-Polish alliance, but was not dynamic enough in modernizing the Polish Army and in preparing it to fight **Germany**, rather than Piłsudski's primary enemy, the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR).

Quite apart from the army's faulty deployment and inadequate war plan, Rydz did not prove himself an inspiring or effective supreme commander in September 1939. He fled to Romania, where he was interned, but managed to return to Poland through Hungary in 1941. There, he died under mysterious circumstances, which did something to rehabilitate his honor as a human being, although not his reputation as a soldier.

RZESZÓW. A provincial, industrial, cultural, and **tourist** center, Rzeszów is a town of 162,300 inhabitants (1999) situated on the River Wisłok in southeastern Poland. Established as a town in the 14th century, it flourished as a commercial and handicrafts center in the 16th century but declined subsequently. A tradition of bitter industrial and peasant strikes and repression developed in the 19th and 20th centuries in this region of **Little Poland**. The town lost about a third of its inhabitants at Nazi hands during **World War II**, and a highly active resistance movement developed in this area. Rzeszów's enormous wartime human and architectural losses were fully restored postwar.

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SANACJA. The popular name for **Józef Piłsudski's** camp from about 1923 onward, which literally claimed that it wanted to bring Polish politics back to health (from the Latin "sanatio"). The normal English translation is moral reform. This movement organized the Non-Party Bloc for Collaboration with the Government (BBWR) in 1928 and the Camp of National Unity (OZON) in 1937. A wide range of opinion was included, but the left and center trends of the BBWR gave way to the more authoritarian-elite tendencies of Adam Koc and Stanisław Car, the author of the 1935 **constitution** in the OZON.

SANDOMIERZ. A picturesque town of 27,200 inhabitants (1997) situated on the River **Vistula** on the rolling Sandomierz uplands, which are a geological extension of the Świętokrzyska hills in **Little Poland**. Its breathtakingly attractive geographical location amid numerous gorges provides

an appropriate background for Sandomierz's **tourist** and **architectural** attractions. Its complex of buildings includes a Gothic cathedral, a Renaissance town hall, and a museum. The town is also noted for its glass-works and river port.

The town's history since its foundation in the 12th century is closely bound up with its geographical position. Situated at the crossroads between **Russia** and Hungary, it developed quickly and become the capital of a duchy during the period of feudal disintegration. Sandomierz was destroyed by a **Tatar** raid, but gained its charter in 1286 and subsequently flourished as a commercial center for the Vistula's river trade. Incorporated in Austrian **Galicia** in the Third **Partition** in 1795, it became part of the **Congress Kingdom** in 1815 and remained under Russian control until World War I.

Since the war, Sandomierz has established itself as an essential stop in any tourist itinerary on the route from **Kraków** to **Zamoś ć**.

SAPIEHA FAMILY. Another of the major aristocratic families in Poland's history from the 16th to the 19th centuries, with large estates in **Lithuania**. The family's fortunes were founded by Grand **Hetman** Lew Sapieha (1557–1633), who favored the **Commonwealth's** eastward expansion. He pushed through the expedition to Moscow of 1606–1613. Prince Leon Sapieha (1803–1878) patronized "**Organic Work**" in **Galicia**, while Prince Adam Sapieha (1828–1903) worked for the province's greater autonomy from Austria. Prince-Cardinal Adam Sapieha (1867–1951) gained great respect for his activities as archbishop of **Kraków** in both World Wars.

SARMATIANISM. The Polish **gentry** developed a theory and a set of values called Sarmatianism, or Sarmatism, from the 16th century to the first half of the 18th century, to justify their leading role in society. The theory was that the Szlachta (gentry) were descended from a noble warrior people called the Sarmatians, quite distinct from the ordinary Slav peasantry. This justified a totally different lifestyle, based on external show, glittering dress, and lavish ceremonies and hospitality. In practice, it led to a xenophobic and megalomaniac "old Polish" defense of gentry privileges. This provoked domestic political and cultural backwardness, which led to the decay of the **Commonwealth** during the 17th century.

SAXON DYNASTY. Undoubtedly the worst dynasty in Poland's history. The election of the Wettin Electors of Saxony contributed in great mea-

sure to the **Commonwealth**'s downfall. Augustus II the Strong (reigned 1697–1703 and 1709–1733) sacrificed Polish interests and subordinated the country to **Russia** in order to secure the throne in his conflict with **Stanisław Leszczyński**; his soubriquet was earned through his physical, and incredible sexual, not political, prowess. Augustus III (1736–1763) ran the country through favorites like Count **Bruhl** and completed the process of domestic decay. Dependence upon foreign powers reached its peak after the War of the Polish Succession of 1733–1736, which gained him the throne at the price of reestablishing Russian vassalage. This had prevailed since the “Dumb **Sejm**” of 1717 had been terrorized into submission by the Russian ambassador and his troops.

ŚCIEGIENNY, PIOTR (1801–1890). A priest who was exiled to Siberia for organizing revolutionary-democratic activity, especially among the peasants in **Kielce** province in 1842–1844. The *Golden Book* attributed to him was widely read and highly influential.

SEJM. This is the historical name for the elected lower chamber of deputies of the Polish parliament. It is one of world's oldest legislative assemblies with its rights going back to the **Nihil Novi Statute** of 1505 and its activities continuing unabated since then. The Sejm in the Communist and democratic periods has been composed of 460 deputies, elected for a four-year term. It has an important and well-developed committee structure. The Sejm plays an active role in initiating and amending legislation and in controlling the executive while its debates and proceedings are generally televised in full.

The **Civic Committee** won the 161 Sejm seats open to them in the contractual election of 1989. The Sejm that was elected by proportional representation, from both regional and national lists in 1991, was a highly fragmented body. The most successful party only got 12.3 percent of the vote, while a minimum of the five most successful parties was needed to produce a majority. The outcome was **Democratic Union** (UD) 62, **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD) 60, Catholic Electoral Alliance 49, 48 and 28 for two peasant alliances, **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN) 46, Center Civic Alliance 44, **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D) 37, **Solidarity** 27, **Polish Party of the Friends of Beer** 16, and others 47. With the introduction of a 5 percent electoral threshold, Sejm representation was limited to six parties in 1993 (SLD 171, Polish **Peasant Party** (PSL) 132, UD 74, **Labor Union** (UP) 41, KPN 22, and Non-Party Bloc for Supporting the Reforms

(BBWR) 16. The result was even more polarized in 1997, with the **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) gaining 201 seats, the SLD 164, **Freedom Union** (UW) 60, PSL 27, **Movement for Rebuilding Poland** (ROP) 6, and the German Minority 2. The SLD-UP gained the best result of the Third Republic with 216 seats in 2001 to 65 for the **Civic Platform** (PO), 53 *Samobrona* (Self-Defense), 44 Law and Justice (PiS), 42 PSL, and 38 **League of Polish Families** (LPR).

SENATE. The Senate was historically the Royal Council, composed of the most prominent figures, such as bishops, governors, castellans, and regional magnates drawn from delegates elected by the local **Sejms**. The body, which existed throughout the interwar period but which was abolished by the Communists in 1947, was reestablished in 1989 as part of the **Round Table** agreement, as a traditional parliamentary upper chamber with a four-year term. It can initiate or reject legislation, but its veto in the latter case can now be overturned by an absolute majority in the Sejm with half the deputies present. It is also involved in passing or amending the **constitution**.

The **Civic Committee** won 99 out of the 100 Senate seats in 1989, on a simple majority electoral system with two ballots, using existing provinces as constituencies. The same system, but without a second ballot, was used in 1991, when its composition reflected the post-Communist fragmentation of the party system; namely 21 **Democratic Union** (UD), 11 **Solidarity**, 9 each for the Catholic Electoral Action and Center Civic Alliance, 5 and 7 for two rival peasant groups, 6 **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D), 4 each for the **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN) and the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD), and 24 for sundry others. The noted Solidarity lawyer, **Andrzej Stelmachowski**, was elected Senate-marshal in 1989. The SLD (39) and PSL (36) took the majority of seats in 1993, while **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS, 51) and SLD (28) took the bulk of the spoils in 1997. The SLD swept the board with 75 seats in 2001, under a revised constituency arrangement following the 1998 administrative reform.

SEPTEMBER CAMPAIGN. This describes the Polish campaign of 1 September to 6 October 1939 against the **German** aggression on its territory, which began **World War II**. The **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) joined in on 17 September, occupying the Polish territories assigned to it in the secret annex of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 23 Au-

gust 1939. The Poles were isolated militarily, as their French and British allies declared war but did not fulfill their obligations to start serious action on their Western Front. The Poles are held to have been badly led by **Edward Rydz-Śmigły** and to have laid out their seven army groups according to an outdated and mistaken war plan. They were defeated by vastly superior German technology and mobility, which produced the coordinated air and tank attacks of the first modern *blitzkrieg* (lightning war). This is true but no one has ever denied the bravery of the Polish troops at the lower levels, who are estimated to have inflicted comparatively far greater losses on the Germans than the French troops were to do in April–May 1940. *See also* FRANCE.

SIENKIEWICZ, HENRYK (1846–1916). A world-renowned, popular, and widely read novelist, both in Poland and abroad. Sienkiewicz was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1905 for *Quo Vadis*, a novel dealing with the persecution of Christianity by the Emperor Nero and his burning of Ancient Rome. He wrote in an exceptionally colorful style, often using richly embroidered plots. Among his greatest works are the trilogy (*Ogniem i Mieczem*, *Potop*, and *Pan Wołodyjowski*), which deals with Poland's military conflicts with the Swedes, Ukrainians, and **Tatars** of the 17th century; *Krzyżacy* is an account of the struggle with the **Teutonic** Knights during the early **Jagiellonian** period in Poland's history. Many of his works, including those mentioned above, have been adapted into highly successful films. Jerzy Hoffman's production of *With Fire and Sword*, the final part of the trilogy to be produced, featuring Izabella Scorupco, proved a sensational and colorful success in 1999.

SIKORSKI, WLADYSLAW (1881–1943). General and politician. Sikorski was an important figure in the pre-1918 independence movement, organizing Riflemen's Clubs and serving in the **legions**. He commanded a front during the **Polish-Soviet War**, becoming army chief of staff in 1921–1922, prime minister in 1922–1923, and minister of war at various times during 1922–1925. As a determined opponent of **Józef Piłsudski**, Sikorski was not given a command after 1928; he concentrated his activities on organizing the **Morges Front** and in writing influential books on military strategy and in favor of the French alliance.

Sikorski was the most prominent figure in the Polish Government-in-Exile during **World War II**. He became prime minister and minister of war as well as supreme commander and general inspector of the Polish armed forces in the West in late September–early October 1939.

Representing the Polish cause in international affairs, he gained considerable prestige with the Western Allies by signing the Polish-Soviet Agreement of 30 July 1941 for common action against Nazi Germany. He died in a faulty Liberator bomber, which fell into the sea off Gibraltar on 4 July 1943. It remains debatable whether Sikorski might have been able to maintain a Polish-Soviet understanding with Western support, which would have preserved Poland's postwar independence, despite the Soviet seizure of the Eastern territories and massacre of Polish prisoners of war in 1940 at **Katyń**, Kharkov, and Miednoje. The general view is that this was most unlikely. But his death encouraged the political fragmentation of the exile government, thus making it easier for the Western powers to find the form of words that allowed them to ditch their now inconvenient Polish ally through the Teheran, **Yalta**, and other end-of-war arrangements.

SIWICKI, FLORIAN (1925–). General of the army, the highest rank below **marshal**. Siwicki was indispensable to **Wojciech Jaruzelski** as his army chief of staff from 1973 to 1983 and his minister of defense from 1983–1990. Although naturally belonging to all the necessary **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) bodies, his political role was rather limited, as he was largely a military technician.

SKARGA, PIOTR (1536–1612). **Jesuit** writer, theologian, and orator. As chaplain to King Zygmunt III **Vasa**, he influenced the **Counter-Reformation**. But he was by no means solely an obscurantist opponent of religious toleration. He was also an effective critic of **gentry** corruption and Poland's political weaknesses.

SKUBISZEWSKI, KRZYSZTOF (1926–). Academic and politician. Graduate and professor of international law at **Poznań** University and subsequently in the Polish Academy of Sciences. A member of **Primate Józef Glemp's** Social Council and of **Wojciech Jaruzelski's** Consultative Council, he was also delegated by the Episcopal Secretariat to work in the Polish Forum during the 1980s. Skubiszewski was minister of foreign affairs continuously in the first four post-Communist governments (1989–1992), gaining an enviable reputation for balance, caution, and efficiency. He steered Poland carefully through the unstable period of German reunification and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), and the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR). Formally nonparty and widely supported,

his policy was very heavily orientated toward the West and the hope of eventually joining the **European Union** (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). He was correspondingly criticized for a passive attitude toward the former Soviet Union and for insufficient development of regional initiatives with Hungary and Czechoslovakia. His high political reputation meant that he was, for a while, regarded as a likely presidential candidate in the early to mid-1990s.

ŚLISZ, JÓZEF (1934–). Slisz was a prominent **Rural Solidarity** activist during 1980–1981, becoming the leader of Polish **Peasant Party-Solidarity** after 1989. He was also elected to the **Senate**, becoming its deputy marshal.

ŚLONIMSKI, ANTONI (1895–1976). Cofounder of the “Skamander” school, Słonimski was a lyrical poet and publicist. His writings harked back to earlier traditional themes of Polish Romanticism. Słonimski’s work included lyrical-reflective poems, such as “Czarna Wiośna” (Black Spring), “Popiół i Wiatr” (Ashes and the Wind) as well as short stories, satires, comedies, and innumerable feuilletons.

In the 1950s Słonimski was chairman of the Union of Polish Writers (ZLP), becoming a significant reformist voice during “**October**” 1956. He later opposed the Communist regime on issues of cultural and literary freedom, most notably initiating the “Letter of 34” protest petition in 1964.

SŁOWACKI, JULIUSZ (1809–1849). With **Adam Mickiewicz**, Słowacki is regarded as one of Poland’s greatest Romantic poets. His corpus includes Romantic and patriotic dramas, such as “Kordian,” “Lilla Weneda,” “Balladyna,” “Fantazy,” and “The Silver-Dream of Salomei.” He believed, especially in his later works, that social progress would be achieved by the strivings and intellectual efforts of revolutionaries committed to Messianic ends, such as regaining Poland’s independence. The period toward the end of Słowacki’s short life was dominated by mystical elements as he fell under the influence of the seer and philosopher, Andrzej Towiański. This aspect comes through very clearly in such works as “Zawisza Czarny” (Black Zawisza) and “Król Duch” (King Spirit).

SOBIESKI, JAN III (1629–1696). King. As **hetman** from 1668 onward Sobieski fought the Swedes, Muscovites, Cossacks, and **Tatars** successfully, including a great victory over the Turks at Chocim in 1673. He was

elected king the following year and worked to regain Ducal Prussia by establishing alliances with **France** and Sweden. He is best remembered for defeating the Turkish army that was besieging Vienna in 1683, but proved unable to extract any tangible benefits for Poland from the victory. He also failed in his efforts to strengthen the monarchy and to make it hereditary in his line as well as to limit the excesses of the magnates. The latter and foreign intrigue quickly reduced Poland to vassalage after his death. But Sobieski is rightly remembered as a patron of the arts and the last great **Sarmatian**, good-living figure, with a French wife, Marysieńska, as well as with enormous military achievements, before the collapse.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND AND LITHUANIA/SOCJALDEMOKRACJA KROLESTWA POLSKIEGO i LITWY (SDKPiL). The revolutionary-internationalist Marxist strand founded in Poland by **Roża Luksemburg** in 1893, which was united to its **Lithuanian** branch in 1900. It continued the tradition of the Great Proletariat of 1882–1886, founded by Ludwik Waryński and his associates, and it was also the precursor of the interwar **Communist Party of Poland** (KPP).

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC/SOCJALDEMOKRACJA RZECZPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ (SdRP). This was the main successor to the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) when it dissolved itself in January 1990. The party claimed that it was returning to its original social democratic values and program, which had been disgraced by the pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninists. It elected young and uncompromised leaders, like **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, **Leszek Miller**, and **Sławomir Wiatr**. The SdRP was later forced to surrender most of the PZPR's financial, publishing, and office resources and was largely kept isolated by the new political parties. Despite such unfavorable circumstances, the SdRP emerged as the second strongest party in the 1991 election, gaining 60 **Sejm** and 4 **Senate** seats on 11.98 percent of the vote. The SdRP was by far the strongest force in the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD), which won 171 seats (21.4 percent of the vote) in 1993 and which provided the backbone of the left-wing governments of 1993–1997. The SLD and its SdRP spine did not do badly in 1997, gaining 164 seats and increasing its vote to 27.13 percent. Under the leadership of Leszek Miller, the SdRP wound itself up in 1998 and transformed itself into a

modern European political party, the Alliance of the Democratic Left (SLD), which its supporters hoped would finally shake off all traces of its Communist origins. This centrist-reformist evolution rewarded the SLD-UP with 216 seats and 41 percent of the vote in the 2001 Sejm elections, when it also gained three-quarters of the Senate seats.

SOLIDARITY/NIEZALEZNY SAMORZĄDNY ZWIĄZEK ZAWODOWY (NSZZ “SOLIDARNOŚĆ”). The independent and Self-Managing Trade Union “Solidarity” grew out of the nationwide industrial unrest of summer 1980 that was sparked by price increases. The most important sit-in strikes in the **Gdańsk** and **Szczecin** shipyards in mid- to late August led to the signing of the path-breaking social agreements that confirmed the rights to strike and to organize free **trade unions**. Solidarity itself was established on 17 September as a grouping of the inter-factory strike committees that had developed out of the socio-industrial ferment. A long and bitter conflict then took place, with the new Communist regime under the leadership of **Stanisław Kania**, who replaced **Edward Gierek** in early September. The issue was whether Solidarity’s statute should recognize the socialist system and the **Polish United Workers’ Party’s** (PZPR) leading role. Solidarity eventually won its independent viewpoint in the final draft of the document registered on 10 November 1980.

The official Communist trade unions, which had been organized in the Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ), were abandoned by the bulk of their members. It is estimated that more than 80 percent of the workforce, totaling, perhaps, up to 10 million workers, drawn from the whole range of manual to professional occupations, joined Solidarity at its peak. Solidarity organized itself on the territorial basis of 38 regions (and two districts), whose boundaries and names were specifically designed to be distinct from those of the 49 provinces of the Communist state. The most important were **Gdańsk**, its birthplace, which was adopted as its headquarters, **Mazowsze** = (**Warsaw**), **Dąbrowa-Silesia**, Lower Silesia, **Little Poland** = (**Kraków**), **West Pomerania** (**Szczecin**) and **Greater Poland** = (**Poznań**). Up to its First Congress in September 1981, Solidarity was run by a National Coordinating Commission (KPP), which then turned into a National Commission (KK) of 107 members and a presidium of 17. These bodies were chaired by **Lech Wałęsa**. He was reelected as Solidarity’s leader at its 1981 Congress, with 55.2 percent of the delegates’ support, against 24 percent for **Stefan Jurczyk**, 8.8 percent for **Andrzej Gwiazda**, and 6.2 percent for the radical Jan

Rulewski.

It is accepted that Solidarity encompassed a wide variety of political, social, economic, and religious views as well as differences on the issue of national independence. Supported by the **Roman Catholic** Church and the **Workers' Defense Committee** (KOR), it is held to have been a mixture of trade union, social movement, and political organization and to have developed successive periods during 1980–1981 when each of these three aspects predominated. Although the original workers' upsurge claimed to be intrasystem reformist in character, guided by the slogan "Socialism, Yes, Deformations, No," there was always a fundamental ambiguity over whether it wanted to reform or to overthrow the Communist system. During the 1980–1981 crisis, it got involved in numerous bitter conflicts with the Communist authorities at both the national level (notably over registration and Labor-Free Saturdays" and the Bydgoszcz beatings in March 1981) as well as over local disputes. Solidarity developed the theory that "Self-Limitation" would allow it to survive and develop and encourage the growth of a civil society. This approach allowed Solidarity to win the previously mentioned confrontations and to maintain its general unity, which was confirmed by the adoption of a largely utopian program on the Self-Managing Republic at its Congress.

But Solidarity neglected developments within the PZPR during 1981 and failed to use its 800,000 or so members, largely workers who also belonged to the PZPR, to influence it in a genuinely reformist direction. This allowed the PZPR under the pragmatists **Stanisław Kania** and **Wojciech Jaruzelski** to balance against Soviet pressure for a while longer. They outmaneuvered the genuine Euro-Communist type of reformers, such as the "Horizontalists," and rallied renewed PZPR caucuses at the July 1981 Congress. Consequently the common ground for a deal between the PZPR and Solidarity vanished over the summer and especially at the latter's Congress in September–October, held in the Oliwa district of Gdańsk. Solidarity saw some partial radicalization through the strengthening of the "fundamentalist" as against the "pragmatist" trend and what was interpreted as provocative gestures such as the "Address to the Working Peoples of Eastern Europe." Polish society had been worn down physically, through the shortages and unbelievable queuing occasioned by the almost complete economic collapse, and psychologically, by the nervous tension caused by the repeated political crises and social confrontations. The consolidated Communist apparatus, strengthened by the military after Jaruzelski re-

placed Kania as first secretary in October, and egged on by the Kremlin, therefore, felt itself strong enough to attempt to repress what later came to be known as the First Solidarity through the state of war declared on 13 December 1981.

Solidarity was banned, although not legally abolished until October 1982, the bulk of its leaders and activists were rounded up and interned, and its organizational structures were smashed. The martial law authorities, headed by the **Military Council of National Salvation** (WRON), used the ZOMO (armed police) and the army to break the strikes and demonstrations of December by force, at the cost of some loss of life, notably in confrontations at coal mines, such as “Wujek.” WRON succeeded in its initial aims but a nonviolent underground movement of civilian resistance, animated by residual Solidarity leaders at large, notably **Zbigniew Bujak**, **Władysław Frasyniuk**, Bogdan Lis, and Bogdan Borusewicz, developed during 1982. They organized major demonstrations, which were suppressed by the ZOMO and much publicized by the Western mass media. An incredible counter-society network of clandestine publications and social activities also flourished, which underpinned a massive boycott of the authorities’ initiatives. Although Wałęsa and most internees were released by late 1982 and martial law was officially lifted in July 1983, emergency regulations continued for another two years. As some Solidarity leaders were rearrested and large numbers of activists remained in prison as a result of martial law sentences, the demand for a complete amnesty instead of partial ones continued until the matter was resolved by early 1986.

The First Solidarity had developed as a mass movement from the bottom up. The Second Solidarity was reestablished from the top downward and never succeeded in regaining more than a fraction of its 1980–1981 levels of popular support. The underground Provisional Coordinating Committee (TKK) was transformed into a National Executive Committee (KKW), chaired by Wałęsa in October 1987. This body had only partial control over the industrial strife of spring–summer 1988, which decided the Jaruzelski leadership to negotiate with the opposition. It certainly ceded most of its influence to the broader **Civic Committee** (KO), established in December 1988, which took the initiative in negotiating the **Round Table** and in presenting candidates at the June 1989 election. Solidarity itself was formally relegalized in April 1989. Although it reestablished its influential weekly newspaper, *Tygodnik Solidarność* (Solidarity Weekly), and its daily, *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Electoral News), it was unsuccessful in reclaiming membership from

the **All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions** (OPZZ). The elitist deal with the reform-Communists, and **Leszek Balcerowicz**'s neoliberal economic policies also lost its more radical sections to **Stefan Jurczyk**'s "Solidarity 80" (which claimed half a million members in early 1993) and Kornel Morawiecki's "Fighting Solidarity."

The Solidarity trade union that reelected **Wałęsa** overwhelmingly at its Second Congress in April 1990, with 77 percent of the vote, had an unclear relationship with the new civic committees. It generally supported **Wałęsa** for the presidency against **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**, but the former had insufficient influence to ensure the election of his nominees, notably **Lech Kaczyński**, to replace him. The Third Congress in February 1991 elected the young chairman of the Dąbrowa-Silesia branch, **Marian Krzaklewski** (born 1950), as Solidarity chairman. He, together with the new Mazowsze chairman, Maciej Jankowski, took the movement in a more independent and trade union direction. Solidarity opposed many government financial, social, and economic restructuring proposals subsequently, with widespread industrial action in order to prevent itself being outflanked by its OPZZ rival. Solidarity gained 27 **Sejm** and 11 **Senate** seats on 5 percent of the vote in the October 1991 election. Despite moving to the left and returning to the values of the First Solidarity, it initially supported **Hanna Suchocka**'s government before defeating it. The long-term balance between its arms as a general trade union confederation and a political movement remained unclear during 1993–1997. Krzaklewski, while remaining and giving priority to his role as Solidarity chairman, however, transformed the political scene by forming **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) with numerous right, center, Catholic, and nationalist parties in 1996 and by inspiring it to electoral victory the following year. The internal conflicts between its Solidarity and the right-wing political factions plagued and undermined **Jerzy Buzek**'s government, causing the disintegration of the AWS and its electoral disaster in 2001. The question remains open whether this signifies the historical end of Solidarity as a political movement, although its continuation as a trade union means that the tradition still has an organizational base from which it could possibly rebuild.

SOMOSIERRA. A five-kilometer-long gorge surrounded by high hills about 80 kilometers from Madrid. The Polish cavalry attached to the Napoleonic Guard charged down it and took this heavily fortified position on 30 November 1808, incurring light losses and capturing all the

hostile artillery. Poles are divided by this heroic symbol. Idealists argue that this apparently foolhardy, even suicidal, act was the quickest and most effective way to secure the position and to open up the road to the capital. Realists respond that success in this instance must be balanced by countless examples of disasters for Poland engendered by the mentality of great bravery for lost causes. The fact that it occurred during the Spanish Peninsular War also showed the national propensity for sacrifice for non-Polish causes. The issue is much discussed by writers on the Polish predicament in the same breath as the alleged charge of Polish cavalry on German tanks in September 1939. The former school again argues that heroism was the real wisdom and the only way out. The historical facts of the case, they say, were that the cavalry were encircled by German armor and could either stay put and be massacred or charge in the hope that, at least, some of them would break through. *See also* NAPOLEONIC INFLUENCES.

SOSABOWSKI, STANISŁAW (1892–1967). General, commanding the First Independent Parachute Brigade of Polish forces in the West during **World War II**. This group landed in strongly held positions by the **Germans** due to the incompetence of its British allies and superior commanders at Arnhem in 1944 but fought extremely bravely in its efforts to retrieve the situation.

SOSNKOWSKI, KAZIMIERZ (1885–1969). General and politician. One of **Józef Piłsudski**'s closest collaborators in the **Polish Socialist Party** (PPS) "Fighting Organization" in establishing Riflemen's Clubs and in the First Legionary Brigade during World War I. He helped Piłsudski to organize the new Polish Army and commanded the reserve forces in the 1920 war. He was minister of war, an army inspector, and a regional corps commander during the interwar period. He fell out with Piłsudski and attempted to commit suicide during the May 1926 coup; this explains why the very capable Sosnkowski was later passed over in favor of **Edward Rydz-Śmigły**. He commanded the southern front in September 1939. Sosnkowski played an important and inflexibly anti-**Russian** role in the Government-in-Exile, opposing **Władysław Sikorski**'s policies. On the latter's death, Sosnkowski took over as supreme commander of Polish forces in the west, from July 1943 to September 1944. He played an influential role in émigré politics in Canada and Great Britain, especially at the height of the Cold War.

SOVIET UNION (UNION of SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS). *See* RUSSIA.

SPYCHALSKA, EWA. *See* ALL-POLAND ALLIANCE OF TRADE UNIONS.

SPYCHALSKI, MARIAN (1906–1980). **Marshal.** Although an architect, Spychalski made his career running the Polish Communist Army. He was one of **Władysław Gomułka**'s closest supporters in the late 1940s, being purged (and tortured) along with his patron. When Gomułka returned to power, Spychalski became a key member of his core group, as minister of defense (1956–1968) and chairman of the council of state (1968–1970).

STARZYŃSKI, STEFAN (1893–1944). A **legionary** and **Sanacja** politician. As commissioner-president (1934–1939), he redeveloped **Warsaw** and led its defense when it was besieged by the **Germans** in September 1939. He was murdered in a Nazi concentration camp.

STASZIC, STANISŁAW (1755–1826). Philosopher and social activist as well as one of the most prominent reform figures during the Four-Year **Sejm** of 1788–1792. He continued to promote economic and educational reform after the **partitions**.

STATE TRIBUNAL. The highest legal organ, which investigates parliamentary charges of infringing their constitutional or legal obligations against the **president**, prime minister, ministers, and high state officials. The body functioned in the interwar period and was reestablished in 1982. It is elected by the **Sejm** and chaired by the first president of the **Supreme Court**.

STELMACHOWSKI, ANDRZEJ (1925–). Lawyer and politician. He was an academic who became one of **Solidarity**'s legal advisers and played an important role in the **Round Table**. Stelmachowski was elected to the **Senate**, becoming its **marshal** in 1989 and later, minister of education (1991–1992).

STOCK EXCHANGE. This was established in 1991 in **Warsaw**, initially, in the old **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) building on Jerusalem Avenue. It normally trades five times a week (weekdays ex-

cept for holidays). The volume of activity built up only very gradually as market relations and privatization developed and the economy took off. Only 53 companies were listed in 1995, and the number increased to 135 by 2002. They included a growing number of national investment funds. The Warsaw Stock Exchange Index (WIG) rose from 7,586 to 14,675 during 1995–2003. The Stock Exchange is regulated by the Securities Commission, which has largely been successful in avoiding the collapses and scandals that characterized **banking** in the early 1990s. The bond and money markets have also been somewhat limited but have expanded and been stimulated by the growth of foreign investment, during the latter half of the 1990s.

STRZEMBOSZ, ADAM (1930–). After a career as an academic lawyer, Strzembosz was dismissed as a judge in 1982. He continued as a **Solidarity** activist, taking refuge as a lecturer in the Catholic University in **Lublin** (KUL). When communism collapsed, Strzembosz became first deputy minister of justice. He was appointed chairman of both the **Supreme Court** and the **State Tribunal** in June 1990. His last, and very controversial, act as the former was to appoint **Bogusław Nizieński** as public interest spokesman in summer 1998.

STUHR, JERZY (1947–). A very popular and distinctive character actor, who in recent times, has directed his own films and theatrical productions, although he originally played classical theatrical roles. Stuhr has a likeable and gentle comic, often melancholy, style, which contrasts with the heavy intellectualism of a **Krzysztof Zanussi** or the occasional social grimness of Krzysztof Kieslowski. His best-known films include the latter's *The Amateur* (1979), Feliks Falk's *The Master of Ceremonies*, Juliusz Machulski's *Sexmission* and *Kingsajz*, and his own *Love Stories* and *The Large Animal*.

SUCHARSKI, HENRYK. *See* WESTERPLATTE.

SUCHOCKA, HANNA (1946–). A **Poznań** University lecturer in state law, Suchocka supported **Solidarity** as a **Democratic Party** (SD) **Sejm** deputy from 1980 to 1985. The Communists consequently vetoed her renomination by their minor party ally. Elected to the Sejm again, in 1989 for the **Civic Committee** (KO), she was reelected during the 1990s for the **Democratic Union** (UD) and the **Freedom Union** (UW).

Suchocka, although not a major UD leader, emerged as Poland's first woman prime minister in July 1992, because of **Bronisław Geremek's** backing, the fluidity of the post-Communist political class, the public demand for new and untainted faces, and complicated and long, drawn out political maneuvering. As prime minister, Suchocka was praised for her capable and open chairmanship of her government team and her capacity to get some important measures, such as an agreed budget, through the politically fragmented Sejm. Although a strongly practicing Catholic, who agreed with the Concordat with the Vatican in 1993 but failed to gain parliamentary approval for it before her fall, she compromised a little in order to pass the controversial and highly divisive Abortion Bill.

Suchocka handled successive waves of social unrest against industrial restructuring by balancing domestic against International Monetary Fund pressures in a form of economic tripartism. Her practice of "normal" politics counterbalanced the pain of transformation and delayed socio-economic benefits. Suchocka benefited from **Lech Wałęsa's** general support as well as from a slight economic upturn. All this contributed to her positive image abroad and increased Western investment. But serious domestic industrial unrest and opposition to her privatization program in the Sejm culminated in her government's unexpected defeat in a vote of confidence in May 1993. Wałęsa dissolved the Sejm immediately, although she remained as a caretaker until the September 1993 election.

Suchocka was minister of justice in **Jerzy Buzek's** cabinet from autumn 1997 until the **Freedom Union (UW)** left his government in summer 2000. She had continued in that post after failing to gain election as secretary-general of the Council of Europe in 1999.

SUPREME CONTROL CHAMBER/NAJWYŻSZA IZBA KONTRO-

LI (NIK). This is an important body in Polish politics that checks the state and local administrations and the economic organizations answerable to them. It combats both inefficiency and corruption. NIK is directly responsible to the **Sejm**, which elects its chairman. In the Communist period, prominent figures who lost influence, such as **Mieczysław Moczar**, were often relegated to it; hence it was described, with considerable license, as the Communist equivalent of the British House of Lords in this respect. The parallel continued after the fall of communism, when **Lech Kaczyński** was elected to this post in 1992 and used it as an outpost from which to attack **Lech Wałęsa**. His successor, Janusz Wojciechowski (PSL), ran NIK more moderately and saw out his full term as chairman from 1995 to 2001.

SUPREME COURT/SĄD NAJWYŻSZY. The highest court of appeal as well as the body that supervises the jurisprudence and activities of all lower courts in Poland. It is composed of four separate chambers (civil, criminal, administration, and labor and social insurance). Its first president is elected and dismissed by the **Sejm** on the national **president's** proposal, while its members are appointed by the state president on the basis of nomination by the National Council for the Judiciary (KRS).

SWEDEN. *See* POLISH-SWEDISH WARS.

SYRYJCZYK, TADEUSZ (1948–). An academic electronics specialist at the **Kraków** Mining-Metallurgy Academy, Syryczyk became a prominent **Solidarity** activist. He presided over the first round of Solidarity's First Congress in 1981 and was elected to its National Council. He co-founded the influential Kraków Industrial Association in 1987. He played a prominent role as minister of industry in **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** government of 1989–1990; as a **Sejm** deputy from 1991 to 2001, he remained influential in the **Democratic Union** (UD) and the **Freedom Union** (UW). Syryczyk was minister of transport from December 1998 till June 2000. He was charged with the task of restructuring, breaking up, and slimming down the Polish State Railways (PKP) preparatory to eventual privatization, but only made some initial progress in that direction.

SZCZECIN. Situated at the mouth of the River Oder, with a population of 416,600 (1999) Szczecin is a major commercial port and industrial center. The industrial unrest and sit-in strikes in its large shipyards were very significant in both 1970 and 1980. On the latter occasion, the negotiations in the shipyard between the Inter-Factory Strike Committee, led by **Stefan Jurczyk**, and the Government Commission, headed by Kazimierz Barcikowski, produced what was chronologically the first major Social Agreement.

Szczecin was a West Slav settlement in **Piast** times. Historically it was one of the main independent **Hanseatic League** cities that belonged to Sweden in the 16th century, falling into Prussian hands in 1720. The German population was displaced at the end of **World War II**, when the city was entirely resettled and rebuilt by Poles particularly from the Eastern territories annexed by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR). Szczecin has its own university, established in the 1970s. Its close proximity to Scandinavia and the West now favors its development as an open cultural, economic, and communications center in the new uniting Europe,

rather than as an exposed defensive Polish outpost, as it was in the past. The city suffered a great economic blow when its shipyard, which had been very successful during the 1990s, went formally bankrupt and had to be restructured in 2002.

SZCZEPANOWSKI, SAINT STANISLAW (ca. 1030–1079). Bishop of **Kraków** from 1072 to 1079. He quarreled with King **Bolesław II the Bold** and was executed by him in an episode reminiscent of the case of Thomas à Becket in England. The conflict provoked rebellion and the laying of a papal interdict on the country. Stanisław was canonized as a saint in 1254 and became one of the patron saints of Poland. His cult, supported by the chronicler **Wincenty Kadłubek**, played an important role in uniting the country in medieval times and in the independence struggles of the **partition** period. His legend was popularized in subsequent literature, notably by **Juliusz Słowacki** in his “King-Spirit” (1847).

SZCZEPAŃSKI, JAN (1913–). A prominent sociologist, who was ubiquitous as an intellectual-reform adviser to the Communist system. Szczepanski was a member of innumerable party and state commissions throughout the **Gierek** and **Jaruzelski** periods.

SZYMANOWSKI, KAROL (1882–1937). Composer. The leading representative of the “Young Poland” school, Szymanowski developed his own highly individual style. He drew heavily on folk melodies, especially those of the mountain people of southeast Poland. Szymanowski is remembered for four symphonies, operas such as *King Roger*, ballets such as *Harnasie*, a *Stabat Mater*, and various other choral works and concertos. Although recognition of his work has come slowly outside Poland, he is now increasingly regarded in the same league as his very similar contemporaries Zoltan Kodaly in Hungary and Bedrich Smetana in Czechoslovakia. *See also* MUSIC.

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TATAR INVASIONS. *See* MONGOL AND TATAR INVASIONS.

TAXATION. The Communist system had raised its finance through a turnover tax on sales and an enterprise tax on factories. The former was

replaced in 1993 by a value added tax (VAT) at a standard 22 percent rate and a reduced 7 percent rate. VAT has increasingly been harmonized with **European Union** (EU) entry requirements, although import discrimination and the removal of internal frontier controls remained prickly issues during the entry negotiations. By 2001, the European Union (EU) Commission was expressing satisfaction at the progress that Poland had made in harmonizing indirect taxation toward EU levels. It was particularly pleased that excise duties on tobacco, spirits, beer, wine, and engine fuel had been increased that year as part of the gradual adjustment to the *acquis communautaire*.

The Communist system had no form of direct taxation, so a completely new income tax was introduced in the mid-1990s, with three percentage levels of contribution graded according to income. The annual budget debate that fixed these rates as well as allowances became the occasion for politicized debate, especially in late 1999 when President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** intervened to veto the proposed levels. The highest direct tax rate of 30 percent was reduced to 28 percent in 2000, by which time Poland's alignment policies, simplification of tax returns, and improved administrative capacity in this field were beginning to meet with EU approval.

TEJCHMA, JÓZEF (1927–2001). A **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) Central Committee secretary in the 1960s and deputy prime minister and minister of culture in the 1970s, Tejchma was one of the most prominent and progressive figures of **Edward Gierek's** Communist establishment.

TERRAIN. *See* AREA AND TERRAIN.

TEUTONIC ORDER. The Order of the Hospital of the Holy Virgin in the German House of Jerusalem, colloquially known to the Poles as the *Krzyżacy*, or Crusaders, was established as a chivalric order in 1198. It was first based in Hungary but settled permanently in Prussia between 1226 and 1283 and conquered Pomeranian **Gdańsk** by 1308. Its expansion was halted by the battle of **Grunwald**, and its threat was finally removed by the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466) and the **Treaty of Toruń**. The order and its militarized state, ruled by a grand master, which had posed such a fundamental threat to Poland's existence, was finally dissolved in 1525.

TOMASZEWSKI, JANUSZ (1956–). A mechanic by trade, he was a **Łódź-based Solidarity** activist. As chairman of the Łódź regional branch during the 1990s and national deputy chairman (1995–1997), he played an important role in setting up **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) and in developing its Social Action (RS) movement. Although he acted as the AWS election campaign manager in October 1997, he did not stand for the **Sejm** but became a highly influential deputy premier and minister of home affairs and administration in **Jerzy Buzek's** government. He carried through the major local government reform in 1998, but was forced to resign in September 1999 because of rumors connected with his **lustration** process. His case dragged on until the 2001 parliamentary elections.

TORUŃ. A city of 206,100 inhabitants (1999), Toruń is noted as a river port on the **Vistula** and as **Mikołaj** (Nicholas) **Copernicus's** birthplace. Although heavily **industrialized**, it is also one of the great historic and beautiful cities of Poland, which any **tourist** or lover of **architecture** should visit. It manufactures chemicals, fertilizers, building equipment, water meters, and woolen textiles. The food industry also has the gingerbread factory that produces the *pierniki torunskie*, which are well-known both in Poland and abroad. Toruń has a celebrated university named after Mikołaj Copernicus, museums, a medieval architectural complex, and Gothic city walls and gates, as well as a noted city hall, churches, and the ruins of a castle built by the **Teutonic Knights**. It also has an extremely rich architecture in the successive Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque styles, and old tenement houses.

The history of Toruń is as rich and varied as its architecture and is crammed with events that were significant for Poland as a whole. Toruń was founded as a Slav settlement, but the Teutonic Knights established it as a town and built a strong defensive castle in the 13th century. Developing rapidly as a commercial center, it became a member of the **Hanseatic League**. It renounced its allegiance to the knights in 1454 and returned to Poland by the treaty of 1466, named after it, which ended the Thirteen Years' War. Prussia annexed Toruń in the Second **Partition**, of 1793, but this region resisted Germanization strongly. In interwar Poland, Toruń became the capital of the Pomeranian provinces. It suffered great human and material losses during **World War II**, as the Nazis constructed 10 concentration, 7 labor, and the Stalag XXA prisoner-of-war camps in its vicinity.

TOURISM. Poland is still comparatively well-forested (28.4 percent of the area in 2000 and increasing); much of it is coniferous, mainly pine. Although forests were badly affected by **industrial** pollution of the atmosphere, they, together with numerous lakes, especially in the northern lowlands and the southern uplands, provide exceptionally attractive tourist areas. Some of the original, often primordial, environment is preserved in national parks in the Tatras, the Ojców caves near **Kraków**, Pieniny with the Dunajec Gorge, and, above all, the world-renowned Białowieża region. By the year 2000, the Polish Tourist Association, working with local authorities, had demarcated 53,000 kilometers of tourist trails, of which 35,168 were for walks in lowland areas and 10,573 in mountainous areas, while 4,897 were for cycling and 541 for skiing.

The landscape is enhanced by numerous rivers, of which the longest are the **Vistula** (Wisła, 1,047 kilometers), **Oder** (Odra, 854 kilometers), Warta (808 kilometers), Bug (772 kilometers), Narew (484 kilometers), San (443 kilometers), Notec (388 kilometers), and Pilica (319 kilometers). Most of Poland's uplands are in the south, especially in the Carpathian and Sudety Mountains; the country's highest point, Rysy, in the Carpathian Mountains, rises to 2,499 meters above sea level. Poland's relatively unspoiled mountains, lakes, and forests provide a magnificent environment for leisure and sporting activities.

Together with the, often lovingly rebuilt, historical **architecture** of the towns and the traditional hospitality and rich and original gastronomy of the Poles, the country has all the requirements for a flourishing tourist industry. The tourist industry had developed from the 1970s onward, but it showed signs of expanding more dramatically in the post-Communist period. The fascinating medieval architecture, ranging from the 10th to the 14th centuries, of Kraków, especially its Old Town and the **Wawel** Castle, **Wrocław**, **Gdańsk**, **Sandomierz**, and **Toruń**, **Warsaw's** rebuilt Old Town complex, Europe's largest 13th-century Gothic castle in Malbork, the picturesque town of Kazimierz Dolny, as well as numerous fine cathedrals and churches are only the highlights, which would enrich any tourist itinerary.

The tourist infrastructure has been expanded since the fall of communism in 1989. There are still (in 2000) insufficient small hotels and cheap overnight pension-type accommodations (20,600 beds) and excursion hotels (12,200), compared with large hotels (95,100 beds). There are plenty of student and youth hostels and cheap holiday centers (about 200,000 beds) as well as a growing number of camping sites (76,400

beds), but hardly any motels (4,500 beds) as yet. The number of private bars and restaurants has, however, expanded dramatically up to equivalent European levels since 1989. Western food chains like McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and Kentucky Fried Chicken are prevalent in the cities. They are supplemented by numerous Vietnamese and, most recently, kebab, outlets run by a growing number of immigrants. Foreign-owned supermarkets and modern types of multiplex cinemas, overwhelmingly showing Western Hollywood films, are also present in most cities. There has also been a great increase in the number of private tourist agencies, which have taken from the state-run monopolies, like ORBIS, of the Communist period.

Transport links, especially by air and rail, have improved, but Poland's roads are in a very poor condition, and the motorway construction program has hardly started. In the past, Poles tended to take their holidays within the East European Communist bloc, because of currency and passport restrictions. Nowadays, they head for a much wider range of exotic locations all over the world, although financial limitations restrict this to the successful commercial and professional elites. Most ordinary Poles still take their holidays within Poland, especially during the summer period. The number of foreign departures by Poles increased from 22.1 million in 1990 to 56.7 million in 2000, but it is difficult to estimate how many of these were for tourist purposes. The number of foreign visitors increased from 18.2 million in 1990 to 84.5 million in 2000. The bulk of these from the West were for tourism (between 200,000 and 300,000 apiece from Austria, Britain, **France**, Italy, and the **United States** in 2000, but these figures include family reunions by **Polonia**). The huge figure of 49 million for **Germany** was largely made up of short-range border crossings for trading and shopping purposes. Almost all of those from Poland's poorer eastern neighbors (6 million apiece from **Belarus** and **Ukraine** and 2.3 million from **Russia**) were for business, labor, or trading purposes. Overall, tourism and foreign visits contributed a favorable trade balance of US\$1,779 million (1997).

Although the **climate** restricts the length of the tourist season, the positive side is that this makes skiing and the development of mountain spas, such as Zakopane, more attractive. The construction of a motorway network, the easing of **frontier** and passport restrictions with **European Union** (EU) membership, and the expansion of the accommodation and entertainment sectors through market capitalism are factors that should support vastly increased tourism to Poland during the coming decade. *See also* CHALUBIŃSKI, TYTUS.

TRADE UNIONS. The right to join and organize a free trade union was conceded by the Communist regime in the **Gdańsk Agreement** and was enshrined as a fundamental right in post-Communist **constitutions**. The main trade union confederations currently are the following: The **All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions** (OPZZ), formed in November 1984, survived the fall of communism by representing workers' economic interests very stridently. It had about five million members in June 1990. The Independent Self-Governing Trade Union **Solidarity** (NSZZ "Solidarność") had emerged in September 1980. After becoming a major and differentiated economic, social, and political movement, it was repressed by martial law and officially dissolved in 1982. Its relegalization was agreed on at the **Round Table**, and it was reregistered on 17 April 1989. But it suffered from the Second Solidarity's elitist character and the **Mazowiecki-Balcerowicz** commitment to capitalist market transformation and proved unable to win back the ground gained by the OPZZ during the 1980s. It had about 2.3 million members in October 1990, which fell to 1.6 million by summer 1993, despite its membership of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. After **Lech Wałęsa's** election as state president, its new chairman, **Marian Krzaklewski**, concentrated on trade union activity. The movement increasingly opposed government restructuring proposals with industrial action. Solidarity gained 5 percent of the vote and 27 **Sejm** and 11 **Senate** seats in the October 1991 election. Although its parliamentary club was very divided during 1992, it seemed to be moving leftward back toward the 1980 social ideals. The NSZZ RI of Private Peasant Farmers (**Rural Solidarity**) reregistered, alongside the main Solidarity, in April 1989, and had more than 300,000 members in December 1990. Finally, one should note the regional strength of "Solidarity 80" and that some thousand purely workplace trade unions belonged to neither Solidarity nor the OPZZ.

Trade unions were largely used as transmission belts and were controlled by party-state bodies during the Communist period. There was much talk of workers' self-management after "**October**," but **Władysław Gomułka** regained strict control after 1958 by establishing Communist-controlled factory conferences. The Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ), chaired by Communist Politburo members, such as Ignacy Loga-Sowiński under Gomułka and Władysław Kruczek under **Edward Gierek**, grouped some two dozen branch unions under its aegis. The CRZZ, which lost about 80–85 percent of its members, mainly to Solidarity, dissolved itself in late October 1980. It was replaced by a Coordinating Commission of Branch Trade Unions, which

remained a peripheral body during 1980–1981, until the legal dissolution of all trade unions by the Sejm on 8 October 1982, in contrast to **Wojciech Jaruzelski's** relative success in rebuilding official unions, the OPZZ, from 1984 onward.

Social and economic disappointment, with both the rapid increase in unemployment and declining living standards for large sections of society, caused increasing levels of industrial action in the early 1990s. This culminated in **Hanna Suchocka's** corporatist Tripartite Commission and the defeat of her government in 1993. The Polish **Peasant Party–Alliance of the Democratic Left** (PSL-SLD) governments of 1993–1997 allayed **industrial** discontent by slowing the pace of economic restructuring and providing greater social subsidies. The high economic growth of that period meant that **Jerzy Buzek's** government was, initially, in a stronger position to slim down the **coal mining** and metalworking industries, to privatize the remaining large enterprises left in state ownership, while carrying out major reforms of the health, educational, and pensions sectors. The result was major trade union unrest in the form of strikes and demonstrations, notably in **Warsaw**, as well as violent blockades and confrontations with the police by discontented peasants led by **Andrzej Lepper**.

By early 2000, a mere 18 percent of the Polish workforce belonged to trade unions (76 percent as late as the mid-1980s), compared with a high of 91 percent in Sweden and an even lower figure of 10 percent in France. The Polish scene was also marked by much fragmentation and division, as about 330 national trade unions competed for a diminishing pool of potential support. It is hardly surprising that many considered that the wider role of trade unions had passed. The labor scene was dominated by the populist and largely defensive reactions of activists like Zygmunt Wrzodak. His violent threats and behavior during the 1990s held up the rationalization of the Ursus tractor factory outside Warsaw, although he became a Sejm deputy for the **League of Polish Families** (LPR) in 2001.

TRAUGUTT, ROMUALD (1826–1864). “Dictator” of the 1863 Uprising, from 17 October until its suppression, he organized an uncompromising struggle against the occupying **Russian** power. The Russians executed him on the walls of the **Warsaw** Citadel.

TREATY OF RIGA. Signed on 18 March 1921, this treaty established peace between Poland and the emerging **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) and confirmed their borders. Poland, as a result of its

victory before **Warsaw** in 1920, gained the West **Ukraine**, including Lwów as well as West **Belarus**. This meant that large, and particularly in the former case, rather hostile, national minorities were included in its interwar territory.

TREATY OF TORUŃ 1466. By this treaty, which concluded the Thirteen Years' War, Poland regained parts of East Prussia from the Teutonic Knights. This assured its secure access to the **Baltic Sea** and promoted its economic development. The remaining lands of the **Teutonic Order** swore homage to the Polish crown.

TRUCE OF ANDRUSZOWO (Andrusovo). This treaty between Muscovy and the Polish **Commonwealth**, signed on 30 January 1667, partitioned **Ukraine** between them; the former retained the left bank of the Dnieper and the latter, the right bank. The agreement marked the beginning of the territorial decline of the Commonwealth as well as the suppression of hopes of independent Ukrainian statehood. It was confirmed by the Grzymultowski Peace of May 1686, which also gave **Russia** the right of protecting the Orthodox believers in Poland.

TRYBUNA LUDU/TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE. The daily newspaper of the Central Committee of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) was published from 1948 to 1990. It was the party's official mouthpiece and the most authoritative record of its policies, decisions, and declarations alongside the PZPR monthly *Nowe Drogi* (New Roads). *Trybuna Ludu*'s successor from January 1990 onward was *Trybuna* (Tribune), the daily newspaper of the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP). It had to be slimmed down to almost newsletter proportions and only achieved moderate circulation levels.

TUROWICZ, JERZY (1912–1999). Catholic writer and activist. He worked as a journalist for the *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly) from 1945 onward, becoming its chief editor in the early 1950s and from 1956 to 1999. Turowicz was an enormously influential figure in progressive Catholic and intellectual circles and occupied the crucial position from 1960 onward of chairman of the **Znak** publishing house. He participated in the **Round Table** of spring 1989.

TUSK, DONALD (1957–). Liberal politician. A history graduate of **Gdańsk** University, Tusk originates from a long-established Kaszub

(autochthonous) family in the city, where he became a prominent journalist and independent student activist in the 1980s. He was a cofounder and chairman of the **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D) from 1989 to 1994. Tusk was elected to the **Sejm** by the KL-D in 1991 and was reelected subsequently as a deputy, until 2001, on various different political labels. He was instrumental in pushing through the KL-D's amalgamation with the **Democratic Union** (UD) as the **Freedom Union** (UW) and was the latter's deputy chairman from 1995 to 2000. Tusk was one of the three most prominent founders of the **Civic Platform** (PO) in 2001. Somewhat surprisingly, he stood for election to the **Senate**, not the more influential **Sejm**, in that year, becoming its deputy **marshal**.

TYMIŃSKI, STANISLAW (1948–). Entrepreneur and politician. Tymięski became a millionaire after immigrating to Canada and Peru from Poland in 1969. He emerged quite literally out of nowhere in the December 1990 presidential campaign. He used his considerable financial resources and his role model as a successful capitalist to tap popular, and especially industrial worker, discontent by promising economic protectionism as well as other glib solutions. As a result he came in second on the first ballot, with 23.1 percent of the vote, eliminating Prime Minister **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**. In the runoff he lost to **Lech Wałęsa** by about three to one. He subsequently organized his own "Party X," which, despite being disqualified from standing in most constituencies by the Electoral Commission supervising the 1991 election, still won three **Sejm** seats. Tymięski had also been prevented from running by newly introduced residence qualifications.

– U –

UKRAINE. Ukraine is Poland's eastern neighbor, lying directly to the south of **Belarus** and also now having western borders with Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania. Its 1999 population of 50,658,000 inhabited a territory of 603,700 square kilometers, lying largely on the Great European Plain, with the Crimea to its south and the Carpathian Mountains to its southwest. It is irrigated by the great Rivers Dnieper and Dniester, which run across it from north to south. Its major cities are the capital, Kiev, Kharkov, Krivoi Rog, Donetsk, Odessa, Dniepropetrovsk, and what has, at certain historical periods, been the Polish city of Lwów.

Ukraine was formally incorporated as a Soviet Socialist Republic in 1922, having been declared one in December 1917 and confirmed as such in December 1919. It declared its sovereignty in 1990 and its independence after the failed coup of August 1991 in Moscow.

Polish-Ukrainian relations have been particularly turbulent throughout their history. After the great **Mongol** raid of 1241, Ukraine was dependent on the “Golden Horde” until it was partitioned between Poland and **Lithuania** in the 14th century. It was incorporated in the Polish crown by the Union of **Lublin** of 1569. But social conflicts grew between the largely Polish landowning aristocracy and **gentry** and the Ukrainian peasantry and free Cossacks of the Dnieper east bank. This was aggravated by the increasingly aggressive **Roman Catholicism** of the former and the Greek Orthodoxy of the latter. The dispute was hardly resolved by the compromise arrangements of the Union of Brześć (Brest) of 1596 for **Uniates**. Cossack revolts during the first half of the 17th century culminated in the enormous uprising of 1648–1651, led by Bohdan Chmielnicki (1595–1657). The latter gained Ukraine a short-lived independence. But after being defeated by the Poles at Beresteczko in 1651, he gradually moved toward Muscovy for a wide variety of religious, social, and economic reasons, swearing allegiance to the Czar and signing the Perejaslaw Compact in 1654.

Poland, because of its troubles with the Swedish “Deluge,” attempted to win over Chmielnicki’s successor as **hetman**, Jan Wyhowski, with belated offers of autonomy enshrined in the Compact of Hadziacz of 1658. As this policy was unsuccessful, Poland, with Tatar help, effected a renewed partition by 1667. Muscovy took the territory on the left bank of the Dnieper, and Poland for a while, after the **Truce of Andruszowo**, retained the right bank. The decline of the **Commonwealth**, despite **Jan Sobieski**’s victories in the 1670s, meant that **Russia** was effectively in control even before its formal annexation of all Ukrainian territories, except for the West Ukraine (Eastern Galicia), which went to Austria, through the First and Second **Partitions**. Russia had also expelled the Turks from the Crimea and reduced the Cossacks to serfdom by 1783, despite huge uprisings, such as Pugachev’s. Subsequent Czarist policy was one of intense Russification, treating Ukraine as Little Russia, although the Austrians pursued a more liberal policy in their partition.

Ukraine momentarily regained its independence after World War I in 1917–1918, under Hetman Pavlo Skorapadsky. But it was occupied successively by the **Germans** and Bolsheviks, while the West Ukraine was lost to Poland by the **Treaty of Riga** and Northern Bukovina went to

Romania. Soviet Ukraine suffered very harshly during the industrialization and collectivization drives and the Great Famine of 1933. The formal reincorporation of the West Ukraine in the Soviet Republic in November 1939, after its actual occupation in September on the basis of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, was followed by a massive wave of arrests and deportations of the Polish population in summer 1940. The Nazi attack on the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)** in 1941 was initially welcomed by large numbers of Ukrainians, some of whom took advantage of their occupation to massacre between 20,000 and 30,000 ethnic Poles in Volhynia. But the Germans eventually lost this potential support because of their extremist racial extermination policies and economic exploitation. Ukraine emerged as one of the most devastated areas of Europe at the end of **World War II**. It also fell victim to renewed Stalinization and terror, which included the forcible abolition of the Greek Uniate Church.

About five million Ukrainians had been included in interwar Poland, although the Poles had a majority in many of the towns of the West Ukraine. The former organized themselves in the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), in a Communist-front party, and in the Ukrainian Military Organization led by Colonel Evgeny Konovalts until his assassination by the Soviets in 1938. Ukrainian extremists were particularly active in resisting Polish assimilation policies with widespread terrorism in the 1930s. They were responsible for killing the leading **Sanacja** politician, Tadeusz Hołowko, along with many others, such as the minister of the interior, in 1934. The Polish response from 1930 onward was to use the army to pacify the countryside in a brutal manner, which elicited condemnation at the League of Nations. But residual ideas for Polish-Ukrainian cooperation on a federal and autonomous basis for the latter coexisted with strong-arm methods in the “Promethean” group within the **Piłsudski** camp.

Unfortunately, the end of World War II and the imposition of Soviet control on both sides of the River Bug **frontier** also involved a recrudescence of Ukrainian atrocities and terrorism as well as of Polish repression during 1944–1947. This followed a Soviet supervised exchange of Polish and Ukrainian populations at the end of the war. The Ukrainian Liberation Army (UPA) carried on full-scale resistance, which involved particularly bestial atrocities against Polish women and children in the foothills and forests of southeastern Poland. It claimed a notable success when it killed the deputy minister of defense, General Karol Świerczewski (“General Walter” of Spanish Civil War fame), under suspicious

and unclarified circumstances in 1947. This was used by the Communist-controlled government in Warsaw to justify the “Vistula Action” (*Akcja Wisła*) of that summer. About 160,000 Ukrainians were deported from southeast Poland and resettled forcibly in the western territories gained from Germany. These incidents were later used by Great Russian Communist propaganda in both Poland and Ukraine to fan the most primitive and chauvinist hatreds by both nationalities against each other.

Although Ukraine appeared quiescent and reliably controlled by Moscow, there were periods of cultural and linguistic revival. In the 1960s, First Secretary Petro Shelest even appeared to be taking the Ukrainian party in a more national-Communist direction. Renewed repression during the 1970s again stabilized the situation, but opposition was mobilized by the Chernobyl nuclear power station disaster of 1986. Intellectual and industrial discontent built up and supported the demands that culminated in the March 1990 declaration of sovereignty. Although the successor-Communists, led by Leonid Kravczuk, who was elected president, seemed to control the situation, a pluralist and incipiently democratic framework emerged very quickly once full independence was declared in autumn 1991.

The independent Ukraine faced great difficulties, such as the declaration of sovereignty by the Russian-inhabited Crimea that had been incorporated within it in 1954. Its major initial problem was to disentangle its security and economic connections from Moscow by establishing its own independent state institutions, currency, army, and navy (which involved disputes with the Russian Republic over the division of the Black Sea Fleet). It was much criticized by Western conservatives for its slowness in moving toward capitalism, but this was considered a virtue by its own inhabitants, who favored gradualist economic solutions for exploiting Ukraine's very considerable agricultural, industrial, and other natural resources. Above all, commentators were pleasantly surprised that the 13 million or so Russians within Ukraine largely accepted the new republic. They did not precipitate ethnic conflict and frontier war of the Yugoslav type, which many had feared. President Leonid Kuczma, elected in 1994 and again in 1999, continued Ukraine's very gradual moves toward Europe and away from the old Communist system, although he had to trim and tack in relation to Russia.

Solidarity and the new nationalist and democratic elites in Ukraine shared a common condemnation of Great Russian imperialism and Communist tyranny. They both accepted that World War II and the population transfers from interwar Poland's eastern territories had largely removed

any real cause for dispute over frontiers or ethnic minorities between them. Both were eager to make a fresh start and to heal their unhealthy historical inheritance of mutually xenophobic hatreds and stereotypes. The Vistula Action was condemned by Polish parliamentarians, while the Ukrainian minority in Poland agitated for compensation and a restitution of the land and forests seized in 1947. Positive attitudes, appropriate to a new democracy, did not rule out normal diplomatic and economic conflicts, but both sides were concerned to anchor themselves in Europe. They wanted to maximize mutually beneficial trade and technological collaboration and above all to seek common points of support in regard to Germany and Russia. The Poles under Foreign Minister **Krzysztof Skubiszewski** initially had a very strong pro-Western orientation and neglected eastern questions. But by the time of **Jan Olszewski**'s government, renewed attention was paid to common Polish-Ukrainian security links in some sort of NATO-bis arrangement and to the economic and cultural collaboration proposed by the **Confederation for an Independent Poland** (KPN).

A very successful round of presidential visits to **Warsaw** and **Kiev** by Presidents Kuczma and **Aleksander Kwaśniewski** led to the signing of a treaty consolidating warm relations, and establishing a form of strategic partnership, in May 1997. Ukraine came around to endorsing Poland's membership with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), but was concerned that **European Union** (EU) entry might harm their bilateral relations, especially through the introduction of EU frontier controls and visa requirements. This also threatened the transfrontier cooperation symbolized by the Bug and Carpathian Euro-regions. Pinpricks over national minorities, the status of external cemeteries, notably the sensitive issue of the Eaglets cemetery in Lviv (Lwów), and historical/political polemics over the Volhynian massacre and the Vistula Action recurred. But they were counteracted by the work of joint historical and cultural commissions, for example, the 1994 agreement on the Protection of Memorials and Cemeteries of Victims of War and Political Repression was finally implemented in 1998 by the Ukrainians. Among other results, the Ukrainians produced a list of names of the Polish prisoners-of-war and deportees shot in Ukrainian prisons as part of the spring 1940 massacre. Historical animosities were thus defused and had surprisingly little effect, although they were utilized by pro-Russian factions, on their maturing political and strategic relationship. Economic exchanges remained disappointing. They were affected by a significant

decline in the late 1990s, but despite this, Ukraine remained Poland's sixth largest trading partner.

UNIATES. The term is used to describe members of the Greek Catholic Church who at the Union of Brześć (Brest) of 1596 accepted papal supremacy, while maintaining its Orthodox rite. Uniates in Eastern Poland, **Belarus**, and **Ukraine** were much persecuted by the Czarist authorities and de-legalized by the Soviets in 1946. They remain, nevertheless, influential in the West Ukraine. They suffered a moderate degree of harassment in Stalinist Poland, but were left to their own devices after 1956. Official statistics show that 110,380 (1999) Uniates, now called the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite, still remain in the country. They are served by eight dioceses, headed by the archbishop of Przemyśl, largely in the western and southeastern Ukrainian inhabited provinces. They are nowadays difficult to separate from the straightforwardly Orthodox, and there is some overlap with the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. *See* RUSSIA.

UNITED STATES. Poland and the United States have never been directly involved in conflict with one another and have historically had very warm relations. Memories of their common democratic values and struggles go back to **Kazimierz Pułaski**'s and **Tadeusz Kościuszko**'s participation in the American War of Independence. The Americans were very sympathetic to the cause of Polish Independence throughout the 19th century. This was strengthened by the wave of Polish immigration to the United States, mainly for economic reasons, at the end of the century. A **Polonia** was thus created, with cohesive community organizations and links with its **Roman Catholic** priests. It was originally heavily based in industrial towns on the eastern seaboard and the Midwest, notably in places like Chicago, New York, and Pittsburgh, and was a strong clientele-group within the Democratic Party. In recent times, an individual such as Democrat Senator Edmund Muskie (1914–1996) of Maine achieved national prominence as a presidential candidate and secretary of state. It is estimated that there are about seven million Americans of Polish origin today. But they have now spread throughout the length and breadth of the United States. They also achieved almost complete, although much-delayed, socioeconomic integration from the 1960s onward. Specialists argue that this has weakened their residual ethnic Polish identification and linguistic-cultural links. Still, enough sentimental

attachment to the “Old Country” remained for them to act as a powerful lobby when their values reinforced the main thrust of U.S. policy during the **Solidarity** and martial law periods of the early 1980s.

The United States was closely identified with the cause of Polish Independence during World War I, through President Woodrow **Wilson’s Thirteenth Point** commitment to an independent state with secure access to the sea in his war aims. America supported Polish interests at the Versailles Peace Conference and gave much aid to Poland’s postwar reconstruction programs. But withdrawal from European affairs and dislike of **Józef Piłsudski’s** authoritarian system cooled subsequent interwar relations between the two nations.

Although U.S. public opinion supported the Polish cause throughout **World War II**, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave priority to maintaining and developing the Soviet alliance after 1941. The interests of the Polish Government-in-Exile in London thus became subsidiary. Roosevelt, as late as the 1944 presidential campaign, indulged in much duplicity with the American Polonia in order to gain its votes to ensure his reelection. He conspired to bury the truth about Stalinist responsibility for the 1940 Katyń and associated massacres of Polish prisoners of war held in the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**. It is now clear that he gambled at the **Yalta** Conference. He accepted the Soviet incorporation of Poland’s eastern territories and its westward shift to the **Oder-Neisse** frontier. His hope was that Stalin would reciprocate with “free elections” and permit a democratic-capitalist system in Poland in exchange for a Great Power settlement over **Germany** and concessions to Soviet strategic interests: Poland’s reduction to a Soviet Stalinist satellite was instrumental in disabusing U.S. public opinion and in bringing about the Cold War. But Washington was always careful to distinguish between its ideological conflict with the Communist world and its very flexible policy toward individual states, such as Poland, which moved away from totalitarianism after 1956. The good relations of the **Gierek** period during the 1970s were, however, overshadowed by subsequent conflicts. The United States supported **Solidarity** and imposed economic sanctions against the **Jaruzelski** regime for resorting to repression. President Ronald Reagan’s hard line was extended to the controversy over the siting of Cruise missiles in Western Europe and publicized in terms of general systemic opposition to the “Evil Empire.” Mikhail Gorbachev achieved international detente through disarmament concessions, but his internal reforms contributed to the collapse of Soviet communism in Eastern Europe in 1989. Poland led the way through the peaceful revo-

lution negotiated at the **Round Table**, the summer election, and the takeover of power by the **Mazowiecki** government.

All these developments were welcomed by the United States. But attention was diverted away from supporting Poland's building of democratic capitalism by the rapid flow of major developments in the USSR, the Balkans, and the Middle East. The United States thus never produced the equivalent of a Marshall Plan for post-Communist reconstruction that the Poles had hoped for. The latter's focus, once the East-West systemic conflict was over, was also bound to shift, aside from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) angle, to regional and European concerns, especially relations with the **European Union**. Americans of Polish origins, such as the notable academic and political adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and the wealthy Barbara Piasecka-Johnson of the pharmaceutical firm, initially played influential roles in the new Poland. The former was even widely regarded as a possible presidential candidate in 1991. The latter was linked with a possible buyout of the **Gdańsk** shipyard and gained much prestige by returning a long lost medieval manuscript to **Kraków**, at her own cost, in summer 2002. Today U.S. public opinion remains highly sympathetic to their new NATO ally. President George W. Bush greeted "his friend **Aleksander**" extremely cordially as a firm ally of his war against terrorism during **Kwaśniewski**'s official visit, with his wife, to the United States in July 2002. Although liberal opinion reacts too critically to recurrent Polish-Jewish controversies, such as **Jedwabne**, Americans, generally, remain somewhat ignorant of the richness of Polish culture and such domestic aspects as its cuisine, **architecture**, and beautiful landscape, which have great potential for expanded **tourism**.

URBAN, JERZY (1933–). Urban, an obstreperous and colorful journalist, started off on the radical students' newspaper *Po Prostu* of 1957, and was often disciplined by the Communist authorities. His pugnacity was turned against **Solidarity** as **Wojciech Jaruzelski**'s press spokesman (1981–1989) and against Western journalists ignorant of Polish realities. He thus became a "hate figure" for the opposition. He was rewarded by being made chairman of the Radio and TV Committee in 1989 and chairman of a large publishing house. He prospered after 1990 as editor of the hard-hitting, somewhat salacious, populist weekly *Nie* (No), which specialized in sensational political revelations and scandals, of which there were many in the post-Communist period, and as the author of widely read memoirs.

– V –

VASA (WAZA) DYNASTY. A Swedish dynasty, which ruled Poland from 1587 to 1668. The successively elected kings, Zygmunt III, Władysław IV, and Jan Kazimierz, involved Poland in needless conflicts with the rival branch of the family, which ruled Sweden from 1598 to 1654. They initially held their own in the wars with Muscovy and the Turks, though. They are held in some affection by the Poles, despite the disasters that they brought on the country, for patronizing the **arts** and **architecture**. *See also* POLISH-SWEDISH WARS.

VISTULA (Wisła). Poland's longest (1,047 km) and most famous river. It rises in the Silesian Beskid foothills on the **frontier** with the Slovak Republic and meanders northward through the whole center of the country to its delta estuary in the **Baltic Sea**, south of **Gdańsk**. **Kraków**, **Sandomierz**, Puławy, **Warsaw**, Płock, Włocławek, **Toruń**, Malbork, and Tczew are situated on it. Numerous rivers, such as the Dunajec, Pilica, San, Wieprz, and Narew run into it, and it is connected by canals with others, such as the Odra through the Notec. *See also* TOURISM.

VOLKSDEUTSCHE. These were members of **German** minorities in Eastern Europe during **World War II**, who declared that they belonged to the German race and collaborated with the Nazi occupiers. Germans were particularly strong in the Silesian and Pomeranian regions of Poland. Most either fled at the approach of the Red Army in 1944–1945 or were expelled later. Poles of mixed Polish-German, or even autochthonous, origins were also encouraged, and often forced, by the Nazis to sign the Nationality List (*Volksliste*), which caused them difficulties postwar.

– W –

WAJDA, ANDRZEJ (1926–). Wajda is probably Poland's most famous contemporary film director. He produced a large number of films from 1956 onward, covering an incredibly wide range of topics in a breathtakingly creative and continuously striking way; from war films, such as *Lotna*, *Kanał*, and *Ashes and Diamonds*, to literary-historical adaptations, such as *A Generation*, *The Marriage*, *The Promised Land*, and *Ashes*, as well as contemporary psychological dramas, such as *Every-*

thing for Sale. He gained worldwide recognition for his *Man of Marble* and *Man of Iron*, which became symbols of the 1980–1981 crisis. Wajda was chairman of the Association of Polish Filmmakers (1978–1983) and was elected a **Solidarity** senator from 1989 to 1991. He gained numerous awards at film festivals, notably in Cannes, Venice, and Berlin. The American Film Academy recognized his outstanding merit by awarding him a special Oscar for lifetime achievement in March 2000.

WALENDZIAK, WIESŁAW (1962–). History graduate from **Gdańsk** University, journalist, and conservative politician. He belonged consecutively to the **Christian National Union** (ZCh-N), the Republican and Conservative parties, and the Conservative People's Party (SK-L). The mass media presented him as the best-known representative of the so-called 1990s pampers generation. He was the highly influential chairman of Polish Television (TVP) from 1994 to 1996, becoming an **Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS) **Sejm** deputy in 1997. He was minister-head of the chancellery of the Council of Ministers in **Jerzy Buzek**'s cabinet, from 1997 to 1999. Walendziak always remained within the organizationally fluid conservative tradition, but his diverse political affiliations eventually turned him into a Law and Justice (PiS) deputy in 2001.

WAŁĘSA, LECH (1943–). Trade unionist and politician. Wałęsa is an electrician by trade, who got involved in the free **trade union** movement at the **Gdańsk** shipyard during the 1970s. He became chairman of the Inter-Factory Strike Committee (MKS) at the Gdańsk shipyard and led the negotiations with Deputy Prime Minister **Mieczysław Jagielski** that produced the **Gdańsk Agreement** guaranteeing the rights to strike and to organize free trade unions. Wałęsa led **Solidarity** during 1980–1981. He was criticized for his authoritarian and confused running of the union as well as for some of his compromises with the government, notably over the Bydgoszcz beatings in March 1981. But he failed to make a general deal with the Communist authorities and to arouse the social support that would have prevented them from resorting to martial law repression, during which he was interned.

Wałęsa rebuilt Solidarity's national organization from the mid-1980s onward as well as his own prestige as symbolic leader of the opposition to the Communist system. Judiciously advised by the **Roman Catholic** Church and his own intellectuals, he moved carefully from organizing his **Civic Committee** in December 1988 to the **Round Table** negotiations and agreement of spring 1990. The partially free election of June

1989 was his personal triumph, even though he did not stand; his team of individually endorsed candidates humiliated the Communists, while defeating all the other factions within the opposition camp. This enabled Wałęsa to endorse the formation of the first Solidarity-led government, headed by his closest adviser, **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**.

Had Wałęsa retired at this point, his historical reputation, reinforced by his Nobel Peace Prize of 1983, as the man who brought communism down in Poland, and probably in the Soviet bloc as a whole, would have been secure. But as often happens with poorly educated but politically cunning individuals, the feeling that only he could save post-Communist Poland prevailed. He, therefore, split Solidarity in the “**War at the Top**” for the presidency with Mazowiecki during 1990. His election was hardly a triumph, as he only got 40 percent of the vote on the first ballot, while his opponent, the virtually unelectable foreign-based millionaire **Stanisław Tymiński**, still got about a quarter of the vote on the second ballot.

Wałęsa’s limitations then became painfully obvious as **president**. He failed to decide at the outset whether he wanted to build a strong executive office in the new **constitution** supported by his own party in the parliament or whether he wanted a more ceremonial and arbitrating role. He oscillated between the two roles and as a result rendered **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**’s government ineffective. Wałęsa lost conflicts with the **Sejm** over the constitution and the electoral law, humiliatingly, while the 1991 election produced a fragmented parliament with little backing for parties directly supporting him. Wałęsa thus came to be regarded as an erratic interfering nuisance at this time. He was, however, often largely in the right, as in his conflicts with **Jan Olszewski**’s minister of defense, Jan Parys, in spring 1992, over the control of the army, and over **lustration** with Minister of the Interior **Antoni Macierewicz**.

Wałęsa, though, seemed to have learned some lessons from this experience, as he maintained good and supportive relations with Prime Minister **Hanna Suchocka**. He used his new powers under the revised *Little Constitution* of 1992 to dissolve the Sejm immediately after it had closely defeated the Suchocka government on a vote of confidence in May 1993. His main initiative in the run-up to the election of 19 September 1993 was to float his own Non-Party Bloc for Supporting the Reforms (BBWR). The initials were identical to **Józef Piłsudski**’s authoritarian and corporatist-inclined movement of 1928; the latter’s movement called openly for collaboration with the government, while Wałęsa’s ostensibly aimed to mobilize support for the reform. The

BBWR only gained 16 seats and 5.41 percent of the vote in 1993. Wałęsa was left facing an overwhelming Polish **Peasant Party-Alliance of the Democratic Left** (PSL-SLD) majority. He cohabited somewhat better, however, with the first premier, **Waldemar Pawlak**, than with his successor **Józef Oleksy**.

Wałęsa had extremely low public opinion poll standings in 1994–1995 because of his cumulative gaffes and instability. It was widely accepted that he had little chance of reelection against **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**, the buoyant candidate of the left and center. It must, therefore, be reckoned a very considerable achievement that Wałęsa eventually beat off challenges by **Jacek Kuroń**, **Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz**, and Ombudsman Adam Zieliński to achieve second place in the November 1995 presidential election, with 33.11 percent to Kwaśniewski's 35.11 percent. He lost the run-off by 51.72 to 48.28 percent, but boycotted his successor's swearing-in. He also sabotaged Prime Minister Oleksy by having his nominee, as outgoing minister of the interior, accuse him of being a Russian spy. Although the scandal led to Oleksy's resignation, the charges were refuted. Wałęsa, despite setting up his own political formations, the Lech Wałęsa Institute and the Christian Democracy of the Third Republic/*Chrześcijańska Demokracja III RP*, of which he became chairman in September 1998, was soon marginalized politically. He was incorporated as a very minor element within **Marian Krzaklewski's Electoral Action Solidarity** (AWS). The final and complete decline in his political standing was confirmed in the October 2000 presidential election, when he only got a humiliating 1.1 percent of the vote. *See also* ANDRZEJ MILCZANOWSKI.

WAŃKOWICZ, MELCHIOR (1892–1974). A writer whose mastery of the art of picaresque rapportage gained him a wide readership, despite living outside Poland from 1939 to 1958.

“WAR AT THE TOP.” The colloquial term applied to the splitting up of the **Solidarity** conglomerate into camps in 1990 supporting the rival presidential ambitions of **Lech Wałęsa** and **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**.

WARSAW. Since 1611 Warsaw has been the capital of Poland. First settled in the late 10th century on its present situation by the River **Vistula**, Warsaw had 1,614,000 inhabitants in 2000, but the Greater Warsaw conurbation includes more than two and a half million. It is the seat of government as well as the headquarters of most of the country's political, cultural, and

religious bodies. Warsaw has the country's largest grouping of higher **education** and academic institutions, including its university, established in 1816. The city has 16 other higher educational institutions, notably the Polytechnic and the Polish Academy of Sciences, 20 theatrical playhouses, 4 puppet theaters, 2 opera houses, a philharmonic concert hall, and 44 museums (1991). In addition, Warsaw is a great **industrial**, particularly machine engineering, center that provides 60 percent of general employment. It also has substantial food processing, leather, chemical, printing, as well as many other types of enterprises.

During **World War II**, the Nazi **German** occupiers established numerous camps and prisons, for example on Szucha Way and the Pawiak, which held about 100,000 prisoners. About half a million people died in the **Jewish** ghetto or were transported to their deaths in **Nazi extermination camps**. The population of Warsaw also endured numerous executions and labor roundups during this time. It saw many armed actions carried out in retaliation by various Polish underground organizations, notably the **Home Army** (AK). The Jewish Ghetto Uprising burst out in April 1943, culminating in its total destruction. A year later the Warsaw Uprising saw the whole population of the city take to arms from 1 August to 2 October 1944. Getting no help from the Red Army, which paused in the Praga suburb on the Vistula's east bank, and isolated from the West, which could only attempt to parachute in some limited supplies at great cost to its aircrews, the insurgents were gradually hemmed in by the Germans and eventually forced to surrender. Controversy has raged over the London Government-in-Exile's "tempest" strategy, which attempted to liberate the capital city in order to face the advancing Soviets with a *fait accompli* that would strengthen its political position.

It has also been argued that, although the Poles appreciated the epic heroism of the uprising, they primarily heeded its disastrous costs and consequences. A whole generation of leaders, church and social as well as Communist, drew realistic conclusions by doing everything possible during the Communist period to achieve the compromises required to head off major uprisings with all their consequential loss of life. As it was, the result of military conflict and Nazi repression was that 800,000 inhabitants of Warsaw lost their lives during the war, and the bulk of the city's buildings (between 80 and 90 percent) were burned down and destroyed by the Germans.

The magnificent Old Town and Royal Castle complex as well as numerous churches and other **architectural** objects have, however, been largely rebuilt and restored to their original glory. Since World War II the

area of the city of Warsaw has been expanded dramatically through the building of numerous suburbs and housing developments. Its rebuilt character became that of an ultramodern city with a growing number of high buildings and arterial tramlines and road links. Construction of the metro started in the early 1980s but dragged on for financial reasons; only a north-south line from the Kabaty forest to the center was running by 2001, but it was slowly being extended northward toward Żolibórz.

Warsaw lost the status that it had enjoyed since 1974 as an individual city-province in the 1998 administrative reform, when it became part of Mazowieckie province. It had been divided into 11 communes in 1994 (Białołęka, Bemowo, Bielany, Rembertów, Targówek, Ursus, Ursynów, Warszawa-Centralna, Wawer, Wilanów, and Włochy). The largest, the Warsaw-Central commune (in turn made up of seven districts in which the Town-Center was crucial), played a key role in this increasingly fragmented and criticized arrangement as the 1990s wore on. Political paralysis and wheeler-dealing affected the capacity of mayors to act effectively; this led **Jerzy Buzek** to install a commissioner to run the Central Commune in May 2000. The city as a whole had **Paweł Piskorski** as its president, elected by an overall majority of councillors, from 1999 to 2001. The municipal reform enacted by **Leszek Miller**'s government provided for the direct election of the city president. A strongly contested election with **Andrzej Olechowski** as the most prominent candidate resulted in the surprisingly clear election of **Lech Kaczyński** in autumn 2002.

WAWEL. The historic Gothic-Renaissance castle complex standing on a hillside on the left bank of the River **Vistula** in **Kraków**. This, the seat of Polish kings until the end of the 16th century, contains many valuable collections and is particularly noted for its tapestries. The Gothic cathedral, built in its present form between 1320 and 1364, is contained within its grounds. Most of the kings of Poland, the country's greatest writers, like **Adam Mickiewicz** and **Juliusz Słowacki**, and notable historical figures are buried in it.

WESTERPLATTE. A peninsula on the Bay of **Gdańsk**, at the entrance to the port of that name. During the interwar period, it was used as a Polish Army base for the Free City of Danzig. Bombarded by the Germans on the outbreak of **World War II**, the small garrison, ably led by Major Henryk Sucharski, put up a brave defense from 1–7 September that inspired the whole country. A distinctive memorial statue was erected on

the site in 1966, and a famous film on the subject entitled simply *West-erplatte* was also made in the 1960s.

WIATR, JERZY JÓZEF (1931–). A well-known professor of political sociology and a consistent reform-Communist within the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) from 1957 onward, who played a notable reformist role in the 1980–1981 crisis. A **Sejm** deputy (1991–1997), he was a significant figure within the **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP) during the 1990s, especially in working out its programmatic evolution toward social democracy and its electoral strategy, as well as in animating the **Alliance of the Democratic Left** (SLD). Wiatr became minister of national education from 1996 to 1997 in **Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz's** government.

WIATR, SŁAWOMIR (1953–). Like his father, **Jerzy Józef Wiatr**, he is also an academic and politician. He played an important role during the demise of the **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) and on the executive committee of its **Social-democracy of the Polish Republic** (SdRP) successor, as a **Sejm** deputy from 1989 to 1991. He became the official press spokesman publicizing **European Union** (EU) entry in **Leszek Miller's** government. His **lustration** declaration, admitting collaboration with the Communist security services for national interest purposes, aroused controversy and provoked right-wing calls for his resignation.

WIEŁOPOLSKI, ALEKSANDER (1803–1877). Marquis and conservative politician in the **Russian Partition**. As government commissioner in 1862–1863, he attempted to prevent the outbreak of revolution by carrying out important reforms from above, notably in **education** and the abolition of serfdom. He remains a highly controversial figure as the embodiment of the realistic policy of achieving a compromise with Poland's Russian rulers in preference to the idealist insurrectionist tradition, which won out in 1863.

WIEŁOWIEJSKI, ANDRZEJ (1927–). A Social-Catholic publicist and politician, Wielowiejski was associated with the journal *Więź* (Link). He belonged to the Catholic Intellectuals Clubs (KIK), cooperated with the “**Experience and Future**” (DiP) inquiry, advised **Solidarity** and joined the **Primate's** Social Council during the 1980s, eventually playing an important role at the **Round Table**. Elected to the **Senate** in 1989, he became its vice-marshal.

WIENIAWSKI, HENRYK (1835–1880). Celebrated composer and one of the most outstanding 19th-century violinists. His brother Józef (1837–1912) and nephew Adam (1879–1950) were also notable musicians. A famous international violin competition was established in his name in 1935 and is now held every five years.

WILCZEK, MIECZYSLAW (1932–). Entrepreneur and politician. After an early career managing Communist enterprises, Wilczek went into private business in the 1970s and made his fortune largely in agricultural foodstuffs. His appointment as the last Communist minister of industry in **Mieczysław Rakowski's** government of 1988–1989 was both highly controversial and indicative of new trends.

WILECKI, TADEUSZ (1945–). A professional army officer, he completed his training at the **Poznań**, Polish General Staff and the Soviet General Staff military academies. He was an enthusiastic member of the **Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)** right up until its dissolution in January 1990. He benefited very strongly from the support of President **Lech Wałęsa** and played a very influential, and somewhat destabilizing, role in Polish political life as a powerful and autonomous chief of the general staff, from 1992 to March 1997.

Wilecki was dismissed by the new president, **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**. Control of the army passed more clearly to the civilian minister of defense, especially with the promulgation of the new 1997 **constitution**. Wilecki offered himself as a strong-man nationalist and Catholic-patriotic candidate in the 2000 presidential election but only gained 0.16 percent of the vote. He expressed admiration for Augusto Pinochet of Chile and posed as a savior of the nation against world capitalism and threats to Poland's cultural identity and sovereignty.

WILSON'S THIRTEENTH POINT. **United States** President Woodrow Wilson set out Fourteen Points in January 1918 as the basis for a peace settlement at the end of World War I. The Thirteenth Point laid down the requirement for an independent Poland, with secure access to the sea.

WITKIEWICZ, STANISŁAW IGNACY ("Witkacy" 1885–1939). As a painter, Witkiewicz developed his own highly specific theory of Expressionist "pure form," imbued by a sense of the fantastic and the surreal. Witkacy was the sole representative of the "Catastrophic" school, specializing in grotesque parodies in his dramas and writings.

WITOS, WINCENTY (1874–1945). Leading **Peasant Party** politician. He cofounded the Polish Peasant Party (PSL)-**Piast** and made it an important force in Austrian **Galicia** in the years before World War I. A **Sejm** deputy (1919–1933), he became prime minister in 1923 and 1926 and leader of the interwar Peasant Party. Witos formed the **Centrolew** against **Józef Piłsudski** in the late 1920s, for which he was imprisoned in the Brześć fortress in 1930, later being exiled to Czechoslovakia (1933–1939). He was imprisoned by the **Germans** at the beginning of **World War II**. He also refused to collaborate with the Communists at the war's end, although he supported **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**, who led the party on his behalf.

WŁADYSŁAW I LOKIETEK (“The Short,” ca. 1260–1333). Duke of Kujawy-Łęczyca, duke of **Greater Poland**, king of Poland from 1320 onward. Władysław struggled for the reunification of Poland as a coherent state organism after more than a century of feudal and regional disintegration. He succeeded on the two main counts of bringing together **Little Poland** and Greater Poland to add to Kujawy, which he inherited from his father, Kazimierz. His coronation took place in **Kraków**, which had great political and symbolic significance at a time of feudal disunity. He fought off the claims to the Polish throne of John of Luxemburg, the king of Bohemia. Despite winning his case against the **Teutonic Order** in the trial before the Papal Legate in Inowrocław in 1320–1321, he was unable to annex Pomerania to Poland. Thus began the long, drawn out wars with the knights, which did not go well for the Poles in Władysław's reign. His victory at Płowce in 1331 only postponed the loss of Kujawy for a year, and he also lost the Dobrzyń Lands. His son, **Kazimierz III** the Great, who succeeded him, completed his work by expanding eastward while holding the knights at bay.

WŁADYSŁAW II JAGIELLO (ca. 1351–1434). Grand Duke of **Lithuania** from 1377 to 1401 and king of Poland from 1386 to 1434 on the basis of the Agreement of Krewo. He established the rule of the **Jagiellonian dynasty** in Poland, which was to last until 1572. The idea of rapprochement with **Lithuania** was an old one in Poland; it went back to the last **Piast** rulers, **Władysław I** the Short, and his son **Kazimierz** the Great. The latter, who died childless, bequeathed the Kingdom of Poland to Louis the Hungarian of the **Anjou dynasty**. He did so in order to keep it out of **German** hands as well as those of Siemowit, the duke of **Mazowsze**. Louis, however, did not ensure a male succes-

sion, as he left only two daughters on his death. Maria was married to Sigismund (Zygmunt) of Luxemburg, and Jadwiga, the younger daughter, was engaged to Wilhelm of Austria. The great magnates of **Little Poland** refused to accept a Luxemburg, so Jadwiga (ca. 1371–1399), who was then about 12 years old and whose engagement to the Austrian was broken off, became Poland's only queen in her own right in 1383.

Lithuania was at this time expanding into the west of Muscovy, which was weakened by **Tatar** invasions. But Lithuania was not capable of dealing on its own with the attacks of the **Teutonic Order**, which presented a similar threat to Poland. Such mutual interests decided the election in 1386 of Grand Duke Jagiello to the Polish throne. He adopted the name Władysław, married Jadwiga, and had himself crowned as king of Poland. He accepted Christianity in the Latin rite. His promise that the whole of Lithuania would follow suit was fulfilled the following year. The personal character of the Polish-Lithuanian union strengthened the kingdom. It also removed the order's pretext for its attacks upon Lithuania, that they were missionary crusades designed to convert the native peoples to Christianity. Jagiello was to prove himself a great king and an invaluable gain for Poland. In the domestic field, he restored and rebuilt the **Kraków** Academy to which Queen Jadwiga bequeathed all her personal wealth. Its significance was enormous, as it stimulated the development of education and culture, which affected the chivalrous as well as the urban orders of society. Poland thus emerged as an important cultural force, and this facilitated the Polonization of its northeastern lands.

Władysław allowed his nephew Witold to rule and to keep the Grand Duchy of Lithuania contented. This was crucial when the war with the Teutonic (Order of) Knights burst out in 1409. The great victory of **Grunwald** on 15 July 1410 was due wholly to joint Polish-Lithuanian military collaboration and the quality of Władysław Jagiello's leadership. Although Poland gained benefits in **Gdańsk** and Zmudź was ceded to Lithuania, full advantage was not taken of the victory to destroy the order totally. The success of Grunwald, however, had a profound echo in Europe, as it raised Poland's international prestige enormously. From this time onward, Polish delegations participated in a wider range of meetings and councils. The duke of Słupsk hastened to ally himself with Poland, and the Bohemians attempted to persuade Władysław, and then his son Kazimierz, to accept their crown. But the Bohemian Hussites were already worrying the conservative Polish magnates. Led by the increasingly influential bishop of Kraków (later cardinal), **Zbigniew Oleśnicki**, who had saved Jagiello's life at Grunwald, the Jagiellonians failed to take up this offer.

Fearing separatist tendencies in Lithuania, Władysław Jagiełło had as early as 1413 pushed through the Union of Horodło, which was designed to strengthen Lithuania's links with Poland. This lay down that the grand duke of Lithuania would be elected with the participation of Polish magnates: matters of common concern for both states would be decided at joint conferences (to be held in **Lublin** and Parczewo). The union also established the office of provincial governor (**wojewoda**). As a sign of the desire for unity, 47 Polish **gentry** families integrated the colors of an equal number of Lithuanian gentry families into their coats of arms. On the domestic front, Jagiełło maintained tranquility by granting a wide range of privileges for the magnates and gentry; for example, none of the privileged orders could be imprisoned without a legal verdict. The estates were thus strengthened and the monarchical power was weakened. This process, continual foreign threats and the far-flung and diverse character of the Polish-Lithuanian **Commonwealth**, helps to explain why his successors were unable to establish the form of royal absolutism, which was to become the norm in Europe at that time.

Both Jagiełło's sons were underage at the time of his death, so Oleśnicki was appointed as regent when Władysław III (1424–1444) was crowned king in 1434. In 1440, the younger brother, Kazimierz, was elected as grand duke of Lithuania, thus breaking the Polish-Lithuanian Union. The same year Władysław III also became king of Hungary. This young and impressionable joint-king was persuaded in 1444 by Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate, to lead a crusade against the Turks; he perished at Varna in Bulgaria that same year. It took his younger brother, **Kazimierz IV the Jagiellonian**, three years before he could crown himself officially as king of Poland, thus renewing the Polish-Lithuanian Union in his person and eventually defeating the opposition of the magnates of Little Poland led by Zbigniew Oleśnicki.

WOJEWODA (PROVINCIAL GOVERNOR). An important regional post with origins that go back to the 11th century. In independent 20th-century Poland, the wojewoda has been the equivalent of the French prefect as the government representative and main state official in the provinces, appointed and dismissed by the prime minister.

WOJTYŁA, KAROL (1920–). Pope John Paul II since 1978. Appointed a bishop in 1958, he became archbishop of **Kraków** in 1963 and a cardinal in 1967. He played a key role in producing the values that united the secular and Catholic oppositions to communism in the 1970s, and

subsequently. The psychological impact of his election to the papacy stimulated the 1980–1981 events; his pilgrimages to Poland in 1979, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1997, and 1999 drew enormous audiences and made a huge, although diminishing, impact. On the other hand, his August 2002 visit to southern Poland drew vast crowds, especially in the Błonie fields in Kraków, as many believed that this would be the old and sick (he was suffering from Parkinson's disease) pontiff's last visit to his homeland. The 1979 pilgrimage was particularly effective in conveying his ethical values as a fundamental challenge to the Communist system, while his huge audiences produced a powerful sense of national solidarity, which encouraged collective action.

The Polish pope blended civic issues with religious rituals in a way that strengthened the Poles' fundamental orientation toward Western, not Soviet Eastern, cultural values. He was also very effective in fast-tracking the beatification and canonization of Polish saints. He used this religious process to preach his wider political points, as in the cases of Father Maksymilian Kolbe, who sacrificed his life at Auschwitz to save another inmate, and Brother Albert (**Adam Chmielowski**), who worked among the poor in Kraków before World War I, after having been deported to Siberia by the Russian authorities after the 1863 insurrection. The attempt on his life in 1981, by a Turkish terrorist, Ali Agca, allegedly working for the Bulgarian security services (as a proxy for the Soviet security services), also aroused great national emotion but had a dispiriting effect. John Paul's promotion of human rights assisted the collapse of communism, but his hard line on personal moral issues, such as abortion and divorce, brought him into conflict with the secular and progressive forces in Polish society after 1989.

Wojtyła is undoubtedly a most impressive figure, endowed with striking human, literary, and philosophical talents. His authoritarian running of the **Roman Catholic** Church, reversing the reform decisions of the Second Vatican Council, has, arguably, weakened its post-Communist world role and counterbalanced his contribution to smashing the Soviet Communist camp. The latter achievement, which involved moving the Roman Catholic Church in a more progressive direction on social and economic questions and a strong emphasis on the centrality of the person and human rights, is, however, unquestioned. A public opinion poll published in April 2000 produced an 81 percent response identifying him as the Pole who had had the greatest influence on the country's fate in the 20th century, well ahead of **Józef Piłsudski** and **Lech Wałęsa**, who received 58 percent support.

WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE/KOMITET OBRONY ROBOTNIKOW (KOR). This body was established in September 1976 to assist workers who were being persecuted by the authorities for their opposition, most notably in **Radom**, **Płock**, and **Ursus**, to the proposed price increases of the summer. Led by such figures as **Jacek Kuroń**, **Adam Michnik**, **Jerzy Andrzejewski**, Edward Lipiński, **Jan-Józef Lipski**, and Zbigniew Romaszewski, this body became the major inspiration in the campaign for civil and human rights during the last years of **Edward Gierek's** regime. It stimulated the growth of the underground press and of other opposition groups and built up support abroad. Its members, who were much harassed by the police, joined **Solidarity** when it emerged and worked within it. The committee was formally dissolved at its First Congress in September 1981.

WORLD WAR II. The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact of 23 August 1939, between the two dictators Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin, envisaged the "fourth partition" of Poland in its secret annex. It allowed **Germany** to attack Poland on 1 September, with a crushing superiority in armor and air power. Although the Poles fought valiantly against a numerically and technologically superior foe, they were defeated in just less than five weeks. The Soviet Union occupied the eastern part of the country from 17 September onward.

Part of German-occupied Poland was incorporated into the Reich, and the remainder was turned into a **General-Gouvernement**. Unlike their later occupation policies in Western Europe, the Nazis treated the Poles as *untermensch* (subhumans) from the outset. The Soviets formally incorporated the eastern territories into the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR) and deported huge numbers of the population, including most ethnic Poles, into the Soviet heartland. A Polish Government-in-Exile was formed in Paris, but after **France's** defeat, it moved to London. General **Władysław Sikorski** became its prime minister and commander in chief of the Free Polish Forces.

Following the German invasion of the USSR, Sikorski signed an agreement with the Soviets on 30 July 1941. But Stalin demonstrated his bad faith by breaking off relations with the London Poles after the Germans uncovered the 4,400 bodies of the Polish reserve officers from the Kozielsk camp, who had been murdered by the Soviet secret police (NKVD) in spring 1940, in the Katyń forest. Another 10,000 Poles, who had also been interned after the September 1939 campaign in camps at Ostaszkow and Starobielsk, also remained unaccounted

for, until the collapse of Soviet communism permitted fuller investigations. It was then confirmed that they had been massacred outside Kharkov and at Miednoje, near Tver, and another approximately 7,000 Poles had been murdered in prisons in West **Belarus** and West **Ukraine**. The Western Allies, desperate for Soviet military support, went along with Stalin's fiction that the Nazis had been responsible after invading in 1941. The issue was left open, however, at the Nuremberg Trials and was not included in the indictment of the leading Nazi war criminals.

The contribution of the Polish Forces in the West, led by General **Wladyslaw Anders**, who fought in the Middle Eastern and Italian campaigns, most notably at Tobruk and **Monte Cassino**, was correspondingly depreciated by the Allies. After Sikorski's death, off Gibraltar in July 1943, the London Poles became more divided and desperate.

The Red Army, after repelling the Germans at Stalingrad in 1942, effectively destroyed the heart of the Nazi war machine in the great tank battles of 1943, notably Kursk. On entering Poland in summer 1944, Soviet military and security forces started arresting Polish Resistance officers of the **Home Army** (AK). It also incorporated AK soldiers into the ranks of Polish ex-prisoners of war who had agreed to serve in the army, which it sponsored, led by General **Zygmunt Berling**, rather than be repatriated to the West through Persia in 1942. This explains why the London Poles ordered the AK to activate its "tempest" (Burza) strategy. This unleashed the **Warsaw Uprising** of August–September 1944, designed to liberate the capital before the arrival of Soviet forces. There is a debate about whether the latter had overextended their forces, but there is no doubt that Stalin would not have helped what he regarded as his reactionary and pro-Western Polish enemies, even if he could have. The Warsaw Uprising thus became yet another symbol of a heroic, if hopeless, insurrection, which led to the city's total destruction by the Germans and the deportation of the whole of its population. It is worth repeating that its memory had a profound effect in encouraging attitudes of political realism and compromise in postwar Polish politics; this affected Polish Communists as well as the Roman Catholic hierarchy and opposition circles.

The denouement was, perhaps, inevitable, given the nature of Stalin's system and the realities of end-of-war diplomacy between the Great Powers. The Soviet-sponsored Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN), established in **Chelm** in summer 1944, was transformed into a Provisional Government based on **Lublin** at the end of the year. Franklin

Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill agreed with Joseph Stalin at the **Yalta** Conference that the new Poland's eastern **frontier** should effectively be the **Curzon Line** with minor adjustments. Its *de facto* western frontier was to be along the **Oder Neisse** Rivers, its original **Piast** borders of a thousand years earlier. Vast population transfers were endorsed in principle. But Stalin failed to deliver the implied quid pro quo regarding Poland's domestic future. The enlargement of the Provisional Government with some London Poles, like the Peasant Party leader, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, failed to change its Communist-dominated character. More seriously, the promised "free elections" were never held. By the time a largely rigged election was held in 1947, the **Polish Workers' Party** (PPR) was well on the way to destroying opposition and establishing its monopoly of power.

The scale of destruction that devastated Poland during World War II was truly enormous. More than six million Poles, including about three million of its interwar **Jewish** community, lost their lives, many in **Nazi extermination camps**. The crippling physical and psychological effects on the survivors were evident until as late as the early 1970s. It is estimated that 38 percent of the country's economic resources had been destroyed. Whole cities, such as Warsaw and **Wrocław**, had been largely reduced to rubble, and others, such as **Gdańsk**, **Szczecin**, and **Poznań**, had been more damaged than not. Much of the political and cultural elite had been killed, and a significant percentage chose to remain in Western emigration, while the remainder was much radicalized, and often brutalized, by the experience of war. The currently popular argument that Soviet Communist rule was imposed upon Poland from outside is basically true. But a much delayed socioeconomic revolution was probably inevitable postwar. It was only tragic that the postwar division of Europe and the Cold War meant that it should come from the hostile east under Bolshevik Russian auspices and not from the democratic West. Nevertheless, the reconstruction policies of 1945–1948 as well as the social, educational, and health reforms were nationally supported, even though they were used, cynically, by the Communists in their drive to power. *See also* SEPTEMBER CAMPAIGN.

WROCLAW (Breslau in German). The city, which is situated on the River Oder, is the regional capital of Lower Silesia. It is a large industrial and electrical machinery, communications, cultural, and academic center, with its own university. Wrocław, which was 70 percent destroyed dur-

ing **World War II**, has been rebuilt and has grown dramatically (636,800 inhabitants in 1999). Under Polish control until 1526, it fell into Habsburg and then Prussian/German (1741) hands before being returned to Poland as part of the recovered territories, when the German inhabitants were expelled by the Red Army. Since then it has flourished as an entirely Polish city, becoming a particularly strong **Solidarity** and opposition stronghold during the 1980s.

WYBICKI, JÓZEF (1747–1822). A major figure in the reform camp and the Commission of National Education, Wybicki took part in the 1794 revolution and in organizing the **legions** in Italy. He is now best remembered as the author of **Dąbrowski's Mazurka**, the Polish **national anthem**.

WYSPIAŃSKI, STANISŁAW (1869–1907). A poet, painter, and dramatist, Wyspiański's work had a great influence in pioneering modern forms in the Polish theater. His historical dramas, such as *November Night* and *Bolesław the Brave*, as well as his lyrical plays polemicizing the Polish politics and culture of his time, such as the *Wedding* and *Liberation*, are national classics.

WYSZYŃSKI, STEFAN (1901–1981). Before **World War II**, Wyszyński was a worker-priest with social-catholic inclinations, and during the war, he was a **Home Army** chaplain. Appointed a bishop in 1946, he became archbishop of Gniezno and **Warsaw**, and hence **primate** of Poland, in 1948. Made a cardinal in 1953, he was interned by the Stalinist authorities until 1956, when he supported **Władysław Gomułka** as a lesser national Communist evil. Wyszyński developed the policy of coexistence with the Communist state during a quarter of a century. This did not rule out serious conflicts over such issues as his appeal for mutual national forgiveness to the German bishops in 1965 and over the millennium celebrations in 1966. But the detente policy worked in the **Roman Catholic Church's** favor, allowing it to increase its moral influence and social prestige as an independent national force. It became an important mediator in the conflict between **Solidarity** and the Communist state in 1980–1981. Both Wyszyński and his successor, **Józef Glemp**, were, however, criticized for sternly advising against national insurrection, with its likelihood of great bloodshed in 1956, 1980, and December 1981, and for their realistic deals with reformist Communists.

– Y –

YALTA AGREEMENT. The conference of Allied leaders, held at Yalta in the Crimea, from 4 to 11 February 1945, confirmed the arrangements for the final stages of the war against **Germany** and Japan. As far as Poland was concerned, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, and Winston Churchill agreed that the **Curzon Line** was to be its eastern **frontier**, thus legitimizing the Soviet annexation of its eastern territories, while its western frontier would be on the **Oder-Neisse**. It was also agreed that the Communist-dominated Provisional (or **Lublin**) Government would be widened by the inclusion of such London Poles as **Stanisław Mikołajczyk**. But the Western demand for the holding of free elections was postponed until 1989–1991, as the 1947 elections were controlled by the Communists as part of their drive toward achieving their monopoly of power in Poland.

Yalta has, therefore, been regarded by some as an actual Western sell-out, especially by U.S. President Roosevelt, of Polish independence and frontiers to the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)**, in the forlorn hope that this would gain Stalin's trust and cooperation. This also involved going along with Stalin's lie that the Nazis, not the Soviet Union, were responsible for the 1940 massacre of Polish prisoners of war. The majority view is that this was an inevitable consequence of Red Army occupation of Eastern Europe and of Stalin's desire to incorporate the region in an extended Soviet ideological and military bloc that quickly led on to the division of Europe and the Cold War. *See also* WORLD WAR II.

– Z –

ZAMBROWSKI, ROMAN (1909–1977). Communist politician. He held prominent offices in the **Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)** as a Politburo member and Central Committee secretary in both the Stalinist and early **Gomułka** periods, up until 1963. Expelled from the party during the “**March Events**” of 1968, he was an interesting example of an erstwhile Stalinist adopting reformist colors after his loss of power.

ZAMENHOF, LUDWIK (1859–1917). A distinguished doctor and linguistic expert, especially on artificial languages and their grammar. He

became world famous for creating Esperanto and for attempting to have it adopted as a world language. His influence partly explains why that language has been so strong and why there have, in the past, been numerous clubs popularizing its use in Poland.

ZAMOŚĆ. “The Pearl of the Polish Renaissance” had 67,500 inhabitants in 1997 and is particularly celebrated for its **architecture**, although it has some food and wood industries. The town was planned by the Italian architect Bernardo Morando (about 1540–1600), who entered the service of Count Jan **Zamoyski**, its proprietor, in 1570. Morando built the town in the Renaissance style and laid it out on an axis basis. His cohesive complex included a palace, fortifications with gates, collegiate churches, tenement houses, and an impressive town square. Zamoyski was also a major patron of the other **arts**, and he established the Zamoyski Academy with its printing press in 1595.

The town developed a strong anti-Russian Czarist and Independence tradition, as demonstrated by workers’ and school strikes during the 1905–1907 Revolt. During **World War II** occupation, the Gestapo killed about 8,000 people in its headquarters in the Rotunda. Another 20,000 prisoners perished in the three Stalag 325 camps nearby.

ZAMOŚĆ LANDS. “Zamojszczyzna” includes the **Zamoś ć**, Biłgoraj, Tomaszów, and Hrubieszów territories. The region saw some of the most large-scale **German** actions during **World War II**, directed at the ethnic cleansing of the Polish population. From 1942 onward, the Nazis resettled 110,000 out of a population of 297,000, including 30,000 children, fewer than 5,000 of whom survived. The **Home Army** (AK) and Peasant Battalions were particularly active in this region in response.

ZAMOYSKI FAMILY. One of Poland’s most distinguished families, whose scions have been prominent in the country’s history. Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605), a prominent adviser to King **Stefan Batory**, was the royal chancellor from 1578, and **hetman** from 1581 onward, leading the **gentry** against the Habsburgs. He recaptured the **Inflanty** and reestablished Polish suzerainty over Moldavia and Wallachia. He is also remembered for establishing the town of **Zamoś ć**, with its historical **architecture** and famous Academy in Eastern Poland. Among other influential members of the family subsequently have been Count Władysław (1803–1868), who played an important role in the 1831 Uprising and in the **Hotel Lambert** in the **Great Emigration**. His son, also

Count Władysław (1853–1924), was a prominent social activist in **Greater Poland**. Count Maurycy (1871–1939) was very active in the diplomacy of regaining Poland's independence, later becoming foreign minister in 1924. He was also a leading **National Democratic** politician. Count Jan (1912–2002) had a distinguished military career during **World War II**. He was involved in restoring Zamość during the Communist period, becoming its provincial governor (**wojewoda**) after 1989. True to another family tradition, he also became the chairman of the **National Democratic Party**, which he helped to reestablish in 1991.

ZANUSSI, KRZYSZTOF (1939–). A celebrated film and theater director, whose highly intellectual and subtle work is often considered difficult. Appropriately, he started out by studying physics at **Warsaw** University and philosophy at the Jagiellonian University, **Kraków**. His best-known films include *Chryształ Structure* (1969), *Illumination* (1972), *The Constant Factor* (1980), *At Full Gallop* (1995), and, most recently, *Life as a Fatal Sexually Transmitted Disease* (2000). They have won Zanussi prizes at the Venice, Cannes, and Tokyo film festivals, but he remains a highly refined intellectual taste.

ZAWADZKI, ALEKSANDER (1899–1964). A leading political commissar in the Polish so-called **Berling** Army, organized by Stalin in the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR), he became a prominent figure in the first half of postwar Communist rule in Poland. He held numerous party and state offices, most notably as chairman of the Council of State, from 1952 to 1964.

ZAWIEYSKI, JERZY (1902–1969). Zawieyski was a notable writer and nonparty Catholic politician during the Communist period. Associated with *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly) and the Catholic Intellectuals Clubs, he was a **Znak Sejm** deputy from 1957 to 1969, during which time he was also a member of the Council of State. Zawieyski was **Tadeusz Mazowiecki's** mentor and, along with Stanisław Stomma, the most influential member of the Znak circle.

ZAWIŚLAK, ANDRZEJ (1937–). Economist and politician. After a successful academic career and activism within the “**Experience and Future**” (DiP) group and **Solidarity**, Zawiślak became a **Civic Committee** (KO) **Sejm** deputy in 1989, later joining the **Liberal-Democratic Congress** (KL-D). As minister of industry in **Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's** gov-

ernment, he played an influential role in post-Communist economic restructuring.

ŻEROMSKI, STEFAN (1864–1925). One of Poland's greatest writers. Żeromski was imbued with a strong patriotic and social-moral streak, but also wrote on historical and psychological-personality subjects. Although Żeromski was writing toward the end of the Positivist period, he was a typical representative of Neo-Romanticism, or more specifically, the "Young Poland" school. Żeromski enriched contemporary Realism with a naturalistic observation of life and with symbolic images. In his novels and stories he depicted life in an exceptionally suggestive way; he also presented solitary heroes of the intelligentsia and socially committed type who were self-sacrificing idealists, moved by feelings of social responsibility and by the wrongs and sufferings of others.

His writings include: *Ludzie bezdomni* (The Homeless), *Szyfowe Prace* (The Labor of Sisyphus), *Dr. Piotr* (Dr. Peter), *Przedwiośnie* (Before the Spring), *Wiatr od morza* (The Wind from the Sea), and such masterpieces as the great historical epic on Napoleonic times, *Popioły* (Ashes), which **Andrzej Wajda** turned into a well-known film.

ZIELONA GÓRA. Located in Western Poland close to the River Oder and the German **frontier**, the town had 118,800 inhabitants in 1999. It produces woolens, railway wagons, textile equipment, furniture, wine, and vodka. Wine production is possible because of a highly favorable microclimate in its region. Zielona Góra is a provincial capital, with its own cultural facilities and a Higher School for Engineering.

Historically Zielona Góra was a Slav settlement, belonging to the duchy of Żagań-Głogów up until the second half of the 13th century. Annexed by Prussia in 1742, its Polish tradition survived the heavy Germanization of the local population and reemerged in 1923 in the League of Poles in **Germany**. The region returned to Poland in 1945. Its German population fled to Germany and was replaced with Poles, many of them coming from the eastern territories annexed by the **Union of Soviet Socialist Republics** (USSR).

ZIÓŁKOWSKI, JANUSZ (1924–). A sociology Professor at **Poznań** University and rector in 1981, Ziółkowski was dismissed for supporting **Solidarity**. A member of the **Civic Committee**, he participated in the **Round Table** and was elected a Solidarity senator in 1989. Ziółkowski

had, earlier in his career, edited the Poznań-based, international affairs journal, *Western Affairs*; he became an influential secretary of state for international affairs in **Lech Wałęsa**'s presidential chancellery in 1991.

ZNAK (The Sign). An autonomous group of progressive Catholics, which was licensed by the Communist authorities from 1957 to 1976. These social-catholic intellectuals and free professionals were associated with such publications as *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly), *Znak* (The Sign) and *Więź* (The Link) and with Catholic Intellectuals Clubs (KiKs). They were also granted a circle of about three to five deputies in the **Sejm**, which was the nearest thing to a recognized opposition in any Communist parliament in the 1960s. In 1968, for example, they openly criticized the “**March Events**” in an interpellation (parliamentary question) to the prime minister. This circle was quite distinct from the fellow traveling **PAX** or the Christian Social Union, which criticized the Catholic hierarchy. Although split by **Edward Gierek** in 1976, the movement provided many activists later both for **Solidarity** and post-Communist parties and governments, while *Więź* remained highly influential in the 1990s. *See also* ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

ŻÓŁKIEWSKI, STANISŁAW. *See* HETMAN.

ŻÓŁKIEWSKI, STEFAN (1901–1991). Writer and literary critic. Żółkiewski was a very representative figure among the progressive Communist intelligentsia. He was a literary and academic figure, as editor variously of *Kuźnica*, *Polityka*, and *Nowa Kultura* and a **Warsaw** University and Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) professor. But he was also a **Polish United Workers' Party** (PZPR) cultural functionary as well as minister of higher education and **Sejm** deputy. As a leading light of the Polish “**October**,” he was finally purged in 1968, although he continued as a critical oppositionist subsequently.

ŻWIRKO (FRANCISZEK) and WIGURA (STANISŁAW). Celebrated interwar aviators who won the prestigious Wheeler-Bennett Challenge Trophy in 1932. They perished in an aircraft accident that same year.

ZYCH, JÓZEF (1938–). Lawyer and **Peasant Party** politician. Elected to the **Sejm** in 1989, he became a leader of the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth (PSL-Odrodzenie) faction, which developed out of the old United Peas-

ant Party (ZSL) of the Communist period in 1990. It subsequently joined the reunited PSL, and Zych was its deputy chairman for the early-to-mid-1990s. A Sejm deputy from 1989 onward, Zych became vice-**marshal** in 1991 and achieved his ardent ambition of becoming Sejm marshal, from 1995 to 1997.

ŻYCIŃSKI, JÓZEF (1948–). Roman Catholic cleric and theologian. A professor at the Papal Theological Academy in **Kraków**, he became bishop of Tarnów in 1990. He has, since 1997, been the archbishop of **Lublin** and is the grand chancellor of the Catholic University of Lublin (KUL). A prominent writer, he has contributed regularly to major Catholic journals, such as *Więź* (Links) and *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly). Życiński is one of the most prominent clerical advocates of Poland's participation in a social-Catholic Europe.

ZYGMUNT I STARY ("The Old," 1467–1548). King of Poland and grand duke of **Lithuania**, from 1506 to 1548. His second wife, Bona Sforza of Aragon (1494–1557), played an influential role in the politics of the time, supporting Zygmunt's efforts to establish an absolutist monarchy. This attempt to limit **gentry** privileges and the growing power of the **Sejm** and **Senate** led to the formulation of the program of the "Execution of the Laws" by the medium gentry from 1525 onward. Demands arose for the redistribution of lands held by the church and the great, especially court, magnates. A premonition of future developments in Poland's history was that the first **rokosz** occurred in 1537, although the revolt was resolved by a compromise. Zygmunt was, however, blessed with a series of short-term foreign policy successes. In 1515 he established an alliance with the Habsburgs. This eventually ceded them the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary. But it allowed Zygmunt to force the **Teutonic** Knights into establishing a secular state in Prussia for which they paid the **Prussian Homage** to the Polish crown in 1525. The following year, when the local dynasty died out, he incorporated **Ma-zowsze** into Poland.

Despite the growing political and social conflicts of his time, Zygmunt's reign was the Golden Age of Renaissance arts and culture in Poland. This continued during the reign of his son Zygmunt II Augustus (1548–1572). Queen Bona had insisted on having the latter crowned in 1530 during the lifetime of his father, in order to ensure his succession. She continued to influence Polish politics until 1556 when her son finally forced her to return to Italy.

ŻYMIERSKI, MICHAŁ ("Rola," 1890–1989). **Marshal.** Żymierski, a career officer cashiered by **Józef Piłsudski**, commanded the People's Army (AL) on the Eastern front in 1944–1945, when he was made a marshal. He was never really trusted by the Communists, who subsequently marginalized him. Because of his longevity, **Edward Gierek** and **Wojciech Jaruzelski** later used him for symbolic and ceremonial purposes.

Select Bibliography

INTRODUCTION

There is an enormous literature in English on Poland, so the bibliography has had to be highly selective. The emphasis has been placed on the most recent books on Poland's history as well as on its development since World War II. The sections on culture, geography, and socioeconomic aspects and the like have largely been designed to provide indicators for further reading as well as to convey some of the flavor of the subject. Unlike the dictionaries on some African and Asian countries, this volume, on an advanced European nation and civilization with an extremely rich and diverse historical experience as well as a turbulent present, has had to be somewhat more limited in the scope of its coverage. It is designed, however, to provide a guide as to how the reader should dig deeper into the crucial historical and political aspects.

The most useful general bibliographies, listed in the general reference section, include the following. August Kanka, *Poland. An Annotated Bibliography of Books in English*, provides a large number of titles, but its coverage is thinly spread throughout the 20th century and even earlier. The volumes on Poland by Richard Lewanski, George Sanford, and Adriana Gozdecka-Sanford, in the *Clio World Bibliographical* series, are more up to date and provide authoritative comment in their annotations. The latter focuses much more on contemporary publications during the 1980s, and the former can be supplemented by the more strictly academic historical and political works listed in Norman Davies's much older *Poland, Past and Present*. Apart from the foregoing, the bibliographies by Stephan Horak, Paul Horecky, Janina Hoskins, and Janina Zabielska-Zdzisław Jagodziński, as well as the more specialized bibliographies listed, are indispensable guides to the enormous literature.

Paradoxically, despite a spate of publications occasioned by the worldwide interest in Polish events during the 1980s, the general introductory overviews

on Poland aimed at a popular readership have not proved entirely satisfactory for a variety of reasons. Adam Zamoyski's *Polish Way* is a comprehensive and detailed overview. Works by Neil Ascherson, Clifford Barnett, and Harold Nelson remain worthy but are now extremely dated. Historical dictionaries by George Lerski and Piotr Wróbel have appeared since the publication of this volume's first edition. Apart from these, most of the recent publications in this genre are, at best, slightly superior travel guides. Aspects of the Polish spirit and the country's civilization are, however, conveyed by older and venerable classic histories by Roman Dyboski and Oskar Halecki, as well as the explanatory interpretations of William Rose and Paul Super.

There are also a number of popular works of indifferent quality that fill some aspects of the gap left by the absence of a satisfactory up-to-date general overview, notably Iwo Pogonowski's historical atlas, Stanley Sokol's biographical dictionary, and Arnold Madison's *Polish Greats*. One, therefore, concludes that some of the best general introductions are the translations of Polish works, most notably Bolesław Klimaszewski and Bogdan Suchodolski on Polish culture, Julian Krzyżanowski on Polish literature, and the general *History of Poland* by Aleksander Gieysztor and his team. Norman Davies's much-praised histories of Poland also make deep historical knowledge and insight available in a witty way to a wide readership. Since the first edition, general histories by Mieczysław Biskupski, Jerzy Lukowski, and Wacław Zawadzki and Peter Stachura have been published. Robert Leslie's edited history, on the other hand, focuses in greater depth on the period since 1863. William Fiddian Rees's Cambridge History, published just after World War II, has, symptomatically, not been replaced by a modern edition.

The reader will, therefore, appreciate the difficulties involved in producing a satisfactory across-the-board synthesis on a modern and extremely complicated country like Poland. The following bibliography, although far from comprehensive, and excluding many items published in the first edition, which the reader may refer back to, indicates the extremely wide range of writings on all aspects of Poland's varied experiences and civilization. The author also hopes that the subjects covered in this dictionary will encourage the desire for wider reading of the literature covered in the bibliography.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

IfiS	Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii/Institute of Philosophy and Sociology
ISP	Instytut Studiów Politycznych/Institute of Political Studies

KAW	Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza/National Publishing Agency
PAN	Polska Akademia Nauk/ Polish Academy of Sciences
PPWK	Polskie Przedsiębiorstwo Wydawnictw Kartograficznych/ Polish Cartographic Publishing House
PWE	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne/State Economic Publishing House
PWM	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Muzyczne/State Musical Publish- ing House
PWN	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe/State Publishing House
PWRiL	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Rolnicze i Leśne/State Agricul- tural and Forestry Publishing House
UAM	Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza/Adam Mickiewicz Univer- sity, Poznań
UJ	Uniwersytet Jagielloński/Jagiellonian University, Kraków
UMC-S	Uniwersytet Marie Curie-Skłodowskiej/Marie Curie- Skłodowska University, Lublin
UMK	Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika/ Nicholas Copernicus Uni- versity, Toruń
UN	United Nations
UP	University Press
UW	Uniwersytet Warszawski/Warsaw University
WUWR	Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego/University of Wrocław Press

The reader is advised to refer back to the list of abbreviations and acronyms at the front of the book. One should also note that English language publishers rarely include Polish diacritic marks in their book titles, so discrepancies between English and Polish forms often occur in the bibliography.

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