

tached to all the other ones. After all, everything is so transitory...

On the 27th of December, I was informed that my first public appearance was to take place in the Congress, where I was to testify before the Commission for Security and European Cooperation, whose role is to supervise the realization of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

This changed my plans. I sat down and wrote the text of my declaration on the hotel's note paper pad. In all, there were 22 pages, each of them half the size of normal typewriter paper. I decided not to read my open letter to Jaruzelski, which I have already mentioned. It was too emotional and was not suitable for this occasion. The Congress conducts hearings and it wants to find out the truth - in this case it wanted to know the truth about the introduction of 'martial law' in Poland. The 'letter' was convenient for a press conference but not for congressional hearings.

I think it worth making a digression here.. For years, I had some sort of prophetic vision of my testimony before the Congress of the U.S.A. This vision strangely haunted me. I have always seen myself in the role of witness, even at time when the idea of political asylum in the U.S. didn't even occur to me!

And now, my vision was to become reality! Shall this be the fate of my other visions?

Another problem also deserves a digression. I was astonished that nobody suggested beforehand what I should say or write. I was not even asked about the contents of my statement. It was possible for me to say whatever I wished and this was to be broadcast into the world. After all, I could have been a provocator!

How miserable were my numerous appearances in the Polish TV and Radio. Everything was always stage-managed and never live, but always replayed. This time, everything was live and the subject of my statements was far more important than ^{all} the ones I have ever made during my whole previous career. This is what true democracy and truth is about. Theoretically, I knew all this but now I experienced it in practice. The U.S. and the whole Free World risked a lot when putting me 'live' in front of the cameras and microphones. Some time later, when the U.S. public opinion was passionate about El Salvador, I saw how a Nicaraguan guerilla sent to Salvador and previously announced by the State Department, appeared at a press conference. He was to be the crucial witness of the interference of Nicaragua in the internal affairs of Salvador. He was said to have deserted the Salvadoran guerilla movement and to have run away to the Mexican Embassy where, as they said, he revealed information about the Nicaraguan interference with

Salvadoran affairs. He was brought to the U.S. with much publicity. And here, during the press conference, he stated that all this was not true... that yes, he was a Nicaraguan, but that he was arrested by Salvadoran authorities, tortured and threatened with death. So, as he said, he agreed to play the prepared role in order to save his life. There was a whole lot of consternation at the conference. The ''guerilla'' was quickly brought back to Nicaragua, where he was greeted as a national hero...

The whole affair was probably more complicated, but it was broadcast throughout the world as described and did much harm to the American claim that Nicaragua and Cuba intervene in Salvador.

I could have also said whatever I wished! I could have insulted the U.S. and praised Jaruzelski, Moscow and Communism. I could have abused Solidarność and Lech Wałęsa. After all, I did meet him personally, and this could have given me the occasion of telling whatever I wanted to. And then, I could have asked to be brought back to the Embassy of the PPR from where I would have returned back to Poland...

And probably nobody would have prevented me from doing so. Back in Poland I would be probably thought of as mentally ill, or even worse, but from the propaganda's viewpoint, the whole incident would have been put to the benefit of the junta - to the detriment of democracy and liberty.

I could have added even such a farse to the Polish tragedy making it into a tragicomedy. After all, the world was astonished by my decision to seek political asylum in the States. I had an occasion then, of rendering this astonishment even greater.

And the Poles would have then accounted to be not only the servants of Moscow, something the deed of Jaruzelski and his generals unequivocally suggested, not only incorrigible romantics of the cast of Lech Wałęsa and Solidarity in general, not only advocates of conciliation such as Primate Józef Glemp, but they would also be accounted to ^{be} fools, dangerous provocators!

Fortunately, this did not happen... The second day after my appearance in Congress, President Reagan announced the economic sanctions against the USSR and the PPR. Maybe they were not what they should have been, but they still did exist and still do. Anyway, they were the first in the world and almost the only ones.

Could ~~he~~ summon up enough courage if I were a provocator? The press and the other mass media in the U.S. would have made mincemeat out of such an Administration!

Yet, it is known that nothing of the sort occurred. On the contrary, I

have played a modest role in the struggle for the good name of the Poles.

My testimony in Congress was scheduled for 10 a.m. on Monday, December 28, 1981. That day was a beautiful and sunny morning. Under heavy escort we were all driven to the Capitol Hill. We hardly had the time to get a glance of the city we knew so well, for we drove through it rather rapidly. We descended directly into the garage of the Rayburn Building. There were many policemen around. Accompanied only by the security men, we took an elevator which brought us to one of the higher floors. We entered a room where I was greeted by Senator Bob Dole who was head of that day's hearings. In a moment, the security even tighter around us, we entered the hearings room flooded with blinding light. One could hear the cameras clicking. There were numerous television cameras from different broadcasting companies, many photographers and lots of people...

I was very moved as I began to read. At first it was even too fast. Members of the U.S. Congress and of the Administration, journalists from all around the world, simple people and God knows who were all listening to me. Niunia and Ewa were sitting behind me. One of the members of the Commission, Congressman Ritter, lit a candle in a 19th century Polish candlestick brought to the U.S. by a Polish emigrant. The candle was to burn during the whole hearing...

At first, I described how it came to the proclamation of 'martial law' in Poland. I highly suspected, and I still do, the USSR of pushing the Polish regime towards such a solution. I also defended Solidarność against the accusations of radicalism. I said its fate was sealed from the very beginning, that it was intentionally discredited only to make its destruction easier. I have likewise refuted the charges according to which Solidarność has let itself be caught by surprise by the 'martial law'. How could have Solidarność afforded to have any underground activities, when its strength lay in overt and sincere action? I referred to the Pydgoszcz provocation and to the cable from Warsaw which I received in Tokyo at the end of March 1981. This cable already announced the possibility of declaring the 'state of war' in Poland in case the threat of a general strike was carried out. I called Jaruzelski a traitor who's victims shall never be forgotten by the Nation.

His sacred duty, I said, was to defend his Homeland. The Nation would have then forgiven him any victims. But never will it forget the miners he had killed.

To conclude I declared that the Polish Nation has permanently been in a state of war since the First of September 1939 and that this Nation of

36 million people has at last the right to be free. A handful of traitors will never be able to flee the punishing hand of Justice...

' ' Don't give a single penny to Jaruzelski's junta!' '- I appealed dramatically.

My speech made a big impression. The press of the whole Free World took over its main ideas and the Polish ''Związkowiec'' from Chicago published the entire text together with my picture.

After this speech I answered numerous questions of the members of the Commission. I stated that Communism is in a state of agony. I also pronounced myself against any technical and credit assistance for the construction of the Siberian gas pipeline. Once all the questions answered, I expressed my thanks to the U.S. for granting me and my family political asylum.

' ' Where would people like us find a haven if Free America did not exist? By choosing freedom we were saving our souls...' - I concluded my testimony.

I returned to sit down with Niunia and Ewa. People were congratulating me. Some hours later we could see ourselves on the TV screen. That is history already...

Somebody sitting behind me congratulated me in Polish. He introduced himself - ''I'm Jan Nowak.''

Of course! I knew who he was! I listened to his programs on Radio Free Europe. I read excerpts from his book ''The Courier From Warsaw'' which was illegally printed in Poland. Some time later, Mr. Nowak presented me with its dedicated copy printed in Polish by the ''Odnowa'' publishers in London.

Afterwards, Ambassador Kampelman, Chief of the American Delegation to the Madrid Conference also congratulated me. His declaration made just after mine, was a very strong and excellent one. And then, the Polish poet Mr. Barańczak, the representative of Solidarność, testified.

We left the room. The members of the Committee bid us good-bye.

Following my declaration at the Congress, an avalanche of television and radio interviews went loose. Sometimes, there would be about ten of them per day. One day, Mr. Nowak interviewed me on Radio Free Europe. It was to be broadcast to Poland. I have read, to the microphone, the text of my Congress declaration which I have previously translated... into Polish. Many months later, in Raleigh, N.C., where I attended a meeting with the Polish-Americans and the Poles, on September 11, 1982, a young couple who arrived from Poland two months earlier, came over to me.. With much emotion they told me how they have, for 3 times, listened to me over the ether on gloomy evenings in Poland. They told me that this set them on their feet, that people around repeated this and that they did not feel abandoned. They

believed that back there, in Free and Great America, somebody is fighting for the Polish cause...

I have also appeared many times on the programs of the Voice of America even in Russian and French. My then future son-in-law even heard me in his country, Belgium...

I was told that underground bulletins of Solidarność were quoting passages from my testimony in Congress, particularly emphasizing the so-called rice affair, to which I shall return later.

I was very moved when some time later I received from Poland a magnetic tape with the statement of a Cracow Solidarność member who was then / and maybe still is/ in hiding. He said he believed that I shall take care of the Polish cause in the United States...

I have given multiple interviews to the British Radio and Television as well as to the Japanese and Mexican televisions. The latter even transmitted the program to the whole of Latin America. The Canadian Radio and Television also invited me several times. I have also participated in the widely and unjustly criticized program "Let Poland be Poland". By oversight, I unfortunately missed to see the whole of it.

I made an appearance at the Press Club in Washington, D.C. The journalists were numerous, many questions were asked and the press commentaries were good. I wrote many memorandums and the Harvard International Review printed my article.

I met distinguished Americans of Polish extraction, such as Dr. Zbigniew Brzeziński, Prof. Richard Pipes and General E. Rowny. I also became acquainted with the very polonized Former U.S. Ambassador to Poland, Mr. Richard Davies. It was together with him that I appeared in Washington, D.C. at the National Theater at a meeting dedicated to Poland.

I was also meeting with other more or less important people and had televised discussions with different members of the Senate and the House of Representatives

Everywhere and to everybody, I repeated that the Polish Nation shall never give in. That what has taken place now is only the first round of a long battle. He laughs best who laughs last!

Everywhere, I have demanded that no technological and credit assistance be given to Jaruzelski's junta and the USSR. On the other hand, I encouraged all aid to the Polish population, but only aid passing through private channels, the Church being the best, for it has control over the distribution. I also demanded and still do further economic sanctions against the USSR, the main perpetrator of Poland's tragedy. This means embargo on the grain,, no further credits and drastic limitations of the technology

transfers.

I continuously repeated that the Communist system is agonizing and that this should not be prolonged by the Free World!

Such declarations find receptive public in the U.S. Contrary to the predictions I do not have the impression that the interest that I have created is dying out. On the contrary, it is still lasting. Many things change and still do in the U.S. The period of the naive belief in the 'good intentions' of the USSR seem~~d~~ to be over.

At the beginning of February we were, all the three of us, invited to Maui, Hawaii, for the Annual Convention of the Young President's Organization. On February 5 we flew there from Washington, D.C. for a stay of 8 days.

How beautiful a place Maui is! We were also charmed by the Hyatt Regency Hotel where the Convention took place. Various world celebrities from the field of science, politics, economy and the military composed the faculty of the Convention. Lectures were to be held by people such as Professor ~~F~~ Teller, the co-father of the American atomic and hydrogen bombs; General David Jones, then still Chief of Joint Staffs of the American Armed Forces; Special Envoy of the U.S., Ambassador ~~P~~ Habib; William Webster, Chief of the FBI; Former U.S. Ambassadors Robert Strauss and Laurence Silberman and many many others - myself among them.

The opening ceremony was very pompous. There was a band playing the National Anthem, banners, guards... There were some 1.200 people in the room. My name was read out as I was to take place in the Faculty. I was very moved when I received a standing ovation from all those who were gathered there. And when three days later, Ambassador Philip Habib presented me to listeners whom I was to address, I was highly astonished when I saw that the room was nearly as full as the day of the opening. And this in spite of the fact that it was 8a.m.

I talked about Poland, the world's affairs and myself. The applause after my speech was long and uproarious. Later, I participated in panel discussions where I was also very much applauded...

It was during this Convention that I had the opportunity of meeting the Former Presidents of the U.S. Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. I had a short but very pleasant chat with the former.

We met everywhere with kindness and understanding. We took this for signs of sympathy for our Homeland. We were so happy to be able to behave as true and free Poles!

It was also in Maui that we met the very sympathetic couple of Earnie and Ludovica Chapman from Texas. Earnie is a native of that state, whereas Ludovica is Italian. They have, from the very beginning, got into contact

with us and we became very fond of them. Later, in June, Niunia and I flew to Fort Worth where we were invited by the Chapmans. From there, we took a private plane to their summer residence in Red River in New Mexico. We were spellbound with the landscape there. In Fort Worth, Bernie and Ludovica honoured us with a dinner worthy of a king. More than 100 persons were present. I addressed the guests with a speech. I have also given TV interviews to the local TV. And as far as our friendship with the Chapmans is concerned - well, it still continues...

But let us return to our stay in Hawaii. We were bewildered with Maui's Nature, the beaches and - the sea. How beautiful the world is! We could not believe in the existence of such dreary things as the Kremlin, which brought so much unhappiness on our poor country and which threatens to ravage the whole world! How wonderful it would be if the Soviet monster would cease to exist!

We watched all the possible news on the television. Reports from Poland never lacked. In that, as we saw it, summer climate, it was hard to believe that back in Poland, the winter is harsh and the terror even harsher...

And when, one evening, I participated in an outdoor party and watched the performance of Hawaiian groups, listened to their music accompanied by the murmur of the sea and the swaying of the palm trees, when I saw the tables groaning with food, a hardly dominated cry of despair burst from my soul...

Why don't we, the Poles, have the right to enjoy liberty and the charms of the world? Why?!

Nevertheless, I quickly rallied from these gloomy thoughts and clenched my teeth. I shall, with all my might, struggle so that we, the Poles, may become free!

From Maui we flew directly to Chicago. The Goodman Theater organized an evening entitled "'Voices From Poland'". I was invited for this gathering which was to take place on February 14. The preceding evening, after arriving in Chicago, we were invited for a very charming party at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Winters. They are both Polish and Mr. Winters is the President of the Polish Arts Club in Chicago.

Chicago wore its winter coat - snow and darkness. The contrast with sunny Hawaii was incredible. But the warmth of the meeting, where many Poles and Americans were present, made up for the change.

It was in the Winters' home that we met Mr. Marian Marzyński, a very known Polish journalist and producer of the excellent film - "'Return to Poland'". We have also met his wife and his mother.

This was to be our first contact with the Polish-Americans. We were asking

ourselves how they will receive us. After all, many of them are not at all acquainted with the realities of life in Poland and they may still not trust us. But they received us very warmly. There was no ice in our relations. On the contrary, they were very warm.

Mr. Winters drank to our health and congratulated us for our courageous decision. I answered that all the Poles should unite themselves in their struggle and work for our common Fatherland. The past is of no importance - what exists now is the present and the future. An agreeable atmosphere persisted all throughout the party.

The next day, a press conference was organized at the Goodman Theater. It was largely echoed by the local press and television. Many Polish-Americans were present at it and among them Mr. Marek Gordon, a Polish poet and writer who offered us his latest collection of novels with his dedication.

While in Chicago, I have given multiple interviews to the various television channels, one of which, channel 2, interviewed also Niunia and Ewa. The radio also interviewed me - among others the radio of the Polish-Americans and the Voice of America.

The same day, in the evening, we attended "Voices From Poland" in the Goodman Theater. Mr. Marian Marzyński made the opening speech. He spoke very warmly about me. Mr. Gordon also mentioned me in his address. The people present in the theater, stood up to applaud us. Some of them came even with small Polish flags which they waved above their heads.

That same evening I met with Mr. Roman Puciński who, as I have since long heard, is a political and Polish-American activist in the U.S. We had a very sincere exchange of views. Other Poles also came over, saying that my deed was of an enormous moral boost for them. For they have lost all hope to see somebody from the establishment of the PPR who would conserve some patriotism and simple human dignity.

We returned to Washington, D.C. on February 16. A flight attendant recognized me. "I am very proud" she said - "to be flying with you".

Several days later I left once again. This time it was to go to Buffalo. With the participation of Congressman H.J. Nowak, who is of Polish descent, I was invited by the Rectorate of the Canisius College, to have a lecture on the situation in Poland. But before the lecture took place, I gave a series of television and radio interviews, had a press conference and paid a visit to the Polish-American Club. There was also an informal meeting with students and, soon afterwards, with professors. The subject? Poland, Poland, Poland... It's a good thing, I thought to myself, that the Americans should be so interested in our affairs. This may one day materialize into

something more serious. After all, there has once been the Thirteenth Point announced by President Woodrow Wilson in January 1918. What if history should repeat itself?

Before the lecture, there was a festive dinner. There are numerous Americans of Polish origin in Buffalo and they were the main ones to be present. I spoke to those present and they rose and sang me the traditional Polish '' Sto lat'' / ''May you live 100 years'' /. It was February 21 and this date shall long remain in my memory.

As I entered the lecture room, in the company of Mr. Nowak and the Rector, Polish and American banners dipped and the national guard presented the arms. The moment I stepped on the podium to begin my lecture, the people began singing the American and Polish National Anthems...

The applause after my lecture was enormous. A little Polish girl came over to me with red and white carnations in her hands. Afterwards, I had to sign so many autographs that my hand was aching. The Poles in Buffalo were just as happy as those in Chicago. They said that, my deed before and my lecture now, have inspired them with the eagerness to fight for Free Poland...

That same evening, I had a very long talk with the professors Jesuits. We watched the news on that occasion. There were numerous passages from my press conference.

The next day, I gave a radio interview in Polish at the headquarters of the American-Polish Club. Some time later, already on my way to the airport, I stopped at another, American radio station where I was also interviewed.

At my return to Washington, I was once again absorbed by the whirl of work. I testified before various Commissions of the Senate, at hearings concerning the Polish debts, the agricultural products assistance, the Yamal pipeline and the question of the exploitation of Poland by the USSR.

The radio and TV interviews were still going on...

And then, I was informed that on February 27, I will be awarded, by the Political Conservative Action Conference 1982, with the ''Freedom Fighter For the People of Poland Award''. That day, we went, all the three of us, to the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. When I was asked to the Presidium, those gathered stood up and greeted me with applause. My brief speech was also applauded. The whole ceremony was presided by Congressman Edwards whose grandparents came to the U.S. from the Cracow region in Poland.

Two days later, in Miami, early in March, I spoke before the powerful Teamster Trade Union. As far as trade unions are concerned, it is worth adding that already in January, I had the occasion of having a long talk with

the President of AFL-CIO, Mr. Lane Kirkland. He was very interested in the Polish situation and I provided him with a certain amount of arguments serving the cause of my country. There is, hoisted on the AFL-CIO building on the 16th Street, just next to the Soviet Embassy, a huge white-and-red Polish flag. It is still there today, on October 3, 1982, just as I am writing these words.

My first public appearance, apart from the one before the Congress Commission, was for the Jewish Trade Unions in New York. Since I could not attend their convention in that city, my address was registered on magnetic tape.

In the meantime, I received many letters from various countries, such as even Hong Kong. The most moving of all was probably the one sent by our former neighbour from the Wernyhory Street in Warsaw, Mr. W. Kot. At the time he wrote me the letter he was already in Austria. Together with his wife, they were managers of a small grocery shop just opposite our house. They are very sympathetic and enterprising people. Mr. Kot is the son of a former security police major, who was also a guerilla of the Polish People's Army in the Kielce region. Mr. Kot traveled with his son and wife to Austria, where they asked for political asylum. He wrote about the huge effect that my defection made on him. Some time after writing this letter, Mr. Kot left for Australia.

And then, I undertook the writing of this book and Ewa began its translation into English. This, unfortunately, was the most complicated of all the things I was doing. I wrote the first version, interspersed with personal memories, in 8 days. There were persons who even liked it. But Nina, and later I myself, did not like it at all. So, I wrote a second version where I maximally reduced personal affairs and concentrated on more general issues. This version in change, was not to the liking of the American publishers who are mostly interested in personal memoirs.

In such a case, I began a third version, that is, the present one. I ended its First Chapter on October 3, 1982, whereas I began writing it on September 29 - the 39th birthday of Lech Wałęsa whose fate joined my own...

I was writing the book, answering to letters and invitations, making statements, meeting various people....

Above all though, I observed, since the very beginning, the events in Poland. I watched, and still do, the TV news several times a day. Wherever I could, I listened without interruption to the news on the radio. And still, I run every morning to a nearby High's store to buy the Washington Post and before I reach home, I have already read all the news from Poland, as well as anything somehow concerning Poland.

I always read Michael Dobb's articles in the Washington Post, John Darton's in the New York Times and any other ones in all possible newspapers and magazines. With time, I also began reading the West European press, the PPR's press and the Polish-American press. I have read many books on Poland, such as N. Anderson's 'The Polish August', S. Steven's 'The Poles', J. Karpiński's 'The Countdown', a joint Polish work translated into English 'Lech Wałęsa', R. Watt's 'Pitter Glory' and M. Chęciński's 'Poland'. I have established contact with the authors of these books. The one with Michael Chęciński, whom I have known back in Poland, is a particularly warm one. His book is an excellent one and renders the Polish cause a good service. Still, I must be just and say that all the other books are also very good. If one wants to, it is always possible to pick holes in them, but the fact that non-Poles have written so much and so well about Poland, is a very positive phenomenon.

But, returning to my own activities and the events back home, it is worth mentioning, even shortly, that whenever I could, I quoted the position of underground Solidarity. I informed of its activities, I gave facts of everyday life in Poland under the 'state of war'. I met with emigrated Solidarity activists - Mr. Jerzy Milewski and Mr. Jerzy Mohl. There wasn't even a shadow of distrust between us. On the contrary, there was cordiality and the feeling that we have common interests.

Instead, my 'meetings' with the Poles from the PPR's Embassy were rather weird. Several times, during my testimonies before the Congress Commissions, I have seen Jurek Strębski together with the Economic Counselor of the Embassy, Zawadzki. I have known Jurek for over 25 years. Now, he always pretends not to see me and I don't want to embarrass him.

On Wednesday, March 10, 1982, I was invited to the White House for the ceremony during which President Reagan signed the Proclamation concerning the Afghanistan Day. The President announced that the Space Shuttle Columbia, which was to be set off on March 21, would be dedicated to Afghanistan. I have met, during the ceremony many emigrant activists with whom I had very interesting discussions. It was also there that I met, for the first time, Mr. A. Mazewski, President of the Polish-Americans. After this first meeting, I paid him a visit, in July, at the Polish-Americans Congress headquarters and we had a long and very warm conversation.

Let me return back to March 10 though. After the White House ceremony, I was to attend a briefing in the State Department. The Polish affairs were to be discussed among others. Following this meeting, there was a reception where, once again, I had the occasion of making very interesting

acquaintances.

At the beginning of April, I went to Raleigh, N.C., where I attended the State Republican Convention at which I delivered a speech. There, I have met many Poles who have invited me, in September, for a meeting with the Polish-Americans and recently emigrated Poles.

It was also in April that I went to New York on the invitation of Prof. J.Valenta, a 1968 refugee from Czechoslovakia, who is now an expert on Polish affairs, among others. He organized my address before a very distinguished forum which the Council for Foreign Relations certainly is. Gen.E. Scowcroft presided the meeting. There were, among those present, B.Inman, Deputy Director of the CIA, Gen.F.Rowny, H.Sonnenfeldt, J.Lord, Prof. J.M.Monthias and many many others. My speech was received with much interest. The questions were extremely interesting. My impression was that everything went well. Only Mr.Nagórski, whom I have already known from Warsaw, asked me why was it that I didn't ask for political asylum earlier.

I have often heard Poles ask me this question. I explained that the entire nation cannot run away, that somebody has to live and work in the country and that I did it as long as I could. My aim was to improve the existing reality.

"What else was there to do? Did anybody really want to help the Poles? I would have never taken the decision of seeking political asylum, were it not for the changes I have observed in the American foreign policy" - I ended.

It is worth adding that no American ever asked that question. The Poles are the ones to do it. Frankly speaking, I don't blame them. Little by little, I myself begin to have grudges against those who remain at the service of the PPR instead of leaving their posts...

After my return from New York I once again flew to Chicago. The Polish-Americans of East Chicago invited me, as their main guest, for their Convention which takes place every year. Mr.^STokarski, its President, is a very sympathetic man. I was warmly received and, on that occasion, I became a honorary citizen of East Chicago.

I also held lectures at the George Washington University, Mason University, University of Virginia in Charlottesville / where I have been 18 years earlier on the behalf of the PPR's Embassy /, in several colleges and before various fora.

But, of course, what interested me the most, were the events in Poland. Unfortunately, their intensity weakened and therefore they crowded out. The events in El Salvador were on all the headlines. Afterwards, the war in the Falklands eclipsed all other news.

And suddenly, on the 1st and 3rd of May demonstrations took place in Warsaw and other cities. Our hearts swelled with pride! We saw the tightly marching crowd, the clenched fists pointed to the sky, we heard the scan : ''Junta precz!!!!'' / ''Down with the junta!!!!'' / Up to that moment the security forces did not react. They didn't do it afterwards either. After all this was the First of May!

May 3rd however, the truncheons and the water cannons went to work. We saw the ZOMO thugs beat the people who have fallen to the ground, how they kicked them before brutally pushing them inside the patrol vans. Niunia and Ewa cryed out : ''Murderers!'' and I only clenched my teeth.

We watched Warsaw's Castle Place / Plac Zamkowy /disappearing beneath clouds of smoke. We saw the Old City / Stare Miasto / and the ill-treated people. So after all they did come out! They were not afraid of the ''state of war''! Once again Poland returned to the headlines of the world news. She reminded the world of her existence. My, the life of the junta is not so easy...

In such a situation, it is easier for me to act. When I say the Polish Nation shall never give in, people believe these words. They do read it in the newspapers, they do see it on the television, don't they? The scale of the events is not relevant. Their sole existence is the relevant thing.

In Congress I met M.Makarenko, who fights as much as he can to prevent the construction of the Siberian gas pipeline. Together we testified before the Commission headed by Senator Armstrong. Afterwards we discussed many interesting issues with Makarenko. I believe in Russians of his sort! More than 11 years in a Soviet labor camp did not make him lose his heart. On the contrary, his experience steeled him. Nothing will ever dispirit this man...

Somewhere in the beginning of June, I participated in an international conference entitled '' The World Without Communism ''. I held a speech there. The television broadcast excerpts from my address and an interview made on that occasion. Once again I met very interesting people such as Soviet immigrants and, among them, Lithuanians. They all believe that Poland will not give in and that it is in our country that the decomposition of the Soviet empire is already under way. I am also convicted of this.

At the end of July, I was also invited to Chicago. I delivered a speech there at the Annual Convention of the Polish Arts Club. Once more, I was warmly greeted, but there had to be a polemic with a professor of political sciences, a Pole and a former Warsaw insurgent. However, I think that those present took my side.

It is worthwhile mentioning another event. On July 21 the Congress held

a hearing about the eventuality of declaring Poland in default. Several days prior to this date, the press and television news announced the lifting of the ''state of war'', an amnesty and maybe even the beginning of negotiations with Solidarity. I was far from believing this and expressed my feelings publicly. The turn of events confirmed my viewpoint. Before entering the room where the hearings were to be held, I already knew what the results of the ''amnesty'' and other moves were. The Congressmen were not yet acquainted with them. I then had the occasion of commenting the incidents in Poland and of sharply criticizing the actions of the junta. The Washington Post noted this and the press of the PPR once again attacked me. It even predicted that I have ''palled on the Americans''...

The Polish press was wrong however. On the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the creation of Solidarity, the public opinion was absorbed with the developments taking place in Poland and this, despite the fact that the Lebanese war outshined all other news at that time.

Once again, I gave several television interviews - prior to and during the incidents. I have, for instance, appeared on the AEC morning program '' Good Morning America '' together with the Former American Ambassador to the PPR, Mr.Schauffele. I warned that under the conditions of the ''state of war'' there may be no big manifestations, although one may never know, given the fact that the Poles have a lot of temperament... At the same time I repeated a thesis which I have always promoted - that the Poles must build a ''second Poland, an Underground Poland'' and await ''better times''.

The press of the PPR could not forgive me for this! I surely did learn many thing about myself when reading the newspapers of the PPR!

The same day I appeared on the AEC program, I was also invited to CNN where I commented the live events in Poland. They were being broadcast by the American TV in accordance to the Polish one. I could see fighting in the streets of Warsaw, barricades made of benches in the Marszałkowska Street in Warsaw, clouds of gas, young people thrusting stones at ZOMO.

The fact, I said, that people did gather in spite of the previously announced time of the demonstration, which permitted the authorities to undertake special security measures, as well as the fact that young people prevailed, is the sign of the gravity of the situation in Poland and of the lack of popularity of the junta. This viewpoint was later often repeated by the television.

However, against the background of joy triggered by the courage of the Polish people who do not give in, there was a moment of sadness. 5 people, mainly in Lubin, have died. Thousands of others were arrested and hundreds beaten.

Tens of thousands of demonstrators seemed to constitute fairly small, not numerous enough demonstrations. But, for the Americans, who have been watching these scenes from Poland, they were a reminder that the obstinate fight of the Poles for their freedom, is still going on. This too, was the Administration's impression.

The temperature back in Poland rose. More detailed reports spoke of the violence of the incidents, mostly in Wrocław. The homily of Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, pronounced at Jasna Góra /which in Polish means literally Bright Mountain/, Poland's most holy shrine, on September 5,, as well as the communiqué of the Episcopate issued several days later, broke somehow with the excessively passive role of the Church in the Polish events. I have even heard that the Church hierarchy is divided on this issue, but that the radicalization of the Church's stand is growing.

But the junta doesn't idle its time away either. The "internment" of Jacek Kuroń, Adam Michnik and of other activists of KOR / Worker's Self Defense Committee/ who have been imprisoned, was changed to "arrest". They will answer charges of wanting to arrive to power by force. I must admit that this was not a surprise to me. The Soviet "Literaturnaya Gazeta" has already accused them of this. The junta had to carry out Soviet orders! Anyway, they have earlier decided to abolish the symbol of resistance represented by the daily depositing of flowers composing a cross on the Victory Square in Warsaw. It was on that spot that the casket with the body of Primate Stefan Wyszyński was exposed last year. The people however, responded by moving the daily renewed cross to another place.

There is no room for doubt that Moscow is not satisfied with the "normalization" of the situation in Poland. It warns all the time against the danger of the unextinguished "counter-revolution" and constantly appeals to the Polish authorities that they should take advantage of the rich "Soviet experience" in this matter.

The economic situation in Poland is extremely difficult. It would be absolutely hopeless if Poland was repaying her debts. But she is not doing this and has, therefore, export earnings which, although very much below the once attained level, can be used for the purchase, in the West, of the commodities which are the mostly needed. But these sums are far from being sufficient. During the first 8 months of 1982 the industrial production was still running at 7 per cent below the analogous period of 1981. And this in spite of a 19 per cent rise in the production of coal. The so much advertised 1 per cent rise in the production of the month of August, does not seem possible to me, after closer analysis of the data. The junta, though, needs some success on the inside and on the outside.- and particularly on

the outside, for without new credits and without the postponment of the repayment of the debts, it shall never extricate itself from the difficulties.

And so, the Polish affairs are, I can say, the very breath of my life. And it shall be so until Poland regains her freedom.

I am, of course, much more active, than could appear from the above description. I do hope that my activities should even grow in the future. But what I have so briefly described does constitute some of my life during the last 9 months and two weeks after we showed up at the American Embassy in Tokyo.

There was yet one more very important change in our life. On the 22nd of May, 1982 we have married our Ewa. Her husband, Etienne, came to the States from Belgium. They have met in Geneva while still at the university. We have once planned for a marriage in Warsaw, in Brussels, in Geneva and even in Tokyo. Finally, it took place in a charming chapel in Washington, D.C. in the vicinity of Connecticut Ave. And so can a Pole plan her or his life!

The mass was celebrated by Father Mark, a Catholic priest of Hungarian origin. His homily was beautiful and moving. We invited some guests and even my former secretary from Geneva, Mrs. Barbara Wilson, with whom I worked in the UNCTAD and who is now retired, flew especially from England to be present at the wedding. We were absolutely delighted with this gesture.

The reception took place in 'Evans Farm Inn' near Washington. It is an old building surrounded by a garden and a wonderful park.

We were only very sorry that Niunia's mother, whom Ewa simply calls Władzia / the diminutive of the Polish Christian name Władysława / and who raised Ewa until the age of 6, was not only absent at the wedding and the reception, but moreover didn't know about anything. Similarly with Niunia's brother Marek, who was practically raised with Ewa... Etienne's mother came in.

There was present, among our guests, Mr. Joseph Noone and his wife. I met Mr. Noone almost 20 years earlier in Washington, D.C. He learned about my defection when dressing his Christmas tree. He immediately wrote me a moving letter. I received it with much pleasure and we met soon afterwards. Mr. Noone helped us arrange Ewa's marriage by contacting for us Rev. Mark. What a small world it is!

Since I am writing about my stay and activities in the U.S. and since I briefly mentioned the reasons of my decision to apply to the American Government for political asylum, I must go back to the period directly preceding these events, in order to complete the image. For I can guess that even if the reader is already somewhat aware of the motives which have guided me, he still hasn't received the answer to the question as to how

I came to reach this decision. After all, it was not the result of a momentaneous whim or a particular state of mind between the 21 and 23 December, 1981. Other reasons must have contributed to this act. This was much too important a step in our lives, for me not to think it over. What more, I have discussed it more than once with Niunia and even Fwa.

As I have mentioned earlier, the answer to this question can be found in more than one place in this book. But now, I must, in as accurate a way as possible, point to the background of my decision. This same background will once and again return to accompany some other considerations.

I must also give the Reader some biographical information which is linked in a very immediate way to the reasons of my decision. But I shall dedicate the next Chapter to this question.

What I can say now however, is that as the years went by, I was more and more convinced that Communism and its stronghold - the USSR, are condemned to death by History. I was just not sure how and when this will take place. Nevertheless, I have not, for years, had any doubt that the Communist ideology is more than a simple misunderstanding, but a fatal misunderstanding, and that the USSR has inherited the worst traditions of Russian imperialism which it did not want to abandon. On the contrary, it has subordinated its entire existence to its imperialistic goals.

I did not particularly believe in the reformability of the Communist ideology just as I didn't have any faith in the democratization of the USSR, but then I could not completely rule out both possibilities. After all, we do not know enough about the laws governing Humanity and everything can be possible. History abundantly provides us with examples confirming such a drift of reasoning.

For many years, I have tried, in my own way, to change Communism and weaken the Soviet domination in Poland. It may sound rather unconvincing, but it is, nevertheless, true. I had the courage to criticize and to question the basic assumptions of the marxist ideology. Not only did I do this at private discussions, which would have hardly any merit, but also at party meetings. I didn't conceal my views even from the Western diplomats. Maybe, that is why, when the world learned about my turning to the U.S. for political asylum, this was underlined by the New York Times.

As far as the loosening of the Soviet grip on Poland is concerned, I have always stressed my Polish nationality and character and this mainly in my actions. I did this even when I had to appear on the international forum in the name of the ''socialist community''. Wherever I could, I opposed myself to the ''community's decisions'', suspecting in them the absorption of Poland by the USSR.

In my conversations with the Soviets - and I didn't have any illusions as to whom many of them were - I demonstrated my Polish patriotism in a rather exaggerated way. Things came to such a point that I would reproach them with the Katyn' crime and numerous other acts hostile to the Poles.

I shall yet return to these questions. What I just want to do here, is to briefly mention them in order to depict the background of my decision.

Above all, I was fully aware of the complete collapse of the Marxist ideology in the economic sector. It was more than clear to me that this ideology is just not adapted to economy. True, that I did not consider the free market ideology to be as ideal as its defenders seem to think, but I also knew that neither central planning, nor "social property of the means of production" are alternatives to it.

My views were not only my personal secret. They were known. I must however admit that I was not persecuted because of them and that I even enjoyed confidence, but then not enough as to permit me to attain positions occupied by others who were younger, less educated and for a shorter time in the Communist movement than myself. The fact that I was appointed Ambassador to Japan was rather an exception to the rule. Moreover, it occurred during a period of "renewal" in Poland and not during a period of a sharpening of the course.

Yet, as I have already said, I wanted to believe in the evolution of Communism and the USSR. Reality did nothing to confirm this belief, but I wanted to have this faith. For, above all, I wanted to live in Poland and not abroad. As long as the living conditions there were tolerably good and as long as there were perspectives for them becoming better, I wanted to hold on to Poland, although I did know that it was not a fully free and socially just country.

For years, I didn't have the slightest doubt that an enormous crisis was to arise before Poland and the other Communist countries and that this crisis can result in a world war or in the collapse of Communism and maybe in the decomposition of the USSR, or in both. More than once did I officially express this position. In a discussion organized at the end of 1979, by the Polish weekly "Kultura" and which was printed in the first 1980 issue, it is practically in these terms that I have expressed myself.

I also knew full well that I shall have no influence on the course of events. My position was simply not high enough. My sincere wish was simply to retire from the political and professional life. After being nominated, in November of 1979, the title of Extraordinary Professor of Economic Science, I seriously intended to take a full time position at the Department of Foreign Trade at the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw,

where I already had a part-time position. I enjoyed my didactic activities, I wrote a lot and I thought that this will be enough in my life.

What more, it seemed to me that I have attained a material stability in my life. With the money I have earned in the U.N. we have already built our house. We moved into it on March 6, 1979 even though the finishing works lasted for several more months. We planned the house for two families. We reckoned with the fact that once Ewa sets up a family, she will move in with us. That was the purpose of the two car garage and of the second floor. I have ^eeven withdrawn Ewa's deposit on a special savings account which was supposed to buy her an apartment in the future.

What more, I came to like working around the house and in the garden and I thought that things will stay so, although, on the other hand, it all seemed to be too idyllic and improbable. I would, ^{say}during our walks in Geneva in the early 70's, that all this will collapse, that there will be tragic events in Poland. And later, when we returned to Warsaw, I didn't feel like having the house built, for I did not believe that I will live in it. But finally, I wanted to believe in things in which I had no faith...

With all my senses, I felt the crisis approaching in Poland. The first postwar drop in production in 1979 was already a dangerous reminder. The undecidedness of the moves which were to counter the crisis only precipitated its explosion.

On the other hand, I did not consider the possibility of a new bloodshed. A new generation was coming of age, a generation which did not advocate violence. The average level of the Nation's education /in all the meanings of the term/ has risen a lot and this guaranteed a peaceful explosion of the crisis of social dissatisfaction. Above all, the fact that a Pole has been elected Pope, pacified the attitudes. This has automatically given the Church, whose influence on peoples' minds is probably greater in Poland than anywhere in the world, the possibility of affecting the evolution in Poland.

In my, and not only in my understanding, then, the conditions in Poland have reached the stage of maturity which would enable the carrying out of profound reforms of our whole life. And this would be done in a peaceful manner, where Catholics and Party members would find a common language for working out nationwide problems.

I was, of course, fully aware of the geopolitical realities, but I wanted to believe that the USSR may finally bring to an end that artificiality of the 'Polish-Soviet alliance' and will base the mutual relations on something more solid than day-dreams. True, that the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan did not give rise to optimism, but one could not completely rule

out some sane reactions in the USSR. The Soviet economy was running into a crisis. The continuation of the armaments race began to go beyond its possibilities. For these reasons then, I counted on common sense even in that country.

The strikes in July and August, 1980, were then of no surprise to me. I was awaiting them. Their peaceful course strengthened my conviction that the era of evolution had come. After all, Gierek's party was not keen on using brutal force. There have been attempts of composing the spreading conflict. It is true that I have heard rumors according to which voices advocating the use of force were to be heard, and this especially in the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They were particularly loud when, on the 14th of August, 1980, the Gdańsk shipyard went on strike and when the name of Lech Wałęsa emerged. But such a position did not have the backing of the authorities. For the time being at least.

Gierek was resting at the Crimea /although it is said that his 'hosts' did not inform him of the true course of events. They probably wanted to get rid of him thanks to the surge of events. That was my impression already after the VIII-th Party Congress in February 1980. The elimination of Jaroszewicz and Olszowski from the Politburo was said to have been taxed of 'treason' by Suslov, who was present at the Congress. Therefore, I was of the opinion that Gierek's days were numbered. / Back home, the helm of the Government was divided between the Prime Minister Edward Babiuch, the Secretary of the CC Stanisław Kania and the Minister of National Defense, Wojciech Jaruzelski. Confusion reigned however. I remember being time and again invited to talk about the necessary economic measures which would prevent the intensification of the crisis. However, none of this went over the ether. It was permanently in conflict with the orthodox line represented by the government.

Finally, on August 18, 1980, I was invited once again. They said that this time, I had an absolutely free hand. However, no sooner was I recorded that an enormous hurry-scurry took hold of the studio and I was asked to leave immediately. Somebody 'important' was to come. I hurried back home. The 7:30 p.m. news began with some unimportant information. And then, instead of broadcasting my interview the television gave one with Prof. Bretsznajder. He was talking about aluminium...

And then, suddenly Edward Gierek appeared on the screen. He looked rested and tanned. As I was later told, his only worry, when he came to the studio, was... about his good looks on the TV...

He made an appeal to the 'common sense' of the striking workers. Their demand to create independent trade unions, he said, is impossible to carry

out. He emphasized this point with much insistence. I think that even then, he knew very well what he was talking about. After all, he just came back from the Crimea. It was being said that Kania and Jaruzelski went to bring him back, for he was not fully aware of what was going on in Poland.

The situation then, was becoming more and more complicated. The strike in the shipyard was spreading and the main demand of the workers, that is the creation of an independent trade union, was practically irrevocably rejected by Gierek. A dangerous impasse was consequently created.

But still, force was not used. Instead, there were rumors that Rear Admiral Janczyszyn categorically rejected the possibility of using the army to suppress the strike. He was to say it publicly during the Plenum of the Gdańsk Voivodeship Committee. The same was being said of the standpoint of the 1st Secretary of the Gdańsk Committee, T. Fiszbach. On the other hand, Kania, it was being said, called, during the above Plenum, the strikes a 'counter-revolution'. The ousting of Gierek was also said to be under preparation...

About Jaruzelski, I heard that he suddenly intended to import, from the West, certain types of anti-tank weapons. To me, this didn't seem possible, because of the embargo existing in this field. But the rumor was persistent. There could only be one purpose of such weapons - the repulse of a Soviet intervention...

Somehow, the dramatism of the situation was not deeply troubling. There was no hysteria. One could not smell violence in the air.

In this atmosphere, I flew, on August 24, 1980, to New York, where I was to attend the XIth Special Session of the General Assembly which was to discuss the 'New Economic Order' and the IIIrd UN Development Decade. I boarded the Ilyushin 62 plane of our Polish company LOT. At that time I was the Economic Advisor of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the problems discussed at the session entered the sphere of my interests and duties. There was, seated beside me, an employee of the same ministry, a former member of the security services and a long-time member of the Party. That day exactly, was the 34th anniversary of my joining the Party. I offered him a drink for the occasion and mentioned, by the way, that I was probably wrong 34 years ago...

It was still full day when we landed in New York. We learned about the changes in the Politburo and at the post of Prime Minister from our acquaintances who were waiting for us at the airport. They asked us whether we could guess who the new Premier was. Despite big efforts of our imagination, we could not find the right man. When I learned that it was Józef Pińkowski, I burst out laughing. It is true that he was no worse than Pabiuch

but he still was a rather primitive man. We were further informed about the departure of the 'rising genius of the Party', Zdzisław Żandarowski. Long ago, I have introduced him to ZWM /Fighting Youth Union/ and the PPR /Polish Worker's Party /. He was faithful to all the successive leaders. As a man, he was a regular fellow, but much too faithful. It seemed that his faithfulness shall raise him high in the hierarchy. And so it did, but the other way around and, for him, at the most unexpected moment. One year later, he was even deprived of his Party membership card.

Others have also left the Politburo. They were replaced by new ones, such as Stefan Olszowski and Tadeusz Grabski. This was of ill omen. I knew that both were Kremlin's people. It was clear to me that Gierek's days were counted.

And so, I lived through Solidarity's creation in New York. It may well be that for this reason I saw these events better than many people in Poland. The American television went completely crazy. All news began with the showing of Poland's map with Gdańsk visibly marked on it. Some time later Szczecin, and then Jastrzębie and then more other cities appeared on it. For the first time I saw the moustached face of Lech Wałęsa, whose existence was already known to me, several days earlier in Poland. Even the stepfather of Lech Wałęsa emerged and took part in the presidential pre-election campaign by the side of Ronald Reagan...

Poland was on everyone's lips. The television showed striking workers for whom field masses were celebrated. One could even see the on-going negotiations. And then, the world went mad when the media showed Lech Wałęsa with, in his hand, an enormous red pen which he received from the Pope, signing with the Government the agreements concerning the creation of an independent trade union!

This was probably the world's first peaceful revolution broadcast by television cameras into the world - the Free World, of course.

How happy I was! But still, I was afraid that all this might come to a bad end. The U.N. Session did not interest me at all. The news from Poland was the very breath of my life. I even called Niunia, who was back in Warsaw, for I was anxious about the course the events may take. I was sitting on thorns and I was anxious to return to Warsaw. In spite of the signature of the accords, a weird uneasiness troubled my heart. I wasn't sure that this would be the end...

In this situation, I returned to Warsaw earlier than scheduled. On my way to Kennedy International Airport I bought an afternoon newspaper informing about the resignation of Gierek and his replacement by Stanisław Kania. I already knew this since several hours. The decision surprised me

somewhat, but still I thought it to be better than the choice of Olszowski.

In the airplane, I met Prof. Wiśniewski and his wife who were going on a visit to Poland. The Professor works at the University of Delaware. This deserves some attention for, how was I to know that almost two years later, after my defection, I was to meet him at his University and stay for one day at his home? How small the world is...

Finally, I arrived in Warsaw. I began running after more information. The speech of Kania, pronounced at the Plenum, was already known to me, for the radio and the TV speakers have often read it. I even liked it. But then, I was worried when learning from 'well informed sources' that the USSR agreed to the creation of Solidarity under the condition that, either it shall immediately be submitted to the complete control of the Party, or that it shall, 'at the right time', be disbanded. This seemed absolutely probable to me. I was also told that the scale of the strike movement, as well as its organization, caught the leaders of the PPR and the USSR by surprise and therefore, one could sense a lack of determination as to what was to be done. The more so, that the East-West relations were strained after the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and the NATO decision to introduce Pershing ^{and Cruise} II^V to some of the West European countries. This Western decision was the response to the Soviet hurried-up installations, in the European USSR, of SS-20 missiles. And so, the use of force in Poland would not have been the best solution for the leaders of the PPR and the USSR, at a time when other means have not yet been put to profit.

However, the peaceful revolution in Poland reached deeper within than one thought it could.

In the first place, the PUWP* was practically scattered. The more than 3-million-strong Party was mostly a window-dressing one. More than a million of its members have found themselves in Solidarity's ranks, which were swelling at an incredible speed and attained, after some time, almost 10 million members.

Many members of the Party, who did not join Solidarity, did not, like myself, conceal their sympathy for it. I was of course aware of the impossibility of realizing some of Solidarity's economic demands, but I also believed that, with time, it may withdraw from its position by itself. The course of events proved my viewpoint to be correct.

It was also clear to me that such a spontaneous and massive movement must have its weaknesses, but who else in Poland didn't have them? Solidarity was, above all, a workers' movement, authentically independent and very Polish. Its ideals were dominantly Christian. This fact won over the greatest masses of the society. From Solidarity,

* PUWP - Polish United Workers' Party /Communist Party/

the people expected more than they would from a trade union.

Such a movement was bound to make a career. Its openness was its strength. New faces emerged, new slogans came to replace the old. One of them was later to become the entire philosophy of the revolution originated by Solidarity - '' Let Poland be Poland'' / Żeby Polska była Polską /.

It was obvious to me that this movement will strike its roots deeply into the Country and that it will liberate related movements. And so it was. Soon afterwards, the Independent Association of Polish Journalists was created. Even though it was presided by Stefan Bratkowski, a member of the PUWP, it was truly independent and democratic. Movements in favor of Rural Solidarity were becoming active. Well, even the United Peasant's Party, the Democratic Party and even the notoriously pro-Soviet PAX, were undergoing profound transformations. Suddenly, even the Sejm was activating itself, just as did the scientific milieu who's Conference of the Rectors merits special attention.

People began loosening their tongues - they were becoming themselves. The newspapers were finally readable and the radio and TV news could be watched and listened to.

Inside the PUWP itself, the movement of ''horizontal structures'' began gathering momentum. This was undoubtedly the announcement of the end of ''Democratic Centralism'' which turned Socialism into a totalitarian system.

How could I not support this? Wherever I could, I spoke in favor of the ''movement of renewal''.

Did I see the danger hanging over such changes?

Of course I did. The press in the Soviet Union and in the other ''socialist countries'', mainly that of the GDR and of Czechoslovakia, were, from the very beginning, attacking very sharply Solidarity and amplifying the danger of ''counter-revolution'' in Poland. This was of bad augury.

It was also unpropitious that Solidarity, which could not obtain its legal registration, necessary from the very start, had to completely concentrate on this problem and could not give enough attention to the other problems. By the force of things it had to radicalize itself. Especially, that the Party and state apparatus of the highest rank, corrupted and incapable of any changes, began resisting. Thus, it came into conflict with the renewal. Unfortunately, the central authorities were defending lost positions and finally, under the pressure of the protests, they had to give in. The belief was born that the process of renewal must be pushed forward with pressures. More radical forces began to activate themselves on both sides.

Solidarity did not want to and could not take the responsibility for

the worsening economic situation in Poland. Once, back in 1956, the workers wanted to establish workers' self-government. This was an occasion to draw them into the co-responsibility for the governing of the country, But they were cheated with the ''conference of workers' self-government''. This time then, they did not come forward with the old ideas. Neither did the authorities. The idea resurrected some time afterwards, but it was already too late /if anything could be said to be too late here.../

One thing was clear though - the PUMP was not to remain the ruling party nor even the marxist-leninist party. As a would be workers' party it had no support among the workers and they were the ones who were the ''heroes of the day''. Automatically, it had no social backing, particularly among the peasants, the intellectuals and, above all, the young people.

However, Solidarity, the Church and other democratic forces knew perfectly well that one could not deprive the PUWP of the ''monopoly for governing''. Formally at least. The geopolitical situation of Poland spoke for itself.

After all, there was already Hungary and Czechoslovakia..

Nevertheless, it was evident that even with the formal recognition of the Party's leadership, the PUWP had to share its power with the others.

And that, by the way, was what the whole movement of renewal was about. The sharing of power and not its taking away was the sense of all the transformations. A more important problem though, was the loss, by the PUWP, of its ''marxist-leninist'' image. This was what really threatened the Party.

People knew Socialism not from the manifestos and pamphlets but from everyday life. It was known since long that this was an utopia. None of the proclaimed slogans were being realized - not only in the PPR, but everywhere in the socialist world. Thus, a Party constructing an utopian system, had to face a crisis sooner or later. Particularly in a country such as Poland, where the socialist system was not the result of internal changes, but of a brutal foreign interference.

The PUWP had two alternatives then :

- either transform itself into a small, orthodox and openly pro-Soviet Communist Party, which would immediately severely collide with the movement of renewal, or
- transform itself into a Socialist Party, such as ,for example, the pre-war PPS /Polish Socialist Party/ or even into a Social -Democratic one.

The first of these alternatives even began to materialize itself under the form of the emerging ''Communist clubs'' - numerically ridicule, but much publicized and visibly backed by the USSR.