

After the departure of the delegation, Polanski was several times inviting me for ''talks''. Finally, he even wanted to come and see me himself. I knew what he wanted. He just had to send a report from Solidarity's visit to Japan! What my attitude in this matter gained with him is yet another thing, but he wanted to hear my account of the events. So I went to see him. Once again he was not alone. There was Counsellor Chizhov, probably resident of the KGB, and the interpreter Dobrovolski. The latter asked me whether I had any objections to his noting down what was being said during the discussion. I answered laughing that he could even tape it. And any way, he was of no use, for I am fluent in Russian. Oh, forget him, I thought, let him remain.

I very calmly related Solidarity's visit. I admitted that everything went well, that the delegation's demeanor was excellent, except the little incident the first day. My interlocutors were surprised, but I didn't care less.

In the meantime, our departure to Poland was approaching. Niunia was to fly, on our own cost, to Bangkok with Air India and from there by LOT to Warsaw. We already knew there would be a chartered plane from Warsaw to Tokyo and it was possible for her to take Toofy. And so, she left on June 3 in the afternoon. She was to stay several days in Bangkok.

I was to return to Poland by a far more complicated route. As mentioned, I was writing a study for the UNCTAD. As a matter of fact, I already wrote it back in Warsaw, before leaving for Japan and I sent the text to Geneva. After some time, I received its official version. I could not recognize my work! The Soviet staff members of the UNCTAD Secretariat wrote, on my text, whatever they wished. I corrected the text and, once again, sent it back to Geneva. But nothing happened! My corrections were not at all taken into consideration!

However my text and still another one, were to be discussed at a special seminar for Africans, It was to begin in Addis Ababa and then be continued in Moscow, Budapest and Warsaw, only to end in Moscow. The whole trip was paid by the UN.

I was to leave Tokyo for the Seychelles Islands with the BEA flight leaving at 5p.m. via Hong-Kong and Colombo.

Before leaving Tokyo, in the morning, I went to the Gaimusho and afterwards I sent a cable to Warsaw informing about the visit. In the afternoon, I boarded the jumbo plane, which came to Tokyo via the North Pole.

In the evening I arrived in Hong-Kong and some hours later I was flying over Bangkok. I waved to Niunia who was still there...

Since I was travelling ''together with the time'' , I landed in Colombo somewhere around midnight and in the Seychelles at 4a.m. I went to some hotel just by the sea. I slept a bit and when I woke I was charmed by the view from my window. The palms were majestically swaying, the sand on the beach was golden and the Indian Ocean bright blue. I have heard a lot about the beauty of the Seychelles, but now, I witnessed it by myself.

I immediately went to have a swim. The water was crystal clear, but it was wiser not to walk in barefooted for tiny shells immediately pierced the feet.

There were almost no tourists. There were just some Japanese who came on the same plane with me and then, once again with me, they left for Nairobi. I just didn't realize at that moment that ''socialism'' took over also in the Seychelles and that the tourists began avoiding this gem of the Indian Ocean.

In the afternoon, I left, via Mombasa, for Nairobi with Air Kenya. Ambassador Witek already awaited me at the beautiful airport which was not yet built when I was in Kenya in 1976, in May. We went to the Hotel 680 in which I stayed 5 years earlier. Amusing! The hotel clerk recognized me.

On our way to the hotel, Ambassador Witek told me that the radio made known the information concerning a letter of the ''Soviet leadership'' to Kania and Jaruzelski. But he knew no more.

Next day, Sunday June 7, in the morning, I flew to Addis Ababa with the Ethiopian Airlines. I was met there with Ambassador Ludwikowski, whom I have previously mentioned. He too, knew about the letter but had no details.

This news intrigued me. Three days later, however, I was in Moscow. I arrived there with a TU-154 of the Aeroflot. The flight was tiring and trying. We landed in Aden. I have never seen such an ''air terminal'' in my entire life. There was no possibility of having a refreshing drink and, as far as the toilets are concerned, better forget it! A Russian woman fainted in the waiting room for lack of air. Instead, one could see plenty of MIG's 21...

We left for Cairo. On our arrival there, we were not let out of the plane. Several South Yemenites, flying to Moscow for some ''courses'', were smoking uninterruptedly. There was no air to breathe. I began to quarrel with them. They all spoke Russian. The other passengers all remained quiet. So the Yemenites asked me who I was.

'' An American ''- I answered. It worked! They stopped smoking.

Afterwards we landed in Odessa. There, in the ''terminal'' we were driven into a tiny room where we were given a ... bottle of some kind of

drink. There was no way of removing the capsules from the bottles. The passengers worked miracles to drink some of this warm wish-wash, for we haven't received a drop to drink on the plane! And so, finally, after midnight, between the 10th and 11th of June, I landed at the new Sheremietievo II Airport. I have been waited upon by some members of the PPR's Embassy.

While on our way to the hotel, I learned that Ambassador Kazimierz Olszewski flew to Warsaw to attend the CC Plenum which discussed the 'letter of the Soviet leadership'. It was not to be excluded that Grabski could take Kania's place.

I stayed in the guest quarters of the Embassy which was just recently constructed. Just opposite it, great towers, which were to house the personnel of the Embassy, were being finished off.

In the morning, I listened, on the Moscow radio, to the full text of the 'letter'. It sounded dangerously. It demanded that all preparations for the IXth Congress of the PUWP be halted and it was full of threats. The Embassy was astir with gossip...

That same afternoon, the film 'Zamach' /'The Attempt'/ was to be shown in the Embassy. A reception was to follow. The film concerned Piłsudski's May coup d'Etat. The Embassy's projection room was filled with Soviet guests. There was an absolute silence. There they were - Piłsudski, the army, blood, soldiers and 'Pierwsza Brygada' /'The First Brigade'/, probably the most beautiful military song, now forbidden...

A small reception followed. The Soviet guests were somehow silent. The Poles too, were not effusive. Something crept into the 'fraternal relations'.

I called Niunia. She was already in Warsaw. She told me to come directly to Poland and not to go to Budapest.

I met with some acquainted Russians. There was reserve. Distrust. And the weather was so hot - it was hard to believe that a Soviet intervention may fall on Poland at any moment now. They told me that Rusakov, Secretary of the CC, already went to the Lvov headquarters, which was to direct the attack on Poland. The two headquarters in Warsaw and Legnica were also said to be in the state of emergency...

I then decided not to go to Budapest. I was then to return to Warsaw!

The Plenum ended however. There were no changes in the personnel and the Congress of the PUWP was not to be postponed! Ambassador Olszewski returned from Warsaw. I went to see him first thing in the morning. I wanted to have some information before returning to Warsaw that same evening. Olszewski was furious.

'All this must finally be brought to an end!' - he cried out.

He shall immediately counsel the ''Soviet friends'' an intervention! He cursed the Polish generals who brought their pressure to bear on the remaining members of the Central Committee, which resulted in the support of Kania and Jaruzelski...

I heaved a sigh of relief...

On the night of June 13 I landed in Warsaw. Niunia was awaiting me. It was already past midnight. We got back home thanks to a chance-car. Taxis were beginning to be forgotten in Warsaw. There was no gasoline.

At home I greeted Niunia's mother who came to Warsaw. Toofy came out, he was heavy with sleep and almost failed to recognize me. Niunia told me that he became indifferent to what was going on around him. Our departure must have certainly been a shocking experience for him.

The rumble of gossip filled Warsaw. The most contradictory versions of the events of the last days were circulating. I decided to learn the truth on my own. I went to see Kazimierz Barcikowski, Secretary of the CC and member of the Politburo, whom I knew for a long time. He seemed somewhat resigned.

I went to see Kania. He seemed in a better mood and received me with a glass of cognac. And then I asked him about the ''letter''. I forged a little story in order to satisfy myself that either the ''letter'' was really sent, or that it was earlier consulted with Kania and Jaruzelski. In the second case, all this was a comedy staged to trick the people into believing that both Kania and Jaruzelski were ''patriots'' who disobey their Soviet masters.

My little story went that it were the Japanese who told me about the letter on June 5. But taking into account the time difference, how could they have known about it? Kania looked worried by the problem. He went over to his desk and started looking into his calendar.

'' Yes, true. That's funny... I received the letter on June 5, before 4 p.m. - he said intrigued by something.

He talked with me about Solidarity's visit to Japan, about Japan herself and, after asking some other questions, he very warmly ended our talk. There was a press communiqué of the visit, but I do not remember its exact date. It must have been either June 21 or 22.

I then paid a visit to Jaruzelski. I knew him, just as I knew Kania, from my advisorship period with E.Gierek, which extended from September 1971 to December 1972.

Jaruzelski received me in the building of the Council of Ministers. As always, he was stiff and wore his uniform. Once, he made on me the impression of a more pleasant and abordable man. Earlier in my career, I have

spoken with him several times and my impression was that he liked me. I must admit that I personally felt some sympathy for him, although there were different opinions concerning his person. Some of them stated that already during the war he collaborated with the NKVD and gave away his colleagues co-prisoners, that he did not attend his mother's funeral because it was a Catholic one and that his own sister does not want to see him... And then that, when he was division commander in Szczecin, he uninterruptedly stayed with the Soviet Consul...

But others said that he sincerely hated the Russians and Communism, that he fought with Party activists in the Army, that he was an excellent expert of the military arts and a 100 per cent Pole...

The opinions then, were extreme.

When seeing him, I started reporting the Japanese affairs. He listened without interrupting. At the most he would shake his head in astonishment when hearing that the Japanese G.N.P. is twice that of West Germany and that its industrial production was already above that of the USSR.

And once again, I repeated my story with the letter. He didn't even budge... I was intrigued with this. But I attributed it to something else. It was being said that Jaruzelski attempted to shoot himself after receiving the famous 'letter'. Maybe that talking about it brought back bad memories?

Then suddenly he asked me : 'And what about China?' I thought he meant my relations with the Chinese Ambassador. So I told him that I have had the most interesting discussion with the latter. That, however, was not what he had on mind. I began talking about Sino-Japanese relations. But he wanted to know about the Sino-American relations... I imagined that he was maybe counting on them to distract the Soviet attention from Poland. Now, I figure it, that wasn't it either...

I began, on my own, relating the visit of Solidarity to Japan. He then asked me to wait a minute, for he would like to ask Mieczysław Rakowski to join us, for the latter will certainly be interested in what I was to say. Rakowski appeared almost immediately. He sincerely greeted me - we knew each other for quite a long time. More than once we appeared together on television as well as during other discussions. I have written articles for "his" weekly 'Polityka'. At the time of this writing he is still Vice Premi

As I finished my short report, Jaruzelski roused up.

'Somehow they don't come to me and they don't tell me how to make Poland into Japan. Where is this Japan? I still don't see it!' - he concluded ironically.

Rakowski carried on Jaruzelski's sneers. They both began laughing or rather mocking at Solidarity...

Still in my ears, their laughter sounded strangely. Did they prepare the scenario of the future events already then?

In any case, I had a feeling of disgust after this meeting. It lasted one and a half hours, but it was no discussion. All of this was mainly my monologue. I didn't settle anything concrete even though I wanted to. One matter, at least, is worthy of a description.

I knew that Japan had approximately 6 million tons of rice on stock. It did not have the right to export this rice normally because of its heavily subsidized production. But the Japanese did sell it on very advantageous credit conditions, to the developing countries, treating this as an assistance.

I was well aware of the fact that there were many hardships in Poland and that, among other things, people could not buy any rice. So I asked the Japanese government to sell us 20 thousand tons of rice on concessionary terms. This was to be for the hospitals. I added that my Government would be interested in this. On the other hand, I dispatched a cable to Warsaw saying that it was the Japanese Government which put forward such an initial proposal. I do admit that I lied, but I had my hungry fellow countrymen before my eyes!

I looked forward to receiving Jaruzelski's decision to begin the negotiations, for the Japanese threatened with the withdrawal of their proposal.

But I was far from receiving it! Jaruzelski did not react at all. I raised the problem in several other places and here, too silence was the sole response. Suddenly, in October, I received instructions to open the negotiations, which stipulated for the shipments of rice to begin only ... after January 1, 1982. I signed the accords, but would I have known whom I was to serve by doing so, I would have never come out with the idea! Japan wanted to help the Poland which was undergoing a democratization process and thanks to me, it helped the junta...

My meetings with the top officials did not end here. I have met with many others. I had a four-hour long talk with Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej whom I knew since long years. During our meeting he spoke at least one hour with Jaruzelski who lengthily questioned him about the various positions of the yearly economic plan. Could it have been already then that 'the state of war' was being prepared? I spoke with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, J.Czyrek, the Minister of Foreign Trade, R.Karski, the Minister of Finance, M.Krzak, the Minister of Culture, J.Teichma, the chiefs of the intelligence of the Ministry of National Defense and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Generals Poradko and Słowikowski, the Minister of Internal Affairs, J.Milewski and many many other top people.

What emerged from all this was a highly confused image of the situation.

It was known that the Congress would take place, but this didn't mean anything. The rest was covered by darkness. A dialogue with Solidarity was still not likely. Rural Solidarity was finally created, although still in February, Pińkowski assured me that it shall never exist. But when it did come to existence, spokes were being put in its wheels. The same was done to Lech Wałęsa's Solidarity. The Independent Student's Union was created and from the very start it was threatened with dissolution. The censorship remained untouched, even though the press and radio-TV news have changed past all recognition.

The country understood the rejection of the 'letter' as Kania's and Jaruzelski's patriotism. I myself saw on the TV how Pietrzak spoke highly of Kania's patriotism. Maybe it was even right that, in this case, it was about Kania that he spoke...

Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński was no longer with Poland and one could sense this. He died in May before I left Tokyo.

The difficulties with the market supplies were growing everyday. It almost seemed to be a purposeful action of the government. Somehow, it did not want to justify itself for the situation and did not permit any independent social control over the distribution of goods.

In spite of all, I really had the feeling that Poland was free. The people were not the same any more. The empty talk was disappearing...

I even wanted to return and help build free Poland. 'After the Congress...' I was however being told... When in Końskie, I even went to see my mother and told her that I shall maybe return to Warsaw...

And then came the time to leave for Japan. I bid farewell to Niunia's mother and Marek, telling them, however, that I will maybe soon return...

On the morning of July 3, I flew to Moscow. I had a one-hour wait before taking a Lufthansa flight to Tokyo. I flew over Siberia. There was no single speck of light - only darkness. I had strange associations of ideas when looking at the limitless region which took such a heavy toll of human life - many of my countrymen among them...

In the morning of July 4, I landed in Narita. Niunia returned with Toofy on the chartered LOT plane on July 24 at 4p.m. Toofy was very calm. How happy we were to have him back with us. Not for long, unfortunately...

Once again I was in work up to my ears. Receptions, meetings, talks and, of course, observation of the events in Poland. The IXth Congress already took place. There were no revelations, with the exception of free elections. Jaruzelski received the majority of the votes, although they constituted only 3/4 th of those valid /this is very surprising in the Communist system where where that percentage is normally...99,99.../ Kania was the se-

cond most popular. Olszowski, Siwak and Rakowski were also elected. The latter, it was being said, wanted to be Ist Secretary of the CC with the 'accord of the Soviet comrades'...

The others? Some completely unknown individuals, many of them in the military. The only one I knew was Prof. Zbigniew Kamecki. And, as usual, lots of stupid talk during the Congress despite the presence, at it, of some members of Solidarity, such as, for example, Zofia Grzyb./1/

Polanski already pointed out to me that in the article written for the Japanese press on the occasion of July 22 /Polish national holiday/, I have 'razkhvalilem Solidarnost' /'spoken highly of Solidarity'/. But life went on. There were 'hunger marches' in Poland, one of Warsaw's main crossings on the Marszałkowska and Jerozolimska Streets has been blocked, but there have been no serious incidents.

What was to come next ? This, we did not know.

Finally, on September 16, via Brussels and Singapore, Ewa arrived in Tokyo. This time, we were all together. Only Toofy was more often sick.

I decided to go with Niunia to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. First we flew to Nagasaki. We were accompanied by Omietanski. At the airport in Nagasaki we were awaited by the Polish Father Mieczysław Mirochna, who began his missionary work in Japan together with Father Maksymilian Kolbe, prior to the Second World War./2/ I must add here that I opened the Embassy's doors to the Polish priests and friars who are in Japan. They could always come to the Embassy and to me.

In Nagasaki, I was the first Ambassador of of the PPR to visit the 'Polish Niepokalanów' /3/ as well as the Polish Dominicans working in Konagai in a establishment for mentally handicapped children. /Konagai is approximately 2 hours from Nagasaki, in Kyushu/. The Ambassador who paid them a visit before me, was the envoy of pre-war Poland, of the Free Polish Republic.

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- /1/ Zofia Grzyb was also a Party member at the time she was in the ranks of Solidarity. Somewhere in October, 1981 during a Plenum, she left Solidarity, declaring that it was not the one she had previously joined. She was considered to be a spotter of the Party.
- /2/ Father Maksymilian Kolbe was canonized in Rome on October 10, 1982. He died in the Auschwitz concentration camp by lethal injection. Of his free will he had asked to be put to death in replacement of another man - Mr. Gajowniczek who attended the canonization ceremony in Rome.
- /3/ The name Niepokalanów is derived from the Polish word 'niepokalana' - 'immaculate'. It is in Niepokalanów that Father Kolbe founded a monastery in 1927. In the 1930's the monastery counted some 700 friars occupied at different tasks. In 1930 Father Kolbe left for Japan with a mission and created, in Nagasaki, the foundations of the so-called Polish Niepokalanów. He returned to Poland shortly before the war.

Upon our arrival in our hotel in Nagasaki, there was, inside of it, a white and red Polish flag. Just a few minutes on foot separated our Park Hotel from the epicentre of the atomic explosion. Father Mirochna survived the attack. He told us all about it... And when, in the evening, we were standing on a hill and looking down at Nagasaki flooded with colorful lights, we could not believe that some 36 years ago this was an ocean of fire, which annihilated tens of thousands of human lives in just several seconds...

We went to visit the charming Arita known for its production of fine porcelain. How beautiful it was! There was a splendid museum and wonderful shops with porcelain. Mr. Yamashita, member of the Parliament and a great friend of Poland, and whom I already knew, came to Arita. He presented us with beautiful and rare pieces of local china. When leaving Japan, we unfortunately had to leave all this behind.

In Nagasaki, I was received by the municipal authorities with all the honors. The same was with the authorities of the prefecture. Some of their representatives turned out to be Catholics educated by the Polish priests. When I was in their company, Father Mirochna was my interpreter. The television broadcast extensive information on my visit.

We also visited the place of work of Maksymilian Kolbe, in the already mentioned Polish-Niepokalanów. It was there that we saw his printing workshop where he edited the small magazine ''Rycerz'' /''The Knight'', in this case, the knight of the Immaculate/. The magazine is still being printed by the Polish friars, in Japanese of course, and on more more modern equipment. That same day we saw Brother Maciej, grey-headed but still very haly and hearty, who was distributing images of the Virgin to children playing in the Peace Park.

Our friars were extremely moved by our visit. Although they grew very accustomed to the Japanese - Poland is still in their hearts. Even though they are all over 70, emotion turned them all into children. We brought them some Polish liquor. They were so happy to drink it! And then, they asked to have some more...

We visited Konagai. This was incredible! Thanks to the efforts of the Polish priests and friars an extraordinary establishment was created for hadicapped children. One of the pioneers of this establishment was Brother Zenon who, in his lifetime, saw monuments erected for him in Japan. Together with the Pronuncio, I myself planted commemorative trees for Brother Zenon at the foot of Mountain Fuji. Unfortunately, as I was informed by Father Mirochna, Brother Zenon died recently.

It was thanks to the charitable work of these Poles, especially after

the atom bombing of Nagasaki, that the establishment was founded. Only they and the Japanese Catholic Sisters, many of them christened by the Polish priests, could unreservedly sacrifice their lives to those who suffer. They have so gained the full esteem of the Japanese Government, which spares no expenses for the establishment.

It was touching to meet those Polish priests and friars. They are aging now and death has taken its toll. One of them, Father Samuel, died shortly after our return to Tokyo. I often think how poorly they live and how they almost cried seeing us with them...

One evening we were present at the projection of a Japanese movie about the life of Maksymilian Kolbe. I have modestly contributed to its production, by issuing, on my own responsibility, visas to the team which wanted to film some scenes in Poland. That evening I was publicly thanked for it. The movie about the great Pole played by the Japanese was very moving.

The vicissitudes of human life are strange. Maksymilian Kolbe returned to Poland from Japan shortly before the outbreak of World War II. It was there that he died martyred by the German assassins in Auschwitz. And several centuries earlier, European missionaries arrived in Nagasaki. Some time later, some of them, together with Japanese converts, were put to death on the order of Hideoshi. They died on a hill where there is now a monument to their martyrdom. It is here that the Polish Pope came to pray...

Yes, man's fate is unforeseeable. The greatest concentration of Christians in Japan is in Nagasaki and it is here that the atomic bomb was dropped killing many of them.

From Nagasaki we took the 'shinkansen' /bullet train/ to Hiroshima. And once again there were official visits, the laying of a wreath at the monument, the visit of the museum and of the city. When visiting the museum, we saw many exhibits and pictures already known to us from publications and documentary films. At the epicentre, there is only a commemorative plaque to remind how many people died here without leaving any trace. Just think. The impact of the hot gas wave was equivalent to 30 tons per square centimeter...

And now, the laughter of children, brought from all over Japan to visit Hiroshima, resounds as if nothing had ever happened!

It was in Hiroshima that I learned that S.Kania resigned on October 17. His place was taken by W.Jaruzelski who remained at his post of Premier and Minister of National Defense. I even thought that he was a better choice than Olszowski. Wałęsa who was in France at that time, also expressed his optimism.

Before returning back to Tokyo, we have visited the gem of the Japanese

culture - the island Miyajima. It is picturesquely situated, mountainous and covered with old beautiful trees. Deer walk freely about it and there is an impression of calm. There are old temples of a wonderful architecture on the island and it is here that there is the very known ''torii'' built in the sea. Miyajima leaves in one a magic souvenir.

Almost immediately on my return to Tokyo there were two major events awaiting me. The first of them was the arrival of ''Mazowsze'', which was to come for a tour of Japan. There was, of course, a gala concert - the one I have already mentioned, and I also received the ensemble in the Embassy. They are a very sympathetic group and I must say that their performances were a big success of the Polish culture.

The second event was the arrival, in Tokyo, of Yasser Arafat. The Japanese government didn't know how to treat this whole affair, but it looked as if everything was to be very pompous. However, everything became more complicated because of the assassination of President Sadat, who was awaited in Tokyo for November. The Japanese linked both visits and then it turned out that there would be only one...

The Arab countries as well as the ''socialist'' ones, represented by their embassies in Tokyo, were preparing themselves for this visit as for a big event. It even came to the point that the Ambassador of Syria, without my knowledge and consent, arranged with the Gaimusho all the formalities linked with my appearing at the airport to greet Arafat! When I learned this I decided not to greet Arafat at all, despite the instructions from Warsaw, according to which I was to meet him. The above incident, as well as the fact that Agca went through a PLO training camp in Lebanon and that the ties between the PLO and the Kremlin were clear to me, resulted in my not greeting Arafat. I did not participate in any other events organized for the next days. Polanski, was not satisfied with my performance... In November, I hosted in my Residence, the famous Japanese movie director Kurosawa. I gave him an invitation to Poland which he accepted. He lost count of time on this visit and drank Polish vodka with much pleasure. He was passionated by Poland. He will probably not go there now.

The last weeks and days of our stay in Japan were somehow nervous. I wanted to go to Warsaw at my own expense and find out what was going on in Poland. The news, as I have already said, was disquieting. Finally, I abandoned this idea and began thinking about my trip to the Philippines, where I was to present my credentials...

On the eve of the introduction of the ''martial law'' that is Saturday, December 12, the Japanese composer, Mr. Matsudaira, invited Niunia and myself for a lunch in a very typical Japanese restaurant in Ginza. We liked

Mr. and Mrs. Matsudaira very much, even more so, that Mr. Matsudaira speaks Polish. We enjoyed the Japanese shabu-shabu - thinly sliced beef dipped into a boiling brew with all kinds of vegetables in it. We drank sake. According to the Japanese custom, Mrs. Matsudaira, together with the waitress, served us, remaining all the time on her knees.

We told ourselves funny anecdotes and the world seemed so beautiful to us! We really came to love Japan and the Japanese! It is such a unique Nation and such a unique country!

What happened next is already known. Next day, the image of the world changed radically in our eyes.

In point of fact, the world gave way under our feet. My whole activity based itself on the construction of a noble and wise Poland undergoing a process of democratization. And now all this was heels up. I could never appear before the Japanese and the diplomatic corps for whom I wanted to create a good image of Poland. What would I say? Would I justify the 'state of war'? Would I state that Lech Wałęsa and Solidarity's delegation whom I have hosted, are counter-revolution? What would have become of my spirit of tolerance and compromise, apparently so traditional in Poland?

But not only did I not want to be a miserable liar or cynic. I really thought there has already been enough experimenting with Communism and Soviet imperialism! I decided not only not to represent the junta and its Soviet mandataries, but also to fight it! This was the logical continuation of my activity in Japan where I was not the Ambassador of the PPR but of P O L A N D...

And that Poland, the Poland of my hopes, slipped away from under my feet at midnight on December 13, 1981.

Resigning my post would have been puerility. Nobody would have ever known I did this. I would play no role in the PPR - neither among the 'moderates' nor, and the more so, among the opposition. I would be removed from the Party or I would have to leave it on my own. I wouldn't sign the declaration of 'loyalty' and it would be impossible for me to be professor at the Central School of Planning and Statistics, or anywhere else. Remaining in the deep background, would certainly be the outcome and I would become embittered and finally passive. However, I decided to fight and not to give in.

I was invited on October 8, to the CNN program, to participate, at 10p.m., in the Freeman Report. The entire program was focussed on the disbanding of Solidarity by the Sejm... Sandi Freeman, the known publicist on whose program I have already appeared more than once, asked me what the Government of the U.S. should do in this

situation. My answer was that it should withdraw the Most-Favored Nation Trade Status, which Poland has in the U.S., and that it should announce the PPR in default.

October 9, 1982, I listened to the radio address by President Reagan in which he spoke, among others, of the Polish affairs. He withdrew the MFNTS from the PPR and, as regards further sanctions towards the USSR and the PPR, he said he shall consult his allies...

And then, once again the world turned its attention to the Polish problems. The Gdańsk shipyard went on strike once more. At that moment, I was in Texas where I could watch the events on the television. Unfortunately, the strike collapsed. Afterwards, Underground Solidarity appealed for a general strike for November 10, the date of the 2nd anniversary of Solidarity's registration in the Warsaw court. But once again, difficulties emerged. It came to a meeting between Primate Józef Glemp and W. Jaruzelski, and the Pope's visit, which had been postponed, was announced for Spring 1983. The Primate clearly appealed for calm and unequivocally did not support the idea of a general strike.

Another piece of startling news was Lech Wałęsa's letter to Jaruzelski, as well as his liberation on November 8. The attack on Władysław Frasyniuk, leader of the most active underground Solidarity organization in Wrocław, came as no lesser a shock.

All these events had their influence on the strike which, finally, misfired. The events of the next day, November 11, were also a pale reflection of earlier demonstrations.

The situation was analogous on December 13, the first anniversary of imposition of the 'state of war'.

On the eve of the decision to suspend 'martial law', on Dec. 16, 1982, I was condemned to death in absentia. The American television broadcast the news immediately, and the newspapers followed the next day. Lou Walters, of the CNN channel, announced the information on the 6 p.m. news, twisting somewhat my name. My wife had tears in her eyes and she shook her fist at the screen. I took this calmly, for, when leaving the Embassy of the PPR in Tokyo, I already knew that this would be the verdict. Ewa, as usual, received the news in a 'fighting mood'... Earlier that year, my friend, Ambassador Roman Spasowski, was also condemned to death in absentia. It was somewhere at the beginning of the month of October.

The effect was that, thanks to the initiative of my American friends, Mr. William Gill and Mr. Reed Irvine, a press conference was organized, on December 22, 1982, in the National Press Building in Washington, D.C. It was very animated. The television and press gave large excerpts from it and

C-SPAN channel broadcast it entirely. I also gave interviews, in Polish and in Russian, to Voice of America. These were on the air the same day. Some time later they echoed to me from Poland and even... Australia.

Once again, my television appearances showered. I was even invited to Detroit for a nationwide program which, I was said, was a success. And, of course, the ubiquitous Japanese television, taped an interview with me. So did two Japanese newspaper publishing houses /one of these interviews was conducted by Miss Tomiko Ushida thanks to whom the present book found its way to the Japanese reader./

After all these events, I made many trips - to Seattle, Pittsburgh, Asheville, only to mention some. In Washington, D.C., I also had a series of very interesting meetings. Others are still bound to take place even before the present book shall find itself on the shelves of Japanese bookshops.

It is only natural that I should consider Polish affairs as the breath of my life. As I write these words, Poland is once again on the center of international interest.

What will come next? We shall see. Brezhnev died. Andropov is worse than him. Tension in the world is growing. The Polish question is not only our internal affair. The global conflict is under way and Poland constitutes only one of its parts.

I shall yet return to this problem in the final Chapter.

C_H_A_P_T_E_R__I_I.

Gierek's Economic Advisor.

One of the most interesting experiences of my life was my Economic Advisorship to Edward Gierek. Gierek was First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party /PZPR/ or Communist Party /1/. He assumed this post in December 1970 taking it over from Władysław Gomułka who was toppled by bloody workers' riots in the Baltic port cities. He remained at this post up to September 6, 1981 when he himself was toppled by the creation of 'Solidarity'.

In all countries known as ''peoples' democracies'', to which Poland also belongs, not saying anything about the USSR and other Communist countries, the monopoly of power is held in the hands of the Communist Party. The head of this Party, even if he does not hold any official State and Governmental functions, is the indisputable ruler of the country. The Central Committee is the power center, although, in fact, it is the Politburo and the First Secretary or Party boss, who assume all power. In some of the Communist countries, such as the Soviet Union under Stalin, North Korea under Kim-Il-Sung, Albania under Hoxha or Cuba under Castro, it is the Party boss who has the absolute monopoly of power.

Being thus in the center of power, I could at least see how it functions.

True, that Poland has never been a genuine Communist country despite her official status, but still, the rule of the Communist Party has been a fact of life in the postwar period. Communist rule in Poland had not been established in response to peoples' free choice, but imposed by the Red Army which ''liberated'' Poland between July 1944 and March-April 1945.

In Poland, Communism has never been popular. The fact that the Bolshevik revolution won in Russia who, for nearly two centuries earlier has been Poland's oppressor, was traumatic for the Poles. It must be remembered that, in November 1918 Poland regained her independence after 123 years of partition by Russia, Germany and Austria. Soon after this, Poland's existence was threatened by Soviet Russia, Already in December of 1918 Soviet Russia adopted a secret plan, ''Operation Vistula'', by which Poland was to become part of it. Ill-defined, Poland's Eastern border was a subject of constant tension, with skirmishes lasting throughout 1919. However, Poland did not want to interfere in Russia's civil war and interventions in foreign countries. She believed that Russia's internal strife was the best guarantor of the young independence of Poland.

/1/ The Communist Party of Poland /KPP/ created in December 1918, was dissolved by Comintern decision in 1938. All its leadership, either sojourning in Moscow, or summoned to it, was shot. The Comintern decision forbade Poles to reestablish a Communist Party. Stalin changed his mind during the II WW and the Party was reestablished under the name of Polish Workers' Party /PPR/ in January 1942. In December 1948 it ''merged'' with the Polish /p.91/

But further developments inside Russia pushed Poland for action. This was mainly due to the movement for Ukraine's independence. It was Ataman S. Petlura who led Ukraine's freedom fighters. The leader of Poland, Marshal Józef Piłsudski, decided to help Petlura, especially that Polish intelligence services reported huge massing of Soviet troops, North-East of Poland, under the command of M. Tukhachevsky, later chief of the Red Army /executed by Stalin in 1938/. Prompting the Soviet offensive and wishing to support Petlura's fight, Piłsudski, by the end of April 1920, launched an attack in the direction of Kiev. The attack of only 9 Polish and 2 Ukrainian divisions, led to the taking of Kiev by the Polish troops, early in May. Unfortunately, the Mounted Army under Budionny, which defeated White Russian armies in the South earlier than believed, outflanked the Polish army. The Tukhachevsky offensive was started from the North-East. The Polish armies went on retreat. Poland was in mortal danger. Tukhachevsky's order read : ''..Over Poland's body to Europe...'' Lenin, Trotsky and other believed that with the elimination of Poland, the Red Army will enter Germany and Hungary where existed a ''revolutionary situation''. And then, on to the whole of Europe. And later, the world. Everything was to fall to Communism...

Poland, however, resisted. Left completely alone, she defeated the Soviet armies in the huge Battle of Warsaw in August 1920 as well as in the South. The victory was lightning. Poland was saved, and, with her, all of Europe and perhaps even the world.

This very fact made the Poles even more apprehensive of Communism. They saw the atrocities of the Red Army and of Cheka and knew more about the horrors of the Bolshevik Revolution than any other nation. Virtually, millions of Poles lived in Russia and later, when fleeing to Poland, they would tell about the things they had witnessed. Combined with past memories of Tsarist Russia, the experience of new Soviet Russia and her preached Communism, was hardly appealing to the Poles.

Moreover, the newly created Polish Communist Party, tightly subordinated to Comintern /a "delegate" of Comintern participated at all the Politburo meetings of this Party/ not only had the task of undermining the young Polish state, by actively preparing an armed revolt, but was also preaching the cession of half of Poland to the USSR and the other part to Germany which, it was believed, was soon to become Communist. For this simple reason, Communists in Poland were considered to be traitors. The total number of members of the Polish Communist Party never exceeded 16 thousand and, at times, fell to 4 thousand. They consisted mostly of non-ethnic Poles. These numbers clearly

point to the fact that the number of members, for a nation of over 30 millions, was negligible.

As mentioned above, the Party was dissolved, in 1938, by Stalin. This was the only such case in the Communist movement ever. It was never clear as to what led Stalin to this decision. Perhaps, he had, at that time, some plans for partitioning Poland anew and did not want any problems even with Polsi Communists.

As known, on August 23, 1939, the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was signed. This emboldened Hitler to attack Poland on September 1, 1939. According to secret protocol to the said pact, the USSR attacked Poland on September 17, 1939. The new partition of Poland resulted therefrom.

Over half of the Polsi territory was acquired by the Soviet Union. This territory was inhabited by over 40 per cent of Poland's population. It was all simply incorporated by the USSR. The Soviet Union vehemently fought against any idea of Poland's rebirth. The persecution of Poles by Soviet authorities was massive. 1.7 million Poles were deported deep into the USSR, where tens of thousands of them perished; there were about 300 thousand Polish POW's, 15 thousand of whom, officers and intellectuals, were murdered in Katyń and elsewhere in April-May 1940. All these facts added to the already strained relations between the two countries.

Later, however, upon Hitler's attack on the USSR, in June 1941, the Polish-Government-in-exile in London, under the premiership of General Władysław Sikorski, decided to reestablish diplomatic relations with the USSR. This was in July 1941 and General Sikorski went even to Moscow in December 1941 in order to sign the treaty with Stalin. The Polsi Army, under General Władysław Anders, was being created in the USSR. It was to fight together with the already existing Polish armed forces in the West as well as inside occupied Poland.

Unfortunately, Stalin had some other designs. He simply wanted 'his' Poland and not a truly independent one. He obstructed, as much as he could, the creation of General Anders's army which was finally forced to leave the USSR for Iran and, later, fought on the front in Italy.

Using the pretext of Katyń, Stalin broke diplomatic and other relations with the Polish Government-in-exile in London, by the end of April 1943. In the meantime, he succeeded in reestablishing the already mentioned Communist Party under the new name of Polish Workers' Party in January 1942. In Moscow, he established the 'Union of Polish Patriots' under Wanda Wasilewska, a known leftist activist, whose husband, A.Koneychuk, was a Soviet writer. Stalin also created the 'Bureau of the Polish Communists' under Alexander Zawadzki, a veteran Soviet agent. And finally, in May, Stalin

created also his own Polish Army under another Soviet agent, Colonel Zygmunt Berling.

Thus, Stalin was methodically preparing the absorption of Poland. His air forces savagely bombarded Warsaw in 1943. And it was in Warsaw that the center of the Polish Underground existed. When moving into and through Poland, his armies disarmed, deported and executed Polish freedom fighters, even if, only hours before they fought together against the Germans.

Finally, on July 22, 1944, in "liberated" Lublin the "PKWN Manifesto" was published. The PKWN or "Polish Committee of National Liberation" was, in fact, a Soviet sponsored government which was later to be recognized as such by the Soviets/.

It should be explained that, during the Tehran Conference in November 1943, both the US and the UK yielded to Stalin and accepted his thirst for Polish territories occupied by him in September 1939. Reentering these territories once again in 1944, the Soviet armies were then once again incorporating them into the USSR, and this, with all the horrible consequences. Poland was to be recompensated in the West and the North with lands that have been lost to the Germans in the past centuries.

In view of the unfolding situation and with the Soviet armies at the gates of Warsaw, the Polish Home Army, subordinated to the Government-in-exile in London, decided to launch an uprising to be followed in other parts of Poland. The date was set for August 1, 1944. The Soviets were even appealing for it. However, the offensive of the Red Army came to a halt. The German armies, still very strong, took on the Uprising. Stalin not only denied any assistance to it by barring even American, British and Polish transport planes from using Soviet airfields /the planes flew in from Italy with supplies/, but actually forbade the Polish Army under Soviet command to help the Uprising. And when one of its detachments stormed Warsaw across the Vistula River and established a bridgehead, it was left without the slightest aid and, after 8 days, was destroyed by the Germans.

Warsaw was dying heroically for 63 days while the Soviets watched on. Some 250 thousand Warsawites perished...

Most obviously, this fact again strained the feelings of Poles towards the Soviets. So did all their excesses committed in former Polish territories, or in those "liberated" by them between the Bug and Vistula rivers prior to the January 1945 offensive. The same excesses were later repeated in other territories "liberated" by the Red Army in result of that offensive. The Underground leaders, not intending to oppose the Red Army, were lured by it, arrested and later tried in Moscow /the so-called Trial of The Sixteen in May 1945/.

And yet, the Sovietisation of Poland was not as simple as one might think. Despite the fact that the US and the UK yielded to Stalin in Tehran and Yalta, the concessions were not tantamount to the total incorporation of Poland into the USSR as it was the case with the Baltic States. Poland was to be free and democratic, ~~the~~ Western powers demanded. Ironically, Stalin was saying exactly the same thing, meaning and understanding something completely different under these terms.

Moreover, ''liberated'' Poland was terribly ravaged by the war, with some 6.3 million people killed and another 6 million leaving the country for good /most of them were non-ethnic Poles/. Some 40 per cent of Poland's national estate lay in ruins. Poland changed her frontiers being reduced in her territory by almost one fourth. Almost 50 per cent of the population was threatened by tuberculosis and the country was terribly impoverished. The Nazi occupation left extreme anti-German feelings which outweighed those directed against the Soviets. The ''new realities'' were thus still viewed as better than those under the Nazi occupation. Therefore, the Soviets could rely on Poles as anti-German fighters. The Soviet led Polish Army half a million strong fought well on the Eastern front, in Berlin included. This gave the impression that Poland was Poland after all.

Furthermore, by pushing Poland Westward, the Soviets counted on making her dependent on them in the future. They were rightly anticipating that both the Germans and the Western powers, the US and the UK first of all, will be opposing Poland's new Western frontiers./The fact is that they all accepted Poland's Eastern frontiers!/. And the Soviets were correct in their previsions. This gave the Communists a real legitimacy in Poland and the USSR became her ''protector'' /this situation was later very much changed, especially by the Polono-West German Treaty of December 1970 which recognized Poland's Western frontiers./

There existed yet another set of issues. Due to US-British pressure, Stalin agreed to create Poland's coalition government in June 1945. Former Polish Premier-in-exile Stanisław Mikołajczyk /Mikołajczyk became Premier after the death, in Gibraltar, of General Władysław Sikorski, in June 1943/ and some other ''London Poles'' returned to Poland and joined the said Government. Mikołajczyk even created an opposition party, the Polish Peasants' Party /PSL/ which, from the numerical point of view, was the strongest in Poland /in 1945 some 0,6 million members, compared to 0,25 million members of the Communist Party./

It must be added here that all this was happening under very specific circumstances. The Soviet armies, over 3 million men strong, swept over Poland establishing their effective control over her. The Communists and the

underground forces led by them had no more than 30 thousand members in 1944. That was less than 5 per cent of the overall Underground in Poland! The 'Lublin Government', however, not only had the Army under its command /in fact, they were both under the Soviets/, but first of all, the newly created and Soviet-led security police. With the help of both, and using anti-German and anti-Western slogans /the latter because of the already mentioned problem of Poland's Western frontiers/, as well as preying on the patriotic feelings of Poles and making social promises to the impoverished country, the Communists established effective control. Millions of Soviet troops still remained in Poland and around her.

Whatever the situation was, the Communists grew in number through 1945. I myself, at the age of 15 joined the Communist Youth League /ZWM/ and, in 1946 the Polish Workers' Party /otherwise, the Communist Party/.

Why did I do it? Well, I somehow did not believe that Poland would be liberated by the Americans and the British. I took the very decision of joining the Communist movement after a conversation with the Party's District Secretary who told me that, 'if Polish Communists were not to rule Poland, she would then become the Soviet Union's sixteenth Republic'. And I believed he was right. Many Poles, at that time, were embittered with the West which sold out Poland and refused to recognize her Western frontiers, while readily recognizing the Eastern ones. Many wanted to live in peace and rebuild the country. Especially that, at the beginning, the Communist Party was neither saying that any 'Socialism' was Poland's future, nor doing anything which would suggest clearly such a course. The Church was free in its activities, there was no collectivisation of agriculture and small businesses were flourishing. Despite Soviet plunder /Poland was also forced to deliver, to the USSR, 100 million tons of coal as 'war reparations', even though Poland was not at war with the USSR during the Second World War!/, the standard of living was rising fast and Warsaw as well as other cities were being rebuilt with speed and enthusiasm. Millions of people were establishing their living anew. Education, banned during the war, was thriving. Many Party members, myself including, had no slightest idea what Marxism-Leninism was. They were leftist, but still much more nationalistic than Communist.

But this was not the reason for which the Communists were winning. It was rather because of the massive Soviet presence inside Poland and around her, as well as because of the security police terror. During the June 1946 REFERENDUM only some 15 per cent of the voters supported the new regime. There was a kind of civil war which cost some 70 thousand lives. And yet, there was no retreat. There was no chance that Poland could escape Soviet

domination. One could only have hoped to make it more bearable /as I have been always trying to do/. Poland was not Yugoslavia or Albania. Strategically, she is too important for Soviet domination of Eastern Europe or even for the Soviet superpower status.

After staging 'elections' in January 1947, and fabricating their result, the Communist Party was well in saddle. Official opposition waned because of persecutions, Mikołajczyk fled Poland and the armed resistance was crushed. The Communist Party whose membership rose eightfold in 1945 and in the next 3 years, was again trebled, became the unchallenged master of Poland.

Still, Polesi Communism, at that time, was far from the Soviet model and Władysław Gomułka, the Party boss, was toying with the idea of 'Poland's road to Socialism'.

But, in July 1948 Gomułka was quietly, and then very loudly, removed from power by a pro-Soviet wing. It was headed by Bolesław Bierut, once a professional NKVD-ist. The Stalinist era descended on Poland and lasted until March 1956, i.e. until Bierut's death.

However, even this Stalinist era was milder than in other Eastern European countries, not saying anything about the USSR itself. Yet, it was harsh enough to strengthen anti-Soviet and anti-Communist sentiments in Poland. They exploded, in June 1956, when Polish workers took to the streets in Poznań. Dozens of them were killed. Not in vain however, The leadership of the Communist Party realized that there are limits to terror. It went for certain concessions and restored W. Gomułka to power. This latter concession was paradoxically demanded by the people who considered it to be a lesser evil in Poland's geopolitical situation. In October 1956, took place the 'coup d'état at the top' and Gomułka took the Party's leadership. Khrushchev and his aides descended unexpectedly on Warsaw and threatened the Party leadership with military intervention. But Gomułka resisted and it almost came to the clash. Khrushchev backed down. The situation in Poland was, partly at least, improved. Collectivisation was abandoned altogether, the Catholic Church, persecuted during the Stalinist era, gained new freedoms, just as did all Poles. Economically, the situation improved markedly. It looked that Soviet domination and Communization of Poland were very much weakened. This even made many Communists, like myself, welcomed. It was obvious that neither Soviet domination nor Communism could be done away with completely, but life was becoming quite bearable.

Unfortunately, this state of things did not last too long. Although Polish Communism was not totally Soviet-styled, it was still Communism. The same was true of Soviet domination. Even if, outwardly, its forms were relaxed,

inwardly, they only became strengthened. Especially, after 1960. The USSR was gradually becoming a super power, had strong strategic interests in Poland and was in no mood to give her more freedom and democracy. And Gomulka was yielding to Soviet pressures. Finally, having abandoned most of the initiated and promised reforms, he ran into many troubles, mostly economic. It were the latter which led to the said riots in the Baltic cities in December 1970. And this was Gomulka's downfall.

What was I doing in the meantime?

After having graduated from high school, I moved to Warsaw in 1950. I began studies in international economics and foreign trade. I was a Party activist. In July 1953 I went to Korea with the Polish military unit which was to supervise the armistice there. I returned in 1954, got married and, in November 1954, I began work with the Central Committee of the Party. I also continued my studies. Thus, many of the events which occurred at that time in Poland, I observed from the Central Committee. However, I was that much disillusioned with everything, that I left this job in September 1956, after having received my M.A.. I began working with the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The same month, I was forced to join the Military Intelligence.

In 1958, I began my doctoral studies and I received my Ph.D. in October 1962. Soon afterwards, we left, together with our daughter Ewa who was born in January 1956, for Washington, D.C. I was nominated Commercial Attaché at the Polish Embassy. Before that, in the first half of 1959, I was on a UN fellowship in Geneva, Switzerland and travelled also to the Federal Republic of Germany, England and Austria. After that, I was to travel a good deal, visiting even Japan in October-November 1959.

I had many problems in the United States. Since I did not treat this country as my enemy, I tried not to hurt it with my intelligence activities. This, however, increased suspicions back in Warsaw. Pretending to be mostly interested with economics, which was true for I wrote a book on US direct investments abroad, I avoided any other activities in my spare time. The close surveillance of the FBI facilitated my inactivity. And when I realized that all this was not satisfying for Polish authorities, I asked to be recalled back to Warsaw. And so, I was recalled in June 1966.

In Warsaw, I was nominated Advisor to the Minister of Foreign Trade. From 1967 I began teaching at the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. I was proposed to return to the Central Committee but I refused.

1/ Going to Korea by train, via the USSR, and China /the trip lasted 19 days/ I witnessed many things. I was mostly horrified with the USSR. It was the time when many Gulags were freeing their inmates. I saw many of them and lived through quite a lot of hair-raising episodes.

I was far too much disillusioned with the Party and with 'Socialism'. This feeling increased after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. I was many times in the USSR and other East European countries, as well as in the West and in the developing countries and I had no illusion that Communism was not Poland's future.

At the same time, I wanted to stay in Poland as long as I could. I love my country and, despite Soviet domination and Communism, I believed that this was the place where I ought to have lived. After the invasion of Czechoslovakia, I thought, for the first time, about asking political asylum. However, three days after this tragic event, I went to Geneva and saw little sympathy in the West for Czechoslovakia. The US was deep in the Indochinese war and the rest of the world was scared of the USSR. How then, could I think about defecting at a time like that?

In December 1969, instead, I was nominated Permanent Representative of the PPR to GATT / General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade/ and, later, Deputy Ambassador to the UN in Geneva.

And then, came the downfall of Gomulka and Gierek's accession to power which was accompanied by some improvements. When I heard about this, I wanted to try another chance. Perhaps, I thought, Poland could somehow live?

Therefore, I did not defect but returned to Poland as Gierek's Economic Advisor. The detailed story of this advisorship follows. I wrote it in a narrative way and remained very honest. I am presently the only man, living now in the Free World who, for a period of 16 months almost continuously attended Politburo meetings of the ruling Communist Party. It is thus worth giving the account of their functioning. The story will illustrate how the most vital problems of the country were being prepared for these meetings, how they were discussed and what resulted from all this.

If there are people who still wonder how the subsequent crisis in Poland came about, they may now learn how it was being built thanks to the very activities of the Politburo itself.

I leave the drawing of conclusions to the Reader who can formulate his ideas when reading this account.

Many people who still believe in Communism may now learn how it works in the center of power. And although Poland is not the USSR, certain things are common to both and are typical of ruling Communist parties in general.

With this comment, then, let me proceed with my account.

I held the function of Economic Advisor to Edward Gierek, the former First Secretary of the PUWP, from the second half of September 1971 to December 31, 1972. It was at this latter date that I left this post upon my own request. During the New Year cocktail party in the Chancery of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, I bid farewell to my co-workers and I expressed my wishes of success to Paweł Bożyk, at that time docent and later professor, who was to be my successor. On January 4, 1973, together with my wife, daughter and Toofy, our brown cocker-spaniel, we left, in our VW 'beetle', for Geneva. Our route led us through East and West Germany. On January 7, 1973 I was to begin working at UNCTAD, in the character of Special Advisor to the Secretary General of this organization.

Thus had ended one important stage in my life and I was entering another one.

The 16-month-long period of my advisorship to Gierek belonged to one of the most interesting in my life. Considering his person as well as the subsequent events in Poland, that period is worth of being described. It is not, after all, solely my own personal business. My recollections may constitute a contribution to the understanding of the newest history of Poland. And this must certainly interest more people than the Poles themselves.

Before I pass to the description of my advisorship, I would like to share, to begin with, a general reflexion. Gierek has been liberated from some kind of arrest, whose form and whereabouts were not clear. Apparently, he is being charged with bringing the PPR to ruin. The same applies to the group of his closest collaborators, with the former Prime Minister, Piotr Jaroszewicz, at their head.

In my own case, the Military Tribunal in Warsaw, condemned me, on December 17, 1982 to death in absentia for an alleged high treason. My entire property has also been confiscated.

Somehow then, both Gierek and I, have found ourselves in collision with Jaruzelski's junta, although for diametrically opposed reasons.

Therefore, I feel under the obligation to speak out, at least on the question of Gierek's culpability for, as far as I am concerned, I do not feel at the least guilty.

Gierek's name was known to me for many years prior to my becoming his advisor. During my first job at the Central Committee of the PUWP, which I al-

so left upon my own request, after having worked there from November 1954 to August 1956, I already knew very well who Gierek was. At that time, he headed the Heavy Industry Division of the Central Committee. It was being said that he was an engineer of the so-called Resolution 49, which bestowed university diplomas and corresponding titles to various 'practicians' who, very often, didn't have a secondary school certificate or, if they did, it was obtained in a similar fashion. These 'practicians' often originated in the Party and State apparatus.

I also knew that Gierek was once a minor and that he spent many years, together with the war period, abroad that is, in France and Belgium. It was there that he had been active in the Communist and trade-unionist movement. Moreover, I can recall various rumors concerning his swift career. At the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee in March 1956, after Bierut's suicide, he was chosen Secretary of the Central Committee and, at the 7th Plenum, in July 1956, he even became member of the Politburo. He was then regarded as a rising star.

This star, however, had been momentarily dimmed. At the 8th Plenum, in October 1956, Gomułka did not keep him in the Politburo and sent him to Katowice where he became the First Secretary of the Viowodship Committee. He was simultaneously member of the Sejm for the Katowice region.

As known, Gierek reentered the Politburo only after the Fourth Polish United Workers' Party /PUWP/ Congress in June 1964 and also conserved his position at the next, Fifth Congress, in November 1968.

Undoubtedly then, there existed some forces which pushed Gierek upwards.

The first time I had a better look at Gierek was in the Sejm /Polish parliament/ where, for a reason I cannot now recall, I listened to the debates. At that time I was already working at the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The debates took place after the events of October 1956.

I must admit that, when I saw Gierek on the speakers' platform, he made quite an impression. He was tall, strongly built and, as usual, his hair was shortly cut. He thundered with his resounding voice. His pronouncement undoubtedly arrested the attention even of those members of the Sejm who, apart from several of the most important personalities, never listened to anybody else.

I still remember the general contents of his pronouncement. He reproved the intellectuals and the youth for their "... calf-like amazement with the West." It was in reference to the wave of liberalization which swept over Poland. On that occasion, the peoples' natural interest for the West, which up to now was painted only in the darkest colors, was growing. In any case, Gierek's speech was not to my liking, as far as its contents were con-