

**POLAND: MANAGING SOCIO-POLITICAL
CHANGE IN THE POST COMMUNIST PERIOD**



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CERTIFICATE

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the name of Allah the most gracious, the most merciful

“All praise is due to Allah so we praise Him. We seek His pardon and turn to Him. We seek refuge with Allah from the evils of ourselves and from the evils of consequences of our deeds. Whom Allah guides aright, there is none to lead him astray”

Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be upon him)



DEDICATION

The study is respectfully dedicated to my Parents. They brought me up with greatest loving care and they filled my soul with the beauty and fragrance of truth. So whatever good I have achieved is mostly due to their prayers and encouragements. Their support and prayers have been an invaluable source of strength for me. May Allah bless them.

ABSTRACT

The Communization of Central and Eastern Europe was a historical event but much more historical and surprising event of the last century was its transformation to the liberal democracy. It was started in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, but undoubtedly, the duration of this transformation process was the shortest in Poland as compared to other countries, i.e. from 1989 to 1992. Moreover, Poland with its distinctive socio-political and religious values was the first who skillfully managed the challenges of that great transformation and within a period of eight years, i.e. from 1989 to 1997, accomplished the task of establishing very consistent socio-political, religious and financial institutions. The successful management of that transformation is evident from the fact that Poland remained the only European state that avoided the effects of the Global Financial Crisis.

After transformation, Poland's accession to EU paved the way to shift its foreign trade towards the most developed economies of the EU, and raised the living standards of its citizens. The transformation from the status of recipient to a donor state was a great Psychological shift for Polish Nation. Poland's active participation in EU development strategies like Eastern Partnership and neighborhood policies has given new dimensions to the concept of regional integration. Its engagement in US led NATO operations in Afghanistan as the largest Eastern European contributor and at the same

time its involvement in the Tripartite US Missile Defense Shield has almost changed the entire concept of European Security.

This case study is an attempt to evaluate that the Polish transformation and its successful management was merely interplay of its socio-cultural, political, economic and religious institutions. Other countries can learn a lot of lessons from the “Transition Economics” a pure Polish model for sustainable development. Furthermore Poland by developing a peaceful co-existence with highly powerful and dynamic Catholic Church has presented another unique model for states that have been apprehending “Theocracy” or “Theo-democracy”.

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By the grace of almighty Allah and the patronage of my parents and encouragement of my teachers I could manage to complete the study. I am greatly indebted to my teachers especially Professor Dr. M. Nazar-ul Islam, Professor Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani and Professor Dr. Mumtaz Ahmed who tolerated my follies and fault all the time. I pray for their healthiest, prosperous long lives so their intellectual abilities may benefit the humanity. It is great honor for me that Professor Dr. Ijaz Shafi Gilani has supervised the study and corrected me on facts and opinions. His supervision was not confined merely to academic guidance, I learned much more from him while he taught some complex courses. Dr. Gilani has an expertise to resolve the most complicated problems of social research in an unproblematic and simplest way. May Allah always bless him and reward his contribution.

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All mistakes, faults, omission, errors of fact or style and lapses are of course, unintentional, but mine and I am entirely responsible for the contents of the study.

Saifullah Khan

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ABBREVIATIONS

 APA	Agricultural Property Agency
 APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
 AWS	Solidarity Electoral Actions
 CBSS	Council of the Baltic Sea States
 CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
 CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Agreement
 CND	Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (UK)
 ECE	East Central Europe
 EEC	European Economic Community.
 ERA	European Research Area
 EU	European Union
 EUR	Euro
 FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
 GAD	Gender And Development
 GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tarrif.
 GDP	Gross Domestic Product
 GPT	Green Political Theory

 HDI	Human Development Index
 ICC	International Criminal Court
 ICJ	International Court of Justice
 ILO	International Labor Organization
 IO	International organization
 IPE	International Political Economy
 ISDN	Integrated System of Digital Network
 ITO	International Trade Organization.
 IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
 KLD	Liberal Democratic Congress.
 MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investments
 MNC	Multi-national Corporation
 NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
 NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
 NDP	National Development Plan
 NGO	Non-governmental organization
 NMS	New Member States (of the European Union)
 NTB	Non-Trade Barrier
 OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

 PC	Centre Alliance.
 PiS	Law and Justice Party.
 PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
 PPR	Polish Peasant Party.
 PPS	Purchasing Power Standard
 PZPR	Polish United Worker Party.
 R&D	Research and Development
 RA-AWS	Social Movement Solidarity Electoral Action.
 SAP	Structural Adjustment Policy (IMF)
 SDRP	Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland
 SIP	Share Issue Privatizations
 SIPs	Share Issue Privatizations
 SLD	Democracy Left Alliance.
 SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
 SOI	State Owned Enterprises
 TNC	Transnational Corporation
 UD	Democratic Alliance.
 UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
 UNDP	United Nations Development Program

 USSR	Union Of Socialist Soviet Republics
 WHO	World Health Organization
 WID	Women in international development
 WMD	Weapons of mass destruction

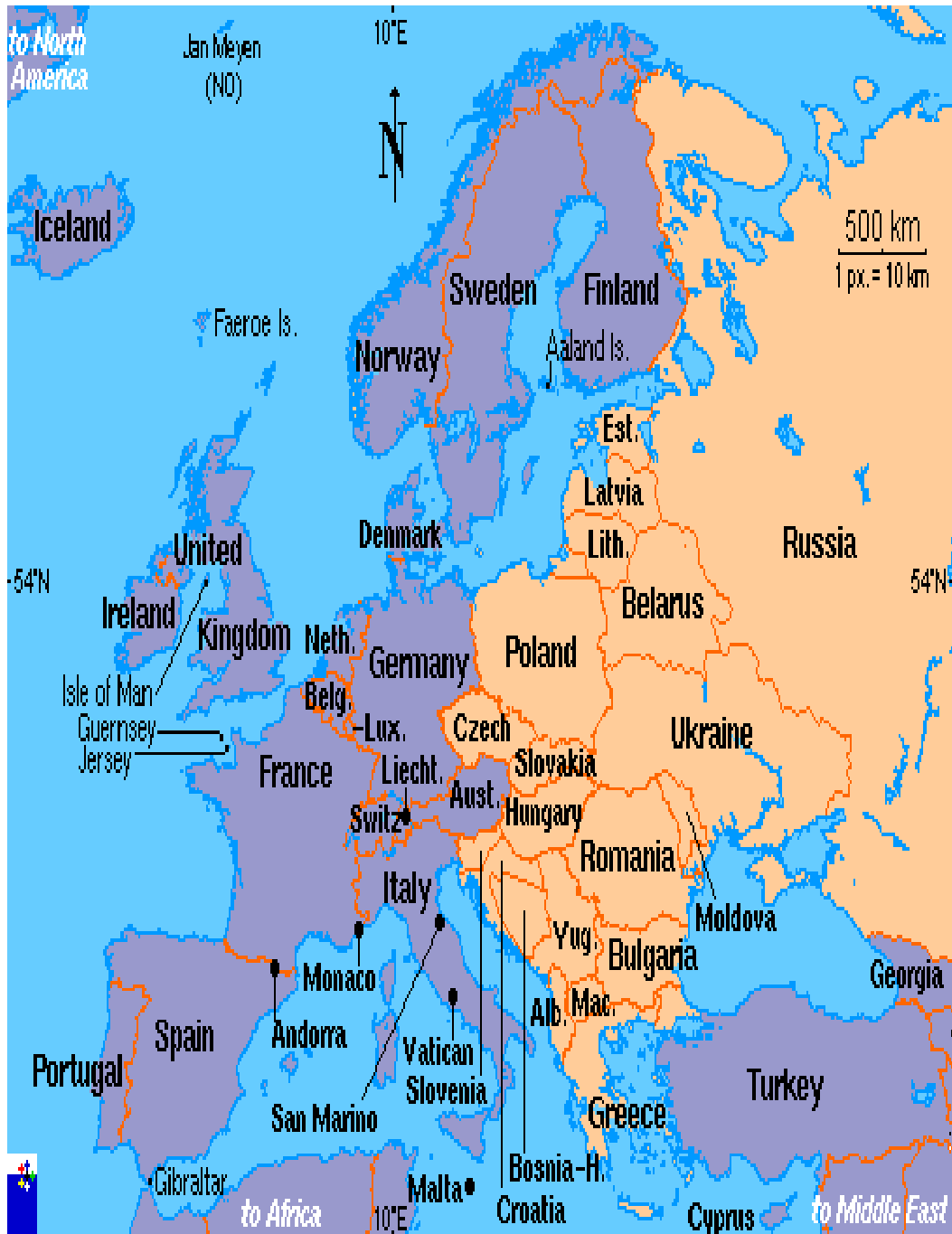
Polish Words with English Pronunciation

Polish Words	English Pronunciations
➤ Duke Mieszko	Myeshkoh
➤ Jadwiga	Yadveegah
➤ Jagiello	Yogailah
➤ Piast	Pyast
➤ Szlachta	Shlakhtah
➤ Wladyslaw	Vlahdyslav
➤ Jaruzelski	Jaruzeski
➤ Tadeusz Mazowwiecki	Taiuzz Mazowaski

Profile of C.E.E States

Country Name	Area Sq Km	Population	Literacy	GDP	Status in W.P	Life expectancy
Ukraine	603,700	48,396,470	99.7%	6,900 \$	-----	69.68
Belarus	207,600	10,335,382	98.6%	11,800\$	-----	68.72
Poland	312,685	38,625,478	99.8%	17,300\$	EU and NATO	74.74
Czech Republic	78,866	10,256,670	99.9%	26,100\$	EU and NATO	76.02
Slovakia	48,845	5,422,366	99.6%	21,900\$	EU and NATO	74.5
Hungary	93,030	10,075,034	99.4%	19,800\$	EU and NATO	72.4
Estonia	45,226	1,415,681	99.8%	21,200\$	EU and NATO	71.77
Latvia	64,589	2,366,515	99.8%	17,800\$	EU and NATO	71.05
Lithuania	65,200	3,601,515	99.6%	17,700\$	EU and NATO	73.97
Total CEE Region	15,19,741	1,30,495,111	Average: 99.7%	Average: 17,834 \$		Average: 72.59

1. Map- 1-Central and Eastern Europe



Source: "CIA the World Fact book Poland," 2008, CIA, 28 Nov, 2008

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Communization of Central and Eastern Europe has been one of the most extraordinary political experiments of the last century. It entirely changed ideas, values, institutions and loyalties. But Communism failed to fulfill its promises and in some cases left them less developed.

Communism actually refers to a socio-economic ideology in which the resources of the society are controlled and distributed by the whole community. In Communist Ideology the Socialism is regarded as a process or the lower stage while Communism is the unambiguous final destiny of this process. Unfortunately the Communists, by and large, used the slogan of socialism as an instrument to implement the political ideas instead of socio-economic ideology¹.

The contradiction between socio-economic ideology and practical commitment adversely affected the pace of reforms and created problems and issues of human rights in these Central and Eastern European States (CEE). The deviation from the ideology confused the rulers who gradually lost their legitimacy. At the end, when efforts were

¹ Malgorzata Tarasiewicz and Mariusz Czepczynski, "Post Communist Challenges and Emancipated Discourse: Society, Politics and Gender in Poland", the Network of East-West Women, POLSKA, 2008, p.2. See also, George Schopflin, "Politics in Eastern European 1945-1989", Blackwell, Oxford, 1994, p.226

made to adjust Communism to local needs and requirements, the Kremlin instead of supporting the same, interfered and hampered all these. That strict and rigid Communist behavior was really responsible for the collapse of Communism in 1989.

The Communist revolution in the Central and Eastern Europe was an extraordinary political experiment but its collapse and transformation towards free market within the same century was much more surprising. It first took place in Poland and Hungary and then more rapidly in other CEE countries. Only Poland, Lithuania, Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Slovenia and Estonia successfully accomplished the task of transformation towards liberal democracy. Otherwise, the transition process in Slovakia, Albania, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro and Macedonia has generated inter-ethnic conflicts. While Romania and Bulgaria moved very slowly to liberal democracy.²

The diversity in transitions should be seen in the light of two variables, firstly the initial conditions of transition economies and secondly the strategic behavior of parties involved in the transformation process. Initial conditions involved historical and ideological legacies, socio-cultural bonds, and level of political and economic stability. Those initial conditions varied greatly across the Central and Eastern European countries.

² Richard Sakwa, "Post Communism: the communist experience", Viva Books, New Delhi, 2002, p.24-25. See also, George Schopflin, "Politics in Eastern European 1945-1989", Blackwell, Oxford, 1994, p.257.

Moreover, the strategic behavior of the parties involved in the transformation was also dissimilar across the region. The approaches with which the communist regimes and their respective opposition Parties entered the Final Round Table Talks were quite dissimilar in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The strategy of the Solidarity Movement at the Round Table Talks was the actual ‘Tipping Point’ that intensified the process of transformation.

After the transformation, these CEE states entered the post communist phase with their traditional political instability, deteriorated economic condition, illiberal democracy and inconsistent administrative structure. Their approach towards modernity was also very different as compare to the western world. The political instability can well be judged by the fact that only in 2004 seven out of eight governments of Eastern Europe were changed not by legal or constitutional process but by scandals and political fighting among the unstable coalition partners. These Central and Eastern European states took almost ten long years to meet the criteria of the western countries and the USA formulated for their integration with European Union and NATO.

Obviously the Institution building process was comparatively very rapid in Poland. It is worth mentioning here that the duration of this transformational recession in Poland was the shortest, 1989 to 1992, among all countries and it took only eight years, 1989 to 1997, to complete the task of its institution building. Poland adopted a very different strategy, known as ‘Shock Therapy’, to accomplish the task of establishing very consistent socio-political, religious and financial institutions after

transformation.³ So in many respects Poland who suffered a very difficult history throughout the 20th century handled the challenges of the great transformation better than other countries.

During this whole period of transformation the Polish Civil Society, Catholic Churches and Political Parties played an extraordinary role. The Polish Model of family life, its Parent-Child Relations and its Catholic Identity contributed towards the successful management of that great transformation. In Poland the Catholic Churches forms the most highly institutionalized segment of its civil society because more than 95 percent of its citizens are Catholics⁴ and more than 75 percent, mostly the young people, have been regularly attending Divine Services on Sundays since 1992.

Poland with its population, size and geo-political location was interested in its accession to NATO and EU with the view that it will enable her to shift its foreign trade towards the most developed economies of EU, which would in turn raise the living standards of its citizens. Such transformation from the status of “receiver country” to a “donor country” would be a great Psychological swing.

After the accession to EU, Poland has actively participated in the debates on the EU’s Constitutional Treaty (Lisbon Treaty), Budget and Development Strategy, Foreign policies, regional Security, Eastern Partnership and Neighborhood Policy. Poland has

³ Gregory w. Kolodko, “Introduction: Seven Lessons the Emerging Markets can Learn from Poland’s Transformation”, Tiger, Kozminski School of Business, (WSPiZ), ASHGATE. See also Richard Sakwa, “Post Communism: the communist experience”, Viva Books, New Delhi, 2002,p.41

4- Stephen George Raabe, “ Civil Society and Churches as “ allies” some consideration based on new studies”, Executive summary of report No.9 from Adenauer Foundation , Poland, Nov,19,2008.

changed the whole concept of European security by entering into the recent US-sponsored Missile Defense Shield Plan.

At the Economic Front, during the recent Global Financial Crisis, among the 27 states EU, Poland alone has bypassed the shocks of Economic meltdown, and for the first time in history Poland is where it wants to be. Last year Poland's economy ranked seventh in the EU and Poland remained ahead of Belgium and Sweden in terms of GDP.

I: I Aim of Study

The aim of this study is to answer the research questions that

- To what extent Polish transformation from Warsaw to European Union was interplay of its socio- political and economic institutions?
- What lessons other countries can learn from the Polish “shock therapy” that has enabled her to achieve financial stability quicker than its other companion and kept her away from the affects of Global downturn?
- Why Poland has the potential to become an important European Union country in the future?

I: II Hypothesis

The societies with the legacy of strong socio-cultural & religious bonds, organized institutional structure and visionary leadership can better achieve and sustain the objectives of liberalization as compared to the societies lacking these characteristics.

I: III Justification of the Study

Polish accession to EU, its active role towards regional integration by means of Eastern Partnership Project and its very impressive strategies towards economic development which enabled her to avoid the Global Financial Crisis, have made Poland a role model for other states to follow.

The review of the relevant literature has revealed that certain broad commonalities can be observed between Poland and Pakistan with regards to their distinctive historical and Ideological legacies. For centuries, both had been remained the Centers of two very powerful Common Wealth in Eastern Europe and South Asia respectively.⁵ Their tolerance and broadmindedness attracted a large number of foreign immigrants, they had to bear the tides of foreign invasions and at one stage the foreign occupation had even eroded them from the map. Their societies had contributed greatly towards the socio-cultural development of their respective regions. After the Second World War, when Poland and Pakistan got Independence their geo strategic location,

⁵ Poland remained the centre of Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth. In 1385 the Union of Krewa brought almost all of present day Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine under the control of that Commonwealth. By the end of fifteenth century besides Lithuanian-Poland Union, Poland also captured the thrones of Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) and Hungary and established Polish authority over almost all of Eastern and Central Europe. That Eastern Federation was collapsed in 1526 but the Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth lasted till Congress of Vienna in 1815. On the other hand Pakistan remained the centre of Great Muslim Empire in Sub Continent that was established in 1000 A.D and consisted upon the entire territory of present time South Asia (India, Sri-lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and some parts of Iran). The Empire disintegrated with the demise of Mughal Empire in the middle of 18th century.

socio-economic problems and anxieties regarding their National Security forced them to join the Military and Security Pacts of the Super Powers⁶.

In the light of this Polish experience other countries with their distinctive geo-strategic location can learn a lot of lessons, particularly Pakistan can promote the concept of regional integration in South Asia by adopting the strategy of peaceful co-existence towards its antagonizing neighbors, especially in the context when its territory has become the most important battle field for the global war on terror.

The work previously done on the subject is mostly confined to the rationalization of Polish economic and political transformation and to some extent it's integration with European Union. Most of the scholarly writings are revolving around the theoretical framework of transformation. They mostly ignored the fact that Polish Transformation was interplay of its socio-political, economic and religious institutions. So there is still a need to examine the dynamics of Polish society, its Trade Union Solidarity, its underground Press "ZARMIZDATS" and Catholic Church that jointly enabled Poland to manage the transformation comparatively faster than other states. This study is a case study focusing on the quicker and successful management of Polish transformation. The comparative designs and the historical approach to evaluate the process of Transformation in Poland have made the study more investigative and will definitely fill the gaps of literature in this regard.

⁶ - Poland became the member of Warsaw Pact Treaty, consisted upon USSR and its satellite States of Central and Eastern Europe. Pakistan joined South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) & Central treaty Organization (CENTO) sponsored by USA in order to contain Soviet Union's expansion in Asia.

I: IV Literature Review

The Communist revolution of 1917 has been regarded as an extraordinary event of the 20th Century that totally changed the social fabrics of the European societies. The transformation of Eastern and Central Europe towards free market was equally surprising event of the last century. The pace of that transformation has mesmerized the whole world. For some writers the end of Communism was the end of Civilizations, while some celebrated it as the victory for the US strategies that she adopted to bring the “Monster” to his feet. It opened the flood gates of literature. Most of the Western analysts highlighted the role of civil and political societies during and after communism, they mostly confined to the economic aspects of that great transformation. On the other hands the analysts belong to the Central and Eastern European region have mostly emphasized upon the comparative analysis of Eastern European Transformation.

In this regards, George Schopflin’s “*Politics in Eastern Europe: 1945-1992*” is considered to be the text book on Eastern European Transformation⁷. The Hungarian born George Schopflin served as Professor at Political Institute of Eastern Europe, University of London. His Articles and books are best known for comparative analysis of Eastern European Politics during and after Communism. In his “Politics in Eastern Europe: 1945-1999” George Schopflin has adopted the historical approach to examine the whole process of transformation in the CEE region. In first three Chapters he

⁷ George Schopflin, “Politics in the Eastern Europe 1945-1992”, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994

evaluates the traditional socio-political culture of the Eastern European societies and the political turmoil between the two World Wars that attracted communism to the region.

In fourth and fifth Chapters he presents a healthy account of communist strategies to get footing in this war torn and socio-politically unstable part of the European Continent. He critically examines the Stalinization and De-Stalinization processes and their impacts upon the CEE societies. The sixth and seventh Chapters are his assessments about the reforms introduced by the communist regimes in order to redefine the monopolistic role of communist Party in CEE state. George Schopflin in his comparative study evaluates that how the socialist program had turned to an inflexible Stalinist agenda and gave birth to new political instabilities in the Central and Eastern European Region, at the end that lead to the end of Communism. According to Schopflin, though the condition of post-communism was superior to that of communism but the process of transformation has not yet completed. The introduction of competitive democracy has encouraged new socio-political and economic actors to enter the arenas that were blocked during communism⁸.

Professor Richard Sakwa, being a Professor of “*Russian and European Politics*” at the University of Kent at Canterbury, wrote several outstanding books on Russian and Eastern European Politics such as “*Russian Politics and Society (1996)*”, “*Post Communism (2002)*”⁹ and “*Soviet Politics (1998)*”. Sakwa in “Post Communism”

⁸ Ibid. p-299

⁹ Richard Sakwa, “Post Communism”, VIVA Books, New Delhi, 2002.

explained various dimensions of the term “Post Communism”. According to him, the term “Post Communism” is a comprehensive phenomenon. Some refer it to the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe, while others call it as the end of communism, and for some people the end of communism means the collapse of socialism. But there should be a line of distinction between collapse of socialism and the end of communism. Socialism is regarded as a process or the lower stage of communism while the Communism is the final destiny of this process. According to Sakwa, the transformation from communism to Liberalism does not mean the collapse and failure of communism. The third chapter of “Post Communism” is a comparative analysis of various strategies adopted by Eastern European states as an exit path towards liberal democracy and market economy. He concludes that the initial condition of Poland and its post communism challenges had compelled Poland to adopt the strategy mostly known as “Shock therapy” or rapid and comprehensive transition.¹⁰

The process of Communization or Stalinization introduced the monopolistic dictatorship of Communist Party in the Eastern European region and nationalized the Economy. The rigid Soviet agenda had never allowed any other political force to function in these former satellite states. The transformation and de-Communization is characterized as the end of that monopoly of communist party over politics. It was a shift from one Party System to multi Party system. We cannot identify the effects of transformation without understanding the nature and characteristics of the party system

¹⁰ Ibid. pp.40-41

during communism. Herbert Kitschelt's "Post communist Party system"¹¹ examines the Party systems in four post communist states i.e. Poland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Hungary. The first two chapters of the book are about the diversities in the party systems and characteristics of political structure of these four states that attracted communism and paved the way for the establishment of monopoly of communist party. In the third and fourth chapters he examines the political system and political parties that emerged after the end of communism. He empirically justifies the view that the Leninist legacy has strongly influenced the post-communist democracies and party system but in future only the institutional incentive will play a critical role in determining the democratic process in these four states.

Grzegorz w. Kolodko¹² in "*Introduction: Seven Lessons the Emerging Markets can Learn from Poland's Transformation*" tries to answer the questions that why socialism collapsed in Europe? Did Communism simply collapse because of its insufficient capacity to familiarize itself to the changing internal and external conditions? Was the post-socialist transformation set in motion in 1989, when in Poland the real socialism collapsed? While addressing these questions, he evaluates that this great transformation was based on the principle that the old system has collapsed and it was much easier to go for an alternative path rather than wasting time in reforming the

¹¹ Herbert Kitschelt et al, "Post Communist Party System", Cambridge University Press, 1999

¹² Grzegorz W. Kolodko, "Introduction: Seven Lessons the Emerging Markets can Learn from Poland's Transformation", ASHGATE, Library of Congress, USA. <http://www.ashgate.com> 17/06/2009 10/59/36

one that was hardly reform able, so the attempts were made to replace the old system with a new one. In his words:

“A cursory analysis of the special case of Poland shows that its better macroeconomic indicators result from two factors. The first was the shortest duration of the transformational recession among all countries. It lasted only for three years – from mid-1989 till mid-1992 whereas in the extreme case of Ukraine, it evolved into a great transformational depression which went on for a whole 10 years¹³”.

Anders Åslund¹⁴ in “Concise Encyclopedia of Economics: Transition Economies”¹⁵ after examining the programs of Economic Transformation of the twenty-eight countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, evaluates that at the beginning, the direction of transition was clear. Everybody advocated for democracy, private ownership and rule of law but they were still confused regarding destination. For some people the goal was to reach American-style mixed economy, but for others it was to establish a West European style welfare state. While for radicals the attainment of market socialism was the real objective of transition. Moreover the people, instead of arguing about aims, argued over whether that transformation should be rapid or gradual.

¹³ Ibid.p-4

¹⁴ Anders Åslund is a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and was previously Director of the Russian and Eurasian Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. He has been a senior Economic Adviser to the Governments of Russia and Ukraine, and to the president of the Kyrgyz Republic.

¹⁵ Anders Aslund et al, “The concise Encyclopedia of Economics: The transition Economies”,
http://www.easterneurope/duringcommunism/EasternEurope/Transition_Economies_/Concise-Encyclopedia_of_Economics/Library_of_Economics_and_Liberty.mht-12/18/2009,7:46Pm

Åslund's article is actually an attempt to evaluate that the aims and objectives for the change are significantly more important than the approaches towards transformation like "shock therapy" or "gradualism".

Elena Prohnitchi¹⁶ compares the transformation strategies of Hungary and Poland and evaluates that Hungary and Poland adopted different paths towards their transformation from Communism mainly because the level of communist legitimacy, the level of social mobilization and the strategic behavior of elites were significantly dissimilar to each another. The diversity in approach towards transformation and post-communism is evident from the fact that the opposition parties in Hungary entered the Round Table Talks (RTT) with an agenda to knock down the communism, while the Solidarity in Poland sought a greater role and participation for Polish masses in national politics and in turn it promised to give some concessions to regime. So these different approaches brought different results in Poland and Hungary. Alfio Cerami's *"The Politics of Reforms in Bismarckian Welfare Systems: The Cases of Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia"*¹⁷, briefly explores the social developments in four Vizégrad countries and identifies four main welfare reform routes adopted by these states to built new welfare systems on the wreckages of old system.

¹⁶ Elena Prohnitchi, "Comparative Analysis of the modes of Transition in Hungary and Poland and their impact on the Electoral Systems of these States", Central European University, 12/03/2008

¹⁷ Alfio Cerami, "The Politics of Reforms in Bismarckian Welfare Systems: The Cases of Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia", Center for European Studies Harvard University, June 16 2006, <http://www.portedeurope.org/IMG/pdf/CahierCERAMI042006-12/3/2009>

Alfio Cerami's another paper "Europeanization, enlargement and social policy in Central and Eastern Europe¹⁸" evaluates the merits and demerits of EU's enlargement for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. While Janusz Mucha¹⁹ in "*Polish Society in the Perspective of its integration with the European Union*" examines to what extent the Poland's accession to EU and the shift from the status of recipient to donor state was really a great psychological achievement for Polish Nation?

Jeff Hiatt presented the most popular Model for successful change management known as "ADKAR Model for Change Management²⁰". The term "ADKAR" stands for: **A**-Awareness for change, **D**-Desire for change, **K**-Knowledge for change, **A**-Ability to employ all available sources to bring change and, **R**-Reinforcement or skill to sustain the changes. The conceptual framework of "ADKER MODEL²¹" is very helpful to evaluate the nature and the role played by these five building blocks in comparatively faster and successful Polish Transformation.

Moreover Polish transformation was not an overnight change. Very identical, long and wide-ranging efforts of the Polish society had given birth to that moment when

¹⁸ Alfio Cerami, "Europeanization, Enlargement and Social Policy in Central and Eastern Europe", paper presented at the CONNEX PhD Workshop, Paris, 30th May 2006.

¹⁹ Janusz Mucha, "Polish Society in the Perspective of its integration with European Union", in Journal "East European Quarterly-Gale Group", Volume 35/ Issue 4, 2001, <http://www.questia.com-6/3/2010>

²⁰ Jeffery M. Hiatt, "ADKAR: a Model for Change in Business, Government and our Community", PROSCI Research, USA, 2006.

²¹ The ADKAR model for change management was first published in 1998 in the book "The Perfect Change" by Jeffery M. Hiatt, founder and CEO of PROSCI Research, USA. He by examining the data gathered from more than 59 states has developed a model of successful transformation since then ADKAR has become one of the most popular models for successful change management. The model describes that five basic building blocks are necessary for successful transformation.

everything transformed and revolutionary changes exploded like a “*Big Bang*”. Malcom Gladwell presented a new way of understanding quick and unexpected changes. He used the word “Tipping Point” for the explanation of such quick and sudden changes. His hypothesis is that when the transformative changes under the guidance of visionary leadership gather momentum and arrive at a “*Tipping Point*”, it spread like an epidemic throughout the system and alter the organization and operation of the whole system. This point can be called the tipping point or “Big Bang”²².

Dr. Svetlozar A. Andreev²³ in “The Role of Institutions in the consolidation of democracy in post-communist Eastern Europe”²⁴ has analyzed the central role of the constitution, the Media and the Legal system in the process of consolidation of democracy in Eastern Europe.

During Second World War when Germany invaded Russia and the entire Polish land fell under Nazi Germany, they established most lethal death camps all over Poland. It is said that almost 6 million Poles had to lose their lives and a large number of Jewish population was brutally massacred, known as the Holocaust. Several Polish Children were taken away from their parents. Actually Nazis sought to strengthen the Aryan race by selective breeding. So they isolated the weak and infirm segment of the population in

²² Malcolm Gladwell is a British-born Canadian journalist, author, and sociologist and has been associated with “The New Yorker” since 1996. He is best known for his books “The Tipping point: How little things can make a big difference” (2000), Blink (2005), and Outliers (2008).

²³ Dr. Svetlozar A. Andreev has been Research Fellow at the European Institute of Fiesole (Italy) and currently working as a Professor at the Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster London.

²⁴ Svetlozar A. Andreev, “The Role of Institutions in the consolidation of Democracy in Post-Communist Eastern Europe”, C I R C A P, Centre for the Study of Political Change. 13/11/2003

order to produce a new pure German breed through “Eugenics²⁵”. Norman M. Naimark in “Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in twentieth-century Europe” evaluates that how the character of massive ethnic violence in Europe during 20th century effected the whole International political system.

After going through various dimensions of ethnicity such as the ethnic violence and genocides, he examined ethnic cleansing in the context of European civilization. Naimark evaluated the root cause of ethnic violence and ethnic disputes in 19th and 20th centuries. This is an overview of Ethnic Cleansing in Europe with reference to some case studies like Balkanization at the hands of Ottomans, Holocaust in Poland by Nazis and Russians and later on ethnic violence in Muslim Bosnia Herzegovina by the Serbs.²⁶

Polish Catholic Church possesses a very unique and prestigious position in the Polish history. It remained the symbol of National identity, freedom, resistance against invaders and a spiritual institution as well as an influential social and Political force for Polish masses. In the 20th century the demographic changes like migrations, shifting of borders, and the ethnic cleansing “the Holocaust” at the hands of Nazis had turned the heterogeneous Polish land into an absolute homogeneous Catholic Society and further enhanced the strength and prestigious position of Catholic Church.

²⁵Glenn E. Curtis, ed. “Poland: A Country Study”, GPO for the Library of Congress, Washington, 1992.p-10. See also the “History of Poland” by Polish National Tourist Office. See also Norman M. Naimark , “Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in twentieth-century Europe”, Harvard University Press, 2002, p-61-62

²⁶ Norman M. Naimark, “Fires of hatred: ethnic Cleansing in twentieth-century Europe”, Harvard University Press, London, 2002.

One of the most important aspects of Polish transformation is that Polish Catholic Church remained the main driving force behind the socio-political mobilization against communism without compromising its dominant position in Polish Society. But after the end of Communism, its relations with state and society had to be redefined in the Polish Constitution and Concordat.²⁷ Mirella Eberts in *“The Roman Catholic Church and Democracy in Poland”*²⁸ examines the unique role of the Polish Catholic Church during Communism and explains the historical connection between the Catholic Church and Polish Society.

While Janneke Zaal’s *“Church State Relations in Poland: The changing role of the Catholic Church in Poland since 1989”*²⁹ evaluates the influence of Catholic Church on Polish politics and society. It also overviews the leading role played by Catholic Church against foreign occupation and became the symbol Catholic Church of Polish identity.

According to Stephen S. Cohen³⁰, the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe has created an ideological vacuum that was quickly filled in by Western-style

²⁷ Concordat is a document signed by Church and Democratic Government in 1993 and later on approved by the Parliament as well. It has redefined the Church-State relations in Poland.

²⁸ Mirella Eberts, “The Roman Catholic Church and Democracy in Poland”, in *Journal of Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol-50 Issue-5, 1998

²⁹ Janneke Zaal “Church State Relations in Poland: The changing role of the Catholic Church in Poland since 1989”, University of Jagiellonski, Krakow, June 2007.

³⁰ The Co-Director and Professor Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE), University of California, Berkeley,

Capitalism based upon the principles of “*Democracy and Market Economy*”.³¹ Unfortunately “Democracy” is mostly translated as elections and the “Market Economy,” as the Privatization. However, democracies require much more than just elections. Similarly private ownership is one element of modern market economy. Stephen S. Cohen in this working paper critically examines the merits and demerits of Western response towards the strategies adopted by Poland and Hungary for transformation and development.

The Poles possess one of the richest and most esteemed historical traditions in Europe. For centuries, Poland has been regarded as a highly cultured kingdom and remained the guarantor of human liberties. Poles successfully maintained the fundamental values and socio-culture heritage of Western civilization.

Its geo-strategic location made it a permanent victim of history that has left a mixed legacy of strong courage against foreign invasions, broadmindedness toward immigrants and support for human liberty. Strong association with identical family system and fascination with the national past has generated debate even among Poles themselves on the meaning of their history.

The transformation from communism to liberalism changed the structure of socio-political, economic and religious institutions. It was an extraordinary event having roots deep in the history therefore it needs to be analyzed in the context of its history.

³¹ Stephen S. Cohen and Andrew Schwartz “The Tunnel at the End of the Light: Privatization in Eastern Europe”, BRIE Working Paper N0.56, June 1992.

In this regards, Glenn E. Curtis's *"Poland: a Country Study"*³² presents comprehensive and unbiased accounts of the Polish history. The transition period that began in 1989 has permanent impacts on all aspects of Polish life. Therefore the changes in the past ten years against the historical, political, and social background of Poland is the main theme of the book. Some other Books on Polish History such as Jan Repa's *"Central and South Eastern Europe 2009"*³³, CIA's *"History of Poland (1989–present)"*³⁴, *"POLANIA ONLINE: a brief history of Poland"*,³⁵ *"Brief history of Poland"* by Polish Embassy based on the Book *"God's Playground"*,³⁶ Barry Tuner's, *"Statesman years book 2009: The political, social and cultural survey of the World"*³⁷, M. B. Biskupsk's³⁸, *"The History of Poland: 2000"*, and *"A political Chronology of Europe"*³⁹, serve as an excellent informative sources for general readers as well as for researchers unfamiliar with that part of Europe. Furthermore, *"Problems and Methods in the study of Politics"* by Jan Shapiro and Rogers smith⁴⁰, *"Writing Your Thesis"*, by Paul Oliver⁴¹ and *"A short Introduction of social research"*⁴² by Matt Henn provided a

³² Glenn E. Curtis, ed. *"Poland: A Country Study"*, GPO for the Library of Congress, Washington, 1992.

³³ Jan Repa, *"Central and South Eastern Europe 2009"*, Routledge, 2009.

³⁴ By *"CIA the World Factbook Poland"* 2009, <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pl.html-28/11/20089>>

³⁵ *"Polonia today online: a brief history of Poland"*, Ameripol Corporation, 1994, <http://www.Polonia today online /Poland/History-Books and Achieve/A brief history of Poland/1994. Mht = Ameripol Corporation/ Polonia Media Network.com/20/4/2008>

³⁶ *"Brief history of Poland"* by Polish Embassy based on the book *"God's Playground"*, a history of Poland by Prof. Norman Davies. Updated Dec 2009-<http://www.Poland Books/Poland Books and Achieve/history of Poland by polish embessy/History of Poland. by polish embessy.mht 15/4/2008>

³⁷ Barry Tuner, *"Statesman years book 2008/2009: The political, social and cultural survey of the World"*, Palgram Macmillan, 2009.

³⁸ M. B. Biskupsk, *"The History of Poland"*, Greenwood Press, London, 2000

³⁹ *"A political chronology of Europe"*, EUROPA.com, 2008

⁴⁰ Jan Shapiro et al, *"Problems and methods in study of Politics"*, Cambridge University press, 2002

⁴¹ Paul Oliver's *"Writing Your Thesis"*, Vistaar Publications New Delhi, 2005

great deal of interesting and exiting aspects of collecting data and using it for the empirical analyses of research questions.

The transformation of the society is a complex, revolutionary and continuous process. It requires the engagement of entire society. It is often defined as an act, or process of identifying and creating new sources of power that bring fundamental shift from one character to another or from one level to another level of thought and action.

We time and again use several other terms interchangeably with the term transformation such as, improvement, paradigm shift, re-engineering, right sizing, and reform. But these all terminologies do not convey the full vision of the transformation because of its continuity, complexity, level of influence and the time it takes to complete.

I: V Theoretical Framework

Modern theorists have spent decades in conceptualizing and describing the complexities and unpredictable processes involved in transformation⁴³. As the large-scale transformation requires change in structure, process, and pattern of social system, they have given great importance to the approach with which a society tends to

⁴² Matt Henn et al , “ A short Introduction of social research”, Vistaar Publications NewDelhi,2006

⁴³ “Transformation: A Strategy for Reform of Organizations and Systems” At Jasper Associates (AJA), “Organizational change and transformation”, January 3, 2005,
URL <http://www.aja4hr.com/services/organisational_capability_assessment.shtml>

transform. They have classified it mainly into two approaches such as gradual transition approach and "shock therapy" or "big bang" approach.

Growing revolutionary trend in CEE States, spoiled communist ideas, very high political mobilization, failure of traditional Brezhnev Doctrine were some factors that could be held responsible for the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Gorbachev through his Perestroika and Glasnost made an effort to find a graceful exit for communist legacy in the region but the Solidarity movement in Poland proved to be the deadly final blow for Communism.

In this regards, Poland truly became a leader when in December 1989, Polish Parliament approved the Leszek Balcerowicz Program, the first of the post-communist reform schemes. The Program earned the name of "big bang" or "shock therapy"⁴⁴. The goal was to permanently remove all the organizational and economic basis of the communism. Seemingly the "Shock therapy" has succeeded in Poland because in the scenario of very high political mobilization that was the only possible reform strategy for its transformation from Communism⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Shock Therapy refers to a rapid and instant liberalization of state economy, including a large scale privatization and complete elimination of state's interventions. It also includes the rapid restructuring of monetary and currency exchange mechanism in order to eliminate monetary disorder in the country. It is considered to be the best answer to economic and monetary mess and anarchy mostly created by the strong and unnecessary intervention by the state. The policy was successfully implemented in Chile during 1975 and in Bolivia in 1985. But some prominent economists like Joseph Stiglitz criticized the approach on the ground that sudden and immediate elimination of state authority always generate new crisis so shock therapy possess great risk and dangers.

⁴⁵ Richard Sakwa, "Post Communism: A concept in Social Sciences", VIVA Books, India, 2002,p-41

Polish transformation certainly inspired other states of the region, but because of their initial conditions their approaches remained different⁴⁶. The comparative design of this case study is intended to cast some light on variation in the initial conditions of these states and the strategies they adopted for transformation towards liberal democracy and market economy⁴⁷.

This case study, in the light of conceptual frameworks for change and change management, presented by some leading social theorists such as Malcolm Gladwell⁴⁸ and Jeff Hiatt⁴⁹, is an attempt to evaluate that this distinctive “Big Bang” approach in Polish transformation was merely interplay of its social, cultural, political, economic and religious Institutions.

I: VI Methodology

The focus of this case study is the dynamics of Poland’s shift from communism to liberal democracy. But as that transformation took place in the framework of Central & Eastern Europe, some other countries of the region like Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia are also briefly covered.

⁴⁶ Andrzej Brzeski “Economic Shock Therapy vs. Gradualism: The “Big Bang”, in the Magazine “World and I”, Volume/14, Issue/11, Nov 1999, Gale Group, P-44.

⁴⁷ Herbert Kitschelt et al, “Post Communist Party System”, Cambridge University Press, 1999- See also the George Schopflin, “ Politics in Eastern Europe,1945-1999”, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994, p.56.

⁴⁸ Malcolm Gladwell, “The Tipping point: How little things can make a big difference”, Little Brown and Company, Boston, 2000

⁴⁹ Jeffery M. Hiatt, “ADKAR: a Model for Change in Business, Government and our Community”, PROSCI Research, USA, 2006.

The term Eastern Europe is frequently used in the study so it needs to be clarified here. Eastern Europe is mainly composed of those European countries occupied by the Soviet army after the WW II. Although the fall of Iron Curtain brought the end to East-West division in Europe, but this geopolitical concept is still in use. The CIA World Fact book has classified them in the following way:

- *Central Europe: Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.*
- *Eastern Europe: Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova and Ukraine*

While the United Nations Statistics Division has classified Belarus, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine as Eastern Europe. UN's definition included all the states which were once under the Soviet Union's influence and were part of the Warsaw Pact. However the study employed the contemporary classification of Eastern Europe that includes:

- *Central European: - Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.*
- *Baltic States:-Estonia, Latvia & Lithuania.*
- *Eastern European:-Belarus & Ukraine.*

Various terminologies such as International politics, WWII, Peace Settlements, Bipolar world, Cold war, Transformation, Post communism, Transition Economies and EU enlargement are self-explanatory and need no further elaboration in the study. But some Important and most frequently used short forms (abbreviation) are explained in the preliminary pages.

I: VII Periodization

It is worth mentioning here that the study has constructed the periodization as a way of organizing the material in time. The process of transformation in Poland was started in 1989 and she completed the task of institution building within eight years in 1997. The period from 1989-1997 is further divided into two phases. The first phase from 1989–1992 is known as the period of ‘shock therapy’, during which rapid economic stabilization and fast trade liberalization has overlooked the institution building process. The second phase from 1993–1997 is known as the phase of structural reforms during which the task of establishing very consistent socio-political, religious and financial institutions was accomplished and Polish economy entered a path of fast-growth.

The study is mainly focused upon these two initial phases (1989-1997), however in order to estimate the merits and demerits of that great transformation and its successful management, the study has also examined the onward functioning of socio-political and economic institutions of Poland especially its growing role in regional and

global politics after its accession to EU, OECD and NATO. The period from 1998–2001 was the period of overcooling of economic growth, while the period from 2002–2004 was the period of return to the path of rapid development and integration with EU.

Moreover, the history of a nation is not merely a static or uniform affair rather it is a dynamic and evolutionary phenomenon. Nations have to face certain ups and downs, catastrophes and achievements, defeats and victories. History reveals us about the reactions and responses of various institutions of society in these different circumstances. Therefore, a particular achievement of a nation should always be examined in the context of its past behavior.

The patience, the tolerance and broadmindedness towards foreign immigrants, the resistance and strengths towards invaders and determination towards regional integration have been regarded as some identical characteristics of Polish society since its emergence as an independent nation state in 10th Century. Therefore the Polish transformation from communism to liberalism and its successful management should always be examined in the context of Polish history.

I: VIII Sources of Data Collection

This research has drawn a great deal of qualitative and quantitative data from both primary and secondary sources such as scholarly books, research Journals, official and non official reports of different Ministries of CEE States. However the statistical data from the websites of various International as well as regional institutions such as

International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, European Bank for Regional Development (EBRD) and particularly the European Commission's official website, the EUROSTAT, remained the backbone of this study as it highlights the variations in comparative economic developments, political stabilities, trades and economic growths within CEE states in communist and Post communist era.

I did not confine myself only to reviewing the literature regarding the relevant phases of Polish history, rather I have tried to remain in touch with the present day developments at the socio-political and economic fronts of the region through monitoring the e-editions of various Newspapers and Periodicals, such as BBC Online Monitoring News, the Reuters, the Associated Press, Washington Post, the New York Times, Bloomberg, EUROPA News, POLONIA Today Online, "the Centre for Russian, East European and Eurasian Studies", News Now Eastern Europe, FOCUS News etc. This data base has made the study up to date.

I: IX Theses Structure

This research has employed the research style most commonly adopted by the department of Politics and International Relations, faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad.

The study is consisted upon five chapters. Chapter one is about theoretical aspects of the study and consisted upon introduction, aim of the study, theoretical framework, literature review, methodology, Periodization and source of data collection.

Chapter two and three are the overview of Polish state and society from antiquity to 1989. Chapter four is about the transformation process. Chapter five shed some light on the successful management of that transformation. In this chapter statistical data in the form of tables, graphs and pie charts have employed to explain the nature of socio-economic development in Poland after transformation. At the end there is a conclusion consisted upon main findings of the analysis and future prospects for Polish nation in its regional as well as global integration. In addition it also evaluates the lessons the other countries can learn from Polish Transformation. Furthermore the chronological maps have made the study comprehensively logical.

Map-2-Piast Poland, 966 to 1370



Source:-Library of congress country study.

CHAPTER 2

POLISH STATE, SOCIETY AND CATHOLIC CHURCH FROM ANTIQUITY TO WORLD WAR II

The Republic of Poland is located at the important land and sea trading routes between the East and the West and since ages has been regarded as the bridge between the East and the West. It borders the Czech Republic and Slovakia in the South, Ukraine and Belarus in the East, Germany in the West, and the Baltic Sea, Lithuania and Russia in the North. The country is 312,685 square kilometers, with a population of about 38,482,919 (July 2009).⁵⁰

Polish is the official language, though German, English and Slavonic languages are spoken by some small minorities. Almost 95 % of the population is Roman Catholic (about 75 % practicing Christian). Most of the country is part of the North European Plain, known as a Vast Lowland Area with the route of several large rivers. The southern border is formed by the SUDETES and CARPATHIAN Mountain Ranges. Poland has a large agricultural sector that could make it a leading food producer in the European Union. Unfortunately agriculture contributes just only 3-5 percent to the

⁵⁰ Polish Statistical Office 2009. See also, "Central and South-Eastern Europe 2009", 9th edition, ROUTLERDGE, London, 2009,pp.467-73

Polish economy as compared to the contribution of Industrial (28.8 %) and Services sectors (66.1%). Despite its little contribution, the feudal and noble landowners have been dominated the socio-political and economic fronts of Poland for centuries.

As a Democratic Republic, Poland is organized under a Council of Ministers, which is led by Prime Minister. The President, elected by popular vote for five years, serves as the head of state. Bi-cameral Parliament consists of a 460-members lower house, ‘the SEJM’, and a 100-members upper house, ‘the Senate’, elected through the popular vote.

The geo-strategic location of Poland had turned it a permanent battlefield for fierce fighting between its imperialist neighbors. The Poles possess one of the richest and most respected historical backgrounds of all European peoples. Their strong association with identical family system, Catholicism, opposition and struggle against foreign invasions, broadmindedness toward emigrants and support for human liberties and fundamental values of Western civilization has been regarded as the identical characteristics of Poles⁵¹.

As a nation, the origin of Poland in the tenth century is contemporary to the emergence of Carolingians, Vikings, and Saracens Nationhood. Poland remained the Centre of Socio-cultural and political activities of the Central and Eastern European region. It successfully integrated almost all Central and Eastern European states into a

⁵¹ “Polonia today online: a brief history of Poland”, Ameripol Corporation, 1994, See also “Brief history of Poland” by Polish Embassy based on Prof. Norman Davies’s “God’s Playground: a history of Poland”, <http://www.QuestionlinedigitalLibrary>

powerful Commonwealth that lasted for centuries. So the history of Poland, from the 10th to eighteenth centuries is not merely a tale of a tribe that established a dynastic state, earned the recognition of a powerful Catholic Kingdom of Central and Eastern Europe and then eroded from the map. This is but a story of a nation who introduced new ideas of long lasted regional integration, socio-cultural broadmindedness, religious tolerance and strength to survive for such a long time with powerful and hostile neighbors surrounding it. Actually Polish history has overlapped the history of Central and Eastern Europe.

II: I 10th & 11th Centuries: The early POLANIE, Catholicization and Expansion.

According to Polish legend, in the tenth century after the collapse of Roman Empire, the Western Slavic tribes dispersed in different directions and established their independent states in various parts of that region. Those who moved eastward became Eastern Slavs known as Russian, Ukrainians and Belarusian, while the Slavs who moved slightly southwards became the Western Slavs or the Czechs and Slovaks. One of those Western Slavs tribes, known as the POLANIE or POLIANE, (people of the plain or field dwellers), settled in the flatlands and established an independent state. The “White Eagle” was their identical symbol. (Since that time a White Eagle against a red background has been the official symbol of Poland).

Map-3- Central and Eastern Europe during 1000 A.D



Source:-Library of congress country study.

In the year 966 A.D, MEISZKO-I after reorganizing those POLANIE Slaves founded the Modern Political State of Poland. He was the first ruler of the PIAST Dynasty (named after the famous founder of the family) that lasted for four centuries⁵².

Like many other states of that time, Poland was also a “Dynastic Monarchy” and was divided into several Provinces. Each Province was further divided into Castle Districts. In each Castle District there was a representative who exercised military, judicial, fiscal and administrative powers on behalf of the Monarch. It was the time when the German Empire under Emperor Otto-I was expanding very rapidly.

In order to ensure the National Independence for Polish Kingdom and to remain in the sphere of European Christian Civilization, in 991 A.D, MEISZKO-I was converted to Christianity and joined Poland to the Holy Roman Empire. Under MIESZKO-I Poland emerged as the strongest powers in Eastern Europe.

After his death, his son Boleslaw-I, “the Brave” (992-1025) continued the Polish expansions and in the year 1000 A.D, he established an independent Polish Catholic Church. The Polish expansion and Catholicization had enhanced the power of Polish Empire. It was the time when the German Emperor Otto-III (Later on officially earned the title of “Holy Roman Emperor”) had planned to establish a Universal Christian

⁵² Glenn E. Curtis, ed. “Poland: A Country Study”, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1992.

Community under the lordship of Holy Roman Empire. He wanted to grab whole of the Slavonic lands represented by Boleslaw-I.

Map:-4- Central and Eastern Europe during 11th Century (1025 A.D)



Source:-Library of congress country study.

Disguising his actual designs, he demonstrated the gestures of reconciliation and understanding towards Boleslaw. He not only recognized Boleslaw's Kingship but also awarded him the St. Maurice's knife and placed the Imperial Crown on his head. But later on his successors could not tolerate the growing strength of Boleslaw-I and changed their policy toward Poland.

Apprehending the expansionistic designs of the new German Emperor on Poland's western frontiers, Boleslaw-I decided to unite the Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks into one cohesive force. He successfully formed a Union with Czech and Slovaks but it lasted for a very short span of time. The period from 1002-1018 is considered to be the period of wars between Poland and Germany. Boleslaw-I "the Brave" defeated the Germans and consolidated Poland's borders in East-Central Europe by extending the boundaries of his kingdom into present-day Ukraine. In 1025, shortly before his death, Boleslaw-I won the recognition of the Pope as the first King of a fully sovereign and independent Poland.

After the death of Boleslaw-I, Poland fell in socio-political turmoil. The earlier strong Polish monarchy disintegrated into a number of Princely states and gradually lost the glory of PAIST dynasty. Their humiliating defeats at the hands of Germans were followed by a series of rebellion by Aristocracy and Church which resulted into the destruction of almost all the socio-political institutions including the Church organization. To some extent, King Casmir succeeded in bringing truce with Germans and tried to re-establish the Polish state with the help of German Emperor. His son

Boleslaw II “the Bold” (1054-1079) tried his best to control the rebellious Church-Aristocracy alliance, but unfortunately while suppressing them, his soldiers assassinated the Chief Bishop of Krakow, Bishop St. Stanislaw. The tragedy finally removed Boleslaw-II from the throne while St. Stanislaw became the symbol of Polish pride and resistance against illegitimate state authority and later on in 20th Century that symbolic weapon became an effective force against the communist regime. During this period, the city of Krakow became the most important city of Poland, and its possession was deemed necessary for assuming control over the whole country.⁵³

II: II 12th&13thCenturies: Dynastic Disintegration, Feudalization and Jewish Immigration

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are regarded as the centuries of dynastic disintegration and feudalization of the socio-economic system. Boleslaw-III, as part of administrative reforms, divided the Kingdom between his three sons. Later on it was further disintegrated into some twenty Dukedoms and Principalities. On one hand, the disappearance of Central authority paved the way for a very rapid feudalization of the society, and on the other hand it gave birth to a very strong troika of Princes, Bishops and Knights. The troika, under the divine umbrella of Catholic Church succeeded in acquiring a huge land and established Rural and Metropolitan Centers (RMCs) on the organizational patterns of Holy Roman Empire. In order to penetrate deep in the socio-

⁵³ “History of Poland” by Polish National Tourist Office, http://www.polishtourist_office/polish-history.html-23/1/2010

cultural life of common people, Catholic Church established a large number of Church schools all over the Country⁵⁴.

Map:-5- Dynastic disintegration: (Dukedoms and Principalities) 1200 A.D



Source:-Library of congress country study.

⁵⁴ “Polonia today online: a brief history of Poland”, Ameripol Corporation, 1994, part II. <http://www.Polonia today online /Poland/History-Books and Achieve/A brief history of Poland/1994/Mht = Ameripol Corporation/ Polonia Media Network.com/20/4/2008>

Meanwhile socio-political anarchy attracted a large number of priests, Knights, foreign merchants and the wealthy Jews from Germany, France and Italy to seek asylum in Poland. In 1264, King Boleslaw-V announced the famous Central Charter of Jewish Liberties and the Jews were granted special freedoms.

Those demographic developments of 13th century saw a great shift in the socio-cultural patterns of Polish Society. Until the 12th century the greatest works of arts, literature, architecture and handicraft were for the elite class only but now with the blessings of these foreign immigrants the rare work of Arts and Literature became available to a larger number of common readers. Polish society showed a great deal of religious broadmindedness towards other religions but the arrival of a large no of these foreign immigrants also brought certain ethnic rivalries along with them to the homogeneous Poland, known as the symbol of religious tolerance.

The internal divisions and ethnic rivalries weakened that Eastern Commonwealth and made it an easy target of foreign invasions. Mongols invaded it in 1241, 1259 and 1287, and the Teutonic Knights after conquering the Prussians land also turned their expansion towards Poland⁵⁵.

⁵⁵ German and Dutch military-religious order founded in 1191-98 to war on “Unbelievers”

II: III 14th & 15th Centuries: Re-Unification & the Golden Age

At the beginning of fourteenth century, much of Polish land was under foreign occupation⁵⁶ and Poland was encircled by very powerful enemies that had even jeopardized the existence of Poland. The Teutonic Knights in 1308-1309 seized Gdansk and finally Poland had to lose its access to the Baltic Sea.⁵⁷ King Wladyslaw Lokietek (the Elbow-High), in 1320 made an effort to recapture the glory and magnificence for mother land. He accomplished the task of re-unification of the Polish State with Krakow as its new capital and won recognition abroad as king of an Independent Poland. He succeeded in diverting the direction of Teutonic conquests towards Baltic region.

Lithuania, with authority over present-day Belarus and Ukraine, was a large state. The threat of the common enemy, the Teutonic Knights, compelled them to form a Union. So in 1385 the *Union of KREWO* brought almost all of present day Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine under the Polish sphere of influence.

The 14th century was the start of the rise of Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth toward its historical peak. King Casmir-III, the grandson of Wladyslaw -I made a truce with Teutonic knights and brought prosperity and administrative efficiency in the Kingdom. His intelligence earned him the reputation of a brilliant administrator.

⁵⁶ Almost two-thirds of Polish Land was occupied by Bohemia in the year 1300 A.D

⁵⁷ Kiev- Russian were in the East, the Lithuanian Empire with Belarus and Ukraine was also in the East, the Danish and Swedes were in the Northwest, kingdom of Bohemia with Prague as its Capital was in the West, the Teutonic Knights, the Holy Roman Empire were also in the west, Austro-Hungarians Empire was in the South and Muslim Ottomans were in the Southeast.

Map:-6- Poland during 14th Century A.D



Source:-Library of congress country study.

At the socio-cultural front, the most significant development of that period was that Poland gradually absorbed the characteristics of European culture and style in the fields of philosophy, arts, literature, architecture, government, law, and social structure. Wladyslaw -I founded Poland's first university at Krakow in 1364 and turned it to an important cultural center of Europe. He codified Laws, promoted Trade, and encouraged settlements of Jews and other Communities. In turn, those new settlers stimulated urban life and commerce.⁵⁸

At the geo-strategic front, in 1364 his mediation between the kings of Bohemia and Hungary at the Congress of Krakow brought Poland to the status of an arbitrator in the power game among European powers. Due to his territorial expansion East wards, the commonwealth expanded to some 240,000 sq/km.

Since King Casimir III had no male heir, he was the last King of PIAST Dynasty. His death led to brief civil war and after the war his eleven year old daughter JADWIGA married the Grand Duke of Lithuania, JAGILLO. That marital union was the beginning of JAGIELLON Dynasty that ruled over Lithuanian-Poland Commonwealth for next couple of centuries. The period of JAGIELLON Dynasty is regarded as a “Golden Age” of Poland.

They succeeded in crushing the Mongols (Tatars), they also defeated Teutonic Knights in Battle of GRUNEWALD in 1410. The JAGIELLON regained the control of

⁵⁸ Glenn E. Curtis, ed. “Poland: A Country Study”, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1992, p.38-39.

Gdansk and of Western Prussia. By the end of fifteenth century they besides Lithuanian-Poland Union, captured the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary as well and established their authority over almost all of Eastern and Central Europe.

Map:-8-Poland in 15th Century (1402 A.D).



Source:-Library of congress country study.

Unfortunately the Federation was collapsed in 1526 when armies of the Ottoman Empire won a crushing victory at the Battle of *MOHÁCS* (Hungary). The defeat ended the JAGIELLON authority over Bohemia and Hungary.

II: IV 16th Century: Rise of Nobility, Elective Monarchy and Foreign Rulers

Map:-8- Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth during 16th Century



Source:-Library of congress country study.

After the collapse of Central and Eastern European Federation in 1569 Lithuania and Poland signed the “UNION OF LUBLIN” and decided to turn their loose federation into strong Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At that time it was consisted upon Belarus, Ukraine, Latvia and some western portions of Russia. Warsaw replaced Krakow as the new Capital of the Commonwealth.

Though the establishment of Lithuanian-Poland Commonwealth brought prosperity and stimulated social activities, it also paved the way for very rapid feudalization of society. In fact that feudalization enhanced the power of Nobility (Aristocracy) and made it the centre of almost all socio-political and economic activities in the Commonwealth.⁵⁹The great landlords constituted the top first level of that aristocracy, while the nobles (gentry) formed the second layer of Nobility (Aristocracy), known as "SZLACHTA". The commitment to free elections and acceptance of the right of rebellion in a just cause had gradually turned "SZLACHTA" to a highly privileged separate social caste.⁶⁰

In 1572, after the death of last JAGIELLON King, *SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS*, the Nobility (Aristocracy) snatched most of the powers of Monarch and introduced Elective Monarchy in the Commonwealth. Each King was obliged to swear his allegiance to maintain and follow the Principles of Elective Monarchy. He was further

⁵⁹ Glenn E. Curtis, ed. “Poland: A Country Study”, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1992. See also the “History of Poland” by Polish National Tourist Office, 2009.

⁶⁰ Jan Repa, “Central and South Eastern Europe 2009”, Routledge, 2009, p 472. See also the “History of Poland” by Polish National Tourist Office, 2009.

obliged to consult Nobility (SZLACHTA) on issues regarding Tax and Wars and to hold biannual meetings of Parliament (SEJM).

Against the background of typical hereditary monarchies of Central and Eastern Europe, the introduction of elected Monarchy in Poland is regarded as an important characteristic of Poland's national history.

Polish Nobility also introduced new phenomena of electing a large no of foreign nationals, especially French and Swedish, as the sovereigns of Commonwealth. The French Monarchs ruled the Union from 1573 to 1586. They increased Union's military might and re-conquered the territories captured by the Tsar Ivan IV (The terrible) of Russia. The year 1587 marked the beginning of the rule of Swedish born Kings that lasted till 1868. During this period Poland's Elite Cavalry Regiments became a dominant force in the battle fields against the forces of Russo-Swedish Alliance and Ottomans Turks.

II: V Socio-Cultural Developments during 15th &16th Centuries

During 15th and 16th Centuries, the knights, due to their participation in the wars and their dominant role in "Elective Monarchy" became the beneficiaries of most of the socio-economic developments.

At the socio-cultural front, it was an impressive phase of Polish socio-cultural history. Catholicism remained the state religion of the Common Wealth, but in order to make the Commonwealth more broadminded towards religious issues as compared to

its other European competitors, the Nobility in 1573 adopted “*the Statute of Toleration*” and Poland once again attracted a large number of Jews to take asylum. By the end of the 16th Century, the Commonwealth had emerged as one of the largest, wealthiest and most powerful state in Europe.

The establishment of Printing Press in 1473 A.D paved the ways for expansion of Western arts and literature among the common Poles. It served as stimulant for the talent of Polish society and helped it generating a number of high valued literatures. The “Chronicle” by Jan *DLUGOSZ* contributed to the development of Polish language. While *JAN KOCHANOWSKI*, a classical Slavic poet, is regarded as the genius of that age.

It was the climax of development of Polish arts and literature. Academies and schools mushroomed all over the Commonwealth under supervisory control of Catholic Church. The establishment of Krakow School of Painting was a great achievement. The Catholic Academy and University of Krakow gained International recognition and for centuries remained the most prominent Institutions for religious, philosophical and scientific educations in Central and Eastern Europe. Even in 15th century the enrollment of the Catholic Academy went up to over 17,000 students.⁶¹ Hence Krakow, the former Royal Capital, turned into the most prominent European cultural and educational centre.

⁶¹ “Polonia today online: a brief history of Poland”, Ameripol Corporation, 1994, Part-5
URL: http://www.Polonia_today_online_/Poland/History-Books_and_Achieve/A_brief_history_of_Poland\1994.Mht=Ameripol_Corporation/Polonia_Media_Network.com/20/4/2008

A brilliant astronomer of Krakow University, *NIKOLAS COPERNICUS*, brought a revolution in the Science of Astronomy.

At the political front, the introduction of bicameral Parliament (SEJM) in 1493 was the most important event of Polish history.

II: VI 17th Century: Division of Commonwealth

Map-9:- Foreign invasion during 17th Century



Source:-Library of congress country study.

During Seventeenth Century, Russia and Sweden made an alliance and invaded Warsaw. On the other hand Dutch & Danish forces joined the Commonwealth against that invasion. Poland's Elite Cavalry Regiments with the assistance of Dutch and Danish forces not only knocked at the doors of *MOSCOWI* in 1610 but also defeated Ottomans and blocked their further advancement towards Central and Eastern Europe.

Geo-strategically it was the height of Polish might and the downfall began with an uprising of Ukrainian Cossacks. Polish Elite Cavalierly tried to curb Cossacks rebellion but *TSAR ALEKSEI* of Russia intervened on behalf of rebels and by 1655, conquered the Eastern half of the commonwealth. Taking the advantage of the situation, Charles X of Sweden also invaded the Union and captured the remaining territory of the Commonwealth. The Polish Nobility without any hesitation recognized Charles X as de-facto ruler but the Swedish brutality raised the Poles and Lithuanian in arms against Charles X.⁶²

By 1662, Poles under *STEFAN CZARNIECKI* successfully defeated Swedes and Russians and regained their territories, but in the meantime, Ottoman Turks also invaded the Commonwealth so the wars against Ottomans and aggressive attitude of the Nobility forced the Commonwealth to make a peace with Russia. So the "Truce of *ANDRUSOVO*" was signed and Commonwealth was compelled to surrender entire of Eastern Ukraine to Russia.

⁶² Glenn E. Curtis, ed. "Poland: A Country Study", GPO for the Library of Congress, Washington, 1992.p-10. See also the "History of Poland" by Polish National Tourist Office.

As these wars of the 17th century were waged against the forces representing various religions like Orthodox Russians, Protestants Swedes and Muslim Ottomans, it generated religious bitterness in the Catholic Commonwealth and shattered the legacies of broadmindedness and tolerance. The large scale killing of native population in wars also affected the social structure of the society and paralyzed the socio-political system. Foreign invasions and wars damaged the economy and destroyed the entire education system of the Commonwealth at all levels. The introduction of LIBERUM VETO for Aristocracy not only weakened the SEJM, it also damaged the political organization of the state.

On the other hand even during those years of devastating wars the Polish Society produced many outstanding diarists, memoirists and splendid patriotic and lyrical poetry.

II: VII 18th Century: First European Constitution and Partitions of Commonwealth

During eighteenth century, war torn Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth had to face another round of invasion and devastations by its neighbors. In the early eighteenth century, the Commonwealth fell under the dominance of Russia and subsequently, as a buffer zone, turned into a major battle field for the fierce fighting between the Swedes and their arch rivals the Russians, the Nordics (Danish-Norway), Austrian, and Prussians.

Map:-10-Central and Eastern Europe during 18th Century (1721 A.D)



Source:-Library of congress country study.

In 1772, the first partition of Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth between Russia, Prussia and Austria was carried out. Poland could hardly succeed in retaining the territory known as the Polish Heartland.

Map:-11-Poland during 1772



Source:-Library of congress country study.

At the socio-political front, the first partition compelled King Stanislaw August to modify the whole institutional organization of state. Since he was inspired by the achievements of American and French revolutions, he constituted an Intellectual Forum to guide and propose a package of comprehensive reforms. The Intellectual forum in the light of thoughts and ideas of some leading foreign Intellectuals just like Edmund Burke, George Washington, Rousseau and Montesquieu formulated a comprehensive document for reform.

Polish parliament adopted that document as the Constitution of 3rd May 1791, which is regarded as the world's second Constitution after the Constitution of the United States and the Europe's First Modern Codified Constitution. It maintained the Commonwealth as a hereditary Monarchy. Although the Government was still centralized but for the first time the concept of democracy for all classes was recognized.

It Abolished the *LIBERUM VETO* for Aristocracy and for the first time in Central and Eastern European history it introduced the separation of Judicial, Executive and Legislative Powers of state. In order to curtail the political supremacy of Feudal Lords, the urbanization and industrialization were encouraged. The Army, especially the Elite Cavalry, also went through organizational reforms. Education reforms were

much more important and to curtail the authoritative role of Catholic Church over the curriculum, the first Ministry of Education in Europe was establishment in Poland⁶³.

Map:-12-Poland during 1793



Source:-Library of congress country study.

⁶³ Adam A. Hetnal, “The Polish Catholic Church in Pre- and Post-1989 Poland: An Evaluation”, in Journal “East European Quarterly”, Vol-32/4, 1998. See also CIA the World Fact book Poland.

Unfortunately all these attempts to reform were blocked by Nobility (Aristocracy) who was determined to preserve its domination. So it interrupted the proper functioning of Parliament and invited Russia to intervene for the restoration of status quo. Russia and Prussia, already mesmerized by the American and French Revolutions, could not swallow the similar kinds of revolutionary tides in their own backyard. So in 1793 they invaded the Commonwealth and not only carried out a second partition of Poland, they also abrogated the constitution.

Map:-13-Poland finally eroded from the Map of Europe in 1795



Source:-Library of congress country study.

In 1794 the Poles under the leadership of a military officer, *KOSCIUSZKO*, who had rendered extraordinary services in the American Revolution, arose in revolt against foreign occupation but eventually defeated and the occupation forces carried out the third partition of the Commonwealth. So in 1795 with the erosion of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Poland was officially erased from the map. Although the eighteenth century was the most devastating period for the Polish people but at the same time it caused some remarkable impacts upon the Polish society.

French and American Revolution generated revolutionary spirit in the society. Foreign occupation gave a new dimension to the feelings of Nationalism and for the first time in Polish history, the role of Catholic Church in state policies and especially its commanding role in formulating the education policies were challenged. But the most important development was at the Geo-Strategic front where for the first time Poles preferred to side a foreigner “the French” against their immediate and conventional neighbors “Russia and Prussia”(Germany).

II: VIII 19th Century: Napoleonic Wars, Russianization, Germanization, and Urbanization

When in 1804, Napoleon established a new Empire in France and attempted an expansion towards Central and Eastern Europe, Polish people enthusiastically supported him. The Polish land once again turned into the battlefield for the Napoleonic wars. In 1807, Napoleon after liberating the Polish territory from the Prussian occupation

established the Grand Duchy of Warsaw with the French style Constitution. But in 1813 Russia re-occupied the Duchy of Warsaw.

Map:-14-Poland during Napoleonic era.



Source:-Library of congress country study.

In the peace settlement of Congress of Vienna, the Polish territory went under the Austrian and German control. Bismarck in order to Germanize the Polish culture started a Cultural War against Catholic Church and Polish Nobility. He imposed restriction on the use of Polish Language and cultural expression in his parts of influences. Anti-Semitism of Bismarck had forced a large number of Jewish and Gentile Poles to flee from the Polish territory. German schools and German teachers replaced the Polish priests and Polish schools, and German became the language of instruction. The Catholic Church was persecuted for refusing to comply with the government regulation that all priests have a high school certificate (equivalent to today B.A. or B.Sc.). Catholic Church considering it a threat for Polish National Identity challenged it at all level.

On the other hands, Russia in its sphere of influence established a Congress Kingdom of Poland with a Liberal Constitution but with very limited authority. In 1831, Russia forced a large number of Poles to migrate to North America and other regions. Poles severally arose in revolt but brutally dealt by the Russians. Polish intelligentsia in order to mobilize civil society against foreign rule formed certain secret societies at all level. The intellectuals, highly inspired by *KARL MARX* and *ALEXANDER HERZEN*, tried to mobilize Peasantry against occupied forces but failed. The political activities were much more organic in the Russian part of Poland than Polish land in German possession. A resistance movement in exile was also established in Paris, but failed to

formulate any cohesive united forum to attain the objective of their national independence.

The catastrophes in the nineteenth century paved the way for Social and Political Transformation and stimulated the Polish patriotism. The concept of Nationalism became a romantic movement. The idea of a Nation State on the bases of common culture, language and ethnic values spread all over the Continent. Polish Literature of that time was mainly concentrated upon patriotism and the revival of glorious past. The introduced of Mining and manufacturing industries by Germans and Russians in their respective regions not only encouraged the urbanization of the society, it also reduced the power of traditional landed Aristocracy⁶⁴.

The modern living standards replaced the traditional patterns of life and created new breeds of Professional Classes, and generated new class revelries. The historical broadmindedness of Polish nation was replaced with the sense of nationalism based on common language and cultural ethnicity. New Political forces like Polish Socialist Party and National Democracy of Roman *DMOWSKI* appeared on the political front and became the symbols of Polish national pride with discriminating slogans against the Jews and other minorities.

⁶⁴ Jan Repa, "Central and Eastern Europe 2009: 9th edition", Routledge, 2009, pp. 471-474, See also- Glenn E. Curtis, ed. "Poland: A Country Study", GPO for the Library of Congress, Washington, 1992. See also the "History of Poland" by Polish National Tourist Office.

II: IX 20th Century: World Wars, Ethnic Cleansing and Extreme Nationalism

Map:-15-Poland in 1918



Source:-Library of congress country study.

The 20th Century appeared in Europe with new complexities and disputes. In 1914 the great World War was started and the Polish territory once again became the battle field for fierce fighting between Allied forces (Russia, the Great Britain and France etc) and the forces of Central Power (Germany and Austro-Hungary etc). Initially Poles preferred to side with Austro-Hungarian forces against Russia. The

Russian forces successfully penetrated deep into Polish territory and were about to conquer Krakow, but the massive German retaliation forced Russia to vacate the whole occupied Polish land. Some one million Poles had to flee from their homeland and almost 450,000 Polish troops died while defending homeland. Later on, the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Soviet Union, and the American entry to war on behalf of Allied Powers totally changed the character of war.

President Wilson successfully transformed the war into a Crusade by declaring the Central forces as the forces of evil. By promising the restoration of National Independent State for Poles, he won their support against Central Forces. Wilson in his fourteen points presented an outline for the post war state of affairs. The thirteenth point was about the creation of Independent National Democratic state for Poles. Later on this was also guaranteed in the Treaty of Versailles. So in October 1918, Poland re-emerged on the Map after disappearance of almost 123 years.

PILSUDSKI, a nationalist hero, became the first provisional President and the head of national government. Poland adopted a French style constitution with Parliamentary form of government. But after some time it assumed the character of dictatorial form of government.

At the geo-strategic front, in order to block the future expansionistic designs of Lenin, *PILSUDSKI* presented an idea to re-establish a commonwealth of all central and Eastern European states. Unfortunately the series of ethnic and territorial disputes erupted between Poland and its former companions. Then he attempted to join the

French-sponsored Alliance of Eastern European States but his entry to the alliance was rejected by Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. However in order to maintain a balance with Russia and Germany, and to avoid any future aggression, Poland entered into Non-aggression Pacts with Russia and Germany. In 1939, Hitler persuaded Poland to join *ANTI-COMINTERN PACT* of Germany, Japan and Italy but Poland preferred to remain neutral. On 1st September 1939, Hitler invaded Poland from Western front. In accordance with the secret understanding between Stalin and Hitler, Russia also invaded Poland from Eastern front and Poland was partitioned once again between Russia and Germany.

Map:-16-Poland in 1939



Source:-Library of congress country study.

Map:-17-Poland and Eastern Europe during Second World War



Source:-Library of congress country study.

Soviet forces killed almost 21,768 Polish Army officers at *KAYTN* forest in 1940 and moved 1.5 million Poles into labor Camps. Later on when Germany invaded Russia, the entire Polish land fell under Nazi Germany, and they established most lethal

death camps all over Poland. Almost 6 million Poles had to lose their lives. Almost entire Jewish population was brutally massacred, known as the Holocaust. Several Polish Children were taken away from their parents by Germans. The Nazis sought to strengthen the Aryan race by selective breeding and by isolating the weak and infirm in order to produce a new pure German breed through "Eugenics".⁶⁵ However in the hands of Nazis, the Eugenics became a dangerous tool for cleansing the weakest social elements like the handicapped, the mentally ill and the Jews.

Later on the invasion of Soviet Union by the Nazi forces changed the course of the war. The retaliation by the Red Army and an effective strategy of the Allied forces to isolate the Nazis from rest of its allied changed the course of events in favor of Allied. With the defeat of Germany, the victorious Allied Powers decided to re-shape the post-war Europe. At Tehran and Yalta they drew new boundaries of Poland which was almost 20% smaller to one that was existed before War. The reshaping of Polish boundaries also resulted in major relocations of Polish population. A large number of Polish populations were displaced. The Eastern parts of Poland that was consisted upon Several Important and ethnically Polish dominant cities like VILNIUS, LWOW, GRODNO, LUCK, STANISLAWOW were passed on to the Republics of the Soviet Union.

⁶⁵ Glenn E. Curtis, ed. "Poland: A Country Study", GPO for the Library of Congress, Washington, 1992,p-10. See also the "History of Poland" by Polish National Tourist Office. See also Norman M. Naimark , " Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in twentieth-century Europe", Harvard University Press, 2002, p-61-62

Most of the ethnic Polish population was expelled from the territories incorporated into Soviet Ukraine and Belarus. This entire territory was then cleansed. It is assessed that one third of all inhabitants of the pre-war Poland were subject to resettlement during or after the war. Most of the cities were almost completely destroyed (Warsaw, Wrocław, Gdansk, Szczecin) either by Nazi army or during the liberation by the Red Army.

The following map evaluates the readjustment of Polish territories by the Allied forces after the World War II. Marked with blue lines, the present borders of Poland are the result of mutual understanding between the Allied powers during World War II in Teheran (1943) and Yalta (1945).

Map: -18 Showing Border change after the W.W.II



Source:-Library of congress country study.

CHAPTER 3

POLISH STATE, SOCIETY AND CATHOLIC CHURCH DURING COMMUNISM

The 2nd World War destroyed almost the entire elite and intellectual class and created a vacuum in the Power structure of the Eastern European States. Its large number of population had to bear the shocks of displacement. The demographic changes affected the entire fabrics of social life and intensified inter-states and intra-state ethnic and nationalistic rivalries. The devastating episodes of wars, harsh memories of double and triple foreign occupation, and continuous exploitation by the colonial and imperialistic Powers had weakened the entire state institutions of Eastern European States.

III: I Stalinization

Stalin selected this weakly integrated and war torn region for the experiment of Stalinization. By portraying Communism as liberator, he provoked feelings of nationalism in Central and Eastern European Societies.

In Eastern Europe the Stalinization was purely of political purpose and Stalin wanted to secure its sphere of influence in the region. He adopted variant strategies for Stalinization of different Central and Eastern European states. The speed and tactics of

takeover in Hungary and Czechoslovakia was quite different from that Stalin adopted in Poland and East Germany. In Hungary and Czechoslovakia he gave the revolutionary forces much time to re-establish and re-organize themselves before the final blow. But in Poland and East Germany, as he needed an urgent preservation of Communist sphere of interests, Stalin tried to attain the maximum Political strength in a very initial post war period.⁶⁶

The imposition of one-party rule, the centralization of agriculture sector and restructuring of the entire governmental, administrative and judicial system according to the Soviet model were the tools for Stalinization of these Eastern European States. The Communist propaganda machinery not only encouraged social conflicts, it also spread confusion with regards to religion, especially the Catholic Church.

The advancement of communism was interplay of several international and domestic factors and took place in three stages. In first stage the Soviet Union penetrated deep into the socio-political structure of these societies by creating and sponsoring a number of Centre and Left Wing coalitions. Their struggle was monitored and controlled by the Interior Ministry of USSR. In the second stage the functions of all non-socialist actors were reduced without breaking the coalitions with them. And finally

⁶⁶Johanna Granville, "Poland and Hungary, 1956: A Comparative Essay Based on New Archival Findings", in the Australian Journal of Politics and History. Volume: 48, Issue: 3, Gale Group, University of Queensland Press, 2002. See also, Elena Prohntichi, "Comparative Analysis of the Modes of Transition in Hungary and Poland and their Impact on the Electoral Systems of These States", Central European University Press, 2007.

in the last stage the entire political system was socialized under the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.⁶⁷

At the Political front, during the 2nd World War, Polish government in exile under nationalist leader, Wladyslaw Sikorski was formed in London. Polish Government in exile constituted the Nationalists Home Army in Poland and continued resistance against Nazi occupation forces. Shortly after the German invasion of Soviet Union, Stalin joined the Allied forces against Hitler and established its own Corp of Polish Patriots consisted upon Polish Communists to fight along with Soviet troops against Nazis. He re-organized the Communist Polish Workers Party (PPR) with Gomulka as the Secretary General and also established a Committee of National Liberation (PKWN).

In 1945, when allied decided to reconstitute a Provisional National Government in Poland, that Committee of National Liberation took as a Provisional Government with Gomulka as the head. Several Pro-West leaders of the former government in exile were also included.

Post War Poland was very much different from the Poland before the War. Its population was decreased, its elites and intelligentsia lost influence within the society.

⁶⁷ Joachim Zweynert, "The Two Transitions in Central and Eastern Europe as Processes of Institutional Transplantation", *Journal of Economic, Gale Group*, and Volume: 40, Issue: 4, 2006. See also, Timothy Snyder, "The Historical Reality of Eastern Europe", in "East European Politics and Societies", Volume 23 Number 1, Sage Publication, February 2009.

Demographic alterations turned the heterogeneous Poland into a homogeneous Polish State and altered the character of Polish society.

The first post war elections in Poland were held in 1947. The Communists managed to form a Democratic Alliance. The Stalinist Polish Worker Party (PPR) under the leadership of Wladyslaw Gomulka remained the dominant force. He assumed as the head of new Polish government. But his opposition to the Communist Information Bureau (COMINFORM) and Collectivization of Agriculture disappointed Stalin and he was removed from his office and then exile.

In 1948, the Polish Workers Party (PPR) merged all other Communist groups and formed, “the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR)”. Boleslaw Bierut, a staunch supporter of Stalinization, assumed as the first Secretary General of PZPR as well as the head of Polish Government.

He imprisoned political opponents and tried to import Soviet cultural norms in Poland. By introducing Soviet Style first six year development plan, he nationalized industries and shifted it to an exclusive heavy industrial sector. The forced collectivization of agriculture and nationalization of public property generated wide spread peasantry uprisings throughout the country. Furthermore, in order to influence the Church, he confiscated Church property and imprisoned Clergies. But such interventions in the affairs of Catholic Church opened a new hostility between Church and state. His period is regarded as the darkest period of communist era.

In 1952, Soviet Style Communist Constitution was adopted. The country was renamed as the People's Republic of Poland and all institutions of State and Society, such as government, parliament, judiciary, trade unions were brought under the direct control of the Communist Party of Soviet Union.

III: II De-Stalinization

The death of Stalin in 1953 marked the shift in Soviet strategy towards Stalinization. Moreover Khrushchev's accusation of Stalinism opened new hopes for systematic reforms in Poland. In 1955, Poland joined Warsaw Pact Treaty and also became the member of COMECON (the Committee for Mutual Economic Assistance), which was a trade organization between the nations of the Soviet Bloc.

The death of Boleslaw Bierut generated rifts in the ranks of Polish United Workers Party (PZPR). The violent anti Communist riots erupted against rigid Communist agenda. Peoples demanded for the re-instatement of former head of Communist Government, Gomulka and finally for the first time in the Eastern European history, Public opinion influenced the decision making process and Gomulka was re-instated as the Secretary General of PZPR and head of government in October 1956. Gomulka's accession to top positions by the public support is known as Polish October and marked as a great development in the history of communist era.

He started with relaxing censorship, releasing political prisoners, improving relations with Catholic Church and introduced democratic reforms in the management

of Communist Party. In many respects Gomulka's Poland became the most open and democratic society in Eastern Europe during the Communist era.

In 1968, when Czechoslovakia introduced similar kind of democratic reforms and USSR started WARSAW Pact Military Operation in Czechoslovakia against reformists quite amazingly Gomulka turned more orthodox and extended full support to that operation in Czechoslovakia. The Prague uprising unveiled the contradictory behavior of Gomulka and the Polish Youth also arose in revolt against communist leadership.

These youth protests coupled with labor violence against price hike turned into a wide spread agitations throughout the country. Gomulka misconceived it as a counter revolution and tried to handle with brutal use of force. The bloodshed claimed hundreds of lives and finally the Party had to withdraw the decision to increase prices of general commodities. The result was an end to Gomulka's career.⁶⁸

Edward Gierek, a technocrat, replaced Gomulka as the Secretary General and the head of government. He introduced administrative reforms and presented a new strategy for economic development. The massive borrowing from the West to buy technology for national development in exchange with the Polish goods was the focal point of his strategy. The plan worked but the World Economic Recession, increased oil prices and opposition by the Soviet planners led to the collapse of Gierik strategy. He abandoned

⁶⁸ Jan Repa, "Central and Eastern Europe 2009, 9th edition", Routledge, 2009, P.473-74. See also Glenn E. Curtis, ed. "Poland: A Country Study", GPO for the Library of Congress, Washington, 1992.

the plan and once again shifted Polish economy towards Soviet Union and it's sponsored "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" (COMECON).

In 1976 Polish Intellectuals formed a Committee for Defense of Workers and similarly Polish students constituted a Committee for Student Solidarity. By the end of 1970's Roman Catholic clergies, disappointed labors and frustrated Intelligentsia made a coalition and a wave of unrest swept the country. The events encouraged the workers of Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to demand for the establishment of an independent Trade Union. Their demand for the restoration of right to strike had already got tremendous public support, and at last on 31st August 1980 a contract between the leaders of Gdansk Shipyard and the government was signed regarding the restoration of trade activities and a new National Trade Union, Solidarity appeared in the political arena of Poland.

The PZPR, demoralized but still in power, replaced Edward Gierek with Stanislaw Kania as the Secretary General of the Polish Communist Party. But in 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Commander in chief of Polish armed Forces seized control of the country. Military regime imposed restrictions on civil liberties, banned Solidarity and Students Unions and imprisoned political activists including Walesa. The Martial Law was lifted in 1983 but General Jaruzelski remained the chief of PZPR as well as Polish government. In 1985 Gorbachev assumed as the head of Soviet Union. He introduced Perestroika and Glasnosts, "Liberalization and Openness". Jaruzelski and his administration welcomed the Soviet Union's move and released most of the political prisoners.

III: III Round Table Talks and end of Communism

In the meantime, the economic depression and rising inflation forced the workers and general masses to rise in revolt against the regime. That time is regarded as the most crucial period of Poland's history which not only changed the regime but also led to the end of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe

General Jaruzelski started Round Table talks with Solidarity. At the end of Round Table Talks, Solidarity stood victorious as it got the right to contest National Elections and when in June 1989 the Parliamentary elections held in Poland, Solidarity swept Communists from nearly all of the contested seats. The non Communist coalition government was formed and Catholic intellectual Tadeusz Mazowiecki assumed as Prime Minister of Poland. In accordance with the Roundtable Agreements, the Communists were given the Ministries of Interior and Defense⁶⁹. That overwhelming victory of Solidarity was a final blow for Polish United Workers Party's (PZPR) monopoly of power. President Mikhail Gorbachev and PZPR accepted the defeat. The new government approved a plan for radical socio-economic and political reforms and on 30th of December 1989 the Third Polish Republic was proclaimed.

⁶⁹ "Brief history of Poland" by Polish Embassy based on the book "God's Playground", a history of Poland by Prof. Norman Davies, updated: Dec 2009-p.617-18. See also. Jan Repa, "Central and Eastern Europe 2009, 9th edition", Routledge, 2009, P.474

At the geo-strategic front, Poland succeeded in demarking its western borders with new unified Germany. The disappointed Jaruzelski resigned and in September 1990, new Presidential elections were held and Solidarity won that first free Presidential election and Walesa became the first non-Communist President of Poland.

III: IV Transformation towards Liberal Democracy

The withdrawal of the last of the remaining Soviet troops from the Polish soil marked as the end of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe. The emergence of new political forces in the political arena of Poland to some extent ended the dominance monopoly of Communist Polish United Workers Party (PZPR). But the Communists very successfully reorganized them under new brand names and with new slogans. The period from 1989 to 1997 is therefore regarded as the period of political instability and confrontation between the political forces mostly consisted upon the younger generation of former Communists and new liberal democrats to establish dominant influence in the power structure of Poland.

In 1991, the first fully free Parliamentary elections held in Poland. The extreme form of Proportional Representation enabled 29 Political Parties to get representation in the SEJM and the Senate. The younger generation of Communists constituted the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) with the Democratic Union (UD) mostly represented by the former Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) members. Initially a Centre Right Coalition Government was formed and an ex-Solidarity fame human Right Activist, Jan Olszewski took as the Prime Minister of Poland.

New Parliament approved the strategic plan for the creation of a free market economy. But the restructuring of the economy raised the prices to 585.8%. The situation forced the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to intervene, but the economic decay was so drastic that even the IMF and World Bank's grants could not prevent the price hike and growing jobless rate. The ultimate result was the widespread labor strikes. Consequently, Jan Olszewski had to resign in July 1992⁷⁰.

After his resignation, Henna Suchocka of Democratic Union (UD) took as the first female Prime Minister of Poland. On December 8th 1992, the interim Polish Constitution was adopted by the Parliament. But the continuous poor performance of the Government compelled Solidarity to table a no confidence motion against her government and President Walesa dissolved the Parliament.

On 18th September 1993, new Parliamentary elections were held but Polish Peoples Party (PSL) and Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) dominated by former Communists, obtained most of the seats (303 out of 406 total Seats). Waledmar Pawlak of Polish Peoples Party (PSL) was appointed new Prime Minister.

In 1994, Poland applied for the EU membership. But at the domestic front, the relations between President Walesa and the government remained tense. Although

⁷⁰Adam Michnik, "New York Times Magazine", November 7, 1999, pp. 70, 72, cited in "Brief history of Poland" by Polish Embassy based on the "God's Playground", a history of Poland by Prof. Norman Davies. Updated Dec 2009, p. 618

Poland succeeded in attaining the membership of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995, the government could not succeed in bringing any structural change in the economy so Pawlak had to resign in February 1995, and a former communist Jozef Olesky of Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) replaced him But shortly resigned and Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz became the new Prime Minister of Poland.

In 1995, the new Presidential elections were held and Aleksander Kwasniewski, the Chairman of the Social Democracy of Republic of Poland (SdRP), which was a new version of Polish United Workers Party (PZPR), defeated Walesa and took as the new President of Poland.

III: V Re-Establishment of Communist Hegemony and Its Effects

The defeat of Walesa and the re-establishment of communist hegemony in Poland was a great blow for Solidarity. But actually the defeat of Walesa was not a rejection of Solidarity but it was a rejection of unpredictable and confrontational behavior of Walesa.

The re-establishment of Communist rule was also a great shock for Catholic Church. During Communism the Catholic Church stood alongside with Solidarity in its struggle against Communism. After the end of communism, the rule of Solidarity had proved to be a blessing for Catholic Church, so by introducing religious education in

schools and sponsoring some identical amendments to the constitution regarding protection of 'Christian Values, the Catholic Church had established very dominant position in the Polish state and society. The re-emergence of communist rule in Poland had threatened its leading position.

The post communist governments of neo-communists had never acknowledged the economic decays of the communist era therefore without identifying the real causes of transformation how they could outline the actual goals and objectives of liberalization.⁷¹ Though the Liberalization of Trade and Privatization of state enterprises without any rational consideration brought international competition but it also created unrest among the working class, especially the decision to sell the loss-making Gdansk Shipyard provoked agitations throughout the country. The country wide agitation forced Solidarity to abandon its political role and re-transform once again from a political organization to a trade organization of employers and workers.

The Poland's accession to NATO and the ratification of the new Polish constitution by the nation in National Referendum were two main events of that era. In 1997 general elections were held in Poland. The Public opinion turned against the Socialist Left. The coalition of 36 Liberal Parties known as the Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) scored majority. The Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and Polish

⁷¹ Richard Sakwa, "Post Communism: the communist experience", Viva Books , New Delhi,2002,p.41

Peoples Party (PSL) remained the second largest coalition. Jerzy Buzek of Solidarity Electoral action (AWS) took as new Prime Minister and formed a coalition government with Freedom Union (UW). Unfortunately the policies of coalition government disappointed the general masses so when the new Parliamentary elections were held in 2001, the Solidarity Electoral Action (AWS) failed to secure majority. A leftist coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Polish Peoples Party (PSL) and the Union of Labors (UP) once again stood victorious and succeeded in re-establishing Leftist government in Poland with Leszek Miller as Prime Minister. In 2000, President Kwasniewski was re-elected as the Polish President.

The coalition collapsed when in 2003 Polish Peoples Party (PSL) left the government on the issue of controversial Taxes. But the Prime Minister Miller continued as the Prime Minister and successfully won the favor of 70 % Polish voters in a National Referendum held on the question of Poland's accession to EU. On 1st May 2004 Poland acceded to EU. Meanwhile the mutual confrontation between the leadership of ruling Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) forced P.M. Miller to resign. President Kwasniewski invited Belka, another Communist leader, to form new government initially SEJM opposed his nomination but since SEJM itself failed to nominate a substitute, Belka succeeded in forming new government. The new Presidential elections were held in October 2005, and Lech Kaczynski of the Conservative Law and Justice (PiS) defeated Donald Tusk of Centre-Right Civic

Platform (PO) and took as the new President of Poland ended a long era of leftist Presidency.

Likewise the new Parliamentary elections were held in 2005 and the Conservative Law and Justice Party (PiS) emerged as the largest single Party. The Centre-Right Civic Platform (PO) remained the second. Marcinkiewicz became the new Prime Minister of Poland and formed a coalition government along with Social Democrats. But his disagreements over economic policies with the coalition partners forced him to resign and on July 2006 Law and Justice Party (PiS) nominated Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the identical twin of President Lech Kaczynski, for the post of Prime Minister.

Polish President Lech Kaczynski died on April 10th 2010, when the presidential plane crashed as it came in for a landing in thick fog in western Russia, killing 97 people. The plane was taking the president and his delegation to events marking the 70th anniversary of the massacre of 22,000 Polish officers in KATYK forest by Soviet secret police during the WW II. The crash devastated the upper echelons of Poland's political and military establishments.

The early Presidential elections were held in July 2010 in which the acting president and the candidate from the ruling Civic Platform Bronislaw Komorowski secured majority against his rival Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the identical twin of late President. Both the government and the presidential palace are now in the hands of the Civic Platform party.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSFORMATION: THE INTERPLAY OF VARIOUS FACTORS

The end of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe was a very rapid process and it produced an opportunity for new waves of democratization. Once the process of de-communization was started its tides expanded all over the region. However, these Central and Eastern European states responded quite differently. Some countries like Poland rapidly consolidated liberal democracy, whereas other countries like Ukraine, Hungary and Czech Republic had to encounter greater political and economic complexities. In Romania it resulted into a revolution, while in Yugoslavia it generated fresh waves of ethnic violence.

The review of the relevant literature has revealed that all these diversities of transition were because of differences in the initial conditions of all states. The Soviet Type system was only rhetoric towards Social Justices, equality and democracy. The communists used the Power of state to enforce their political agendas. They propagated for social change but their commitments for social revolution were only lip services. The communist authorities had even monopolized the entire organization of civil society and could never tolerate social authority for the masses. It was a deviation from

original communist ideology and that deviation led the rulers to a confusion from which they could never escape.⁷² The communist governments of Gomulka and Gerieck during 1960's and 70's and later on the leftists Governments during the initial phase of transformation are the best examples of that confusion.

However it was not the only reason for the collapse of Communism in the region. If it is true, and certainly true, that the advancement of communism in Central and Eastern Europe was interplay of several International and domestic factors, than its demise was also interplay of several socio-political, economic and ideological factors such as:

IV: I Economic and Ecological Problems

The Stalin actually politicized all the institutions of Central and Eastern European States. He introduced and implemented the development strategy revolving around the establishment of monopolistic rule of Communist Party, the development of heavy Industries and the Nationalization of resources.

Economic development through heavy industrialization without any consideration of supply and demands was irrational approach. Furthermore in the absence of fundamental infrastructure the ultimate result of heavy industrialization was the shortage of financial support that compelled governments to rely upon heavy

⁷² Moreover the strategies and approaches adopted by the participant states in that process of transformation have also remained the main area of interest for the contemporary writers

borrowing. At the end, it became much harder for rulers to bring the economic rationality on track and avoid the economic decay. It shattered the faith of common peoples in Communism and enlarged the gulf between the masses and the rulers. The great Prague uprising in 1968 had remained a source of inspiration not only for Czechs' but also for the people in neighboring states especially for the Polish Youth who also arose in revolt against Gomulka. His successor, Edward Gierek, also met a similar fate when he attempted to borrow the Western technology for the national development in exchange with the Polish goods.

The Catholic Clergies, the disappointed labors and frustrated Intelligentsia made a coalition and a wave of unrest swept the country. The events encouraged the workers of Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to demand for the establishment of an independent Trade Union. The moment, the rulers compromised the restoration of trade activities they also lost their legitimacy as well. At the end, when final countdown for de-communicization started, the rulers were in an isolated mess.

IV: II Soviet Strategy

The advancement of communism in Central and Eastern Europe took place in three stages. In first stage the Soviet Union penetrated deep into the socio-political structure of these societies by creating and sponsoring a number of Centre and Left Wing coalitions. Their activities were monitored and controlled by the Interior Ministry of USSR. In the second stage the functions of all these non-socialist actors were

reduced without breaking the coalitions. Finally in the last stage the entire political system was socialized at the pattern of Soviet Union⁷³.

Communism, ignoring the importance of public support, had mostly relied upon very strong Communist Parties for the establishment of its authority in the region. The Communist Party in Moscow had an absolute authority over the activities of Communist Parties of CEE States who with their cohesive powers and control over political, economic and administrative activities had taken a shape of another “bureaucracy”.

The original Communist ideology, like Western democratic ideologies, also emphasized upon the preservation of democratic values including the existence and functioning of real opposition. But unfortunately in CEE states Communist Party violated it and could never tolerate the functioning of real opposition. During 1980’s the Communist Party had an absolute authority over states institutions through a group of around 200 Generals. So once the process of de-communization started, it reversed the entire socio-political and moral reserves of the society.

Furthermore, each and every system, even the most authoritarian regimes can never sustain just only with power and force. It must have some justifications to resume in power. Actually the ideas of stability and prosperity were two reasonable justifications for Marxism and Leninism in Central and Eastern Europe. But the

⁷³ Herbert Kitschelt et al, “ Post Communist Party System: Competition, representation and inter-party cooperation”, Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp.97-98

communist Party adopted totally contradicting approach and never sought to attain legitimacy in its real sense.

So once the process of decomposition of ideology was started, Communist Party could not halt its pace and momentum. Its attempts to sustain authority by mean of force and propaganda could only intensify the process of de-legitimization and eventually eliminated the Party rule. In some states the regimes tried to reach a compromise with opposition for a graceful disintegration but the process of de-legitimization was so fast that it damaged the entire ideological bond of the society.⁷⁴

IV: III Loss of Social Harmony

All ideological derived systems emphasize greatly on the preservation of ideological harmony within the society. Such harmony and unity reflects the nature and intensity of the ideological grip of the regime over the society. In Poland and Hungary communists used ideologically derived language as the tool to enforce their ideological claims. Through very strict censorship they tried to keep unfavorable ideas away from general masses. For the time being they succeeded in bringing socio-cultural peace and harmony in the societies. But when some alternative ideas succeeded in penetrating through “ideological barriers”, they gained widespread acceptance and brought new options for civil society to reconstitute it as a society. It shattered the entire ideological harmony or unity and deprived the system from the support of intellectuals. Once the

⁷⁴ Richard Sakwa, “Post Communism”, Viva Book, New Delhi, 2002. See also George Schopflin, “Politics in the Eastern Europe 1945-1992”, Blackwell publishers, Oxford, 1994 pp- 230-231

process of change was started the leadership of communist Parties could not maintain unity regarding the question of dealing with the situation. They could choose either to contain the process of decomposition by force or allow the graceful disintegration. The implications for such division were very serious.⁷⁵

IV: IV Confused and divided Leadership

The loss of support from intellectuals confused the leadership as well. They could either try to contain the change with force or to try to give ways to more or less graceful disintegration. The confusion and division of leadership was evident in Hungary where the Politburo could not justify its decision to get rid of KADARAN Regime, rather it eliminated the role of Communists in the Parliament and in 1990 the Hungary was proclaimed Liberal Democratic State.

In Czechoslovakia the process of transformation was so fast that even the leaders of Central Committee could not even reach a consensus regarding the question whether to use force or not to contain the mass agitations. In East-Germany and Bulgaria leadership decided to replace the whole first line leadership to defuse the situation and to save the collapse but even after the removal of Honecker in East-Germany and Zhivkov in Bulgaria the newly promoted leadership could not halt the pace of collapse.

⁷⁵ George Schopflin, "Politics in the Eastern Europe 1945-1992", Blackwell publishers, Oxford, 1994 pp-230-231

In Poland situation was exceptionally different where General Jaruzelski successfully got rid of all those who were opposing the dialogue with opposition. The Round Table Talks brought some concessions for General Jaruzelski and it also encouraged the opposition to demand more.⁷⁶

IV: V Weakness of Soviet Union

The weakness of Soviet Union at the Global level was the most important factor which intensified the tides of transformation in Central and Eastern Europe and especially in Poland and Hungary. The course of events in Central and Eastern Europe forced the Soviet leadership to think about the change in Soviet Union's strategies towards its satellites. First of all Gorbachev refuted the Brezhnev Doctrine and decided to remain neutral in the whole process of transformation. He further decided that Soviet Union would not use force in future to impose Soviet-type system in Central and Eastern Europe.

In that context the requests from Bulgarian and Czechoslovakian leaders to intervene were refused. Gorbachev also announced to remain neutral in the battle for redistribution of power within the Soviet Parties of Central and Eastern European States. In order to save and protect Soviet interests and influence at minimum level, he even encouraged the elimination of extremists from the key positions of Party and acknowledged their replacements with more liberal and reformist leadership. The signal

⁷⁶ Richard Sakwa, "Post Communism", Viva Book, New Delhi, 2002

was really embarrassing for the Communist leadership of Central and Eastern European States. In Poland he encouraged the process of dialogue between Regime and Solidarity. That is why, in Poland some former Communists succeeded in securing some key portfolios in democratic government of Solidarity.⁷⁷

Gorbachev forwarded new strategies most commonly known as Perestroika and Glasnost “Reforms and Openness” and announced the immediate withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan. Some political analysts held Gorbachev responsible for the end of Communism but the review of the relevant literature reveals that Gorbachev through Glasnost and Perestroika actually desired for the graceful exit from the dilemma. The approach towards Reforms and Openness gave Russia an opportunity to avoid another bloody revolution, which if took place, even the basic foundations of Russian Civilization would have been shattered.

IV: VI Role of Solidarity

On 31st August 1980 a contract between the leaders of Gdansk Shipyard and the government was signed regarding the restoration of trade activities and a new National Trade Union, Solidarity appeared in the political arena of Poland.

The Polish anti-Communist or a reformist movement, Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, a shipyard worker in Gdansk is considered to be the first free-trade union of

⁷⁷ George Schopflin, “Politics in the Eastern Europe 1945-1992”, Blackwell publishers, Oxford, 1994 p-235

Eastern Europe. The Solidarity by adopting various interesting symbols such as the Cross, the image of Our Lady of Czestochowa, the image of Pope John Paul II, flowers the symbol of non-violence succeeded in attracting a large number of workers and in 1981, its initial membership rose to almost 10 million people. Solidarity with its size and support became a symbol of opposition to Communism. It penetrated deep in the organizational structure of Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) as well and almost 30 percent of Polish United Workers Party (PZPR)'s workers also became the member of Solidarity.

In 1983 Solidarity got international acknowledgment when Walesa won the Nobel Prize for Peace. Meanwhile, Solidarity changed its strategy and decided to mobilize the vast and expanding peasantry class along with already active working class against authoritative designs of regimes. So its agriculture wing "Rural Solidarity" came into being. Now the overwhelming majority of Polish workers and peasants were active and loyal associates of Solidarity.

But at that crucial moment of Polish national history, Solidarity was split into two wings on the questions regarding strategies towards Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) and Soviet Union. The moderate wing under Walesa wanted to avoid any active confrontation with Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) and Soviet Union. While the Militant group of Solidarity wanted to destabilize Communist regime by all means. Though to some extent those mutual conflicts damaged the strength of Solidarity, but its leading role in the National and regional politics remained indisputable.

Meanwhile Soviet Union had changed its strategy towards Central and Eastern Europe and started Round Table Talks with opposition Parties in various CEE states. Amazingly the opposition Parties in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland entered the talks with drastically very different approaches. The Hungarian and Czechoslovakians opposition Parties pleaded for the complete end of communist rule in their countries, while Walesa in Poland demanded for reforms and modification of Political system which would ensure and recognize the role for free and genuine opposition⁷⁸.

At the end of Round Table Talks, Solidarity stood victorious as it got the right to contest National Elections. When in June 1989 the elections held in Poland, Solidarity swept Communists from nearly all of the contested seats. The role of Solidarity in the Polish transformation had greatly inspired the anti communist segments throughout the Soviet Satellites and generated a series of peaceful counter revolutions that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s and paved the way for European integration.

The period from 1989 to 1993 is regarded as the period of polarization, confrontations and personality clashes within the Solidarity. Solidarity icon and President Lech Walesa wanted to accelerate the pace of reforms. His approach towards economic development and socio-political stability generated controversies within the

⁷⁸ Richard Sakwa, "Post Communism", Viva Book, New Delhi, 2002. See also, "How communism could have been saved: Formal analysis of electoral bargaining in Poland in 1989" Marek M. Kaminski, Department of Politics, New York University, U.S.A, 2008. <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/pl.html-28/11/20089>

Solidarity leadership and several personalities left Solidarity over personality clashes with leadership and re-organized as independent political groups.

The Solidarity comprehended ground realities of National Politics and abandoned its Political activities and once again transformed from National Political Organization to a prestigious National Trade Union.

IV: VII Role of Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church in Poland has been enjoying a very dominant position since 10th century when the founding father of PIAST Kingdom, Meiszko-I, was converted to Christianity and officially Catholicized Poland by placing it under the Holy Roman Empire⁷⁹.

The eighteenth century was the most devastating period for the Polish people because the magnificent Poland-Lithuanian Commonwealth was disintegrated and its territory was distributed between victorious Russia, Prussia & Austria. The role of Catholic Church in state policies and especially its authoritative role in formulating curriculum for educational Institutions were challenged and curtailed.

However Catholic Church had succeeded in securing much of its prestigious position and became the symbol of National identity, freedom and resistance against

⁷⁹ Glenn E. Curtis, ed. "Poland: A Country Study", Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1992.

invaders. During the whole 19th Century it remained a spiritual institution as well as an influential social and Political force for Polish masses.

In 20th century when the demographic changes like migrations, shifting of borders and the ethnic cleansing “the Holocaust” at the hands of Nazi’s turned the heterogeneous Polish land into an absolute homogeneous Catholic Society it enhanced the strength and prestigious position of Catholic Church.

During the whole period of Communist rule, i.e. 1945 to 1989, the relationships between Catholic Church and communist regimes were mostly guided by the socio-political needs of the Communist regimes. When they felt self-sufficient they turned very harsh towards Catholic Churches but in time of crisis their approach towards Catholic Church remained conciliatory.

However during the initial period of Stalinization, Stalin tried his best to reduce its role by imposing censorship on the activities of Catholic Churches. He launched a massive anti-Church propaganda and systematically nationalized all of its educational institutions, confiscated its properties and persecuted its members. But he could not even lessen the role and influence of Catholic Church in the Polish society. The significance of Catholic Church in the lives of Poles led him to comprehension that it would be an uphill task to convert it to a genuine Communist state.⁸⁰ After that initial

⁸⁰ Mirela Eberits, “The Roman Catholic and Democracy in Poland”, in *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol.50, May 1998, p.819

confrontation both, the Catholic Church and Communist regimes, decided to accommodate each another by promoting the concept of reconciliation and peaceful coexistence.

Communist leaders Gomulka and Gierik recognized the significance of Catholic Church in the lives of common Poles and announced several concessions for Catholic Church. They restored the functioning of its prestigious educational institutions like Catholic University in LUBLIN and the historical Catholic Academy in Warsaw. In return, they also got certain concessions from Church authorities. Polish Church by denouncing political activism urged the Poles to remain calm and peaceful towards communist regimes

But the phase of reconciliation proved to be very short and Communist continued their interference in the affairs of Catholic Church, so the Church also turned hostile towards Communists and turned into a political platform for religious and non-religious anti communist intellectuals.

In 1978 the situation dramatically changed in favor of Catholic Church, when Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, a Polish Clergy, was elected the Pope of Roman Catholic Church. Pope John Paul actually symbolized the unity of Christianity. He believed that the traditional conservative Catholicism could curtail the advancement of Communist ideologies at cultural, social, economic, political and structural levels.

The Pope's Polish identity became a source of inspiration for Polish youth, that had already been inspired of legendary character of St. Stanislaw, who after

assassination during the reign of King Boleslaw-II in 11th century had become the symbol of national pride and resistance against illegitimate state authority.

Furthermore, Pope's selection of Poland for his first ever official visit was a sign of gratitude for Polish society. After the visit of Pope that symbolic weapon of St. Stanislaw became an effective force against the communist regime and Catholic Church succeeded in mobilizing people against the atheist Communist Regime.

The first independent Polish Trade Union, the Solidarity Movement, also realized the ground reality and relied heavily on the support of Catholic Church and even adopted the Catholic symbols and expression to influence the public opinion. The Catholic Churches served as the main hiding place for political activists during the crackdowns of the Communist authorities. Church attendance during Communist period was higher than it had been ever before. More than 90 % of Polish children were baptized. Sunday congregations in Churches also served as political gatherings in which Solidarity leaders usually presented their program and strategies.

During the whole period of Round Table Talks, Catholic Church remained the sole advisor for the Solidarity Movement and to some extent served as a guarantor for the both parties for their future conducts.

IV: VIII Role of Mass Media

The role of Mass Media in the transformation of Central and Eastern Europe from Authoritarian Communism to Liberal democratic rule can never be minimized or

overlooked. If on one hand in the initial stages of Stalinization it established the legitimacy for the regimes, than on the other hand in the time of high mobilization it provided the revolutionary forces with a platform to influence the Public Opinion.

Lenin and Stalin were aware of the fact that the Media could be used as a tool in fomenting revolutionary feelings and influencing the intelligentsia. He tried to ensure its grip on power by controlling two key institutions, the trade unions and mass media. Trade Union actually influences the urban workers and rural peasantry and keeps the workers united, and mass media keeps the intellectuals intact with communist ideology. During 1980's, the Communist leadership imposed very strict censorship upon Polish Media especially the Print Media in order to change its strategy towards communist regime.

In such devastating environment Polish mass Media also changed its strategy and in order to compete with the communist press it continued its activities mostly as an underground Press. During that time a large number underground Press known as "ZARMIZDATS" emerged as the main source for the spread of resistance literature in Poland. Furthermore, when Martial Law authorities imprisoned the political leadership those underground Presses "ZARMIZDATS" served as the substitute opposition and took the responsibilities to keep the masses intact with the imprisoned or underground opposition leadership.

During the 1980's, the Solidarity published some widely read dailies, weeklies and other publications that provided the general poles with an opportunity to monitor

and observe the ever-changing socio-political activities in the region. The Magazine “KULTURA” by the Committee for Social Resistance (KOR) and weekly “TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSE” by Solidarity’s National Newspaper created a chain of more than 500,000 readers in Poland even during the period of that high censorship and succeeded in breaking the socio-cultural, political and economic monopolies of communist Media.

The Polish underground Press also established a sort of link between the intellectuals of various CEE states. The information circulated by these underground presses was the only reliable source for the anti-communists intellectuals in other CEE states especially in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. In other words that underground Polish Press by eroding the Geographical borders had created a new kind of Anti-communist Intellectuals Community in CEE region.

Hence one can very easily conclude that the end of Communism in Eastern Europe and especially in Poland was interplay of its social, political and economic Institutions and it is an inalienable fact that Polish Solidarity movement and Catholic Church could never mobilize masses against Communist authoritarian regimes if they had not the support of such devoted and nationalist Polish Media.

CHAPTER 5

POLAND: MANAGING SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE POST COMMUNIST PERIOD

The Post Communism scenario was uncomfortable for these CEE states. The monopolistic control of a strong and inflexible Communist Party had spoiled their entire socio-economic and political institutions and they entered the post communist phase with political instability, bad economic condition, illiberal democracy, inconsistent administrative structure and quite dissimilar approach towards modernity. Soviet Union had not only imposed one party rule in these Eastern European States but it also restructured the entire governmental, administrative and judicial system according to the model of Soviet communism. The communist propaganda machinery not only encouraged social conflicts, it also spread confusion with regards to religion, especially the Catholic Church.

For Poland the post communist era appeared along with very high inflation, growing unemployment, very low wages, shortage of basic foodstuff, irrational heavy industrial and technologically backward agriculture sectors. The defeat of communism at the hands of Polish civil society has over excited the masses about their future and any kind of delay or uncertainty regarding the outcome of new socio-economic system

might endanger the entire process of transformation. They were prepared to accept only a limited period of suffering. The social and political costs of slow reform would be much greater because a semi reformed system could not perform well. Therefore Poland wanted to get rid of those wrong doings of communist era as soon as possible.

In 1989, a Commission of Experts under Polish Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister, Leszek Balcerowicz⁸¹ was constituted to sort out strategy for rapid restructuring of Polish economy, Privatization of state enterprises and Macroeconomic stabilization. The economic Liberalization required introduction of free trade and the elimination of central planning, the Macroeconomic stabilization demanded elimination of budget deficit and the privatization required the transfer of entire state enterprises to private ownership.⁸² The growth of money and price hike (Inflation) could only be contained by introducing uniform convertible monetary institutions and workable exchange rate. Therefore in accordance with the Balcerowicz's Shock Therapy⁸³, the Polish Economy was liberated from Political influence of state and opened to

⁸¹ Balcerowicz Commission introduced 11 amendments to the existed Economic system. The Plan earned the name of Balcerowicz Plan or Shock therapy and was later on ratified by Polish SEJM.

⁸² Jeffery Sachs, "The economic transformation of Eastern Europe: the case of Poland", Harvard University press, USA, 1991, pp.6-7 See also Dr. Camilla Jensen et al, " Central and South- Eastern Europe 2009: Poland, 9th edition", ROUTLEDGE London, 2009, pp.481-482

⁸³ Shock therapy is a policy of sudden and immediate liberalization of economy from the state control. It includes the very rapid privatization and restructuring of monetary and currency exchange mechanism. It is considered to be the best answer to economic and monetary mess and anarchy mostly created by the strong and unnecessary intervention by the state. The policy was successfully implemented in Chile during 1975 and in Bolivia in 1985. But some prominent economists like Joseph Stiglitz criticized the approach on the ground that (shock therapy) sudden and immediate elimination of state authority always generate new crisis.

international competition. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the Ministries of Finance of the G-7 and Russia supported the strategy.

Contrary to Polish strategy, other CEE states considered it quite risky to move quicker towards liberalism so they preferred the gradual exit from state control enterprises to private own enterprises.

V: I (a) Privatization

The privatization is most commonly defined as the deliberate sale of state owned enterprises to private sector by the state. The main objective of the privatization is to raise the government's revenue by reducing state's interference and ensuring the participation of non-state actors in the market activities. In most of the Central and Eastern European States the Privatization has been the most challenging issue because in these CEE states the public ownership of all the means of productions has been considered as an un-alienated vital part of ideology. Even the basic difference between socialism and capitalism lies in the ownership of means of production. In Socialism the means of productions are mainly owned by the state while in Capitalism these means of productions are commonly in the possession of Private sector and the transformation from socialism to capitalism is generally known as the transfer of these state owned sources to private control.

Before evaluating the Polish strategy of Privatization it is better here to explain various approaches most commonly states adopt to privatize their asserts, such as

privatization through restitution or compensation, privatization through sale and privatization through mass or by vouchers.

Privatization through restitution (compensation) is used where former owners of land or property exist. After reimbursing to the real owner, the state sells the property to private investors. In some Eastern European countries this method was commonly implied, especially for privatizing housing, real estate and agricultural sectors. The real problem in privatization through restitution or compensation was to prove the actual ownership of collective enterprises of communist era.

Privatization through sale of state property is a method which involves the sale of state property most commonly to workers or managers of the enterprise at favorable rates. It is applied either by Direct Sales (DS) or in the form of Share Issue Privatizations (SIPs), in which some or entire State Owned Enterprises (SOE) are sold to investors through a public share offering. It was preferred in Czech Republic, Hungary and Germany. But only Germany could successfully privatize the state-owned assets of former East Germany, otherwise the sale of state enterprise in CEE states generated new controversies and halted the pace of privatization.

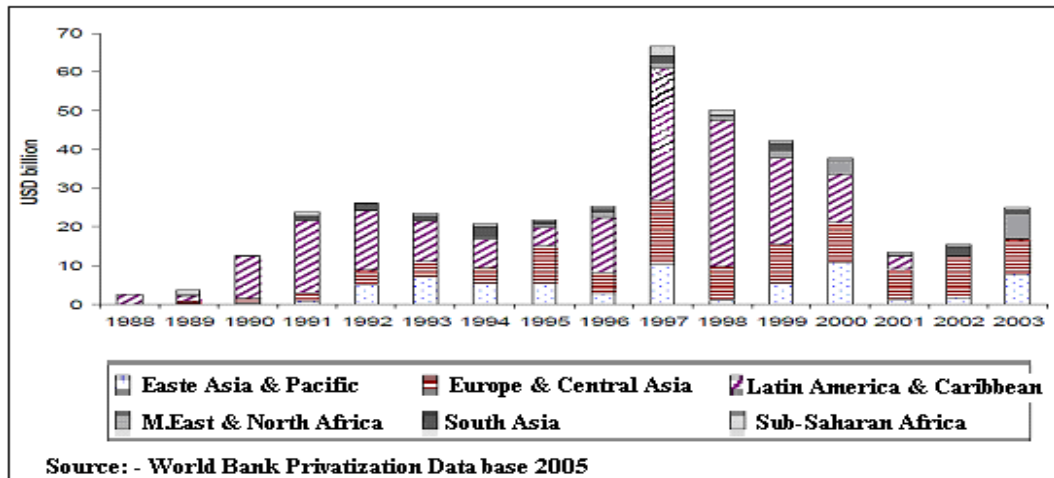
The third method is the mass or voucher privatization in which the vouchers of state enterprises are distributed free or at nominal cost among the eligible citizens who can bid for shares of State Owned Enterprises (SOE). This method has also been used in many of the successor states of the USSR.

Besides the selection of appropriate method towards privatization, the speed and wide-spread societal support are two basic factors that can effects the credibility of whole privatization process. With regards to speed, these CEE states had to choose from amongst the two available approaches for privatization, i.e. the Gradual Privatization like the one U.K adopted for the privatization of its state enterprises during Thatcher era or the rapid and instant privatization that the most of the transition economies of Latin America adopted for the privatization of their state assets.

Most of the CEE states preferred the rapid and instant privatization but due to their structural and institutional incapability except Poland could not handle such kind of massive privatization successfully. Taking aside the theoretical aspects of Polish Privatization Strategy (PPS), it is intended here to shed some light on the impacts of privatization on economic performance and economic growth of Poland.

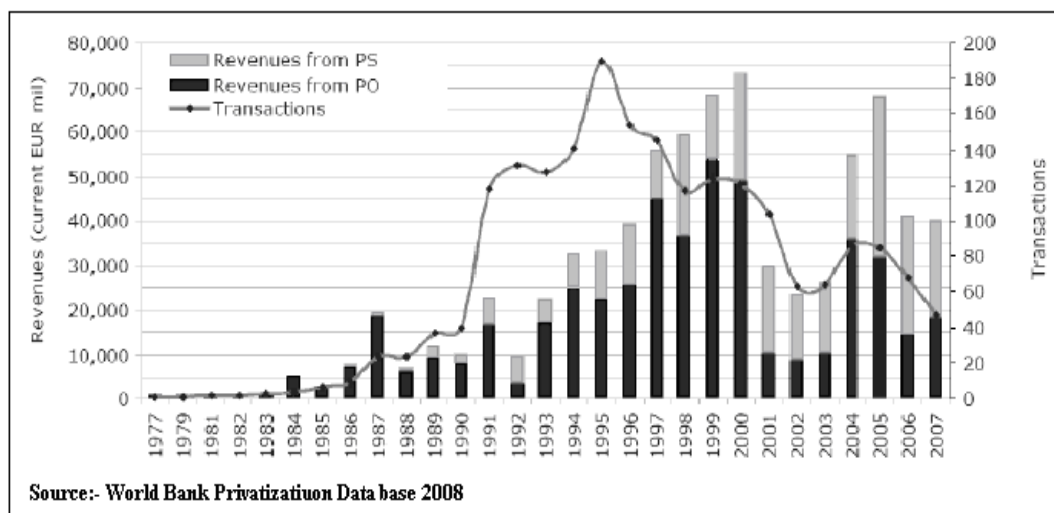
According to World Bank's statistical data, the most aggressive and comparatively rapid process of privatization in the world was started in the early 1970's when the conservative government of Mrs. Thatcher in U.K made an attempt to privatize state enterprises. Since that time Privatization process spread to more than 100 countries that collectively have privatized tens of thousands of state owned enterprises, and have succeeded even in raising almost \$1.5 trillion as shown in the following figure.

Figure:-1 Showing comparative Privatization in the World (1988-2003).



The second phase of privatization in the World was started after the end of communism in 1990. The privatization process in Europe was at its climax during 1990's only because of a massive privatization process in CEE states. The following figure-2 reveals the story.

Figure:-2-Showing overall privatization in Europe (1977-2007 in Euro Miln)



The privatization process in Poland was started in 1990 and almost completed in 2006 and at the time of its accession to EU in 2004 Poland has almost attained the standardized structure of private ownership as the EU member states most commonly possessed, i.e. where public enterprises generate almost 10 to 20 % of state GDP.

In the case of Poland the Balcerowicz's shock therapy though privatization was proved to be the most challenging issue of entire reform strategy. In Poland two kind of state asserts were to be placed for privatization, the Industrial Urban State Enterprise and the Rural Agricultural Lands (RAL). In Poland more than 3000 State Urban Enterprises (SUE) was under the state domination and these all were to be transferred to private owner ship. According to a prominent economist and a foremost advocate of shock therapy, Jeffrey Sachs, in the case of Polish privatization it was quite irrational to adopt the gradual approach like U.K.

“To put the issue in perspective, consider the fact under an aggressive privatization of the Thatcher era, and U.K succeeded in privatizing approximately 50 enterprises during the whole 1980's, roughly 5 firms per year. At the Thatcher rate (which benefited from sophisticated capital Market and large private sector) the Poland's task of privatization would take several hundred years. British-Style privatization cannot be the main answer for Eastern Europe”,⁸⁴

Moreover the questions regarding the rights of workers and particularly the participation of general population made the privatization in Poland a real challenge for

⁸⁴ Jeffrey Sachs, “The economic transformation of Eastern Europe: the case of Poland”, Harvard University press, USA, 1991, pp.8-9

policy makers, and in the initial stages of such a high social mobility there was no room for any experiment, if government had failed to design for the mass privatization, it would have lost the public support for even the whole reform strategy. Therefore Policy makers had to adopt quite distinct strategy for privatization in Poland as compared to its other Eastern European Companions.

Firstly Poland adopted the method of Direct Sale (DS) for transfer of ownership of the State Enterprise as it is considered to be the safest and most rational approach for the privatization of state enterprises in such kind of transition phase. The state asserts were placed for direct sale and national and foreign investors were offered direct participation in competitive tendering. The most favorable and reliable of these investors were the Banks, Pension Funds and Mutual Funds whose shares after the investment would be passed over to general masses.

Secondly Poland adopted the simplest Voucher Privatization (VP) strategy, whereby the shares in state enterprises were to be distributed freely or at concession rates among the workers and inside management of the enterprise. In the absence of any credible mechanism for valuation of shares, the government used the book values of enterprises rather than the actual market values of the shares. But as the industrial work force in Poland was only 3.6 million as compared to 18 million over all labor force (20 % of overall Labor force), it was considered quite unfair to transfer most of the state asserts to comparatively very little segment of the society. So the Public outrage against such privatization forced the Polish Parliament to adopt new Privatization Law in July

1990. The Government was allowed for a limited (only 20 % shares) concession sale to management and workers.

Quite miraculously Poland succeeded in handling the adversities of privatization even otherwise similar kind of strategy had failed in Czech Republic and Russia. By September 2002 out of 8591 state owned enterprises more than 80 % were privatized.

The speed of privatization was quite steady during early 1990's but during 1998-2002 it was slow down because the remaining state owned enterprises were either facing bankruptcy or the private sector was reluctant to invest due to their complicated financial issues.

The figure-3 shows the year-wise strength of privatization in Poland. The maximum 9000 state enterprises were placed for privatization in the early phase of transition. Though the Poland could not maintain the pace of privatization but at the time of its accession to EU, in 2004, Poland has almost attained the standardized structure of private ownership as the EU member states most commonly possessed, i.e. where public enterprises generate almost 10 to 20 % of state GDP.

Figure:-3-Showing progress of Privatization in Poland during 1990-2002.



Nevertheless that Polish strategy for privatization that was started in 1990 and with varying pace completed in 2006 has created more than 90,000 jobs opportunities by 2004⁸⁵ (almost 80 % of all new Jobs opportunities).

V: I (b) The Privatization of Agricultural Lands

In order to estimate the Privatization process of Agriculture sector in Poland some exceptional features of Polish Agriculture sector should be kept in mind. Poland, the fifth largest EU member state, is the largest accession country in both area and population. According to Agricultural Property Agency (APA), Poland with around 2 million farms has the largest farm sector among all transition economies. The farms in the North and West are larger in size because this part of Poland had remained under the

⁸⁵ Euro state 2004 and Polish Statistical Office 2004

influence of Germany, while farms in the East are small-scale farms because that area had been under the influence of Austria-Hungarian or the Russian empires.

The composition and pattern of Polish Agricultural Land has been remained unchanged throughout history. Poland has 14 million hectares (37524 Sq Km) arable land which is about 40.25% of its total 312,685 Sq Km territory and about 14 % Poles (53, 20,000) are full-time while another 5 % (19, 00,000) are part-time farmers. In general Polish soil and climate are poor for agriculture. Only one-quarter of the total arable land is rated high quality while the most of its land is not suitable to any kind of cultivation especially the wheat.

The lack of rainfall and its bad timing have been regarded as the two most crucial issues regarding Polish Agriculture. The annual rainfall is mostly between 500-750 millimeters (20-30 inches) per year. Unfortunately rainfall is nominal during the early growing season (April through June) but a massive rainfall during the harvest season most commonly in July and August.

So due to these ecological and geographical constrains out of these 2 million farms only 800,000 are being utilizes for commercial production while the rest of the farms are not selling any of their produce. Most farmers obtain additional income from full- and part-time jobs.

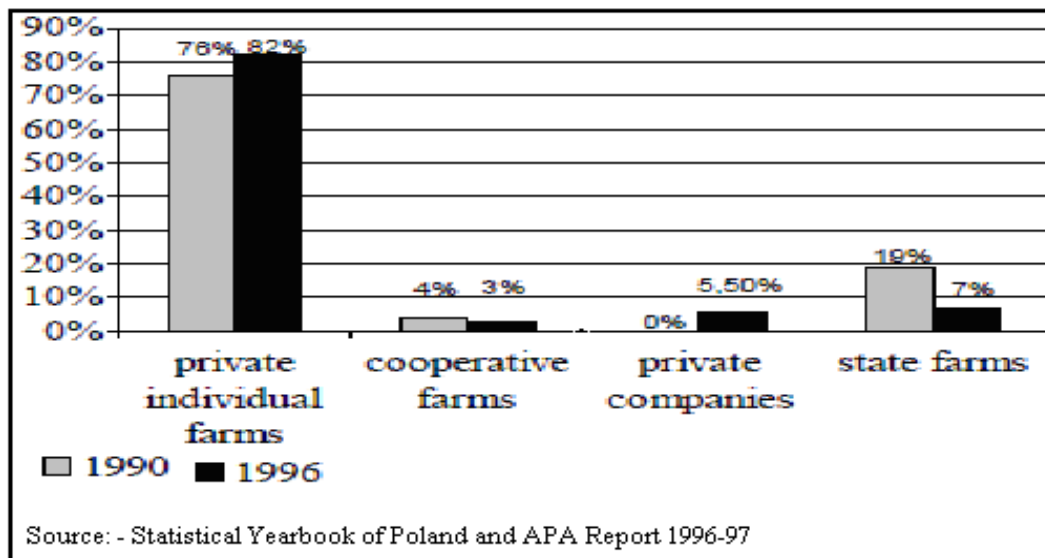
Table:-2– Showing employment in Polish State Farms in Thousands

	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Employment in state farms	435	400,6	331,8	261,2	174,5	142,9	123,4	126,4	135,3	122,5
In leased farms	-	-	-	-	n.a.	72,9	76,9	87,5	99,1	90,8

Source:- On the basis of Agricultural Property Agency(APA) Reports, 2000

Therefore, in total, Agriculture contributes just only 3-5 percent to the Polish economy as compared to the contribution of Industrial (28.8 %) and Services sectors (66.1%).The figure-4 reveals that in 1990 there were around 76 % private individual farms as compared to 19 % state owned farms but later on in 1996 the number of these private individual farms has raised to about 82 % reducing the state farms to only 7 %.

Figure: 4-Showing sector wise distribution of Polish Farms 1990-1996



The Privatization of Agricultural Lands has been a challenging task for almost all the Eastern European states. Especially Poland has to face extraordinary challenges in the process of restoration of its assets from the former Communist owners. These Agricultural Land Owners have always been very influential in Polish Politics and that is why the early short term coalition governments could hardly start the process of Agricultural Privatization even after 1995.

In Poland and other CEE states there had been a vast agricultural land owned by the foreigners and during communism they were restricted not to sell or transfer it to other individuals or institutions. It has affected the process of Privatization of Agricultural land in Poland and CEE states. Furthermore very quick rise in agricultural land prices since 1995 has made it very difficult for the states to pay a high costs to withdraw land from large-scale co-ownership.

Poland's accession to EU has lessened the negative attitude towards foreign ownership. If in 1999, almost 90% of the Poles believed that foreigners should not be allowed to buy agricultural land than after 2004 that opposition has reduced to only 30%. On the other hands in Hungary and Czech Republic, governments could not remove these restrictions upon foreigners because firstly, the common Hungarian farmers were less competitive than foreigners and secondly, there was an apprehension that lifting of such ban might increase the land prices that would eventually drive Hungarian and Czech farmers out of business.

Poland accession to EU was a blessing for Polish agriculture sector. EU in order to enable the Polish agriculture sector to compete with developed states of EU has assigned Poland the period of eight years to restructure and modernize its agriculture system in accordance with EU's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), as was previously granted to Spain, Greece and Ireland. The CAP's aims were to maintain and develop a modern agricultural system secondly to ensure a fair standard of living for the agricultural community, thirdly to supply food at a reasonable price to consumers, and ensuring the free movement of goods within the EU.

Table:-3- Comparison of average yields for main crops 1989-2007 in 100kg/ha

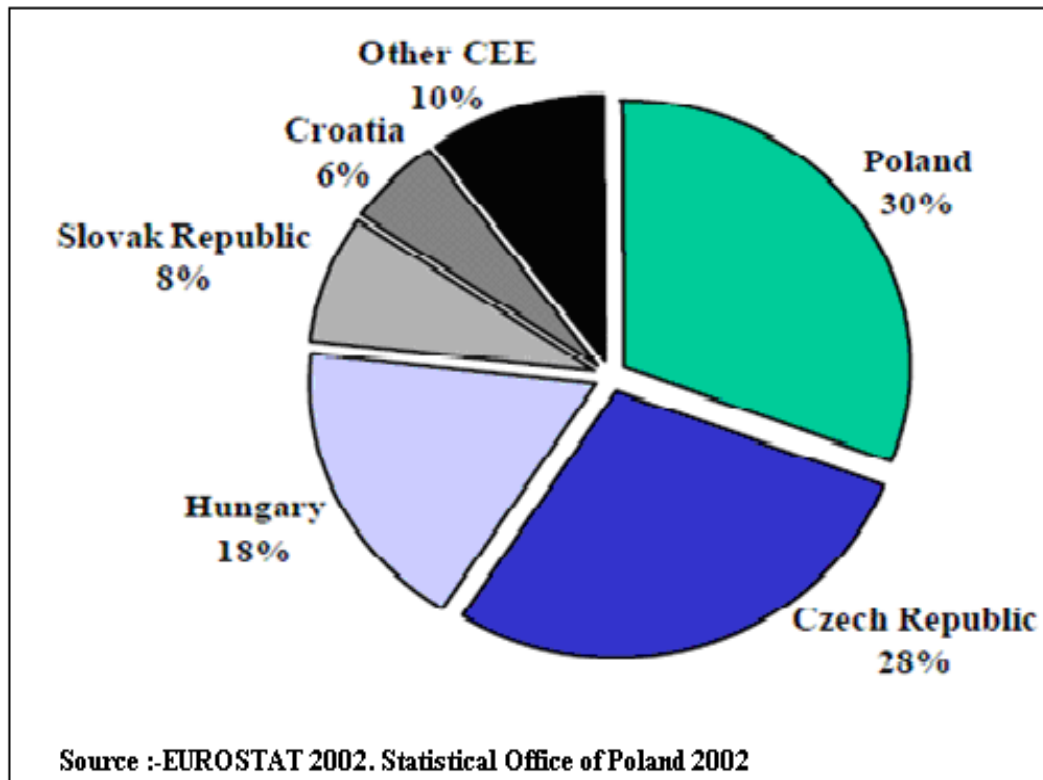
Country	Cereals	Wheat	Corn	Beetroot	Sunflower
EU-15	56.01	57.5	88.7	576.16	30.4
Romania	27.8	25.6	30.56	221.8	11.26
Czech Republic	43.7	47.0	55.35	428.2	26.3
Latvia	21.7	27.2	---	312.1	15.15
Lithuania	25.4	30.9	30.7	311.8	16.2
Hungary	44.3	41.1	52.4	397.2	24.2
Poland	29.7	35.7	52.6	380.3	28
Slovenia	44.5	41.8	56.7	369	26.8
Slovakia	40.8	42.5	49.8	381.9	20.5
Bulgaria	30.8	31.2	33.6	170.55	13.7

Source: EUROSTAT, May 2008

V: II Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

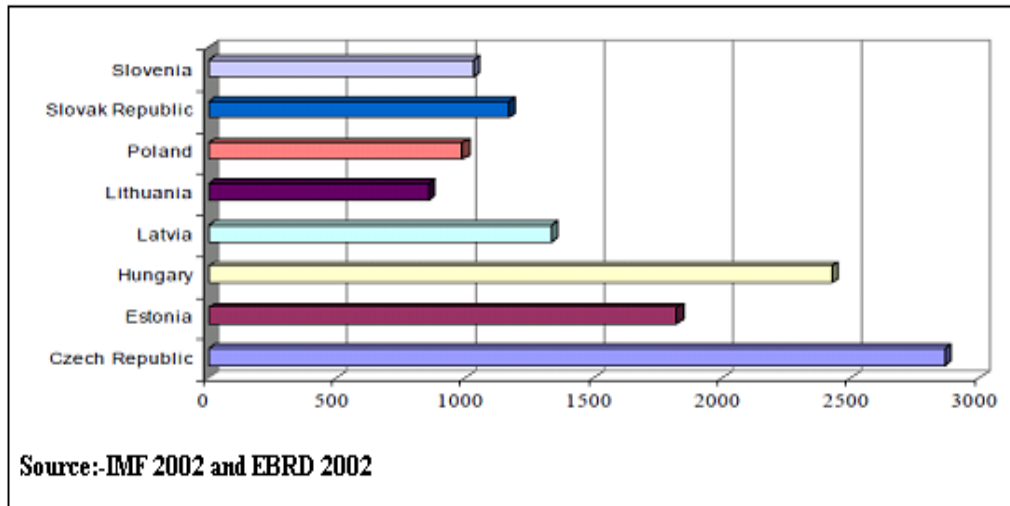
The Poland's shock therapy with regards to privatization of entire state enterprises has attracted a massive Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). It forced Poland to adopt the standards and institutions of World Market. During the whole period of 1993-2001 Poland has been remained the largest recipient of FDI in CEE economies. In 2002 it attracted almost 10 billion US\$, as shown in the figure-5.

Figure:-5-Showing FDI inflow in selected CEE states 1989-2002



In the initial period of transformation, Poland was well behind other CEE states when this FDI is calculated in Per Capita. As shown in the figure-6.

Figure:-6-Showing FDI per Capita in CEE states 1989-2001 (Euro Millions)



In the initial period of transition the Foreign Investment in Poland was very slow as compared to its other CEE Companions. The strategy to concentrate mostly upon imports rather than exports has imbalanced the whole mechanism of supply and demand for the millions of goods and services and in turn encouraged excessive wage increases and unnecessary price hike.⁸⁶

However after that initial slow foreign investment the huge domestic market, cheap labor and unexplored natural and human resources in Poland served as incentives for the foreign investors and the foreign direct Investment (FDI) mobilized labor and brought foreign capital for industrialization. It facilitated Poland with advanced technological knowledge that was urgently required for Industrial productivity. Besides

⁸⁶ Richard Sakwa, "Post Communism", Viva Book, New Delhi, 2002, PP.42-43

this the very rapid and successful privatization process in Poland also encouraged the FDI and as the Privatization increased the FDI in Poland has also increased so it can rightly be assumed that FDI in Poland was directly proportional to Privatization. The correlation between FDI and Privatization can be seen in the figure-7. It also shows that the Foreign Direct Investment in Poland was at its height during 2000-2004,

Figure:-7-Showing the correlation between FDI and Privatization (US\$)

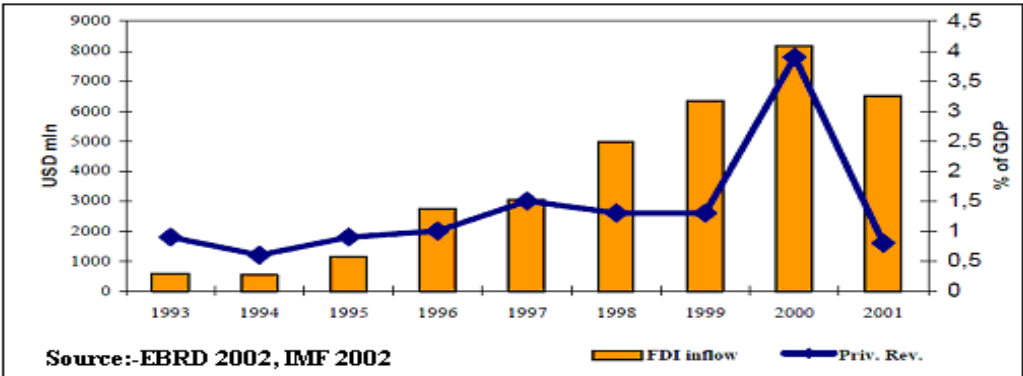
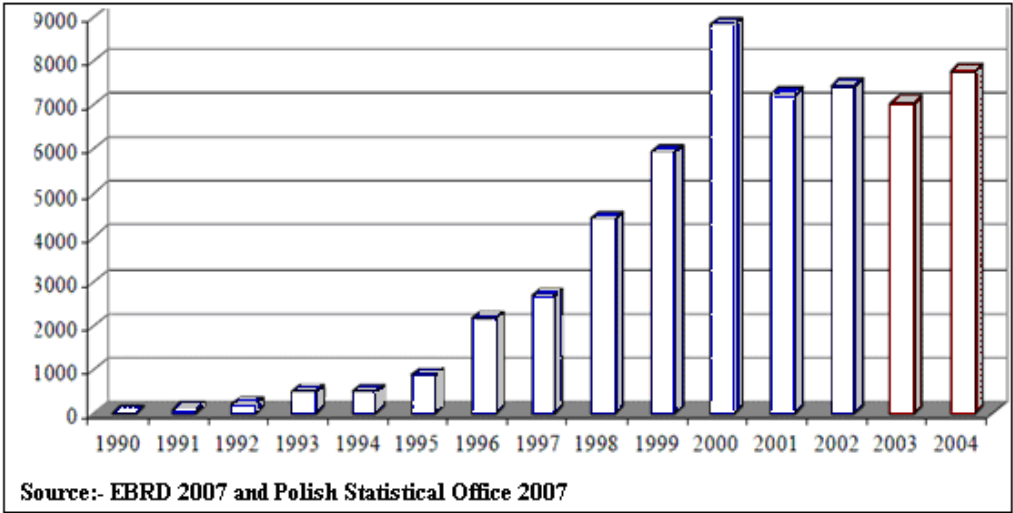


Figure:-8-Showing the flow of FDI in Poland 1990-2004 (in EURO Million)

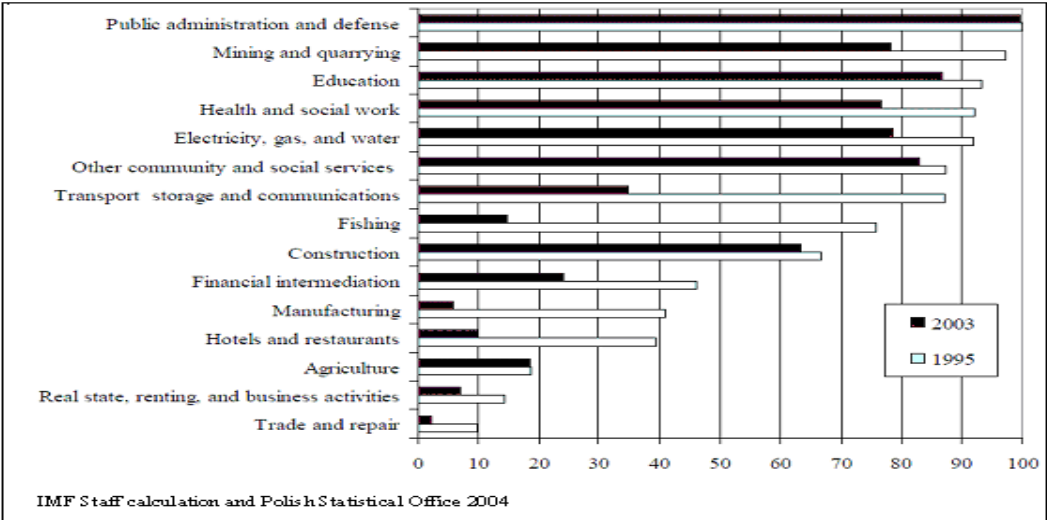


Unfortunately, Foreign Investment introduced Polish Products to external markets but at the same time it brought an anxiety for the backward and outdated domestic industries that was incapable of competing with their new foreign competitors and for the time being prevented it from comparative expansion.

After Poland's accession to EU in 2004, European along with Japanese and Chinese investors increased their long and medium term investments in Poland. These Foreign initiatives helped Poland to repair the negative aspects of trade imbalances of initial transition period and accelerated the industrial growth in Poland. The year 2004 was the prime time of Industrial growth.

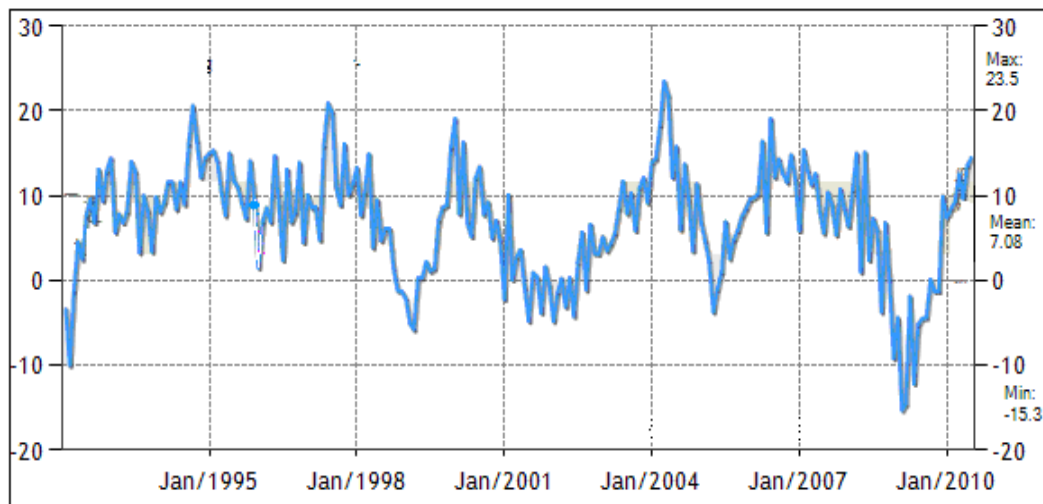
The figure-9 shows that Public administration, defense, education, energy mining, health and social services attracted most of the foreign direct investment as compare to agriculture and real estate sectors.

Figure:-9-Showing % of total Public Investment by sector during 1995-2003



Despite the fact that during 2007-2010 there was again a down ward fluctuation in Polish Industrial growth, the UNCTAD ranked Poland the 10th most attractive locations for investment in the world during 2007-2009.

Figure:-10-Showing Poland's Industrial Growth 1995-2010.



Source: Polish Statistics Office

V: III Foreign Trade

Traditionally Poland has always served as a bridge between its Eastern and Western neighbors. For centuries its neighbors have been its main trading partners. Before WWII the Polish trade was mostly associated with Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, USA and UK. But in the post WW-II era, after the emergence of Eastern Block, Polish Trade was diverted towards Soviet Union and its CEE Satellites.

The Communist system kept CEE states isolated and apart from technological and industrial advancements of the Western neighbors. During that period Polish foreign trade was mostly consisted upon the export of food and light engineering based products. According to European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (ERBD), the Polish foreign trade with non socialist countries in 1989 was around 15 % of its GDP.

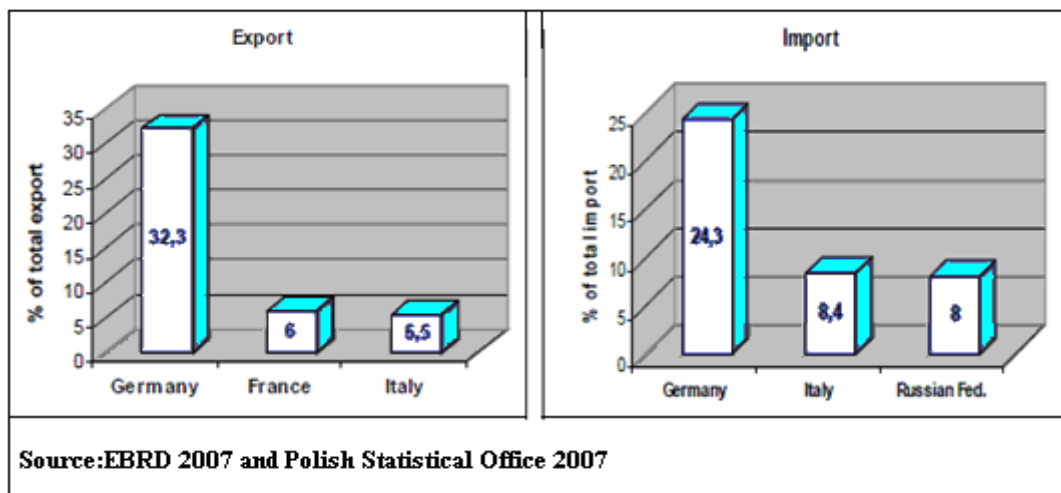
Figure:-11-Showing comparative Trade Openness of CEE States (% of GDP) in 2001



The initial economic reforms were accompanied by the structural reforms at the inter-industry level. The heavy industrial sector of communist era was replaced with the light industrial sectors such as Textile, leather and food industries. Later on due to the influx of a massive Foreign Investment along with technological expertise from some International Automobile Manufacturers like Daewoo of Korea and Ford and General Motors of USA some engineering based light industries were also included to it.

After the end of communism the Balcerowicz's shock therapy once again turned Polish Trade towards its traditional Trading Partners like Germany, Italy and France etc as shown in the following Pie-chart.

Figure:-12- Showing Poland's Major trading partners in 2002



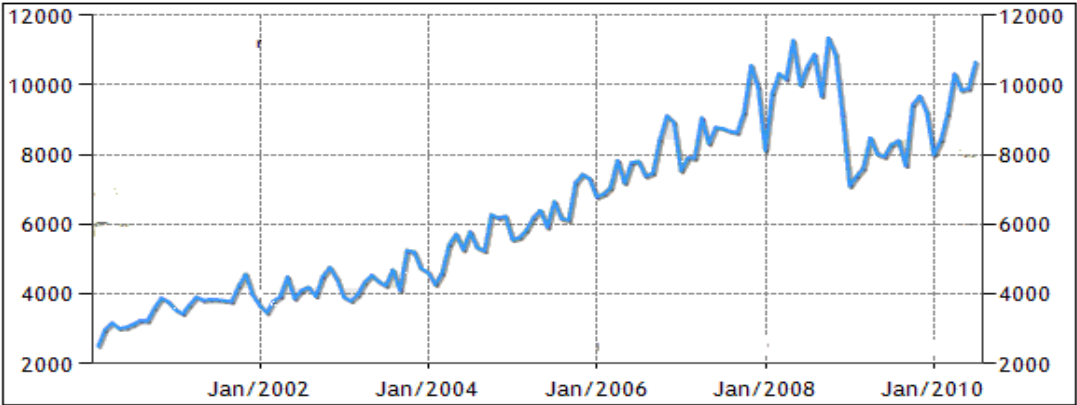
The outcome of that shock therapy was the rapid and quite impressive growth in Polish Foreign trade. In 2002 total Polish exports exceeded to 33 billion US\$, almost 330 % of its volume in 1990. On the other hand, the rise in import was much more impressive. In 1991 the total import volume was about 10.75 Billion US\$ but in 2002 and after the liberalization of economy and foreign trade it reached to almost 43 Billion US\$.

Moreover, Poland by negotiating membership agreements with World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Organization of Economic Co-operations and Development (OECD) very successfully integrated its trade with Global Market-Based

economic activities. These measures had tremendously expanded Polish trade volume which by 2006 had risen to almost 80% of its GDP.

According to Polish Statistical Office, during 2002-2008 the volume of Polish exports increased with a gradual uniform pace, though in 2008-2009 during the period of Global Financial Crises, its exports effected slightly but Poland remained the only economy of the World that successfully bypassed its shocks and in 2010 it regained its pace. From the very first year of transformation, Poland's foreign trade turnover increased almost ten-fold. Poland exports are mainly consisted upon processed fruit and vegetables, meat, dairy products, electromechanical products, vehicles, aircraft and vessels. The figures-13 shows the equation.

Figure:-13- Showing Polish exports by month 2002-2010 (Million Euros)

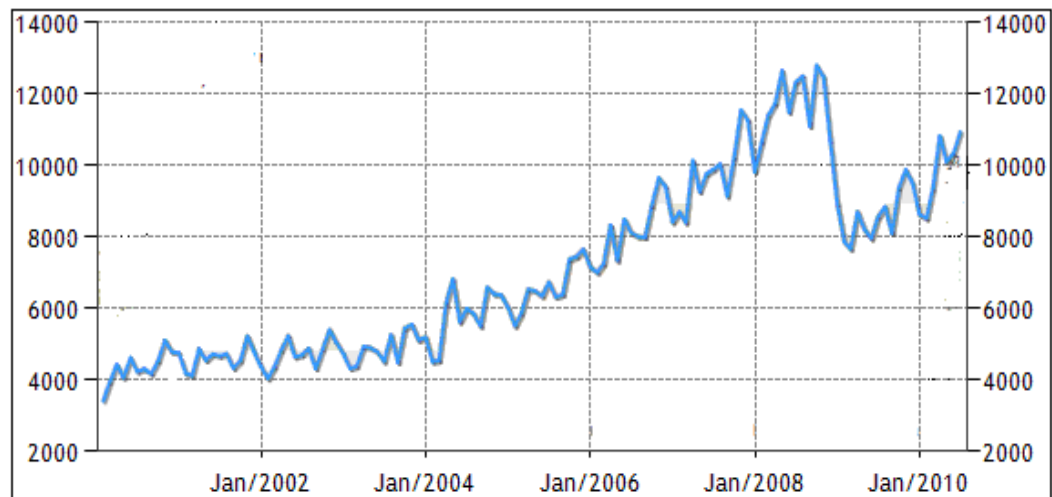


Source: EBRD 2010 and Polish Statistical Office 2010

Similarly the volume of Polish imports also increased with a gradual pace during the whole period of 2002-2008 and with slight interruption in 2008-2009 it was right on track in 2010. Most of Poland's imports are capital goods needed for industrial and

manufacturing productivity like machinery and transport equipment, chemicals, minerals, fuels and lubricants. As shown in the Figure14.

Figure:-14-Showing Polish imports by month 2002-2010 (Million Euros)



Source:EBRD 2010 and Polish Statistical Office 2010

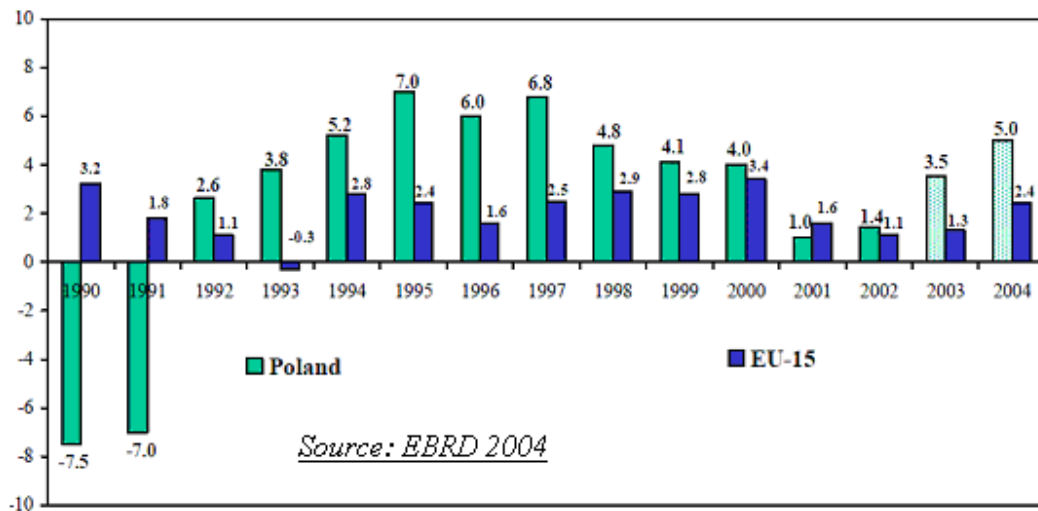
The foreign Trade has expanded truly after the Polish accession to EU along with other Central & Eastern European companions in 2004. European Union is by far its largest trading partner accounting for about 79% of exports and 64% of imports.

During the initial transition period, the rise of Polish Trade Union “Solidarity” paved the way for a number of free, independent and genuine Workers Trade Unions to enter the industrial arena of Poland. But the intra-industrial level changes were comparatively very slow and mostly confined to structural and managerial reforms. The main aim of those reforms was to end the dominant monopolistic authority of communist Party in the structural organizations of Polish industries.

V: IV Economic Growth

In the case of Polish transformation we should keep in mind the timing and ingredients of reform strategy. The shock therapy enabled it to accomplish the task of restructuring its economic institutions within a shortest time while the ingredients of that strategy enabled it to sustain the liberalization process. With respect to growth rate, the initial two years saw a sharp decline in economic growth while the year 1997 was the period when economic growth was at its highest point.

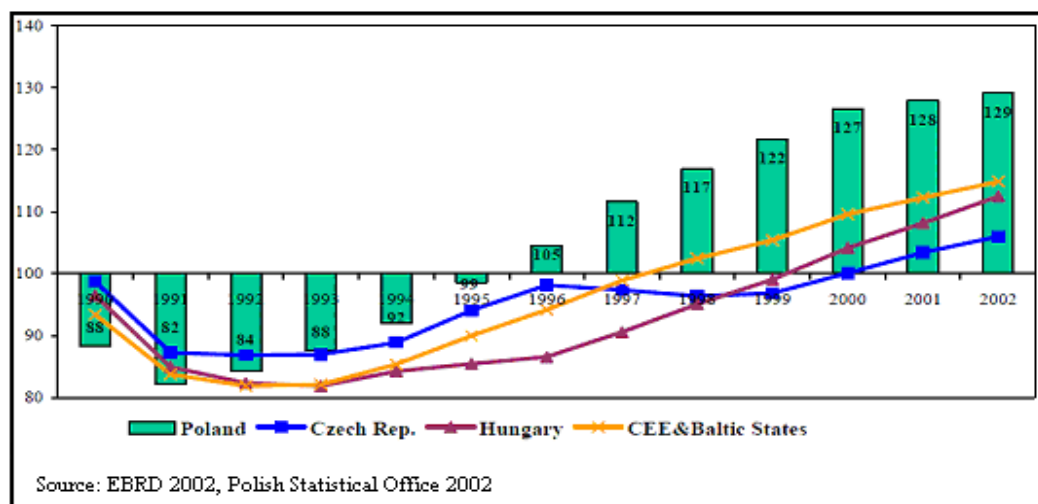
Figure:-15-Showing rate of growth during 1990-2004 in Poland and EU.



In term of Real GDP, Poland managed to accelerate its level of GDP with regards to its level of GDP in 1989. In 2002 Polish GDP growth was 129 % at the level of 1989, while in Hungary it was 112.5 % and in Czech Republic it was 106 % at the same level of 1989. In this regards Poland is truly considered to be one of the most

successful countries among all transition economies. Comparative growth in CEE states is shown in the figure-16.

Figure:-16-Showing comparative growth in Real GDP among transition Economies



But with regards to GDP per Capita in PPP term⁸⁷, the Polish GDP (PPP) in 2002 was 41.2 % of the EU average. In 1992 it was 30.6 %, the lowest of the entire transition period⁸⁸. In order to evaluate the successful management of Polish transformation here we present the summary of Polish GDP based on PPP during communist and post communist eras i.e. 1980-1988 and 1989-2009 respectively.

During Communism, in the early 1980's there was a negative growth but later on during 1983-88 when the communist government introduced economic reforms there

⁸⁷Purchasing Power Parity gives value of all final goods and services produced within Poland in a given year. Poland's GDP at purchasing power parity (PPP) exchange rates is the sum value of all goods and services produced in Poland valued at prices prevailing in the United States

⁸⁸ EBRD 1993 and Polish Statistical Office 1994

was a visible increase in GDP. Similarly after communism the initial shocks of transformation had affected the growth rate and in 1990 and 1991 GDP was at the lowest level of Polish financial history. Table-3 shows the growth during communist era while table-4 reflects the steady and for most of the time gradual growth since 1992.

Table-4-Showing Polish GDP (PPP) in Billion US \$ -during communist era

Year	GDP based on purchasing-power-Parity (PPP)	% Change
1980	149.633	N.Available
1981	147.292	-1.56 %
1982	148.703	0.96 %
1983	163.24	9.78 %
1984	168.753	3.38 %
1985	180.575	7.01 %
1986	191.016	5.78 %
1987	201.085	5.27 %
1988	214.825	6.83 %
Source: IMF 2010 and World Economic Outlook 2010		

Table-5-Showing Polish GDP (PPP) in Billion US \$ -in Post Communist era

Year	Valuation of (GDP) based on Purchasing Power-Parity (PPP)	% Change
1989	231.435	7.73 %
1990	223.13	-3.59 %
1991	214.854	-3.71 %
1992	224.42	4.45 %
1993	239.212	6.59 %
1994	257.049	7.46 %
1995	280.057	8.95 %
1996	303.197	8.26 %
1997	330.415	8.98 %
1998	350.794	6.17 %
1999	372.059	6.06 %
2000	396.28	6.51 %
2001	410.117	3.49 %
2002	422.773	3.09 %
2003	448.576	6.10 %
2004	484.932	8.10 %
2005	517.957	6.81 %
2006	568.134	9.69 %
2007	624.055	9.84 %
2008	668.551	7.13 %
2009	685.594	2.55 %
Source: IMF 2010 and World Economic Outlook 2010		

Another aspect of Polish GDP is the unequal contribution of its 16 “VOIVODSHIPS”⁸⁹ to national GDP, firstly because of their historical legacies and secondly because of their dissimilar approaches towards economic growth after the transformation. The Southern and Eastern regions of Poland are comparatively less

⁸⁹ During Communism Poland was divided into 49 administrative regions and after transformation as part of administrative reforms, that regional division was replaced with new 16 regions usually known as “VOIVODSHIP”.

developed because it had been under the control of Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires till 1918, on the other hands the Western parts of Poland are comparatively well-developed because that region had been under the control of Germany till 1918

Map:-19- Showing geographical and administrative division of Poland.

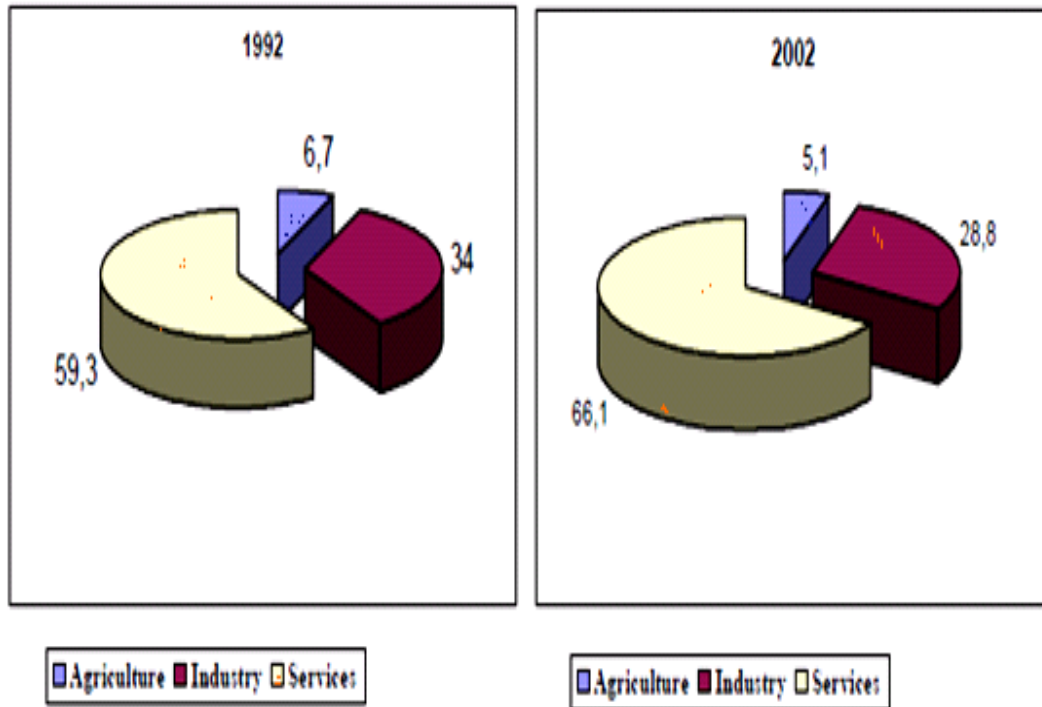


Table-6 -Showing Regional Contribution to National GDP in 2001 (%)

Mazowieckie	21
Slaskie	14
Wielkopolskie	9
Dolnoslaskie	8
Malopolskie	7
Pomorskie	6
Lodzkie	6
Kujawsko-Pomorskie	5
Lubelskie	4
Podkarpackie	4
Zachodnio-Pomorskie	4
Swietokrzyskie	3
Warminsko-Mazurskie	3
Lubuskie	2
Podlaskie	2
Opolskie	2
Source: Polish Statistical Office 2002	

With regards to Polish GDP, It is an interesting fact that the privatization and liberalization of state economy brought dynamic changes in the growth of Service Sector (Travel Services, Hotels and Repairs etc). Before transformation its share in the total GDP was about 50 % but by 1992 it rushed to 59.3 % and in 2002 it jumped to 66.1 % of GDP.

Figure:-17-Sector-wise Composition of Polish GDP in 1992 & 2002



Source: EBRD 1992 and 2002

So one can conclude very easily that the Transformation from Communism to market economy has not only increased the pace of economic growth, it also enhanced Poland's economic outlook in Global Economy. According to World Bank's data regarding Gross Domestic Products, the Poland was ranked eighteenth in the World, with the higher GDP rates.

Further more the following tables will reveal the overall economic development in CEE region and enable us to conclude that the Polish Shock therapy was the real difference.

Table:-7-World Ranking in GDP in 2008

<i>World Ranking</i>	<i>Economy</i>	<i>GDP Million \$US</i>	<i>World Ranking</i>	<i>Economy</i>	<i>GDP Million \$ US</i>
1	USA	14,093,310	16	Netherlands	871,004
2	Japan	4,910,840	17	Turkey	734,853
3	China	4,326,996	18	Poland	527,866
4	Germany	3,649,494	19	Indonesia	510,730
5	France	2,856,556	20	Belgium	504,206
6	U K	2,674,057	21	Switzerland	491,950
7	Italy	2,303,079	22	Sweden	478,961
8	Russia	1,679,484	23	Saudi Arabia	468,800
9	Spain	1,604,235	24	Norway	451,830
10	Brazil	1,575,151	25	Austria	413,503
11	Canada	1,501,329	26	Greece	355,876
12	India	1,159,171	27	Denmark	341,255
13	Mexico	1,088,128	28	Argentina	328,465
14	Australia	1,015,217	29	Venezuela,	314,150
15	Korea, Rep	929,121	30	Iran	286,058
World's Total GDP				60,557,010 US \$	
Source: World Bank 19 April 2010					

Table:-8-Economic indicators for Central and Eastern Europe- 2008

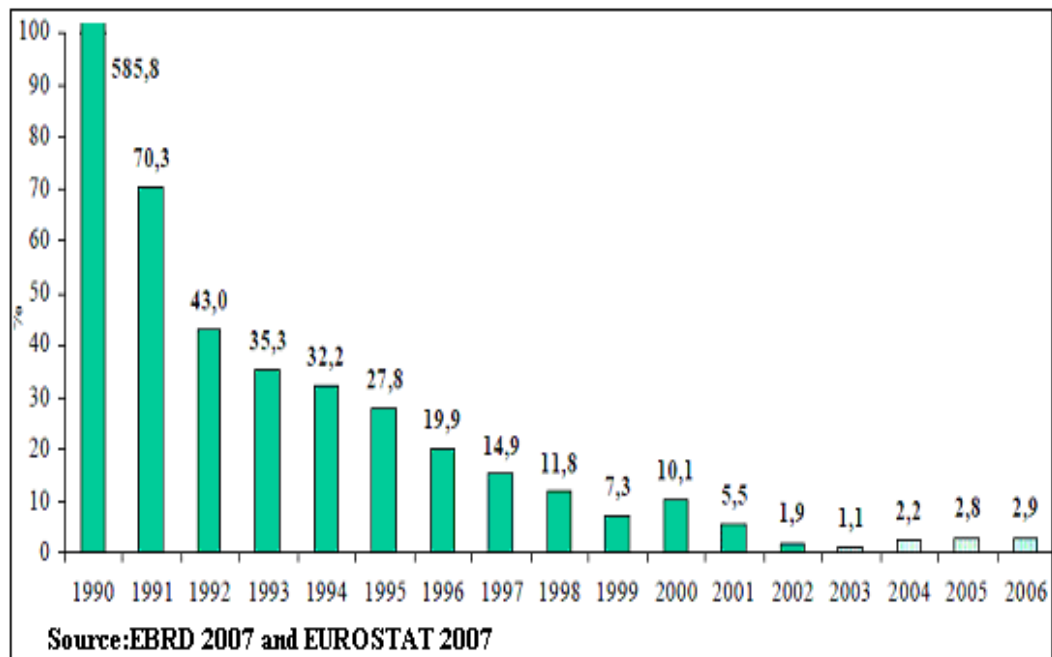
	Population	GDP	GDP	GDP	CPI	Industrial	Exports	Imports	Current	General	Average
		per	per	growth		output			Account	Government	gross
	000	M \$	\$	% YoY	% YoY	% YoY	M \$	M \$	% GDP	% GDP	earnings
			capita						balance	balance	\$
Bulgaria	7 624	49900	6545	6.0	12.3	0.7	22 338	37 043	-24.3	2.5	392
Croatia	4 433	69 341	15 642	2.4	6.1	1.6	14 112	30 728	-9.4	-4.6	1 528
Czech	10 425	21 654	20 773	2.5	6.3	0.4	145 804	141 432	-3.1	-0.5	1 338
Estonia	1 341	23 520	17 539	-3.6	10.4	-6.5	12 370	15 909	-9.2	-3.0	1 199
Hungary	10 038	154 902	15 392	0.6	6.1	-4.1	107 478	107 826	-8.4	-3.4	1 158
Latvia	2 286	33 922	14 970	-4.6	15.4	-3.8	9 155	15 549	-43.2	4.0	1 006
Lithuania	3 358	47 364	14 105	2.8	10.9	5.5	23 632	30 923	-41.6	-3.2	926
Poland	38 126	528 824	13 857	5.0	4.2	3.5	169 537	206 075	-5.5	-3.9	1 222
Romania	21 515	20 071	9 299	7.3	7.8	0.9	48 988	81 802	-42.3	-5.4	692
Russia	141 967	167 668	11 811	5.6	14.1	2.1	467 990	267 059	6.1	4.1	699
Slovakia	5 405	94 802	17 540	6.2	4.6	2.8	69 871	70 878	-6.5	-2.2	1 020
Slovenia	2 047	54 619	28 682	3.5	5.7	2.5	29 233	33 937	-5.5	-0.9	2 046
Ukraine	46 299	180 335	3 898	2.1	25.2	-3.1	67 002	85 534	-7.2	-3.2	343

Source: National Statistical Offices, Central Banks and EUROSTAT 2009

V: V Inflation

In 1990, the initial period of transformation, the rapid economic growth was accompanied by a very high inflation rate. Political unrest and prolonged strikes by the working and labor class had almost stopped the progress of the economic growth in entire CEE region but thanks to the shock therapy, the policy makers in Poland successfully contained the rising inflation. The following figure highlights the rapid but gradual decrease in Polish inflation.

Figure:-18-Showing Inflation Rate during 1990-2006



The Polish Inflation rate has remained at a sharp downturn flight even during the period of Global Financial Crises.

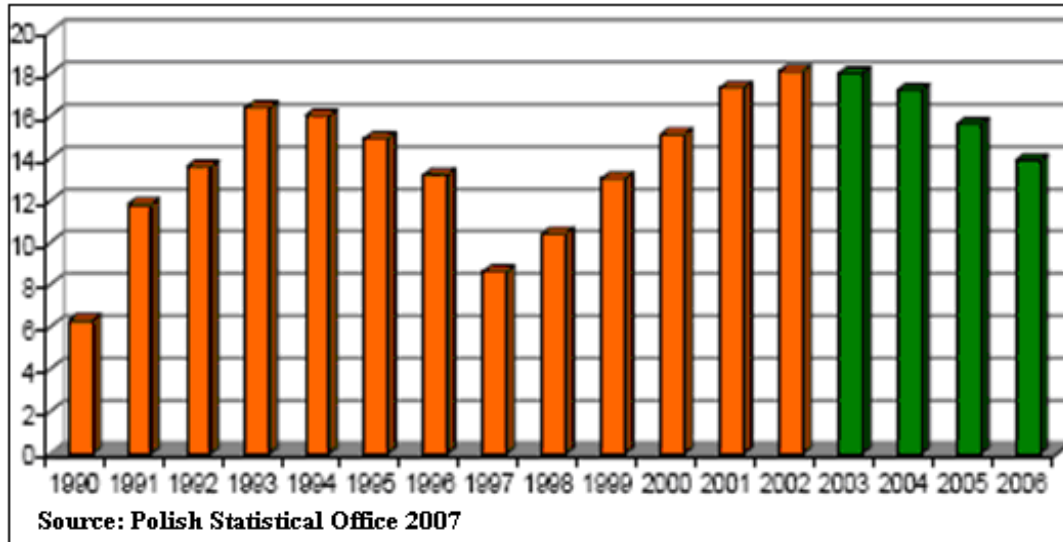
Figure:-19-Poland's Inflation Rate during Global Financial Crisis



V: VI Structure of Employment and Unemployment

During the period of transition, Poland has experienced relatively high rates of unemployment. Since the level of unemployment is inversely proportional to economic growth so during the period of relatively high economic growth as the result of Polish shock therapy, the rate of unemployment turned down to the lowest level (8.6% in 1997). But in January 2003 with the falling of GDP growth rates, the unemployment has quickly increased and reached 18.7% (almost 20%). However in 2006 during an accelerating economy, the unemployment rate has restarted to decline and reached to some 14%.

Figure:-20-Showing Polish Unemployment rate % during 1990-2006



Poland since 1989 has witnessed a gradual shift of employment from manufacturing to services. Between 1995 and 2001 employment in manufacturing labor force declined from 24.6% to 20.1%.

According to data, the employment in trade and repair increased from 12, 6% to 14 %, real estate from 3.7% to 5.6% and in Public Administration from 2.5% to 3.5%. However due to the low mobility of population, lack of opportunities for employment in the urban areas and low availability of reasonable accommodations, the employment in agriculture increased from 27.3% to 28.3% of the total labor force. Poland is the sixth largest country in Europe by population and the youngest country in Europe because of some 50% of its population is below 35 years. The knowledge-based economy of EU, where at least half of the jobs require a high level of professional skills, this dynamic

and active Polish youth has remarkable opportunities and this feature alone is a significant component for figuring out Poland's economic future.

V: VII Political Stability and development

Though communism also emphasized greatly upon democracy but their claims proved to be only rhetoric. They propagated a lot about the democratic values and political liberties but it lacked almost all of the essential ingredients of a true and real democratic system⁹⁰.

The waves of transformation brought changes to political, economic and social institutions of Poland. The Political transformation was mainly focused upon the elimination of monopolistic control of communist party and to re-structure the democratic institutions based on the principals of separation of powers, the rule of law, multi-party democracy. But it remained an uphill task for Solidarity leadership to cleanse the communists from the political environment. So when in 1991 the first fully free Parliamentary elections were held in Poland, the extreme form of proportional representation enabled leftists to get representation in the SEJM and the Senate. These leftists were mainly consisted upon the next generation of former communists. It shows that though very high mobilization of masses by Solidarity with the collaboration of Catholic Church has defeated the communists yet not deleted them from the political landscape. The tides of change had deprived them of their political power but they were

⁹⁰ George Schopflin, "Politics in the Eastern Europe 1945-1992", Blackwell publishers, Oxford, 1994 p-260

still functional and well organized at some level to penetrate deep in the structural institutions of Post-communists Poland. The elections in 1993 paved the way for the re-establishment of the communist rule in Poland that continued till 1997.

This early period of transition was regarded as an era of open conflicts and tactical accommodations between neo-communists and Solidarity. It is true that political transformation in Poland brought an end to the monopolistic rule of a strong communist Party but at the same time it further deepened the polarization and created a turmoil. That political turmoil turned the public opinion against leadership and forced Solidarity to re-transform from a political Party to a traditional Worker's Trade Union. The decision resulted into the split of Solidarity into several frictions such as the Rights, the far rights, the Centre rights and the liberal. But during that phase of high socio-political polarization, the Polish nation reaffirmed its commitment to the principles of liberal democracy. They were confident that when democracy becomes a routine social life it gradually eliminates the polarization.

The regular parliamentary elections gradually eliminated the leftists and replaced them with a new breed of younger politicians. The Conservative Law and Justice Party for its staunch support for women empowerment, Tax reforms and efforts to generate sense of nationalism among the Polish youth has emerged as the most powerful force in Polish politics which further promoted the democratic and liberal outlook of Poland in international politics. Kaczynski brothers, known as suspicious of

Germany, hostile to Russia, euro-skeptic, staunchly pro American and obsessed with moral renewal have become the icon of Polish Politics.

V: VIII Socio-cultural development

In Poland the Catholic Churches forms the most highly institutionalized segment of its civil society because more than 95 percent of its citizens are Catholics and more than 75 percent, mostly the young people, regularly attend the Divine Services on Sundays⁹¹.

The Roman Catholic Church in Poland has been enjoying a very dominant position since 10th century. Despite an effort to curtail and challenge its role, the Catholic Church had succeeded in securing much of its prestigious position and has become the symbol of national identity, freedom and resistance against trespassers. In addition the Polish model of family life and its Parent-Child Relations guided by its Catholic Identity has greatly contributed towards the successful management of transformation.

During the whole period of Communist rule, i.e. 1945 to 1989, the relations between Catholic Church and communist regimes were mostly guided by the socio-political needs of the Communist regimes. When they felt self-sufficient they turned very harsh towards Catholic Churches but in time of crisis their approach

⁹¹ Stephen George Raabe, “ Civil Society and Churches as “ allies” some consideration based on new studies”, Executive summary of report No.9 from Adenauer Foundation , Poland, Nov,19,2008.

towards Catholic Church remained conciliatory. Furthermore in 1978 the situation dramatically changed in favor of Catholic Church, when Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, a Polish Clergy, was elected the Pope of Roman Catholic Church.

During the transition phase the Polish Trade Union, the Solidarity, also relied on the support of Catholic Church and even adopted the Catholic symbols and expression to influence the public opinion. The Catholic Churches served as the main hiding place for political activists during the crackdowns of the Communist authorities. During the Round Table Talks, Catholic Church remained the sole advisor for the Solidarity Movement and to some extent served as a guarantor for the both parties for their future conducts.

The end of communism led the Catholic Church to an assumption that it was the victory of an ideology over an ideology. It was due to that over excitement and Triumphalism that Catholic Church claimed for the dominant and influential socio-political role in Poland after transformation. In the beginning the state was reluctant to accept that claim of Church but after the initial phase of confrontation, the Catholic Church and state quite rightly decided to accommodate each another. Actually by that compromise, state wanted to keep the Catholic Church away from influencing the political decision making process while on the other hand, Catholic Church wanted to

- Restore the historical connections between Christianity and Polish Culture that the communism tried to reduce.

- Fill up the moral vacuum that appeared during communism.
- Reintroduce religious education in public schools in order to save the socio-cultural values of Christian family system.

It is a fact that Catholic Church had played an influential role in the first partially free national elections held in 1989. The Polish clergies entered the arena with the slogan that “A Catholic has the responsibility to vote for a Catholic Solidarity”. More than 93 % Poles showed their confidence in the Church and supported the solidarity in these elections.

But its active participation was challenged by the masses during the parliamentary elections in 1991 and 1993 and a large number of former communists managed to secure their seats in SEJM and more than 70 % Poles rejected the active involvement of Catholic Church in Polish politics and favored the secular tendencies. It was a great losing for Catholic Church. Furthermore, in the Presidential elections of 1995, Catholic Church supported the Solidarity icon, Lech Walesa against Kwasniewski, but Kwasniewski won. It was another blow for the prestige of Catholic Church. It appeared that the Polish Society has changed and in that context the Catholic Church has to redefine its role.

In 1993 state concluded a CONCORDAT with Vatican and guaranteed the institutional autonomy of the Catholic Church and acknowledged its right to regulate the curriculum for education institutions in the country. But the initial short term

Communist dominated governments and SEJM did not ratify the provisions of the “concordat” on the apprehensions that such kind of arrangement would undermine the secular character of Polish education system and might impose traditional conservative Roman Catholic ideology in Poland. It is an amazing fact of Polish history that Polish Catholic Church at the height of its prime had to lose its political strength. Its legitimacy was challenged even at the time when it was the sole and legitimate protector of Christian values.

In 1997 Poland adopted its new Constitution and it was decided to redefine the actual status of the Church-State relations. In the preamble of the constitution while ensuring the rights of other religions in Poland, it was pledged that the Polish State, ideologically and religiously neutral (not Secular), should be the sole guardian of Christian Family Values. The state and all other institutions should observe the principle of non-interference in the affairs of each other.

The country wide debates regarding the role of the Church in Polish society exposed the weaknesses of the organizational structure of Catholic Church and magnified the division among the Church’ authority into liberal and more conservative clergies. That was the time when Polish Catholic Church quite rightly decided to abandon its interference in the political affairs of the state and secured its privileged status as guardian of Christian values of Polish family system.

V: IX (a) Poland's role in EU, NATO and World Affairs

Poland with its population, size and geo-political location was interested in its accession to NATO and EU with the view that it will enable her to shift its foreign trade towards the most developed economies of EU, which would in turn raise the living standards of its citizens. Such transformation from the status of “receiver country” to a “donor country” is a great Psychological shift. EU helped Poland to absorb the shocks of transformation. After Poland's accession to EU in 2004, European investors along with Japanese and Chinese investors increased their long and medium term investments in Poland. These Foreign initiatives helped Poland to repair the negative aspects of trade imbalances of initial transition period and accelerated the industrial growth in Poland.

Poland accession to EU was a great blessing for Polish agriculture sector. It enabled to compete with developed states of EU and helped Poland raising living standard of her agricultural community. After the accession to EU, Poland has actively participated in the debates on the EU's constitutional treaty (Lisbon Treaty), budget and development strategy, Foreign policies, regional security, Eastern Partnership and Neighborhood Policy.

The 7th elections to the European Parliament were held in 27 member states between 4th and 7th June 2009. These elections were the largest ever Transnational Democratic Election in history and over shadowed all other Political activities in the region. The Centre-Right European People's Party (EPP) with 264 seats remains the

largest political group in the EU Assembly. The Britain's opposition Conservatives formed a separate "anti-federalist" Parliamentary Bloc along with Polish, Czech and other right-wing parties. Guiding principles of this group include free Enterprise, Lower taxes, Freedom of Individual, Sovereign Integrity of the Nation State and battle against "Excessive Bureaucracy". According to this group, EU should participate in world events and not just finance them and EU's own interests should be guiding force with regards to important issues such as Iran's nuclear program and relations with Russia. They argue for reform and a non-federalist future for the EU. The group sees the security relationship with US as being of dominant value as compared to their association with NATO. Polish MEP **Jerzy Buzek** (EPP) was elected as the Parliament's President/Speaker (first ever from Eastern Bloc) for the next two and half years.

The issue regarding the Eastern Partnership has been remained a burning issue on the political front of Eastern Europe since 2004. In this regards the European Council in 2009 adopted a joint Polish-Swedish proposal in order to support the process of Socio-Political Transformation and Economic Liberalization in six Eastern and South Caucasus States, (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine), The democratic deficits, Inefficient Legal Institutions, Under-Developed Civil Societies and Low Levels of Economic Development are considered to be the common characteristics of these states. Eastern Partnership Project enables member states to sign Associate Membership Agreement (AMA) with these Eastern Partners without generating their

full membership. Although the EU leaders stressed that the initiative was not directed against Russia and they also invited Russia to join the plan but Russia has persistently accused the EU and particularly Poland of trying to carve out a new sphere of influence in Moscow's own backyard. Russian Prime Minister Putin has severely warned against the creation of new "Dividing Lines" in Europe. The Eastern Partnership Project also reflects that the Eastern European States have successfully created a model of integration in which states without generating Full Membership can benefit from EU's development strategies.

The Poland has played an extra ordinary role in the whole process of ratification of Lisbon Treaty. The Czech President has been regarded as the last obstacle in way to reform the EU. After the Irish vote in favor of Lisbon Treaty, Poland very effectively persuaded Czech president to review his stance with regards to EU's Constitution and it was because of Polish efforts that at last that last obstacle was removed when Czech President Vaclav Klaus on November 3rd 2009 signed the Treaty of Lisbon. The European Union has battled long and hard for this moment to give Europe a strong voice on the world stage. The Lisbon Treaty aims to streamline the decision-making process of the European Union (EU). Beside 40 new policy areas, the most important aspect of the treaty was the creation of two new posts, namely the first-ever permanent EU President and the Foreign Policy Chief, to give a human face to the 27-Nation Bloc and increase its Global influence. It will resolve the institutional crisis that has harassed EU for years.

Since its accession to NATO in 1997, Poland has been overwhelmingly contributing to its missions all over the world, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq. Poland has been the largest contributor from the Central Eastern European region in US led NATO mission in Afghanistan. Poland further increased its international profile by aiding the U.S. led military campaign in Iraq. More than 2,000 Polish troops were stationed in South-Central Iraq in September 2003. Poland initially planned to withdraw all the troops by the end of 2005, but the withdrawal was postponed.

V: IX (b) Poland and US Missile Shield

Poland enters the 21st century with a 1,000-year history of struggling for its existence, with or without the help of allies. During its more than 1,000 years of existence, Poland has played a significant role in a wide range of political and military alliances. The Polish army fought alongside many stronger and weaker allies, none of whom did it ever betray, although her allies severally betrayed Poland and left on numerous bitter occasions at the mercy of stronger enemies. Her geo-political location had made it a victim of foreign invasions throughout its history mostly by its surrounding neighbors like Russia and Germany. That bitter experience and hard experiences of history had made it an extraordinary conscious about its national security.

The peaceful coexistence with its neighbors has been regarded as the basic principles of Polish foreign Policy. Poland in order to promote the concept of collective

security joined her neighbors at the platform of NATO in 1997 and as the largest contributor from the Central Eastern European region has been overwhelmingly contributing to its missions all over the world, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq.

By entering into the recent US-sponsored Missile Defense Shield Plan, Poland has changed the whole concept of European security by entering into the US-sponsored Missile Defense Shield Plan. The US Plan to install an Anti-Missile Bases in Poland and Czech Republic has generated several controversies and produced new Security concerns in Eastern Europe. Former president George W. Bush came up with such Missile Defense Plan, saying it was aimed at protecting US against attacks from so-called rogue states such as Iran & North Korea. Russia considers it a new cold war strategy and has announced the creation of similar kind of Missile Curtain around her Backyard. Most of the European States were also of the opinion that US Plane will accelerate the Missile Race in the Continent.

According to European Defense Analysts, as Iran's Missiles are mostly of short and medium range, it cannot initiate an assault against US territory, but it can easily target the European states with these missiles. That aspect of US Defense Shield Plan has generated new anxiety about the European Security.

Initially in September 17, 2009 President Obama cancelled the plan and proposed to put a number of simpler Navy missiles in and around Europe. But in December 2009, the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton surprisingly once again

reconfirmed that the Unarmed Patriot Missiles will be sent to Poland in few next weeks. The Poland's Foreign Minister also confirmed the statement. Polish government during that whole period very staunchly advocated in favor installing the U.S Missile.

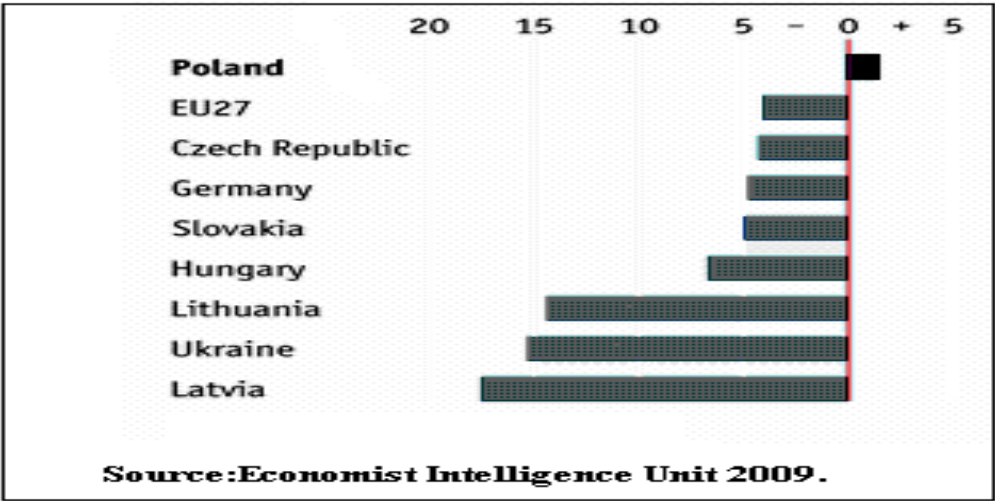
V: IX (c) Global Financial Crisis

The Global Financial Crisis has also effected the socio-political and economic Institutions of the Eastern European Region during the year 2009. The Inflation rates, consumer prices and unemployment rates continued to rise in the region. But when the attempts were made to cope it by introducing broader reforms in the financial system, it generated political crisis in various States. Poland has emerged as the only European Economy that bypassed the shocks of Economic meltdown. Zloty remained stable but Poland has to fight the growing jobless.

The Introduction of new Pension Law has questioned the credibility of Polish Government and raised the possibility of early elections. In Czech Republic, the widening budget deficit has increased the public debt and threatens to prompt higher borrowing costs. It has created doubts regarding the Czech economy's recovery from recession. Slovakia was largely bypassed by the meltdown, but its economy has to suffer the crisis of falling foreign demand from its chief European Union markets. Hungary, Ukraine and Belarus have to negotiate with IMF and WB for early and extra ordinary loans to avoid the total collapse.

Like other Central and Eastern European States, Baltic States have also been the victim of Global Financial Crisis during the year 2009. Poland is definitely the CEE region's strongest economy, and indeed the only European country to achieve positive GDP growth in 2009.

Figure:-21-Showing Positive GDP growth of Poland in 2009.



V: X Ideological Front

The concept of rewriting of Eastern European history has been remained the dominant feature of Polish social front. It also challenged the legacy of Russian rule in the region. In 2009 Poland successfully gathered leaders of Central and Eastern Europe to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Communism and very successfully generated new debates regarding the legacy of Russian rule in the region. During Sep to Nov 2009, the leaders of Central and Eastern Europe came together in Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary and Berlin to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin

Wall. Several Seminars were also held focusing the role of Civil Society in the Revolution of 1989 and in the years of post Communist transition.

Polish intelligentsia, irrespective of the fact that whether they were belong to Socialist left or conservative rights, pledged for rewriting of the history of Poland. They had been demanding Russian authorities to confess the atrocities committed in Poland during the past. Poland successfully gathered leaders of Central and Eastern Europe to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Communism and very successfully generated new debates regarding the legacy of Russian rule in the region. The Conservatives, very much devoted to cleansing Poland of remaining communist influences, not only banned a broad category of communist symbols such as the hammer, sickle, red star and Che- Guevara t-shirts in Poland, they even asked Russia to admit the wrong doing of Past.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter of the study we first restate the major findings of our investigation and then talk about the lessons other countries can learn from the Polish experience.

VI: I FINDINGS

The communist revolution in Central and Eastern Europe was an extra ordinary political experiment but its collapse and transformation towards free market within the same century was much more surprising. Growing revolutionary trends, spoiled communist ideas, very high political mobilization and failure of Brezhnev Doctrine could be held responsible for the collapse of communism. Though President Gorbachev through Perestroika and Glasnost made an effort to find a graceful exit for communist legacy in the region but the Solidarity movement in Poland proved to be the deadly final blow for Communism.

The collapse of communism brought an opportunity for the people of that part of Europe to go through the experience of popularly elect their representatives. Although the initial period of transformation was full of wrong steps and indeed negative aspects of that initial phase had affected the pace and features of the post communist era, but

the introduction of market economy and competitive politics paved the way for new political and economic actors to enter and lead towards the areas blocked by communism. It is true that the new breed of ex-communists were elected to parliaments and to some extent succeeded in re-establishing the leftist hegemony in Poland but in fact it was made only on the commitment to favor the liberal European values and free market programs.

Poland is an interesting case study. Obviously the duration of that transformational recession in Poland was the shortest, 1989 to 1992, among all countries and it took only eight years, 1989 to 1997, to complete the task of its institution building. It is worth mentioning here that during this whole period of transformation the Polish Civil Society, Catholic Churches, Trade Unions and Political Parties were committed to eliminate the wrong doings of past. Polish society did never compromise its national interests. If on one hand they raised Lech Walesa to the position of “father of the nation” for the services he rendered to bring the monster to its feet, but on other hand when he failed to comply with his commitments regarding economic stability, they didn’t hesitate in ousting him from presidency. It was repeated once again when president Lech Kaczynski died in plane crash and at that time of very high emotions the analysts were expecting the sympathy vote in favor of Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the identical twin of late President but he was defeated because his opponent Bronislaw Komorowski presented more rational and most appealing economic development strategy.

Course of events in Poland also inspired other states, but they leaned towards liberalism with different approaches. Contrary to Polish Shock Therapy or Big bang approach, Hungary and Czech Republic considered the gradual transitional approach as an appropriate and less painful exit route towards liberalism and took almost ten long years to meet the criteria formulated by the West and the United States for their integration with European Union and NATO.

So it can be concluded that Polish transformation has best proved the hypothesis that transformation in the society is the interplay of its socio-cultural, political, economic and religious institutions. It further proved that the societies with the legacy of strong socio-cultural bonds and a visionary leadership can achieve and sustain the objectives of liberalization better than the societies lacking these characteristics.

VI: II **RECOMMENDATIONS**

The” Transition Economics” a pure Polish model for sustainable development

Poland truly became a leader when Polish Parliament approved the first of the post-communist reform schemes, the Shock Therapy, intended to remove the entire organizational and economic basis of communism by restoring market economy. It is important to remember that there were no examples before Poland or these CEE states to pursue in their efforts to replace their existing controlled and isolated political and economic systems with a democratic, liberal and free market society. Initially Polish shock therapy was met with great criticism both from Polish opposition parties as well

as the International Monetary Fund (IMF). But miraculously the Shock therapy worked and now it has become a branch of economics, known as transition economics.

Russia followed Poland believing that the benefits of reform would emerge as they did in Poland. But after three years of hardship this did not happen and Russia has to pay a severe political price. However it was not the Polish strategy that failed in Russia but it was the structural and institutional constraints that hampered the reform strategy in Russia. Russian policy makers disregarded the fact that without cutting expenditure and raising revenues there can be no short-term success. They totally ignored that shock therapy was successful in Poland because Poland in order to avoid a large scale borrowing from International Donors preferred to build a credibility and confidence for its own currency, the zloty. Furthermore, Polish Banking System with strong supervision and sound regulatory foundations has formed a floating exchange rate that created a low inflation environment and hence succeeded in blocking the influence of global events on the Polish economy.

Moreover the successful reforms demands credible political leadership that publicly articulates a vision of the future. Polish leaders earned valuable public credibility by being both transparent and honest with the Polish people. Due to these distinctive characteristics Poland managed the pace of growth and stability even during the recent Global Financial Crisis. Poland alone, among the 27 EU states, has bypassed the shocks of Economic meltdown. In 2009 the Polish economy ranked seventh in the EU and remained ahead of Belgium and Sweden in terms of GDP. According to the

IMF's most recent Regional Economic Outlook for Europe, Poland's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was expected to grow by 1 % in 2009, while the whole of Europe was projected to decline by 4.7 %. If this trend were to continue, Poland's economy could emerge as one of Europe's strongest economy. In this regard Poland has developed into a real role model for other states to follow and despite its failure in Russia during 1990's Russia and other transition economies are still considering the Polish model to be the correct and the safest exit path towards liberalization.

Polish model of "Regional Security and peaceful co-existence"

Polish history from 10th to eighteenth centuries has overlapped the history of Central and Eastern Europe. It is not merely a tale of a tribe that established a dynastic state, successfully integrated almost entire Central and Eastern Europe into a powerful Catholic Commonwealth that lasted for centuries and then eroded from the map. This is but a story of a nation who introduced new ideas of long lasted regional integration, socio-cultural broadmindedness, religious tolerance and strength to survive for such a long time. Poland enters the 21st century with a 1,000-year history of struggling for its existence, with or without the help of allies. During its more than 1,000 years of existence, Poland has played a significant role in a wide range of political and military alliances. The Polish army fought alongside many stronger and weaker allies, none of whom did it ever betray, although her allies severally betrayed Poland and left her on numerous bitter occasions at the mercy of stronger enemies.

Her geo-political location had made it a victim of foreign invasions throughout its history mostly by its surrounding neighbors like Russia and Germany. That bitter experience and hard experiences of history had made it an extraordinary conscious about its national security. The peaceful coexistence with its neighbors has been regarded as the basic principles of Polish foreign Policy. Poland in order to promote the concept of peaceful coexistence and collective security joined her neighbors at the platform of NATO in 1997 and as the largest contributor from the Central Eastern European region has been overwhelmingly contributing to its missions all over the world, especially in Afghanistan and Iraq. Poland has changed the whole concept of European security by entering into the US-sponsored Missile Defense Shield Plan. It is another model for the state with the similar geo-political location and surrounded by states with such a harsh historical animosity.

Polish Catholic Church a protector of democracy not Theo-democracy

At the Socio-cultural front Poland has presented a unique model for those states that have been conflicting the apprehensions of theocracy⁹². Poland succeeded in developing a peaceful co-existence with highly powerful and dynamic Polish Catholic Church. The influence of Catholic Church in the personal lives of Polish Nation is an identical Polish character. Polish Church served as an opposition against invaders and remained a source of inspiration for Polish Youth during communist era. Its Churches

⁹² In theocracy, the civil leader is believed to have a direct personal connection with God. Theodemocracy is a political system that combines elements of theocracy and democracy. It is variously described as a system under which God and the people held the power to rule in righteousness.

remained a hiding place for the Solidarity activists during communist era and the Sunday congregations at Churches had most commonly served as the political meetings of opposition parties. The Solidarity has adopted Catholic Symbols to inspire the Polish youth and when it entered the final Round Table Talks, Catholic Church was its sole advisor. But it is a fact that Polish Civil Society has never let this influential and prestigious Catholic Church to think for a moment about establishing a theocracy in Poland. If on one hand Personality of Pope John Paul remained a source of inspiration and symbol of national pride and unity for Poles than on other hands when President Walesa failed to comply with his socio-political commitments, Poles didn't hesitate in ousting him from Presidency despite the fact that he was fully supported by the Pope.

Poland and its young population

Poland youngest country in Europe with some 50% of the population below 35 years has a remarkable opportunity for new economic potentials and policy reform. Poland's accession to NATO and EU has enabled her to raise the living standards of its citizens and to shift its foreign trade towards the most developed economies of EU. Such transformation from the status of "receiver country" to a "donor country" is a great Psychological shift. Its EU integration has attracted vast foreign direct investment (FDI) and rapid technology transfer. Its large domestic markets have been serving as a bridge between Western developed and eastern developing economies.

This 38 million people growing market economy is the sixth country in Europe as for inhabitants and youngest country in Europe with some 50% of the population

below 35 years. In Western Europe, where job growth in the knowledge-based economy has outperformed the rest of the economy over the period 1995-2007 and still at least half the jobs require a high level of professional skills, Poland with its young population has potentials to make ways into these developed and Western Economies. These features are significant components of the resulting debate and analysis for figuring out Poland's economic future

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