

For Immediate Release

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C-SPAN AIRS SPECIAL LOOK AT NEW POLISH PARLIAMENT

Polish Experts Discuss New Solidarity-Led Government

Washington, D.C., February 5 -- C-SPAN will air a two-hour special look at the Polish parliament and the challenges it faces as it re-organizes under the first non-communist government since World War II on Sunday, February 11, at 10pm ET.

Last summer's elections allowed the once-outlawed trade union Solidarity and other non-communists to gain a majority of the seats in the Sejm, the Polish legislature.

The special will include taped highlights of a legislative session of the Sejm, as well as a roundtable discussion with experts on the Polish government.

Guests include Polish journalist Zygmunt Broniarek, Bazyli Samojlik, minister-counselor of Economic Affairs for the Polish Embassy, Jan Nowak, national director of the Polish American Congress, and Andrew Nagorski of Newsweek magazine.

C-SPAN will also air an interview with Jan Kinast, Polish ambassador to the United States since December 1987. He will discuss how the Polish government operates and the state of current U.S.-Polish relations.

C-SPAN is available in 48 million households through 3,543 cable system affiliates nationwide and around the world via satellite. The network is privately funded and is a public service of the cable television industry.

Polish Programming...Weekend of February 10-11

Scheduled air time: Sunday, February 11, 10:00 pm et  
Other air times this weekend are likely.

Promo:

This weekend, C-SPAN takes a look at the current situation in Poland. Our guests include the Polish Ambassador to the U.S., a Polish journalist writing for a Communist newspaper, and the National Director of the Polish American Congress who has worked extensively with the Solidarity Movement. In addition, we'll show video from the Polish Sejm (Same), a body of the Polish Parliament.

Specific times for each segment is still to be determined. The segment will include:

Interview with Jan Kinast (yahn kin-ust), Polish Ambassador to the United States. (recorded 2/5)

Roundtable discussion with: (to be recorded 2/8)  
Zygmunt Broniarek of Trybuna Ludu (Communist publication)  
Bazyli Samojlik, Economic Counsellor at Polish Embassy  
Andrew Nagorski of Newsweek  
Jan Nowak, National Director of the Polish American Congress







# Poland's Communists Fold Their Tent, Take Down Party's Flag After 41 Years

■ **Politics:** The successor organization is likely to be regarded with much suspicion. A new chairman is elected.

By CHARLES T. POWERS  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WARSAW—The last hurrah for Poland's Communists was in fact a hush, an unplanned and unheard moment of utter silence that fell over the hall in the small hours of the morning Monday when the flag of the old Polish United Workers Party was taken down and carried out.

After 41 years, it was finished. The United Workers Party, which had presided over an epoch that most Poles clearly regard as a dark age, was gone, replaced by a "social democratic" party that, for the foreseeable future, is likely to be regarded by the public with as much suspicion as the organization whose banner was hauled out.

"When they carried that flag out, I felt as though I were at the funeral of a dear friend," said Gerard Kulas, 46, a delegate to the party's final congress and a man who has spent the last 18 years as part of what he calls "the apparatus"—in other words, a full-time party employee. Soon, he may be looking for another job.

The United Workers Party was replaced by the awkwardly named Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, which sounds more like a government than a political party. By the acknowledgment of virtually all its members and its new leadership, the renamed party is a long way from the kind of election victory that might allow it to take up once again the reins of power in Poland.

That distinction is now firmly in the hands of Solidarity, which last June sent the Communists to a crushing defeat in their first real test at the polls in four decades—a test the Communists had accepted only reluctantly. The party was forced to make a more radical change—in fact, to kill itself off—in order to have any chance of survival in the freely competitive political system that has been put in place for future elections. The first round of those elections, for local offices, is scheduled for April.

The death throes of the old party were prolonged over two days of extensive debate and parliamentary maneuvering, but the outcome was never in doubt. The main force of the new party, bent on projecting a new, youthful and modern image, tried strenuously to force a public walkout by veteran party conservatives.

Such a walkout, the new leaders felt, would have advertised to the public that the reconstituted party was, in fact and not just in name, a new party purged of its grim Communist baggage. In the end, however, the hard-liners refused to give the new generation that satisfaction, and some of the most prominent conservatives stayed on, now and then bellowing their



Alexander Kwasniewski, right, exults at being elected chairman of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, successor to the Communist Party. With him is Leszak Miller, elected general secretary.

objections into switched-off microphones but determined to cling to the ship.

The new party's chairman, elected Monday by an overwhelming margin, is Alexander Kwasniewski, a 35-year-old party activist who began with the Communist youth organization and rose to head the government sports committee. Leszak Miller, 43, was elected general secretary, the party's chief administrative office.

The number of votes tallied in Kwasniewski's election suggested that about 400 delegates, out of 1,580 present at the opening of the congress, had disappeared.

About 100 left along with a Gdansk member of Parliament, Tadeusz Fiszbach, a party reformer who had actually won the endorsement of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa as his choice to head the new party. In this gathering, however, the endorsement amounted to a kiss of death for Fiszbach, who is considering the formation of his own party.

Walesa criticized the old party for "political arrogance" in turning over its property to its successor. "In the conditions of revised political pluralism," Walesa said, "none of the parties can start from a privileged position."

There have been widespread public appeals for the government to confiscate the party's extensive property holdings, and a commission has been appointed to review the issue. A spokesman for the new party said it would abide by the commission's decision and return any property shown to have been acquired illegally.

The other 300 missing delegates are believed to be made up mostly of members of that older generation of party activists who withdrew quietly after seeing that the new configuration holds no place for them.

"A clear generational break has occurred," Miller told journalists. "Mostly, we are people who cannot bear any kind of responsibility for the Stalinist period. . . . The difference is obvious."

The generational break is indeed obvious. The party's Supreme Council—roughly analogous to the Central Committee of its predecessor—is packed with new faces, most of them under 40. But Kwas-

niewski acknowledged that the party has a long way to go before it can regain credibility as a left-wing party in Poland.

"The problem of confidence looks difficult for us," Kwasniewski said. "After 40 years of real socialism, the people are allergic to words associated with left-wing values. They frequently have left-wing sentiments in their hearts—a desire for social security, equality of opportunity—but socialism is also associated with plenty of mistakes."

Kwasniewski said that he and Miller will try to lead the party to rebuild itself from the grass-roots, "proposing local solutions for local problems." He promised that, unlike the Communists, it will try to organize voters, not its own centralized structures.

"Now for us," Kwasniewski said, "the most important thing is votes, not members. The better party is one with 100,000 members that can get 1 million votes, rather than a party with 1 million members that can get only 100,000 votes."

For party officers such as Gerard Kulas, who has been the first secretary of the old party in the northern Polish town of Kosciuszka, the new party means a new world.

"I am not the first secretary any longer," Kulas said. "If there is money, I will help organize the new party there. If there is not, I will look for a job in a factory enterprise."

Kulas said he felt no need to apologize for his years in the party.

"If the party made mistakes over the last 20 years, it was not from the rank and file but from the leadership," he said. "I think the party had some good points. It protected Polish borders. It ended illiteracy. As much as possible, we tried to introduce the Polish element into socialism."

"External conditions [the attitude of the Soviet Union] have changed, but before that, the party had to be the way it was. Under Stalinism, we fared better than the Czechoslovaks, the Hungarians or the Romanians. We avoided the full collectivization of agriculture. Our churches were not turned into warehouses."

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representatives of the three largest  
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 manded that the front withdraw from  
 power and join them in a national  
 unity government. The front offered  
 to meet with all parties Thursday.

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# Polish Communists Create Social Democratic Party

POLAND, From A1

confidence" under the Communist banner.

Although delegates rose to praise the old party's history, the resolution said the Communists take responsibility for the crimes of the Stalinist period and for Poland's current economic chaos.

Poland is the second East Bloc country to dissolve its Communist Party. Hungary's Communists dissolved their party in October and reconstituted themselves as a party committed to democracy.

The Communists ruled Poland before losing parliamentary elections and ceding power to a Solidarity-led government in August.

Under the change, the Communists will turn over their buildings, businesses and other property to the new party. The government is reviewing the Communist holdings to determine if they should be returned to the national treasury.

The new party's platform says: "We want Poland to be a fatherland of free, equal people living in solidarity, a state of social justice. We link her future to democratic socialism."

Before the vote to create a new party, however, Fiszbach took the floor to denounce the party's "artificial unity."

"We will be unable to explain to society how we were transformed into social democrats out of communists overnight," said Fiszbach, who heads a faction of about 200 delegates.

"If we don't make accounts for the past 45 years, we will be committing suicide together," he said. "We also must admit that the tragedy of martial law did not have to happen," Fiszbach said, referring to the Communist crackdown that suppressed the Solidarity opposition movement until it was legalized again last year.

He then stormed out of the congress and formed his breakaway Social Democratic Union.

Deputy speaker in the legislature, Fiszbach, won Walesa's trust when, as Gdansk party chief in 1980-81, he helped negotiate the accords that led to the free labor union's creation in 1980.

Outgoing Party chief Mięczyław F. Rakowski had hoped to create a single new leftist party that would abandon communist ideology and thereby win public support.

Aleksander Kwasniewski, who was Rakowski's heir apparent, said the former Communists should remain as unified as possible. But he added: "This does not mean unity at all costs."

The new party's platform endorses a market-driven economy but rejects exclusive private ownership and says unemployment cannot be treated as a permanent element of the economic mechanism. We assess the right to work as a natural right of man.

Outside the hall where the 1,600 delegates met, about 50 protesters chanted "Communists must go!" as police looked on.

Late Saturday, more than 500 demonstrators threw stones and bottles at riot police in clashes that lasted several hours.

The Polish Communists relinquished power to Solidarity—making it the East Bloc's first government led by non-Communists—in September after the party was trounced in June elections.

The government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki since has plunged into radical reforms to make Poland a capitalist democracy.

The changes in Poland were followed in swift order by revolts against hard-line Communist regimes in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania.

Before World War II, the population of Kosovo was about half Serbian and half ethnic Albanian. Since then, with rapid population growth among the ethnic Albanians and migration of Serbs to other regions, the Serbs who remain have become an embattled and anxious minority.

"Imagine how Serbs [in Kosovo] feel when they are being pushed out of their homes, where they and their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers were born," Milosevic said. "This area is where their churches are, their graveyards, their monuments, their whole history. Can forcing these people out be democratic aims?"

Critics of Milosevic, who include diplomats from many Western countries as well as politicians from other ethnic regions of Yugoslavia, accuse him of inflaming ethnic tensions to cement his political power in Serbia, one of the six loosely federated republics that make up Yugoslavia. Serbs are the largest ethnic group in the country, comprising about 42 percent of its 23 million people.

Inflamed Serbian nationalism, stoked by Milosevic's statements, has precipitated problems that reach beyond Kosovo. These include an unprecedented economic and political conflict between Serbia and Yugoslavia's richest republic, Slovenia. The two regions are locked in a mutual trade boycott that businessmen in both republics say is damaging the national economy.

In Suva Reka today, as clouds of tear gas hung in the cold afternoon air, crowds of ethnic Albanians charged at riot police while chanting "De-mo-kra-cy-a! De-mo-kra-cy-a!" An Albanian gas-station attendant taking part in the protest said that he and the other demonstrators do not want to secede. "The problem is that Serbians want Kosovo just for themselves," he said. "We just want democracy so we can all live together."

Western diplomats in Belgrade, along with many Serbian intellectu-

The potential violence in Kosovo by the trial of the Albanian court with political Western diplomats say that Vlasi, a former Kosovo who ran and was forced f to nothing more execution. Milosevic that Vlasi was b nate charges tion"—specifically Kosovo's secession.

The three-month Monday amid convicted, Kosovo violent protest.

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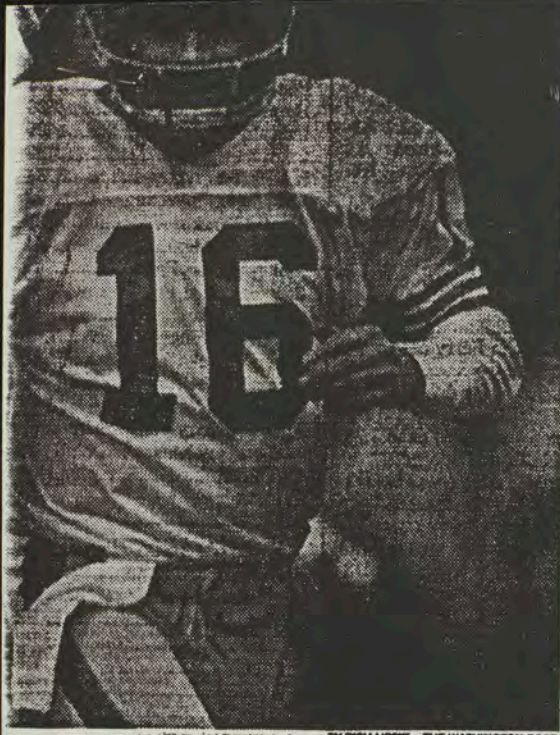
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BY RICH LIPSIG—THE WASHINGTON POST  
 Montana threw a Super Bowl record five touchdown passes.  
 22 of 29 attempts, including 13 in a row. Story on Page C1.

By Marc Fisher  
 Washington Post Foreign Service

**BONN, Jan. 29 (Monday)—**A shaky East German government agreed this morning to end 40 years of outright Communist control and advance free elections by two months to try to stabilize a country whose citizens are fleeing at a rate of almost 3,000 a day.

After a marathon meeting, Prime Minister Hans Modrow and representatives of more than a dozen opposition groups decided to create a broad, largely non-Communist coalition government to rule until elections now scheduled for March 18.

The objective is to prevent hundreds of thousands more East Germans, skeptical of Communist intentions, from moving West. Elections had been scheduled for May 6. Today's action cut the election campaign by half.

Modrow, who is to remain prime minister, said the new date will guarantee "free and secret elections." The new coalition, which Modrow called a "government of national responsibility," will include the Communists, the four small parties that have held minor posts in East Germany since the 1940s and more than a dozen of the new opposition movements formed since the peaceful revolution last fall.

Among the entering groups are New Forum and Democratic Awakening, two of the grassroots movements that organized massive demonstrations that led to the collapse of East Germany's hard-line Communist regime and the opening of the Berlin Wall last fall.

The new, nonpartisan government is to take office in early February. Proposals for organizing the election are ready Wednesday.

More than 45,000 East Germans have moved to West Germany this month alone, often expressing skepticism that the Communists would give up power. In street demonstrations and interviews, East Germans have complained that the new political groups that oppose the Communists have failed to embrace the people's primary desires—reunification with West Germany and a quick shift to a Western-style market economy.

The latest census comes in ad-  
 See EAST GERMANY, A20, Col. 4

- Romanian protesters demand ouster of Communist leaders. Page A15
- Yugoslav police fire on crowd in the troubled Serbian region. Page A15

# Communists Form New Polish Party

## Reformer Creates Breakaway Unit

By John Daniszewski  
 Associated Press

**WARSAW, Jan. 29 (Monday)—**Poland's Communists dissolved their 41-year-old party early today, hours after forming a new one that they hope will give them a future in the nation's emerging parliamentary democracy.

The new party, the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, was created Sunday night at a Communist Party congress called to bury the old organization.

But a leading reformer backed by Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said the new party did not represent authentic change and, with his supporters, split to form a party free of old-style Communists. Tadeusz Mazowiec said his new party, the Social-Democratic Union, would likely field candidates in municipal elections in June.

The delegates who remained voted 1,228 to 87 to dismantle the Communist Party and stood to sing the "Internationale," the anthem of communism worldwide. They then bowed their heads in silence as three men carried the red Communist Party flag from the hall.

The resolution dissolving the party said the delegates recognized "the impossibility... of recovering social

See POLAND, A20, Col. 1

# Political Parties

Strategists  
 Problems as  
 Issues Erode

The letter may be a symptom of bigger troubles to come for Republicans at the national level now that the hard-line communist regimes of Eastern Europe have all but collapsed and the Soviet Union is rent by internal problems.

According to a wide range of elected Republican officials and party professionals, the events of recent months in the Soviet Bloc have fundamentally weakened two of the most sturdy pillars supporting GOP campaigns in the last three presidential elections—anti-communism and the defense buildup.

These weaknesses were strongly evident in Bush's 1988 campaign, when he rebuffed Democrat Michael S. Dukakis for wanting to scrap weapon programs and warned that the Cold War was not over.

These themes have also reinforced Republican dominance in public opinion polls over many years as the party most capable of handling foreign policy. For example, in a Washington Post-ABC News survey this month, respondents said by 62 percent to 25 percent that Re-

See REPUBLICANS, A8, Col. 1

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 Post Staff Writer

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Washington Post  
 Monday, Jan. 29, 1990

# Voters Wary of Jackson as Mayor



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