

**Jerzy Przystawa**  
**University of Wrocław**

## **Poland on the Road to Political and Social Catastrophe**

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### **Summary**

Poland's the most wide spread image is that of an outstanding example of successful transformation from the Soviet dominated communist country to a free and independent capitalist free market society and sovereign state. In reality, this historical Polish victory over her hated archenemy turned out to be a veritable Pyrrhic victory in which the Soviet vassal state of the Polish People's Republic has been replaced by a colonial status of economically and politically foreign dominated territory. During the last 13 years, the people of Poland are continuously loosing any range of their economical and political sovereignty and on the top of that, from day to day, more of the national property is being taken over by foreign hands, predominantly German. This process closely resembles the way the GDR (German Democratic Republic) had been taken over by the West Germany. Although the German capital and German political influence is now domineering all over the Eastern and Central Europe this process is particularly dangerous for Poland. This special Polish situation results from the fact that 1/3 of the Polish land is the former German territory and German people, although the II World War had ended more than a half a century ago, are still claiming their property and demand their previous ownership to be internationally recognised. The most probable future for Poland, within or outside the EU structures, is that of a Central European pseudoprotectorate, totally dominated politically and economically, to a large extend expropriated, with her national property taken over by foreign hands. Such an outcome will be disastrous for the Poles and equally dangerous for Europe and the European stability. The only feasible way to counter this gloomy development seems to be a radical change of the electoral system to let the citizens of Poland to appoint their own and patriotic political elite.

### **What catastrophe?**

I shall explain of what catastrophe I am going to talk about by giving you some historical parallels.

At least twice in our national history we could speak of a major catastrophe that had befallen our nation and state. The first one happened by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the 1st Republic of Poland had been divided between the three neighbouring empires, i.e. Russian, Prussian and Austro-Hungarian. As a result of that partition the state of Poland ceased to exist and Poland had been wiped out from the map of Europe for 123 years. (see Map 1)

Was it a catastrophe? - The everyday life continued as usual, people married, gave birth to their children, children went to schools, shops functioned, factories produced goods, businesses of all sorts developed. Some people became rich, some other became poor, and such is life all over the world. The Russian part, known after the Congress of Vienna as the

Congress Kingdom, with the tsar of Russia as its monarch, enjoyed a large autonomy, with its own government and its own Polish army and various administrative institutions. In fact, the Polish Congress Kingdom happened to be perhaps even the richest part of the Empire. The tsar himself often borrowed money from Polish landlords and employed them in the highest state posts. It also became the most industrialised part of Russia. Before the Soviet Revolution, about 120 Polish generals were in command of the Russian armies, occupying all the highest ranks but the commander-in-chief.

Even better was the situation of Poles within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, in the so-called Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. They had their own parliament, their own democratic elections, their own autonomous government, on top of that some Poles even held posts of prime ministers of the monarchy. Polish universities of Krakow and Lwow were of the highest standards, the cities of Krakow and Lwow flourished in beauty and prosperity, the Polish culture developed freely.

Life under the Prussian rule also had many features of normality. Poles enjoyed autonomy, elected their deputies to the parliament in Berlin, business was business, the lands of Poland, with good soil and high standard of farming, produced food and other goods for the whole state.

Nevertheless, all that period, has always been considered an era of darkness and national calamity. Polish people, brought up traditionally with the idea of freedom, considered that situation as serfdom and slavery and never ceased to oppose and resist it. And as soon as a chance to change it occurred they took to arms and *manu militari* fought for and had won their dreamt of independent and sovereign state.

The second catastrophe began with the Stalin –Ribbentrop Pact, which opened road to the invasion of Poland by the Nazi Germany on the 1<sup>st</sup> September 1939 and then by the occupation and partition of Poland by Germany and Soviet Union. ( see Map 2). When the II World War ended, in spite of the Polish military effort and its enormous contribution to the Allies victory over Germany, Poland emerged from the War as the greatest of losers. One sixth of her population had been annihilated, her towns and villages destroyed. Half of her territory had been incorporated to the Soviet Union and lost forever. About 5 millions of Polish citizens had been expelled from their homeland and forced to move to the West and settle on a practically foreign land, on the territories that belonged to Germany for some centuries. To compensate for the loss of our land and homes in the East we had been given a part of Germany, which amounted to the one third of the present Polish state territory. But the most important of all those calamities was the fact that Poland lost her independence and became a vassal state of the Soviet Union, first ruthlessly occupied and then ruled, for a half a century by puppet governments, totally dependent and subordinated to the orders from Kremlin.

Was it a catastrophe? - Everyday life, although somewhat different, continued, children were born and went to schools, factories produced goods, farmers produced food. I went to schools, then to a university and even became a professor, I sent my children to schools and they grew up healthy and not stupid, was it a catastrophe? - Foreign visitors coming to Poland considered Poland a normal state, like any other, perhaps slightly poorer and slightly more backward than those in the Western Europe, but, on the other hand, far richer and more advanced than, for example, her Soviet sovereign. There was a saying that Poland was the merriest shed within the whole Soviet camp. In fact, our standard of life was much above that

of the Soviet citizens, and the range of our personal freedoms was incomparable to those in other Soviet dominated countries.

And yet, all through that dark period we prayed and sang in our churches: „O, Lord, give us back our country free!” And never, in spite of the enormous effort of the communist authorities and their lackeys, we, the majority of Poles, had reconciled ourselves to that situation and given up our, perhaps romantic and anachronistic, desire to have our own free and independent state.

The year 1989 was a beginning of a miraculous transformation. The Soviets decided to ease their grip on Poland and, eventually, to withdraw their troops and let Poland, as well as their other vassal states, to continue on their own. This peaceful Soviet withdrawal had been announced worldwide as an unheard of Polish victory over the communism, and in result a free and independent state of Poland had been declared. This declaration is considered still valid. As a proof for that one may take the last visit of Pope John Paul II to his homeland. According to realistic estimates over 2,5 million people had massed on the fields of Krakow, perhaps the biggest crowd the world history had ever seen, with some other several millions watching on TV. To all of them that King of the Kings of Poland, said that he considered his country free and independent.

However, one may have serious doubts about the full meaning of such declarations. In what sense can Poland be considered an independent and sovereign country? - In foreign politics, the Polish Government does everything according to wishes, if not to direct orders, of its Western allies. We know of no major step of our Government that would not have been in full agreement with the European Commission, or in opposition to demands from Washington or Berlin. From the military point of view, Poland hardly has and owns her own army. Polish military personnel had been reduced from 412,000 in 1989 to 177,700 in 2000. This gives *circa* 4.7 soldiers per 1000 population, which is a figure far below the EU standards. Polish military forces are now in the NATO structures, totally dependent on weapons, munitions etc. on their NATO commanders. It is exactly as it used to be during the previous half a century, with the difference that the orders came from the East rather than from the West, and instead of the NATO there was the Warsaw Pact. With only one marked difference: weapons and munitions were in the past made mainly in Poland, and Poland was even exporting them to other countries. It is perhaps true that the military quality of those weapons was lower than those produced in the West but as long as it could be exported and sold and used efficiently one has a right to express some reservations regarding the change. One can always argue that an army should be in possession of the best weapons and equipment, therefore the Polish army is now better fit for combat than before. It may be so. It is less doubtful that presently, if our western allies decided to stop or limit the supply then our army will be good for nothing. And the net result of the change is that Poland, which used to be an exporter of weapons and munitions, tanks and aircraft, is now importing it, and a number of factories have been shut down and thousands of highly skilled workers, technicians and engineers have lost their jobs.

In modern world of today the idea of national sovereignty and independence seems to be not very popular. There are only very few countries that openly admit that they care for such an outdated notion. I suppose, I could safely mention a few: the US, Russia, China, Switzerland, maybe Norway, Iran, and the people of Palestine. Certainly, the idea of national sovereignty does not seem to be popular in Europe and certainly not within the EU and in the countries aspiring to integration with the EU. We are continuously being told that it is a very good bargain to trade our national sovereignty and independence for other values. What are these

values? - In Poland we are told that these are (1) national security and (2) wealth and progress.

These are exactly the same values that had been presented to the people of Poland when the Soviet Union occupied our country and later throughout the second half of the XX century. The only difference is that our present politicians maintain that before these values were false, that we were cheated, whereas now they are genuine, good and real. The credibility of the offer must follow from a rather obvious fact that before we were richer and more developed than our Soviet patron, whereas now we are poor and backward and the offer comes from the rich, developed and prosperous. Before our country was exploited whereas now we are supposedly going to be subsidised and supported in all possible ways.

Therefore, we should look with some care at some economical figures to evaluate and estimate the progress we have made. All the figures I am going to produce come from the official government data, i.e. from the Statistical Yearbooks of 2001 and 1989. **After 12 years of continuous development and progress, with many thousands of Western economic specialists and advisers in assistance to every Polish government ministry or department, with all the permanent and incessant help and founding on behalf of the EU, the official statistical figures reveal continuous and merciless decline of our national economy.**

### **Agricultural decline**

All through her history Poland was a producer of food and exporter of grain and other agricultural products. This was perhaps the chief reason for many wars fought on our lands. For example, Hitler was justifying his invasion of Poland by promising his people the *Lebensraum* in Poland, her the fertile soil, and ordered many thousands of his farmers to move with their families to occupied lands, to settle there and produce more food for the needy *Herrenvolk*.

If we look at the amount of agricultural products Poland is producing we notice a decline in everything, ranging from 92% decline in breeding sheep, through 63% less fish, over 43% less cattle, 30% less cereals and milk , 21% less potatoes to 5% less poultry.

<b>PRODUCT</b>	<b>1989</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>DECLINE</b>
<b>cereals</b>	<b>26.958</b> <i>thous. tons</i>	<b>18.860</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>wheat</b>	<b>8.462</b>	<b>8.241</b>	<b>2,6%</b>
<b>rye</b>	<b>6.216</b>	<b>5.292</b>	<b>15%</b>
<b>barley</b>	<b>3.909</b>	<b>3.259</b>	<b>17%</b>
<b>oats</b>	<b>2.185</b>	<b>1.467</b>	<b>33%</b>
<b>potatoes</b>	<b>34.390</b>	<b>27.329</b>	<b>21%</b>
<b>Sugar beets</b>	<b>14.374</b>	<b>12.614</b>	<b>12%</b>
<b>cattle</b>	<b>10.733</b> <i>thousands</i>	<b>6.083</b>	<b>43,3%</b>
<b>pigs</b>	<b>18.835</b>	<b>17.122</b>	<b>9,1%</b>
<b>sheep</b>	<b>4.409</b>	<b>362</b>	<b>92%</b>
<b>hens</b>	<b>51.037</b>	<b>48.274</b>	<b>5,4%</b>
<b>Sea fish</b>	<b>531</b> <i>thous. tons</i>	<b>200,1</b>	<b>62,5%</b>

<b>Cow milk</b>	<b>15.926 thous. litres</b>	<b>11.494</b>	<b>28%</b>

**Source:** *The 2001 Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland*

The EU demands from us a further decrease in agricultural output. During the last weeks, after the harvest, on Polish roads and on television screens, we have been watching dramatic and pathetic scenes of Polish farmers, with their trucks full of grain, waiting hopelessly for several days and nights, in several mile long queues, for the outcome of their labour to be bought. They are told that the silos are filled up, that there is no room for their wheat, that they may go to hell and do whatever they please with the food they produced.

More politely, they are being told that their grain is too expensive. That cheaper cereals can be bought outside Poland, from the EU countries first of all. In fact, Polish Government is obliged to import vast quantities of grain from our EU benefactors.

**What is going on?** Is the decline of Polish agriculture a typical world-wide phenomenon? Is there less food needed today than 12 years ago? Do people, world-wide, eat and consume less and therefore farmers and their labour are not needed?

The answer to all these questions is NO. Both the UE and the world at large are producing more food and, worldwide, the output of the farming labour is increasing

#### Increase in the world agricultural output

<b>Product</b>	<b>1989-1990</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>Increase</b>
wheat	559.076 mln t.	583.634	4,4%
potatoes	265.903	299.332	10,7%
cattle	1.294 mln	1.338 mln	3,4%
pigs	858 mln	913 mln	6,4%
meat	178.592 mln t.	216.201	21%
milk	474.035 mln l.	480.659	1,2%
Sea fish	85.511 mln t.	86.299	9,2%

**Source:** *The 2001 Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland*

These figures should be compared with the world's population growth. During the last decade the world's population grew from 5.266 mln to 6.055 mln. **The increase in population is over 15%.**

The following picture emerges: **The world's population has increased by 15% and so has the demand for food and farming. The world's food producers continue to increase their output but cannot cope with the increasing demand. More and more people need food and more and more people are starving all over the world. At the same time Poland, traditional and efficient producer of food is obliged, by her negotiations with the EU benefactors, to continuously limit her output and from year to year produce less food.**

With the recent drama of Polish farmers queuing for days in front of the filled up grain stores a brilliant idea had been proposed by some ingenious people: If Poland is obliged to buy grain from the EU, if there is no room to store the present year's harvest, if there are millions of people starving all over the world, why can't we be the world's benefactors and offer millions of tones of useless grain to the needy? - In such a way, we could empty the overfilled silos, please our farmers and accommodate their useless product and make them happy?

The brilliance of this idea has even been acknowledged by Pope John Paul II and he praised it highly during his farewell sermon to nearly 3 million crowd in Krakow. The President of the State and the Prime Minister, both present at the ceremony, agreed that this was a very good idea. Somehow nothing follows. The offer is still accepted by nobody and nobody is rushing to free us from our riches. Even our EU benefactors do not rush to take our grain and send it to starving Africa or Asia. They somehow prefer to pump grain to Poland. *Pacta sunt servanda*. Agreements and treaties are to be observed. The starving people and angry Polish farmers are of minor importance.

### **Industrial decline**

To assess the development of Polish industry by examining statistical figures a more care is needed than in the case of the agriculture. From the Statistical Yearbooks of Poland, our industry is growing and its output increasing.

For example, let us consider **the passenger cars production**.

The 1991 Statistical Yearbook of Poland informs us that during the year 1989 Poland produced 266 thousands passenger cars of general use. During the year 2000, Poland produced 533 thousands passenger cars. It seems that we are witnessing over 100% increase in the passenger cars production! What a great economy and how efficient!

A closer look at these numbers leads to a slightly different conclusion. First of all, we must understand that we are speaking about different car production: In 1989 those cars were Polish cars, designed by Polish engineers and entirely produced by Polish workers. Every single produced car brought some income to the Polish state treasury. Those cars are produced no longer. All car factories had been taken over by foreign hands and they are now producing different cars. These factories had been taken over by Koreans, Italians and whoever are producing cars of foreign design and in fact the vehicles are now only being assembled in Poland. Profit from such a production goes outside Poland, enriching Koreans, Italians and others. On top of that, we have German factories which belong to Volkswagen, Japanese belonging to Toyota, Italian belonging to Fiat and others. It is not even certain that the state of Poland receives any tax revenue on this production as „foreign investors” are usually exempted from paying taxes for a number of years. A few months ago, a former car factory in the town of Nysa, eventually taken over by Daewoo, had been shut down and 1000 of workers found themselves on the streets without any compensation or payment. The grounds, the buildings, the machinery, during a crafty process of privatization, passed over to the Korean investor. With Daewoo going bankrupt the Polish workers, once proud owners of their factory, were left empty handed without any means to survive and with no prospect of employment.

**Similar analysis applies to e.g. TV sets production or radio sets production.** In the year 1989, Poland produced 2.523.000 of TV sets. During the year 2000 the quota increased to 6.256.000. This means 148% growth in production! Again, those sets of 1989 were designed and produced by Polish workers and engineers. They exist no longer. The 6 millions of TV sets produced presently do not belong to Polish producers and it is not even certain that the foreign owners at least pay taxes on their income. The only money that the Polish Treasury may squeeze from such an industry is the personal tax revenue from the Polish labourers still employed in these factories.

If we look at figures appropriate for industrial sector that still is in the Polish hands we shall obtain a characteristic pattern.

### Industrial decline

Product	1989	2000	Decline	World
Hard coal	178 mln t.	103	- 42,1%	+ 9%
steel	15.099 thous.t	10.504	- 30,4%	+ 3,8%
sulphur	4.864	1.480	- 69,6%	+ 15,8%
lignite	71,8 mln t.	59,5	- 17,1%	

From these few figures we can see clearly that while the world production of these basic products is increasing the Polish contribution to it is dramatically decreasing. The data are not just picked up at random; these are the data on the major resources. In producing hard coal, Poland is occupying the second place in Europe and the seventh in world, in sulphur Poland used to be the first world's producer, which is now down to the second place in Europe and the third in the world. In steel production Poland fell down from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> place in the world and from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> place in Europe.

The shipyards used to be the cream of the Polish industrial production, with many thousands of highly skilled workers and engineers and the most advanced technology. The famous shipyards in Gdansk, generally considered to be the cradle of Solidarnosc have been shut already for a few years. The second largest shipyards of Szczecin are on the verge of bankruptcy, with their workers receiving no pay for months. For the last couple of months the shipyard workers of Szczecin are already on the streets, striking and protesting.

The situation in trade is closely connected with the situation in shipyards and in the coal and steel industries. Let us look at the figures describing the Polish merchant fleet :

### Merchant Fleet

	1989	2000	Decline
Cargo vessels	249	128	- 48,6%
DWT	4061	2.551	- 37,1%

With such a decline in the industry in general there is little need for highly skilled labour and technical innovations. A typical pattern in taking over Polish factories by foreign hands is that the first people to lose their employment are engineers and research workers. There is obviously little need in research laboratories and any technical inventions which usually are developed abroad.

#### Polish inventions and patents

	1989	2000	Decline
Patent applications	5.294	2.404	- 54,6%
Patents granted	2.854	939	- 67,1%

#### Germany is taking over the economy of Poland

In the period of transformation following the events of 1989, with the great idea that private enterprise is always better and more efficient than a state one, Polish factories and enterprises had been offered for sale and private investors from all over the world were invited to come and invest in Poland. As Germany is the nearest neighbour of Poland and German economy is the strongest and the richest in Europe it should not be a wonder that German participation in economical development of Poland is greater than that of any other country. Unfortunately, this German engagement in Polish economical affairs turns out to be quite out of proportion. To realize that let us have a look at the Poland's balance of foreign trade.

Throughout the decades of the communist rule in Poland, the USSR had been the chief trading partner and its participation in both Polish import and export was on the level of 30 %. In the last decade, its role had been taken over by Germany.

#### Foreign Trade Turnover by Main Partners

Specification	Total in mln USD	First partner	Second partner
1970 import	3.607,5	USSR 37,7%	GDR 11,1%
export	3.547,6	35,3%	9,3%
balance	-59,9		
1980 import	19.089,3	USSR 33,1%	FRG 6,7%
export	16.996,8	31,2%	8,1%
balance	-2.092,5		
1992 import	15.912,9	Germany 23,9%	Russia 8,5%
export	13.186,6	31,4%	Netherlands 6,0%
balance	-2.726,3		
1995 import	29.049,7	Germany 26,6%	Italy 9,4%
export	22.894,9	38,3%	Netherlands 5,6%
balance	-6.154,8		
1999 import	45.911,2	Germany 25,2%	Italy 9,4%



<b>export balance</b>	<b>27,407,4 -18.503,8</b>	<b>36,1%</b>	<b>6,5%</b>
<b>2000 import export balance</b>	<b>48.940,2 31.651,3 -17.288,9</b>	<b>Germany 23,9% 34,9%</b>	<b>Russia 9,4% Italy 6,3%</b>

**Source:** *The 2001 Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland*

As we can see from the above data the picture has changed altogether. During the communist times, the balance of trade was favourable for the USSR but the difference was rather small. Presently, each year shows that Poland's trade deficit is in the order of 20 billion USD and that in the trade alone the Polish economy is more tightly bound to that of Germany than it had ever been the case during the Soviet domination

According to Kazimierz Poznański, professor of economy at the Washington State University in Seattle ( K. Z. Poznański, „Wielki Przekręt. Klęska polskich reform”, 2000, Warszawa) what had happened in Poland could only be compared with the way the West Germany took over the economy of the German Democratic Republic. Polish factories, like that of former Polish car factories, were bought out for a penny, Polish products wiped out from the market and replaced by Western, predominantly German, goods. Such a market take-over had been secured and cemented by the capital takeover. Nearly 80% of Polish banks have been similarly taken over by foreign hands and again, over 30% of those hands are German.

### **Polish situation is different from that of other post-communist countries.**

The political and economical aggression of Germany on Poland, as described above, may, at the first sight, seem to be no different from similar aggression by the German capital on other East European countries, notably Hungary or Estonia or even the Czech Republic.

Everywhere in the region, the German capital is domineering, the German goods are flooding the markets, the German investors take over local banks, factories and other enterprises. Such a job is made so much easier by the propaganda war that advertises the integration of these countries with the EU and with all the luring promises of wealth and prosperity ahead.

However, the situation of Poland is remarkably different from that of all her neighbours. This difference stems from the postwar map of Poland. (see Map3) With half of the Polish pre-war territory absorbed directly into the Soviet Union Poland received, for compensation, 105.000 sq. kilometres of the German pre-war land. To this land millions of new Polish inhabitants had been forcibly „repatriated” and settled. About 11 millions Germans lost their homeland and were expelled to the West. In such a way, a huge eternal conflict between the Poles and the Germans has been created, to keep these two big European nations in mutual mistrust and enmity. This was, perhaps, a Stalin's clever political idea but with potentially disastrous consequences for both nations.

As long as the Soviet Union existed and was ruling over the region, that problem had been kept under control. The omnipotent and invincible Soviet Union did not seem to be interested in changing the *status quo*, and both Poles and Germans seemed to be reconciled with the verdict of history. The situation has changed dramatically with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Day after day, we hear more of German people reclaiming their property. We hear

German politicians and statesmen just hinting or speaking openly that the problem of German property on the other side of the Odra River should be reconsidered.

There are many ominous signs of a dangerous development. The apparent new German political and economical *Drang nach Osten* I have just described above. This is accompanied by less visible activities of various sorts. There are German agents operating in Poland, who are looking for places, properties, lands and farms which are ready to be sold on suitable terms. Some of those agents are simply employees of the former German owners of those properties. Secret, but legal deals are being conducted, in which the present Polish owners sell their property conditionally to their German partners with the condition being that deal would be closed the moment Poland enters the EU. German government, which never renounced its right of property to the pre-war German territory, in spite of all its friendly gestures and declarations of various politicians, still encourages persons born on the former German land to obtain the German passport and citizenship. The German minority in Poland is continuously expanding, sponsored by money from the Polish and German governments alike and on top of that granted political privileges by law. The size of this expansion is difficult to evaluate upon the data of the Polish Statistical Yearbooks, as for some reason there are no available data on the German minority population in Poland. However, in the last year statistics, I have found some data on schooling and education and these data are worth a minute of contemplation. Between the school year 1999/2000 and 2000/2001, the **total number of pupils of elementary and secondary schools decreased in the whole Poland by 2%**. It complies with the general tendency in the national birth rate. At the same time **the number of pupils who declared their German nationality increased by 9,6%**

#### **To conclude:**

The catastrophe ahead of Poland has no parallel in her history.

- (1) Poland, in reality, has already lost her political sovereignty and is subordinated to foreign orders. The depth of this subordination can be compared with the times of Partition and with the times of the communist rule.
- (2) However, by comparison, Poland has now less freedom in economical terms, for her economy has been conquered by foreign capital, predominantly German, and is now nearly totally economically dependent on foreign powers. It had not been so either during the times of Partition or even during the communist rule.
- (3) The worse still is a real danger of expropriation of Polish citizens from their properties acquired after the end of the II World War. The perspectives for Poland, within or outside the EU, are those of a German dominated the EU political protectorate.

Such a development, although tragic for Poland, is also dangerous for the entire Europe. It will create a big European region as a permanent source of trouble and unrest. In the long run, the Polish people will not accept such a situation.

#### **Is there a way out? Could such a development be countered and stopped?**

The after 1989 development in Poland could not have taken place, or at least not to such degree, if it were not for the compradorial political elite of the country. This selfish and treacherous elite, to a large extent inherited from the collapsed communism structures, is being perpetuated by the electoral system, which serves the post-communist establishment well. Poland in order to develop according to her national interests, needs different elite,

which would be both competent and patriotic. To generate such an elite the electoral system has to be changed and majoritarian Westminster system is the best of options.

The problems of Poland, apart from the question of the disputed status of the 1/3 of her territory, are typical for other countries of the region. All these countries badly need to generate their own elite and to get rid of compradors, representing foreign interests. This situation, opens, therefore, a channel for international cooperation.

The farsighted Western politicians, if there are any, should abandon the politics of false promises and colonial domination. They should look for and support activities aimed at strengthening, not at weakening, the Polish state and the Polish people. The hordes of compradores in Poland might seem to be useful and convenient in a short run. In the long run, they cannot bring anything of value in the country of 40 million population, with a 1000 years history, with long cultural, scientific and political traditions.