

**POLAND 1980-1982: INTERNAL CRISIS, INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS**

**Jachranka -Warsaw**

**November 8-10, 1997**

*Organized by*

*The Institute for Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Warsaw)  
The National Security Archive at The George Washington University (Washington, D.C.)  
The Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington, D.C.)*

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States (Washington, D.C.); The Committee for Scientific Research (Warsaw); The Batory Foundation  
(Warsaw); The Cold War International History Project at the Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington, D.C.)*

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**PRELIMINARY PROGRAM**

VENUE: Recreational Center of the Central Statistical Office (*Główny Urząd Statystyczny*), Jachranka, Zalew Zegrzynski (outskirts of Warsaw)

Final session in the Hall of Mirrors (*Sala Lustrzana*), Polish Academy of Sciences at *Pałac Staszica*, Warsaw

LENGTH: 3 days

LANGUAGES: Polish-English-Russian

**Friday, November 7**

Participants and guests arrive in Warsaw; transfer from Okęcie Airport to Jachranka

6:00 - 7:30 pm Pre-conference reception (Jachranka)  
(Informal garden party, weather permitting)

DAY 1: Saturday, November 8

**9:00 - 9:15**            **Opening Remarks**  
Edmund Wnuk-Lipiński (Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)  
Thomas Blanton/Malcolm Byrne (National Security Archive)  
Christian Ostermann (Cold War International History Project & National Security Archive)

**9:15 - 1:00**            **PANEL I: Internal Dimensions of the Polish Crisis (July 1980 - July 1981)**

Chair:                    Andrzej Paczkowski (Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Opening Reports:      Eugeniusz Duraczyński (Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences)  
Andrzej Friszke (Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

**PARTICIPANTS**

Polish Party/  
Government:            Stanisław Ciosek, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanisław Kania, Mieczysław Rakowski

“Solidarity”:            Bogdan Borusewicz, Zbigniew Bujak, Andrzej Celiński, Wiesław Chrzanowski, Karol Modzelewski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Lech Wałęsa

Former USSR  
& Warsaw Pact:        Anatolii Gribkov, Viktor Kulikov, Stanislav Prokhazka\*, Georgy Shakhnazarov, Leonid Zamyatin

United States:           Stephen Larrabee, Jan Nowak, William Odom, Richard Pipes

**ADDITIONAL SCHOLARS**

Jane Curry (Santa Clara University, California), Krystyna Kersten (Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences)

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\* Invited

11:00 - 11:15 Coffee Break  
11:15 - 1:00 PANEL I — Continuation

**1:00 - 2:30 Lunch**

**2:30 - 6:30 Panel II: Internal Dimensions of the Polish Crisis  
(August 1981 - March 1982)**

Chair: Andrzej Paczkowski (Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

Opening Reports: Jerzy Holzer (Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)  
Andrzej Werblan

#### PARTICIPANTS

Polish Party/  
Government: Stanisław Ciosek, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanisław Kania,  
Mieczysław Rakowski, Florian Siwicki

“Solidarity”: Bogdan Borusewicz, Zbigniew Bujak, Andrzej Celiński, Wiesław Chrzanowski, Karol Modzelewski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Andrzej Stelmachowski, Lech Wałęsa

Former USSR  
& Warsaw Pact: Anatolii Gribkov, Viktor Kulikov, Stanislav Prokhazka, Georgy Shakhnazarov, Leonid Zamyatin

United States: Zbigniew Brzeziński, Stephen Larrabee, Jan Nowak, William Odom, Richard Pipes

#### ADDITIONAL SCHOLARS

Jane Curry (Santa Clara University, California), Krystyna Kersten (Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences)

4:30 - 4:45 Coffee Break

4:45 - 6:30 PANEL II — Continuation

**6:30 - 6:45 General comments on Panels I – II: Krystyna Kersten**

**7:00 - 8:00**            **Dinner**

DAY 2: Sunday, November 9

**9:00 - 1:00**            **PANEL III: International Dimensions of the Polish Crisis:  
The United States and Western Allies**

Chair:                    Aleksander Smolar (Batory Foundation, Warsaw; *Centre National  
de Recherches Scientifiques*, Paris)

Opening Report:        James Hershberg (George Washington University)

**PARTICIPANTS**

United States:            Zbigniew Brzeziński, Stephen Larrabee, Jan Nowak, William Odom,  
Richard Pipes

Former USSR  
& Warsaw Pact:        Anatolii Gribkov, Viktor Kulikov, Stanislav Prokhazka, Georgy  
Shakhnazarov, Leonid Zamyatin

Polish Party/  
Government:            Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanisław Kania, Mieczysław Rakowski,  
Andrzej Werblan

“Solidarity”:            Bronisław Geremek, Karol Modzelewski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Lech Wałęsa

**ADDITIONAL SCHOLARS**

Dieter Bingen (*Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale  
Studien*), Malcolm Byrne (National Security Archive), Tony Kemp-Welch  
(University of East Anglia), Ewa Kulesza (*Institut des Études Politiques de  
Paris*)

11:00 - 11:15            Coffee Break

11:15 - 1:00             PANEL III — Continuation

**1:00 - 2:30**            **Lunch**

**2:30 - 6:30**                    **Panel IV: International Dimensions of the Polish Crisis:  
The Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact**

Chair:                            Karen Dawisha (University of Maryland)

Opening Report:                Valery Mousatov (Russian Foreign Ministry)  
Mark Kramer (Davis Center for Russian Studies, Harvard  
University)

**PARTICIPANTS**

Former USSR                    Anatolii Gribkov, Viktor Kulikov, Stanislav Prokhazka, Georgy  
& Warsaw Pact:                Shakhnazarov, Leonid Zamyatin

United States:                 Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jan Nowak, William Odom, Richard Pipes

Polish Party/  
Government:                 Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanisław Kania, Mieczysław Rakowski,  
Florian Siwicki

“Solidarity”:  
Karol Modzelewski, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Lech Wałęsa

**ADDITIONAL SCHOLARS**

Włodzimierz Borodziej (Warsaw University), Detelina Dineva (Institute of  
History, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), János Tischler (Institute of the  
History of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, Budapest), Oldrich Tuma  
(Institute of Contemporary History, Czech Academy of Sciences)

4:30 - 4:45                    Coffee Break

4:45 - 6:30                    PANEL IV — Continuation

7:00 - 8:00                    Dinner

DAY 3: Monday, November 10

9:00 - 12:45                 **PANEL V: The Polish Crisis in the Context of East-West  
Relations**

Chair: Vojtech Mastny (Woodrow Wilson Center)

Opening Report: Jadwiga Staniszkis (Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences)

#### PARTICIPANTS

Former USSR & Warsaw Pact: Anatolii Gribkov, Viktor Kulikov, Stanislav Prokhazka, Georgy Shakhnazarov, Leonid Zamyatin

United States: Zbigniew Brzeziński, Jan Nowak, William Odom, Richard Pipes

Polish Party/ Government: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanisław Kania, Mieczysław Rakowski, Andrzej Werblan

“Solidarity”: Bronisław Geremek, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Lech Wałęsa

#### ADDITIONAL SCHOLARS

Valery Mousatov (Russian Foreign Ministry), Jacques Roupnik (*Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques*, Paris), Vladislav Zubok (National Security Archive)

12:00 - 12:15 Coffee Break

12:15 - 12:45 **General Comments on Panels III – V: Zbigniew Brzeziński**

1:00 - 2:30 **Lunch**

2:30 **Transfer to Warsaw**

4:00 - 7:00 **Round Table Discussion:  
The Polish Crisis: History and Legacy**

Chair: Timothy Garton Ash (St. Antony's College, Oxford)

PARTICIPANTS

Zbigniew Brzeziński, Bronisław Geremek, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Stanisław Kania, Georgy Shakhnazarov, Lech Wałęsa

**7:30 - 9:00**

**Farewell Reception**

Hosted by the Mayor of Warsaw, Marcin Świecicki

Location: Warsaw Town Hall

**9:15**

**Transfer to Jachranka**

Tuesday, November 11

Morning:

Transportation to Okęcie Airport for participants and guests,  
as required