

# **CREATING THE BASIS FOR SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND III INAUGURATION LECTURE ON THE OPENING OF NDU SECURITY FORUM, 7TH, NOVEMBER, 2012**

**President Lech WAŁĘSA**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am truly honored to be the first speaker during the inauguration ceremony of this incredibly apt project. I have to confess here, that I have been waiting for such a long time for this idea to be realized. Why? Because almost everyone has a feeling that we are witnesses to an era of changes.

Not only the centuries or millenniums have changed. Nowadays, it is the change of an era; from the era of borders, conflicts, wars, tragic divisions, particularly in Europe, to the era when the borders are removed and we can enter the age of intelligence, information and globalization. For now, these are totally meaningless concepts. Neither good nor bad. It all depends on the content that we assign to them. However, we can do it only when we are wise due to the intellect of all of us, and strong by virtue of the strength of all of us. This can be achieved only during such meetings as this one.

Until the end of the 20th century, the world was organized in programmes and structures. One can make an attempt to judge if it was right or wrong, still it was organized in structures such as countries. However, today we are obliged to create 'the country called Europe'; we have to think about globalization. Individually, we do not have good ideas, and if we had, the societies would not support us. They do not believe in the appropriateness of our ideas, which is good because

we are forced to find still better solutions. The new ideas should be discussed over, protested about, and even be the cause of strikes. Then, in the new era, new politicians will emerge who will gather the ideas and suggest a concept. This is why such an initiative is so valuable and indispensable.

I myself am a revolutionist, since this is how you remember me, notice that any prior generation did not have a chance that we face – a chance for peace, development, and prosperity. However, in order to create the correct picture of the situation, we have to understand that other programmes and structures are required here. Today I do not find the answers for three important questions – I would like to be the last revolutionist; and without the answers it will be difficult to achieve anything.

The first question is: on what ground do we want to build ‘the country called Europe’ today, and ‘a global country’ tomorrow? My meetings on different continents lead to a conclusion that there are two different visions of how to create it. One of the ideas is based on different types of freedom. Freedom of an individual, of each of us, freedom of gatherings, free market and law. To cut the long story short – this all must be preserved and provided without any additional regulations and obligations. The second vision, also worldwide, assumes that nothing can be created barely on the basis of freedom.

If we follow the way designated exclusively by the first vision, tomorrow we will have to assign a policeman to each and every person to check if they take proper decisions, or they enter into pacts, are dangerous, steal, deceive, or lie.

Thus, we have to seek for foundations which will create a common ground for the two visions. I am convinced that this era poses a prerequisite that all solutions and structures stem from universal values which are agreed by different religions, people who believe and those who do not. If we were able to decide on 10 such beyond-religious and non-religious rules, if they were accepted by everyone, or at least by the majority, we would be able to infer any type of program or structural solution, and the church could say that we bring up people of conscience. If we were able to prepare economic, political and other programmes on the basis of common values, starting from kindergartens, all types of schools, then through courts, promotions and sanctions, there is a chance that in the distant future we would achieve an effective and wise solution.

The second question – if we together were able to answer the first one – is: which economic system should be the basis? As a revolutionist, I am convinced that the present economic system will not withstand this century. There is no chance. With this still higher level of intelligence, and simultaneously with the injustice and differences, the masses of people who are not afraid of God because they have undermined Him, who are not afraid of neighbors because no one wants to fight, will head for justice and equality. It all has already started but this is only the beginning. It is only a matter of time until such a revolution starts for good. The only consolation in the economy is that generally people do not question the free market economy and private property, as I noticed whilst being present in certain places at a time of protest. Having such pillars of capitalistic philosophy, we could have achieved all this a long time ago, but unfortunately it is still somewhere in the future. The present concept of the economic system, more and more inefficient, is in a clash with the global challenge.

The third question, which you might be able to answer, is: what should our democracy look like? It is obvious that today no one takes democracy seriously, and this is a worldwide tendency. It is better not to ask politicians about their attitude to the topic... Until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, democracy provided us mainly with rights. The present democracy should supplement the rights with some obligations.; obligations which vary at different levels of organization. However, in the future we will be able to make wiser and better choices, and technology will be very helpful in the process. We have to prepare for the future and create certain possibilities in order for democracy to match the conditions of the new age.

These are the three tasks and questions which we strive to answer, being happy at the same time, that we live in time which gives us a chance to answer them.

The elder people present here probably remember that before we had subtly and peacefully got rid of a system which hindered development and did not stick to the time, there was not a single person who believed in our victory. The interests, weapons and preparations were set in such a confrontation that the idea of change in this area was commonly rejected. 'Only nuclear war' – this was the answer that I heard when I asked the most prominent people in the world if any change was possible.

I think you remember what happened. At the time of hopelessness and lack of faith and believe, a Pole became the Pope. A year later John Paul II came to Poland. The whole world turned its attention to Poland and asked: what was happening in the country which had been communist for 50 years?

Almost the whole country participated in meetings with the Holy Father. Of course John Paul II did not carry out a revolution; he did not intend to. He only gathered us to pray, since as you remember, the system of that time had a rule: do not allow anyone to organize any meetings and give a chance to count the individuals. He also said: 'don't you notice that there are over 200 thousand soviet soldiers in Poland and over million of them around the country, that the neighboring countries have nuclear weapons at their disposal?' If we dared to organize some demonstrations they were suppressed by saying: what kind of demonstration was it, who was there? Take as the example our demonstrations organized on 1 May or during other holidays! We were humiliated and disregarded so strongly that many of us gave up and believed in it, making it difficult to get organized. The Pope only gathered us to pray by saying 'Be not afraid and change the image of the Land.' This word was very fruitful since it was accepted by people and turned into reality. A small opposition was able to transept the meetings and run them. You know the outcome. The correctness of my words is confirmed by the fact that John Paul II managed to organize people even better in Cuba. Nothing happened there only because there was no one to lead the people to victory, no one who would change the words into actions.

I mention it only because today many people claim that it is impossible to build a stable, full European unity. 'Globalization? Integration? That is impossible!' I was also told that there is no chance, nothing can be done here, only nuclear war... and still I managed to do it. Now, when we aim at building 'the country called Europe', when we strive for globalization, we should remember what was then the key to success. Not thanks, no missiles but the awoken values turned out to be much stronger and helped us win.

Thus, now building 'the country of Europe' we should include values and everything will be possible. Obviously it cannot be done in a day. However, there is a chance to achieve it through such discussion.



In fact, we do not have any choice. Technology, in its good and bad meaning, is at such a stage that we cross the borders of our countries. It is especially visible in Europe. Thus, there is no question whether to enlarge the structures but there is a question of how to do it. There is also a question of what requires to be enlarged and what should be left the way it is.

Until today we even have not listed the topics or areas of security which should be expanded, combined, or ignored. There is such a topic, which you probably heard many times, which I will not allow to be globalized, i.e. my wife Danuta. I will strongly protect this topic.

As far as your topic is concerned, the military or defence issues... In the past, when I was trying to broaden the structures, when I made an attempt to introduce Poland into NATO, I believed that we were increasing the NATO block but only in order not to leave a place for confrontation, in order to avoid a situation when NATO had at its disposal 100 tanks and the other side has only 10. There would be nothing left and yet there would still be power here.

Technological development may result in other processes of change in the military structures, which we have to deal with and even take benefit from. Here, I am talking about the reduction of the Army, restructurization and redundancies. It is important here to transform the structures and adjust them to the new conditions and needs. The technology is very advanced and at the same time potentially dangerous, thus the well prepared and organized forces must stay alert and ready to protect the country. Reliable and well trained people are necessary to realize those tasks.

Ladies and Gentlemen, these are only a few topics which we should deal with. As a beginning I only wanted to draw your attention to the issues that we tackle here and which I discuss while being invited to different countries on different continents, the issues that almost everyone agrees with but on which the discussion is insufficient. This, consequently leads to crisis situations.

All crisis situations can be foreseen. They only stem from the fact that we are badly organized for this era and we have the wrong programmes. It is best illustrated by the example of the bank crisis. It seems to be a prerequisite that bank activities were regulated globally and with global liability. Since, whoever undermines the trust of a bank no matter where it is located, spreading untrue information

and speculations, will ruin the bank in a different place and trigger a crisis. This is another proof for my idea to decide on dangerous topics which need global perspective and global protection.

I hope that our generation managed not only to end the malfunctioning system in a sophisticated way but with our experience is now able to organize and suggest better structures, better programmes. Then, we will gain appreciation not only for victories, not only for destruction but also for building something new. Until now I participated in destruction – and I think it is now time for me to take part in something different. I was excellent, but in destruction. I would like to have my part in creating a wise Europe – peaceful, safe and prosperous.

If we manage – which I believe is possible – to build quickly the united states of Europe consisting of all the countries, then we will have to rush to create a federation with the USA and invite China to participate in a serious dialog. If we do not do this, China will not talk exclusively either with Europe nor with the USA; but with Europe and the USA – yes. I am a friend of China, but when I look at the present situation I am afraid that the future generation, along with the whole of Europe, will be absorbed by China. What is more, it will be done in a democratic way through referendum... Numbers take their advantage...

Please, take part in the discussion. The discussion on the past and on the future. I am obliged to participate in the discussion on the past because I played a part in some significant processes, protests, I had to take decisions and support the decisions of others. The consequences of the latter ones are still noticed today and will be still visible in the future. This is why I have to explain why they were such and not different ones. But today I feel appreciated – as you hear, my obituary will be so long with all the prizes and honors. I also feel obliged to talk about the things that should be done today – what is possible and what is impossible.

Thank you for your attention. I invite you to the discussion, where we can together find interesting topics to avoid monologs; because, of course if you are not tired, I am ready to continue my monolog for at least an hour. However a monolog, naturally – does not have to be interesting...

## **Discussion with President Lech Wałęsa in the National Defence University:**

Moderators:

Retired Col. Prof. Jacek Pawłowski, the representative of the academic staff

Col. Mieczysław Malec, the representative of military students

Piotr Kłos, the representative of civil students

### **Prof. Jacek Pawłowski:**

Mr. President, at the beginning of the 1990s you were taking strategic decisions which had a huge influence on the security of Poland. One of them concerned leading the Russian Army out of Poland. How do you judge that decision from the perspective of the time passed, taking into consideration the fact that some of us present here were born at that time. Please, be so kind and share with us your memories and thoughts connected with that period of time.

### **President Lech Wałęsa:**

I was extremely lucky. And maybe it was because I presented common arguments. Not the theoretical ones because I did not study. Due to that my arguments could not be rejected, because the person who would dare to do it would have to say: 'No, because no.' This is also the reason why the talks were so difficult. But I was 100% devoted to the case, I was not afraid of the obstacles. At the same time Yeltsin was a person who was open to easy, common arguments. I explained to him that it did not matter that they had their soldiers and military equipment and vehicles in Poland, after all in the face of danger every second would not work. I said that they would not be able to do anything. It was a time of technology and not of a stagnant army. I also added that they had all the cities in Poland occupied by Soviets and I explained that it was surely not their intention to take single soldiers from units for years. I suggested a different solution: choosing one of the most comfortable bases. I told them that they had worked hard in Poland for 50 years, so they should choose the best base and I would change the rest into factories,

places of economic development. He accepted such documents one by one and I was making another step forward. Later there was some struggle, they wanted to change the bases into something weird. I remembered a base in Szczecin, so I said: 'Mr. President, look, they want us to make concrete blocks there. Do you know what a concrete block is? It is something made of sand with the size of 50 cm by 25 cm. And do you know that there is no sand? It is necessary to transport the sand from a place 200 km away, and every second day to dig a well because a lot of water is needed, too. Obviously, the concrete blocks would be more expensive than if they were made of gold. You know what? Let's write something different in our agreement. The cooperation between Poland and Russia would be twenty times bigger than the wise men had written in the agreement, because it would be chosen by the economy and professional people, and not imposed by theory.'

I was in a tragic situation because when I was leaving Poland, I asked all important people to give me a chance for concluding a good agreement with Russia and with Yeltsin. Because my role was in fact to sign the agreement and not to negotiate, but I was aware that the agreement prepared earlier was terrible for Poland. I begged Geremek and the prime minister Olszewski. I said to the prime minister: 'I will definitely not sign the agreement because it is not a good one, I will surely bring a better one, just let me do it'. He did not say anything. When the talks started I found my solution. I prayed in a chapel for the whole night, we took with us the painting of the Mother of God and we prayed how to start the negotiations in a situation when they had been closed: we only were to sign it. I managed to do it. And at that moment I received a cryptogram from Olszewski in which the prime minister forbade me to sign anything. It was my personal drama because I knew at that moment how to do it! And I said: 'Has Yeltsin already seen it? Because it is important. If he has read it, we are in trouble.' Yeltsin said several times that if I had problems with the government, we should go for a drink or go hunting, and let them lead negotiations. I think the negotiations would last up to now and we would have never got rid of the Russian Army.

The trick was to take by them surprise, settle, withdraw and everything would be possible. As you know, when I was going to Russia to sign the agreement there were some claims, whereas everything was done in a very simple common-sense way, although maybe not diplomatic. And the rest – passing and making the order – was not done by me but by other groups. We did it, we were lucky that there

was Yeltsin. Now I have pangs of conscience because with Yeltsin I could have achieved more in the Polish-Russian relationship. But I left it for the second terms of my presidency. I was unlucky that I did not have a chance to do it and my programme was stopped halfway. Half was realized and the second half was left for the next presidency. Then I did not have the possibility to finish it and due to that there was a change. Kwaśniewski already had a different plan concerning the issue and everything was stopped, and we failed to achieve more...

**Prof. Jacek Pawłowski:**

We have recently heard so much from professor Brzeziński, and in particular Georg Friedman who very clearly describes his stand concerning the future of the Republic of Poland in this place, in Europe, in the light of the changing American strategy. It reminds us, the Poles, where we are and how we should find ourselves in the situation. Mr. President, what is your opinion, on this topic?

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

My opinion is known because I have been expressing it clearly for a long time. This is how I see it: until the end of the 20th century, especially in Europe, we generally had small needs – have something to eat, a place to live, get dresses, we were people attached to land, and this land was the most important. This is why we were moving borders, fighting for land and the basic needs. With the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century we entered the age of Internet, information and globalization. In the meantime we changed from an average person into consumers. Nowadays we spend more on technology, intellectual products, than on food and other needs. In this era the whole nation could be eliminated because they were a kind of an obstacle, because they occupied some place, just like in the case of the first people. And today every customer, no matter who it is should be treated with proper respect. Customers are valuable because they buy the effects of our work. Today I have heard that the Poles buy more Mercedes cars than the Germans, so are we more and more valuable for the world? It is not profitable for anyone to make us weaker. Fighting in the old style is possible only in places which are not developed, where people are still land-bound. The higher level of civilization the less probable it is to fight in this way. But this is the begging of a new era, the

era of loosening the attachment to land. Still we need to order the basic issues and structures and our way of thinking. That's why we need to stay alert, waiting for the moment when everyone understands it. Fighting in the old style is not profitable and in the future it will disappear. We are doomed for peace in this part of the world since we are consumers, and none of us can be ignored. Of course in this new arrangement there is a place for well prepared structures and military forces to guarantee security and order. The more advanced the technology, the more people are needed to provide security, protection, logistic solutions and transport. New democratic and civilizational structures are placed on new tracks which can lead to dangers of a new type.

This is how I perceive the developments, especially in Europe. Of course it is possible to have some local dispute, like being involved in a brawl. However after that we will have to come back to the things suggested today, so the only aftermath of a fight would be bruises and unnecessary losses since we will still have to return on the path which is set by our development. We should be happy because of the fact that we can notice a peaceful development of the world. It is tragic that in Europe after the disappearance of formal borders we have different social conditions, taxes, etc. While we should keep in mind and follow the example of the road traffic. Look – in the whole world, definitely in Europe – everyone of us can drive their own car. Why? Because cars are very similar and road regulations are very alike so we can drive without any problems. And if we want to 'move around' different topics we should take the example of road regulations and it will also be possible. Somebody might say that we cannot afford such clarification and unification. Thus, we should make a list of the things we can afford, what will be tomorrow, the day after, let every resident of Europe see what we are doing, where we are heading for, and what it will look like when we achieve it. And today we know nothing, neither the goal nor the reason. Instead of thinking that the interest of Europe is the most important, every country wants to get the most for themselves. This is not how it should be. It is impossible to build peace, development and prosperity on this ground. Only unity and solidarity are the best answers to the changes in global attitudes and political direction of the world powers. Only such a Europe can be taken into account by the world.

### **Mieczysław Malec:**

Mr. President I would like to refer to the second question made by you... I would like to emphasize that I do not intend to find the answer but I will try to add emphasis to your question by another one. You have formulated a thesis that we cannot avoid revolution, it is only a matter of time. While on the international scene, but also in our country, there is an ongoing discussion on the size of the armed forces. In Poland it is enough to say that during your presidency we had about 350 thousand soldiers. Today we have about 120 thousand i.e. a reduction by 70%. But on the other hand we observe a significant improvement when it comes to the quality, up-to-date equipment, the level of education and training, the newest effective structures, professionalization, percentage professionalization, lack of conscripts, I will stop the enumeration of the advantages at that point. My question to you as the former head of the armed forces is the following: is there any bottom limit of the armed forces reduction which cannot be exceeded in the search for quality? If so, how would you formulate a such limit?

### **President Lech Wałęsa:**

I would ask a different question: what are the dangers which demand such an organizational structure? If in the period of time mentioned by you the Army was so numerous it means that the situation was different. I always give this example, probably heard by you, about my father who in 1945 returned from a camp, so exhausted that he soon died. If I had a chance to talk with him and tell him: dad, do you know that there are no borders in Europe? Do you know that there are no soldiers between Germany and Poland? I would not be able to finish. He would probably have a heart attack. It is hard to believe that this kind of danger existing for such a long time could be eliminated in the whole Europe! Thus, we still have to define the dangers and prepare adjusted forms of protection. You are experts in this field. I said that the Army and the forces can be increased in numbers, only other up-to-date topics must be added. Thus, military forces were, are and will be in the future, but they should correspond with different challenges at different periods of time. In the future the Army will have totally new tasks, other than those now, because there will be totally new hazards. So, I will not answer your question on the dangers for Poland today, dangers which required military

support and protection. Definitely, we do not need old cars which are difficult to start... Today we need technology adjusted to the dangers.

**Mieczysław Malec:**

There is a discussion on the international scene concerning the future character of the Armed Forces. Should they have a purely defensive character, or the character which is the response to the alliance requirements and the so called alliance reliability. What is your opinion?

**President L. Wałęsa:**

If I were to answer this and many other questions I should be awarded another Nobel prize. It is impossible not only for me but also for many of us even much better sited to answer such a question. We must still observe and introduce changes taking into consideration our membership in NATO structures. They are such because now we follow the old regulations, set for the Warsaw Pact with some amendments. Thus, we have to reorganize it first, only then can we find the places and topics which should be safeguarded not only for Poland, but generally for Europe. We have not done it yet, so be more active in making the record of dangers and ways of solving them with the participation of Poland. If I had something to say I would organize it like this. I believe that this initiative leads there.

**Piotr Kłos:**

Do you have some vision, a cure for the crisis of values, democracy, the crisis of civil society?

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

As I have already said today, everywhere in the world its fifty-fifty. Half of the people say: freedom to everyone, we are all free, and it must be our right. Then, everyone of us can organize themselves as they wish: 'across and lengthwise', they can assume anything. Additionally, we have free market and law regulations and



courts have to keep everything in order. There is also an opposite concept saying that nothing can be build this way. It is only a matter of time to face obstacles, cunning, demagoguery, populism. It is all doomed to collapse. The rich will not yield to the poor, and generally it is no use to count on solidarity, since this is the real face of the world today. Due to that you have to agree on the values for you and for the development. Conscience is much cheaper and more hermetical. Of course at the beginning it will be difficult. But if for example a politician will backslide and we will be able to prove it, then he and his family members will not be able to take part in elections for at least 20 years. Today we can equip every politician with a chip asking them if they want to be politicians. If yes, then their every second of life, who they sleep with and what they do is recorded on this very small but capacious memory drive. Of course I will not watch them, but I will check them and they should keep in mind that if they are caught red handed then they and their families can forget about politics for the next 20 years. When the election comes we can choose proper data that we need and the computer shows us who is who. It is already possible today. We cannot watch the politicians all the time, we cannot prove they did anything and here everything is clearly visible. If we follow this path, in 30 or 50 years' time, we will have developed a person of conscience who is aware from the earliest years that it is not allowed and not profitable to break the rules. Our generation must make this chance. Either we will follow the first route... which looks nice but I am convinced even today that we will be deceived, cheated, robbed. It is impossible to avoid it. I believe in the concept based on values. And it does not mean that we have to go to church every day. It is about the application of rules which will bring us justice, wisdom which can be proved – because everything can be checked and proved. I believe in this concept, but we have to discuss everything and agree on it. This is the only way to achieve it. No matter who would suggest this solution they would not listen to them. We must try to achieve it, we must give those examples: look what is happening, how they cheat, it is impossible! We choose a decent person and he or she turns out to be worse after the elections... In my opinion we do not have any choice. Let's take this technology, which is already good enough, to help us overcome the dangers.

**Piotr Kłos:**

My second question will also refer to a vision but the one from the past... You had a vision, you postponed it for the second term of your presidency. What kind of vision was it? I would like you to share this with us.

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

Ladies and Gentlemen my tragedy resulted from the fact that I could not say aloud what I was doing and what I was heading for, because the outcome would not be positive. Until that day nobody believed me that I did not want to be the president, really. I did not want to, maybe you believe me. It clashed with me as a revolutionist and union member. But when I looked at the effects of the Round Table negotiations it was obvious that we were on the losing side. Democracy is or is not. Just as it is impossible to be a little pregnant it is not possible to be a little democratic. So this compromise was defective. I am fearful thinking how it would be if I did not decide to become the president. You know that today I meet General Jaruzelski just like any other human being, in a Christian manner, I do not blame him, but for him as the president it would be not honorable to leave the Warsaw Pact and turn to the West. Morally I did not feel good with the fact that I had to breach the decision of the Round Table negotiations, but I had to do something to gain full democracy. What is more, doing it I had to pretend that it was my ambition. I was mad with my colleagues who were disturbing me but if they were not doing it probably I would not survive, if I told them what I was doing to end with communism. Could I say it? It seemed to be necessary. I had a similar situation in many issues – I had to do something and pretend that I did not know what it was all about. It is very difficult. So I was predestined to play such a part and I must say that I played it as well as I could, and I think not so badly... We are a fully democratic country. And it was my vision.

**Professor Jacek Pawłowski:**

Mr. President, thank you. It was a form of a warm-up, now I would like to give the floor to the audience. Please feel free to ask questions.

**Gen. Stachowiak:**

A retired General, Mr. President...

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

Me, too. Corporal.

**Gen. Mieczysław Stachowiak:**

I am the first generation in my family who did not take part in a war. But I also have a memory of World War II and earlier conflicts which split the nation. Part of the society was perceived as ours and part as not. Mr. President, you say that we should reach some compromise on an international scale... If we are not able to do it in our own country, how is it possible to do it internationally? And something recent: President Obama won the elections but the opponent does not feel defeated, he congratulates the President, will pray for him and wishes all the best for the country. Mr. President, do you have a recipe of how to develop a unity?

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

As you know, I myself did not shake hands but tripped them up, so I did the things that I should not. But our reality is a little bit different. We use methods which are not used there. They have been learning democracy for ages, there is equality, every person has the same chance. While in Poland it is different. Let us take as the example my conflict with Kwaśniewski, which was so visible during the famous TV debate. The election staffs agreed that everybody comes to the TV studio, and the current president comes last. He, as you remember was late on purpose, as we know today, and he threw to me, the president, some file. He treated me as a servant boy, so being a person who reacts immediately I said: 'listen, you have not even said hello and when the cameras are on you shake hands with me?' I should not have done it, but I am a simple man thus my reaction influenced the result of the elections, because people having no knowledge about the details of the situation said that I did not know how to behave correctly.

Today it is very difficult for me not to lose my temper when I see that things do not go according to a plan. Why is it so? I am sure that you know that we were betrayed in 1939 and in 1945 and that we are still torn apart by others. Until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century we cursed our location between Germany and Russia because it was terrible, on the bullet track. Today we also spot some problems. Even the case of the plane remaining in Smoleńsk... Keeping it there for such a long time is obviously a game, this provides the opponents with arguments of different type. It is true that our neighbours are changing gradually their previous habits, but they still play with us, deceive us, use the old divisions. So, if this arguments are not used any more, we will not differ from others. Now, logically if this type of fighting will not take place and nobody will suggest this kind of solution, our location will be blessed – it is the closest, the most comfortable option here. We will regain many things which are already possessed by other nations because it was build in different reality. Thus, everything, even the bad things that are observed today, will be eliminated or reduced. Everything indicates that we will bless our location and possibilities, we will do good business, because this place makes it possible. Of course, we lack some of the things possessed by other countries, due to the fact that summer lasts not longer than three months it is not probable to earn on summer tourism. How can people sunbathe when the temperature is minus twenty? We have to take into consideration all the things given to us by God and use it wisely, multiply it. Let's make use of our conditions, history and make profit on this ground.

**Prof. Jacek Pawłowski:**

Thank you very much... colonel Marszałek, the floor is yours...

**President L. Wałęsa:**

Already a colonel?

**Col. Marszałek:**

Unfortunately, this is dissonance but I hope that someday in the future it will be possible to make up for it.

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

I can guarantee that, when I become the president.

**Col. Marszałek:**

Thank you, I will give my vote to you together with my whole family. Mr. President, today we have talked a lot about the EU and NATO, but we should remember the difficult time when we were not a member of either EU nor NATO, the Warsaw Pact was destroyed and you were the president. Did you sleep well? Did you have scenarios: what would I do, how would I do it if it turned out that it was time to protect the borders of our country? Did you take into consideration such scenarios? Did you have solutions ready to use?

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

Of course, I took such alternatives into consideration, but it was nothing to worry about because we were in such a hopeless situation. But what I was counting on? We had the Pope! Simultaneously, the USSR were undergoing changes – Brezhnev, Andropov, Chernenko, Gorbachev. Each of them destabilized the system. What is more, the one who came next to power looked around and notice that the previous colleague was already dead. Each subsequent one said that there was no use taking risks, he was afraid to take decisions. We managed to take advantage of this all. We were really lucky. Of course, as a very religious person I believe that we were coming to the end of a two thousand year period of Christianity and we were given a gift from God, I am not obsessed believe me, it was Pope John Paul II who woke us up and encouraged us to take action, the rest was done by ourselves. It was a dangerous time so we could not afford to be too courageous and quarrelsome, nor to get on the Soviet's nerves, watch out for provocation. When it come to courage, at the beginning everyone is afraid, everyone, I do not believe that there is anybody who is not. And the longer you are an activist, the less afraid you are. Finally you notice that your fear is of no use. If they have plans to destroy you, they will do it. It does not matter if you are good or bad, there is nothing that can protect you. You were too naughty to get away with that. Thus, you act not thinking about it. What helps me is also the faith. I am sinful, very sinful but I take religion very seriously. At moments of difficulty I said: Dear

God, I have done everything, The Mother of God, Queen of Poland I have done everything, it is time to go to bed, everything is in Your hands. Everyone was surprised and said: here it is so dangerous and he falls asleep. Atheists said: 'of course he has somebody to blame', the religious ones said that it was good that I believed and I would get God's help. I accepted it all. We can talk about great luck. Very important things took place, we were united. No matter where we were the spirit of freedom and patriotism was in us. As a result we were able to take wise decisions. Today we do not observe it because of the ongoing big discussion. Exactly the three questions... But very little depends on us, more on Brussels. The discussion is carried out on substitute areas, because it is not possible on the others. One wants to be more patriotic, wiser than the other, and this results in such behaviour. When we manage to organize Europe, and it is likely, Poland will change a lot. All the behaviour that we complain about will be gone because we will talk on the proper topics and not the substitute one.

**Piotr Gawliczek:**

Mr. President, I have realized that you are the first Nobel prize-winner that has visited the National Defence University. We were witnesses to very important events here but this is the first time that such a respectable and dignified guest is present here. If you were a one person council awarding the Nobel Prize, who would be honored to receive it from you Mr. President?

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

There is not such an answer because today there are many masters but in different areas. It is impossible to indicated one. I know that the Nobel Prize in my case was a form of saying thank you for a beautiful peaceful fight and at the same time kind of an incentive for taking further steps. Because it was a perfect time for the award! Our ship was weak at that time, our sails were dropping down and the Nobel Prize was like a blow of wind for the sails. It made me immortal because there are many electricians, leaders as well, but an electrician and a leader of a union, moreover a Nobel Prize-winner, it is something big, I deserved some respect. It is hard to enumerate the wonderful wise people operating in the background that I have met in my life. And how many of the people on top positions who should not be

there? I have wondered how they managed to get on the top since they should not be there, they were not good enough, they must have used some weapon or something like that to help themselves, otherwise they could not be there.

Thus, I would have to think deeply who should get the prize and where: in China, or maybe Belarus. I believe that the Nobel Prize should go to president Szuszkiewicz, they dissolved the USSR. And if you want to know how exactly it looked like then ask, it is worth listening. Ask how many glasses were broken there, how the information was passed to Gorbachev, how he dropped the receiver when he heard that at night they had dissolved the USSR. I have many people whom I would give the Nobel Prize if I had such a chance, but I would have to know more about them and some proof that I am not mistaken. And so far, every year, I award a prize of my own name to those who are people of merit for peace and freedom. The judges in this case take to consider even several dozen of candidates...

**Mr. Flis:**

Mr. President, my name is Flis, also retired. During your speech you said that you have a feeling, and as it is visible your intuition has usually been perfect, that the present system will not last up to the end of this century. During the numerous meetings, have you found a supporter of this way of thinking who, as you, believes that it is falling apart and that the process would be even enforced in time?

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

Ladies and Gentlemen, all the protests in Africa, and even the anti-bank ones in the USA, if you listen carefully is directed against capitalism. The only comfort is that this is not against free market, private ownership – this is not questioned by the protesters. Thus, such injustice is not acceptable. It is impossible that some people have money and the others not. I have been in Kuwait, there were also protests. I have got acquainted with some sheikhs and I told them: 'gentlemen, sooner or later they will destroy your system.' It happened that someone screamed 'so,' led them to the palaces, they got in, tore everything off the walls, stole what was possible to take and damaged the rest and walked away. The owners seeing this all escaped in their cars or planes and have never come back. This is what masses of people do, people who are furious, hungry, those who see gold. For that reason I say: listen to

old Wałęsa because the system will not survive, I think you see it. Communism took everything from the capitalists and that was a mistake. I suggest a different system: all that you have in excess please give for the creation of new places of work. To give people work. Please do not tell me that there is no work. There is no work in the old theory with the rat race, when one country wants to prevail over the other, one wants to dominate the other. In this concept there is no work. Because today we do not want any rat race, let's reject those who favour races, let's leave them aside, they will manage. All new programmes and any new solutions should be created for the average people and for those who were left behind in the old system – to put it briefly, for the losers. What should be done to force them to work? The rich should think about it, since the money will be taken away from them. I do not take it away from you, I only ask to gather the money together and build new places of work. After all, you are experts in this field. Good work can be organized not by the unionist, not by the politicians but only by the owners of capital goods. If we do not do it today, a day will come when they will take it by force and chase you away. I thought that I was understood by the majority, but now I am not sure what they are doing. Maybe they are waiting for next revolution...

Someone might say that there is no work. I would say that even if the population was twice as much, there is so much work, that still we will not be able to do it all even for the next one hundred years. Look at our cities, even Warsaw, every ten meters there is a red light. It is impossible to live here because everything was build on the basis of different rules, we wanted to live as close to work as possible so we extended the cities by force. Today the Italians are building one hundred cities which are collision-free and ecological. Everyone can leave a city, there are no traffic jams, and this all is due to the fact that there is under- and over- access, not a direct one. So the cities build on the ground in line with the previous concept must be destroyed and new ones must be build to match the present and future time and only history should be left untouched. There is so much work here! Someone might say that we do not have money. This is true. Do we have money for unemployment? We have to pay for that. If we focus on work everyone will make profit out of it. But only in the peaceful way, and not in the rivalry which we have observed up to now. Now they say 'let's unite Europe, fast'. So, do we want to compete with China, with anyone? For about twenty years I have said: let's create the Unite States of all the European countries as fast as possible, let's have a federation with the USA, let's invite China into discussion on



the future image of globalization. It should not be done against China, not in war. Globalization is only possible through a compromise. Thus, it is necessary to talk about it, to provide arguments. The world with this generation, the technology, intellect is able to enter the road we are talking about.

**Rector-Commander:**

Ladies and Gentlemen, I know that you would like to ask many more questions but this is the beauty of a lecture, there is always the feeling of insufficiency. And we are left with this feeling since Mr. President goes back to Gdańsk today.

**President Lech Wałęsa:**

Let me add two more sentences, ladies and gentlemen. I would like to finish with a request... As I have said, no other generation had such a chance, but this requires your participation. Do not say: they will manage without me during elections, it is only one vote. No, ladies and gentlemen, there are moments in the history of nations which are decisive and we are in such a moment. We decide here about the image of Poland, about our position, about the image of Europe, the face of globalization. We need here the participation of wise patriots. Bring here the opponents, let them tell you about their way of thinking, their vision in order to be able to choose wisely. Tomorrow our grandchildren will say: dad, grandpa, you have been so smart and what have you done? To avoid this, please participate in the process, I strongly believe that being hardened by war we are able to change the world in accordance with a certain programme and structure. This is what the world is waiting for.

**Rector-Commander:**

Mr. President, the Great Pole, Nobel Prize-winner, you are not only awarded Honoris Causa at many universities, you are honored to receive different titles, orders, medals, because Poland, Europe and the world know your name – Lech Wałęsa – today a symbolic one. Today you receive one more title – the chapter of Rectors, Deans and Commanders of the Training Centres of the National Defence University has decided to award you with the title of the Man of Great Knowledge, Honour and Wonderful Heart.