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**OTHER NATIONS**

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*Down but  
Not Out*

"Poland's Eternal Return" by Martin Malia, in *The New York Review of Books* (Sept. 29, 1983), Subscription Service Dept., P.O. Box 940, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737.

Among many Westerners, the December 1981 outlawing of the independent trade union Solidarity by General Wojciech Jaruzelski's Soviet-backed regime raised fears that Poland will never be Poland. A look at Solidarity in the context of the nation's history, suggests Martin Malia, a Berkeley professor of Russian history, is more encouraging.

Poland has lived under the yoke, in one form or another, since 1717, when Peter the Great made it a satellite of Tsarist Russia. In 1772, Catherine the Great bought off hostile Prussia and Austria by ceding Polish land to them. Poland ceased to exist in 1795, when the three powers partitioned its remaining territory. After World War I, the Treaty of Versailles brought to life a new republic under Socialist Józef Piłsudski, but it soon fell to the Germans as World War II began; at war's end, Poland entered once again into the Russian orbit.

Despite centuries of foreign domination, the Poles have never lost their will to resist. Violent rebellions punctuate their history, beginning in 1794, and recurring in 1830, 1846-48, 1863, 1905, 1945, 1956, 1968, and the present day. Malia asserts that a distinctive Polish identity has endured because Poland is "less a place than a moral community, an idea or an act of faith."

Since A.D. 966, when the Poles, fearing absorption by the German Holy Roman Empire, turned directly to Rome for baptism, the Church has been instrumental in preserving this Polish "act of faith." After the 1772 partition, the Church became "the focus of society's resistance to alien and despotic state power." During the 1950s, primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński responded to Stalinist repression by proclaiming that "the true Poland lived by Christianity, not Marxism." Today, under the spiritual leadership of Polish-born Pope John Paul II, weekly attendance at Polish churches is up from a usual 65 percent to 95 percent.

Solidarity is one more manifestation of Poland's "eternal return." Pessimistic Westerners, cautions Malia, should remember that the Poles are "playing [not] to win, but only not to lose absolutely."

*The Method in  
Qaddafi's Madness*

"Qaddafi's North African Design" by Oye Ogunbadejo, in *International Security* (Summer 1983), The MIT Press (Journals), Cambridge, Mass. 02142.

Libya's Mu'ammār al-Qaddafi may well be a violent revolutionary, a Soviet pawn, or a madman. But the dictator's seemingly bizarre actions may also have some underlying rationale, argues Ogunbadejo, a