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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

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political scientist at Nigeria's University of Ife.

Qaddafi's ideological principles, outlined in his *Green Book*, justify Libya's adventurism in the name of Arab-Islamic unity. He rejects capitalism as exploitative and communism as godless, and he regards today's individual Arab nations as relics of Western colonialism. Many of Qaddafi's aggressive moves since coming to power in 1969—backing coup attempts and rebellions in Niger, Upper Volta, Gambia, Ghana, and, most recently, Chad—can be seen in part as attempts to aid Muslim minorities in these countries and to build a Greater Islamic State.

The search for new energy resources also plays a role in Qaddafi's foreign ventures. While Libya (pop. three million) remains one of the world's major oil suppliers and has, as a result, the highest per capita annual income in Africa (\$6,800), its wells could begin running dry in as little as 10–15 years. Already, the drop in world oil prices has forced Tripoli to curtail some domestic development projects.

Moreover, Qaddafi's adventures abroad divert attention from domestic troubles. While most Libyans live comfortably thanks to the nation's oil revenues, opposition to the dictator's iron rule is considerable. In 1980, more than 2,000 Libyans were arrested for political "crimes," and 800 were executed. Over the years, Qaddafi has quashed several attempted army coups.

While the Libyan leader has close ties to Moscow—he supported its 1979 invasion of Afghanistan—it would be a mistake, warns Ogunbadejo, to view him purely as a Soviet proxy. The Soviets have sold him a \$13 billion arsenal of advanced weapons, too much for Libya's tiny 55,000-man army. Half the arms remain in packing crates or lie in the desert. Moscow has no wish to alienate Qaddafi's neighbors (Chad, Egypt, Niger) by urging him to pursue his grand designs.

What should the United States do? The downing of two Libyan jet fighters over the Gulf of Sidra in 1981 by U.S. Navy interceptors, Ogunbadejo says, merely stirred up anti-Americanism among Qaddafi's neighbors. Rather than confront the Libyan dictator directly, Washington should help those neighbors ease the poverty that makes them ripe for Libyan-backed domestic subversion.

An Unlikely Japanese Hero

"Japan's Crusader Against Bureaucratic Waste" by Ezra Vogel, in *Asia* (Sept.-Oct. 1983), P.O. Box 1308-A, Fort Lee, N.J. 07024.

What would you get if you rolled Lee Iacocca, Abraham Lincoln, and Ronald Reagan all into one? If you asked the average Japanese, he might answer: Toshio Doko.

The 86-year-old Doko is the pre-eminent critic of Japanese affluence and Big Government, reports Vogel, author of *Japan as Number One* (1979). His life story—the subject last year of a Japanese television documentary—is a legend among his countrymen. Born a peasant, trained as an engineer, Doko rose through the ranks to become president of the