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## Poland's Fledgling Parties

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SOLIDARITY is the most dramatic new player in Poland's government, but there are others on the horizon. Fledgling parties - not yet formally allowed, but semi-officially recognized - are evolving. They are destined to play an important role in the continuing power shifts of Polish politics.

Some of the burgeoning political parties draw on leaders and groups that spring from Solidarity or the older opposition movement. Two new doctrines revived under martial law - Christian-democratic and liberal - have been influential in a nation searching for solutions to its current political and economic problems. These have steadily gained acceptance within Solidarity, the Communist Party, the Roman Catholic Church, and throughout society.

Several Christian-democratic groups formed out of long-standing establishments and alliances have been gaining momentum. One of them, Dziekania (pronounced Jeh-kan-yah), a loose political and ideological coalition, combines a conservative and nationalistic orientation with a classical-liberal economic tradition. The organization encourages unprecedented cooperation among people with differing orientation. It owes its broad support to some influential authorities and factions of the church.

The "liberal" movement has been on the rise since the early 1980s, when some activists, many of whom were associated with the opposition, pushed for economic reform as an alternative to the then-impossible political reform. Liberals urge reform of the economy through unregulated market forces and seek legal limitations on the state. New groups have sprung up and won legalization with the express purpose of promoting the liberal ideas of a free-market economy and private ownership.

One of the most influential is Towarzystwo Gospodarcze (the Economic Association), founded by Aleksander Paszynski, just named minister of housing. He was deputy editor-in-chief of the influential weekly Polityka, from which he resigned in protest after the declaration of martial law. It encompasses a wide range of sentiments - from the establishmentarian-turned-oppositionist Mr. Paszynski, through absolutist liberals, to such Solidarity activists as Gabriel Janowski, organizer of the Independent Union of Private Farmers.

Composed of pragmatic politicians and private entrepreneurs, the association seeks hands-on remedies for its members. It provides tax advice to private businesses, which under the latest regulations are easy to form but still face taxation of up to 80 percent. Another influential economic lobbying group is the Krakow-based Towarzystwo Przemyslowe (the Industrial Society). One of its prime movers, Tadeusz Syryjczyk, was just named minister of industry.

Like the Economic Association, the Industrial Society operates as a consulting firm, but it is more devoted to the

discussion of ideas. The society is composed not only of private entrepreneurs but also of philosophers and theologians who draw on such proponents of social and economic individualism as F.von Hayek and Milton Friedman. The organization prides itself on sponsoring seminars for entrepreneurs that mix Christian-democratic ideologies with recommendations for transforming the country's outmoded and impoverished industry.

The economic lobbying groups, like many of the new political groups, do not state their goals in explicitly political terms (and may not aspire to become political parties). But their activities cannot escape political implications, even under the new Solidarity government.

The story of Housing Minister Paszynski, initiator of the the Economic Association, is a case in point. The group's membership cuts across the polarized we/they divisions of Solidarity vs. the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski that characterized martial-law Poland. The organization had been seeking registration for two years. Then, last October then-Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski offered Paszynski a cabinet-level position in the communist government. Paszynski declined the offer and the next week published an article in an illegal newspaper explaining why he believed he would not be able to work effectively in Rakowski's government. Upon Paszynski's return from a brief business trip to West Germany the following week, Polish authorities strip-searched him at the border, which seemed to indicate they had put him in his place. But then, several days later, the government registered the Economic Association. The event was announced enthusiastically, and Paszynski appeared on the state-run news broadcast.

Thus, after two years and two unsuccessful tries at registration, the group was finally allowed to register in the antagonistic political climate. That the government tolerated the group was a sign of how desperately the authorities needed to find a middle ground.

Like the Economic Association, an important characteristic of some of the new political groups is that they cut across party lines and old allegiances, creating new alliances between previously opposed factions.

The fledgling groups not only play within the world of government and party politics, but within the political arena of Solidarity and the Catholic Church. While many of the voluntary groups arose out of efforts quite independent from Solidarity and the church, these two major organizations - as well as the Communist Party - can bolster semi-autonomous organizational efforts. For example, the church provides Dziekania with resources and a certain legitimacy. Many political groups have also been the breeding ground for Solidarity leaders. That group organizers like Paszynski and Mr. Syrczyk were chosen by the Solidarity prime minister to be in the Cabinet stem partly from their stature as organizers of independent associations and from their status as cutting-edge opinion makers. This no doubt enhances their political base of support within Solidarity and the opposition, as well as on the outside.

The emerging political parties offer new solutions, energy, and diversity to a weary Poland. Yet what they are saying is not as significant as the fact that they are speaking at all, and with official tolerance.

After years of frustration and deadlock, Polish society is authentically engaged in an enterprise to bring about sorely needed economic and political change. These fledgling political parties are sure to become major players in Polish politics.

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**GRAPHIC:** PHOTO: no caption, NEAL MENSCHER - STAFF