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NEWS

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This special issue is devoted to the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Lech Walesa, president of NSZZ "Solidarnosc". The prize, presented in Oslo on 10 December, was accepted on Walesa's behalf by his wife, Danuta and their eldest son, Bogdan. We reproduce below Walesa's two speeches prepared for the occasion. The first one was read by Mrs. Walesa during the award ceremony; the second was read by Bogdan Cywinski at a public Nobel Peace Prize lecture on the following day. Also included, is the speech delivered by the Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, Egil Aarvik.

YOUR MAJESTY, Honorable Representatives of the Norwegian People: Your are aware of the reasons why I could not come to your Capital city and receive personally this distinguished Prize. On that solemn day, my place is among those with whom I have grown and to whom I belong - the workers of Gdansk.

Let my words convey to you the joy and the never extinguished hope of the millions of my brothers - the millions of working people in factories and offices, associated in the union whose name expresses one of the noblest aspirations of humanity. Today all of them, like my self, feel greatly honoured by the Prize.

With deep sorrow I think of those who paid with their lives for the loyalty to "Solidarnosc"; of thosewho are behind prison bars and who are victims of repressions. I think of all those with whom I have travelled the same road and with whom I share the trials and tribulations of our time.

For the first time a Pole has been awarded a prize which Alfred Nobel founded for activities towards bringing the nations of the world closer together.

The most ardent hopes of my compatriots are linked with this idea - in spite of the violence, cruelty and brutality which characterize the conflicts splitting the present-day world.

We desire peace - and that is why we have never resorted to physical force. We crave for justice - and that is why we are so persistent in the struggle for our rights. We seek freedom of convictions - and that is why we have never attempted to enslave man's conscience nor shall we ever attempt to do so.

We are fighting for the right of the working people to association and for the dignity of human labour. We respect the dingity and the rights of every man and every nation. The path to a brighter future of the world leads through honest reconciliation of the conflicting interests and not through hatred and bloodshed. To follow that path means to enhance the moral power of the all-embracing idea of human solidarity.

I feel happy and proud that over the past few years this idea has been so closely connected with the name of my homeland.

In 1905, when Poland did not appear on the map of Europe, Henryk Sienkiewicz said when receiving the Nobel Prize for literature: "She was pronounced dead - yet here is a proof that she lives on; She was declared uncapable to think and to work - and here is proof to the contrary; She was pronounced defeated - and here is proof that She is victorious."

Today, nobody claims that Poland is dead. But the words have acquired a new meaning.

May I express to you - the illustrious representatives of the Norwegian people - my most profound gratitude for confirming the vitality and strength of our idea by awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to the chairman of "Solidarnosc".

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Addressing you, as the winner of the 1983 Nobel Peace Prize, is a Polish worker from the Gdansk Shipyard, one of the founders of the independent trade union movement in Poland. It would be the simplest thing for me to say that I am not worthy of that great distinction. Yet, when I recall the hour when the news of the prize spread throughout my country, the hour of rising emotions and universal joy of the people who felt that they have a moral and spiritual share in the award, I am obligated to say that I regard it as a sign of recognition that the movement to which I gave all my strength has served well the community of men.

I accept the award with my deepest respects for its meaning and significance, and, at the same time, I am conscious that the honour is bestowed not on me personally, but upon "Solidarnosc", upon the people and the ideas for which we have fought and shall continue to do so in the spirit of peace and justice. And there is nothing I desire more than that the granting of the award should help the cause of peace and justice in my country and the world over.

My first words which I address to you, and through you to all people, are those which I have known since my childhood days: Peace to men of good will - all and everywhere, in the North and South, East and West.

I belong to a nation which over the past centuries has experienced many hardships and reverses. The world reacted with silence or with mere sympathy when Polish frontiers were crossed by invading armies and the sovereign state had to succumb to brutal force. Our national history has so often filled us with bitterness and the feeling of helplessness. But this was, above all, a great lesson in hope. Thanking you for the award I would like, first of all, to express my gratitude and my belief that it serves to enhance the Polish hope. The hope of the nation which throughout the 19th Century had not for a moment reconciled itself with the loss of independence, and fighting for its own freedom, fought at the same time for the freedom of other nations. The hope whose elations and downfalls during the past forty years - i.e. the span of my own life - have been marked by the memorable and dramatic dates: 1944, 1956, 1970, 1976, 1980.

And if I permit myself at this juncture and on this occasion to mention my own life, it is because I believe that the prize has been granted to me as to one of many.

My youth passed at the time of the country's reconstruction from the ruins and ashes of the war in which my nation never bowed to the enemy paying the highest price in the struggle. I belong to the generation of workers who, born in the villages and hamlets of rural Poland, had the opportunity to acquire education and find employment in industry, becoming in the course conscious of their rights and

importance in society. Those were the years of awakening aspirations of workers and peasants, but also years of many wrongs, degradations and lost illusions. I was barely 13 years old when, in June 1956, the desperate struggle of the workers of Poznan for bread and freedom was suppressed in blood. Thirteen also was the boy - Romek Strzalkowski - who was killed in the struggle. It was the "Solidarnosc" union which 25 years later demanded that tribute be paid to his memory. In December 1970 when the workers' protest demonstrations engulfed the towns of the Baltic coast, I was a worker in the Gdansk Shipyard and one of the organizers of the strikes. The memory of my fellow-workers who then lost their lives, the bitter memory of violence and despair has become for me a lesson never to be forgotten.

Few years later, in June 1976, the strike of the workers at Ursus and Radom was a new experience which not only strengthened my belief in the justness of the working people's demands and aspirations, but has also indicated the urgent need for their solidarity. This conviction brought me, in the summer of 1978, to the Free Trade Unions - formed by a group of courageous and dedicated people who came out in the defence of workers' rights and dignity. In July and August 1980, a wave of strikes has swept throughout Poland. The issue at stake was then something much bigger than only material conditions of existnece. My road of life has, at the time of the struggle, brought me back to the shipyard in Gdansk. The whole country has joined forces with the workers of Gdansk and Szczecin. The agreements of Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie were eventually signed and the "Solidarnosc" union has thus come into being.

The great Polish strikes, of which I have just spoken, were events of a special nature. Their character was determined on the one hand by the menacing circumstances in which they were held and, on the other, by their objectives. The Polish workers who participated in the strike actions, in fact represented the nation.

When I recall my own path of life, I cannot but speak of the violence, hatred and lies. A lesson drawn from such experiences, however, was that we can effectively oppose violence only if we ourselves do not resort to it.

In the brief history of those eventful years, the Gdansk Agreement stands out as a great charter of the rights of the working people which nothing can ever destroy. Lying at the root of the social agreements of 1980 are the courage, sense of responsibility, and the solidarity of the working people. Both sides have then recognised that an accord must be reached if bloodshed is to be prevented. The agreement then signed has been and shall remain the model and the only method to follow, the only one that gives a chance of finding a middle course between the use of force and a hopeless struggle. Our firm conviction that ours is a just cause and that we must find a peaceful way to attain our goals gave us the strength and the awareness of the limits beyond which we must not go. What until then seemed impossible to achieve has become a fact of life. We have won the right to association in trade unions independent from the authorities, founded and shaped by the working people themselves.

Our union - "Solidarnosc" - has grown into a powerful movement for social and moral liberation. The people freed from the bondage of fear and apathy, called for reforms and improvements. We fought a difficult struggle for our existence. That was and still is a great opportunity for the whole country. I think that it marked also the road to be taken by the authorities, if they thought of a state governed in co-operation and participation of all citizens. "Solidarnosc", as a trade union movement, did not reach for power, nor did it turn against the established constitutional order. During the 15 months of "Solidarnosc's" legal existence nobody was killed or wounded as a result of its activities. Our movement expanded by leaps and bounds. But we were compelled to conduct an uninterrupted struggle for our rights and freedom of activity while at the same time imposing upon ourselves unavoidable self-limitations. The programme of our movement stems from the fundamental moral laws and order. The sole and basic source of our strength is the solidarity of workers, peasants and intelligensia, the solidarity of the nation, the solidarity of people who seek to live in dignity, truth, and in harmony with their conscience.

Let the veil of silence fall presently over what happened afterwards. Silence, too, can speak out.

One thing, however, must be said here and now on this solemn occasion: the Polish people have not been subjugated nor have they chosen the road of violence and fratricidal bloodshed.

We shall not yield to violence. We shall not be deprived of union freedoms. We shall never agree with sending people to prison for their convictions. The gates of prisons must be thrown open and persons sentenced for defending union and civic rights must be set free. The announced trials of eleven leading members of our movement must never be held. All those already sentenced or still awaiting trials for their union activities or their convictions - should return to their homes and be allowed to live and work in their country.

The defence of our rights and our dignity, as well as efforts never to let ourselves to be overcome by the feeling of hatred - this is the road we have chosen.

The Polish experience, which the Nobel Peace Prize has put into limelight, has been a difficult, a dramatic one. Yet, I believe that it looks to the future. The things that have taken place in human conscience and re-shaped human attitudes cannot be obliterated or destroyed. They exist and will remain.

We are the heirs of those national aspirations thanks to which our people could never be made into an inert mass with no will of their own. We want to live with the belief that law means law and justice means justice, that our toil has a meaning and is not wasted, that our culture grows and develops in freedom.

As a nation we have the right to decide our own affairs, to mould our own future. This does not pose any danger to anybody. Our nation is fully aware of the responsibility for its own fate in the complicated situation of the contemporary world.

Despite everything that has been going on in my country during the past two years, I am still convinced that we have no alternative but to come to an agreement and that the difficult problems which Poland is now facing can be resolved only through a real dialogue between state authorities and the people.

During his latest visit to the land of his fathers, Pope John Paul II had this to say on this point:

"Why do the working people in Poland - and everywhere else for that matter - have the right to such a dialogue? It is because the working man is not a mere tool of production, but he is the subject which throughout the process of production takes precedence over capital. By the fact of his labour, man becomes the true master of his workshop, of the process of labour, of the fruits of his toil and of their distribution. He is also ready for sacrifices if he feels that he is a real partner and has a say in the just division of what has been produced by common effort."

It is, however, precisely this feeling that we lack. It is hardly possible to build anything if frustration, bitterness and a mood of helplessness prevail. He who once became aware of the power of solidarity and who breathed the air of freedom will not be crushed. Dialogue is possible and we have the right to it. The wall raised by the course of events must not become an unsurmountable obstacle. My most ardent desire is that my country will recapture its historic opportunity for a peaceful evolution and that Poland will prove to the world that even the

most complex situations can be solved by a dialogue and not by force.

We are ready for dialogue. We are also prepared, at any time, to put our reasons and demands to the judgement of the people. We have no doubts as to what verdict would be returned.

I think that all nations of the world have the right to life in dignity. I believe that, sooner or later, the rights of individuals, of families, and of entire communities will be respected in every corner of the world. Respect for civic and human rights in Poland and for our national identity is in the best interest of all Europe. For, in the interest of Europe is a peaceful Poland, and the aspirations to freedom will never be stifled. The dialogue in Poland is the only way to achieving internal peace and that is why it is also an indispensable element of peace in Europe.

I realize that the strivings of the Polish people gave rise and still do so, to the feelings of understanding and solidarity all over the world. Allow me from this place to express my most profound thanks to all those who help Poland and the Poles. May I also voice my desire that our wish for dialogue and for the respect of human rights in Poland should be strengthened by a positive thought. My country is in the grips of a major economic crisis. This is causing dramatic consequences for the very existence of Polish families. A permanent economic crisis in Poland ought to be helped and deserves help.

I am looking at the present-day world with the eyes of a worker - a worker who belongs to a nation so tragically experienced by the war. I most sincerely wish that the world in which we live be free from the threat of a nuclear holocaust and from the ruinous arms race. It is my cherished desire that peace not be separated from freedom which is the right of every nation. This I desire and for this I pray.

In many parts of the world, the people are searching for a solution which would link the two basic values: peace and justice. The two are like bread and salt for mankind. Every nation and every community have the inalienable right to these values. No conflicts can be resolved without doing everything possible to follow that road. Our times require that these aspirations which exist the world over must be recognized.

Our efforts and harsh experiences have revealed to the world the value of human solidarity. Accepting this honourable distinction I am thinking of those with whom I am linked by the spirit of solidarity:
- first of all, of those who in the struggle for workers' and civic rights in my country paid the highest price - the price of life;
- of my friends who paid for the defence of "Solidarnosc" with the loss of freedom, who were sentenced to prison terms or are awaiting trial;
- of my countrymen who saw in the "Solidarnosc" movement the fulfilment of their aspirations as workers and citizens, who are subjected to humiliations and ready for sacrifices, who have learnt to link courage with wisdom and who persist in loyalty to the cause we have embarked upon;
- of all those who are struggling throughout the world for workers' and union rights, for the dignity of the working man, for human rights.

Inscribed on the monument erected at the entrance to the Gdansk Shipyard in memory of those who died in December 1970 are the words of the Psalm: "The Lord will give power to His people, the Lord will give His people the blessing of peace."

Let these words be our message of brotherhood and hope.

SPEECH DELIVERED BY EGIL AARVIK, chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee.

"Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."

Thus begins the text of the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights, a declaration which, with its definition of the concept of peace, forms the basis of the Norwegian Nobel Committee's decision to award this year's Peace Prize to the Polish trade union leader, Lech Walesa.

The campaign for human rights is, necessarily, an inseparable part of the struggle for peace. The selection of a Peace Prize winner on these grounds is not new: laureates such as the South African, Albert Luthuli, Martin Luther King from the U.S.A., Andrei Sakharov from the U.S.S.R. and the Argentinian, Adolfo Perez Esquivel received their awards on just these grounds. The Committee believes that this year's prize winner can justly take his place among this gathering of campaigners for human rights.

Consideration of the question of human rights raises the well known problem: "Why does humanity advance so slowly?" It has, however, become more generally recognised that a peace which is won and defended through the violation of human rights, is a peace which neither can nor ought to be permanent.

The present generation has perhaps learned this in a way no previous generation experienced. Military occupation and foreign domination, together with the associated evils of physical and mental terror, have led more and more people to understand the great truth - that "freedom and life are one". Peace is created where people live and breathe in freedom, and where one does as one would be done by.

We can assume that such thoughts lie behind the United Nation's Declaration of Human Rights - which the world community has adopted as the basis for peaceful coexistence between peoples and nations. For the Norwegian Nobel Committee it was a natural development to consider the Peace Prize in the light of this declaration. Through the presentation of this year's award the Committee once again draws the attention of the world community to its own definition of the concept of peace. It follows from this that the Committee's deliberations and decisions are necessarily independent of national and political boundaries. The guidelines given to the Committee in Alfred Nobel's will stipulate that the presentation of the Peace Prize is the responsibility of the Committee alone, and cannot be influenced by outside forces. Thus the Nobel Peace Prize can never be more - or less - than a hand stretched out to individuals or groups who give expression to the longing for peace and freedom felt by all the peoples of the world, wherever they live. We believe that it is in the spirit of Alfred Nobel's legacy that the Peace Prize should be a gesture of solidarity with those who, in the service of peace, campaign for humanity's highest ideals.

Human dignity is an important concept in this connection. The phrase has two central connotations: firstly, that the dignity of humanity is inviolable, and, secondly, that each and every human being has the same, everlasting value. A natural corollary of thesis is that we all have a common duty to defend human dignity. All thoughts of solidarity - even the command to love one another - have their foundation here. Human dignity is humanity's shared possession, a possession which we all have both a part in and a responsibility for. We are bound together in a common lot which makes it impossible for us to be unaffected by the fate of others. Another Nobel prize winner Ernest Hemingway, opens one of his novels with a famous quotation from the English poet John Donne which illustrates this point with an almost shocking clarity:

"No man is an island, intire of its selfe; every man is a piece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a clod bee washed away by the sea, Europe is the lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were; as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were; any mans death diminishes me, because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee."

This is the way in which we ought to experience

humanity's oneness. "Any man's death diminishes me." Every brother being in chains is my shame. Every longing for freedom which is suppressed, every human right which is violated is a personal defeat for me - because we are united in human kind and share one another's fate.

Up from this ideal of human oneness this year's prize winner has raised a burning torch, a shining name, the name of Solidarity. He has lifted the torch unarmed; the word, the spirit and the thought of freedom and human rights were his weapons. And, as is so often the case, the struggle involved great personal sacrifice, even though the object was something as simple as the workers' right to establish their own organisations. This is a right which, again, is confirmed in the world community's declaration of human rights.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee has evaluated Lech Walesa's contribution in this field as being of essential importance in the campaign to establish the universal freedom of organisation in all countries. It is in just this context that the name "Solidarnosc" has its deepest and most wide ranging meaning. Lech Walesa's contribution is more than a domestic Polish concern: the solidarity for which he is spokesman is an expression of precisely the concept of being at one with humanity; therefore he belongs to us all. The world has heard his voice and understood his message; the Nobel Peace Prize is merely a confirmation of this.

Lech Walesa has made the name "Solidarnosc" more than an expression of the unity of a group campaigning for special interests. Solidarity has come to represent the determination to resolve conflicts and obliterate disagreement through peaceful negotiation, where all involved meet with a mutual respect for one another's integrity.

Conflicts and disagreements can be various, and can lead to many different reactions. Those involved will inevitably be faced with complicated decisions. This was the situation one August day in 1980, when Lech Walesa climbed over the steel fence of the Lenin ship yards in Gdansk, took the microphone and at a stroke became the leader of Polish solidarity. He was faced with overwhelming difficulties; the choice of strategy was not easy. The goal was clear enough: the workers' right to organise and the right to negotiate with the country's officials on the workers' social and economic situation. But which of the many available paths would lead him to this goal?

This is not the occasion to evaluate the political situation Lech Walesa found himself in. Suffice it to say that it was difficult. More interesting to us now is the fact that Walesa's chosen strategy was that of peace and negotiation. And, as always in such situations, the willingness to negotiate implied the willingness to compromise - here because it was obvious that the opponent was also fighting adverse conditions, both economic and political. Solidarity came to represent, as a result of a mobilisation of the national will - the so called "Polish social opposition", the possibility of a solidarity of opinion in the whole nation. This was not an opposition which involved the use of physical power. Rather, it was a question of a spiritual or intellectual power which, because of its universal acceptance in the populace, would permeate the system and dissolve conflicts from within.

By following this peaceful course, without resorting to violence, Solidarity became a rapidly expanding movement. The courage which Lech Walesa showed in stepping forward openly and unarmed was overwhelmingly rewarded by the millions of Polish workers and farmers who joined him in his struggle.

Thus, in awarding the Peace Prize to Lech Walesa today, the Committee wishes it not only to be seen as a token of respect, but also as an expression of gratitude for the peaceful courage he showed when choosing his course.

That Walesa and the movement he leads are in keeping with the highest of human ideals is confirmed not least by the close connections which have existed between Solidarity and the Polish church. This interdependence is based not on common political interests, but rather on an ideological unity in the perception of human value and human rights.

It has not escaped the Commitee's notice that the Polish church, which is a popular church in a way that few European churches are, has been so consistent in its support of Lech Walesa; this has given Solidarity an invaluable moral strength. One has great expectations of the role the church can come to play in Polish society given its standing among the people.

As outsiders we are particularly aware of the way in which Solidarity - also through its attachment to the church - has shown its willingness for peace and reconciliation. We have seen them gather in their tens of thousands in and around the churches in prayer for their land and cause. We have seen them water with their tears the wreaths of the victims of the fight for freedom. And we have understood that their unarmed battle is a battle they fight not only for their own sake, but also for all liberty-loving people the world over.

It is in this perspective that the Norwegian Nobel Committee has seen Lech Walesa's contribution. The way he chose was the way of negotiation, peace and reconciliation.

In the world we live in it is shockingly clear that detente and the peaceful resolution of conflicts is more necessary than ever before. We have seen too much of what the brutal use of power can lead to. If history has taught us anything, it is that the use of violence and power can, in the long run, only mobilise the powers of death.

Unfortunately, we have also learned that the voice of history does not always tell of victory for humanity and peace. It is pertinent to ask whether idealistic and morally sound attitudes do, in fact, have any chance of success.

This question can, of course, also be raised in the case of Lech Walesa. True enough, it would be strange if the cause he represents did not succede, if only in the long run. He was not a political troublemaker: his concerns were rather the Polish workers' interests and current demands. But such demands are not always successful, even when they are justified as they are in Lech Walesa's case.

No, Lech Walesa raised no revolutionary banner, and espoused no other weapon than the peaceful strike weapon which is recognised by the world community. Neither did he claim support from the declarations of human rights emanating from the United Nations and the Helsinki agreement. He wished only to negotiate. Two things alone were of pressing interest: the workers' social conditions and their right to negotiate.

The background to this singlemindedness was the simple fact that these rights were not recognised. This had led to these outbreaks of universal bitterness on several occasions previously - in 1956, in 1970, and so again in 1980. All of these outbreaks were concerned with precisely these problems: social conditions, freedom of expression and the right to organise.

One can reasonably wonder why it should be so difficult to achieve recognition for such aims. Those who know but a little of the history of the international labour movement will be aware that such difficulties have always been present. It is still remarkable, however, that working peoples' elementary rights can be denied, irrespective of to which ideology or economic system the respective countries belong. One ought, perhaps, to be able to believe that there are boundaries behind which it is not necessary to campaign for workers' rights; such boundaries obviously don't exist.

It is clear that, although Lech Walesa primarily campaigned for elementary social rights without challenging the established power structure, his campaign had inevitable political and ideological overtones. His campaign was also necessarily a campaign for

human rights, and, as such, inevitably interpreted as an obstruction against the system by the political authorities.

As the political opposition to Solidarity grew, its own consciousness of standing for humanity and human rights became clearer. It became increasingly obvious that Lech Walesa's campaign for workers' rights was from the very beginning a contribution to the general campaign for human rights in the world. This connection was emphasised more and more - especially by intellectual groups within the movement, and also by the Polish church.

Campaigners for human rights, independent of where in the world they have lived and worked, have always had one common problem: How can the idealistic goal be realised when one is obliged, at the same time, to take into account the practical possibilities in the given situation. Is it wise to moderate demands and campaign for a step-by-step improvement?

This problem faced Lech Walesa. Was a cautious course - with the possibility of gaining some ground - the right one? Or should one risk - and stand to loose - everything? It is impossible to understand the Polish Solidarity movement without being aware of this problem.

A realistic evaluation of the existing situation would suggest that the best course was to aim for a combination of the existing one party government with a social pluralism which permitted the freedom to organise and negotiate - at any rate in the future. Such a solution was the first negotiating model.

We know now that even this moderate strategy failed. Solidarity is today a forbidden organisation. The negotiations and the strikes which were designed to emphasise the seriousness of the negotiations led to the state of emergency and the arrest and imprisonment of Lech Walesa.

And, even though the state of emergency is rescinded and Walesa is freed, his freedom is limited. His own evaluation of the situation has not permitted him to be present here today.

The Peace Prize laureate's seat is empty; it won't be his voice we hear. Let us therefore try even harder to listen to the silent speech from his empty place.

At the present time, Lech Walesa cannot be presented as a victor at the end of a struggle full of sacrifice. His chosen course was not as short and easy as that. And it could seem that the goals he set himself are just as distant still.

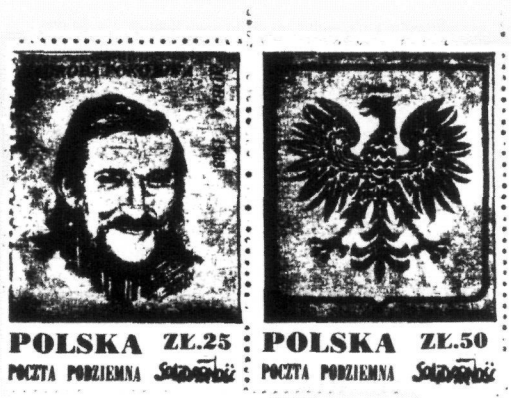
But is Lech Walesa really silent today? Is he completely without victory? Has his cause suffered defeat? Many are of the opinion that his voice has never been stronger and reached further than it does now. The electrician from Gdansk, the carpenter's son from the Vistula valley has managed to lift the banner of freedom and humanity so high that the whole world can once again see it. The power of his belief and vision is unweakened. His actions have become a chapter in the history of international labour, and the future will recognise his name among those who contributed to humanity's legacy of freedom. Once again the stone rejected by the builder has become a cornerstone; this time a cornerstone in the building of freedom and democracy which humanity, with varying degrees of success, is attempting to raise in our world.

It is in any case certain that Lech Walesa's efforts have an important message for our times. It is the Committee's opinion that he stands as an inspiration and a shining example to all those who, under different conditions, fight for freedom and humanity.

If, in a future which we hope is not too distant, there should again be attempted a compromise between the Polish authorities and the country's workers and farmers, Lech Walesa's participation will be both necessary and indispensable.

For he is a victor in the eyes of the ordinary worker or farm-labourer; he is a victor in the eyes of the people and their church. And he is one of the great spokesmen in the world today for the longing for freedom that can never be silenced.

Lech Walesa has made humanity bigger and more inviolable. His ambivalent good fortune is that he has won a victory which is not of this, our political, world. The presentation of the Peace Prize to him today is a homage to the power of victory which abides in one person's belief, in his vision and in his courage to follow his call.



Underground "Solidarnosc" postage stamps