



**The Funeral Ceremony
of the President
of the Republic of Poland
Lech Kaczyński
and the First Lady Maria Kaczyńska**



Arguments are never of equal importance but those who fight for freedom are right. The People's Republic of Poland was based on lies about Katyn and now the truth about Katyn constitutes the foundation of a free Poland.

Message from Lech Kaczyński, the late President of Poland,
with which he went to Katyn on 10th April 2010.



Programme for the Funeral Ceremony

Warsaw, 17th April 2010

12.00 – State ceremony at Plac Józefa Piłsudskiego to pay a last tribute to the late President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, his wife, Maria Kaczyńska, and other victims of the crash.

13.00 – Memorial mass at Plac Józefa Piłsudskiego celebrated by the Episcopate of Poland for the victims of the plane crash, presided over by an emissary of Pope Benedict XVI, Cardinal Angelo Sodano.

It will still be possible to pay one's respects to the late First Couple at the Presidential Palace until 15.00.

17.00 – Caskets of the President and the First Lady will leave the Presidential Palace on their journey to the Warsaw metropolitan church.

18.00 – Mass for the late President, Lech Kaczyński, and Maria Kaczyńska in Warsaw metropolitan church. The ceremony will be presided over by Archbishop Kazimierz Nycz, the Metropolitan Bishop of Warsaw. The homily will be delivered by Henryk Muszyński, the Primate of Poland.

After the Mass is over, an all-night vigil and praying will begin.

Warsaw, 18th April 2010

- 7.00 – The caskets of the late President, Lech Kaczyński, and his wife, Maria Kaczyńska, begin their journey to Okęcie military airport.
- 8.00 – The aircraft carrying the caskets of Lech Kaczyński and his wife departs for Balice Airport in Cracow.



Cracow, 18th April 2010

The caskets of the late President, Lech Kaczyński, and the First Lady will be transported from Balice Airport to St. Mary's Basilica in the Main Market Square.

- 10.00 – Ceremony involving transporting the caskets of the late President and his wife to St. Mary's Basilica.
- 14.00 – Requiem Mass in St. Mary's Basilica, presided over by an emissary of Pope Benedict XVI, Cardinal Angelo Sodano.
- 15.30 – Funeral procession begins its journey along ul. Grodzka to the Wawel Cathedral.
- 16.30-17.15 – Liturgical farewell to the late First Couple. The ceremony will be presided over by Cardinal Stanisław Dziwisz, the Metropolitan Bishop of Cracow.

Directly after the farewell ceremony the caskets of the late President, Lech Kaczyński, and his wife will be moved to the cathedral crypt and the bodies will subsequently be placed in their sarcophagus..

- 17.15-18.00 – Heads of groups of foreign emissaries extend their condolences to families of the First Couple and to the Polish state authorities in the courtyard of the Wawel Castle.

After the ceremony is over, the Wawel Cathedral and the crypt where the sarcophagus of the First Couple is located will be made available to other participants of the funeral



Lech Kaczyński

President of the Republic of Poland

Lech Kaczyński was born on 18 June 1949 in Warsaw. He was raised in a home with deep patriotic convictions. His father, Rajmund Kaczyński, a soldier of the Home Army, was awarded the Silver Cross of the Virtuti Militari for his participation in the Warsaw Uprising. His mother, Jadwiga Kaczyńska née Jasiewicz, was a nurse in the Grey Ranks during World War II.

In 1978 Lech Kaczyński married Maria, née Mackiewicz. Two years later their daughter Marta was born.

He graduated from the faculty of Law and Administration at the University of Warsaw. After graduation, in 1971 he moved to Sopot. He started work at the University of Gdańsk. He specialised in labour law – he defended his doctoral and habilitation theses. In the 1990s as a professor he lectured at the University of Gdańsk and at the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw.

He started opposition activities in 1976 after workers' strikes in Ursus and Radom. He started collaboration with the Workers' Defence Committee and later on he collaborated closely with the Free Trade Unions. He instructed workers on labour law and lectured on history. In 1980 he was an adviser to the strike leaders at the Gdańsk Shipyard; he was involved in the drafting of the August agreements. He was a co-founder and member of the authorities of "Solidarność".

He was interned during martial law and was released after nine months to immediately return to the fight for independence. He was a member of the underground authorities of "Solidarność". In 1989 he participated in the round table negotiations and in the June 1989 elections he won a mandate for senator.

In 1989–1991 he was a member of the top management of "Solidarność". As deputy chairman he was managing the Union when Lech Wałęsa was campaigning for the office of President of the Republic of Poland. In March 1991

he became a Minister of State in the Presidential Chancellery – supervising the National Security Bureau. In October 1991 he became a member of the First Term Parliament.

On 14 February 1992 he was elected President of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK). During his three years in office, he transformed the NIK into an effective body of State control with major popular trust.

On 12 June 2000 Prime Minister Jerzy Buzek nominated Lech Kaczyński to the post of Minister of Justice. He stayed in office for over a year. He fought crime effectively and became one of the most appreciated politicians in Poland.

In 2001 he was co-founder and the first chairman of the Law and Justice (PiS) political Party. In the same year, supported by PiS, he became a member of the Fourth Term Parliament.

On 18 November 2002 he was elected Mayor of the Capital City of Warsaw. He initiated effective actions to improve security in the city. On the 60th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, he opened the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising.

On 23 October 2005 Lech Kaczyński won the presidential election offering a program of a Poland of Solidarity. He assumed office as the President of the Republic of Poland on 23 December 2005 by taking an oath before the National Assembly. He wanted to make Poland a just state, free of social ills; a modern country, and strong internationally. Fighting for historic truth he was restoring pride from history among Poles. In all his public activities, he was guided by the ideas of freedom and democracy.

Lech Kaczyński died tragically on 10 April 2010 close to Smolensk. He died in office, on his way to Katyn where he was to pay homage to Polish officers murdered there.

He leaves a daughter, Marta and two granddaughters, Ewa and Martyna.

Maria Kaczyńska

First Lady

of the Republic of Poland

Maria Kaczyńska was born in Machów. She was the daughter of Lidia and Czesław Mackiewicz. She was raised in a patriotic family. Her father was a Home Army soldier in the Vilnius Region. One of her father's brothers was murdered in Katyn, another fought in the 2nd Polish Corps at Monte Cassino under the command of General Władysław Anders.

From the Vilnius Region, the Mackiewicz family was resettled to Człuchów. Maria Kaczyńska attended primary and secondary schools in Rabka Zdrój. She studied at the Faculty of Maritime Transport of the Higher School of Economics in Sopot (now the University of Gdańsk) and after graduating, worked at the Maritime Institute in Gdańsk.

In 1978 she married Lech Kaczyński. When their daughter Marta was born in 1980, she did not return to her professional career. She was occupied with bringing up their daughter, doing translations from English and French and giving private lessons. She supported her husband in his opposition activities.

As the First Lady she was involved in important social issues. She provided patronage to charity institutions. With her authority, she supported artistic circles, with a focus on national culture and tradition. She was involved in Poland's promotion worldwide; she tended to the good image of the country and Poles. As the First Lady she was respected worldwide and won the hearts of Poles.

Maria Kaczyńska accompanied her husband to the last moment. She died tragically on 10 April 2010 near Smolensk. She leaves a daughter, Marta and two granddaughters, Ewa and Martyna.

The President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński in the eyes of the world

It is with great sorrow that I learned about the tragic death of Mr Lech Kaczyński, President of Poland, his wife and the accompanying persons. They died on their way to Katyn, the place of the massacre of thousands of Polish officers, murdered 70 years ago. I commend them all to the merciful Lord of life.

Pope Benedict XVI



President Kaczyński was an outstanding statesman, he played a key role in the Solidarity movement; he was commonly admired in the USA as a leader devoted to progress, freedom and human dignity.

Barack Obama, President of the United States



Since I knew President Lech Kaczyński well, I knew he was a great Polish patriot who was fighting for his country's freedom and desired a democratic Poland in a stronger Europe. He was a man of great conviction and such people are needed in Europe.

José Manuel Barroso, President of the European Commission



He loved his country, he was a fighting European. His whole life was focused on the fight for the freedom of Poland and freedom of Europe.

Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany

Lech Kaczyński devoted his life to his country. A tireless defender of ideas, he always sacrificed for the fight for the values that led him to politics: democracy, freedom and opposition to totalitarianism.

Nicolas Sarkozy, President of France



Throughout his life, Lech Kaczyński was a true Polish patriot, an advocate of the principles on which our Alliance is based: freedom, democracy and solidarity. Lech Kaczyński was at the birth of Solidarność – a movement which played a key role to ending the cold war and contributed to abolishing communism in Poland – later, as President of Poland he played a role in transforming Poland into the strong ally that we know and respect.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Secretary General of NATO



President Kaczyński was a person who had an impact on Poland's contemporary political history – starting from his activities in the Solidarność movement through his long and outstanding career in public service, including the positions of Minister of Justice and Mayor of Warsaw, to the office of President of Poland. The world will mourn him and remember him as an ardent patriot and democrat.

Gordon Brown, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom



He really cared, he did not pretend, he was really concerned. One could like Lech Kaczyński or not, but he was unique. There was nothing artificial about him and he was a very good person. One cannot learn to be a good person – one either is or is not – Lech Kaczyński was a very good person.

Mikheil Saakashvili, President of Georgia

I and all citizens of the Russian Federation are deeply shaken by the terrible tragedy – the death of the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, his wife Maria and all the other Polish citizens who were on board the plane that crashed.

Dmitry Medvedev, President of the Russian Federation



The tragic death of the President of Poland, his wife and the other persons is a cruel event that shook me, shocked me, saddened and touched me personally. Lech Kaczyński was a great personality, a son of the Polish nation and an exceptional person. I lost a true friend.

Vaclav Klaus, President of the Czech Republic



I knew President Kaczyński as a great Polish patriot and a great friend of Israel. He made a great contribution to opening a new chapter in the relationship between Poles and Jews.

Benjamin Netanyahu, Prime Minister of Israel



This is a loss not only for Poland but for the whole world – especially for those who feel close to Poland. Poland and Hungary have enjoyed friendship for many centuries and now we deeply mourn the loss.

Gordon Bajnai, Prime Minister of Hungary

The President of Poland was a close friend of mine and a true friend of Lithuania and the Lithuanian nation. Ever since Lech Kaczyński became President of Poland, his frankness, integrity, ideals and specific actions was the driving force behind the intensifying dialogue and collaboration between our nations.

Dalia Grybauskaitė, President of Lithuania



President Kaczyński was a great friend of Ukraine and the tragic news inflicted pain on the hearts of all supporters of the European option, Ukrainian-Polish reconciliation and friendship. We know and we will always remember everything that President Kaczyński and his compatriots did to reinforce our strategic partnership, and to support the European and Euro-Atlantic aspirations of Ukraine.

Viktor Yushchenko, former President of Ukraine



I had a great respect for Lech Kaczyński – as a person and as a politician. Lech Kaczyński was a great man, an honest and principled politician, a patriot of his country.

Stanislau Shushkevich, former chairman of the Belarusian Parliament



I valued him as a great patriot, a man devoted to the cause of independence, whose political beliefs were deeply rooted in the fight for freedom, in the fight of the Warsaw Uprising and Solidarność. All those factors provided him with a deep conviction that independence was a supreme cause. This is what he should be and is appreciated for.

Zbigniew Brzeziński, former advisor to the US President

Excerpts from speeches delivered by the President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński



(...) The main task for me and for all who hold power in Poland is to meet people's expectations, not to disappoint their hopes and build a new shape of our lives. I am convinced that the purpose of the hope which is so deeply rooted in the minds of Polish people can be described with the words: justice, solidarity and integrity. The meanings of these words – in relation to social life and human relations – are linked. There is no justice without solidarity. There is no mechanism which would allow for the principle of solidarity to be implemented without integrity, in particular the integrity of those who make decisions affecting the lives of others.

Only based on such motivation, can the pursuit to ensure success for Poland's development and even greatness bring about reform in the Republic of Poland. This reform, honourable members of the High Assembly, is a specific task. It involves removing social ills from our lives and, primarily, dealing with crime, corruption and the relentless drive to pursue undue benefits which poisons our society, deforms its structure, promotes significant and unfounded social disparities, degenerates market institutions and, most importantly, degenerates the state apparatus and prevents the state from fulfilling its main tasks. These tasks involve ensuring national safety, personal safety of our citizens, basic social safety, health security, creating the basic premises for promoting the development of families and, finally, providing economic safety and the basic conditions for economic development.

I would like to stress that the state's obligations toward individuals and families must be performed with equal resolve in towns and rural areas. Poland is unit-

ed and all individuals should be given the opportunity to advance and develop. Some major disparities we see today must be removed. The same applies to disparities between the various regions. (...)

The events of the last three years, the growing resolve to combat evil, determination and moral resolve in the moment of death of our Pope, the memorable John Paul II, have given us hope. We must protect and sustain it. When discussing the moral sphere, I cannot omit another important issue. The nation, as a unity, is also built around tradition. It cannot be put in opposition to changes and the necessary modernisation of Poland. This contradiction is fabricated and such a way of thinking is harmful. Europe's most successful individuals were those who were able to combine modernisation and good tradition.

Our state's every action, our legislation, education and other areas of public life should follow this path.

Honourable Speakers, High Assembly! As the President of the Republic of Poland I shall do everything in my power not to disappoint the hopes for great positive change.

I will use my powers under the Constitution and other laws as well as powers which have been used scarcely in the past to encourage the governing elite to introduce the necessary changes, to denounce those who do harm, act against the public good and seek selfish benefits for particular groups of individuals or pursue self-interest. My only allegiance in these matters shall be to Poland. (...)

Today, my task is to do everything possible to ensure safety and a political and economic environment that is conducive to promoting the great transformation which Poland should pursue. Moreover, my task is to ensure that our relations with other states serve as a catalyst for change and strengthen our sense of value and allegiance to our Homeland.

To achieve this, national complexes must be cast aside and weaknesses overcome. We must combat the misguided tendency to imitate others when it comes to questionable and harmful practices and behaviours. If we want to be treated as a great European nation, we must have the will to become one. Before we demand respect from others, we must first show it ourselves. (...)

Warsaw, December 23, 2005



In these modern times patriotism cannot be promoted only by organising school events and military parades on national holidays. Education in patriotism must take into account modern Polish people's behaviours, their expectations and interests. A good example is the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising which was established when I was mayor of the capital. Within nearly two years of its existence, the museum was visited by hundreds of thousands of visitors from Poland and abroad. A significant portion of them were children and youth. The Museum's exhibition made the visitors aware of what true patriotism is. It is the responsibility for the generations to come, the state's future and remembrance of those who paid the highest price for our freedom.

Not only historic education but also civic education plays a major role in shaping patriotic attitudes. Young citizens must be aware that their participation in public life and the decisions they make at the ballot box affect their country's future. It is the responsibility of a democratic state to build this awareness. Just as there is no patriotism without remembrance of a country's past, there is no patriotism without taking responsibility for its future.

Interview for 'Rzeczpospolita' May 2, 2006



The Polish people is a community of generations – those living on Earth, here and now, those who left and those who will come in the future. The Polish contribution to the European Union, and its meaning for our future ought to be considered from such a perspective. (...)

The European Union is a more than 50-year-old community of freedom, democracy and peace between nations. It is a first in history, a completed project of replacing the principle of balance of power and competition with the principle of solidarity, so close to our hearts. Nonetheless, it ought to be borne in mind that a presence in the European Union involves also continuous care about our own interest. Not only is there nothing wrong with that, but it ought to be regarded as desired. Being in the European Union, we have to remember, however, that the most critical condition of its existence has

been an ability to achieve compromises between nations and states, to wisely and sagaciously balance one's arguments and an ability to combine very often opposing interests.

Warsaw, April 1, 2008



(...) Our army is in a period of transformation. Its end should be marked with the formation of a professional army. However, this can happen only if everything is prepared. Forming a professional army in line with the trends of contemporary Europe means forming a strong army. Not weaker but stronger than it is today. This must be the fundamental issue. We cannot economise on the army. The whole of society bears the costs of the army. The taxpayers bear the costs, but this is necessary. The last days have shown how necessary it is. In this matter, our country, our citizens, as ultimately everything falls on their shoulders, must make an effort. We must have forces worthy of a country of forty-million at the centre of Europe, characterised by a difficult geographic location. We have great allies but we also have to be able to defend ourselves. This is my fundamental message today to the Generals, to the Officers and to the Soldiers, as well as to those politicians who are currently directly responsible for the armed forces.

Warsaw, August 15, 2008



We are here to express our complete solidarity. We are the presidents of five countries: of Poland, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. We are here to fight. For the first time after a long period, our neighbours from the north and the east have shown the face that we have known for centuries. They believe that the nations around them ought to be under their authority. We say: no! This country is Russia. This country thinks that the distant times of the empire that met its downfall almost 20 years ago are returning. That domination will yet again reign in this region. But it will not. Those times are over once and for all. Not for twenty, thirty or fifty years! We all have become familiar with this domination, in the same or in different periods. It means disaster for the whole

of Europe. It means the destruction of human character, the imposition of a foreign system and a foreign language. But how is the situation today different from the one of years ago? Today we are here together. Today the world had to react, even if they were reluctant. And we are here to elicit an even stronger reaction from the world. Especially from the European Union and NATO. When I initiated this visit, some thought that presidents would be afraid. No one was afraid. Everyone came because Central Europe has brave leaders. And I would like to say this not only to you, I would like to say this to everyone from our European Union: that Central Europe, Georgia and our whole region will matter, that we are an entity. And we also know very well that today it is Georgia, tomorrow – Ukraine, the day after – the Baltic states and later it may be my country, Poland! We were fully convinced that membership in NATO and the Union would put an end to the Russian appetite. We have been proved wrong. But we are able to oppose it, provided that those values that are the foundation of Europe carry any meaning in practice. If they are to be meaningful, we need to be here, the whole of Europe needs to be here. There are four countries here that are NATO members. There is Ukraine, a large country. There is president Sarkozy, currently presiding over the European Council. But there ought to be twenty seven countries here. We believe that Europe will understand it and that it will be here, that it will understand your right to freedom and that it will understand also its own interest. That it will understand that without Georgia, Russia will restore its Empire, which is in no one's interest. This is why we are here.

Tbilisi, August 12, 2008



From the point of view of transit, consumer countries, such as my country, the purpose of the actions taken in 2006 was to increase diversification, or in fact to create diversification, since there had been none until then. We took significant steps forward in this matter. (...) Not only for the interest of such countries as Azerbaijan, Georgia, Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania, but also for the interest of the whole European Union and the whole world, which strives for oil prices to be predictable and for oil and gas to be objects of normal trade instead of tools

for political actions. (...) Like everyone in this room, so I hope, we of course also support the Nabucco project, we support projects connected with transfer through Greece and Turkey, but the Odessa-Brody-Plock-Gdańsk route is also very important to us. (...)

These are not plans for particular European countries. They actually serve the whole of Europe, the whole European Union and I think it would be very good if the European Union fully recognised it. (...)

Every such project is accompanied by problems but they should not obscure such a fundamental objective as Europe's energy independence. The condition for such independence is the economic and political independence of the countries that produce the means for generating energy, i.e. gas and oil. (...)

Baku, November 14, 2008



(...) Poland's contribution to the partition, or at least the territorial limitation, of Czechoslovakia of that time was not only a mistake, it was a sin. And we in Poland are able to admit to that sin and not seek excuses. To refrain from seeking excuses even if it was possible to seek them. Conclusions that reach our times must be drawn from Munich; one cannot yield to imperialism. One cannot yield to imperialism or subdue to neo-imperial tendencies. (...) A year after Munich, war broke out, preceded by a fact dated August 23, 1939, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. It was not only a non-aggression pact but also a pact on dividing influence in a large part of Europe. (...)

Katyn requires a moment's reflection. And not only because of the facts, which today are quite well known, but because of the reasons. Why tens of thousands of officers of the Polish police, Polish army, Border Protection Corps received such a sentence. It was an act of revenge, yes; it was supposed to be revenge for 1920, for the fact that Poland managed then to repulse the aggression. One can say – it was communism. No, in that case it was not communism, it was chauvinism. At that stage it was also incorporated in that system. (...)

An Iron Curtain fell on Europe. On the other side of the Curtain, not on the one where our country was, a period of reflection, reflection that bore fruit, began. The reflection resulted in a defence pact, the North Atlantic Treaty. (...) Yet, the

fathers of the uniting Europe did not limit their attempts to a defence pact. They also built the foundations for what is today known as the European Union. (...) Within this community, the balance of power principle was, at least to certain degree, replaced by a principle of cooperation. What were the conditions for this success? The first condition was a community of values such as freedom, democracy, pluralism. The second condition involved giving up imperial dreams and, at least partially, abandoning the sphere of influence principle. (...) This Europe that works together does not require scaffolding based on two countries; it requires comprehensive multidimensional collaboration. It also requires democracy, not only in relations between the state and its citizens but also between countries. Should this happen, one may say that we have fully learnt our lesson from the unimaginable tragedy, unimaginable atrocities of 1939-45.

Today, our journey to this is far from at an end. However, I would like to express my hope that we will manage to reach the end of this road, based on a world of values and based on truth. On truth, which sometimes hurts, but which must be revealed by both the victorious and the defeated. One cannot accept a principle that those who were defeated have to speak about matters that are worst to them and those who won do not. There is only one truth. Truth, according to us – Christians, free from enslavement, free and not humiliate, as long as it pertains to everyone.

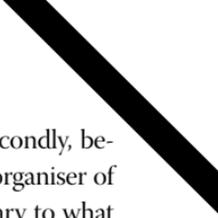
We, the Polish nation, have a right to learn the truth about matters tragic for our nation and we cannot give up this right. I firmly believe that Europe, the whole of Europe, is moving in this direction, in the direction of pluralism, freedom and democracy, and truth, even if the truth is very hard. Because, as I said a moment ago, we are able to admit to our sins.

Westerplatte, September 1, 2009



(...) A question arises: is it indeed so that the weaker the country the better it is, that the smaller the country the better for its citizens? I would like to present a general thesis that it is not true. Why?

Firstly, due to reasons whose nature is connected with ensuring basic values for



citizens. What are those values: safety, primarily personal safety. Secondly, because as time has shown, a state is on the whole the most effective organiser of social solidarity. (...) Thirdly, because the era we live in is not, contrary to what others have said, a post-political era. Around the world, a game on a great scale continues between particular countries represented by their states. They compete for influence, significance and access to particular assets. International relations, let me quote Bronislaw Geremek, “are still competitive, also inside the European Union. Those,” further quoting this deceased politician and academic, “who do not understand it, do not understand the present reality at all.” Therefore, our country also needs the state as an organisation that can act as an effective and active entity in the international sphere. And finally the most controversial issue, i.e. the state’s other than purely regulatory role in the economy. (...) The free market can function only when it acts within a determined legal framework. Otherwise it changes into chaos and violence starts to play an enormous part. (...)

Is what I am speaking about a concept of a modern state? Yes. Yes, it is a concept of a modern state but after years of experience of liberalism, triumphant since the beginning of 1980s. Because if someone thinks that they are modern because they represent a concept dating back twenty years, they try to implement it in an exemplary manner and pure models rarely work out well in practice, than their modernity is merely ostensible modernity. This modernity may indeed, in inverted comas, serve certain interests. There may be social groups for whom a state is unnecessary, is an obstacle to uncontrollable growth of their wealth. (...) For the great majority of Poles, the state is a value, which has additionally one more virtue. A virtue very rarely spoken of, i.e. the exertion of the citizens’ control, even though largely imperfect, over the state. The act of election is repeated, making it possible to establish authorities who are decision-makers. Whereas in other structures, where property reigns, this mechanism does not exist. And this is a fundamental difference. (...)

The State is a necessary institution. The State is a challenge, as it has been through rough times. Rough also in terms of the debate surrounding it and the opinions voiced. A modern state is not a state whose fundamental feature is powerlessness, as some attempt to claim. (...)

This all brings us to the significantly new challenge and necessity to develop the

ideology of a modern country. There have been attempts to form such ideology in the interwar period, but on a different realm. A question was asked then: state or nation? Today we are not facing such a problem. (...) There is another opposition. A state as a democratic institution controlled by its citizens that implements a certain set of goals versus a state whose fundamental virtue is weakness and powerlessness. However, this powerlessness always affects the strongest and the weaker social groups to different degrees. Today, our country continually demonstrates complete powerlessness with regard to those whose place in the social hierarchy is very high and who do not oppose the basic trends, i.e. appropriate thinking. And it continually turns out to be excessively strong with regard to those who themselves are weak. (...)

Warsaw, March 3, 2010



