

U.S. law, the McCarran-Walter Act, under which the procedure takes place is an infamous piece of McCarthyist legislation. Thus our notion that the denial of the privilege to enter the U.S. need not always call for the same rigor of proof and due process as the threat of punishment for a crime becomes tricky to explain. Then the question also becomes "proof of what?"

Austrians argue that what is at issue is whether Mr. Waldheim has actually committed war crimes, whereas U.S. law makes a rather indirect participant in war crimes eligible for exclusion. Austrians point to the welcome the U.S. extended to such human rights violators as Ferdinand Marcos and the Shah of Iran. Austrians will concede that there is anti-Semitism in Austria (as there is in virtually all of Europe, as well as the U.S.) and that it may have played a marginal role in the election of their president.

However, supporting the U.S. position is the fact that Waldheim is the first president of any country since WWII whose election has been overtly assisted by anti-Semitism, however marginal in this context, and that he did not disavow the support of those elements. These facts, on top of his decades-long fudging of his war record, led to the determination that Mr. Waldheim should not be allowed to enter the United States. However, the reasoning of the U.S. does not come across to the general public in Austria at all.

I should hasten to add, however, especially on the campuses, but probably in all walks of life, there are plenty of Austrians who are not at all sorry to see Mr. Waldheim and his supporters under pressure and who reject the view that the whole problem amounts to a conspiracy of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) and the foreign media. Still, of the Austrian public, 66% according to a Gallup Poll published in the magazine *Wochenpresse* April 24, 1987, do pick the WJC and foreign media as responsible for the negative image of Austria in world opinion.

On May 19 Mr. Waldheim made another speech on TV and expressed many of the conciliatory and regretful views which he

should have voiced at the outset and which some believe would then have squashed the problem. The reaction now is mainly that especially as this speech does not go very far, it is much too late to change anything, except to help defuse political strains which could threaten the delicate renewal of joint rule by the two major parties.

The new "great" coalition (i.e., of the Austrian People's Party [ÖVP] and the Socialists) in the Austrian government has found it difficult to get going on the promises made to the electorate in their marriage contract. Yet they found the nationalist overtones of the Waldheim affair convenient as a device to demonstrate unity: "We cannot but stand behind our elected president." Would Americans do otherwise? Stay tuned. □

A Letter from Warsaw

Gerald L. Houseman

Indiana University at Fort Wayne

May of 1987 was not a particularly good time to visit Warsaw. The University was closing down for the year. The weather was still cool and soggy, although the occasional winds helped with the problem of air pollution. And the Pope was coming, an event which put the regime on edge. It was counting upon the Pope's visit as a buttress for its legitimation, with photos of His Holiness and General Jaruzelski standing together for all to see. This hope now seems forlorn in the aftermath of the disturbances in Gdansk and other places.

But the Pope's visit, which I was not to experience, had consequences for the Warsaw visitor. My hotel informed me that I would have to vacate much earlier than expected because the space was needed for native visitors who would be

The author is grateful to the Polish Studies Center of Indiana University and the American Studies Center of Warsaw University for the opportunity to visit Warsaw and participate in a conference on European and American Constitutionalism.

coming. (As it happened, I had to leave early anyway because of illness.) More importantly, it meant that the government was intent upon a policy of rounding up potential protestors and trouble-makers. Round-ups and arrests were carried out in six cities during the last week of May, according to press reports, and I actually saw three *militisija* vans pick up a large number of people on the Nowy Swiat, a major Warsaw avenue, on May 25. I later asked an old Polish hand if there was any chance that this round-up, a frightening spectacle, could have involved nonpolitical arrests or matters. "Are you kidding?" was his reply. "Nothing in Poland is nonpolitical."

As anyone who has read this far can see, I am not an expert on Poland; indeed, I am not to be even remotely regarded as a well-qualified amateur observer. But I was impressed—or, in some cases, not impressed—by Warsaw in various ways that may be worth sharing. The political science profession, for example, seems to be coming into its own as a discipline respected for its independence. This has not been the case in the past, when Party considerations and strictures were paramount. The discipline as practiced would probably be characterized as predominantly "traditional" by American political scientists, since it is strongly allied with the study of law and is often given historical and narrative treatments.

The political science profession seems to be coming into its own as a discipline respected for its independence.

The atmosphere of Warsaw University seems free. Critics of the Polish Government were not shy about stating their objections to policies, administration, or even basic premises of the regime. This openness extended to public statements made at the Conference on European and American Constitutionalism.

Dissent was not confined within the walls of the University. It was seen, as one might expect, in graffiti sprayed on apartment house walls or playground

equipment. It was expressed in statements of cab drivers and hotel employees. And it was found in the Solidarity symbols which decorated the wreaths and memorials to the recently murdered Father Jerzy Popieluszko at Stanislawska Kosti, the church of his parish. A large banner in front of a church near the Old Town also protested this gross and grisly barbarism, and the case remains, as it should, a *cause celebre*.

The openness, friendliness and hospitality of the Polish people, academics or otherwise, was overwhelming in its sheer warmth and sincerity. This agreeable and delightful hospitality was not found,

The openness, friendliness and hospitality of the Polish people, academics or otherwise, was overwhelming in its sheer warmth and sincerity.

however, in the places run by bureaucratic types. The post offices, rail ticket counters, Orbis (state travel agency) representatives, and some shop employees can be said to fail in their basic purpose of supplying services and at times even in the maintenance of an acceptable level of manners. A language barrier can explain some of this, of course, but this appears to be the least of it when the same experiences and reports are shared by other Americans and Europeans making visits to the country, some of whom know the language.

One nearly comic event illustrates this indifference. In a post office line, I noticed that each person (finally including myself) was turned away as he or she came to the window marked open for service. I could not understand why each person gave up as they approached the window. The clerk, an officious woman, simply turned the "open" sign around for each person to reveal a sign which, according to my handy phrase book, told us she was on her break. She could have closed the window, of course, even though her "break" time did not accord with the announced time for breaks. So here were these people, all of them, step-

ping up to the window and hoping for service and then walking away, each in turn, in vain.

I looked for lines of people waiting for consumer goods, for I had been led to expect this as a common phenomenon. I saw very few of these lines except at post offices, the train station, and Orbis. I did see one line of elderly people in front of a chemist shop, and I supposed this was for some scarce drug item. There were some lines of consequence as well at the Pewex stores, hard currency shops where Western goods are available, and there were very long lines at the American and British embassies.

There are shortages, of course, and many shops are unable to offer very much. A

Elevators do not work, hot water is a sometime thing, electric power occasionally fails, and plaster falls from ceilings.

food store in central Warsaw late in the day may only have some jars of pickles or jam and a few wrinkled and awful-looking apples. There are also severe problems with the provision of housing and health care, problems which have been exacerbated by the current economic crisis. The revival of "most favored nation" status for purposes of trade with the U.S. and the *glasnost* initiatives inspired by Gorbachev are seen as the only silver linings on the dismal clouds of the economy. Very sadly, the state has also reported to that great and vain hope of the masses, a national lottery. First prize is a small Russian car; fourth prize is a washing machine.

The dismal state of the economy and the inefficiency in general can even affect the visitor. Elevators do not work, hot water is a sometime thing, electric power occasionally fails, and plaster falls from ceilings. These are the kinds of problems the visitor can ordinarily endure; much more oppressive are the city's architectural sameness and grimness—Warsaw had to be entirely rebuilt after World War II—and the ubiquitous military and police

presences. The truly unique areas of Warsaw—the Old Town, the "New Old Town," and the long "royal route" which follows the Nowy Swiat¹—are relatively small and constricted. It does not take a long time, therefore, to visit the most interesting parts of the city.

Rebuilding the city was a difficult and exacting enterprise, but finding its past, its heritage, is also a challenge. Does anti-Semitism still exist? I wondered, even though Poland, once more than a third Jewish, has fewer than 5,000 Jews today. The government sponsored an "anti-Zionist" campaign under Gomulka, and there were even pogroms as late as 1946 and 1947. In Lublin, the Jewish residents were asked to leave by townspeople in 1950. And, indeed, I saw "Juden Raus!" ("Jews out!") written across the top of an announcement of an exhibition of Jewish art. Warsaw still contains a synagogue near the old ghetto, a Jewish Institute museum, a Yiddish theatre, and of course the monuments at the Jewish Cemetery, at Mila 18, and in the heart of the former ghetto on Zamenhoff Street. A brief visit to Poland can yield no definitive conclusions; but recent literature suggests that reappraisals of Poland before and during the Holocaust are now being debated in the country.²

No city has been more devastated by World War II, and the scars remain everywhere.

No city has been more devastated by World War II, and the scars remain everywhere. Huge monuments are found in the parks, but one can find small monuments all over the city paying homage to this or that resistance group against the "Hitlerites," a term somehow preferred over "Nazis." It is quite amazing that Warsaw

¹At different places this street is also known as Ujazdowska and Krakowskie Przedmieście.

²See "An Interview with Czesław Miłosz," *Tikkun* 2:2 (1987), 36-42.

was rebuilt. The ghetto, of course, was not.³

³A short piece of fiction takes up this subject in an interesting way; see "My Warsaw" by Joyce Carol Oates in her collection, *Last Days: Stories* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984).

Editor's note: In a cooperative effort with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS), a version of the following article was written for CASS's Political Science Abroad and then made available to PS. We anticipate other joint publishing ventures with Political Science Abroad.

Politics and Political Science in the Netherlands

M. P. C. M. van Schendelen
Erasmus University Rotterdam

The Netherlands is a small country of about 15 million people, located in north-western Europe, almost directly sur-



M. P. C. M. van Schendelen

rounded by the three major countries of Western Europe, namely the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United Kingdom, and for around 50% of its national income dependent on international trade (general data source: CBS, yearly). In economic terms it belongs to the rich countries of the world. Private consumption is, in world-perspective, at an extremely high level. Since 1950 the number of people has grown by almost 50%. As of 1982 there live 347 people per square kilometer, more than anywhere else.

In this article both Dutch politics and Dutch political science are briefly introduced. References are only to English-language sources. Our two questions are: how do these 15 million people live together politically?; and what is the role Dutch political science plays in the society?

Dutch Politics

Increased Politicization. In the last three decades Dutch society has increasingly become affected by politics, i.e., by official political institutions, such as the government and the Parliament. In the early fifties about 30% of the national income was spent via the political system, mainly on public consumption and investment. By the early eighties about 70% of the national income was spent by the political system. This increase is mainly due to the rapid growth of public transfers and subsidies, principally in the fields of social welfare (income maintenance, education, social housing, and public health) and to the advantage of the lower-income groups; one-third of the national income is now being spent on this social welfare. Thirty years ago about nine percent of the total labor force was employed by the political system (civil servants and related groups such as

Marinus P. C. M. Van Schendelen (1944) is professor in political science at Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands. He published many books and numerous articles on Dutch politics, European politics, comparative parliaments, mass-elite linkages, and politics-business relationships.