



Chapter X

THE POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF 1989

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Get to know about Poland – Training Materials for Trainers and Teachers

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Cover photo: Original table displayed in Presidential Palace in Warsaw / Source: Wikimedia commons

1. WORKSHOP SCENARIO



AIMS

- To acquaint the participants with the example of peaceful political transformation which in Poland began in 1989.
- To teach political and social negotiations, develop team-working skills and decision-making abilities.



DURATION: 180 minutes.



PARTICIPANTS: 20 people.



TEACHING METHODS

- Demonstration methods – film.
- Expository methods – talk.
- Problem-focused methods – educational game.



TEACHING MATERIALS, AIDS AND WORK

- Computer and projector to display video.
- Elements of the game: board, negotiation cards, 2 dice.
- Educational materials printed for each participant.
- For variety, printed photographs and symbols concerning Polish political transformation may be hung in the room.

1. WORKSHOP SCENARIO

Plan of the workshop**1. INTRODUCTION**

The participants are informed that during the workshop they will play a game called "Round Table", which is a simulation of the negotiation process between the ruling party and the opposition during the Round Table Talks in Poland in 1989. The ruling party – Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, PZPR) and the opposition – "Solidarity" ("Solidarność") have to sit down and negotiate at the Round Table and divide power.

The workshop begins with the showing of an educational film entitled *Get to Know about Poland: The Political Transformation of 1989* and *Poland – 25 Years of Freedom (Auxiliary material no. 1)*. These movies are discussed together: the information contained therein as well as the visual material.

The participants have 5 minutes to think in pairs how the turn of 80s and 90s looked in various countries around the world, about the characteristics of political transformation and whether the changes after the collapse of the Soviet Union took place peacefully. These issues are to be summarised together.

Distribute among the participants educational materials (*Educational material no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6*) concerning the main issues of the game and invite them to read. You may also develop a multimedia presentation or instructional lecture.

**2. EXPLAINING AND CONDUCTING AN EXERCISE**

The participants are informed that the aim of the game is to negotiate at the Round Table a national agreement that will lead to a peaceful transformation towards the establishment of democracy. The aim of each group is to play the game so as to obtain the largest percentage of power, but at the same time prevent "Conflict in the country", as this could lead to civil war. The participants are presented with the game materials (*Auxiliary material no. 2*) and cards to the participants (*Auxiliary material no. 3*).

The participants are divided into 2 groups – PZPR consisting of 8 people and "Solidarity" of 12 people. Each group has its own pool for "Negotiation". There are "Obligatory" cards (which symbolise some historical political conditions that existed during the Round Table Talks in 1989) and "Optional" cards (which symbolise different elements of the state structures). These cards are an expression of the political will and ambition of each group, and sometimes adopt the role of currency and become legal tender. Each group would be well advised to become acquainted with the cards.

The groups roll the dice to decide who starts the game. Each group chooses which card they will put on the table. During the game, the groups put their "Negotiation" cards on the relevant fields of the Round Table, beginning with "Start" and moving up – the PZPR puts their cards on the left side and "Solidarity" on the right. Each group is only allowed to play 1 "Negotiation" card per turn. The cards are played in turns. Before playing the card, the group should think about their strategy – which departments are more important, which cards should be placed first (obligatory or optional). Having played the card, the group should briefly explain why the selected card is relevant to the division of power.

As the game progresses, the number of cards played on the Round Table increases. After crossing the first Danger Threshold, the negotiations between the ruling party and the opposition become more risky as 50% of the power has already been divided. During the second half of the game, each group will aim to gain as much control and as many departments as possible, which could result in a rash response from the opposing side.

I. WORKSHOP SCENARIO

Each “Negotiation” card played above the first Danger Threshold is accompanied by one roll of a six-sided dice. When a group crosses the second Danger Threshold, there should be two rolls of a dice. If any dice lands on 1, there is a “Conflict in the country” – social unrest caused by dissatisfaction over the progress of negotiations and the division of power. A “Conflict in the country” card is then placed on the table and neither group can add any cards until a truce between the parties has been reached. To boost the dynamics of the game, an additional number on the dice may be designated to result in a “Conflict in the country” (e.g. by rolling either a 1 or a 2).

A “Conflict in the country” can only be resolved by playing a “Truce” card. In order to eliminate a “Conflict in the country” one of the groups must decide to use its card. The groups then negotiate regarding who will use a “Truce” card first. When one of the groups uses the card, it is entitled to one of the “Optional” cards that the opposing group has already played on the Round Table. Which card the group who sacrificed its “Truce” card will ask for and what the opposing group will give in turn will be the subject of negotiations between the groups. The groups should consider their strategy for using their “Truce” card as it may help to acquire or lose a valuable card.

When both groups have already played their “Truce” cards to prevent the conflict, and a “Conflict in the country” reappears (dice shows 1 spot) on the Round Table, there is a “Last chance draw” between the two groups (in any manner). The group that wins, recovers the “Truce” card once again from the moderator and may use it according to the procedure described above. The “Last chance draw” can take place only once during the entire game, and the moderator, while returning the “Truce” card, should impose on the groups the requirement for additional negotiations for cards or set other terms and conditions.

If both groups have taken advantage of all the possibilities for using a “Truce” card and a “Conflict in the country” reappears on the board, the game ends and both groups lose. The game also ends when all fields of the Round Table are filled – then the whole nation wins their victory.



3. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

When the game finishes, the participants are asked to hold a group discussion about their progress, taking into consideration whether their tactics were effective, whether or not they were able to gain control over selected ministries or departments, the level of cooperation within the group, the difficulties they encountered, and the feelings experienced by the participants during the simulation of the talks. The participants are invited to share their opinions.



4. THE TIME FRAME OF THE WORKSHOP

Introduction to the topic and the presentation of films: 35 minutes.

Explaining the exercise and dividing into groups: 45 minutes.

Conducting the exercise: 70 minutes, including:

- Time for a trial game: 20 minutes.
- Time for the real game: 50 minutes.

Discussion and summary of the workshop: 30 minutes.

2. AUXILIARY MATERIALS

Auxiliary material no. 1 Educational films



The films are available on You Tube at:

- *Get to know about Poland: The Political Transformation of 1989*
(EN): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3cYa9nLiXk>
(RU): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EyPI8OmyQU
- *Poland – 25 years of freedom*
(PL, EN): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-LPE_PYoH8

Auxiliary material no. 2 Game elements



THE BOARD – a circle divided into 20 equal parts, symbolising the Round Table at which the PZPR and “Solidarity” groups negotiate. Each part represents 5% of power and the entire circle (20 parts) symbolises absolute power (100%). This is the power which is divided between the two groups during the game. There are red marks on the board – Danger Threshold I and Danger Threshold II - and upon crossing them a six-sided dice should be rolled.



NEGOTIATION CARDS (30 cards for each group) – the cards are the size of 1 segment of the circle (1/20), that is each card symbolises 5% of power. Negotiation cards are divided into:

- **“Obligatory” cards** (5 cards for each group), each group receives them before starting the game and must place all the cards on the Round Table during the game, no matter at which point. “Obligatory” cards differ between the two groups. In one group some of the cards have numbers (e.g. “Our Prime Minister 1”, “Our Prime Minister 2”), therefore they should be played in subsequent turns according to the numerical order in the same field of the Round Table. It is the only exception when in one field more than one card can be placed. While playing subsequent numbers of the same “Obligatory” card, a given group needs to “stop” in one field, while the other group can grab further parts of the Round Table. Sooner or later, both groups will have to play “Obligatory” cards and the main point will be when to do so. If any group has not played all of their “Obligatory” cards, the game ends in defeat for both groups.
- **“Optional” cards** (25 cards for each group), they can but do not have to be placed on the table during the game – it depends on a given group’s strategy and the game play. They are the same for each group and differ only in colour and symbol. When one of the groups places a given card on the table, the other one cannot use this card. “Optional” cards will be the main element of the negotiations.
- **“Truce” cards** (3 cards) – the cards which eliminate “Conflict in the country”. Each group receives 1 “Truce” card at the beginning of the game. The card can be used only once. Additionally, the game moderator has 1 “Truce” card and can use the card when there is a threat of a “Conflict in the country”. In this case the moderator should impose conditions on the groups or demand a negotiation of cards.

2. AUXILIARY MATERIALS

- The “Conflict in the country” card (1 card) – the card which at some point may be placed on the board when one of the groups rolls a number 1 on the dice. This means that there are some riots taking place in the country and the groups should negotiate the balance of forces. The card can be removed only by using a “Truce” card.

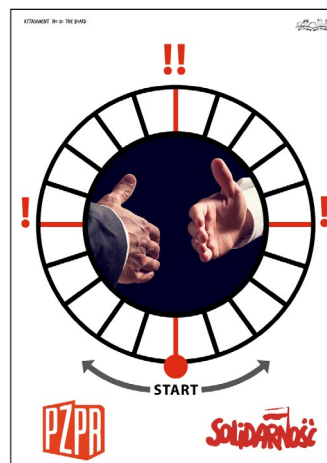
Auxiliary material no. 3 The cards and board to print



- Obligatory 5 cards for “Solidarity”
(Attachment no.1, to print on A4)
- Optional 25 cards for “Solidarity”
(Attachment no. 2, 3, 4, to print on A4)
- Obligatory 5 cards for “PZPR”
(Attachment no. 5, to print on A4)
- Optional 25 cards for “PZPR”
(Attachment no. 6, 7, 8 to print on A4)
- 3 “Truce” cards and 1 “Conflict in the country” card
(Attachment no. 9, to print on A4)



- 1 Board
(Attachment no. 10, to print on A1)



3. EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Educational material no. 1 The Polish Round Table Talks



The Polish Round Table Talks took place in Warsaw, from 6 February to 5 April 1989. The government initiated the discussion with the banned trade union “Solidarity” and other opposition groups in an attempt to defuse the growing social unrest, and involved the “Solidarity” opposition and the coalition government. The talks were held in the Council of Ministers Office, co-chaired by “Solidarity” leader Lech Wałęsa and Minister of Internal Affairs Czesław Kiszczak. The Polish communists, led by General Jaruzelski, hoped to co-opt prominent opposition leaders into the ruling group without making major changes to the political power structure. In reality, the talks radically altered the shape of the Polish government and society. The sessions were divided into three main working groups: 1) the political reform workgroup, 2) the union pluralism and party pluralism workgroup, 3) the economy and social issues workgroup. An agreement (“Round Table Agreement”) was signed on 4 April 1989. The most important demands were: 1) the legalisation of independent trade unions, 2) the introduction of a President’s office, who would be elected to a 6-year term by The National Assembly, 3) the formation of a Senate. As a result, real political power was vested in a newly created bicameral legislature and in a president who would be the chief executive. “Solidarity” became a legitimate and legal political party. Free elections for 35% of the seats in the Sejm and an entirely free election for the Senate was assured.

Based on: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_Round_Table_Agreement



Photo: Original table displayed in Presidential Palace in Warsaw / Source: Wikimedia commons

3. EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Educational material no. 2

The Polish legislative election of 1989



The Polish legislative election of 1989 was the tenth election to the Sejm, and the first election for the recreated Senate of Poland. The first round took place on 4 June, with a second round on 18 June. All the seats in the newly recreated Senate of Poland were to be elected democratically, as were 161 seats (35% of the total) in the Sejm. The remaining 65% of the seats were reserved for the Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, PZPR) and its satellite parties. The election brought a landslide victory for "Solidarity": 99% of all the seats in the Senate and all of the possible seats in the Sejm. Altogether, out of the 161 seats available, "Solidarity" took 160. While "Solidarity" managed to secure the 35% of seats available to it, the remaining 65% was divided between the PZPR and its satellite parties.

Based on: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_legislative_election,_1989



Photo: "I choose Solidarity" / Phot. Leonard Szmaglik / European Solidarity Centre archive / Source: www.tekapomorska.pl
 Poster: "High Noon, June 4, 1989" / Solidarity Citizens' Committee election poster by Tomasz Sarnecki / Source: Wikimedia commons

3. EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Educational material no. 3 Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR)



The Polish United Workers' Party (Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza, PZPR) was established in December 1948. In January 1990, the XI Congress was held, which was supposed to recreate the party. Finally, the PZPR dissolved, and some of its members decided to establish two new social-democratic parties. Until 1989, the PZPR held dictatorial powers and controlled an unwieldy bureaucracy, the military, the secret police, and the economy. On paper, the party was organised on the basis of democratic centralism, which assumed a democratic appointment of authorities, decision-making process and management of its activity. However, in reality the key roles were played by the Central Committee, its Political Bureau and Secretariat, which were subject to the strict control of the authorities of the Soviet Union.

Based on: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polish_United_Workers'_Party



Photo: X Congress of Polish United Workers' Party in 1986 / RIA Novosti archive / Source: Wikimedia commons

3. EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Educational material no. 4 The Independent Self-governing Trade Union “Solidarity”



“Solidarity” was founded in 1980 at the Gdansk Shipyards under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa. It was the first trade union in a Warsaw Pact country that was not controlled by the communist party. In the 1980s, “Solidarity” was a broad anti-bureaucratic social movement, using civil resistance as a method to advance the causes of workers’ rights and social change. The Union had a regional structure, comprising 38 regions and two districts. At its peak, the Union had over 10 million members, and became the largest union in the world in terms of membership. The government attempted to destroy the union by imposing martial law in Poland, which lasted from December 1981 to July 1983 and was followed by several years of political repression, although in the end it was forced to negotiate with “Solidarity”. When martial law came into effect under General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the 38 regional delegates were arrested and jailed. After a one-year prison term the high-ranking members of the union were offered one way trips to any country accepting them. By the end of August 1989 a “Solidarity”-led coalition government was formed and in December Tadeusz Mazowiecki was elected Prime Minister. Since 1989 “Solidarity” has become a more traditional trade union, and had relatively little impact on the Polish political scene in the early 1990s.

Based on: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Solidarity_%28Polish_trade_union%29



Photo: Joy after “Solidarity” registration in court – Lech Wałęsa with flowers / Jan Morek/Forum / Source: www.solidarnosc.gov.pl

3. EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Educational material no. 5 **Your President, Our Prime Minister**



"Your President, our Prime Minister" – the title of leading article by Adam Michnik published in the "Gazeta Wyborcza" newspaper on 3 July 1989, calling for "an alliance of the democratic opposition with the reformist wing of the ruling camp", while at the same time calling for a division of power in Poland: the consent of the "Solidarity" opposition for a president from the Polish United Workers' Party (Wojciech Jaruzelski) in return for consent for a Prime Minister from "Solidarity". This proposal caused controversy among the democratic opposition and the ruling camp as the postulated system changed the agreements of the Round Table, giving more power to the opposition. On the other hand, it forced the ruling party to take immediate responsibility for the disastrous economic situation of the state. On 17 August 1989 Lech Wałęsa presented three candidates for Prime Minister: Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Bronisław Geremek and Jacek Kuroń, and the coalition partners chose the former. On 24 August, the Contract Sejm appointed Mazowiecki as Prime Minister, and thus the call by the "Gazeta Wyborcza" was realised within a month and a half.

Based on: https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wasz_prezydent,_nasz_premier



Photo: Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Sejm / Krzysztof Białoskórski / Source: www.sejm.gov.pl

3. EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS

Educational material no. 6 Economic transformation



The Wilczek Act (Ustawa Wilczka) – the colloquial term for the Act of December 1988 on economic activity developed within a project run by the Minister for Industry, Mieczysław Wilczek and Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski, and passed by the Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa, PRL) Sejm of the ninth term. The Act came into force from 1 January 1989 to 31 December 2000 and regulated economic activity in a liberal manner, enabling every citizen to start up and run a business on equal terms, which gave rise to a host of small entrepreneurs.

The Balcerowicz Plan (Plan Balcerowicza), also termed “Shock Therapy”, was a method for the rapid transition from a communist economy, based on state ownership and central planning, to a capitalist market economy. Named after its author, the Polish minister and economist Leszek Balcerowicz, the plan was adopted in Poland in 1989. There was a temporary drop in output and growth observed by 1992.

Based on: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balcerowicz_Plan; https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ustawa_Wilczka



Photo: Street trade in the early 90s. / Jacek Awakumowski / European Solidarity Centre archive / Source: www.tekapomorska.pl

4. THE PROPOSED LITERATURE AND FILMS

Websites:

- European Solidarity Centre (PL, EN): www.ecs.gda.pl
- The Institute of National Remembrance (PL, EN): <http://ipn.gov.pl/>
- 10 – 15 – 25. Polish transformation from suspense to success (PL): <http://mttp.pl/25/>

Books:

- Chodakiewicz Marek J., Radzilowski John, Tolczyk Dariusz, *Poland's Transformation: A Work in Progress. Studies in Honor of Kenneth W. Thompson*, Transaction Publishers, London 2006.
- Dobroczyński Michał, Gołębiowski Janusz W., *Discussions on Polish transformation*, Warsaw School of Economics, Warsaw 1997.
- Kozłowski Tomasz, Olaszek Jan, *Solidarność: History of the „Solidarity” 1980-1989*, The Institute of National Remembrance, Warsaw 2010.
- Marat Andrzej, *Solidarność: Twenty Years of History*, Polska Agencja Informacyjna, Warsaw 2000.
- Perdue William D., *Modernization Crisis: The Transformation of Poland*, Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport 1995.
- Wiatr Jerzy J., *Political Sociology and Democratic Transformation in Poland*, Scholar Publisher, 1996.
- Winiecki Jan, *Five Years After June: The Polish Transformation 1989-1994*, Centre for Research into Communist Economies, London 1996.
- 10 – 15 – 25. Polish transformation from suspense to success, Centre for International Relations/ THINKTANK http://napedzamyprzyszosc.pl/files/publikacje/2014/Book_TRANSFORMACJA_10-15-25_FINAL.pdf

Films:

- *Get to know about Poland: The Political Transformation of 1989*
(EN): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3cYa9nLiXk>
(RU): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_EyPI8OmyQU
- *Poland – 25 years of freedom* (PL, EN): https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W-LPE_PYoH8
- *The Polish Transformation* (PL, EN): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8FI2OYrf8i4>
- *Let Poland be Poland* (PL, EN):
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T5avzxLrBUY&list=PLJFDAXWRg5yZFtVuk8N6nvd9oEa9EBQNp>
- *1989 – The Turning Point* (EN): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gw8AXGz4no8>
- *Martial law. Why?* (PL): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wBkm0hGPcUc>
- *A Road to Solidarity – Polish Political Transformation*
(PL): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xnxsgN09XJg>
- *Recordings from the National Audiovisual Institute*
(PL, EN): <http://archiwum.nina.gov.pl/en/katalog?Filter.CategoryCodenames=okragly-stol>

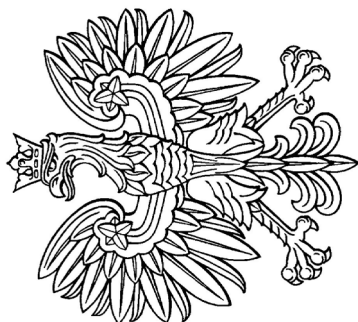
<p>Solidarność</p> <p>Freedom of press</p> <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>	<p>Solidarność</p> <p>Free Elections (Senat 1)</p> <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>	<p>Solidarność</p> <p>Free Elections (Senat 2)</p> <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>
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<p>Solidarność</p> <p>Our Prime Minister 1</p> <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>
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<p>Solidarność</p> <p>Our Prime Minister 2</p> <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>
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SOLIDARNOŚĆ

Control over Social Reforms



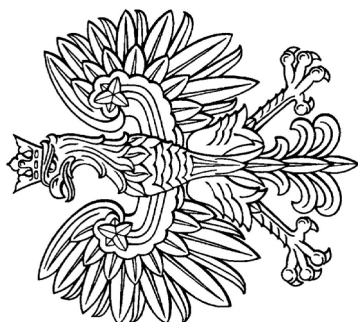
SOLIDARNOŚĆ

Control over the Vetting of Politicians



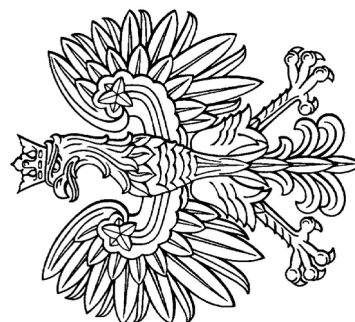
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Control over the Ministry of Economy



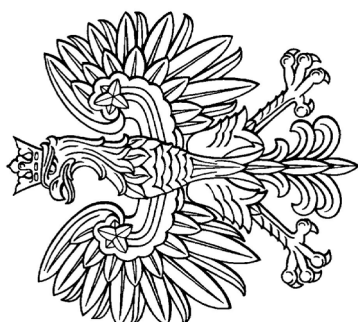
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Control over Administrative Reforms



SOLIDARNOŚĆ

Control over the Constitutional Court



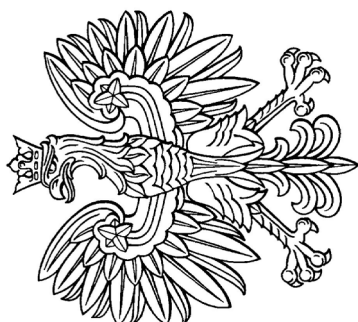
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Control over the Negotiation of the Border Treaty with Germany



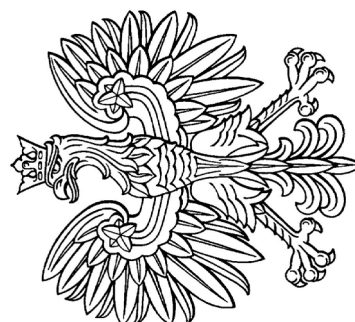
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Control over the Ministry of Privatization Process



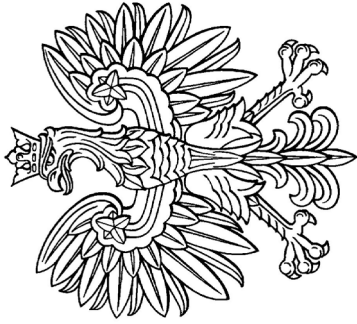
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Control over Public Radio



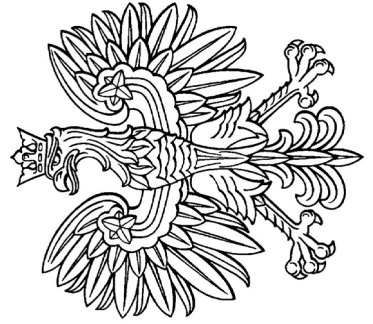
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**Control over the Negotiation
on the Withdrawal of Soviet
Troops from Poland**



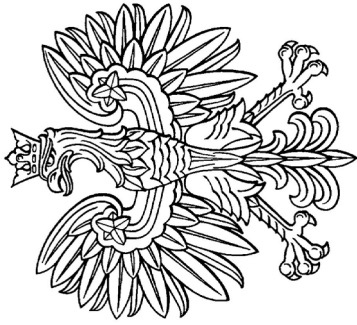
SOLIDARNOŚĆ

**Control over the Negotiation
on the Reduction
of Polish Foreign Dept**



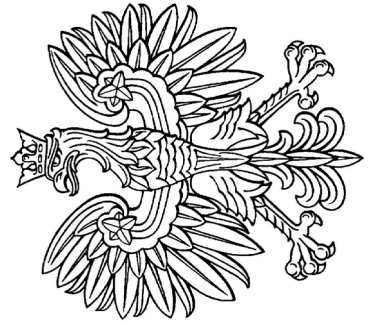
SOLIDARNOŚĆ

**Control of the Ministry
of National Defence**



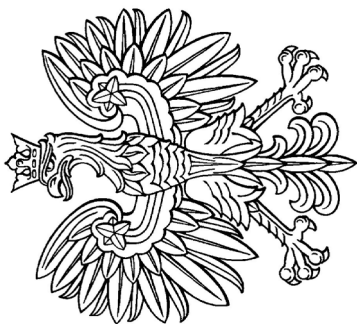
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**Control over the Ministry
of Justice**



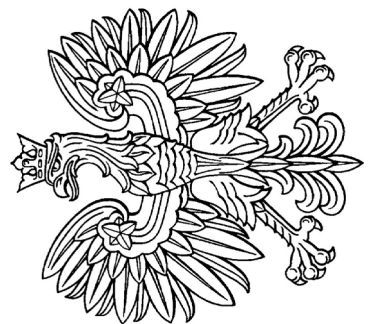
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**Control of the Ministry
of International Affairs**



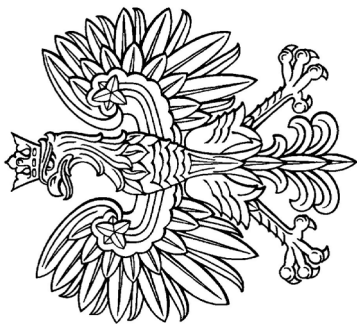
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**Control over the Ministry
of National Education**



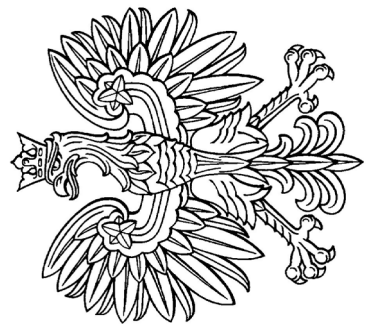
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**Control of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs**



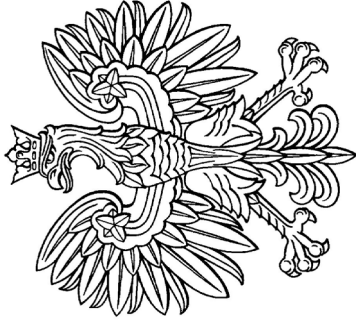
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**Control over the Ministry
of Finance**



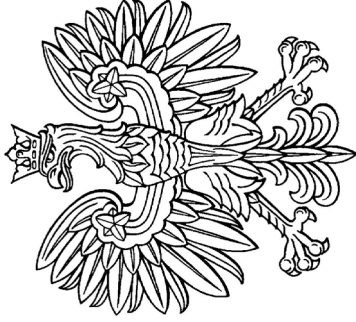
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Office for the Protection
of Human Rights**



SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over the Committee
of Catholic Church Property**



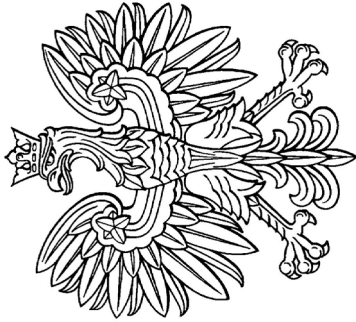
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over the Ministry
of Agriculture**



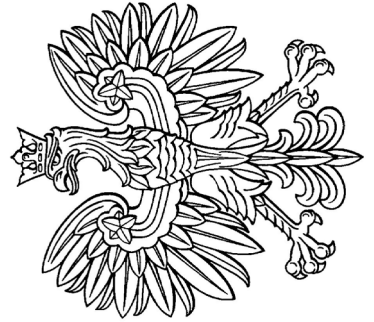
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over the Vetting
of Public Officials**



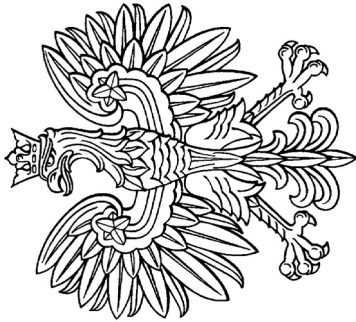
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over Economic
Reforms**



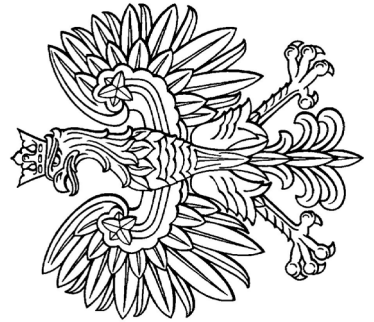
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over Judicial
Reforms**



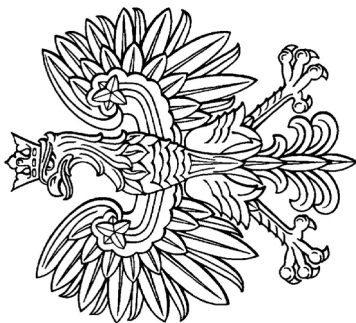
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over Health
System Reform**



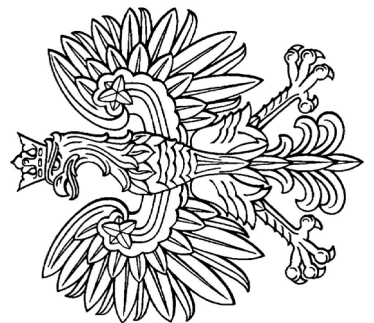
SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over Public
Television**



SOLIDARNOSĆ

**Control over the Electoral
Law Reform**

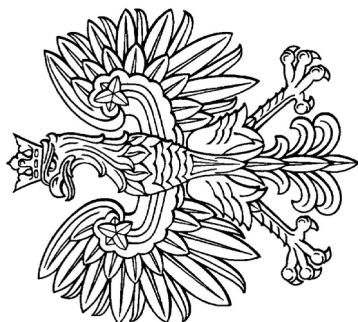


 <p>Partially Free Elections (Sejm) 1</p>  <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>	 <p>Partially Free Elections (Sejm) 2</p>  <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>	 <p>Partially Free Elections (Sejm) 3</p>  <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>
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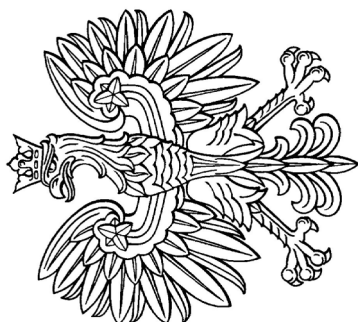
 <p>Our President 1</p>  <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>	 <p>Our President 2</p>  <p>OBLIGATORY CARD</p>
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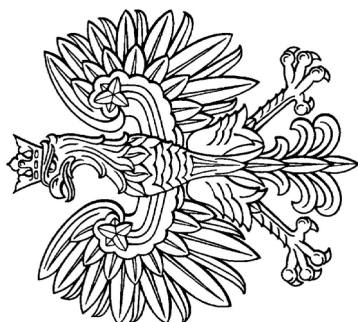
Control over Social Reforms



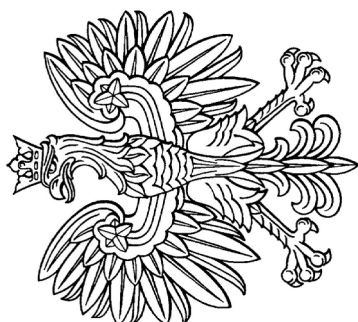
Control over the Ministry of Economy



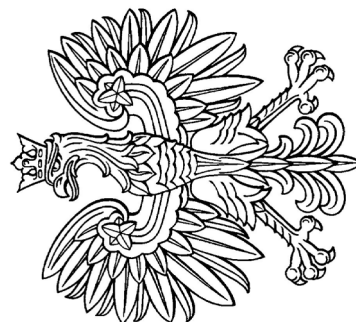
Control over the Constitutional Court



Control over the Ministry of Privatization Process



Control over the Vetting of Politicians



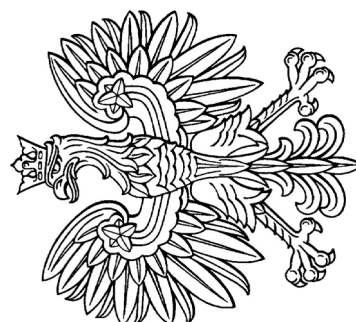
Control over Administrative Reforms



Control over the Negotiation of the Border Treaty with Germany

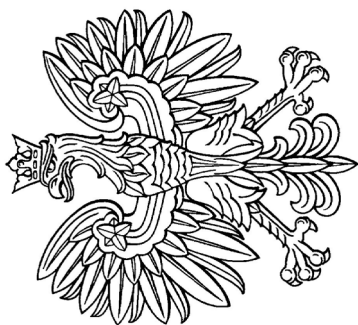


Control over Public Radio

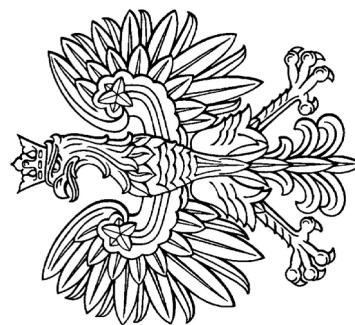




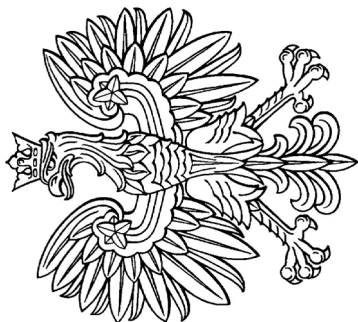
**Control over the Negotiation
on the Withdrawal of Soviet
Troops from Poland**



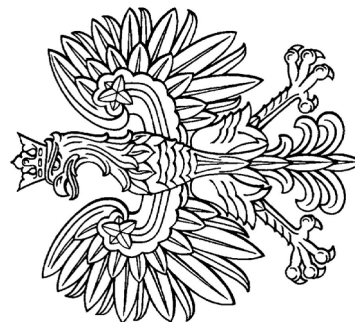
**Control over the Negotiation
on the Reduction
of Polish Foreign Dept**



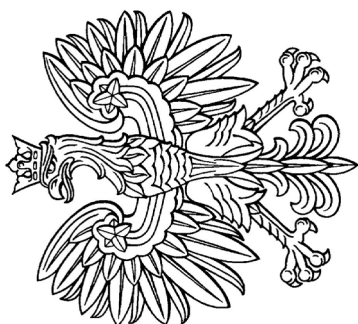
**Control of the Ministry
of National Defency**



**Control over the Ministry
of Justice**



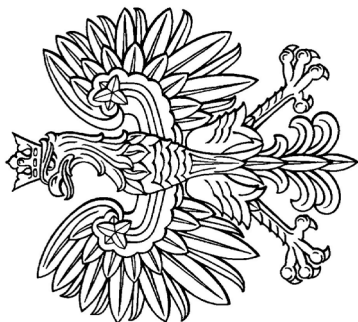
**Control of the Ministry
of International Affairs**



**Control over the Ministry
of National Education**



**Control of the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs**

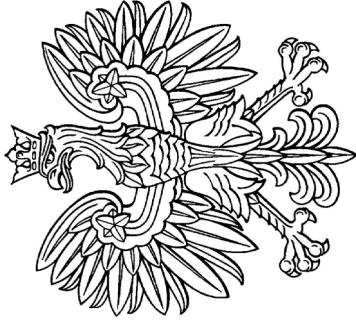


**Control over the Ministry
of Finance**

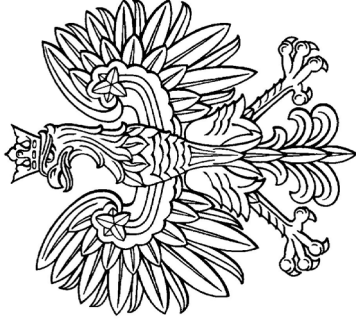




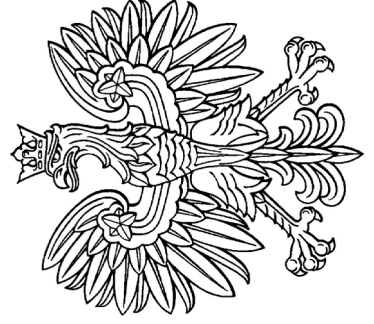
**Office for the Protection
of Human Rights**



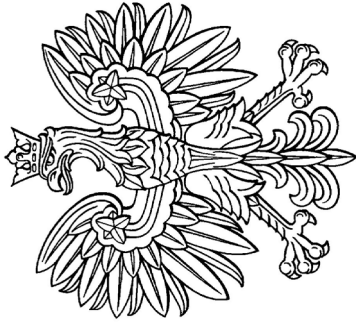
**Control over the Committee
of Catholic Church Property**



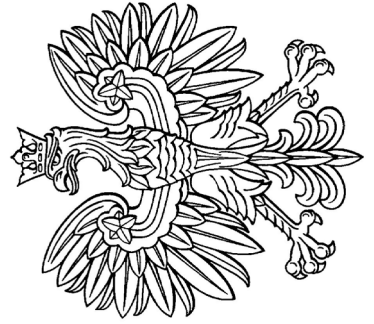
**Control over the Ministry
of Agriculture**



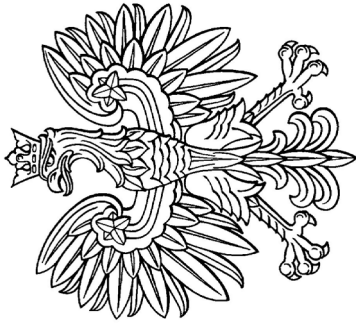
**Control over the Vetting
of Public Officials**



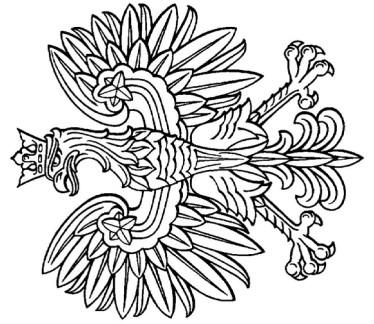
**Control over Economic
Reforms**



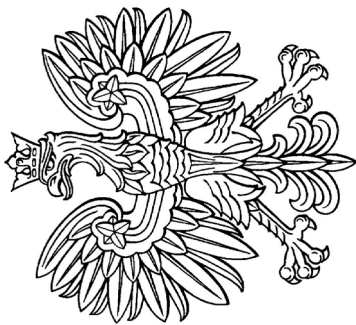
**Control over Judicial
Reforms**



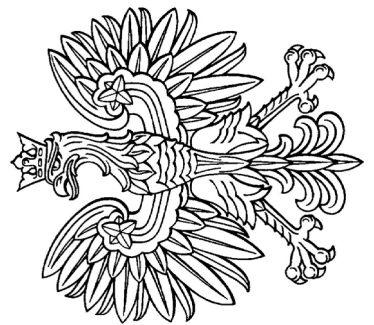
**Control over Health
System Reform**



**Control over Public
Television**

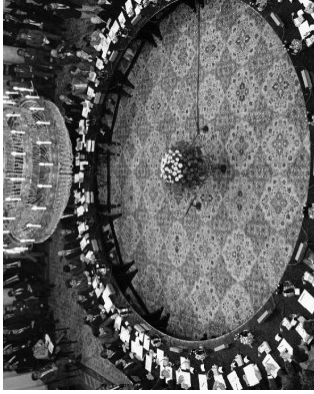


**Control over the Electoral
Law Reform**

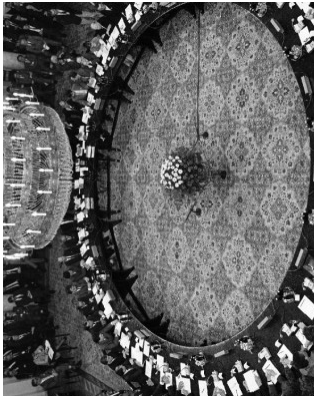




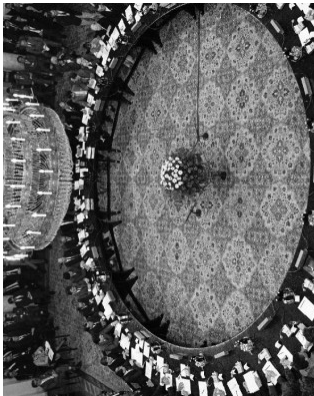
Truce (Peace)



Truce (Peace)

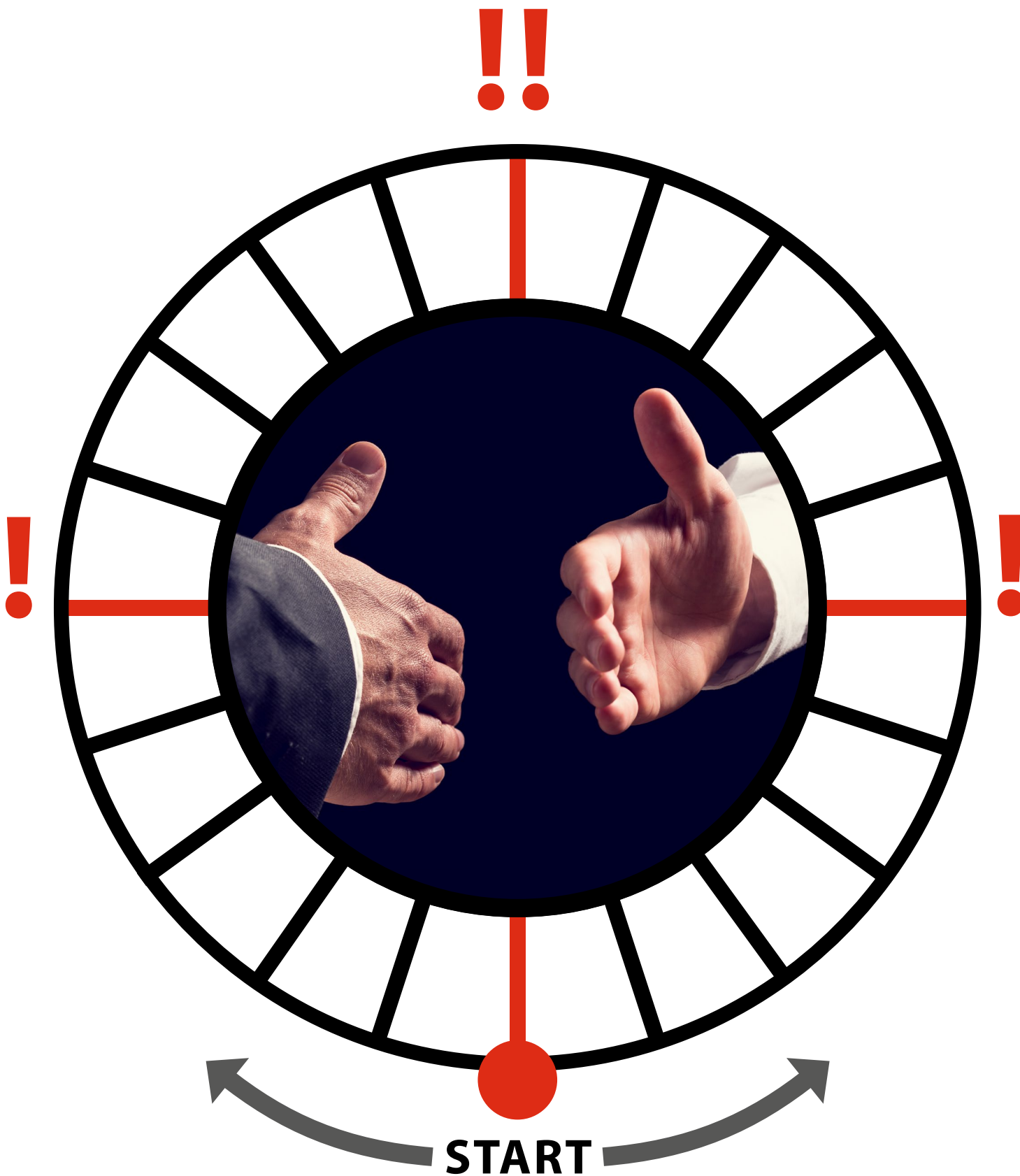


Truce (Peace)



Conflict in the Country





PZPR

SOLIDARNOŚĆ