

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Aarhus, Carol, Files
Subseries: Alpha File, 1990-1992

OA/ID Number: 13865
Folder ID Number: 13865-003

Folder Title:
Poland Trip [Research Materials], 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	19	2	5	6

Weekly Compilation of

Presidential Documents



Monday, March 25, 1991
Volume 27—Number 12
Pages 321-360

111 RESEARCH

Pres Documents 3

City, County, State, and Federal Government—particularly in areas such as education, transportation, and the fight against drug abuse. In recent years, more and more Americans have realized what many have known all along: that the answer to many of the problems before us can be found, not in bigger Federal Government, but in effective local leadership and cooperation between citizens and public officials at all levels. Indeed, we know that government closest to the people is truly government “of the people, by the people, and for the people.” This is the essence of federalism and democracy, and it is the key to meeting many of the challenges and opportunities before our country.

In recognition of the Nation’s county governments, the Congress, by Public Law 101-470, has designated the week of April 7 through April 13, 1991, as “National County Government Week” and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of April 7 through April 13, 1991, as National County Government Week. I call upon the American people and their elected representatives at all levels of government to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 19th day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fiftieth.

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:13 a.m., March 20, 1991]

**Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony
for President Lech Walesa of Poland
March 20, 1991**

President Bush. Mr. President, to all our Polish and American friends here today: A poet once wrote, “Let me address you in the name of millions.” Today, I address you

in the name of millions who convey their admiration and love—the people of the United States.

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of the Congress. And he impressed us then with his commitment to goodness, his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. Today he returns as his nation’s first democratically elected President.

Mr. President, you have led by principle and example. You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk their lives in steel mills, shipyards, and tenements and towns. And after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. No wonder your countrymen sing to you, “*Sto lat, sto lat*”—may he live 100 years.

But you also understand that the cause of freedom cannot end at your own borders, and you proved it during the war in the Persian Gulf. You joined us in demonstrating to the entire world that we cannot permit aggression to stand. And you taught your countrymen that the answer to tyranny is international solidarity. And in the process, you helped shape a new world order.

That order, of course, began in Europe with the end of the cold war and the emergence of a continent whole and free. You played a key role in helping Central and Eastern Europe join the commonwealth of freedom. And you have worked hard to build a prosperous land upon tyranny’s ruins.

This is not an easy task. In your New Year’s Eve message, you talked of reform: political reform—you’ve called for fully free parliamentary elections; intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom; spiritual reform, honoring the One through whom all things are possible; and finally, you’ve spoken of economic reform, upon which so much depends. In your address to Congress, you said, “We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and friend.”

Today we rededicate ourselves to the success of free democracy in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

Last week, the Paris Club agreed to cut Poland's official debt burden by at least 50 percent. The United States worked long and hard to achieve that unprecedented agreement, and we encourage other creditors to join us in going beyond that 50-percent level. We certainly shall. We will reduce your indebtedness to us by a full 70 percent, a portion of which will help Poland fund a new foundation for the environment.

I am pleased to tell you, Mr. President, that I've asked the Congress to increase next year's grant assistance to these new democracies to \$470 million, half again last year's request. And since the real engine of progress is not aid but trade, I am pleased to announce two new economic initiatives designed to help the nations of Central and Eastern Europe proceed along the path to growth and prosperity.

The American Business Initiative and the Trade Enhancement Initiative will encourage businesses to invest in your future. In addition, Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher will lead an investment mission to Poland this summer, letting U.S. businesses see the great opportunity the new Poland offers.

So, as you can see, Mr. President, we want your economic transformation to succeed, your new democracy to flourish. And we call on other nations to follow our example.

For two centuries, the love of liberty has linked our lands. General Kosciuszko was a friend to our Founding Fathers, just as you and His Holiness Pope John Paul II are our steadfast friends today. Mr. President, our nations and heroes have long fought together to defend the rights of man. This historic commitment forms the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign later today.

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters praised these principles when they sang, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." Today we rejoice. Poland is not lost but has once again been found because men like you still live.

God bless you, your beloved land, and our United States of America.

President Walesa. Honored Mr. President, thank you for such a nice welcome. Thank you for your friendly words. I am happy that I stepped again on the hospitable American land.

I come as the President of a sovereign and democratic Republic of Poland, the country which was the first to challenge communism and today is building a system of freedom, democracy, and free enterprise.

It is not a coincidence that it is America which is the target of one of my first trips in my Presidential term of office. The United States has, for over 200 years, been exemplifying to the world how to build a system of freedom. The United States led the free world defending values of democracy and humanism. Your determination and your civilizational bloom were the hope of Poles opposing alien domination. It was America, in the name of the international community, that restored recently peace and justice in the Persian Gulf.

Poland is not a world superpower; her actions do not have a global dimension. But it was Poland first in Central Europe to step upon the path of freedom. Poland is the country which paves the way for other nations liberating themselves from communism.

Poland also took upon itself the burden of leading in the structuring of a market economy. We used in the past the assistance of the United States of America—political, economic, and first of all, moral.

Today, a major part of our debt burden was reduced. Your personal involvement in this cause has, for Poland, a historical dimension. It gives us new, great possibilities. For this help, I most cordially thank the great American nation.

The changes in Poland are not completed yet. The political victory of Solidarity should be reflected in economic success. Our success is important not only to us; it is needed for Europe because it is a condition of order and stability. It is needed by the whole free world, for it extends its boundaries by the central region of the continent, it extends the zone of democracy and security.

The relations between the Republic of Poland and the United States have today reached their peak after the war. One could

even say that they reached their peak in the whole of history. Our countries are linked by common values and the same ideals. We are linked by friendly collaboration on the international arena. I would like this to be followed by a development of mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

Free Poland is becoming a country of new economic opportunities. It is worth to broaden the cooperation with it, to trade and to invest. I invite you to this cooperation, for it is going to be advantageous to both sides.

I know, Mr. President, that you're a sincere friend of Poland. I'm grateful to you for your extremely goodwill interest in our problems. Our talks shall contribute to the strengthening of cooperation and the friendship of our nations.

God bless you, Mr. President. God bless America.

Note: President Bush spoke at 10:12 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where President Walesa was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. President Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.

Declaration on Relations Between the United States of America and the Republic of Poland

March 20, 1991

For over 200 years the United States and Poland have been bound by shared values and a commitment to the principles of democracy, human liberty and the rule of law. The American Constitution of 1789 and the Polish Constitution of 1791 are enduring symbols of this special bond, which survived even during the long periods when Poland's independence and liberty were denied. Our relations have been further sustained and enriched by the millions of Americans of Polish descent who over the generations have helped create a free and prosperous society in the United States.

Just as Poles supported America's quest for freedom and liberty more than two centuries ago, so has America stood by Poland during her long years of darkness. When the Polish people began to reassert control over their national destinies, the United States committed itself to supporting their pioneering efforts to secure their freedom and to build a market economy and stable democratic rule.

Poland and the United States share an interest in maintaining stability and security in the new Europe, and in working for the further strengthening of peace on the continent. Our relations are based on the United Nations Charter and principles of the Helsinki Final Act and Paris Charter, including sovereign equality, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, non-intervention in internal affairs, and the rule of law. The United States attaches great importance to the consolidation and safeguarding of Poland's democracy and independence, which it considers integral to the new Europe, whole and free.

Relations between Poland and the United States have entered a new era of cooperation and partnership. The United States and Poland are committed to developing their new partnership through an enhanced political dialogue and regular contacts in areas of common interest.

Poland and the United States share the conviction that the development of a market economy in Poland is essential to its stability and security. The United States reaffirms its continued strong support for Poland's courageous program of economic reform. The Polish Stabilization Fund, the Polish-American Enterprise Fund, and U.S. support in international financial institutions are among the tangible signs of that commitment.

Poland's firm commitment to an economic reform program that enjoys the endorsement and support of the International Monetary Fund has made possible the mobilization of substantial new financial and other economic assistance from the international community. The United States and Poland have concluded a Treaty Concerning Business and Economic Relations and other key agreements that should facilitate trade and

investment needed for economic growth and prosperity.

Poland is engaged in an economic transformation of historic proportions in which its economic partners also have a key role in assuring success. We therefore welcome the agreement of the Paris Club on the substantial reduction of Poland's foreign debt obligations, which represents an historic and exceptional step by the international community to reinforce Poland's progress toward democracy and the free market.

The United States and Poland are also committed to developing their new partnership through closer cultural, educational, and scientific contacts.

The United States and Poland are convinced that these principles will further strengthen the bonds of lasting friendship and cooperation between both states, as an integral element of the broader partnership that binds the United States and Europe and of a new world order based on democratic values and the rule of law.

Washington, the 20th day of March, 1991.

George Bush
President of
the United States
of America

Lech Walesa
President of
the Republic of
Poland

Note: The declaration was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary but was not issued as a White House press release.

**White House Fact Sheet on United States Assistance to Poland
March 20, 1991**

Recent Economic Developments

In 1990, Poland adopted and implemented a comprehensive program of economic reforms more extensive than that of any other country in Central and Eastern Europe. The new government of President Walesa is taking important steps to further the development of a market economy by placing special emphasis on speeding up the

pace of reform in general and the process of privatization in particular.

Responding to requests for assistance from the Polish Government, the U.S. Government provided over \$300 million in grant assistance in 1990 and offered substantial credits from the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. The United States has begun projects in agriculture, privatization, technical training, and labor training, and concentrated ventures in clean fossil fuels, and air and water quality in the Krakow region.

All of these activities will continue in 1991, but U.S. technical assistance will expand considerably as we begin new efforts to help restructure the Polish economy. The United States will also substantially increase the amount of funds available for equity investment through the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and will initiate new programs to encourage U.S. private sector investment in Poland.

Assistance Activities

1. **Democratic Initiatives.** U.S. programs in this area will provide:

- Equipment and training for the national legislature, focusing primarily on the establishment of parliamentary procedures and the development of effective research and information systems.
- Training for local and regional legislatures, city and regional managers, and other local public administrators in the basic skills of governance and administration.
- Support for independent media, including the establishment of a Media Resource Center in Poland.

2. **Food Aid.** In 1990, the United States provided over \$90 million in food aid to Poland. This assistance was intended to help stem Poland's declining standard of living and ease the budget crunch by improving the efficiency of private agriculture. Thanks in part to the effect of the market on supplies, major food aid will not be needed in 1991.

3. **Stabilization Fund.** The United States granted \$200 million to the Polish Stabilization Fund in 1990 as part of a U.S.-led multilateral hard currency reserve in support of the transformation of the economy. The

the process

assistance
the U.S. Gov-
million in
ffered sub-
port-Import
Investment
has begun
tion, techni-
and concen-
uels, and air
kow region.
continue in
istance will
gin new ef-
olish econo-
substantially
available for
Polish-Amer-
initiate new
ivate sector

U.S. programs
or the nation-
narily on the
entary proce-
it of effective
ystems.
gional legisla-
anagers, and
trators in the
and adminis-

media, includ-
a Media Re-

United States
i food aid to
ended to help
dard of living
by improving
ulture. Thanks
arket on sup-
be needed in

United States
olish Stabiliza-
a U.S.-led mul-
e in support of
economy. The

fund made possible limited convertibility of the Polish zloty by creating a reserve to be used by the Polish Government if additional foreign exchange is needed. Poland has not had to draw on the fund to date, and has earned substantial interest that the Polish Government may use in support of its economic programs.

4. *The Polish-American Enterprise Fund*, to be capitalized at \$240 million, received \$35 million in FY 1990, and will be given an additional \$69 million in FY 1991. This privately managed investment fund can take equity or debt positions in new businesses or recently privatized firms, leveraging private capital and often facilitating joint ventures. For instance, the fund is already financing private banking, new housing construction, and agribusinesses.

5. *Environment and Energy*. U.S. programs carried out by AID, the EPA, and the Department of Energy will provide equipment and technical assistance for clean fossil fuels, technical assistance for air and water quality, and technical assistance to redress decades of environmental degradation. The United States is also providing assistance in improving energy efficiency.

6. *Labor Market Transition*. The Department of Labor is providing help in the development of unemployment insurance, job retraining, the creation of regional unemployment centers, and other "safety-net" mechanisms to assist those most disadvantaged during the transition to a market economy. The AFL/CIO is helping with the strengthening of trade unions and the retraining of the labor force.

7. *Peace Corps*. Approximately 100 volunteers are in Poland teaching English, working on environmental projects, and assisting with small businesses.

8. *Trade and Development Program (TDP)*. TDP is financing over \$4 million in feasibility studies, consultancies, and training programs for major development projects with large export potential for the U.S. private sector.

9. *International Financial Institutions*. The United States, as lead shareholder, has encouraged the World Bank (IBRD) to provide strong support to Eastern Europe's redevelopment. The Bank already has plans to lend \$9 billion to countries of the region. We have also led the way in obtaining an

additional \$7.5 billion in funding to Eastern Europe by the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

10. The U.S. Agency for International Development is launching a number of new activities which will focus on the development of the private sector in Poland. Some of these projects are:

Privatization and Enterprise Restructuring will provide technical assistance to prepare state-owned enterprises for privatization, to assist private firms to operate more efficiently, and to help Government agencies put in place the policies, laws, and regulations necessary to privatization.

The *American Business and Private Sector Development Initiative* will stimulate the transfer of U.S. technology and the flow of U.S. capital to Eastern Europe by promoting business opportunities in the region for American firms.

The *Competition Policies, Laws, and Regulations* project provides technical assistance in rewriting laws and regulations regarding taxation, antitrust, and the ownership and transfer of private property.

In the *Financial Services* sector we will assist in the critical development of a competitive banking industry and help create new financial institutions.

Management Training and Economics Education will help develop the technical, management, and economics skills necessary to operate a market-oriented economy.

In the *Housing* sector we will provide technical assistance for development of housing markets and a competitive housing construction industry.

In *Agriculture and Agribusiness* we are helping to develop a true cooperative system and create the framework for further privatization.

In the *Humanitarian* sector, we are assisting with the improvement of health care and the creation of an improved social safety net.

11. In addition, the *Citizens Democracy Corps*, a private voluntary organization created with the assistance of a U.S. Government grant, is helping to mobilize the resources of the private sector to assist in the Polish transition. CDC Chairman Drew Lewis is directing a major effort to modernize the Polish transportation and distribu-

tion system. Hundreds of private U.S. organizations are mounting their own programs in Poland as well.

**White House Fact Sheet on the
Reduction of Poland's Debt**
March 20, 1991

Today President Bush warmly endorsed the historic agreement between the Government of Poland and its government creditors in the Paris Club to reduce Poland's debt obligations to official creditors. This package represents a strong signal of creditor support for Polish economic and democratic reforms. Together with a new 3-year program with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and continued reforms, it should help encourage new private investment and capital flows to Poland and provide a sound basis for sustained economic growth. The agreement is the successful culmination of vigorous U.S. efforts to achieve a multilateral agreement offering substantial benefits to Poland.

Specifically, the agreement provides for the reduction of Polish debt by a minimum of 50 percent in real terms. The debt reduction will be formally adopted by the Paris Club once Poland's IMF program has been approved (expected in April). The restructuring will occur in two stages:

- The first stage involves 30-percent relief on a net present value basis and includes cash flow relief of 80 percent for the crucial first 3 years of the agreement.
- The second stage consists of 20-percent relief on a net present value basis after 3 years, upon successful completion by Poland of the IMF program.

In each stage, creditor governments will have the option of pursuing equivalent relief through debt reduction, interest reduction, or capitalization of interest on concessional terms.

Governments will also have the option of further reducing Polish obligations beyond the consensus level of 50-percent reduction through (a) additional bilateral relief and (b) the voluntary conversion of up to 10 per-

cent of outstanding claims via debt/equity, debt-for-nature, or other debt swaps.

To lead this effort, the President announced that the United States was prepared to increase U.S. debt relief for Poland beyond the 50-percent level agreed in the Paris Club. We propose to do this in the following two ways:

- Additional bilateral debt reduction within the two stage operation.
- A write-off of 10 percent of Poland's stock of debt to the United States. This action will enable the Government of Poland to provide local currency resources to fund a foundation for the environment.

As a result of these additional steps, Polish debt to the United States would be reduced by a total of 70 percent in real terms.

The unilateral actions by the United States would raise the total debt reduction under the multilateral Paris Club agreement from the agreed minimum consensus level of 50 percent to 52 percent. The President strongly encourages other creditor governments to take similar additional actions and provide bilateral relief beyond the 50-percent level.

**White House Fact Sheet on American
Business and Private Sector
Development Initiative for Central and
Eastern Europe**
March 20, 1991

U.S. trade and investment can play a major role in supporting political and economic reforms in Central and Eastern Europe. The American Business and Private Sector Development Initiative is designed to promote the growth of U.S. investment, participation by U.S. firms in infrastructure development, and increased involvement of small and medium-sized U.S. companies in bilateral trade.

This initiative is a \$45 million 2-year project carried out by AID, the Department of Commerce, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and the U.S. Trade and Development Program in partnership with the private sector.

Primary emphasis will be on five key sectors identified by the Central and Eastern European countries and ourselves as of key importance: agriculture and agribusiness, energy, environment, telecommunications, and housing.

The six elements of the program are:

- An American Business Center in Warsaw, Poland, which will make available office space and technical business services on a user-fee basis in cooperation with the private sector.
- Consortia of American businesses in Eastern Europe which will support groups of mainly small and medium-sized U.S. companies wishing to enter the East European market. Grants will assist U.S. trade and business associations in selected sectors in establishing a presence in the region.
- Expansion of Commerce's Eastern Europe Business Information Center, to develop information and provide assistance to U.S. and East European companies interested in trade and investment.
- An AID Capital Development Initiative, designed to provide assistance to Eastern European Governments and private sector firms in designing infrastructure projects in ways that will encourage the involvement of U.S. companies.
- Additional funding for feasibility studies by the Trade and Development Program related to the five sectors described above.
- We are also seeking legislative authority to expand OPIC's pilot equity investment program to include Eastern Europe, so that OPIC can make direct investments in promising joint ventures.

White House Fact Sheet on Trade Enhancement Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe
March 20, 1991

From the beginning, U.S. support for political and economic reform in Eastern Europe has emphasized not only aid but trade. The United States has led the way in

extending increased access to its own market and in encouraging the European Community and others to do the same. Listed below are additional initiatives in the trade area that the United States is undertaking at this time.

(1) GSP Duty-free Benefits

The President is expected to approve shortly a significant expansion of duty-free benefits covering \$182 million in Central and Eastern European country exports under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Czechoslovakia will be added to the list of beneficiaries which already includes Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. These increases are in addition to \$500 million in duty-free imports from Central and Eastern Europe at this time. In addition, the President has decided to speed up implementation of \$176 million in benefits to May 1 from the traditional July 1 date.

Over half of the expanded Eastern European GSP benefit will go to Poland—\$93.3 million of the \$182.4 million. This action will more than double the amount of Poland's duty-free exports under GSP.

(2) Overcoming Informational Barriers to Trade

The administration will sponsor a series of seminars designed to ensure Central and Eastern European countries' understanding of U.S. trade laws including antidumping and countervailing duty provisions (AD/CVD); familiarity with the GSP program and procedures; access to data on trade flows and on U.S. quota fill rates; familiarity with open procurement laws and procedures.

AD/CVD. The Department of Commerce will conduct seminars for Eastern European officials on U.S. anti-dumping and countervailing duty laws. These seminars, to which interested enterprise representatives will be welcome, will focus on the methodology used to analyze dumping in nonmarket economic cases. The Commerce Department will also discuss the implications under AD/CVD laws of the move toward greater market orientation.

GSP. Commerce, State, and USTR representatives will conduct a series of GSP seminars in eligible Central and Eastern European countries to ensure that enterprises

are familiar with GSP benefits and procedures for taking full advantage of the program. The next seminar series is scheduled for late March in Prague, Budapest, and Warsaw.

Quotas. Embassies in Central and Eastern European countries will be kept informed on quota fill rates and ensure, in cooperation with responsible host government officials, chambers of commerce, etc., that this information is available to local producers.

Procurement. Commerce and OMB are prepared to organize a series of seminars for Central and Eastern European countries on recommended government procurement laws and transparent procedures which, if adopted, would result in savings, purchase of improved products, and fair competition and would also enable these countries to seek accession to the (GATT) Agreement on Government Procurement.

(3) Regional Economic Development Initiative (REDI)

The administration is developing a program to promote new commercial ties between companies and business organizations in comparable economic regions of the United States and Central and Eastern Europe, with a particular focus on promoting trade with the region's burgeoning private sector.

The Commerce Department program will match companies in complementary economic regions in the United States and Central and Eastern Europe. The program, using existing Commerce Department resources and facilities (e.g., the Eastern European Business Information Center and U.S. Foreign Commercial Service offices), will focus on building a data base of regional and local business leaders and groups in the United States and Eastern Europe. This information will be particularly useful in matching small and medium-sized U.S. companies with counterparts in Eastern Europe's burgeoning private sector and in promoting new trade and investment ties among these entities.

(4) Removal of Impediments to Trade Expansion

The President is prepared to send to Poland and other reforming Central and Eastern European countries a team of ex-

perts, led by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, to conduct a prompt and intensive review of internal and external barriers to expanded trade with the region and to propose specific solutions to problems identified.

(5) Access to the European Community

The President is challenging the European Community, Central and Eastern Europe's largest market, with the largest potential for trade expansion, to redouble its efforts to open its markets to Central and Eastern European countries and to open all sectors (including agriculture) for liberalization under the free-trade area agreements now under negotiation with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

March 20, 1991

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency annual report for 1990. This report deserves your close review.

The year 1990 witnessed the signing of the multilateral Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, which, when satisfactorily implemented, will be a major step in reducing the numbers of deployed weapons in the area bounded by the Ural Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. The U.S.-U.S.S.R. Chemical Weapons Destruction Agreement was also signed. Significantly, both the Treaty Between the United States and the Soviet Union on Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests (TTBT) and the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (PNET) entered into force. Substantial progress was made during 1990 in the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START) and in our efforts to curb the worldwide proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's 1990 annual report provides details of these and other developments, in-

cluding t
ations, th
tation pr
ducted p
Disarmam
As th
changes.
U.S.S.R.
importan
control a

The Wh
March 2

Proclar
U.S.A.,
March

By the
of Ame

A Procl

Toda
paign t
fail—a
vitalize
Nation
These
child s
gradua
suring
tent i
progre
rankin
mathe
every
sesses
the te
in the
school
Ach
childr
skills
becom
in ou
of on
fruitf
vorces
hand
direc
becom

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 104, has designated March 26, 1991, as "Education Day, U.S.A." and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, George Bush, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim March 26, 1991, as Education Day, U.S.A. I call upon all Americans to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and fifteenth.

George Bush

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:34 a.m., March 21, 1991]

Toasts at the State Dinner for President Lech Walesa of Poland March 20, 1991

President Bush. Mr. President and Mrs. Walesa, 2 years ago Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home in Gdansk. And today we are simply delighted to have you and other members of the Polish delegation at the White House.

It's been said that the character of a people is embodied in its leaders. And that is certainly true of tonight's honored guest. Eight years ago you were unable to visit Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world.

Some leaders reflect their time. Mr. President, you have defined your time. You have been resolute in defeat and magnanimous in victory. You have fought to preserve liberty for all: for individuals, choice; for societies, pluralism; for nations, self-determination. To a crisis of the spirit, you supplied an answer of the spirit—an answer forged upon trust in God and man.

Over the centuries Poland suffered through a winter of adversity. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility.

You've brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. And you helped a nation and a planet, if you will, summon lightness against the dark.

You've delivered the message of freedom everywhere. Go to Gdansk or Warsaw—they know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. Mr. President, under you, sir, Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the state, is the voice of tomorrow. You've used that voice to unlock minds and boundaries, enlarging Poland's horizons and helping build a new Europe, whole and free. For that, I thank you on behalf of every American.

Let me close with a story that shows the spiritual ties that bind our lands. It happened in 1776, when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the Colonies, then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. Today, 200 years later, you have returned General Kosciuszko's message to the country of its birth: liberty, security, property. These words inspired the Joint Declaration of Principles that we signed today.

And so, now may I invite all our guests to raise our glasses to Polish-American friendship; to the health of our dear, admired friend; and to the liberty we can and must achieve for all the children of the world. Mr. President, *sto lat*. May you live 100 years. God bless you.

President Walesa. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I'm convinced that I shall be at a loss for words to express my gratitude. It is for the second time that I'm present in the White House. It is, to me, a reason for honor, and it is moving.

It is also proof of the friendship that links the American nation with the Polish nation. This friendship was seen by the hundreds of thousands of Poles who, here, found their second motherland. They came from across the ocean because they were looking for freedom. America was freedom to them and remained a symbol of freedom.

Today, we and the country on the Vistula River also have freedom. Nobody, thank God, has to leave Poland. We have achieved new prospects through the reduction of the Polish debt. We are deeply grateful for the role which you, Mr. Presi-

dent, relief
ber thi

Two
home
Ameri
sinceri
many
like to
Poland
to the
dent
third i

So,
To the
magni

Note:
the St
Presid
rem.

Rema
Ange
Repo
Attor
Marc.

The
erybo
here?

Mr.
The
Mr.

The
that I
updat
going
review
gener
specif

We
and t
Los
speci
stir u
violat
ficials
law
admi
breac

dent, played in this magnificent act. It is a relief for millions of Poles. We shall remember this.

Two years ago, you were a guest in my home in Gdansk. Now, I am your guest in America. I am met here with undescrivable sincerity. I hope that we shall meet on many more occasions. At the end, I would like to toast the most popular politician in Poland. [Laughter] Today it was passed on to the mass media—this politician, President George Bush. [Laughter] I came up third in the poll. [Laughter]

So, to your health and that of your wife. To the health of all present here, all the magnificent American friends, your health.

Note: President Bush spoke at 8:15 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. President Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Remarks on Police Brutality in Los Angeles and an Exchange With Reporters During a Meeting With Attorney General Dick Thornburgh March 21, 1991

The President. Marlin, have you told everybody that I will have a statement to say here?

Mr. Fitzwater. Yes, sir.

The President. Want to fire it up?

Mr. Fitzwater. I think we're ready.

The President. Well, let me simply say that I've asked the Attorney General for an update on our crime bill. And he's also going to brief me on the Department's review of allegations of police misconduct generally, and then the Los Angeles case specifically.

We've all seen those shocking videotapes and have seen transcripts of the incident in Los Angeles. And without getting into the specifics of the case, those terrible scenes stir us all to demand an end to gratuitous violence and brutality. Law enforcement officials cannot place themselves above the law that they are sworn to defend. This administration will investigate possible breaches of Federal law aggressively and

will prosecute violators to the full extent of the law.

The vast majority of our law enforcement professionals obey the law scrupulously—even in situations of great danger, even when they suspect that the criminals they arrest soon may go free. These brave men and women need the support of local governments. I have supported, and I will continue to vigorously support, honest police officers who obey the law.

I have in my mind that 83 police officers, just in the last 15 months, have lost their lives in the line of duty. They need the support of the court system, and they need the faith and the support of local citizens. Nothing is more important than defending a sense of national decency and promoting the rule of law.

I was shocked by what I saw in that tape—that violence. And to the degree there's a Federal role here, I'm confident we will go the extra mile to see that that is fulfilled. I might add that the Attorney General and I remain fully committed to the passage of our crime bill which would give us the tools we need to more effectively wage the war against crime. And as I said on my statement to the Congress, I would hope that Congress would move fast. I think there's strong support now in Congress for this legislation.

Thank you all very much.

Q. Have you spoken to Chief Gates, sir? Have you spoken with Chief Gates since this incident?

The President. No—

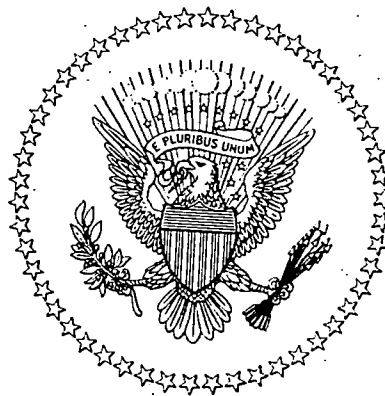
Q. Do you think he should hang in or resign?

The President. I think that's a matter for Los Angeles. As many of you know, I feel that in many ways he has been an exemplary police chief. He's been out front on doing things for kids. I remember attending the D.A.R.E. program out there with him. I remember attending—seeing ex post facto the wonderful job that the Los Angeles police did on buttoning up these crack houses. I'm familiar with the job the Los Angeles police are doing in fighting gangs.

But in terms of this case, certainly I think the man is entitled to his say. And it's a matter, the way I see it, for the local police department. The violation of Federal law

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

George Bush



1989

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1989

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1990

ber 17, 1991. He would succeed Thomas A. Bolan.

Since 1961 Mr. Barclay has served as a partner and associate in the law firm of Hiscock and Barclay in Syracuse, NY. Mr. Barclay graduated from Yale College (B.A., 1955) and Syracuse University College of

Law (J.D., 1961). He was born July 5, 1932, in New York, NY. Mr. Barclay was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Artillery in the U.S. Army Reserve in 1955. He is married, has five children, and resides in Pulaski, NY.

Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Lech Walesa and the Presidential Citizen's Medal to Lane Kirkland *November 13, 1989*

The President. Just before Christmas 1981, a darkness descended across Poland for the third time this century. What had begun as a year of hope and freedom ended in violence and repression. In snow-filled crossroads and town squares across Poland, iron tanks rumbled to a stop. Lech Walesa made the sign of the cross on the foreheads of his sleeping children and was taken away into the night. Solidarity, a movement embracing the Polish Nation, was outlawed. Communications with the outside world were cut. And Poland awoke to snow and steel and silence, an entire nation imprisoned.

But you can't lock up a dream. One by one, candles lit the windows of Poland's farmhouses and tenements, silent beacons of liberty still burning in the hearts of a brave and ancient people. And that Christmas Eve, not far from where we stand, a candle burned all night in the White House, like others all across America, glowing with solidarity with the Polish people.

When spring came, a time of renewal and rebirth, Lech Walesa's fate was still unknown. And as colleges and universities approached graduation, one by one, again and again, the same two names were heard. Lech Walesa and Solidarity. Of course, Lech Walesa could not come to accept those honorary degrees. And so, in crowded assembly halls and packed arenas across America, where every precious space was filled with proud and loving families, stage after stage held a single, unfilled place—an empty chair, bearing only the Solidarity banner—awaiting the release of Lech

Walesa, the liberation of the Polish people.

We saw empty chairs in Maine and Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Illinois. And at Notre Dame, the crowd stood for 3 minutes in cheering tribute to the empty chair and the man who wasn't there. At Holy Cross, Lane Kirkland accepted the award on Lech Walesa's behalf. And back in Poland, in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, an empty chair was placed near the altar for the baptism of tiny Maria Victoria, Lech's seventh child, a little girl he'd never seen.

For 8 years, these empty chairs and the American people have waited for you to come. We waited because we believe in freedom. We waited because we believe in Poland. And we waited because we believe in you. And today the waiting is over. Lech Walesa, man of freedom, is at the White House. We think of it as the house of freedom. Lech Walesa, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am proud to say to you: Take your place in this house of freedom. Take your place in the empty chair. Now you can have a seat.

In just a few days, you will be the second private citizen from abroad—second in our history—to ever address a joint meeting of Congress, after the Marquis de Lafayette in 1824. And like him, you helped win an historic struggle. And like him, you represent not only a people but also an idea—an idea whose time has come. And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. That idea is freedom. The time is now.

You were called a nobody, but Lenin and Stalin have been disproved not by Presi-

born July 5, 1932, Barclay was commissioned in the Artillery Reserve in 1955. He is married, and resides in

Freedom to Lech Kirkland

of the Polish people. in Maine and Penn- and Illinois. And at stood for 3 minutes the empty chair and here. At Holy Cross, the award on Lech back in Poland, in a outskirts of air placed near m of tiny Maria Vic- uild, a little girl he'd

empty chairs and the waited for you to ause we believe in ecause we believe in l because we believe waiting is over. Lech om, is at the White as the house of free- behalf of the people am proud to say to n this house of free- in the empty chair. at.

ou will be the second broad—second in our as a joint meeting of quis de Lafayette in u helped win an his- him, you represent also an idea—an idea And nothing can stop s come. That idea is ow.

obody, but Lenin and rove not by Presi-

dents or princes but by the likes of an electrician from Gdansk and his fellow workers in a brave union called Solidarity. The Iron Curtain is fast becoming a rusted, abandoned relic, symbolizing a lost era, a failed ideology. And the change is everywhere—Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia. And ladies and gentlemen, the week that brought Lech Walesa to America is the week that the headlines proclaimed, "And the Wall Comes Tumbling Down."

So, what is happening in Berlin and on our television screens is astounding. World War II, fought for freedom, ironically left the world divided between the free and the unfree; and most of us alive today were born into that sundered world. And now almost 50 years have passed, and some have wondered all these years why we stayed in Berlin. And let me tell you! We stayed because we knew, we just knew—all Americans—that this day would come. And now a century that was born in war and revolution may bequeath a legacy of peace unthinkable only a few years ago.

The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment, who took a stand. Lech Walesa showed how one individual could inspire others—in them a faith so powerful that it vindicated itself—changed the course of a nation. History may make men, but Lech Walesa has made history. And I believe history continues to be made every day by small daily acts of courage, by people who strive to make a difference. Such people, says Lech, "are everywhere, in every factory, steel mill, mine, and shipyard—everywhere." And we've certainly seen them in the American labor movement, where from the leadership of Lane Kirkland to the rank and file across the country, they have struggled in the vanguard of the free labor movement around the world.

Our own humble electrician, Ben Franklin, declared that "Our cause is the cause of all mankind, for we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own." And like Franklin, who seized lightning from the skies and brought it to Earth, Lech Walesa seized an idea, a powerful idea, and with it electrified the world. The idea is freedom. And the time is now.

Country by country, people by people,

year by year, courageous new voices are raised in a hundred languages—Spanish, German, Chinese, Russian. And yet from these varied lips comes a word all can understand: freedom. And with one voice, the people of the world have spoken: freedom. In America, it's our greatest natural resource, the secret of our success. And freedom will bring success to Poland, too. American aid has begun, and more is coming. From Washington to Warsaw, Kansas City to Krakow, from Green Bay to Gdansk, Americans are linked in spirit with the Polish people in their brave struggle for opportunity, prosperity, and freedom.

Lech Walesa, by your abiding faith and by the miracle of democracy's new birth in your homeland, you have come to personify the new breeze that is sweeping the world, East and West—the spiritual godfather of a new generation of democracy. And even while Solidarity was banned, your example and the example of the Polish people was mirrored across Asia when "People Power" became a chant, first in the Philippines and then in Pakistan and South Korea and, yes, even in Tiananmen Square. The whole world is watching, and the whole world is with you.

Thank you, Poland, for showing us that the dream is alive. And thank you, Poland, for showing us that a dream wrought by flesh and blood cannot be stilled by walls of steel. Thank you, Poland, and thank you, Lech Walesa.

And now, it is with great pride that I bestow the medal, previously awarded to the likes of Martin Luther King and President John F. Kennedy, Anwar Sadat, Mother Teresa. It is our nation's highest civilian honor. So, Mr. Walesa, if you'll come over here, let me read the citation:

To Lech Walesa, of Gdansk, Poland, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Lech Walesa has shown through his life and work the power of one individual's ideals when combined with the irresistible force of freedom. Through moral authority, force of personality, and demonstrated heroism, he has inspired a nation and the world in the cause of liberty. The United States honors a true man of his times and of timeless ideals: Lech Walesa, distinguished son of Poland, champion of universal human rights.

Mr. Walesa. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I'm deeply moved and gratified that I'm here, in the Capital of the United States of America and the White House, greeted so warmly by President George Bush in the company of American-Polish friends.

One of the greatest dreams of my life has thus been fulfilled. I'm full of admiration for your country not because it's a big power and not because it's rich, even though one could envy that. I admire America as a country of freedom—freedom of man and freedom of a nation. You took that freedom yourself. Nobody gave it to you as a present. You built it through your hard work, step by step. You created wonderful democratic institutions, which are an example for many other countries. But most, before others, you created human attachments to freedom.

America is a free country because American workers and farmers are and want to be free—technicians and engineers, bankers and industrialists. America is rich with its freedom. It shares it with the immigrants. Some are looking for freedom from misery, and others are looking for freedom from persecutions. That is why I so highly cherish the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Poles know the price of freedom as very few nations of the world. They know how to fight for freedom. They know how to defend freedom. Now my country has entered the road of freedom. It's rebuilding its independence and democracy. It's restoring sense to labor and economy. I'm sure that we will not get away from that road.

Mr. President, for yours and our freedom, for the American Nation, for the freedom of all nations of the world, thank you very much for this wonderful, wonderful distinction.

The President. Please be seated. Before we conclude, there is one more person with us today whose dedication to Solidarity and

to free trade unions I feel we must recognize. You all know how crucial has been the work of the AFL-CIO in helping *Solidarność* through difficult times and in promoting free trade unions and democracy around the world. So, Lane Kirkland, would you please come up here, sir. For over a decade, under your leadership, you and the union have been pathbreakers for freedom, continuing the support for free trade unions around the world. And in Eastern Europe, your support was crucial. And you were there—you, personally, were there—in the hour of greatest need, helping to keep alive the dream of democracy in Poland.

And so, Lane, on behalf of a grateful nation, I want to present you with the Presidential Citizen's Medal. And the citation reads:

As President of the AFL-CIO, Joseph Lane Kirkland has worked tirelessly and effectively in support of Solidarity, free trade unions, and democratic principles. America honors him for this dedication, which has helped spread the lamp of liberty in Eastern Europe and across the globe.

Congratulations!

Mr. Kirkland. Mr. President, you must like surprises because I was extraordinarily surprised by your very generous act in enabling me to share an honor with the man who towers in the world today for his achievements: Lech Walesa.

I can only say that it's what I think I try my best to stand for today that merits any such recognition. And what I do stand for—the instrument and the principle of free trade unionism—is today a lever that can move the world. And to serve that is a privilege for any person. Thank you again, Mr. President.

Note: The President spoke at 6:07 p.m. in the East Room of the White House. Mr. Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.

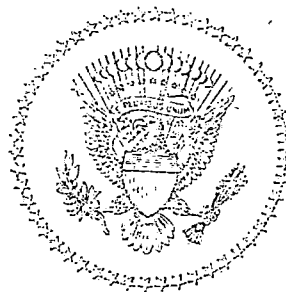
J81
.C2
1972
WHRC

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

Richard Nixon

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

1972



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1974

for Iran's impressive record in the development of a strong economy and the successful implementation of His Imperial Majesty's "White Revolution." His Imperial Majesty outlined the main features of Iran's new five year plan with particular emphasis on agro-industry and socio-economic projects. The President reiterated the readiness of the United States to cooperate with Iran as appropriate in this extensive program and important enterprise.

The President and His Imperial Majesty also discussed the worldwide narcotics problem. They noted that Iran and the United States were taking vigorous action against the illicit international narcotics traffic. Both took satisfaction in Iran's effective measures to control domestic opium production. The President expressed understanding of Iran's declared policy to cease internal cultivation of the opium poppy when Iran's neighbors also cease internal cultivation of the opium poppy. They agreed that the two governments should continue their close cooperation in international forums dealing with narcotic matters. The President noted with appreciation the active support provided by Iran at the recent United

Nations conference which adopted a protocol amending the 1961 single convention on narcotic drugs. The President reaffirmed United States' support for regional cooperation in solving international narcotics problems.

Both sides expressed deep satisfaction over the excellence of relations between their two countries and the expectation that they would continue in the future. His Imperial Majesty stressed once again Iran's determination to strengthen its defensive capability to ensure the nation's security. The President confirmed that the United States would, as in the past, continue to cooperate with Iran in strengthening its defenses. They reaffirmed their respect for the sovereign right of every nation to choose its own destiny in its own way without any outside interference.

In expressing appreciation for the warm hospitality shown him and Mrs. Nixon, the President invited Their Imperial Majesties to visit the United States at a mutually convenient time. The invitation was accepted with deep appreciation.

NOTE: The joint communique was released in Tehran, Iran.

184 Remarks on Arrival at Warsaw, Poland.

May 31, 1972

Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers and all of our distinguished guests:

We express our very deep appreciation to you for your generous words of welcome.

This, for me, is a very special moment. While I was here 13 years ago with Mrs. Nixon, I was here then in my capacity as Vice President of the United States. And

now, at this very moment, for the first time in the long history and friendly history between our two countries, a President of the United States stands on Polish soil.

It is fitting that this should be so, first, because I bring greetings of friendship from all of the American people to all of the Polish people. And particularly as you, Mr. Chairman, referred to them, I

May 31 [185]

bring you specially warm greetings from millions of Americans who are so proud of their Polish background.

Americans of Polish background have added enormously to the strength and the vitality and the culture of the United States.

But there is also an even more significant reason why the last stop on this journey that I have taken is here in Warsaw, and in Poland. Perhaps no people in all the world, no country in all the world, has suffered more from war than have the Polish people and the Polish nation.

President Eisenhower told me that when he visited Poland as General of the Armies in 1945, that 85 percent of Warsaw had been destroyed. I know that the strong Polish people have rebuilt your great capital city of which you are so justly proud.

But I can assure you that the major purpose of my visit here, and to the other

countries that I have visited over the years that I have served in my present office, is to build a new structure of peace in the world. Poland has suffered too much from war and Poland, along with other peoples in the world, wants peace, and that is our goal: to achieve a world of peace for all nations.

I am confident that the talks that I will have with you, Mr. Chairman, and with the other representatives of the Polish Government, will contribute to our common goal of friendship between the American people and the Polish people and of peace for all the world.

Niech żyje Polska. [Long live Poland.]

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. at Okecie International Airport in response to the welcoming remarks of Piotr Jaroszewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. He spoke from a prepared text.

185 Toasts of the President and Piotr Jaroszewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, at a Dinner in Warsaw. May 31, 1972

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Gierek, Mr. President, and all of the distinguished guests:

On behalf of all the Americans present, we express our appreciation for this beautiful dinner and for the hospitality which you have extended to us on our visit to Warsaw.

I recall that it was 13 years ago that Mrs. Nixon and I had the privilege of visiting this beautiful city. Each time we have come, the schedule has permitted us only 24 hours. All that I can say is that is an insult to our intelligence, because having visited most of the great capitals of the

world, I can truthfully say that we only wish we could spend days—as a matter of fact, weeks—in this capital city of Poland.

I say that for two reasons: One, because of the traditional hospitality for which the Polish people, wherever they are in the world, are famous; and second, because the people of Poland and the Polish Government had the good sense, after their city suffered so terribly during the war, not to erect horrible monstrosities of modern buildings, but to rebuild Warsaw with the grace that it had been known for through the centuries, and if anyone claims after that remark that I do not like

modern architecture, he is absolutely right. I prefer the beautiful buildings of Warsaw.

As we are here tonight in Warsaw, we cannot help thinking that this city, and this country, has been often the subject of very difficult conflicts in the past, from which it has suffered. The partitions of Poland through the centuries are well known, but vivid in our memories is that Poland was the victim of aggression in 1939, that it was cruelly occupied for many long years. But now I believe we can look ahead with some assurance that the history of war and suffering which has been inflicted upon this city and this country will not repeat itself.

Last week in Moscow, major steps were taken to slow and eventually, we trust, halt the arms race. This week, treaties vital to the peace and security of Europe, and of Poland, are nearing their moment of completion. And in the months ahead, we can look forward to new progress in the building of a broad structure of friendship and cooperation throughout Europe. Already, Polish-American relations, based on a long history of friendship and of ties between our peoples, are marked by extensive programs of contact and cooperation.

After a very long discussion with Mr. Gierek today, I believe I can confidently say that this trend of cooperation between Poland and the United States will continue and be developed even further in the future.

As we move toward broader negotiations in Europe, we recognize the efforts which Poland has long made in this field. Our two countries have not always agreed on specific proposals, but we do not question the desire that we both have to live in peace and dignity. We know that Poland's

contributions to the coming negotiations will be major contributions.

In our view, the European Conference, when it meets, should have real promise of achievement. That is why we believe it should be carefully prepared.

We see particular importance in measures that will reduce the division of Europe, that will open new avenues for contact among its peoples and ideas, new opportunities for exchanging experience and knowledge.

We hope that a European Conference could elaborate realistic principles by which the states involved will conduct their relations in the decade to come. And we particularly hope that the multilateral consultations in which Poland will participate, as well as the United States—that are to take place later this year—can prepare the ground for progress in these and other areas.

Also, we should like to see early talks on the reduction of the ground forces facing each other in Europe. We recognize that this is a complex subject and we have done much intensive study of this subject within our Government and with our allies.

One objective is a reciprocal reduction of forces that will leave both sides more secure, or at least not less secure. And we hope the preparatory talks among the countries involved can get under way soon; preferably paralleling the multilateral consultations on the European Conference.

And here it is important to point out the major role that Poland, in the heart of Europe, has played in the past and will continue to play in the future in reducing the tensions that divide Europe today.

The journey that we are concluding tonight and tomorrow has been described as

a "journey for peace." And to our Polish friends here tonight, I would say that to have Warsaw as the last stop of that journey is altogether appropriate.

America knows, the world knows, the fortitude, the character, the courage of the Polish people. And America knows and the world knows that no country in the world has suffered more from war than has Poland.

And so, in a very real sense, peace in the world means peace for Poland and, therefore, it is fitting that we should end in this capital what we hope will be recorded in history as a Journey for Peace.

Niech żyje przyjaźń Polsko-Amerykańska. [Long live Polish-American friendship.]

To the health of all our Polish friends.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:27 p.m. in the Palace of the Council of Ministers. He spoke from a prepared text.

Eduard Gierk was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and Henryk Jablonski was President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic.

Chairman Jaroszewicz spoke in Polish. A translation of his toast was made available by the White House Press Office as follows:

Mr. President, Madame Nixon, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very glad to have the honor to welcome you Mr. President, Madame Nixon, and members of your party.

We hope that the first visit of a United States President in Poland's history will exert a profound influence on the development of our bilateral relations, and at the same time will make it possible to discuss a number of important international issues of interest to Poland and the United States.

Mr. President, the ties between our two nations have behind them a long, fine traditions. Many eminent Poles had fought for independence of the United States. Millions of Polish hands and minds have participated in building

the American statehood, American society, and American economy.

Neither will we ever forget that in a lifespan of a single generation we have fought twice on the same side in two World Wars. This imposes on us an obligation to cooperate in the building of peace, too.

People's Poland which has bound her fate to socialism and which is an unflinching, important unit in the community of socialist countries, has been lifted by a selfless effort from war ravages and has now considerable achievements in peaceful construction. At present, in liberating the creative energies of the Polish people, she finds herself at a stage of dynamic economic, social, scientific, and cultural development. This permits Poland to look into the future with confidence, and to assign herself new ambitious tasks on her way to modernity, mindful of the people, their prosperity and personal advancement. In carrying out our program we assign an important place—over and above our own capabilities—to development of cooperation with foreign countries. A crucial part in this cooperation is being played by socialist countries, especially our tested friend—the Soviet Union. Simultaneously we are actively advancing our relations with all countries willing to do so. We see great opportunities for substantially expanding Polish-American bilateral relations.

We welcome with satisfaction the United States interest in developing these relations. We are convinced that great possibilities exist for substantially developing Polish-American economic, scientific, and technical cooperation which has, incidentally, a good, long past record. We believe that development of economic cooperation between our countries may bring about in the near future mutual benefits in the form of multiplying our trade turnover.

May I be allowed to express the hope, Mr. President, that your visit here and our talks will greatly contribute to mutual knowledge of our standpoints and to major progress in our bilateral relations.

Mr. President, Poland's development and future are inseparably bound to world peace. From this results our activity aimed at strengthening peace and security in Europe, at holding a European Security and Cooperation Conference.

We think that the United States may bring an important, positive contribution to the cause of the European Security and Cooperation Conference. We welcome with satisfaction the United States expressed readiness to participate in the many-sided, practical preparations for this conference.

We have always held that recognition of political and territorial realities resulting from the victory over Nazi Third Reich and from postwar developments are of crucial significance for Europe's lasting peace and security, for progress, détente, and mutual trust in international relations. At present, when the treaties which Poland and the Soviet Union have concluded with the Federal Republic of Germany are becoming effective, this requirement is being met. This is particularly important because it closes the postwar chapter in European history, and opens a new one. To our people it also means that our national frontiers are universally recognized as final and are no longer disputed by anyone. The accord on West Berlin, furnishing conditions for eliminating a major source of tension, will be put into effect parallel with the treaties referred to.

General recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, admission of both German states to the United Nations should be—we believe—the next, important step along the newly entered way toward a peaceful Europe.

Speaking of European affairs, dear to our heart, we remember however, that world peace is indivisible. We consider it indispensable to

extinguish all hotbeds of war and tension which are a threat to world peace. In asserting this we are backed by the tragic historical experience our nation has lived through—as probably no other nation has—of the bitterness of being partitioned and of the cruel horrors of destructive wars.

Mr. President, before coming here you have had meetings and important talks with Secretary General of CPSU CC Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders. Poland welcomes with gratification the historic outcome of these talks and lends them her full support. We consider that the treaties and agreements concluded in Moscow are of fundamental importance to international détente, to consolidation of peace in the interest of all nations.

We congratulate you, Mr. President, and the leaders of the Soviet Union on this success.

We see in the results of Soviet-American talks a practical confirmation of the principle of peaceful coexistence and an indication of transition from an era of confrontation to an era of negotiations.

In this spirit, too, we welcome your arrival in Warsaw.

Ladies and gentlemen. Allow me to raise a toast:

- your health, Mr. President, and that of Madame Nixon;
- to successful progress of your visit here;
- to the health of all American guests;
- to prosperity of the American people;
- to friendship between the Polish and American peoples.

186 Toast at a Luncheon in Warsaw Honoring Polish Leaders. June 1, 1972

Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman of the Council of Ministers, all of our distinguished guests:

We feel somewhat embarrassed to be the hosts in this great palace which is not ours, but yours. But this is an indication of the great hospitality which our friends from Poland have extended to us on this visit.

We shall take away many memories of this visit: the memories of the warm reception of the people of Warsaw, the memories of our very constructive talks, of the agreements which we reached. But most important, we shall take away the memories of the people at this table, the leaders of this country whom we have had the privilege to talk to face to face,

man to man, and learn to know, because an agreement can be made at any time by any group of leaders, but what really matters is the continuity; what really matters is the followthrough.

Now that we know each other so well, we have the opportunity, through direct contact, to follow through on some of the great objectives we talked about in our discussions. But unless the leaders get, perhaps, too confident of their abilities, let me say that Mrs. Nixon and I agree that just as great a privilege was to meet the wives of the leaders and to have them here on this occasion.

I will only say in conclusion that tonight, while you are asleep, but when it is only 9:30 in the United States, I will be addressing the United States Congress in joint session. I will report on many things—the results of our trips to Austria, to Iran, to the Soviet Union, and, of course, to Poland. I can assure you that one of the greatest impressions that will be made upon the 500 Members of the House and Senate who will be there will

be my report that there is still that strong bond of friendship between the Polish people and the American people, because Poland has always had a special place in the hearts of Americans—from the time of our revolution, in which Poles were so helpful, through the period when we have fought side by side as allies against common enemies.

In conclusion, I can only say that we appreciate the opportunity to receive you in this magnificent room, but we also look forward to the opportunity, based on the communique that we announced today, of receiving the leaders of Poland in the White House. Now, that makes no predictions as to whether I shall be there, but you can be sure whoever is there will receive the representatives of the great Polish people with a warm heart. So, if we can raise our glasses to Polish-American friendship in the past, in the present, and for all the years to come.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. in Wilanow Palace. He spoke from a prepared text.

187 Joint Communique Following Discussions With Polish Leaders. June 1, 1972

I.

At the invitation of the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Mr. Henryk Jablonski, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Piotr Jaroszewicz—the President of the United States, Mr. Richard Nixon, and Mrs. Nixon paid an official visit to Poland on May 31 and June 1.

On the first day of the visit, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of

the Polish United Workers' Party, Eduard Gierek, conducted talks with President Nixon.

On June 1, President Nixon called on the President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and had talks with him.

On the second day of the visit talks were held between First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Eduard Gierek, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Piotr Jaroszewicz, and President Nixon.

The following participated in the talks:

on the American side:

Secretary of State William P. Rogers
Ambassador of the United States
Walter J. Stoessel, Jr.

Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs Dr. Henry Kissinger
Assistant Secretary of State for Euro-
pean Affairs Martin J. Hillenbrand

on the Polish side:

Vice Premier and Chairman of the
Planning Commission Mieczyslaw
Jagielski

Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski
Secretary of the Central Committee of
the PUWP Franciszek Szlachcic
Secretary of the Central Committee of
the PUWP Jan Szydlak

Ambassador of Poland Witold Tramp-
czynski

Minister of Science, Higher Education
and Technology Jan Kaczmarek

Minister of Foreign Trade Tadeusz
Olechowski

Deputy Chairman of the Planning
Commission Henryk Kisiel

Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
Romuald Spasowski

Government Spokesman Undersec-
retary of State Wlodzimierz Janiurek

Talks were also held between Secretary
of State William P. Rogers and Minister
of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski

During the talks, the two sides had a
useful exchange of views on international
questions of particular interest to them
and discussed the most important subjects
in the field of bilateral relations.

The talks were frank, businesslike and
constructive. They were conducted in an
atmosphere marked by a desire to better
understand each other's position, and to
expand and deepen mutual relations.

President and Mrs. Nixon expressed
their warm appreciation for the hospital-
ity they enjoyed in Poland. The President
of the United States invited the First Sec-
retary of the Central Committee of the
Polish United Workers' Party, Mr.
Eduard Gierek, the President of the Coun-
cil of State, Mr. Henryk Jablonski, and
the Prime Minister, Mr. Piotr Jaroszewicz,
to visit the United States at a time con-
venient to both sides. The invitation was
accepted with pleasure.

II.

1. Both sides agreed that the develop-
ment of peaceful cooperation among
states must be based on the principles of
territorial integrity and inviolability of
frontiers, non-interference in internal
affairs, sovereign equality, independence
and renunciation of the use or threat of
use of force.

2. Both sides presented their views on
the situation in Europe. They affirmed
that the broadening of relations between
all states interested in European security
is of outstanding importance for world
peace. Both sides welcomed the expansion
of cooperation in Europe in all fields and
expressed their belief that true security is
indivisible and can be attained only if
Europe is considered as a whole. The rela-
tions between the United States and
Poland, based on sovereign equality and
mutual respect, contribute to peace and
stability in Europe and to the favorable
development of the overall international
situation.

3. Both sides welcomed the treaty be-
tween Poland and the Federal Republic
of Germany signed on December 7, 1970,
including its border provisions. They
noted the significance of the provisions of

this treaty as well as of other recent agreements in contributing to confidence and cooperation among the European states.

4. Both sides agreed that a reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments, first of all in Central Europe, would contribute to the goal of ensuring security and stability in Europe. Any agreement reached on this matter should not diminish the security of any of the sides. The two sides agreed that the states concerned should reach appropriate agreement as soon as practicable on procedures for negotiations on this question in a special forum. Reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would be an important step toward attaining the objective of general and complete disarmament.

5. Both sides expressed the belief that a European Conference on Security and Cooperation may constitute an important step forward in the extensive and long-range process of the normalization of relations and detente in Europe. They agreed that the Conference should be carefully prepared, and that multilateral consultations in that regard should begin without undue delay. The two sides declared their readiness to cooperate to achieve this aim.

6. Both sides presented their known positions on the war in Vietnam and the situation in Indochina. Essential views of the two sides in this question remained divergent.

III.

1. Both sides noted with satisfaction the increasing commercial and other economic ties between the two countries and concluded that there are considerable possibilities for their further expansion. With this in mind the two sides discussed issues related to commercial exchange and

financial and credit matters.

The Polish side indicated an interest in increased purchases of capital goods, licenses and technology in the United States.

The U.S. side undertook to consider in a constructive manner further steps leading to increased bilateral trade and economic cooperation.

2. The two sides will exchange information leading to expanded trade relations. In the interest of broadening and facilitating trade relations between the two countries and working out concrete steps towards that end the two sides decided to create a joint Polish-American Trade Commission.

3. The two sides will encourage and support contacts and cooperation between economic organizations and enterprises of both countries.

4. The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the expanding program of scientific and technical cooperation and appraised positively its mutually advantageous results. Last year's exchange of visits at the cabinet level, which gave attention to the development of scientific and technical cooperation, confirmed the desirability of continuing cooperation in this field.

The two sides expressed their interest in the conclusion of an intergovernmental agreement on comprehensive cooperation in science, technology and culture. Appropriate institutional arrangements will be established to promote work in these fields.

5. The two sides agreed that the increase of mutual economic and personal contacts, including tourism, justifies further development of transportation links between Poland and the United States by sea as well as by air. The two sides expect to sign in the near future an air transport

agreement and to establish mutual and regular air connections.

6. The two sides expressed their interest in commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of the birth of Nicholas Copernicus and discussed ways of celebrating it.

7. Both sides welcomed the signing of the Consular Convention by Secretary of State William P. Rogers and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and the conclusion of an agreement on the simultaneous establishment on December 1, 1972 of new Consulates—in New York and Krakow, respectively. Both parties welcome these steps as concrete evidence of expanding relations between the two states.

8. The two sides emphasized the positive influence exerted on their mutual relations by the traditions of history, sentiment and friendship between the Polish

and American peoples. A prominent part is played in this respect by many United States citizens of Polish extraction who maintain an interest in the country of their ancestors. The two sides recognize that this interest and contacts resulting from it constitute a valuable contribution to the development of bilateral relations.

Signed in Warsaw, June 1, 1972.

NOTE: The joint communique was released at Warsaw, Poland.

On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing by Ronald L. Ziegler, Press Secretary to the President, and Włodzimierz Janiurek, Polish Undersecretary of State for Information, on the joint communique.

On May 31, 1972, the White House released the text of a statement by Secretary of State William P. Rogers on signing the U.S.-Polish Consular Convention and a fact sheet outlining the terms of the convention. Secretary Rogers' statement is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 8, p. 970).

188 Address to a Joint Session of the Congress on Return From Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Poland.

June 1, 1972

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress, our distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:

Your welcome in this great Chamber tonight has a very special meaning to Mrs. Nixon and to me. We feel very fortunate to have traveled abroad so often representing the United States of America. But we both agree after each journey that the best part of any trip abroad is coming home to America again.

During the past 13 days we have flown more than 16,000 miles and we visited four countries. Everywhere we went—to Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, Poland—

we could feel the quickening pace of change in old international relationships and the peoples' genuine desire for friendship for the American people. Everywhere new hopes are rising for a world no longer shadowed by fear and want and war, and as Americans we can be proud that we now have an historic opportunity to play a great role in helping to achieve man's oldest dream—a world in which all nations can enjoy the blessings of peace.

On this journey we saw many memorable sights, but one picture will always remain indelible in our memory—the flag of the United States of America flying

high in the spring breeze above Moscow's ancient Kremlin fortress.

To millions of Americans for the past quarter century the Kremlin has stood for implacable hostility toward all that we cherish, and to millions of Russians the American flag has long been held up as a symbol of evil. No one would have believed, even a short time ago, that these two apparently irreconcilable symbols would be seen together as we saw them for those few days.

But this does not mean that we bring back from Moscow the promise of instant peace, but we do bring the beginning of a process that can lead to a lasting peace. And that is why I have taken the extraordinary action of requesting this special joint session of the Congress because we have before us an extraordinary opportunity.

I have not come here this evening to make new announcements in a dramatic setting. This summit has already made its news. It has barely begun, however, to make its mark on our world, and I ask you to join me tonight—while events are fresh, while the iron is hot—in starting to consider how we can help to make that mark what we want it to be.

The foundation has been laid for a new relationship between the two most powerful nations in the world. Now it is up to us—to all of us here in this Chamber, to all of us across America—to join with other nations in building a new house upon that foundation, one that can be a home for the hopes of mankind and a shelter against the storms of conflict.

As a preliminary, therefore, to requesting your concurrence in some of the agreements we reached and your approval of funds to carry out others, and also as a keynote for the unity in which this Gov-

ernment and this Nation must go forward from here, I am rendering this immediate report to the Congress on the results of the Moscow summit.

The pattern of U.S.-Soviet summit diplomacy in the cold war era is well known to all those in this Chamber. One meeting after another produced a brief euphoric mood—the spirit of Geneva, the spirit of Camp David, the spirit of Vienna, the spirit of Glassboro—but without producing significant progress on the really difficult issues.

And so early in this Administration I stated that the prospect of concrete results, not atmospherics, would be our criterion for meetings at the highest level. I also announced our intention to pursue negotiations with the Soviet Union across a broad front of related issues, with the purpose of creating a momentum of achievement in which progress in one area could contribute to progress in others.

This is the basis on which we prepared for and conducted last week's talks. This was a working summit. We sought to establish not a superficial spirit of Moscow, but a solid record of progress on solving the difficult issues which for so long have divided our two nations and also have divided the world. Reviewing the number and the scope of agreements that emerged, I think we have accomplished that goal.

Recognizing the responsibility of the advanced industrial nations to set an example in combatting mankind's common enemies, the United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to cooperate in efforts to reduce pollution and enhance environmental quality. We have agreed to work together in the field of medical science and public health, particularly in the conquest of cancer and heart disease.

Recognizing that the quest for useful knowledge transcends differences between ideologies and social systems, we have agreed to expand United States and Soviet cooperation in many areas of science and technology.

We have joined in plans for an exciting new adventure, a new adventure in the cooperative exploration of space, which will begin—subject to Congressional approval of funding—with a joint orbital mission of an Apollo vehicle and a Soviet spacecraft in 1975.

By forming habits of cooperation and strengthening institutional ties in areas of peaceful enterprise, these four agreements, to which I have referred, will create on both sides a steadily growing vested interest in the maintenance of good relations between our two countries.

Expanded United States-Soviet trade will also yield advantages to both of our nations. When the two largest economies in the world start trading with each other on a much larger scale, living standards in both nations will rise, and the stake which both have in peace will increase.

Progress in this area is proceeding on schedule. At the summit, we established a Joint Commercial Commission which will complete the negotiations for a comprehensive trade agreement between the United States and the U.S.S.R. And we expect the final terms of this agreement to be settled later this year.

Two further accords which were reached last week have a much more direct bearing on the search for peace and security in the world.

One is the agreement between the American and Soviet navies aimed at significantly reducing the chances of dangerous incidents between our ships and aircraft at sea.

And second, and most important, there is the treaty and the related executive agreement which will limit, for the first time, both offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Three-fifths of all the people alive in the world today have spent their whole lifetimes under the shadow of a nuclear war which could be touched off by the arms race among the great powers. Last Friday in Moscow we witnessed the beginning of the end of that era which began in 1945. We took the first step toward a new era of mutually agreed restraint and arms limitation between the two principal nuclear powers.

With this step we have enhanced the security of both nations. We have begun to check the wasteful and dangerous spiral of nuclear arms which has dominated relations between our two countries for a generation. We have begun to reduce the level of fear by reducing the causes of fear, for our two peoples and for all peoples in the world.

The ABM Treaty will be submitted promptly for the Senate's advice and consent to ratification and the interim agreement limiting certain offensive weapons will be submitted to both Houses for concurrence, because we can undertake agreements as important as these only on a basis of full partnership between the executive and legislative branches of our Government.

I ask from this Congress and I ask from the Nation the fullest scrutiny of these accords. I am confident such examination will underscore the truth of what I told the Soviet people on television just a few nights ago—that this is an agreement in the interest of both nations. From the standpoint of the United States, when we

consider what the strategic balance would have looked like later in the seventies, if there had been no arms limitation, it is clear that the agreements forestall a major spiraling of the arms race—one which would have worked to our disadvantage, since we have no current building programs for the categories of weapons which have been frozen, and since no new building program could have produced any new weapons in those categories during the period of the freeze.

My colleagues in the Congress, I have studied the strategic balance in great detail with my senior advisers for more than 3 years. I can assure you, the Members of the Congress, and the American people tonight that the present and planned strategic forces of the United States are without question sufficient for the maintenance of our security and the protection of our vital interests.

No power on earth is stronger than the United States of America today. And none will be stronger than the United States of America in the future.

This is the only national defense posture which can ever be acceptable to the United States. This is the posture I ask the Senate and the Congress to protect by approving the arms limitation agreements to which I have referred. This is the posture which, with the responsible cooperation of the Congress, I will take all necessary steps to maintain in our future defense programs.

In addition to the talks which led to the specific agreements I have listed, I also had full, very frank, and extensive discussions with General Secretary Brezhnev and his colleagues about several parts of the world where American and Soviet interests have come in conflict.

With regard to the reduction of ten-

sions in Europe, we recorded our intention of proceeding later this year with multilateral consultations looking toward a conference on security and cooperation in all of Europe. We have also jointly agreed to move forward with negotiations on mutual and balanced force reductions in central Europe.

The problem of ending the Vietnam war, which engages the hopes of all Americans, was one of the most extensively discussed subjects on our agenda. It would only jeopardize the search for peace if I were to review here all that was said on that subject. I will simply say this: Each side obviously has its own point of view and its own approach to this very difficult issue. But at the same time, both the United States and the Soviet Union share an overriding desire to achieve a more stable peace in the world. I emphasize to you once again that this Administration has no higher goal, a goal that I know all of you share, than bringing the Vietnam war to an early and honorable end. We are ending the war in Vietnam, but we shall end it in a way which will not betray our friends, risk the lives of the courageous Americans still serving in Vietnam, break faith with those held prisoners by the enemy, or stain the honor of the United States of America.

Another area where we had very full, frank, and extensive discussions was the Middle East. I reiterated the American people's commitment to the survival of the state of Israel and to a settlement just to all the countries in the area. Both sides stated in the communique their intention to support the Jarring peace mission and other appropriate efforts to achieve this objective.

The final achievement of the Moscow conference was the signing of a landmark

declaration entitled "Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the United States and the U.S.S.R." As these 12 basic principles are put into practice, they can provide a solid framework for the future development of better American-Soviet relations.

They begin with the recognition that two nuclear nations, each of which has the power to destroy humanity, have no alternative but to coexist peacefully, because in a nuclear war there would be no winners, only losers.

The basic principles commit both sides to avoid direct military confrontation and to exercise constructive leadership and restraint with respect to smaller conflicts in other parts of the world which could drag the major powers into war.

They disavow any intention to create spheres of influence or to conspire against the interests of any other nation—a point I would underscore by saying once again tonight that America values its ties with all nations, from our oldest allies in Europe and Asia, as I emphasized by my visit to Iran, to our good friends in the third world, and to our new relationship with the People's Republic of China.

The improvement of relations depends not only, of course, on words, but far more on actions. The principles to which we agreed in Moscow are like a road map. Now that the map has been laid out, it is up to each country to follow it. The United States intends to adhere to these principles. The leaders of the Soviet Union have indicated a similar intention.

However, we must remember that Soviet ideology still proclaims hostility to some of America's most basic values. The Soviet leaders remain committed to that ideology. Like the nation they lead, they are and they will continue to be totally

dedicated competitors of the United States of America.

As we shape our policies for the period ahead, therefore, we must maintain our defenses at an adequate level until there is mutual agreement to limit forces. The time-tested policies of vigilance and firmness which have brought us to this summit are the only ones that can safely carry us forward to further progress in reaching agreements to reduce the danger of war.

Our successes in the strategic arms talks and in the Berlin negotiations, which opened the road to Moscow, came about because over the past 3 years we have consistently refused proposals for unilaterally abandoning the ABM, unilaterally pulling back our forces from Europe, and drastically cutting the defense budget. The Congress deserves the appreciation of the American people for having the courage to vote such proposals down and to maintain the strength America needs to protect its interests.

As we continue the strategic arms talks, seeking a permanent offensive weapons treaty, we must bear the lessons of the earlier talks well in mind.

By the same token, we must stand steadfastly with our NATO partners if negotiations leading to a new détente and a mutual reduction of forces in Europe are to be productive. Maintaining the strength, integrity, and steadfastness of our free world alliances is the foundation on which all of our other initiatives for peace and security in the world must rest. As we seek better relations with those who have been our adversaries, we will not let down our friends and allies around the world.

And in this period we must keep our economy vigorous and competitive if the opening for greater East-West trade is to

mean anything at all, and if we do not wish to be shouldered aside in world markets by the growing potential of the economies of Japan, Western Europe, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China. For America to continue its role of helping to build a more peaceful world, we must keep America number one economically in the world.

We must maintain our own momentum of domestic innovation, growth, and reform if the opportunities for joint action with the Soviets are to fulfill their promise. As we seek agreements to build peace abroad, we must keep America moving forward at home.

Most importantly, if the new age we seek is ever to become a reality, we must keep America strong in spirit—a nation proud of its greatness as a free society, confident of its mission in the world. Let us be committed to our way of life as wholeheartedly as the Communist leaders with whom we seek a new relationship are committed to their system. Let us always be proud to show in our words and actions what we know in our hearts—that we believe in America.

These are just some of the challenges of peace. They are in some ways even more difficult than the challenges of war. But we are equal to them. As we meet them, we will be able to go forward and explore the sweeping possibilities for peace which this season of summits has now opened up for the world.

For decades, America has been locked in hostile confrontation with the two great Communist powers, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. We were engaged with the one at many points and almost totally isolated from the other, but our relationships with both had reached a deadly impasse. All three countries were

victims of the kind of bondage about which George Washington long ago warned in these words: The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred . . . is a slave to its own animosity.

But now in the brief space of 4 months, these journeys to Peking and to Moscow have begun to free us from perpetual confrontation. We have moved toward better understanding, mutual respect, point-by-point settlement of differences with both the major Communist powers.

This one series of meetings has not rendered an imperfect world suddenly perfect. There still are deep philosophical differences; there still are parts of the world in which age-old hatreds persist. The threat of war has not been eliminated—it has been reduced. We are making progress toward a world in which leaders of nations will settle their differences by negotiation, not by force, and in which they learn to live with their differences so that their sons will not have to die for those differences.

It was particularly fitting that this trip, aimed at building such a world, should have concluded in Poland.

No country in the world has suffered more from war than Poland—and no country has more to gain from peace. The faces of the people who gave us such a heartwarming welcome in Warsaw yesterday, and then again this morning and this afternoon, told an eloquent story of suffering from war in the past and of hope for peace in the future. One could see it in their faces. It made me more determined than ever that America must do all in its power to help that hope for peace come true for all people in the world.

As we continue that effort, our unity of purpose and action will be all-important.

For the summits of 1972 have not belonged just to one person or to one party or to one branch of our Government alone. Rather they are part of a great national journey for peace. Every American can claim a share in the credit for the success of that journey so far, and every American has a major stake in its success for the future.

An unparalleled opportunity has been placed in America's hands. Never has there been a time when hope was more justified or when complacency was more dangerous. We have made a good beginning. And because we have begun, history now lays upon us a special obligation to see it through. We can seize this moment or we can lose it; we can make good this opportunity to build a new structure of peace in the world or we can let it slip away. Together, therefore, let us seize the moment so that our children and the

world's children can live free of the fears and free of the hatreds that have been the lot of mankind through the centuries.

Then the historians of some future age will write of the year 1972, not that this was the year America went up to the summit and then down to the depths of the valley again, but that this was the year when America helped to lead the world up out of the lowlands of constant war, and onto the high plateau of lasting peace.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:40 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol, after being introduced by Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

The President spoke from a prepared text. An advance text of his address was released on the same day.

On June 2, 1972, the bipartisan leaders of the Congress met with the President at the White House for a review of his trip and the agreements reached.

189 Telegram to the National Governors' Conference Meeting in Houston, Texas, Urging State Action on No-Fault Automobile Insurance. *June 7, 1972*

IT IS a pleasure to send my greetings and my high regards to the Governors of our States. Each of you is a full and vital partner in our common effort to provide better, more effective and more responsive government for all our people.

I know the Governors share my abiding interest in preserving and strengthening a truly federal system in the United States in which all levels of government—Federal, State and local—share in their proper responsibilities.

This results in problems being solved on the level of government which can be most effective on each particular issue. Some problems clearly require Federal remedies,

and we have moved to provide them. Many other matters, however, can be handled most effectively by State and local governments, with Washington acting in a supporting role.

On one such important matter, I believe that the States—and not the Federal Government—can best respond to one of the most pressing consumer needs in the Nation today: the urgent question of reform for the present system of automobile insurance. I oppose involving the Federal Government in this insurance reform, and I urge the States to act.

Despite ever-increasing premiums for automobile insurance, the victims of ac-

J81
.C2
1975
v.2
WHRC

II PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

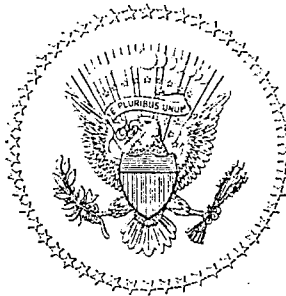
Gerald R. Ford

*Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and
Statements of the President*

1975

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JULY 21 TO DECEMBER 31, 1975



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1977

lose in Turkey if we cannot remedy the action. Their loss would seriously downgrade our capabilities in major areas of national security. These installations are not replaceable.

In reviewing the debates of the last several months, any fair-minded person would agree that there is not a fundamental dispute on the objective of achieving a peaceful and equitable solution to the tragic Cyprus problem. The Congress has chosen means to accomplish that end which in my judgment would not only delay and impede a Cyprus settlement but, as now can be seen clearly, cause a disastrous deterioration in our security relations with Turkey and in the Eastern Mediterranean in general. In addition, these effects will certainly not make for an improvement in relations between Greece and Turkey, without which a Cyprus settlement is not possible.

My Administration has been and will continue to pursue the cause of a just and peaceful settlement in Cyprus. But I must emphasize in the strongest terms how seriously hobbled our efforts will be if the embargo against Turkey is maintained.

I, therefore, urge through you, Mr. Speaker, the immediate reconsideration of the House action. Only if we preserve our vital security relations with Turkey will I be able usefully to assist the parties in the area toward better relations.

Sincerely,

GERALD R. FORD

448

Remarks on Arrival at Warsaw, Poland.

July 28, 1975

Mr. First Secretary, Mrs. Gierek, Mr. Chairman of the Council of State, Mr. Prime Minister, distinguished hosts:

Mrs. Ford and I are deeply grateful for your very cordial words of welcome. It is a great privilege and pleasure for me to return to Poland. Mrs. Ford and I had the privilege and honor of being here a number of years ago and spent some 11 days in Warsaw and in Poland, and we have fond memories of that wonderful experience.

During the 16 years since my first visit to your country, the friendly ties between our peoples have developed in a way that should provide us much mutual encouragement. Building on a foundation laid nearly 200 years ago, when courageous Poles came to our shores and helped make American inde-

July 28

July 28

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[448]

pendence a reality, we have worked hard to broaden the scope of our common interests.

I am deeply gratified by the expansion of contacts between our two countries, by the rapid growth in trade, and by the new forms of bilateral cooperation which have been able to develop between our two nations.

During your visit to Washington last October, Mr. First Secretary, we signed the joint agreements of principles of U.S.-Polish relations, the joint statement of the development of economic and industrial cooperation, and our two countries, Mr. Secretary, entered into agreements on coal research, health, environmental protection, the avoidance of double taxation, and the cooperation in science and technology.

These agreements are the latest evidence, Mr. Secretary, of our ability to work together to improve the lives of our peoples, and I hope that we can achieve even greater cooperation during this visit.

I look forward to our discussions, Mr. Secretary. I am confident that in reviewing our relationships we can strengthen the traditional friendship between our two peoples and improve the prospects for world peace.

I am also very anxious to share our thoughts about the future and to hear your views, Mr. Secretary, as we both prepare to participate in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in Helsinki.

I believe that we will find areas in which both our countries can further contribute to the achievement of lasting peace and progress among all nations.

In conclusion, let me express the greetings I bring with me from all Americans, including the millions of our citizens who are so proud of their Polish background and their Polish heritage.

Niech żyje Polska! [Long live Poland!]

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 12 noon at Okecie International Airport in response to remarks of welcome by Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. In his opening remarks, the President also referred to Henryk Jablonski, Chairman of the Council of State, and Piotr Jaroszewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers (Prime Minister).

First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

The Right Honorable Mr. President, Madam Ford, ladies and gentlemen:

On behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, in the name of our people, I wish to welcome you, Mr. President, on the Polish soil. We are extending to you a welcome of most genuine

cordiality, while I myself am particularly satisfied over our meeting again.

We are pleased to be able to play host to Mrs. Ford and persons accompanying you, and among them the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger. The doors of Warsaw and of the entire country of ours stay wide open for you with traditional Polish hospitality.

This is not your first visit to Poland, but it is for the first time that you are visiting us as President of the United States of America, as a leader of the nation which for over two centuries our people have been linked to with numerous and strong ties, mutual friendship, and respect.

In your person, Mr. President, we welcome and extend greetings to the American people, with whom we desire to develop cooperation and share the happiness of peace.

During my visit to the United States, which indeed has left indelible memories of the hospitality accorded to me there, I found that desire shared on both sides and that you, sir, are personally the advocate of friendly cooperation of our peoples and states. Your present visit to Poland is about the most eloquent testimony of that.

We are glad that while in this country you will be able to acquaint yourself with the great record of achievement of the Polish People's Republic, with her dynamic development, with our plans for the near and more distant future:

I am sure you will find, Mr. President, that the Polish people, who have rebuilt their country from the ravages of war with toil and self-sacrifice, are working perseveringly to build a strong, modern, and prosperous country worthy of both its best traditions and of its Socialist ideals and aspirations of today.

I am sure you will find also, Mr. President, that the most profound desire of our people is peace. You will see no ruins of Warsaw, which 30 years ago proved to be such a shocking experience to one of your predecessors, General Eisenhower.

Our capital has been restored to life—beautiful

and modern—yet the memory of the immensity of sacrifice and suffering remains, as does the desire impressed upon the hearts and minds—no more war.

Our people—and according to their will, also the authorities of the Polish People's Republic—conceive of the establishment of lasting peace as of the most important and supreme cause.

We are pleased that we are receiving you, Mr. President, on the eve of the final phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and only soon after the Soviet-American cooperation, one of paramount importance to the world peace, has been reaffirmed in the joint Soyuz-Apollo project, crowned as it was with such a magnificent success.

You are arriving in Poland, Mr. President, at a time when the process of international détente is acquiring new dimensions, a process which our country, along with her Socialist allies and friends, deem to be one of great importance.

We are greeting you as a leader of the great nation which plays its important role in the world of today, and we trust it will be making an ever greater contribution to the cause of strengthening peace.

We are happy to see you in Poland, Mr. President. We are happy to see Mrs. Ford in Poland.

449

Toasts of the President and First Secretary Edward Gierek of Poland at a Luncheon in Warsaw. July 28, 1975

Mr. First Secretary, Mrs. Gierek, ladies and gentlemen:

I am delighted on this occasion to be your guest, along with my son, and we regret that unfortunately Mrs. Ford could not be here, but she will, I am sure, be joining us later.

It is a great pleasure for me to return to this very great country in the center of Europe, a country which is so rich in tradition and so important to the contemporary world. I welcome this opportunity to reaffirm the United States commitment to friendship with Poland. And I am determined to strengthen that friendship.

When we met in Washington last October, Mr. Secretary, you and I pledged our countries to acquire a better knowledge of their respective achievements and values. Both nations can take great satisfaction in progress toward that goal. We have made vitally important advances in our bilateral relations.

This is in keeping with the spirit of the documents that we signed during the First Secretary's visit. And I am pleased to cite the continuing efforts of both sides to increase trade and commerce, the visits and the exchanges between our

July 28

July 28

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[449]

scientists, industrial and mining specialists, and agricultural experts, and the educational and cultural program which each year enable more Poles and more Americans to know each other and to exchange ideas.

The United States recently presented the World of Franklin and Jefferson Bicentennial exhibition in Warsaw. It vividly depicted America's past and Poland's long and close association with us.

You may remember one of Benjamin Franklin's remarks featured in the exhibition. According to Benjamin Franklin, human felicity is produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day.

We have men and women of great vision in Poland and in America, but we realize that real progress in the relations between countries really comes from the millions who give form as well as substance to the aspirations of their Governments.

Distinguished host, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to join me in a toast to all Polish and American citizens, scholars, scientists, workers, farmers, writers, musicians, and others, who day-by-day are striving to develop the little advantages so important to the growing friendship between our countries.

At this time, may I offer a toast to you, Mr. Secretary, and to the Polish people.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 3:30 p.m. at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in response to a toast by the First Secretary.

First Secretary Gierek spoke in Polish. His remarks were translated by an interpreter as follows:

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary of State, and ladies and gentlemen:

Ten months ago when taking leave of you, Mr. President, in the Capital of the United States, I said that while retaining in my grateful memory our Washington meeting and talks, I would be looking forward to having your visit to Warsaw.

Today, I am both honored and pleased to receive you in my country. Our people regard your visit, Mr. President, as a confirmation of the traditional friendly attitude of the American people toward Poland and the inaugural of further development of cooperation between our two countries.

The people of Poland see in it, also, an evidence of your personal involvement in the strengthening of Polish-American ties. Poles do appreciate it—of which they have given an expression in the welcome accorded to you.

It is with utmost pleasure that we are receiving Mrs. Ford in Poland. We are happy to have you here, Mr. Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger. Your outstanding role in the American foreign policy is well known to us. We are glad, Mr. President, to be able

to play host to all your collaborators who have come on this visit.

Mr. President, you are paying your visit to Poland just before a great event in the life of Europe—before the final decisive phase of the Conference on Security and Cooperation. Indeed, it is of symptomatic significance.

It was Poland that some years ago put forward the idea of such a meeting and, jointly with her allies in the political and defensive Warsaw treaty, launched an initiative to convene it.

These days, we are about to leave for Helsinki to approve and sign the decisions of the Conference which is the common achievement and success of all the participating states of our continent, of the United States, and Canada. The decisions of the Conference shall be of paramount importance for the consolidation of peace in Europe, which rests on the foundation of the inviolability of the political and territorial order established as a result of the victory of nations over Nazism, of the historic Potsdam decisions, and postwar development.

The guiding idea of those decisions is strengthening of the feeling of security and development of international cooperation embracing all fields of life.

Europe has had a long and stormy history in which peaceful development interwove with acute conflicts and conquests of other continents. The two World Wars were unleashed on its territory. Today,

both an historic necessity and an invaluable chance have emerged to establish lasting peace and make an active contribution of the whole of Europe to constructing universal peace.

That task lies in the vital and supreme interest of all European nations. Each of them can and should make its own contribution to the cause of peace and cooperation.

A particular role in this regard is played by our ally, the Soviet Union. Whereas 30 years ago it carried the heaviest burden of struggle against Nazism, today it spares no effort to promote development of the process of détente and consolidate international security.

Likewise, the contribution of the United States is of great importance. Your country, Mr. President, lent its assistance to the peoples of Europe in their struggle against forces of aggression and barbarity. Today it can do much for the establishment of lasting peace on our continent.

We are fully appreciative of the engagement of the American Government in securing the success of the European Conference. We are aware of the great weight of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the United States to save mankind from a new world war, to successfully shape the international situation.

We rejoice at the constructive dialog between you, Mr. President, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Leonid Brezhnev.

A turn for détente represents an outstanding beneficial change for all nations in their international relations. It is with the later process, with its permanent continuation, that we link our great hopes and growing optimism for the future of Europe and the world at large.

We also link it, Mr. President, with our plans for the further dynamic development of Poland, the implementation of which requires peace and broader cooperation—notably in the economic field—with other countries.

Mr. President, the people of Poland have had a long and very difficult history. Over the last two centuries, its chapters have been covered with heroic struggle for the right to independent existence.

In World War II, in which you too served, sir, showing your patriotism and battlefield gallantry, we lost over 6 million citizens and over 40 percent of our national property. It has been through the self-sacrificial toil of our own people and with the assistance of our unfailing friends, above all, of the Soviet Union, that we raised this country from ruins and have created for Poland a chance for lasting security development and social progress.

Within her just and inviolable frontiers, linked as she is by the unbreakable alliance with her Socialist

friends, Poland is looking forward to the future with confidence and optimism.

We would sincerely wish that our nation, so often harassed by wars and so many a time having to start life anew, could enjoy the blessings of a period of lasting peace. That is precisely what the Polish People's Republic views as her supreme objective of her activities in the international forum.

My country has made its important contribution to creating genuine conditions of security in Europe and to strengthening Europe's peaceful order. It contributed and continues to contribute its share to the process of international détente. Therefore, it is with particular satisfaction that we shall welcome the Helsinki charter of European peace and shall actively pursue the implementation of its principles.

Mr. President, our common desire is the further expansion of Polish-American relations. We assess favorably their present state and dynamic growth.

The decisions and agreements which we arrived at in Washington last year have laid down good grounds for expansion of cooperation between our two countries, especially in the economic field. We regard it as a valuable element of the development of our own country, and we trust it is likewise beneficial to the United States. Thus, there exists favorable circumstances to go still further in its programming in the future.

Mr. President, in 1976 the United States will observe its Bicentennial. A significant contribution to the making and growth of the United States has been made by Poles. The memory of our two peoples is well aligned with dignified figures of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, who fought for the independence of both Poland and the United States.

In later times, hundreds of thousands of Poles who emigrated in search for their work and bread participated in laying the foundations of the American economic potential. Numerous Polish names have permanently entered the history of American sciences and culture.

Today, millions of Americans of Polish extraction, as good citizens of the United States, work for its development and also maintain their emotional ties with the country of their forefathers.

We take great satisfaction that ever more frequently they visit Poland and take pride in her accomplishments. They are surely glad with the present development of Polish-American relations, which you, Mr. President, promote with all your heart and determination.

I wish to raise this toast to your good health, Mr. President, to the good health of Mrs. Ford, to the good health of the Secretary of State, to the good health of all persons accompanying you, for the further successful development of Polish-American relations, to the success of the Helsinki Conference, to the successes in consolidating détente and peace.

July 28

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[450]

450

Joint Statement Following Talks With First Secretary
Gierek of Poland. July 28, 1975

AS A result of the conversations held by the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, both sides agreed to the following Joint Statement.

I.

The President of the United States of America and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party reaffirm their determination to make their contribution to the consolidation of détente, to the strengthening of international security, and to the development of bilateral relations to their mutual advantage, as defined in the course of their previous meetings and in accordance with the Joint Statement of Principles of United States-Polish Relations of 1974, as well as other agreements concluded by the two countries in recent years.

The President and the First Secretary welcome with satisfaction the convocation of the final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on July 30th of this year in Helsinki. Both sides consider the convocation of the Conference a positive contribution to the continuing process of international détente and express their hope that it will be regarded as an historic event.

Both sides expressed their will to do all they can so that the results of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, contained in the final document, become a genuine and strong stimulus for positively shaping relations among the participant states. They expressed their confidence that the implementation of the decisions by all the participants of the Conference would contribute to the further strengthening of peace in Europe and developing ever broader, all-round cooperation among them. Both sides are in full agreement that security in Europe is indivisible and that it remains closely linked with peace and security in the world as a whole.

Both sides note that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will be followed up by future meetings at the level of representatives appointed by the ministers for foreign affairs of participant states.

In the course of their exchange of views, both sides fully agreed that efforts to strengthen political détente in Europe should be supplemented by a process of military détente. In this context, the United States of America and the Polish

People's Republic attach significant importance to the Vienna talks on the Mutual Reduction of Armed Forces and Armament in Central Europe and Associated Measures and expressed their will to achieve progress in these talks.

The Polish side expressed its full support for the dialogue and development of relations between the USA and the USSR—the two states which bear special responsibility for world peace. The Polish side voiced its belief that in particular the talks and the agreements concerning strategic arms limitation strengthen world peace and provide a sound basis for further limitations and reduction of strategic arms.

Both sides presented their respective views on the effectiveness of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and were in agreement as to the fundamental importance of the Treaty for preventing the danger of proliferation of these weapons.

They also considered that the Conference on the Law of the Sea was very important for all countries of the world. Both sides expressed themselves in favor of making all possible efforts to bring this Conference to a successful conclusion next year, keeping in mind the just interests of all states.

They also reviewed matters related to the growing need to develop cooperation among states, notably in the field of raw materials, energy, and food. They reaffirmed their will to act, each side according to its own possibilities and priorities, toward alleviating and solving the existing problems. The two sides agreed that as a result of their bilateral cooperation in selected fields of energy, they can considerably contribute to the solution of these problems to the benefit of their own and other peoples.

The President and the First Secretary expressed themselves in favor of continuing, on all levels, efforts to promote international economic cooperation and to remove barriers and obstacles.

Both sides intend to work toward broadening international scientific cooperation. In this respect, the Polish side pointed to the significance of the Apollo-Soyuz program, seeing in it a symbol of the opportunities arising from joint efforts of nations for the good of all mankind in the era of international détente.

The President and the First Secretary confirmed their support for the United Nations and for the objectives and principles set out in its Charter.

The two sides reaffirmed the usefulness of their contacts and consultations to date and reaffirm their readiness to continue them on various levels and in various forums.

II.

During the talks, the President and the First Secretary reviewed US-Polish bilateral relations, noting with satisfaction the progress achieved, which corresponds to the interests of both nations and is in conformity with the long and rich traditions linking the peoples of the United States and Poland.

The two sides were unanimous in their judgment that the Statements signed on October 8, 1974, during the visit of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, to the United States, constitute a solid foundation for the further strengthening of peaceful and friendly cooperation between the United States and Poland and they were happy to note the successful implementation of the respective economic agreements.

Attaching particular weight to the growth of trade exchanges, both leaders considered a further substantial increase in trade turnover between their two countries to be a feasible, realistic, and desirable goal. Both sides expressed their intention to act jointly in removing difficulties that may arise. They will lend particular support in this respect to the activities of the Joint US-Polish Trade Commission.

Both sides noted the further successful development of financial cooperation between the two countries and recognized its impact on the pace and scope of industrial co-production. They are resolved to encourage further cooperation between the firms and enterprises of both sides.

Emphasizing the great role of scientific and technical cooperation, both sides appraised positively the work done so far in putting into effect the Agreement on Funding of Cooperation in Science and Technology. They also expressed their support for its further expansion, especially in such fields as coal mining and coal processing, the protection of the environment, and transportation.

The two leaders also attached importance to the longstanding tradition of cooperation in the field of health protection, drugs, and biological materials. Under the program, joint research will be continued, including such fields as oncology, health problems related to food and drugs, and planning, delivery, and evaluation of health services, especially those to mothers and children.

The two sides believe that there exist broad possibilities that the traditional field of cooperation between both countries—trade in agricultural products—be broadened and supplemented by scientific and technical cooperation in agriculture, particularly in stockbreeding, production of fodders, technology of food preservation, and production of high-quality varieties of protein.

Mindful of the importance of the rational use of the food resources of the

oceans, both sides will continue to cooperate in the field of fishing and maritime economy.

In seeking to broaden relations and contacts between the peoples of the United States and Poland, both sides shall continue to encourage tourism between them. They expressed their interest in further facilitating and developing air transportation between the two countries.

Both sides will encourage and facilitate all exchanges of people between the two nations in order that they may contribute to broader relations and better understanding. They will continue to promote cultural exchanges and will encourage further contacts and cooperation between civic, scientific, sports, and youth organizations, as well as between cities of both countries.

Both sides stressed the significance of historical traditions for the strengthening of friendship between the two nations. They pointed to the positive role played by Americans of Polish extraction in the enrichment of relations between the United States and Poland.

Both sides agreed that, in the spirit of the traditional friendship between the two nations, they will continue their efforts to solve humanitarian problems affecting their citizens.

III.

The President of the United States and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party expressed their profound satisfaction with the conversations they held and voiced their conviction that the results of these talks will be of great significance for further American-Polish cooperation.

Warsaw, July 28, 1975

GERALD FORD

President of the United States of America

EDWARD GIEREK

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

NOTE: The joint statement was signed in a ceremony at the Parliament Building in Warsaw following a meeting between the President and the First Secretary.

July 28

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[451]

451

Toast at a Dinner in Warsaw Honoring First Secretary
Gierek of Poland. July 28, 1975

*Mr. First Secretary, Mr. Chairman of the Council of State, and Prime Minister,
and your lovely wives, ladies and gentlemen:*

It is a very great privilege and pleasure for me—and in absentia, unfortunately, Mrs. Ford—to tender this dinner to you in Warsaw and to be with you, Mr. First Secretary, and your wife, and your other top officials and your other guests.

As I indicated this afternoon and early this morning, we have enjoyed renewing our acquaintance and friendship with you and Mrs. Gierek.

Mr. First Secretary, the United States is about to enter—in part it has entered—its 200th year of independence. Polish-American ties are even older.

In the late 1500's, 200 years before Kosciuszko arrived to offer his services to George Washington in the American Revolution, a Polish poet evoked an eloquent vision of the new world: "Happy isles, heroic land of bliss; Known to our country long ere this."

Thus, even before our two people were united by the cause of American liberty, a Polish-American affinity existed. During the 200-year history of the United States, millions of your countrymen have come to our shores to add Polish energy and Polish genius to the mainstream of American life.

As in Washington last October, Mr. First Secretary, we have today had very worthwhile discussions. In Washington, I said that I wanted to expand our relationship in a broader effort to improve world relations.

It is, therefore, extremely fitting that we meet again in Helsinki very soon as participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. What we do at Helsinki should contribute to an improvement in international relations.

The further development of Polish-American ties and cooperation can point the way for many, many other countries, just as our determination to improve our relations helps to achieve a further relaxation of tensions in Europe and throughout the world.

Mr. First Secretary, I raise my glass to you and to your colleagues and to the Polish people who have sacrificed so much in their struggle for a better and a freer world.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:53 p.m. at Wilanów Palace.

452

Remarks in Kraków at the Pediatric Institute of the Nicholas
Copernicus Medical Academy. July 29, 1975

Your Honor, the members of the faculty, the members of the staff, and those that are being cared for here, and the young people that we all have a very great interest in:

May I thank you for your very warm welcome and the honors that you have given me on this occasion. I accept the warm welcome and the honors, not only for myself but on behalf of the American people. It is the American people, their Congress, their President, who have great dedication to the children's clinic, which is 600 years old when we are only 200 years old.

It is the feeling of the American people that if we can contribute our skill and our experience and our funds to help improve the health and the future of young people, that it is the best expression we can make as an illustration of the close friendship between the Polish people and the American people.

Young people are the prized possession of all people. We love young Polish people, as I am sure you love young American people.

I thank you for the opportunity of being here and the honors that you have given me and my people.

[The President spoke at 10:47 a.m. Following a tour of the Institute, he made the following remarks at 11:02 a.m., before departing:]

Let me thank all of you for the very warm welcome and the opportunity to see the wonderful work that you are doing for children. It makes me feel very good, as an American, that we have made a contribution to this wonderful facility, and I will report to my fellow Americans that they have made a valuable contribution to the good health and the improvement of Polish children.

May I say that this kind of exchange in science and health is the best way to make sure and certain of a greater and greater friendship between the Polish and the American people.

Thank you very much.

July 29

Gerald R. Ford, 1975

[453]

453

Remarks at Market Square in Kraków.

July 29, 1975

Mr. Mayor, Mr. First Secretary, and your distinguished colleagues in government, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a great experience and a wonderful opportunity for me to be in Kraków, and I thank you very, very much for the warm, warm welcome.

May I express my appreciation also for some of my good countrymen who are here, such as friends from home and elsewhere.

But after the wonderful warmth of the reception that you have given me, I know why millions and millions of Americans of Polish extraction are so very proud of their heritage from this great country.

This ancient square is surely one of the most beautiful in the world. It is filled with some of the finest creations of Polish architects and artists, with the memory of so many great moments in Polish history. Americans honor, of course, General Kosciuszko as a hero of America's war for independence and America's war for liberty.

I am standing only a very few feet from the plaque marking where he stood and took his famous oath to fight to regain the independence of Poland and the freedom of all Poles. I am proud—very, very proud—to be with you here at this place so rich in Polish history and so closely associated with a Polish hero of our struggle for independence.

I have come to Kraków to see both the monuments of your great past and your modern achievements. And I congratulate you for your creativity. I know also that you have a great university in your wonderful city, and I am delighted to see some of my friends from home here benefiting from the opportunities in this great university.

In this city, the ties of friendship are strong between our two countries. We welcome the rapid increase in trade between our two nations and the growing number of travelers in both directions. And I particularly welcome people from your country to come to America, particularly during our Bicentennial, which is our 200th anniversary in the United States.

In my first meetings in Washington with First Secretary Gierek and my meetings with Secretary Gierek here on this occasion, my visit to Poland, we have reviewed with great satisfaction and with great progress and great improvement the better relationships between the United States and Poland. And

this improvement, this betterment, has expanded on a year-by-year basis, and I know that it will get better and better in the future.

Secretary Gierk and myself have fully agreed on the desirability of furthering the progress—this broad progress—for the mutual benefit of American and Polish peoples in the coming decades.

Your welcome here today in this great historic city and all of the heartwarming Polish hospitality, of which I have heard so much, are symbolic of the rapport and the deep affection between our peoples.

I have unlimited faith in a future that will see our relations continue to improve and to grow.

Niech żyje Polska! [Long live Poland!]

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:56 a.m. In his opening remarks, he referred to President of the City Jerzy Pekala.

Following his visit to the Market Square, the Pres-

ident attended a luncheon at Wawel Castle, hosted by Chairman of the Council of Ministers Piotr Jaroszewicz.

454

Joint Communique Following Talks With Polish Leaders. July 29, 1975

1. The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and Mrs. Ford made an official visit to Poland July 28-29, 1975, at the invitation of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierk, issued on behalf of the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The President was accompanied by the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger.
2. During the visit, the President held talks with First Secretary Gierk.
3. Plenary talks were also held with the participation of:

From the American side: The President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford; the Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger; Ambassador of the United States of America in Warsaw Richard T. Davies; Deputy Assistant to the President Lt. Gen. Brent Scowcroft; Counselor of the Department of State Helmut Sonnenfeldt; Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Arthur A. Hartman; Senior Staff Member of the National Security Council A. Denis Clift, and Director Nicholas G. Andrews of the Office of Eastern European Affairs of the Department of State.

From the Polish side: The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek; the Chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Piotr Jaroszewicz; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski, Member of the Secretariat and Head of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Ryszard Frelek; Director of the Chancellery of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Jerzy Waszczuk; First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers Kazimierz Secomski; Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Romuald Spasowski; Undersecretary of State in the Office of the Council of Ministers and press spokesman of the Government Włodzimierz Janiurek; Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic in Washington Witold Trzampczyński; Director of Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast.

4. The Secretary of State and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Henry A. Kissinger, held talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski.

5. President Ford and the persons accompanying him viewed Warsaw and acquainted themselves with its reconstruction and development. The President of the City, Jerzy Majowski, accompanied them.

6. On the second day of the visit the President of the United States of America went to Oswiecim (Auschwitz), where he laid a wreath at the International Monument and signed the Memorial Book.

7. President Ford visited Kraków. He was greeted in the central marketplace by the President of the City of Kraków, Jerzy Pekala. The President of the United States made a short speech to the assembled citizens. The President also visited the American Children's Hospital in Poland, at Prokocim near Kraków, which was built with the support of American funds.

8. The discussions and meetings which were held between the President and the First Secretary and their advisers took place in a friendly and constructive atmosphere and were characterized by mutual striving further to develop and strengthen relations between the United States and Poland. They reviewed U.S.-Polish relations and discussed international matters of mutual interest.

9. As a result of their talks, the President of the United States of America, Gerald R. Ford, and the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Edward Gierek, signed a Joint Statement on July 28.

10. President and Mrs. Ford expressed their gratitude to First Secretary and

Mrs. Gierek for the cordial hospitality arranged for them. They were grateful to all the Poles who gave them such a warm reception, traditional in Poland.

11. The President and the First Secretary expressed their conviction and desire for future visits at the highest level between the leaders of the two countries which would strengthen the U.S.-Polish relations still more. It was agreed that specific arrangements would be made through diplomatic channels.

12. Warsaw, July 29, 1975.

GERALD FORD

President of the United States of America

EDWARD GIEREK

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

NOTE: The text of the joint communique was released at Kraków, Poland.

455

Remarks on Arrival at Helsinki, Finland.

July 29, 1975

President Kekkonen, ladies and gentlemen:

Mrs. Ford and our son Jack join me in expressing our very great pleasure in being in Finland on this occasion. I extend to the Finnish Government and to the Finnish people the warm friendship and the warm admiration of the United States and all Americans.

Finland is a most appropriate host for this final stage of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. I join the other participants so that together we will take another step in the building of a peaceful, cooperative, and mutually beneficial relationship among all of the countries of Europe.

This meeting in Helsinki can give new impetus to the process of détente. The provisions of the document we will sign must be translated into policies and action by the participating states if we are to realize the promises of greater security and cooperation in Europe.

The United States will participate fully in this process. American security and well-being are tied to the security and to the stability of Europe.

While our agenda for the next few days will be full, Mr. President, I look forward with pleasure to seeing you and enjoying the renowned hospitality of Helsinki and Finland.

Thank you very much.