Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S; 2004-0839-F; 2014-1017-F

FOIA Number:
S

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:	Speech File Backup Files
Subseries:	Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number:	13676
Folder ID Number:	13676-009

Folder Title:
Solidarity Workers Monument/Gdansk, Poland 7/11/89 [OA 6266]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	2	3

Mrs Korbonski
332-1765

Frank Nicholas Piasecki
PRESIDENT

Piasecki Aircraft Corporation
WEST TERMINUS OF SECOND STREET
ESSINGTON, PA 19029 215-521-5700

TEL. (212) 354-0490

BOLESLAW WIERZBIANSKI
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

BICENTENNIAL PUBLISHING CORPORATION
NOWY DZIENNIK-POLISH DAILY NEWS, NEW HORIZON
21 WEST 38TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10018

REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
2:10 P.M.

FINAL
Bob

THANK YOU. HELLO LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]] HELLO SOLIDARNOSC. [[PAUSE]] HELLO POLSKA. [[PAUSE]] CONGRATULATIONS ON WHAT YOU HAVE DONE SINCE LAST I VISITED -- THE FIRST FREE ELECTIONS IN MODERN POLSKA. [[PAUSE]]

- 2 -

POLAND HAS A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE AMERICAN HEART -- AND IN MY HEART. WHEN YOU HURT, WE FEEL PAIN. WHEN YOU DREAM, WE FEEL HOPE. WHEN YOU SUCCEED, WE FEEL JOY. IT GOES FAR BEYOND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS -- IT'S MORE LIKE FAMILY RELATIONS. AND COMING TO POLAND IS LIKE COMING HOME. [[PAUSE]]

THIS SPECIAL KINSHIP IS THE KINSHIP OF AN ANCIENT DREAM -- A RECURRING DREAM -- THE DREAM OF FREEDOM.

"THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED TO LIBERTY," WROTE A BYZANTINE HISTORIAN ABOUT THE SLAVIC PEOPLE MORE THAN A THOUSAND YEARS AGO. AND THE SPIRIT OF THE POLES HAS BEEN CONVEYED ACROSS THE CENTURIES AND ACROSS THE OCEANS -- A DREAM THAT WOULD NOT DIE. [[PAUSE]]

THAT DREAM WAS SEVERELY TESTED HERE IN GDANSK. FIFTY YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER, THE PRE-DAWN QUIET OF THIS PEACEFUL BALTIC HARBOR WAS SHATTERED BY THUNDER FROM THE 15-INCH GUNS OF THE NAZI WARSHIP SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN [[SHLES-VIG HOLE-SHTINE]]. WITHIN THE HOUR, IRON PANZERS ROLLED ACROSS THE POLISH FRONTIER. AND EUROPE WAS PLUNGED INTO A DARKNESS THAT WOULD ENGULF THE WORLD.

FOR POLAND THE CHOICES WERE FEW: SURRENDER TO TYRANNY -- OR RESIST AGAINST IMPOSSIBLE ODDS. AND IN THE BRUTAL FIGHTING THAT FOLLOWED, YOU SET A STANDARD FOR COURAGE THAT WILL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. [[PAUSE]] IN WORLD WAR II POLAND LOST EVERYTHING -- EXCEPT HER HONOR -- EXCEPT HER DREAMS. [[PAUSE]]

BEFORE POLAND FELL, YOU GAVE THE ALLIES "ENIGMA" -- THE NAZI'S SECRET CODING MACHINE.

BREAKING THE "UNBREAKABLE" AXIS CODES SAVED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ALLIED LIVES -- OF AMERICAN LIVES -- AND FOR THIS YOU HAVE THE ENDURING GRATITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND, ULTIMATELY, ENIGMA AND POLISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN WINNING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

BUT FOR YOU, THE WAR'S END DID NOT END THE DARKNESS. THE COLD WAR BROUGHT A LONG AND CHILLY NIGHT OF SORROW AND HARDSHIP.

AND THE DREAM WAS AGAIN DENIED.

AND YET, THERE WERE GLIMMERS OF THE LONG-AWAITED DAWN. IN THE SUMMER OF 1980, YOU OCCUPIED THE SHIPYARDS WHERE WE STAND. AND A PATRIOTIC ELECTRICIAN CLAMBERED OVER THESE IRON GATES -- AND EMERGED AS ONE OF THE HEROES OF OUR TIMES -- LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]]

AND ABOVE YOUR STREETS A GRACEFUL MONUMENT ROSE -- IN THE TRADITION OF OUR OWN STATUE OF LIBERTY -- TO BECOME A SYMBOL RECOGNIZED AROUND THE WORLD AS A BEACON OF HOPE.

BUT THE HOPE -- LIKE THE DAWN -- PROVED FLEETING. FOR UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS, THE ELECTRICIAN WAS ARRESTED AND YOUR MOVEMENT OUTLAWED. AND IN THE ICY COLD OF A SAVAGE WINTER, A MODERN NATION WAS SEALED OFF FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

BUT STILL THE DREAM WOULD NOT DIE. IN THE WINTRY DARKNESS, CANDLES APPEARED IN SILENT PROTEST, LIGHTING THE WINDOWS OF YOUR VILLAGES AND CITIES. AND AS THE YEARS UNFOLDED AND AS THE WORLD WATCHED IN WONDER, YOU -- THE POLISH PEOPLE -- AND YOUR LEADERS -- TURNED DESPAIR INTO HOPE -- TURNED DARKNESS INTO DREAMS.

HOPE AND HARD WORK WERE THE FOUNDATION OF POLAND'S RESURRECTION AS A STATE IN 1918.

AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS -- CONFIDENCE AND DETERMINATION MADE THAT DREAM A REALITY. AND THESE SAME QUALITIES HAVE BROUGHT YOU TO THIS NEW CROSSROADS IN HISTORY. YOUR TIME HAS COME. IT IS POLAND'S TIME OF <u>POSSIBILITIES</u>. ITS TIME OF <u>RESPONSIBILITIES</u>. ITS TIME OF <u>DESTINY</u>. [[PAUSE]]

<u>A TIME WHEN DREAMS CAN LIVE AGAIN</u>. SOLIDARITY REBORN. PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE.

AND THE FIRST FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY -- ELECTIONS. AT ANOTHER TIME, IN ANOTHER CITY WHERE THE HUMAN SPIRIT WAS BEING TESTED, A GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENT, JOHN KENNEDY, SPOKE ELOQUENTLY ABOUT THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY. TODAY THE WORLD WATCHES THE INEVITABLE OUTCOME OF THAT STRUGGLE.

TODAY TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT HOPES CAN BE FOREVER SUPPRESSED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT FREEDOM CAN BE FOREVER DENIED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT DREAMS CAN BE FOREVER REPRESSED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]] FOR HERE IN POLAND --THE DREAM IS ALIVE. [[PAUSE]]

TODAY THE BRAVE WORKERS OF GDANSK STAND BESIDE THIS MONUMENT AS A BEACON OF HOPE, A SYMBOL OF THAT DREAM.

AND THE BRAVE WORKERS OF GDANSK KNOW POLAND IS NOT ALONE. AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

BECAUSE AMERICANS ARE SO FREE TO DREAM -- WE FEEL A SPECIAL KINSHIP WITH THOSE WHO DREAM OF A BETTER FUTURE. HERE IN POLAND, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, AND APPLAUDS THE WISDOM, TENACITY AND PATIENCE OF ONE OF POLAND'S GREAT LEADERS --LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]]

AND WE CHEER A MOVEMENT THAT HAS TOUCHED THE IMAGINATION OF THE WORLD -- SOLIDARNOSC. [[PAUSE]] AND WE APPLAUD THOSE WHO HAVE MADE THIS PROGRESS POSSIBLE -- THE POLISH PEOPLE. [[PAUSE]]

WE RECOGNIZE, TOO, THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN WISDOM AND CREATIVITY -- AND COURAGE -- IN PROCEEDING WITH THESE HISTORIC STEPS.

POLES AND AMERICANS SHARE A COMMITMENT TO OVERCOME THE DIVISION OF EUROPE -- AND TO REDEEM THE PROMISE THAT IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. POLES AND AMERICANS WANT EUROPE TO BE WHOLE AND FREE. [[PAUSE]]

A MORE DEMOCRATIC POLAND CAN BE A MORE PROSPEROUS POLAND.

THE ROUNDTABLE PROVISIONS -- AS THEY CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED OUT -- CAN LIBERATE THE ENERGY OF A DYNAMIC PEOPLE, TO WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD A BETTER LIFE.

WE UNDERSTAND THE LEGACY OF DISTRUST AND SHATTERED DREAMS AS POLES OF ALL POLITICAL COMPLEXIONS TRAVEL TOGETHER DOWN THE PATH OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE. YOUR CHALLENGE IS TO RISE ABOVE DISTRUST AND BRING THE POLISH PEOPLE TOGETHER TOWARD A COMMON PURPOSE.

- 17 -

SPEAKING BEFORE THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE SENATE -- YOUR FREELY-ELECTED SENATE [[PAUSE]] -- I OUTLINED STEPS AMERICA IS PREPARED TO TAKE TO ASSIST POLAND AS YOU MOVE FORWARD ON THE PATH OF REFORM.

IT WILL NOT BE EASY. SACRIFICE AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP HAVE ALREADY BEEN THE LOT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. AND HARD TIMES ARE NOT YET AT AN END. ECONOMIC REFORM REQUIRES HARD WORK AND RESTRAINT BEFORE THE BENEFITS ARE REALIZED.

- 18 -

AND IT REQUIRES PATIENCE AND DETERMINATION. BUT THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE NO STRANGERS TO HARD WORK, AND HAVE TAUGHT THE WORLD ABOUT DETERMINATION.

SO I SAY: FOLLOW YOUR DREAM OF A BETTER LIFE FOR YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN. YOU CAN SEE A NEW AND PROSPEROUS POLAND. NOT OVERNIGHT -- NOT IN A YEAR. BUT YES, A NEW AND PROSPEROUS POLAND IN YOUR LIFETIME.

IT HAS BEEN DONE BY POLISH PEOPLE BEFORE. HOPEFUL IMMIGRANTS CAME TO THAT MAGICAL PLACE CALLED "AMERICA" -- AND BUILT A NEW LIFE FOR THEMSELVES IN A SINGLE GENERATION. AND IT CAN BE DONE BY POLISH PEOPLE AGAIN. BUT THIS TIME -- IT CAN BE DONE IN <u>POLAND</u>.

[[PAUSE]]

A FEW DAYS AGO, I WAS ASKED IN MY OFFICE BY ONE OF YOUR JOURNALISTS -- IF I WOULD LEAVE POLAND AND GO TO AMERICA, WERE I A YOUNG POLE.

I ANSWERED THAT -- IN THIS TIME OF BRIGHT PROMISE, OF HISTORIC TRANSITION, OF UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY -- I WOULD WANT TO STAY AND BE A PART OF IT -- TO HELP MAKE THE DREAM COME TRUE.

THE MAGIC OF AMERICA IS NOT FOUND IN THE MAJESTY OF HER LAND. YES, AMERICA HAS BEEN BLESSED.

BUT POLAND, TOO, IS A LAND OF NATURAL BEAUTY -- WITH AMPLE TIMBER, ORE, WATER AND COAL -- ABUNDANT AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL -- AND A TALENTED AND CREATIVE PEOPLE THAT IS DETERMINED TO SUCCEED.

NO, THE MAGIC OF AMERICA IS IN AN IDEA. I DESCRIBED IT IN MY FIRST MOMENTS AS PRESIDENT:

"WE KNOW WHAT WORKS: FREEDOM WORKS. WE KNOW WHAT'S RIGHT: FREEDOM IS RIGHT. WE KNOW HOW TO SECURE A MORE JUST AND PROSPEROUS LIFE FOR MAN ON EARTH."

TODAY, YOU CAN REDISCOVER A NEW LAND -- A LAND OF YOUR DREAMS -- A LAND OF YOUR OWN MAKING. A POLAND, STRONG AND PROUD. POLAND IS WHERE WORLD WAR II BEGAN. AND POLAND IS WHERE -- AND WHY -- THE COLD WAR STARTED. AND IT IS HERE -- IN POLAND -- WHERE WE CAN WORK TO END THE DIVISION OF EUROPE.

IT IS IN YOUR POWER TO HELP END THIS DIVISION OF EUROPE. I CAN THINK OF NO FINER OR MORE CAPABLE PEOPLE WITH WHOM TO ENTRUST THIS MISSION.

AND JUST AS A SON OF POLAND HAS SHOWN THE WORLD THE HEIGHTS OF SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN THE VATICAN -- SO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND CAN SHOW THE WORLD WHAT A FREE PEOPLE WITH COMMITMENT AND ENERGY CAN ACCOMPLISH.

A NEW CENTURY IS ALMOST UPON US. IT IS ALIVE WITH POSSIBILITIES. AND IN YOUR PEACEFUL QUEST FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR YOURSELVES AND YOUR CHILDREN -- AMERICA STANDS SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE -- IN SOLIDARITY. [[PAUSE]]

AMERICANS AND POLES BOTH KNOW THAT NOTHING CAN STOP AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. THE DREAM IS A POLAND REBORN -- AND THE DREAM IS ALIVE. [[PAUSE]]

"POLAND IS NOT LOST, WHILE POLES STILL LIVE." [[PAUSE -- GIVE THE "V" FOR VICTORY SIGN]] GOODBYE -- GOD BLESS YOU -- AND "GOD SAVE POLAND."

# # #

AE5
.E4
'94

VOLUME 16

Gdansk
7-27-89

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

COMPLETE IN THIRTY VOLUMES
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1829

GROLIER INCORPORATED

International Headquarters: Danbury, Connecticut 06816

since its destruction by an earthquake in 1933. Its port is at Mandrakion.

Ancient Kos is mentioned in the *Iliad* as an ally of the Greeks. It was settled by Dorian Greeks from the northern Peloponnesus and became the birthplace of Ptolemy II (Ptolemy Philadelphus), the poet Theocritus, the painter Apelles, and the physician Hippocrates, who founded a school of medicine there. It was occupied by Alexander the Great in 336 B.C. and in the ensuing centuries was controlled by Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Romans. It was captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1523, occupied by Italy in 1912, and was ceded to Italy by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1924 and then to Greece by the treaty of peace with Italy in 1947. Population: (1971) of the island, 17,939; of the city, 7,828.

KOSCIUSKO, Mount, kos-ē-us′kō, a mountain in southeastern New South Wales, Australia. It is located in the Snowy Mountains of the Australian Alps and, with an altitude of 7,305 feet (2,228 meters), is Australia's highest peak. It is snow-covered from May to September and bears evidence of Ice Age glaciation. The Snowy, Murray, and other rivers that form important units in the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme are fed by its snows.

The mountain was named by Sir Paul Strzelecki in 1840 after the Polish patriot Tadeusz Kościuszko. It rises in Kosciusko National Park, a preserve of about 2,070 square miles (5,370 sq km), and is a major ski resort during the winter.

KOŚCIUSZKO, kôsh-chōōsh′kō, **Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura** (1746–1817), Polish statesman and soldier, who fought in the American Revolution and led an uprising for national independence in his homeland.

Tadeusz (often written Thaddeus in English) Kościuszko was born in the Polish village of Mereczowszczyno on Feb. 4, 1746, to a family of noble origin. He began his military education at the Warsaw Corps of Cadets and then continued it in Germany, France, and Italy, specializing in fortification. He returned to Poland in 1774.

In 1776 he fled to France to escape the consequences of a love affair. He went on to America and joined the colonists in their war for independence from Britain. From 1778 to 1780 he supervised the fortification of West Point, and he later served under Gen. Nathanael Greene as an engineer and a cavalry officer. He ended the war as a brigadier general. Kościuszko's involvement in America's struggle for independence influenced his later life.

He returned to Polish service in 1784 and in 1792 led Polish troops against Russian forces that had invaded Poland to suppress the reformist constitution of May 3, 1791. When the Russians completed their occupation of Poland and forced Poland's King Stanislav II to renounce the constitution, Kościuszko went into exile. An underground resistance movement was formed in Poland in 1793 and Kościuszko was asked to lead it. Before a tumultuous gathering in Kraków in 1794, he vowed to restore Poland's independence. In his role as political and military head of the Polish insurrection, he exercised virtually dictatorial power. To promote greater equality throughout Polish society he issued the Połaniec Proclamation on May 7, 1794, which declared the serfs free. In April 1794 he routed the Russians



BBC HULTON PICTURE LIBRARY

General Kościuszko figured prominently in both the American and the Polish struggles for independence.

at Racławice, leading an army that included peasants wielding pikes and scythes. But in October the Polish army was beaten at Maciejowice, where Kościuszko was wounded and taken prisoner. The insurrection collapsed and the final partition of Poland took place. Kościuszko was imprisoned in Russia until 1796.

In 1797 he traveled to the United States and established a lasting friendship with Thomas Jefferson. He hastened back to Europe in 1798 where the ferment caused by the rise of Napoleon encouraged him to believe he could advance Poland's cause. He discovered, however, that a restored democratic Poland did not suit the goals of any European power. His proposal to Czar Alexander I in 1814 to establish a large Polish state with a liberal social order was also ignored. After this rebuff Kościuszko retired to Solothurn, Switzerland, where he died on Oct. 15, 1817. He was buried in Kraków's cathedral alongside the Polish kings.

Kościuszko's life spanned the entire era of 18th century democratic revolutions, of which he remains an outstanding figure. It is an irony of history that his ideas were ahead of their time in his own homeland.

PETER CZAP, JR., *Amherst College*

Further Reading: Gardner, Monica M., *Kosciuszko* (1920; rev. ed., Norton 1942); Haiman, Mieceslaus, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution* (1943; reprint, Kosciuszko Foundation 1975); id., *Kosciuszko, Leader and Exile* (1946; reprint, Kosciuszko Foundation 1977).

KOSHER, kō′shər, in Judaism, a term that designates whether foods individually or in combination, or their mode of preparation or processing, are in accordance with biblical and rabbinical rules. The term *kosher* (the Ashkenazic form of *Kasher*) means "clean" or "proper," and the system of dietary laws is known as *kashrut*. Orthodox and Conservative Jews are obliged by tradition to "keep kosher," whereas Reform Jews are not. See DIETARY LAWS.

POLAND

WARSAW

Belwedere Palace

- Bilaterals with General Jaruzelski
- Official residence of Chairman of Council of Ministers
- Meetings will be in Pompeii Room
- Palace not destroyed during WWII, one of few buildings not destroyed by Nazis
- Jaruzelski does not live here

- Palace built in 1820; architect Jozef Kubicki
- Classical style - "Polish classicism"
- In the 19th century, Poland was partitioned and under Russian occupation
- Grand Duke Constantine, brother of Tsar Nicholas I, lived in the Palace. He was Governor of Poland, and Commander-in-Chief of the local army. Poland was considered the "County of Poland" then. Tsar Nicholas I was "King" of Poland, and was represented by his brother.
- In 1830 there was an uprising against the Russians, the "November Uprising." Belwedere Palace was attacked, and the Grand Duke escaped disguised as a "lady kook." After that, there was much embarrassment, and no other Russian official wanted to live there. It became a military facility, housing generals and other military officials.
- Following World War I, Poland was independent. Belwedere was made the official residence of the President.
- In May 1926 there was a coup d'etat, and Belwedere became the residence of General Pilsudski, the leader of Poland until his death in 1935.
- In 1944, Belwedere, along with many other buildings, were all wired for destruction by the retreating Nazis. The Palace escaped destruction, as did what is now the Soviet embassy across the street.

Radziwill Palace

* see "Information for Visitors" in American Embassy Warsaw folder, last page.

- survived both WWI & WWII
- Warsaw Pact was signed here in 1955
- also called Governor's Palace -- in the 18th century, the Russian Governor lived there
- the Radziwills were a famous Polish aristocratic family

View from window that will be on President's left as he delivers the toast at the State Dinner:

- the statue in front of the Palace is of Jozef Pontiatowski, a Polish patriot and Marshal of France. He was commander of the Polish army that fought under Napoleon; he was also the nephew of the last King of Poland, Stanislaw August. The original monument was blown up by the Germans in 1944; the present one was a gift to the Polish nation from the people of Copenhagen.
- across the street is a palace built by the Pototcki family, another famous aristocratic family. It is now the Palace of Culture & Art (the Ministry of Culture).

The Sejm

- President of Poland sits on podium, on left (if facing), if he's speaking; in the upper left of gallery if observing
- Polish Coat of Arms behind podium. "Poland's national coat of arms is a white eagle on a red background which dates back to the Middle Ages. Through history it has undergone several modifications; most notably, with the removal and restoration of the eagle's crown. During the Period of Partitions (1772-1918), when the emblem was officially banned, it appeared for the first time with a crownless eagle on the banners of insurrectionists and emigres. With the coming of independence in 1918, the Poles adopted a white eagle with a golden crown. The crownless eagle was officially reinstated following WWII, however, and is now considered symbolic of communist Poland." (from Information for Visitors, American Embassy Warsaw)
- Bas-reliefs on the outside of the building represent symbolic moments in Polish history. General Pilsudski is on one -- this is not remarkable now, but was there throughout the whole Stalin period.
- Sejm built in the 1920s, completed in 1928. Completely destroyed in WWII -- rebuilt as it was and expanded in 1948.

Ambassador's Residence

- for info on art at the residence call State Dept., Art in Embassies
- pictures around residence of the Ambassador with the President, the Pope, and Mother Teresa.

Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

- Monument built from the remains of a colonnade that was part of the Suski Palace, which was completely destroyed during the Warsaw Uprising in 1944. Following WWI the Suski Palace housed the general staff of the Polish Army.
- 1944 Warsaw Uprising -- lasted two months (August and September). USAF dropped food and arms during the uprising.
- The soldier buried in the monument is from a cemetery in what is now Lvov, in Soviet Ukraine. He was killed in skirmishes between Poles and Ukranians, 1919-1920, the first phase of war with the Russians.
- Poles like this because they kicked Russia's ---- in this war.
- Virtuti Militari Cross -- for military bravery. Incorporated into design of the monument. The Cross dates from 1792, one of the last years of Polish independence.
- Urns inside the monument contain soil from actual battlefields of WWI & WWII

Umschlagplatz

- "Along this path of suffering and death over 300,000 Jews were driven in 1942-1943 from the Warsaw Ghetto to the gas chambers of the Nazi extermination camps."
- Loading point for Jews being sent to death camps.
- Dedicated in April 1988, on anniversary of Ghetto Uprising
- Memoirs of the Governor of the Ghetto were published last year by the Institute of Jewish Studies, Warsaw
- Professor Korczak, the "Dr. Spock" of Poland, went of to the camps with the children of the Ghetto, even though he was aware of what would happen to them.

GDANSK

American Embassy contacts in Gdansk:

Ron Czarnetzky
John Boris
Jack Spilsbury

Westerplatte

- "Never Again War" [Nig-dee vien-say voyny]
- Silhouette of monument is that of a broken German bayonette
- South Face (names of battles where Poles fought):
  -- La Manche
  -- Dunkirk

- -- Mediterranean Sea
- -- Atlantic
- -- Narvik (Norway)
- -- Murmansk (in Soviet Union)
- -- Hel. Another peninsula west of Westerplatte, resistance took place the longest there -- for over a month.
- -- Oksyvie (small coastal town nearby)
- -- Westeplatte
- -- Gdansk Post Office. When the Germans attacked in September 1939, a group of armed Polish <u>civilians</u> barricaded themselves in the Gdansk Post Office and held off the Germans for five days (?). When they finally gave up, all were shot on the spot.
- -- Kosynierzy Gdyni [kosh-ee-ni-air-jee gdee-nee] (soldiers with scythes -- originally enlisted peasants)

- o SE overlooking "Never Again War"
- o East Face: "To those at sea." [tim so na morju]
- o North Face, overlooking Baltic/Bay of Gdansk: Kolobrzeg (coastal town near Gdansk); "Praise those who won independence" [chva-wa viz-vo-li-chellom]
- o West Face: Lenino (in Soviet Union); Studzianki (small town where the biggest tank battle took place, on German border)

<u>Solidarity Monument</u>

- o Three workers from the Lenin Shipyard were killed in December 1970, shot by government troops during a strike. In nearby Gdynia, around 300 people were killed.
- o Monument was one of Solidarity's demands in the 1980 Gdansk Accords. These accords also legalized Solidarity.
- o During martial law, the monument was a very emotional meeting place. Each day people would leave flowers and gifts at the monument, and each day the police would take it all away

- o The anchor is the Biblical symbol of hope. On top of the monument are crosses with anchors on them.
- o The symbol for Solidarity is also related to the anchor symbol:

- "He who wrongs the simple man and laughs while he is doing it, don't feel safe, the poet remembers. You can kill him, but there will emerge another. I will list all facts and conversations." Czeslaw Milosz, Nobel prize-winning poet, now lives in the U.S.

Wall behind monument:

- "The Lord gives strength to His people. The Lord gives to His people the blessing of peace." Czeslaw Milosz
- "May your spirit be replaced and circulate on this earth. Amen." Pope John Paul II, 1979 (his first visit to Poland)
- "They gave their lives so that you could live better . . . Honor their memory."

Plaques on wall:

- 1970/1980 - steel mills Katowice
- December 1970
- Job 16:18: "O Earth, don't cover my blood, don't be indifferent to my expressed desires." From the people of Czestochowa [chest-a-hova], home to the most holy Polish shrine
- Worker crew, furniture factory, Zamosc
- Warsaw Mill
- Funded by people's donations, Lichenie [lee-hen-ye], Poland, Konina Church
- "Ostrowca Swientokrzyski" [o-strove-sa svien-tow-kshi-ski] ". . . and there stirred up a wind from the sea."

The entrance to the Lenin Shipyard is just to the right (when facing) of the memorial. Big Solidarity sign. Also big sign that says "Wszyscy Odpowiadamy Za Polske" -- "We are all for/responsible for Poland."

<u>Oliwa Cathedral</u>

- 1178 -- Sambor I, Pomeranian Prince, introduces the Cistercian Order of Monks into Oliwa and endows them with estates. They build a wooden church and cloister.
- 1577 -- build in Gothic style, following plunder by fanatics from Gdansk, due to friendship between Abbey and Polish King Stephen.
- 1755 -- organ, built by John Wulf. Took 25 years to build. John Wulf finally became monk -- Brother Michael, following completion.
- 1925 -- Gdansk becomes a diocese and the church in Oliwa becomes a Cathedral Church.

- 1944 -- WWII causes heavy destruction of the Cathedral and adjoining house.

- Bishop Goclowski [got-swov-ski] -- one of the key mediators at the Magdalenka Group roundtable meetings, (Magdalenka = suburb of Warsaw). He was the Church representative.

# # #

POLAND QUOTES

"You cannot prevent them swallowing you, but at least make sure you give them indigestion." Jean Jacques Rousseau

"A land where the air is healthy, the soil fertile, the forests flowing with honey, the reviers stocked with fish . . . " Gallus Anonymus (1110-13)

"History bears witness to the independent development of Poland which has been both a bridge and a beacon between the Slavs, Germany, and the East." Cesare Lombroso, 1900

Poland is "an inspiration to the nations." President Roosevelt (which one?)

was ruled by the gentry—the *szlachta*—who had been granted privileges by successive monarchs in order to raise local detachments to fight invading armies of Swedes, Tartars, Russians, Hungarians, and Turks. There are some rooms in Wavel Castle in Krakow where one can see, with permission of the caretaker, one of the most extraordinary and valuable museum collections ever assembled anywhere. In magnificent, almost pristine condition, the richly decorated tents and pavilions of Turkish pashas now stand fully erected, carpeted with rugs of incalculable value, all seized when the Polish Army, under King Jan Sobieski in July 1683, marched to Vienna to raise the siege of the city by Vizier Kara Mustafa who commanded 138,000 Turks on a campaign designed to destroy the Holy Roman Empire and Christendom itself. The king arrived with 30,000 men to add to another 46,000 sent by the princes of Europe, and took command of the Christian Army. Europe and its civilization was saved on September 12, 1683, when King Sobieski led a charge from the heights of Wienerwald outside Vienna, broke the Ottoman Army and put it to flight. The king of Poland entered the gates of Vienna as the savior of Christianity, and one of the great passages of arms of the Middle Ages was over.

Yet Polish historians say that even as this decisive battle was being fought, internal conflicts in Poland had made the state virtually ungovernable—a situation which was to lead to the extinction of the Polish state.

While Poland's neighbors were ruled by powerful monarchs sustained by the doctrine of the absolute right of kings, government in Poland had been made all but impossible by the power and privileges of the gentry. They insisted that not only should Poland's kings be elected by them, but once the monarch ascended the throne, his power would be considerably circumscribed by a Parliament made up of members of the gentry who either attended directly or voted for delegates to represent their regions. Astonishingly, the gentry class consisted of about three quarters of a million people, or 10 percent of the population. Some were great barons—called "Magnates"—with estates and untold wealth. Others scratched a precarious living from the soil. It was difficult sometimes to tell the difference between them and the peasants alongside whom they worked, save for the fact that while one possessed power over king and country, the other had none at all.

And it is no exaggeration to say that the gentry, even the poorest, did have that power. Poland's Parliament had developed over the

years a unique system whereby any legislation could be voted down by a single member of Parliament, who had merely to sit in his seat and declare "I disapprove." Not only that, but each member was entitled by his one vote to dissolve the *Sejm* at any time, and in so doing nullify all acts passed during its sessions. The assumption behind this *liberum veto* was that all nobles were equal, and that each possessed in his person the well-being of his nation. In practice, of course, the concept that nobility conferred upon its holder an almost saintly disregard for his own interests was not, as one might expect, exactly justified by events. Between 1652, when the *liberum veto* was first used, and 1764, when King Stanislaw II August Poniatowski (reputedly Catherine the Great's most successful lover) attempted in vain to make constitutional reforms, forty-eight out of fifty-five sessions of the *Sejm* fell under the *liberum veto*. Usually members objected to the raising of taxes to fight off yet another foreign interloper, but often invading foreign armies themselves found a member to bribe, to ensure that he used his veto to frustrate Poland's ability to defend itself. Even before the Battle of Vienna, the Cossacks in the Ukraine who had previously paid tribute to the Polish king changed sides and put their armies at the disposal of the Czar of Russia, changing forever the balance of power between these two great neighbors. With Cossacks on the loose, with the Polish Army itself often in revolt because the *Sejm* had not voted the money to pay its salaries, the country was wide open to attack, and the Swedes and then the Russians made the most of the opportunity.

The periodic election of Polish kings provided new excuses for outside intervention as Poland's neighbors fought to promote their own candidates, while the nobility—always squabbling between themselves—consistently failed, because of *liberum veto*, to agree about anything. August Stanislas's belated attempt to force through constitutional changes led to virtual civil war as a section of the Polish nobility, desperate to protect its ancient rights, refused to give way, even though what amounted to the whole Russian Army was camped on the grounds of the Russian ambassador. In the end, using the fate of Russian Orthodox churches in Poland, supposedly persecuted by the Catholics, as a pretext, Catherine the Great marched into Poland. Austria and Prussia, determined that Russia should not become too powerful, also moved, and the Polish *Sejm*, most of its members bribed by one or another of the competing parties in 1772 voted in favor of the First Partition of what was once their mighty nation. About 30 percent of the country was carved up among the three

countries, leaving Poland considerably reduced in size, within frontiers even more difficult to defend than hitherto, and with a population bitter and divided.

At last, and too late, a group of Magnates and members of the minor gentry realized how their squabbling and insistence on their privileges had led to the dismemberment of the nation. They were determined, within the area still left to Poland, to give Poland a real constitution and the necessary energy to withstand outside pressures and reestablish its former prosperity. So, on May 3, 1791, in a carefully organized plot, timed to coincide with the moment that reactionary members of the *Sejm* were out of town, the liberals voted through the Parliament a new constitution, the first written constitution in Europe, and the second in the world—after America's, upon which it was closely modelled.

Known and revered throughout Poland today as the 3rd May Constitution (in 1981 Solidarity demanded that May 3 be celebrated as a national holiday rather than the Communist holiday of May 1), this document was nothing short of revolutionary. It provided for the country advanced social and political forms unknown elsewhere, in the immediate area. But to Poland's neighbors—like the Gdansk Accord signed almost 290 years later—this Constitution was perceived as a direct threat to their interests. If it were allowed to go unchallenged, this Constitution could disaffect their people and give Poland a political stability enabling it to resist their insistent demands. An eminent Prussian politician declared, "The Poles have given the coup de grâce to the Prussian monarchy by voting a Constitution much better than the English. . . . How can we defend our state against a numerous and well-governed nation?" Catherine the Great swore her determination to stamp out "the French plague" in Warsaw, and as has so often happened in Polish history, she found influential supporters inside Poland whose wealth and power depended upon the old ways being preserved.

It is almost uncanny how Polish history is fated to repeat itself. The events of 1980–1981 so echo the events 1791–1792 that the scenario seems to have been written by the same script-writer. Grossly betraying Poland, the Conservatives (the Russian Party as they were known) went to St. Petersburg and signed an Act of Confederation with Russia, blaming the "monarchal and democratic revolution" which had taken their country by storm. They called for Russian troops to put down the democrats, and on May 18, 1792, two weeks after Warsaw had celebrated the first anniversary of the Constitution,

they crossed the frontier with Catherine's army behind them. Though the Polish Army fought courageously, it had no hope against numerically superior opponents. Poland was partitioned for the second time, as the Russians and the Prussians grabbed huge sections of Poland and promulgated for the first time the concept of Poland as a buffer state, "a barrier between the powers," as Catherine put it, but with the Russian ambassador in Warsaw as effective ruler.

Two years later in 1794, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, leading an army of peasants demanded national self-rule, abolition of the monarch, equal civil rights for all citizens, freedom for the peasantry, and a limited (though for those days, remarkable) franchise based on property qualification. With reckless courage that won the admiration of all Europe, he took on Russia and, when it intervened, Prussia too. Despite several victories won against great odds, the Poles were finally defeated before the gates of Warsaw and their leaders fled into exile, principally to France. For the third time Poland had to submit to the terrible indignity of partition, but this time the three occupying powers were determined that this troublesome nation should be wiped off the map, and they divided up what was left of the country among themselves. According to legend, Kosciuszko shouted, "Finis Poloniae!" when he fell from his horse in the final battle of the war, and in the partition treaty, the three powers vowed: "In view of the necessity to abolish everything that could revive the memory of the existence of the Kingdom of Poland, now that the annulment of the body politic has been effected . . . the high contracting parties are agreed and undertake never to include in their titles . . . the name or designation of the Kingdom of Poland, which shall remain suppressed from the present and forever. . . ."

But the Poles were far from finished. "Poland is not lost while Poles still live," still sung to this day, was during these dark hours the anthem that kept alive the dreams of a Poland reborn. The lyrics represented the aspirations of a people denied a homeland of their own. It was the 120 years of Polish history, between the third partition and eventual independence in 1918, that set the mold of the Polish character as we know it today. The options were limited—either fight or go under—and they decided to fight. This was the national will, and nothing that has happened since has weakened it. It was during this period that these courageous people became suffused with the kind of hopeless romanticism, nationalistic to a fault, even the victims, if you like, of a grand passion for Poland which has been both ennobling and destructive.

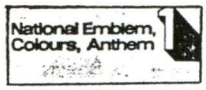
The world reacted to the Polish tragedy 200 years ago much as it did when General Jaruzelski imposed martial law on the Polish population in December 1981. In America, Thomas Jefferson spoke of the "crime" and the "atrocity" of the partition; "to post-Revolutionary Frenchmen, the spectacle of Poland writhing under Europe's most repressive monarchies seemed a horror almost beyond historical precedent"; while in England societies were established to keep alive the name of Poland and Polish civilization. Extraordinarily, this was a time of a flowering of Polish culture—romantic but magnificent. It was the time of Chopin, who evoked memory of an eternal Poland through his music; Adam Mickiewicz whose twelve cantos of *Pan Tadeusz*, Homeric in their scope, recounted the historical tradition of a great people. Zygmunt Krasinski and Juliuz Slowacki regarded Polish suffering as an almost mystical event, basis for a philosophy of self-sacrifice and ideals of liberty from which the Polish people have never departed. A nation, they said, could survive the destruction of the state provided that its people remained true. It is a lesson no Pole has ever forgotten, and it ensures that, whatever else may happen, in the end Poland will somehow survive.

The attempts by the partitioning powers to crush the Polish spirit were brutal beyond compare. Nonobservance of the laws of the partitioning powers, particularly the Russians, meant certain death or exile to Siberia, a route taken by thousands of Poles, yet the spirit of resistance never died. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna ratified the partitions but established the tiny kingdom of Warsaw as a sop to Polish pride and then undid that by placing it under the czars.

In 1830, in what Poles know as the November Insurrection, young men from the School of Cadets in Warsaw led by a sub-lieutenant rose against the Czar and held out for a year. In January 1863, this time with no army, not even officer cadets to call on, the people rose again with few expectations. As a Polish writer has put it, ". . . this act of despair has left a memory sacred to every Pole. No sacrifice for the national cause had, in fact, ever been so disinterested and of so moving a nature.

"Never had such large classes of the population rallied to a movement that, unlike that of 1830, did not possess even the skeleton of a regular army."

The Russians reacted with predictable fury. The kingdom was finally removed from all their maps and became Vistulaland. Polish was replaced by Russian in government and commerce; Russian became mandatory in every school; while the Polish nobility, the natural



Two signs: an emblem and a flag, and a certain set of sounds and words: the anthem — all these are symbols.[1] In the history of human thought and in social life, symbols stand for definite notions and serve as a condensed expression of certain facts and events. The symbols of the Polish State represent its independent political existence, bear witness to Poland's existence in the world. They contribute to the strengthening of national and social ties, they unite Poles living in their country with their compatriots abroad. They are a symbolic summons to all Poles.

The Polish national symbols have a long history going back many centuries. But among the symbols of other nations, there are some equally old or even older. The history of the Polish symbols, however, contains some special pages. It is rich in exalted as well as tragic moments, it has been marked by the heroism of many generations of Poles, by the bitterness of defeat and the joy of victory — like the history of the country they represent.

☐ THE NATIONAL EMBLEM

As is the case with all European nations, the oldest of our national symbols is Poland's emblem, her coat of arms. It is the effigy of a white eagle on a red field. The origins of this emblem date back to the Piast era, the formative period of Polish statehood. Scholars are unable to explain with absolute certainty the reasons for this choice of emblem. The prevailing opinion is that the heraldic effigy of the eagle, appearing regularly as early as the first quarter of the 13th century on the seals of provincial princes of the Piast dynasty, was their personal sign. It was a sign chosen independently, although within the broader framework of heraldic customs that had earlier taken shape in western Europe.

According to the political and legal doctrine of the Middle Ages, the monarch symbolized the state. Consequently, the personal sign of the ruler became the symbol of the lands and people under his authority. The attempts to reunify Poland's territories made by the Piast Przemysł II, Prince of Great Poland, raised his personal sign — the white eagle — to the rank of a symbol of state unity, the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland. It was in this sense that the kings who unified Poland — the above-mentioned Przemysł II and, after him, Ladislaus the Short and Casimir the Great — placed on their seals a crowned eagle as the symbol of royal dignity. The feeling of national consciousness which was then taking shape helped to strengthen the role of that symbol.

How great a moral force was already at that time associated with the emblem of the Kingdom, can be seen from the description by Poland's most eminent chronicler, Jan Długosz, of the fight to defend the grand banner bearing the eagle during the battle of Grunwald (1410).

The shape of the Polish official eagle was finally fixed around the middle of the 15th century. The eagle of those days, its silhouette dramatically outlined, is impressive, with the crowned head proudly raised, the beak sharply delineated and the spreading wings adorned by a bandeau, the whole breathing strength and majesty.

---

1 Based on: Stanisław Russocki, Stefan K. Kuczyński, Juliusz Willaume, *Godło, barwy i hymn Rzeczypospolitej. Zarys dziejów*. With a foreword by Bogusław Leśnodorski. 2nd ed., Warsaw 1970.

Later on, the Polish eagle changed its shape more than once as tastes varied in different periods. The Gothic form of the emblem of the Piasts and the first Jagiellons was replaced by the Renaissance design of the eagles of Sigismund I and Sigismund Augustus. In the 18th century, the eagle assumed the classicist form which proved to be the most durable. Yet, in spite of its changing forms, the sense of the symbol always remained the same.

Under the Jagiellons and in the later period as well, the Polish eagle used to appear on the same escutcheon together with Lithuania's emblem — the Pogoń (Pursuit) as a sign of the dynastic union binding the two countries. Apart from the officially adopted State emblem, the effigy of the eagle also appeared — together with the cipher or coat of arms of the current king — on coins, seals of office, military standards, etc. The white-feathered eagle with a crown became fixed in the national consciousness as the Poles' own sign, the symbol of the Polish State and of the continuity of its independent political existence.

No wonder, therefore, that when Poland lost her political independence as a result of the partitions, the foreign authorities banned the use of the eagle. It was replaced by artificially created signs — first, the emblem of the Duchy of Warsaw created by Napoleon (the coat of arms of the Saxon dynasty on a shield combined with the Polish eagle) and, later on, the emblem of the Kingdom of Poland (Russia's double-headed black eagle with the Polish eagle on its breast). After the defeat of the January Rising (1863—64), even that substitute for the country's ancient emblem was removed and the Polish eagle was placed on the wings of the Tsar's eagle, among the coats of arms of other provinces. Also in the Prussian- and Austrian-ruled parts of Poland, the eagle of the Republic was supplanted by the symbols of the foreign monarchies.

The partitions of Poland and the loss of independence — tragic events in the life of the nation — at the same time stimulated and accelerated the development of Polish national thought. The white eagle as a sign officially banned became the symbol of the highest patriotic feelings, a reminder of the former glory of the Polish State, the embodiment of dreams of freedom. The image of the eagle played an important role in each insurrectionary outburst and in the Polish liberation movements, in which the 19th century abounded. During the November Rising of 1830—31, the official emblem of the Kingdom of Poland was spontaneously rejected and the Eagle-and-Pursuit was restored. The Pursuit was meant to symbolize the rebirth of the Polish State in its former boundaries. Similar intentions motivated the insurrectionary government of 1863 when it placed on its seals the Eagle and the Pursuit as well as the effigy of the Archangel, symbolizing Poland's former Ruthenian territories.

Besides the idea of independence, the liberation movements of the 19th century also advanced a programme of social reforms and democratic freedoms. As a result, there emerged very acutely the question whether people fighting for ideals of freedom and democracy should have their emblem adorned with a crown.

The crown over the eagle's head was associated with Poland's monarchical system whereas the leaders of the struggle for independence — at least those of the revolutionary and democratic wing — advanced demands for a future State based on the principles of social equality. The outward expression of

this idea — apart from more radical attempts to change the emblem altogether — consisted in the elimination of the crown.

A crownless eagle appeared on the flag of the Polish Democratic Society formed in 1832 in exile. In the Year of Revolutions, 1848, it appeared on the standards of the Polish troops fighting in defence of the Hungarian revolution. It was also the emblem of the Legion formed in Italy by Adam Mickiewicz. In Poland, the crownless eagle was adopted in the days of the 1846 Cracow Insurrection. It also adorned the flags of some insurgent units in 1863 and 1864.

The symbol of the crownless eagle was used by Polish military units formed in various countries of Europe and in the United States during the First World War. Also, the military units formed in Poland used at first the eagle without a crown.

The Polish state, reborn in 1918, adopted as its emblem the crowned eagle although the short-lived socialist government headed by Jędrzej Moraczewski tried to adopt the crownless eagle.

In 1919, the official design of the state emblem was approved: it was a white eagle with a golden crown, golden beak and golden claws, on a red field. In 1927, a new model of the emblem was introduced. It was the same white eagle on a red field although differently designed, by Professor Zygmunt Kamiński.

The emblem and Poland's other national symbols were brutally trampled underfoot by the Nazi invaders. The Polish people lifted them as signs of struggle. The eagle, banned under the occupation, became the visible symbol of fighting Poland — of the underground front at home and of the Polish forces organized abroad. The traditions of the crownless eagle were revived in the leftist independence movement — in the units of the People's Guard and later of the People's Army, and in the Polish Army formed in the Soviet Union.

The Polish People's Republic adopted as its emblem the eagle without a crown. The poet Konstanty Ildefons Gałczyński very aptly rendered the sense of this decision when he wrote that the eagle "took off its crown to lay it at the feet of the people".

The Decree of 7 December 1955 on the emblem and colours of the Polish People's Republic [2] approved the official effigy of the eagle as it appeared in the design of 1927 but deleting the crown.

5 July 1989

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

Your imminent visit to my country prompts me to reflect on my family's odyssey from Poland to the United States of America, a journey that began in 1957 soon after the uprisings in Poland and Hungary the previous year. This journey continues to this day. In fact, the Ornaf family of Forest Hills, NY, just observed our thirtieth jubilee in our adopted land, a celebration of America, of promises fulfilled, dreams realized, opportunities looming.

My parents, Marata and Antoni Ornaf, arrived in New York harbor on June 19, 1959 with five children, five valises and fifty dollars. My father, now deceased, was a chemist; my mother is a homemaker. Not one of us spoke English. Yet, without the benefit of bilingual education, equal employment statutes or government entitlements, father was soon employed in his chosen profession and, in quick succession, all six children - yes, we have a Brooklyn-born sister! - completed university education. We are proud of our two magna cum laude graduates (Anna Maria and Marata), our Phi Beta Kappa member (Anna Maria), and, at least so far, our one Ph.D (Rafał). But most of all, we are proud of our parents' courage, grateful for their sacrifices in our behalf.

We cherish our American citizenship. We look to what we can do for our country. We volunteer in civic, social and political organizations. Last year, the Bush/Quayle campaign was my particular passion and I was pleased to share it with, inter alia, our mutual friend Morris E. Zukerman who served on your finance committee and at whose suggestion I write this letter. We are a part of your thousand lights; we intend to keep them lit.

As we enter our fourth decade in America, we contemplate our own first generation Americans. Our gift to them is a culture and a tradition. Their gift to their country will be

good citizenship. They are learning that democracy is not a given, but rather a privilege which needs nurturing and entails responsibilities. It is our hope that they will never take it for granted.

And so, Mr. President, please accept our wishes for your own safe and successful journey to Europe. God bless America and szczęść Boże!

Sincerely yours,

Halina Glowacki

Halina Glowacki, née Ornaf

212 Carpathian Way
Raleigh, NC 27615

July 5, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: EDWARD McNALLY

SUBJECT: ADDING SOME EMOTIONAL PUNCH IN GDANSK SPEECH

I. SUMMARY

As you know, one of the results of the weekend comments was the loss of some choice sound bites and a personal anecdote (planting pecans for posterity). Some new alternatives are suggested below.

II. DISCUSSION

1. **"WOLNOSC, WLASNOSC, NIEPODLEGLOSC" (a/k/a "Ich bin ein Berliner")**

The Gdansk speech needs a memorable, ringing phrase -- a tag line with the kick of JFK's "Ich bin ein Berliner."

Peggy Dooley found "Wolnosc, Wlasnosc, Niepodleglosc" -- "Freedom, Property, Sovereignty" -- the battle cry of Kosciusko, the beloved Polish patriot who fought in the American Revolution (and whose statue is in Lafayette Square). Spoken in Polish, the phrase has a powerful, rhyming cadence.

Perhaps something like this:

"In 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history -- a great Polish patriot crossed the Atlantic. He brought with him a simple, three-word message. And today -- 200 years later -- America is proud to return Kosciusko's message to the country of its birth: 'Wolnosc. Wlasnosc. Niepodleglosc.'"

"Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. Words that speak to aspirations common to all peoples and all times..."

(The phrase should then be repeated at the end of the speech.)

2. **A PERSONAL STORY OR ANECDOTE**

The personal nature of the address (and the deletion of the Texas pecan story) calls for a personal story or anecdote. Some candidates include:

Meeting with Lech Walesa -- When he speaks in Gdansk, the President will have just come from lunch at the home of Lech Walesa. When Vice President Bush was there in 1987, he invited Walesa to join him on a visit to the grave of the recently martyred priest. (The President has often spoken of the visit, noting how security guards tore the Polish flag off their limo -- but left the American flag intact).

The Father Kolbe Story -- Father Kolbe is the legendary World War II Polish priest who was martyred at Auschwitz in 1941, when 10 men were chosen for slow death in retaliation for an escape. When one of the 10 Poles despaired about his wife and children, Father Kolbe stepped forward and took his place among the condemned. Kolbe's courage and tenacity -- he outlived the other nine by some weeks -- was such that the SS themselves were astounded: "So was haben wir nie gesehen." ("We never saw anything like him before.")

Father Kolbe was made a saint -- and apparently ranks second in modern Polish hearts only to the Holy Father.

Just six weeks ago, the President met in the Oval Office with former Sgt. Gajowniczek, 88 -- the man whose life was spared by Father Kolbe's sacrifice. His musings about that meeting -- and Father Kolbe -- could provide a vivid personal anecdote.

3. **A MOMENT OF SILENCE**

Given both the audience -- the deeply religious Polish people (e.g., the workers removing their caps) -- and the setting -- the windswept harbour gates -- a moment of silence during the President's address could make for a powerful and emotional moment.

The President will be speaking in front of the Solidarity Monument -- a memorial to those killed in the original (1970?) struggle. The previous day, he will have laid wreaths for the Jewish victims of the uprisings and the Polish Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (our WWII ally) -- and after Gdansk, he will lay a wreath high above the shipyards, at the fortress where WWII began 50 years ago.

Services of Mead Data Central

146TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1981

December 18, 1981, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: International

LENGTH: 418 words

KEYWORD: Witness

BODY:

The Polish government television showed housewives crowding into stores to buy Christmas trees and streamers, but only hours earlier military convoys drove through the capital in an ear-splitting show of force.

The independent union Solidarity, apparently powerless and leaderless now, dropped its call for a national protest Thursday and sought instead to pass a word-of-mouth message to householders to place lighted candles in their windows in a silent vigil.

The sudden imposition of martial law has punched this nation of 36 million into a state of shock, worsened by the lack of news of friends and dissidents. Military authorities have made it clear they will be merciless in punishing any breach of military law.

Convoys of troop trucks, water cannons, armored cars and command cars roared through Warsaw Wednesday night. One convoy took 15 minutes to pass.

Four days after the crackdown started, most troops had been withdrawn from the capital's streets, but the soldiers appeared tense.

They held their rifles with fixed bayonets in front of their chests instead of slung over their shoulders, carrying out identity checks and car searches at many intersections and numerous steets were closed to traffic.

''They have really given us a fine Christmas present this year,'' said a woman watching the Christmas shopping scene.

Solidarity activists, trying to regroup, seemed more wary of contact with Westerners than before. One who did speak briefly said, ''We all seem to have headed instinctively to churches.''

The powerful Roman Catholic Church has called for the release of the thousands of detained Solidarity activists, intellectuals and students and for the return of Solidarity as a functioning organization.

Opinions differed on the availability of food. Some Poles noted tomato juice and even smoked fish on sale for the first time in months.

But at least one Westerner with family in Poland said food was as scarce as ever. Bread is rationed.

One year ago, scores of thousands of Poles gathered in Gdansk for the dedication of a monument to the dozens of workers who died in riots in December 1970.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central

That day was acclaimed as a great symbol of national unity marking a beginning of a new Poland.

Thursday was to have been a ''day of national protest,'' against the use of force by the authorities. That was one of the last resolutions passed by the Solidarity national leadership in Gdansk Saturday.

If the candlelight vigil takes place, that will be the only memorial.

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central

127TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

The materials in the AP file were compiled by The Associated Press. These materials may not be republished without the express written consent of The Associated Press.

December 23, 1981, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 490 words

HEADLINE: Americans Asked to Burn Candles for Polish People

BYLINE: By MATT YANCEY, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Reagan-Christmas

BODY:

President Reagan on Wednesday night asked Americans to burn a candle in their windows Christmas Eve "as a small but certain beacon of our solidarity with the Polish people."

The president, in a nationwide telvised address, said the candles would show Americans' commitment to the steps the United States is taking to "support the brave people of Poland in their times of troubles."

"Let the light of millions of candles in American homes give notice that the light of freedom is not going to be extinguished," Reagan said.

Reagan announced in the address that the United States was suspending all commercial and credit ties with Warsaw's martial law government. And he warned that the Soviet Union might face the same consequences if the repression continues in Poland.

He said former Polish Ambassador Romuald Spasowski told him Tuesday that the Polish people have placed lighted candles in their windows "to show that the light of liberty still glows in their hearts" in the wake of a crackdown by the communist Polish government.

Reagan said Spasowski, who defected to the United States last Sunday, had asked him to burn a candle in a window at the executive mansion.

"A lighted candle will burn in the White House window as a small but certain beacon with the Polish people," Reagan said in his televised address. "I urge all of you to do the same tomorrow night, on Christmas Eve."

He said the candles should remind Americans of their blessings and their obligation to liberty, dignity and the children of the world.

"Christmas means so much because of one special child," Reagan said. "But Christmas also reminds us that all children are special. In their love and laughter, in our hopes for the their future, lies the true meaning of

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®

Services of Mead Data Central

Christmas."

The events in Poland dominated most of what originally was planned to be the president's Christmas message to the American people.

"Like the shepherds and wisemen of that first Christmas, we Americans have always tried to follow a higher light, a star, if you will," Reagan said.

"At lonely campfire vigils along the frontier, in the darkest days of the Great Depression, through war and peace, the twin beacons of faith and freedom have brightened the American sky," he said.

Reagan recounted that during the depression, his father opened what he thought would be a Christmas card only to find that it was a notice that no longer had a job.

"Even as we rejoice, let us remember that for some Americans, this will not be as happy a Christmas as it should be," he said. "I know a little of what they feel."

Reagan said it was both humbling and inspiring for he and his wife, Nancy, to be spending their first Christmas in the White House.

"We've lived here as your tenants for almost a year now," he said. "As a people, we've been through quite a lot, moments of joy, of tragedy and of real chievement _ moment that I believe have brought us all closer together."

LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEX'

NIMITZ LIBRARY
U.S. NAVAL ACADEMY
ANNAPOLIS, MD 21402

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

Transmitting Fax Phone: (301) 267-3669

TO:	**From:**
Robert Simon	Katherine Dickson
White House	Nimitz Library - USNA - Annapolis

Date and Time Sent:	Number of Pages (Including Transmittal Page)
6 July 1989	2

Contents and Special Instructions

JUL-06-'89 15:54 ID:NIMITZ LIBRARY USNA TEL NO:301-267-3669 #088 P02

For Robert Simon - White House
From K Dickson - Nimitz Library USNA Annapolis

III.

FOR LIBERTY, INTEGRITY, INDEPENDENCE

Meanwhile, amidst the absolute silence and indifference of all Europe, Russia and Prussia concluded the Second Partition of Poland. The Russian Empress, Catherine II, ordered a considerable reduction in the strength of the Polish army. Several times Kosciuszko postponed the outbreak of the uprising because of insufficient preparations. Now the patriots had to act quickly before the disbandment of the army would greatly weaken their forces. On March 16, 1794, Kosciuszko secretly crossed the border of Poland. Taking advantage of the fact that the Russian troops left Cracow to intercept Gen. Joseph Madalinski who had refused to dismiss his brigade, Kosciuszko appeared in that city on March 23. On the next day, amid the ovations of the people gathered in the city square, he solemnly took office as Commander-in-Chief of the Insurrection and swore before "God and the innocent Passion of His Son . . . not to use the power entrusted to him for any personal oppression, but only . . . for the defense of the integrity of the boundaries, the regaining of the independence of the nation and the founding of universal freedom." "Liberty, Integrity and Independence" of the country he proclaimed as the supreme aims of the Insurrection.

Simultaneously he promulgated his famous Act of Insurrection, which is justly considered one of the most important Polish political documents and which deserves to be placed beside the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man as one of the most notable expressions of 18th century political doctrines.

Most of the subsequent insurrectional proclamations were prepared by Kollontay under Kosciuszko's supervision, but there is no doubt that the Act itself was in the main written by him. For this reason it is also important as an exposition of his political philosophy.

The Act, especially in its opening paragraphs, strongly resembles the Declaration of Independence in general construction and contents. Its definitions of political maxims, its whole tenor, are primarily based on American political literature of the Revolutionary era. Kosciuszko tried to breathe into the organism of dying Poland those animating ideas which he himself had imbibed so long and so fully during his

E207.K8H32 KOSCIUSZKO: Leader and Exile by Miecislaus Haiman

(McNally/Simon)
July 7, 1989, 6:30 p.m.
Draft Nine (GDANSK)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
2:10 P.M.

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello Solidarnosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]] Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. When you hurt, we feel pain. When you dream, we feel hope. When you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations --it's more like family relations. **And coming to Poland is like coming home.** [[PAUSE]]

This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream -- a recurring dream -- the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the free spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans -- a dream that would not die. [[PAUSE]]

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of the Nazi warship Schleswig-Holstein [[SHLES-vig HOLE-shtine]]. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. [[PAUSE]] **In World War II Poland lost everything -- except her honor -- except her dreams.** [[PAUSE]]

Before Poland fell, you gave the Allies "Enigma" -- the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the "unbreakable" Axis codes saved tens of thousands of Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship. And the dream was still denied.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]]

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern

nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- darker and colder than before.

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned despair into hope -- turned darkness into dreams.

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds -- confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of **possibilities**. Its time of **responsibilities**. Its time of **greatness**. [[PAUSE]]

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between the government of Poland and the Polish people. And the first fruits of democracy -- elections.

To those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed -- I say -- let them look at Poland. [[PAUSE]]

To those who think that freedom can be forever denied -- I say -- let them look at Poland. [[PAUSE]]

To those who think that dreams can be forever repressed -- I say -- let them look at Poland. [[PAUSE]] For here in Poland -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive. [[PAUSE]]

Today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope. For Poland is not alone.

In Budapest and Bucharest -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

Across Latin America -- on both sides of the Andes -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

In Karachi, Seoul, and Manila -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

And even in Beijing -- like a faint candle in the wind -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

Because Americans are so free to dream -- we feel a special kinship with those who dream of being free. Here in Poland, the United States supports the Roundtable accords, and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarnosc. [[PAUSE]] And we applaud those who have made these moves toward democracy possible -- the Polish people. [[PAUSE]]

We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity -- and courage -- in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. **Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free.** [[PAUSE]]

My government supports a more democratic Poland. And a more democratic Poland is a more prosperous Poland. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life. This holds the promise of an alternative future for Poland -- a democratic alternative.

We understand the legacy of fear and suspicion as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate [[PAUSE]] -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path to democracy and economic reform. [[INSERT: HIGHLIGHTS OF AID PACKAGE.]]

It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and austerity before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and restraint.

But I do tell you this: **Follow your dream of a better life for you and your children.** You can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not overnight -- not in a year. But yes, a new and prosperous Poland -- not only in your lifetime -- but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and

built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland. [[PAUSE]]

A few days ago, I was asked in my office by one of your journalists -- if I would go to America, were I a young Pole. I answered that -- in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity -- I would want to stay and be a part of it -- to help make the dream come true.

The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a talented and creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, **the magic of America is in an idea** -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

Today, you can discover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A free Poland. And the passport to prosperity is already in your hands -- it is called the ballot.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. **And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.**

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican -- so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your peaceful quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- **America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.** [[PAUSE]]

Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. **The dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.** [[PAUSE]]

"Poland is not lost, while Poles still live." [[PAUSE -- GIVE THE "V" FOR VICTORY SIGN]] Goodbye -- God bless you -- and "God Save Poland."

# # #

THE STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004

(FACSIMILE COVER SHEET)

Please notify addressee immediately upon receipt

TO: Name: Bob Sinclair

Company/Institution WHITE HOUSE

Department/Room # :

Address:

Fax Phone # : (202) 456-6218

* *

FROM: Name: ZALEWSKI

Department/Unit [redacted]

Stanford University Libraries

Stanford, CA 94305-6004 (USA)

Fax Phone: 415-725-6874

[redacted]

* *

Date: 7/6 Time 14.00 Pages (including cover sheet): 4

Comments:

* *

This fax is being transmitted on a Canon L920 machine. If you have problems with this transmission, or pages are missing, please contact us.

* * * * *

and Sciences has frequently received re-
iece, *Pan Tadeusz*, which was first pub-
62 and has long been out of print. The
dition at a time when interest in Polish
ut the world. Various factors and various
: the general political situation in Poland
s of Karol Wojtyła and Czeslaw Milosz

is that this great work of Polish literary
and formed so many generations of Poles,
life and culture and thinking better known

view wish to extend special thanks to the
or providing partial financial support for
tion of *Pan Tadeusz*.

Review Publication

PAN TADEUSZ

OR

The Last Foray in Lithuania

BY

ADAM MICKIEWICZ

TRANSLATED BY

WATSON KIRKCONNELL

With a preface by Jerzy Krzyżanowski, an introductory essay
by Dr. William J. Rose and notes by Professor Harold B. Segel

THE POLISH INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES OF AMERICA
NEW YORK
1981

n his opponent showered.
a brow that lowered
ss him on his horns.
ibres and forewarns
the others start to flee.

tands silent, pensively
lone non-partisan
he list to scan
tel! He does not know
suffers vertigo;
nce—his hands he lifts
umbs, shuts eyes, and shifts
to meet with nail;
fortune, win or fail;
s ballot will be Yes;
ll not acquiesce.

you mark another scene,
it will have been,
) an assembly hall
pon benches all,
ed, while the younger
eads in mental hunger
rong, the Marshal stands
rn in careful hands;
e gentry with their eyes
ball counted lies:
nds and loud proclaim
sounding name.

seems, has no respect
e his head inject
ugh the kitchen window;
llow cheeks like thin dough
s up his maw
e whole room raw:
is fellow now
: observe you how,
e to what went before,

The angry throng is crowding to the door;
They seek the kitchen and have drawn their sabres;
You may be sure that bloodshed crowns their labours.

"But in the corridor, pray notice, sirs,
A reverend old priest his steps bestirs,
Advancing in his chasuble; the Prior
Brings from the altar to assuage their ire
The Host itself; a surpliced boy makes sway
A tinkling bell and bids them all give way.
The gentry sheathe their sabres, cross themselves,
And kneel; but still the priest attention shelves
To where a clink of arms is plainly heard:
Soon he will come, and calm them with a word.

"Ah, you young men do not remember this,
How our self-ruling gentry, reared amiss
And always under arms, had no police:
For while the true faith flourished, there was peace
Under the law: yes, liberty with order
And glory crowned with wealth within our border!
In other lands, I hear, the government
Keeps soldiers and all sorts of forced assent,
With constables and gendarmes. If the sword
Alone can keep the nation in accord,
I cannot feel such lands know liberty."

The Chairman rapped his snuffbox suddenly:

"I pray you, Seneschal, postpone these stories
Till later; though this diet has its glories,
Yet all the guests are hungry beyond measure;
Bring in, I pray, the dinner for our pleasure."

With wand bent down, the Seneschal replied:

"Your Excellency, grant that I may bide
A moment more; and show the happy riot
Crowning the last scene of the district diet.
Here's the new Marshal whom your vision scans
Borne on the shoulders of his partisans;
See them toss up their hats as he appears

07/06/89 14:12 ☎415 725 6874 STAN. GREEN ILS 004/004

Na ten strzał, na dnia hasło, pęk ogniów wylata,
Tysiąc rac krzyżuje się po okręgu świata,
A oko słońca weszło. — Jeszcze nieco senne,
Przymruża się, drżąc wstrząsa swe rzęsy promienne,
Siedmią barw błyszczy razem: szafirowe razem,
Razem krwawi się w rubin i żółknie topazem,
Aż rozśniło się jako kryształ przezroczyste,
Potem jak brylant światłe, na koniec ogniste,
Jak księżyc wielkie, jako gwiazda migające:
Tak po niezmiernym niebie szło samotne słońce.
Pan Tadeusz, ks. XI. Rok 1812, w. 153—181

1 Wyszła msza — nie obejmie świątynia maleńka
Całego zgromadzenia; lud na trawie klęka,
Patrząc we drzwi kaplicy odkrywają głowy:
Włos litewskiego ludu, biały albo płowy,
Pozłacał się jako łan dojrzałego żyta;
Gdzieniegdzie krasna główka dziewicza wykwita,
Ubrana w świeże kwiaty albo w pawie oczy
I wstęgi rozplecione, ozdoby warkoczy.
Śród głów męskich, jak w zbożu bławat i kąkole.
Klęczący różnobarwy tłum okrywa pole,
A na głos dzwonka, niby na wiatru powianie,
Chylą się wszystkie głowy jak kłosy na łanie.
Ib., w. 196—207

2 ...wśród pączków barwistego maku
Stał ułan jak słonecznik, w błyszczącym kołpaku,
Strojnym blachą złocistą i piórem koguta;
Przy nim dziewczę, w zielonej sukience jak ruta
Pozioma, wznosi oczki błękitne jak bratki
Ku oczom chłopca; dalej panny rwały kwiatki
Po ogrodzie, umyślnie odwracając głowy
Od kochanków, żeby im nie mięszać rozmowy.
Ib., w. 298—305

3 «Tak, tak, mój Protazeńku» rzekł klucznik Gerwazy.
«Tak, tak, mój Gerwazeńku» rzekł woźny Protazy.
«Tak to, tak!» powtórzyli zgodnie kilka razy
Kiwając w takt głowami; wreszcie Woźny rzecze:
«Iż proces nasz skończy się dziwnie, ja nie przeczę;
Wszakże były przykłady; pamiętam procesy,
W których się działy gorsze niż u nas ekscesy,
A intercyza cały zakończyła kłopot:
Tak z Borzobohatymi pogodził się Łopot,
Krepsztulowie z Kupściami, Putrament z Pikturną,
Z Odyńcami Mackiewicz, z Kwileckimi Turno.
Co mówię! wszak Polacy miewali zamieszki
Z Litwą, gorsze niżeli z Soplicą Horeszki,
A gdy na rozum wzięła królowa Jadwiga,
To się bez sądów owa skończyła intryga.»
Ib., w. 308—322

4 Dziwnać to były losy taj naszej Korony
I naszej Litwy! wszak to jak małżonków dwoje!
Bóg złączył, a czart dzieli, Bóg swoje, czart swoje!
Ib., w. 339—341

5 Czy ktoś Zosi poradził wyjść w takiej sukience,
Czy instynktem wiedziała (bo dziewczyna zgadnie
Zawsze instynktem, co jej do twarzy przypadnie),
Dosyć, że Zosia pierwszy raz w życiu dziś z rana
Była od Telimeny za upór łajana,
Nie chcąc modnego stroju, aż wymogła płaczem,
Że ją tak zostawiono, w ubraniu prostaczem.
Spódniczkę miała długą, białą; suknię krótką
Z zielonego kamlotu z różową obwódką;
Gorset także zielony, różowymi wstęgi
Od łona aż do szyi sznurowany w pręgi;
Pod nim pierś jako pączek pod listkiem się tuli.
Od ramion świecą białe rękawy koszuli,
Jako skrzydła motyle do lotu wydęte,
U dłoni skarbowane i wstążką opięte;
Szyja także koszulką obciśniona wąską,
Kołnierzyk zadzierzgniony różową zawiązką;
Zauszniczki wyrznięte sztucznie z pestek wiszni,
Których się wyrobieniem Sak Dobrzyński pyszni
(Były tam dwa serduszka z grotem i płomykiem,
Dane dla Zosi, gdy Sak był jej zalotnikiem);
Na kołnierzyku wiszą dwa sznurki bursztynu,
Na skroniach zielonego wianek rozmarynu,
Wstążki warkoczów Zosia rzuciła na barki,
A na czoło włożyła zwyczajem żniwiarki
Sierp krzywy, świeżym ścięciem traw oszlifowany,
Jasny jak nów miesięczny nad czołem Dyjany.
Ib., w. 614—640.

6 Tymczasem goście, potraw czekający w sali,
Z zadziwieniem na wielki serwis poglądali,
Którego równie drogi kruszec jak robota.
Jest podanie, że książę Radziwiłł-Sierota
Kazał ten sprzęt na urząd w Wenecyi zrobić
I wedle własnych planów po polsku ozdobić.
Serwis, potem zabrany czasu wojny szwedzkiéj,
Przeszedł, nie wiedzieć jaką drogą, w dom szlachecki;
Dziś za skarbca dobyty zajął środek stołu
Ogromnym kręgiem na kształt karetnego koła.

Serwis ten był nalany ode dna po brzegi
Piankami i cukrami białymi jak śniegi,
Udawał przewybornie krajobraz zimowy;
W środku czerniał ogromny bór konfiturowy,
Stronami domy, niby wioski i zaścianki,
Okryte zamiast słomy cukrowymi piankí;
Na krawędziach naczynia stoją dla ozdoby
Niewielkie z porcelany wydęte osoby
W polskich strojach; jakoby aktory na scenie,
Zdawały się przedstawiać jakoweś zdarzenie;
Gest ich sztucznie wydany, farby osobliwe,
Tylko głosu im braknie, zresztą gdyby żywe.
Ib., ks. XII. Kochajmy się!, w. 25—46

7 Ach! wy nie pamiętacie tego, Państwo młodzi!
Jak wśród naszej burzliwej szlachty samowładnej,
Zbrojnej, nie trzeba było policyi żadnej;
Dopóki wiara kwitła, szanowano prawa,
Była wolność z porządkiem i z dostatkiem sława!
W innych krajach, jak słyszę, trzyma urząd drabów,
Policyjantów różnych, żandarmów, konstabów;
Ale jeśli miecz tylko bezpieczeństwa strzeże,
Żeby w tych krajach była wolność — nie uwierzę.
Ib., w. 111—119

8 Kto zrozumie nie znane już za naszych czasów
Te półmiski kontuzów, arkasów, blemasów,
Z ingredyjencyjami pomuchl, figatelów,
Cybetów, piżm, dragantów, pinelów, brunelów;
Owe ryby! łososie suche, dunajeckie,
Wyżyny, kawijary weneckie, tureckie,
Szczuki główne i szczuki podgłówne, łokietne,
Flądry i karpie ćwiki, i karpie szlachetne!
W końcu sekret kucharski: ryba nie krojona,

U głowy
A mająca
P.

1 Ale tymcz
I odarty
Bo lekka,
Roztopiła
I dno odł
Więc kraj
Zabłysnąw
Wychodzą
Pszenicy
Żyto ubra
I gryka w
I kwitnąc

Ledwie n
Darmo p
Już serwi
Zmienia
Nabrawsz
Już trawy
Sypią się
Na konie
Teraz, ja
Stoją nag
Lub udaj
Odziane

2 Niestety!
Niejeden
Je jak Ży
Węgrzyna
Fałszywe
Potem w
Że za nic

3 Wierzaj,
Są obowi
Dwa serc
Rozmawi
Kto wie!
Dąży i t
Że wiecz
Biegą do

4 Teraz, ki
Czyliż wi
Tyle tylk

5 Sami wol
Oddajmy
Na które
Zdobyli,

6 Gdy Zos
Podszedł
«Już wier
Lecz nie
Boję się,
Wszak w
Prawda,
Alem siy
Żydowie
A więc

FINAL
Bob

REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
2:10 P.M.

THANK YOU. HELLO LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]] HELLO SOLIDARNOSC. [[PAUSE]] HELLO POLSKA. [[PAUSE]] CONGRATULATIONS ON WHAT YOU HAVE DONE SINCE LAST I VISITED -- THE FIRST FREE ELECTIONS IN MODERN POLSKA. [[PAUSE]]

POLAND HAS A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE AMERICAN HEART -- AND IN MY HEART. WHEN YOU HURT, WE FEEL PAIN. WHEN YOU DREAM, WE FEEL HOPE. WHEN YOU SUCCEED, WE FEEL JOY. IT GOES FAR BEYOND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS --IT'S MORE LIKE FAMILY RELATIONS. AND COMING TO POLAND IS LIKE COMING HOME. [[PAUSE]]

THIS SPECIAL KINSHIP IS THE KINSHIP OF AN ANCIENT DREAM -- A RECURRING DREAM -- THE DREAM OF FREEDOM. "THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED TO LIBERTY," WROTE A BYZANTINE HISTORIAN ABOUT THE SLAVIC PEOPLE MORE THAN A THOUSAND YEARS AGO. AND THE SPIRIT OF THE POLES HAS BEEN CONVEYED ACROSS THE CENTURIES AND ACROSS THE OCEANS -- A DREAM THAT WOULD NOT DIE. [[PAUSE]]

THAT DREAM WAS SEVERELY TESTED HERE IN GDANSK. FIFTY YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER, THE PRE-DAWN QUIET OF THIS PEACEFUL BALTIC HARBOR WAS SHATTERED BY THUNDER FROM THE 15-INCH GUNS OF THE NAZI WARSHIP SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN [[SHLES-VIG HOLE-SHTINE]]. WITHIN THE HOUR, IRON PANZERS ROLLED ACROSS THE POLISH FRONTIER. AND EUROPE WAS PLUNGED INTO A DARKNESS THAT WOULD ENGULF THE WORLD.

FOR POLAND THE CHOICES WERE FEW: SURRENDER TO TYRANNY -- OR RESIST AGAINST IMPOSSIBLE ODDS. AND IN THE BRUTAL FIGHTING THAT FOLLOWED, YOU SET A STANDARD FOR COURAGE THAT WILL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. [[PAUSE]] IN WORLD WAR II POLAND LOST EVERYTHING -- EXCEPT HER HONOR -- EXCEPT HER DREAMS. [[PAUSE]]

BEFORE POLAND FELL, YOU GAVE THE ALLIES "ENIGMA" -- THE NAZI'S SECRET CODING MACHINE. BREAKING THE "UNBREAKABLE" AXIS CODES SAVED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ALLIED LIVES -- OF AMERICAN LIVES -- AND FOR THIS YOU HAVE THE ENDURING GRATITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND, ULTIMATELY, ENIGMA AND POLISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN WINNING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

BUT FOR YOU, THE WAR'S END DID NOT END THE DARKNESS. THE COLD WAR BROUGHT A LONG AND CHILLY NIGHT OF SORROW AND HARDSHIP. AND THE DREAM WAS AGAIN DENIED.

AND YET, THERE WERE GLIMMERS OF THE LONG-AWAITED DAWN. IN THE SUMMER OF 1980, YOU OCCUPIED THE SHIPYARDS WHERE WE STAND. AND A PATRIOTIC ELECTRICIAN CLAMBERED OVER THESE IRON GATES -- AND EMERGED AS ONE OF THE HEROES OF OUR TIMES -- LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]]

AND ABOVE YOUR STREETS A GRACEFUL MONUMENT ROSE -- IN THE TRADITION OF OUR OWN STATUE OF LIBERTY -- TO BECOME A SYMBOL RECOGNIZED AROUND THE WORLD AS A BEACON OF HOPE.

BUT THE HOPE -- LIKE THE DAWN -- PROVED FLEETING. FOR UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS, THE ELECTRICIAN WAS ARRESTED AND YOUR MOVEMENT OUTLAWED. AND IN THE ICY COLD OF A SAVAGE WINTER, A MODERN NATION WAS SEALED OFF FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

BUT STILL THE DREAM WOULD NOT DIE. IN THE WINTRY DARKNESS, CANDLES APPEARED IN SILENT PROTEST, LIGHTING THE WINDOWS OF YOUR VILLAGES AND CITIES. AND AS THE YEARS UNFOLDED AND AS THE WORLD WATCHED IN WONDER, YOU -- THE POLISH PEOPLE -- AND YOUR LEADERS -- TURNED DESPAIR INTO HOPE -- TURNED DARKNESS INTO DREAMS.

HOPE AND HARD WORK WERE THE FOUNDATION OF POLAND'S RESURRECTION AS A STATE IN 1918. AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS -- CONFIDENCE AND DETERMINATION MADE THAT DREAM A REALITY. AND THESE SAME QUALITIES HAVE BROUGHT YOU TO THIS NEW CROSSROADS IN HISTORY. YOUR TIME HAS COME. IT IS POLAND'S TIME OF <u>POSSIBILITIES</u>. ITS TIME OF <u>RESPONSIBILITIES</u>. ITS TIME OF <u>DESTINY</u>. [[PAUSE]]

<u>A TIME WHEN DREAMS CAN LIVE AGAIN</u>. SOLIDARITY REBORN. PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE. AND THE FIRST FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY -- <u>ELECTIONS</u>. AT ANOTHER TIME, IN ANOTHER CITY WHERE THE HUMAN SPIRIT WAS BEING TESTED, A GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENT, JOHN KENNEDY, SPOKE ELOQUENTLY ABOUT THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY. TODAY THE WORLD WATCHES THE INEVITABLE OUTCOME OF THAT STRUGGLE.

TODAY TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT HOPES CAN BE FOREVER SUPPRESSED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT FREEDOM CAN BE FOREVER DENIED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT DREAMS CAN BE FOREVER REPRESSED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]] FOR HERE IN POLAND --<u>THE DREAM IS ALIVE</u>. [[PAUSE]]

TODAY THE BRAVE WORKERS OF GDANSK STAND BESIDE THIS MONUMENT AS A BEACON OF HOPE, A SYMBOL OF THAT DREAM. AND THE BRAVE WORKERS OF GDANSK KNOW POLAND IS NOT ALONE. AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

BECAUSE AMERICANS ARE SO FREE TO DREAM -- WE FEEL A SPECIAL KINSHIP WITH THOSE WHO DREAM OF A BETTER FUTURE. HERE IN POLAND, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, AND APPLAUDS THE WISDOM, TENACITY AND PATIENCE OF ONE OF POLAND'S GREAT LEADERS --**LECH WALESA**. [[PAUSE]] AND WE CHEER A MOVEMENT THAT HAS TOUCHED THE IMAGINATION OF THE WORLD -- **SOLIDARNOSC**. [[PAUSE]] AND WE APPLAUD THOSE WHO HAVE MADE THIS PROGRESS POSSIBLE -- **THE POLISH PEOPLE**. [[PAUSE]]

WE RECOGNIZE, TOO, THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN WISDOM AND CREATIVITY -- AND COURAGE -- IN PROCEEDING WITH THESE HISTORIC STEPS.

POLES AND AMERICANS SHARE A COMMITMENT TO OVERCOME THE DIVISION OF EUROPE -- AND TO REDEEM THE PROMISE THAT IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. **POLES AND AMERICANS WANT EUROPE TO BE WHOLE AND FREE**. [[PAUSE]]

A MORE DEMOCRATIC POLAND CAN BE A MORE PROSPEROUS POLAND. THE ROUNDTABLE PROVISIONS -- AS THEY CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED OUT -- CAN LIBERATE THE ENERGY OF A DYNAMIC PEOPLE, TO WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD A BETTER LIFE.

WE UNDERSTAND THE LEGACY OF DISTRUST AND SHATTERED DREAMS AS POLES OF ALL POLITICAL COMPLEXIONS TRAVEL TOGETHER DOWN THE PATH OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE. YOUR CHALLENGE IS TO RISE ABOVE DISTRUST AND BRING THE POLISH PEOPLE TOGETHER TOWARD A COMMON PURPOSE.

SPEAKING BEFORE THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE SENATE -- YOUR FREELY-ELECTED SENATE [[PAUSE]] -- I OUTLINED STEPS AMERICA IS PREPARED TO TAKE TO ASSIST POLAND AS YOU MOVE FORWARD ON THE PATH OF REFORM.

IT WILL NOT BE EASY. SACRIFICE AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP HAVE ALREADY BEEN THE LOT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. AND HARD TIMES ARE NOT YET AT AN END. ECONOMIC REFORM REQUIRES HARD WORK AND RESTRAINT BEFORE THE BENEFITS ARE REALIZED. AND IT REQUIRES PATIENCE AND DETERMINATION. BUT THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE NO STRANGERS TO HARD WORK, AND HAVE TAUGHT THE WORLD ABOUT DETERMINATION.

SO I SAY: FOLLOW YOUR DREAM OF A BETTER LIFE FOR YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN. YOU CAN SEE A NEW AND PROSPEROUS POLAND. NOT OVERNIGHT -- NOT IN A YEAR. BUT YES, A NEW AND PROSPEROUS POLAND IN YOUR LIFETIME.

IT HAS BEEN DONE BY POLISH PEOPLE BEFORE. HOPEFUL IMMIGRANTS CAME TO THAT MAGICAL PLACE CALLED "AMERICA" -- AND BUILT A NEW LIFE FOR THEMSELVES IN A SINGLE GENERATION. AND IT CAN BE DONE BY POLISH PEOPLE AGAIN. BUT THIS TIME -- IT CAN BE DONE IN POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

A FEW DAYS AGO, I WAS ASKED IN MY OFFICE BY ONE OF YOUR JOURNALISTS -- IF I WOULD LEAVE POLAND AND GO TO AMERICA, WERE I A YOUNG POLE. I ANSWERED THAT -- IN THIS TIME OF BRIGHT PROMISE, OF HISTORIC TRANSITION, OF UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY -- I WOULD WANT TO STAY AND BE A PART OF IT -- TO HELP MAKE THE DREAM COME TRUE.

THE MAGIC OF AMERICA IS NOT FOUND IN THE MAJESTY OF HER LAND. YES, AMERICA HAS BEEN BLESSED. BUT POLAND, TOO, IS A LAND OF NATURAL BEAUTY -- WITH AMPLE TIMBER, ORE, WATER AND COAL -- ABUNDANT AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL -- AND A TALENTED AND CREATIVE PEOPLE THAT IS DETERMINED TO SUCCEED.

NO, THE MAGIC OF AMERICA IS IN AN <u>IDEA</u>. I DESCRIBED IT IN MY FIRST MOMENTS AS PRESIDENT:

"WE KNOW WHAT WORKS: <u>FREEDOM WORKS</u>. WE KNOW WHAT'S RIGHT: <u>FREEDOM IS RIGHT</u>. WE KNOW HOW TO SECURE A MORE JUST AND PROSPEROUS LIFE FOR MAN ON EARTH."

TODAY, YOU CAN REDISCOVER A NEW LAND -- A LAND OF YOUR DREAMS -- A LAND OF YOUR OWN MAKING. A POLAND, STRONG AND PROUD. POLAND IS WHERE WORLD WAR II BEGAN. AND POLAND IS WHERE -- AND WHY -- THE COLD WAR STARTED. AND IT IS HERE -- IN POLAND -- WHERE WE CAN WORK TO END THE DIVISION OF EUROPE.

IT IS IN YOUR POWER TO HELP END THIS DIVISION OF EUROPE. I CAN THINK OF NO FINER OR MORE CAPABLE PEOPLE WITH WHOM TO ENTRUST THIS MISSION. AND JUST AS A SON OF POLAND HAS SHOWN THE WORLD THE HEIGHTS OF SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN THE VATICAN -- SO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND CAN SHOW THE WORLD WHAT A FREE PEOPLE WITH COMMITMENT AND ENERGY CAN ACCOMPLISH.

A NEW CENTURY IS ALMOST UPON US. IT IS ALIVE WITH POSSIBILITIES. AND IN YOUR PEACEFUL QUEST FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR YOURSELVES AND YOUR CHILDREN -- AMERICA STANDS SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE -- IN SOLIDARITY. [[PAUSE]]

AMERICANS AND POLES BOTH KNOW THAT NOTHING CAN STOP AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. THE DREAM IS A POLAND REBORN -- AND THE DREAM IS ALIVE. [[PAUSE]]

"POLAND IS NOT LOST, WHILE POLES STILL LIVE." [[PAUSE -- GIVE THE "V" FOR VICTORY SIGN]] GOODBYE -- GOD BLESS YOU -- AND "GOD SAVE POLAND."

# # #

sat next to 68

Murzynski - Polish Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

dead

Chicago 3/13/88

Mass

312 - 342-3636

Father Frank Rog

Father Mike Osuch
5 years near Krakow during 81 martial law

Poles help sent food, clothes

> Why VP cares about Poles?
he cares about all nations
& Poles coming to America

Final: In God We Trust on US money
We must Trust In God & Con't. that
governs us.

Whether We are Polish. We are American.
Doesn't matter where we are
living. We have 1 god, his
Children. IGWT

Popielewski monument

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY

SUBJECT: ADDRESS AT THE LENIN SHIPYARD GATES IN GDANSK -- AND "COMMENTS" ON THE FOUR "MAJOR" SPEECHES FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your consideration and review are draft remarks for your potentially historic address at the Solidarity Workers Monument, at the gates of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland.

II. DISCUSSION

At approximately 2:10 p.m. (8:10 a.m. on the U.S. East Coast) on Tuesday, July 11, 1989 -- following your lunch at the home of Lech Walesa -- you are scheduled to make an unprecedented address at the Lenin Shipyard gates in Gdansk. Crowd estimates range from the tens of thousands to the hundreds of thousands.

As the speech is still ten days away, the attached draft -- as with the forthcoming drafts for your addresses at the Polish Parliament, Budapest's Kossuth Memorial Square, and Karl Marx University -- is presented to provide you with an opportunity to make a first cut at the text.

We would welcome any guidance you might offer -- general or specific -- as well as any personal reflections you might want to include from your previous visits to Poland and Hungary. And we anticipate that you will have another opportunity to consider the re-worked drafts prior to your departure.

(McNally/Simon)
July 1, 1989, 7:30 p.m.
Draft Five (GDANSK)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
2:10 P.M.

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]] Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

[[But you are spoiling us with these large, wonderful crowds. Now when we go home to America -- the reporters won't be impressed unless I attract a million people.]] [[PAUSE]]

The history of Gdansk is the history of our times. Fifty years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of a Nazi warship. 28 minutes later, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or resist against impossible odds. And during the occupation, you paid a terrible price for your decision to fight back -- and set a standard for courage for the rest of the world. [[PAUSE]]

Before Poland fell, you gave the democracies "Enigma" -- the only copy ever obtained of the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the

enduring thanks of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought for you a long winter of sorrow and hardship.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]]

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- colder than ever before.

But as the world is learning anew -- from Gdansk to Guangzhou -- freedom is "an idea whose time has come." And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

And in the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned away from despair.

Confidence, hope, and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918 -- against enormous odds. And those same qualities have brought you to this moment in time. A time of **possibilities**. A time of **responsibilities**. A time of **greatness**.

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between Poland's government and Polish society. And the first fruits of democracy. In this land of deep faith -- it seems nothing less than a miracle.

The United States supports the Roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] And we applaud the Polish people who have made these moves toward democracy possible.

We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity -- and courage -- in proceeding with these historic steps.

Hope, confidence and hard work are also the basis of my government's policy toward Poland. Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women

throughout the world. **Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free.**

My government supports honest efforts to make Poland a more democratic and prosperous country. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life. This holds the promise of an alternative future for Poland -- a democratic alternative.

We understand the legacy of fear and suspicion as Poles of all political complexions proceed together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland, as you move forward on the path of democracy and economic reform.

It will not be easy. Sacrifices and economic hardships have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and austerity before the benefits are realized.

But I do tell you this: **The dreams you have of a better life for yourselves and your children can be achieved.** It can't be done overnight -- and certainly not in a year -- but you can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not only in your lifetime, but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and

built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland.

I was asked by one of your journalists in my office a few days ago, if I would go to America were I a young Pole. I answered that -- in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity -- I would want to stay and be a part of it -- to help make the dream come true.

The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a work force that is well-trained and ready to go.

The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

Today, you can discover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A free Poland. And the passport to prosperity is already in your hands -- it is called the ballot.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. **And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.**

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of <u>spiritual</u> leadership in the Vatican -- so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your peaceful quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- **America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in <u>solidarity</u>.**

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

# # #

the Republic to heel. Ministers deserted their posts. Officers refused orders. Local dietines passed resolutions of protest. Government business ground to a halt. News from France, where Louis XVI had been guillotined, spelled danger for the despots. This was the hey-day of Robespierre. The partitioning powers were thoroughly frightened, and involved with the revolutionary war. Moderate men, deprived of their Sejm but not yet of their hopes, grew more radical. The exiles were planning a counter-coup from their refuges in Leipzig and Dresden. Conspiratorial cells were formed, and oaths sworn. In Warsaw, the nervous authorities took offence at the libretto of Bogusławski's comic opera *Krakowiacy i górale* (Cracovians and Highlanders). The spectacle of a tenor in popular costume singing 'the sharper are the thistles, the sweeter is the victory' was judged altogether too suggestive.[27] The theatre was closed after three days. When, on 12 March, General Madaliński categorically refused to disband the cavalry garrison at Ostrołęka, but set out instead for Cracow, the conditions for an insurrection were already very ripe. Kościuszko's return was imminent.

In essence, therefore, the National Rising of 1794 was the natural culmination of the reformist movement. Its Jacobinist overtones were rather academic, and at most a sign of the times. Its desperate methods were the reflection less of a guiding philosophy than of the brute repression with which it was faced. The aim, as in the debating chamber of 1791, was independence. The unprecedented appeals for social revolution were motivated by the realization that nothing short of the entire nation in arms could match the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The rendezvous was arranged in Cracow. On 24 March 1794, on the western side of the Market Square, Kościuszko read the 'Act of Insurrection of the Citizens and Inhabitants of the Palatinate of Cracow'. Dressed in national costume, with a feather in his four-cornered hat, surrounded by the blue and silver of the infantry and the green, black, and gold of the artillery men, by the banners of the guilds and by placards proclaiming 'Equality and Freedom' and 'For Cracow and the Fatherland', he swore the solemn oath:

I, Tadeusz Kościuszko, swear before God and to the whole Polish nation, that I shall employ the authority vested in me for the integrity of the frontiers, for gaining national self-rule and for the foundation of general liberty, and not for private benefit. So help me, Lord God, and the innocent suffering of Thy Son![28]

Next, the assembled citizenry swore 'to free the country from the shameful oppression and the foreign yoke, or to perish and be buried in the ruins'. A Supreme National Council was to direct the government. Its seals were to bear the inscription 'Liberty, Integrity, Independence'. All men from 18 to 28 regardless of rank were to be conscripted. This form of proceeding was adopted in all the cities and provinces to which the insurrection spread. Ten days later, on the field of Racławice, battle was joined with the Russians of General Tormasov. The issue was decided by the brave charge of Kościuszko's peasant scythe-men, who captured the enemy's guns. Tormasov withdrew. Amid the popular rejoicing, Kościuszko conducted the last ceremonial ennoblement of the Republic's history. Wojciech Bartos, a peasant, who was first to reach the guns and had placed his cap on the barrel of a cannon to the amazement of the Muscovite gunner, was dubbed with the noble name of 'Głowacki', received into Kościuszko's own clan of Korczak, given possession of his land, and offered an officer's commission. In the same spirit, on 7 May Kościuszko issued the 'Manifesto of Połaniec', freeing the peasantry as a whole from servitude, halving their dues, and promising the help of the insurrectionary authorities against the wrath of the landowners.[29]

Meanwhile, both Warsaw and Wilno had been liberated. In the Polish capital, in Easter Week, rumour spread that the Russians would try to disarm the Polish garrison when the people were at prayer in the churches. On Easter Thursday, 17 April, therefore, the Polish troops and the city mob took the Russians by surprise. Good Friday turned into an orgy of killing. Isolated Russian patrols were hounded through the streets and cut to pieces. The pace was set by the revolutionary tailor Jan Kiliński (1760–1819), and by the Guild of Slaughterers under their President, Sierakowski, whose spikes and axes added a professional touch to the business in hand. The Jacobin Club came into the open. The prisons were opened.[30]

The Poles by Stewart Steven

⌘

At war's end, an outraged woman got up at a public meeting being addressed by a Russian officer on the glories of socialism. "I want to tell you," she said, "that during the war the Germans hanged my son. And now the Soviets have shot my husband. . . ."

"I understand your distress," said the Russian. "Believe you me, I do. But we socialists, in this new world we are creating, have got to learn to live with and embrace the new technology."

At 4:17 A.M. on September 1, 1939, without any declaration of war, the German warship, the *Schleswig-Holstein* on a "courtesy visit" to Danzig (now Gdansk), which had, under the Versailles Treaty, been granted the status of a Free City (neither belonging to Poland or Germany) opened fire with fifteen-inch guns on the Polish fort of Westerplatte. At 4:45 A.M. the German Army crossed the Polish frontier at several points with fifty-three divisions under the command of General von Brauchitsch, and within a few hours the fragile Polish defenses were overwhelmed. World War II had begun. It was a titantic struggle in which millions died, both innocent and guilty, until, 2,194 days later, an exhausted world returned to an uneasy peace. It was in Poland that this terrible war reached the full expression of its savagery.

Add the casualties suffered by Britain, which fought so valiantly from the very beginning, and whose cities were devastated by German bombs, to those suffered by the gallant Americans who once again came to the rescue of European civilization. Take that figure, and add on the civilian and military casualties suffered by the French and the Belgians, the Dutch, the Greeks, and the Canadians. Keep that figure before you, and then add on the deaths (both civilian and military) of Germany's three allies, the Italians, the Austrians, and the Rumanians, and for good measure, enter in Yugoslavia's war victims, which included well over 1 million civilian casualties alone. And once you have that terrible death roll add one more figure—the number of military and civilian death that Japan suffered, a nation

DLEGŁOŚĆ

why, from beginning to end, the
provoked such torrents of abuse
Stalin had reason enough to hate
respective designs, the likes of
loyd George did not. One cannot
dubious motives. But such specu-
ly to the flights and fantasies of
o the facts of Poland's unhappy

indeed destined for destruction.
iginable that the European order
out a Polish state, this fact was
ients of the Second Republic in
f genuine independence between
econd.[39]

God's Playground: a History of Poland

CHAPTER TWENTY

GOLGOTA:

Poland in the Second World War (1939-1945)

Norman Davies

The Second World War was started by *Sturmbanfuehrer* Alfred Helmut Naujocks of the Nazi Security Service (SD). At 8 p.m. on 31 August 1939, he led an attack on the German radio station at Gleiwitz (Gliwice) in Upper Silesia. His men included a dozen convicted criminals referred to in his orders by the code-word *Konserwen* (Tin Cans), who had been promised a reprieve in return for their co-operation. After a brief encounter with the station guards, they burst into one of the studios, broadcast a patriotic announcement in Polish, sang a rousing chorus, fired a few pistol shots, and left. Once outside, the 'Tin Cans' were mown down by the machine-guns of the SS. Their bodies, carefully dressed in blood-soaked Polish uniforms, were abandoned where they fell, to be found in due course by the local police. Before the night was out, the world was awakening to the astonishing news that the Polish Army had launched an unprovoked attack on the Third Reich.[1] (See Map 15.)

The fighting began at 4.40 a.m. on 1 September, when the old German battleship *Schleswig-Holstein*, moored in the port of Danzig on a friendship visit, opened fire with its 15-inch guns on the Polish fort at Westerplatte. One hour later, the *Wehrmacht* tore down the barriers on the frontier roads at a score of points, and raced to the attack. General Heinz Guderian commanding the armoured force which roared across the Corridor in the direction of Chełmno, his birthplace, recalled those hours with special poignancy:

> The first serious fighting took place north of Zempelburg (Sępolno) in and around Gross-Klonia, where the mist suddenly lifted and the leading tanks found themselves face to face with Polish defensive positions. The Polish anti-tank gunners scored many direct hits. One officer, one cadet, and eight other ranks were killed.
>
> Gross-Klonia had once belonged to my great grandfather, Freiherr Hiller von Gartringen. Here, too, was buried my grandfather, Guderian.

MCNAII

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS AT THE SOLIDARITY MONUMENT

GDANSK

July 11, 1989

IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO BE HERE WITH YOU, IN THIS MOVING PLACE AND AT SUCH A TIME IN POLAND'S HISTORY.

I BRING YOU THE GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES. THE TIES THAT BIND OUR PEOPLE ARE STRONG AND LASTING, AND NEVER MORE VIBRANT THAN AT SUCH A TIME AS THIS.

POLISH HISTORY HAS BEEN FILLED WITH SORROW AND HARDSHIP. THIS MONUMENT COMMEMORATES ONE SUCH TERRIBLE TIME.

YET THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE TURNED AWAY FROM DESPAIR. CONFIDENCE, HOPE AND HARD WORK WERE THE FOUNDATION OF POLAND'S RESURRECTION AS A STATE IN 1918, AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS. IT IS SUCH QUALITIES THAT HAVE BROUGHT POLAND FROM A PLACE OF DARKNESS IN RECENT DECADES TO A TIME OF POSSIBILITIES AND GREATNESS TODAY.

THIS CITY WITNESSED THE MIRACLE OF SOLIDARITY, AN INDEPENDENT, SELF-GOVERNING TRADE UNION REPRESENTING THE BEST ASPIRATIONS OF POLISH SOCIETY AND OF FREE PEOPLES EVERYWHERE. AND NOW, THIS YEAR, WE HAVE WITNESSED A SECOND MIRACLE: SOLIDARITY'S REBIRTH, PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN POLAND'S GOVERNMENT AND POLISH SOCIETY, AND THE FIRST FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS AND APPLAUDS THE WISDOM, TENACITY AND PATIENCE OF LECH WALESA, ONE OF POLAND'S GREAT LEADERS, AND OF SOLIDARITY, A MOVEMENT THAT HAS INSPIRED THE WORLD. WE APPLAUD THE POLISH PEOPLE WHO HAVE MADE THESE MOVES TOWARD DEMOCRACY POSSIBLE.

AND WE RECOGNIZE TOO THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN WISDOM AND CREATIVITY, EVEN COURAGE, IN PROCEEDING WITH HISTORIC STEPS.

HOPE, CONFIDENCE AND HARD WORK ARE ALSO THE BASIS OF MY GOVERNMENT'S POLICY TOWARD POLAND. POLAND IS IMPORTANT TO US. POLES AND AMERICANS HAVE STOOD TOGETHER FOR FREEDOM THROUGHOUT MY COUNTRY'S HISTORY; OUR PEOPLES FOUGHT TOGETHER AGAINST A TERRIBLE ENEMY IN WORLD WAR II. OUR PEOPLES HAVE SUFFERED FROM THE DIVISION OF EUROPE IMPOSED AT THE END OF THAT WAR. WE HAVE SUFFERED UNEQUALLY, AND THE UNITED STATES BEARS A DEBT OF GRATITUDE.

POLES AND AMERICANS SHARE A COMMITMENT TO OVERCOME THE DIVISION OF EUROPE AND TO REDEEM THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM THAT IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. POLES AND AMERICANS WANT EUROPE TO BE WHOLE AND FREE AGAIN.

MY GOVERNMENT SUPPORTS HONEST EFFORTS TO MAKE POLAND A MORE DEMOCRATIC AND PROSPEROUS COUNTRY. THERE HAVE BEEN UPS AND DOWNS. WE SUPPORTED SOLIDARITY IN ITS FIRST LEGAL PERIOD IN 1980-81, AND WE GRIEVED DURING THE GRIM YEARS THAT FOLLOWED. AMERICANS LIT CANDLES IN HOPE THAT ONE DAY, POLAND WOULD AGAIN TAKE STEPS ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY.

THAT DAY HAS COME; POLAND IS TAKING THESE STEPS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS ARE A REMARKABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR POLAND. THE PROVISIONS FOR GREATER DEMOCRACY, IF THEY CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED OUT, CAN LIBERATE THE ENERGY OF A FREER PEOPLE TO WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD A BETTER LIFE.

IT WILL NOT BE EASY. SACRIFICES AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN THE LOT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, AND HARD TIMES ARE NOT YET AT AN END. ECONOMIC REFORM REQUIRES HARD WORK BEFORE THE BENEFITS ARE REALIZED.

AND WE UNDERSTAND THE LEGACY OF FEAR AND EVEN SUSPICION AS POLES OF ALL POLITICAL COMPLEXION PROCEED TOGETHER DOWN THE PATH OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE.

I RECALL THE WORDS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON TO HIS COUNTRYMEN AT A DIFFICULT MOMENT IN THE FOUNDING OF OUR NATION, 200 YEARS AGO. AMERICANS, HE SAID, SHOULD NOT GIVE WAY TO DESPAIR OR EXPEDIENCY, BUT SHOULD RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND HONEST CAN REPAIR.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, A REMARKABLE CONSTITUTIONAL ACT, MAY BE JUST SUCH A STANDARD. IN 1980, SOLIDARITY RAISED THE BANNER OF HOPE AND FREEDOM. THAT BANNER REMAINS ALOFT, AND IS NOW JOINED BY THE BANNER OF NEGOTIATION AND ACHIEVEMENT.

I SAID THE PATH AHEAD MAY WELL BE HARD. BUT POLAND DOES NOT STAND ALONE. THE UNITED STATES STANDS IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE IN YOUR QUEST FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR YOURSELVES AND FOR YOUR CHILDREN.

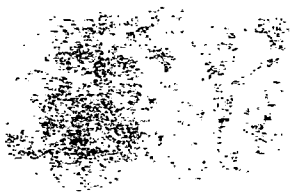
SPEAKING BEFORE THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE SENATE, YOUR FREELY-ELECTED SENATE, I OUTLINED STEPS THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO TAKE TO ASSIST POLAND AS YOU MOVE FORWARD ON THE PATH OF DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC REFORM.

I AFFIRM MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT TO HELP POLAND HELP ITSELF TO A BETTER, FREER FUTURE.

I AFFIRM THE SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP THAT LINKS OUR TWO PEOPLES.

AND I AFFIRM MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT TO STAND WITH POLAND NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, IN SOLIDARITY WITH YOU.

THANK YOU. LONG LIVE POLAND AND THE FREE POLISH PEOPLE.



(McNally/Simon)
June 29, 1989, 4:00 p.m.
Draft Three (GDANSK)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
2:10 P.M.

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]] Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

But you are spoiling us with these large, wonderful crowds. Now when we go home to America -- the reporters won't be impressed unless I attract a million people. [[PAUSE]]

The history of Gdansk is the history of our times. Fifty years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of a Nazi warship. 28 minutes later, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that was to engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or resist against impossible odds. Either way, the cause was hopeless. And during the occupation, you paid a terrible price for your decision to fight back -- and set a standard for courage for the rest of the world.

And before Poland fell, you gave the democracies "Enigma" -- the only copy ever obtained of the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of

Allied lives -- of <u>American</u> lives -- and for this you have the thanks of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. They called it the Cold War, and for you this long winter brought times of sorrow and hardship.

see file

Yes, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and became one of history's more improbable heroes -- <u>Lech Walesa</u>.

And above your streets a monument rose -- like America's Statue of Liberty or the Goddess of Democracy in Tiananmen Square -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

Encyclopedia Americana

TIME 1-4-82 p. 14

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- colder than ever before.

But as the world is learning anew from Budapest to Beijing -- <u>nothing can stop "an idea whose time has come</u>." The idea is <u>freedom</u> -- and the time is <u>now</u>.

UPI 12-18-81
AP 12-23-81

And even in the wintry darkness, candles began to appear in silent protest, lighting the windows in your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you

-- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned away from despair.

Confidence, hope, and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918 -- against enormous odds. And those same qualities have brought you to this moment in time. A time of **possibilities**. A time of **greatness**. In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between Poland's government and Polish society. And the first fruits of democracy. In this land of deep faith -- it is nothing less than a miracle.

The United States supports the Roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] And we applaud the Polish people who have made these moves toward democracy possible.

And we recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity, even courage, in proceeding with historic steps.

Hope, confidence and hard work are also the basis of my government's policy toward Poland. Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women

throughout the world. **Poles and Americans want Europe to again be whole and free.**

My government supports honest efforts to make Poland a more democratic and prosperous country. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life.

And we understand the legacy of fear and even suspicion as Poles of all political complexions proceed together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland, as you move forward on the path of democracy and economic reform.

It will not be easy. Sacrifices and economic hardships have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work before the benefits are realized.

On the plains of Texas, where my wife Barbara and I raised our children, there was a pioneer tradition that said: "Plant plums for yourself -- and pecans for your grandchildren."

A hundred years ago, Texas farmers would carefully nurture pecan seedlings with hours of back-breaking work, hauling water in the hot prairie sun. But pecan trees grow very slowly -- and the farmer himself wouldn't live to see the trees he planted provide shade or food. It was called a "grandchildren's grove."

Other farmers thought that work that went unrewarded for a generation was a waste. Instead, they planted fast-growing plum trees. But soon the soft wood split -- and sprouted scraggly, unproductive plum bushes. Instead of enjoying tall, stately pecan trees -- their grandchildren had the burden of clearing a thicket.

It's planting time now for Poland. Your decisions can either shade and nourish the future -- or produce only thickets.

But I do tell you this: The dreams you have of a better life for yourselves and your children can be had. It can't be done overnight -- and certainly not in a year -- but you can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not only in your lifetime, but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Penniless immigrants came to that magical place called "America" and did earn their fortune in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland.

Because the magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a work force that is well-trained and ready to go.

The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

Inaugural address X 1-20-89

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

It used to be to experience freedom you had to vote with your feet. Today, you can emigrate to a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. Free Poland. And the visas are already in your hands -- they are called ballots.

Poland is where World War II began. Poland is also why World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. **And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.**

It is in your power to help end a "war" that has divided Europe for two generations. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission -- to do what has never been done before. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of spiritual leadership in Rome -- so the people of Poland can shown the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- **America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.**

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

# # #

pean nations, with a pronounced excess of persons between 15 and 30. Demographic forecasts indicate that by 1980 the population of Poland will exceed 37,000,000 and that the age structure will undergo an important change through the decrease in the number of young people and an increase in the older population. (J.A.K./A.H.D.)

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Poland of the 1970s is eastern Europe's largest producer of agricultural crops after the Soviet Union, as well as the world's second largest grower of potatoes and rye and its fifth most important source of sugar beets. In industry it ranks among the world's top 15 countries. It is Europe's second largest source of bituminous coal and zinc. Although Polish industry is not so well developed as that of Czechoslovakia or East Germany, the country is eastern Europe's largest producer of several industrial products (after the Soviet Union), notably steel, cement, tractors, railway freight cars, and trucks. It is not, however, a very important foreign trader; although its population was the sixth largest in Europe at the start of the 1970s, its exports were only in 10th place. After 1951 Poland's national income grew at a rate that was some 30 percent faster than the average for the world as a whole. Available statistical data do not permit detailed comparisons, but it is estimated that, in spite of this growth, national income per person is still well below that of the most developed east European and most advanced non-Communist countries.

Growth of national income

Resources. *Mineral resources.* Poland is relatively well endowed with natural resources. Its principal mineral asset is bituminous coal, and by 1975 it was the world's fourth largest producer. Almost all the output—which increased by one-third over the 1960s—is derived from the rich Upper Silesian coalfield; the remainder comes from Nowa Ruda and Wałbrzych, in Lower Silesia. In the 1970s new seams were discovered and a pilot mine was opened near Zamość. Brown coal and lignite are derived from the Konin–Turek area and from Turoszów in the southwest; development of huge deposits in the Bełchatów region also began in the 1970s. Other fuel resources include small amounts of oil—found between Bochnia and Sanok and at Krosno in the south—and large deposits of natural gas in the vicinity of Lubaczów, Nowa Sól, Trzebnica, Ostrów Wielkopolski, and Zamość. Output of crude oil more than doubled over the 1960s, but it accounts for only a fraction of total requirements. Natural gas production is substantial.

Sulfur is Poland's second most important mineral. Reserves, thought to be among the largest in the world, are located on both sides of the Vistula near Tarnobrzeg. Other important nonmetallic minerals include salt, kaolin, limestone, chalk, gypsum, and marble. Scattered rock salt reserves are estimated to total some 43,000,000,000 tons. Potassium and magnesium salts are found in some areas bordering the Baltic, around Kłodawa, and in the Sudety. Reserves are thought to total some 500,000,000,000 tons, but commercial exploitation has not yet begun. Kaolin is present in the Bolesławiec district of Lower Silesia, at Czerwona Woda, and in the Świdnica region.

Metals

Among metallic minerals, zinc is the most important. Reserves of zinc and lead ores, believed to be among the largest in the world, are located around Bytom and in the Zawiercie–Olkusz region, and by the mid-1970s Poland was Europe's second largest producer of zinc ore. There are also large quantities of copper, the two main producing areas being near Legnica and Głogów and near Bolesławiec and Złotoryja. Iron ore is mined in small quantities around Częstochowa and Kraków and near Kielce and Łęczyca, and there are also deposits at Suwałki, near the Soviet border. Nickel is found near Ząbkowice, and such other metals as vanadium, cobalt, and silver are also produced.

Other resources. The quality of the soil varies, but there are large fertile areas, including Lower Silesia and the Little Poland Lowlands, the Kujawy, the Wisła delta, and the Lublin area. The soil is somewhat poorer in large parts of central and northern Poland. About 27 percent of the country's total land area is wooded, and some 80 percent of this is occupied by coniferous timbers, with pine, larch, and spruce the most important for resource purposes. The bulk of the country's hydroelectricity comes from the Carpathians, the Sudety region, and the Brda and Wisła rivers; potential was limited in the 1970s, but more hydroelectric power stations were planned.

Sources of national income. *Agriculture.* By the mid-1970s, agriculture produced less than 10 percent of the national income and employed less than 30 percent of the economically active population. Polish agriculture is unique in eastern Europe in that private farms still account for the greater part—80 percent, in fact—of its total output. The 6,700 state farms hold only 22 percent of the land and are responsible for only about 19 percent of agricultural production; cooperatives (*i.e.*, collective farms) cultivate less than 2 percent of the land.

In the early 1950s Polish agriculture was adversely affected by inadequate investment, but the 1960s saw a gradual growth in the share of total investment spending devoted to this sector. Farm production went up by a quarter over the 1960s; this growth—which would have been faster but for the unusually adverse weather conditions of 1969—was mainly in the form of an increase in yields, made possible by the greater use of fertilizers, other agricultural chemicals, and machinery. In spite of this, yields tended to be well below the figures reached in East Germany and in Czechoslovakia, where farming is the most advanced in the Communist bloc. Polish agriculture is unable to satisfy internal demand for a number of important products—especially cereals and fodder crops—and large imports are necessary. The bulk of the country's 21,000,000 acres (8,600,000 hectares) of forest is state owned; most of the substantial log production consists of coniferous timber.

Manufacturing. By the mid-1970s, industry was responsible for just over half of Poland's net material product and employed more than 5,000,000 persons, or about 30 percent of the country's economically active population. As a result of heavy capital spending in the 1960s (more than 40 percent of all investment expenditures over the decade went to industry), growth in this sector has been very rapid. Industrial production went up by more than 100 percent during the period, bringing it to a level more than seven times higher than that of 1950. Principal emphasis was on the capital goods industry, which increased its output by 130 percent; production of consumer goods, however, advanced by only 75 percent. By the mid-1970s electrical engineering, machinery building, and transport equipment accounted for more than 30 percent of gross industrial production, compared with 15 percent in 1960. The food industry held second place (about 16 percent), although it grew only about 40 percent over the 1960s. The chemical, textile, fuel, basic metals, and metal-fabricating industries are also significant.

The role of heavy industry

Though there has been a shift of agricultural labour into industry, a large part of the gain in industrial production over the 1960s was the result of higher productivity, which raised output per person by 53 percent. Poland is eastern Europe's principal producer of a number of industrial goods, including steel, mineral fertilizers, sulfuric acid, cement, tractors, railway freight cars, and motor trucks.

By the mid-1970s there were some 174,000 industrial enterprises in Poland, of which 119,000 were private handicraft establishments. Of the remainder, cooperative firms accounted for about two-thirds, though half of these employed fewer than 11 workers. Large state-owned enterprises (with more than 1,000 employees) accounted for less than 2 percent of the total number of enterprises but provided employment for almost all of the industrial labour force. Private, nonhandicraft industrial establishments employed an average of only three workers per firm.

Energy. Over the 1960s and '70s, electricity output increased rapidly to about 97,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours in 1975, most of them generated by public supply plants. All but a small portion of this total was derived from bituminous coal and lignite; the share of liquid fuels was

1979

The Enigma War by Jozef Garlinski

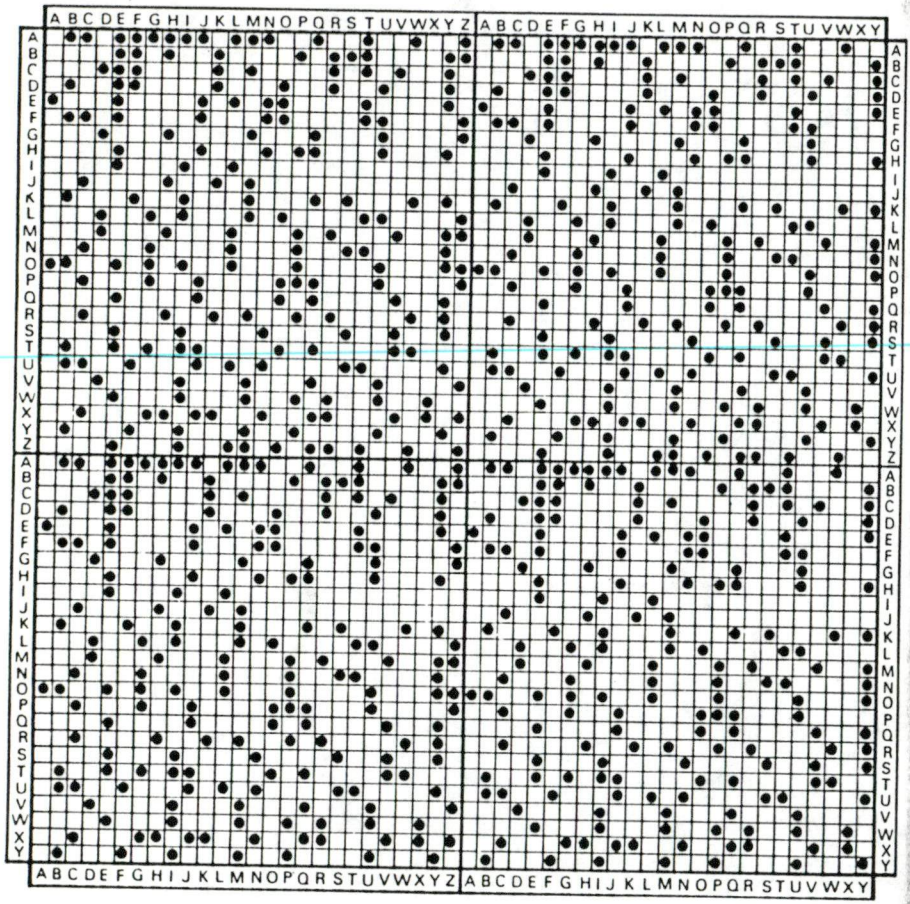


Fig. 6 Perforated Sheet

immediately. The Poles could, therefore, continue to read German signals, but mainly ones from the *SD* and *SS*; furthermore, decipherment was extremely slow, taking ten times longer than previously. The only solution would be to build sixty *Bombes* or sixty sets of the *perforated sheets*.[24]

The rapid change of events and the lack of national resources to pursue further improvements to the equipment already devised, caused the Chief of the Polish General Staff, General Wacław Stachiewicz, to decide that the Western Allies must be let into the Polish secret and that, while there was still time, they must be told of everything that had been achieved.[25]

Everything had to be kept in the greatest secrecy, since spying German eyes could be expected everywhere. They had probably not succeeded in catching up with Polish achievements and now, just before hostilities, this secret had to be kept at all costs. It was decided to organize a conference in Poland between 25 and 27 July and to invite both French and British specialists.[26]

6

About ten kilometres to the south of Warsaw lie the Kabacki woods and in their midst is the little town of Pyry. Before the war it really was a village, although it did have a small railway station.

To the east of Pyry the wood is mixed and especially beautiful, with thick undergrowth. There, in a clearing, much of which had been carved out of the woods, and not more than a kilometre from the village, the General Staff Second Bureau had in 1936 begun to build a special transmitting station and cipher centre. Work was completed a year later and the building handed over. It was in the shape of a square, with sides of about two hundred metres, entirely surrounded by a high wall, while inside there were two solid brick buildings. The first was a large single-story structure and garages, while the second, smaller, one was an air-raid shelter containing the radio station. It was estimated that it could withstand the impact of a fifty-kilogram bomb. It was a communication centre maintaining permanent contact with Paris and with Czech Intelligence. Its power output was twenty kilowatts and its aerials were thirty metres high. They could be lowered and hidden, and would then be impossible to find amidst the trees. The centre was continuously manned by several dozen young officers and other ranks, all of whom were highly qualified signallers. Their work was important and secret and so they wore civilian clothes. The analysts came in from Warsaw every day. In a camouflaged villa nearby lived a dozen or so civilian guards who were responsible for security.[27]

This was the place in which it had been decided to hold the planned

conference and acquaint the Western guests with the results of the Polish experts' work. Relations with the French had for a long time been very cordial and so a telegram was sent to Captain Bertrand asking him to get in touch with the British and to invite them on behalf of the Poles. Part of the secret was revealed in the cable when it mentioned that, during the conference, Polish methods of breaking German ciphers would be demonstrated.[28]

The invited guests appeared in Warsaw on 24 July. The British arrived by air, while the French travelled by the northern express which linked Paris and Moscow via Warsaw. The French were given rooms in the Hotel Polonia, while the British were accommodated in the Bristol, which was the best hotel in the city. It was there, over lunch, in a private room on the first floor, that the first meeting of all the participants in the conference took place on 24 July. The Bristol was often used for such meetings and the two waiters serving were specially screened.

In addition to Commander Denniston, the British were represented by Alfred Dillwyn Knox, a slim, tall, dark-haired and balding man of fifty-six, wearing glasses and with tired, ill eyes.[29] He had a fine mathematical mind and wide cryptanalytical experience, but little stamina and poor health. They were accompanied by a third man, who was tall and about fifty, with light reddish hair and very pale blue eyes. He remained silent and said little; he was introduced as Professor Sandwich from Oxford, who, although not himself a cryptologist, worked closely with the experts in this field. It so happened that at the table the Professor was seated opposite Lieutenant-Colonel Stefan Mayer, head of the Intelligence Department, who was acting as host. The Colonel was not surprised by the Professor's presence, for during the First World War and the Russo-Polish war of 1920, he had encountered close co-operation between academics and cryptologists. However, he had the impression that the Oxford man was in fact the most important member of the British delegation.[30]

The French sent two officers, Captain Bertrand, naturally, and Captain Henri Bracquenié. Bertrand dominated his colleague and he alas has remained in the memory of the conference participants.

The Polish delegation was led by Lieutenant-Colonel Langer, with Major Ciężki at his side. They were accompanied by the three young cryptanalysts, who were unknown to any of the guests. Only when the conference began would it transpire that they were its most important participants, since they were to show the foreign experts just how much they had achieved. They had an excellent knowledge of German, which became the basic language of the conference, since all the three Britons and Bertrand spoke it. In addition Zygalski communicated with them in English. The lunch passed in a pleasant and relaxed atmosphere, with the conversation touching only on neutral matters, but the thoughts of all the participants were turning to the immediate future, to the next day.[31]

7

Only ten people travelled out to Pyry, for Colonel Mayer remained in Warsaw. He was extremely busy and cryptology was not his field.

Colonel Langer, after a very short tour of the centre, led them all into the analysts' office where several medium-sized cases under covers stood on tables. The Colonel gathered everyone round and, without a word, quickly uncovered one of the cases. The guests saw a typewriter of a slightly unusual shape, supplemented by a few electrical connections and lights and with three drums fixed above the keyboard.

The visitors immediately showed great interest. They all knew already what *Enigma* looked like in principle.

'Where did you get this from?' asked Captain Bertrand quickly.

'We made it ourselves,' answered Langer.

The British group at once came to life. All three of them bent over the machine and began to examine it with the greatest interest. Knox concentrated on the drums and their arrangement. 'Professor Sandwich' for a moment abandoned his reserve and threw Langer a swift, inquiring glance.

'Yes,' repeated the Colonel, 'this is an exact copy of the German machine built by our cryptanalysts.'[32]

Zygalski stepped forward and began to explain. He outlined the machine's construction and all its connections, he touched a few keys and showed how each time a different letter lit up, and explained how the Polish analysts had managed to break the machine's secrets. He emphasized that buying a commercial *Enigma* had been a great help in reconstructing the military version. The documents supplied by Captain Bertrand had been invaluable.

His listeners caught every word with the greatest attention and began to ask questions. The most lively of them was Knox who felt quite at ease in this complex field. He was primarily interested in the rotors and the order in which the electrical current travelled from the keys to them, particularly to the third one (C). He knew that *Enigma*'s basic feature was reciprocity and so the Germans already had to have thousands of these machines. Perhaps it would have been simpler if Intelligence had managed to steal a machine from a German ship or military unit;[33] in practice, however, the Polish analysts had broken its secret using mathematics and cryptanalysis with the aid of the priceless documents brought from France.

Commander Denniston, very excited, wanted to rush to the telephone and call the embassy in Warsaw to request London immediately to send specialists and electricians, but Colonel Langer restrained him. This was not all: there was more to come.

They all went through to the next room and there were shown six small cupboards, each about 120 centimetres high and looking just like washing machines. A switch was thrown and all the machines started up with a discreet hum: drums began to revolve and little lights to flicker. This time Rejewski supplied the commentary, since the machine had been built to his design.

These were the *Bombes* whose task was to mechanize the reading of *Enigma*'s daily key. If one ran all six *Bombes* simultaneously, the required answer would be calculated within two hours.[34]

There was silence in the room when Langer stopped the machines and showed his astounded guests a deciphered signal sent that morning from the *SS* High Command. Denniston and Knox asked to see the *Bombes* working again and followed their operation with great attention. Rejewski answered questions. The 'Oxford professor' remained calm, but it was clear that the demonstration of Polish achievements had visibly affected him. The Frenchmen, gesticulating wildly, showered Rejewski and Langer with questions.

Denniston once again wanted to go to the telephone to call London, but Langer once more restrained him. A whole second day of the conference lay before them and it might bring further surprises.

8

After the great success of the first day, when the Poles were able to show their guests their achievements, the second day began on a quite different note. Langer said that hitherto they had shown only one side of the problem, the Polish one, and the interception and reading of German signals. Now they had to discuss the German side, not only from the point of view of *Enigma* operations, but also taking into account that the Germans realized that their enemies were trying to wrest their secret from them. For some years the actual encipherment and the machine itself had been continually modified by the Germans, and this their enemies had always managed to detect and overcome, but now the situation had changed. That was what needed to be discussed.

Until mid-December of the previous year *Enigma* had had only three rotors and the Polish analysts had managed to read most signals, but from then onwards the Germans had introduced a further two rotors and decipherment had become more difficult. It was still possible to decipher, but now the process lasted ten times longer and had ceased to be practical. Furthermore the number of plugs had been increased to between seven and ten, which had decreased the effectiveness of the *Bombes* even more drastically. Finally the Germans had begun to set up more and more separate radio nets,[35] all with their own keys. These changes had produced yet another invention, which would be demonstrated in a moment. This was the *perforated sheet*, which had been designed by Zygalski, and so it fell to him to explain their principles and mode of operation. They had replaced the *Bombes* which, in order to be effective, would now have to number not six, but sixty; but there were also not enough sheets.[36]

The moment arrived when Colonel Langer came to the most important point of the whole conference. He saw that what he had demonstrated to his guests had greatly interested and even impressed them, but that was not all. He now has to reveal Polish worries and intentions. War was inevitably approaching and Poland almost certainly would be the first object of a German attack. She had allies in the West and so the decision had been taken to turn over to them all the Polish cryptanalysts' achievements. They were well advanced, but needed constant improvement so as to keep pace with the Germans who were continually introducing changes into their *Enigma* system. In order to read German signals enciphered on five-drum machines, both *Bombes* and the sheets had to be built up, and Polish resources had already turned out to be inadequate for this. There might also not be enough time. It had been decided to hand everything over to the Western Allies, who were so much wealthier and possessed so many more technical resources. Both delegations, the British and the French, would receive a copy of an *Enigma*, built in Poland, together with drawings and plans of the *Bombes* and *perforated sheets*. This gift would be Poland's first contribution to the common victory.[37]

The guests were all moved. Commander Denniston warmly grasped the Colonel's hand, Knox quickly went into the other room and began to examine the machines again, Captain Bertrand loudly expressed his joy. Alcohol was forbidden in the centre, but a few bottles of beer were found, as it was a hot summer. They were brought and drunk to joint success. The British promised to produce immediately more *Bombes* and *perforated sheets*.[38]

Two weeks passed and the French diplomatic bag brought two *Enigma*s to Paris. On 16 August Captain Bertrand, accompanied by a French diplomatic courier[39] and Commander Wilfred Dunderdale, the British Intelligence 'resident' in Paris, arrived at Victoria Station in London. They had brought with them a largish suitcase containing an *Enigma* which they handed to the 'Oxford professor', who was anxiously awaiting them. He was on the way to some reception and was wearing a dinner-jacket with the ribbon of the Legion d'Honneur in his button-hole.[40] Only a few select people knew that it had taken just a few minutes for one of the most important and far-reaching acts of the impending war to take place.

Several days later German tanks crossed the Polish frontier.

1979 by Wladyslaw Kozaczuk

and reassurances, balances of power, neutralization, and so on. Transient political configurations and formal pacts obscured for the politicians of parliamentary, as well as authoritarian, governments the hard material and strategic realities that in the final analysis would be decisive.

The solution of the Enigma cipher just as Hitler was taking power had secured a regular flow of reliable military, political, and other information from Germany. Apart from a few examples, for instance, the messages in the period of Roehm's Putsch, this book has generally not considered the nature or range of this information or the questions involving its preliminary evaluation at B.S.-4, its distribution, use, and so on. So far, little material has been unearthed relating to these questions. However, it appears that the stream of Enigma information was directed from B.S.-4 principally to the German Office (Samodzielny Referat "Niemcy") of Section II (Intelligence) of the Polish General Staff, which evaluated all the intelligence on Germany, especially its armed forces. How closely guarded the Enigma secret was is attested to by the fact that it was kept initially even from the deputy director, then Maj. Jan Leśniak, who was director of the German Office for a year, from April 1938. He states:

> [B]eginning in the fall of 1935 I received and worked up items of information and dispatches, usually brief, from "Wicher" ["Gale"—codename for B.S.-4], which was regarded as a reliable source. At the time, I did not know that this was information obtained by the Cipher Bureau from monitoring of German military and police radio transmitters... I think it was only not quite a year later that I was informed that these were messages solved by our Cipher Bureau, and from then on I was in personal contact with Col. Gwido Langer, Maj. Maksymilian Ciężki, and Capt. Wiktor Michałowski of the German section.
>
> The messages came in, in varying volume, until the fall of 1938. They contained orders and directives from the Ministry of War in Berlin to the various military districts, primarily Königsberg (Wehrkreis I). Reports going the other way pertained to personnel, transfers, training, exercises, allotments of weapons and equipment. There were also directives pertaining to mobilization, strengths, infrequently Air Force correspondence, often reports by German naval units on movements of ships at Kiel and on the Baltic....
>
> From the beginning, this was one of the most closely guarded secrets of Section II of the General Staff...[10]

All the more stringently were the principles of security observed in contacts with the French and British. The Poles did not, up to the very summer of 1939, furnish decrypted Wehrmacht signals to their potential allies. Only summaries on the German armed forces were exchanged. Close contacts in radio intelligence between Poland and France did not mean sharing the secrets of the cryptological workshop, the methods of solving Enigma ciphers, and the apparatus used. Exchange of information and joint conferences in Warsaw and Paris took place at the level of the directors of the cryptological services and their deputies. The mathematicians Rejewski, Różycki, and Zygalski and the other B.S.-4 specialists had never spoken with

their French or British opposite numbers. Only as war loomed did the general staff consent to making available to Poland's allies the methods and devices developed at B.S.-4. Bertrand writes:

> So it was, in July 1939, that the great event took place: a telegraphed invitation arrived from Luc, as "there was something new"...[11]
>
> Nevertheless, the Chief Cryptologist at London had to be hauled down by his ear: perhaps he was bent on arriving at the goal by himself in order to bask in the glory, and played for time. At my insistence and an order from his chief, he finally gave in.
>
> On July 24, 1939, we all arrived in Warsaw, some of us by Nord-Express (Branquenié and myself), some by plane (those coming from London), and all anxious about the morrow.

That same evening, Langer informed his French colleague that the efforts expended had not been in vain and that not only had Enigma's secret been plumbed, but the machine itself had been reconstructed. The French would receive one copy, the British another.

The next morning, the foreigners were driven to the B.S.-4 facility in the Kabackie Woods outside Warsaw. There the actual working meeting took place, during which a reconstructed Enigma was shown. The British representatives, Comdr. Alastair Denniston and Alfred Dillwyn Knox, were "left speechless, and it was there that, perhaps for the first time, the arrogance of the British experts collapsed, before the results obtained by the Polish experts."[12] Bertrand writes:

> They had to recognize ... that in six months' time Great Britain had profited gratuitously from a Franco-Polish friendship of eight years' duration, forged at the cost of a dozen visits by each side and sustained by mutual trust.[13]

It is possible that one of the participants in the Polish-French-British meeting in late July 1939 was, in fact, the deputy head of British military intelligence, Col. Stewart Menzies. The man in question appeared incognito as a "Professor Sandwich," a mathematician from Oxford.[14] He participated only in the official conferences, along with ranking Polish General Staff officers and the Cipher Bureau's directors, Langer and Ciężki, as well as Bertrand and Denniston. The nuts and bolts conferences involved the French Capt. Henri Braquenié, the Briton Knox, and the Poles Rejewski, Różycki, and Zygalski and, in discussions of technical details, engineer Antoni Palluth and other AVA specialists.

Upon seeing the Polish Enigma double, Denniston and Knox wanted to contact London at once and have mechanics and electricians sent down to draw up plans of the machine. They did not believe their own ears when Langer told them that there would be a machine each for Paris and London.[15]

The next day, Bertrand and Braquenié took a Polish flight to Cologne, where they transferred to a French airliner (the Polish LOT flight was continuing on to London).

The two Enigma machines soon arrived in Paris in diplomatic luggage. On August 16 Bertrand, accompanied by a British diplomatic courier, took

one of them to London and at Victoria Station personally turned it over to Colonel Menzies, soon to be chief of Britain's Secret Intelligence Service (S.I.S.).[16]

Just after the Warsaw-Pyry conference on 24-25 July 1939, chief British cryptologist Alfred Dillwyn Knox sent to the three Polish mathematician-cryptologists a thank you note, dated 1 August 1939, on official stationery. In the note, Knox wrote in Polish: "Serdecznie dziękuję za współpracę i cierpliwość. A.D. Knox" (My sincere thanks for your cooperation and patience. A.D. Knox), and below that, in French:

Ci inclus (a) des petits batons
(b) un souvenir d'Angleterre

(Enclosed (a) small batons
(b) a souvenir from England).

Enclosed, for each of the Poles, was a set of little paper batons inscribed with the letters of the alphabet, and the souvenir, a beautiful scarf with a view of a derby horse race.

Knox, a veteran of Britain's famous Room 40 of World War I, had unsuccessfully attempted in the thirties, with his cryptological team, to break German Enigma ciphers. "I don't know how Knox's method was supposed to work," Marian Rejewski has commented. "Most likely he had hoped to vanquish Enigma with the batons. Unfortunately, we beat him to it."[17] In any case, Knox's gesture was a sporting one—something akin to handing over one's weapon in acknowledgement of another's success.

The final days of August 1939 were marked by feverish work by the Polish General Staff. Border incidents were multiplying, and the spotter network was noting ever more flagrant violations of Poland's western border by high-flying reconnaissance aircraft. The reports of Polish military intelligence were now speaking of a "buildup of forces in the eastern border areas of the Reich, chiefly in Silesia and northern Moravia." They also stated that fortifications begun by the Germans in mid-March 1939 along the entire Polish-German border to protect the forces preparing for offensive operations were going on without interruption and lately had been proceeding very intensively.[18]

At the same time, Section II's reports showed the enormous intensity of the war propaganda being whipped up in the German press. "Mobilization Begins in Poland," "Poland Plots Aggression on Gleiwitz," "Poland Fires on German Planes Outside Polish Air Space," "Warsaw Plans to Attack Danzig," "Germans Arrested on Train in Corridor," "German Patience at an End," "Idiotic Mosaic State," "Polish Sadists Run Amok": these are a few titles from among countless newspaper articles in the final days of August 1939.

On 24 August 1939 German radio stations in Königsberg, Gleiwitz, and Opava began broadcasting propaganda designed to weaken the will to fight of the Polish people and armed forces. Discussed were such topics as the inadequate security of Poland's borders (weak fortifications) and the alleged mass flight into the heart of the country of the population from Silesia.

In the Kabackie Woods, B.S.-4 was working around the clock. The operators and decipherers had been on three shifts since the spring of 1939. In the secluded building perfectly camouflaged in thick foliage, the bombs and Polish Enigmas clattered without pause, transforming enemy ciphers into plain language. The fact that in August 1939 the Polish General Staff identified 80 to 90 percent of all the Wehrmacht units assembled at Poland's borders was in no small measure due to the decryptment center.

Meanwhile, over the previous year and more, German radio intelligence had been evolving. Hitler's actions of 4 February 1938—dismissing Field Marshal Werner von Blomberg as minister of war and commander in chief of the armed forces, abolishing the War Ministry, and creating the high command of the armed forces (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, or OKW), to which the three services, army, navy, and air force, were subordinated, with Hitler (as before) supreme commander—were followed by changes in the radio-intelligence and cryptology agencies. The former Chi-Stelle was split up into a cryptology department (Chi-Abteilung) subordinate to OKW, and a radio monitoring agency (Horchleitstelle) subordinate to the newly designated commander in chief of the army, Gen. Walther von Brauchitsch. The Luftwaffe kept its own monitoring service, but its cryptologists were turned over to Chi-Abteilung. The navy retained its B-Dienst (Baobachtungsdienst) intact. In this way, the bulk of the German cryptological service, henceforth incorporated into OKW, was separated from the radio-monitoring service, and both were separated from the Abwehr. All these innovations did not fundamentally alter the system of fixed and mobile radio-monitoring stations that had been formed several years earlier and which, as war approached, was refined, expanded, and redeployed.

Since the beginning of 1939, apart from radio-intelligence preparations for the campaign in Poland, the Wehrmacht signals command had been organizing war communication nets in the west. These were special nets (Sondernetze) of Army Group West, designated by the cryptonyms "Ottokar" and "Georg," in which an important role was played by intelligence units. They were directed by an evaluation unit (Auswertestelle der Heeresgruppen Kommando West), headed by Lieutenant Colonel Erzleben, comprising seventeen military and civilian specialists in radio intelligence and decryptment.[19]

As early as mid-June 1939, two and a half months before the aggression against Poland, the German Army command issued a document entitled "Instructions for Wartime Radio Traffic." It ordained a change in cipher keys as of 1 July 1939, the necessity for this being explained by the statement that "the previous keys were used during the operation against the former Czechoslovakia."[20]

At about the same time, an additional Enigma machine was issued from mobilization stocks to the command of every tactical formation and unit, thus nearly doubling the number of devices in army use, to an estimated forty thousand.

A subsequent version of "Instructions for Wartime Radio Traffic," dated 2 August 1939, was issued to unit staffs in sealed envelopes bearing the

 Encyclopedia Brittanica

was the mass emigration of Poles from their native lands into the more industrialized parts of Germany, a movement that was to continue for decades to come. Thus, by 1910 more than 100,000 miners of Polish descent were working in the industrial Ruhr district. The rural population of Congress Poland and Galicia was mostly illiterate, and poverty increased there to such an extent that at least 3,500,000 people emigrated between 1890 and 1914, mainly to the United States.

Mass emigration to Germany

Development of political parties. The first permanent political parties were established in Congress Poland and in exile between 1891 and 1893. The Polish League (LP), founded in 1886–87, was reorganized as the National League (LN) by Roman Dmowski in 1892–93 and later became the nucleus of National Democracy (ND), which was the strongest bourgeois party between 1905 and 1939. The Polish Socialist Party (PPS) was founded in 1892–93 under the patronage of Bolesław Limanowski and subsequently, under the leadership of Józef Piłsudski, became the strongest socialist party (with about 50,000 members) in the entire Russian Empire during the Russian Revolution of 1905. The left-wing socialist party (SDKP; from 1900 SDKPiL, Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania), founded in 1893 and led by Rosa Luxemburg and Junian Marchlewski, remained a minor party in comparison. The 1905 revolution, which swept over Russia, changed political life in all the Polish regions. The National Democracy, led by Roman Dmowski and supported by the majority of the landed gentry and the bourgeoisie, restricted its national platform to the demand for Polish autonomy. For this reason it was allowed to operate legally not only in Congress Poland but in Russian Poland, too, after 1905. The same party also controlled the Polish faction in the Russian Duma, or Parliament (1905–17). The PPS split in 1905–06: the patriotic wing under Józef Piłsudski and Tomasz Arciszewski retained its "radical program for independence," in accordance with the teachings of Friedrich Engels, and took part in the abortive revolution of 1905 against the Russian government; the left wing adjusted its program to an internationalist standpoint and so found it easy later on to merge with the SDKPiL, on the extreme left. The introduction of universal suffrage in Austria, including the Austrian sector of Poland (Galicia), for the parliament in Vienna in 1907 promoted the founding of the agrarian Polish Peasant Party (PSL). This party soon spread its influence to southern Congress Poland, but it split in 1913 into a moderate majority and a radical left. Only in Prussia was the repression of Polish cultural and political life continued, and after 1905 this policy was pursued in an even more severe form. This was the main reason why the Polish National Democrats regarded the German *Reich* rightfully as their main opponent from 1905 on.

IV. Modern Poland, since 1914

THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC, 1914–21

Events during World War I. At the outbreak of World War I, the governments of Austria and Russia tried to use the Polish question as a political weapon. On August 16, 1914, the Austrian government allowed the formation of a Supreme National Committee (NKN) in Galicia, and the organization of a Polish legion recruited mainly from the membership of the followers of Józef Piłsudski. The ultimate goal of Austrian policy was the incorporation of Congress Poland into Galicia. On August 14, 1914, the Russian government recognized the basic right of the Poles to autonomy, particularly in the lands that the Russian troops hoped to conquer. The Polish National Committee (KNP) was formed in November 1914—its chief members coming from the National Democrats, led by Roman Dmowski. The KNP supported the Russian war effort, and Russian forces conquered almost all of Galicia in 1914.

Piłsudski and Dmowski

Division of Congress Poland. The troops of the Central Powers—Germany and Austria-Hungary—were able subsequently not only to retake Galicia but to advance deep into Congress Poland. The Central Powers divided it into two military occupation zones, with a German governor general in Warsaw and an Austro-Hungarian one in Lublin. The political groups in both of these zones separated into those who believed in adopting a passive stance and the activists. With the majority of the PPS and the left-wing intellectuals on their side, the activists established the Central National Committee (CKN) in December 1915, their goal being to re-establish a Polish republic with the help of the Central Powers.

Creation of a Kingdom of Poland. At the request of the German commander, Gen. Erich Ludendorff, and the German governor general, Hans Hartwig von Beseler, the German and Austrian emperors proclaimed a new Kingdom of Poland on November 5, 1916. The kingdom consisted of both the occupied zones but comprised only about one-sixth of the territory established in 1772. The hopes of both monarchs for more support among the Polish volunteer troops in the Austro-German fight against Russia were in vain, for German aspirations did not match the expectations of the Poles, who had envisioned an eastward expansion of the Kingdom of Poland. Ludendorff, in turn, tried to establish what he himself termed "a national kingdom of Lithuania" in the eastern regions. All these elements now gave the first incentive to an internationalization of the Polish question.

The Russian Revolution. The Russian Revolution in March 1917 brought about the two Poland proclamations of the Soviet of Petrograd and the provisional government of Russia. These recognized Poland's right to independence, while the latter insisted on a military alliance with Russia. After this, three Polish army corps were formed from the ranks of the Russian army between May 1917 and May 1918, and France also recruited a Polish volunteer army. Founded by Dmowski on August 15, 1917, in Lausanne, the Polish National Committee (KNP) worked closely with the governments of the Western Allies. In the Kingdom of Poland, Piłsudski and the Polish Legion, now reorganized as the Polish Auxiliary Corps, with about 20,000 men, clashed with the Central Powers. Piłsudski and the majority of his corps were interned in July 1917. The grant of a limited Polish self-government in the Kingdom of Poland and the installation of a Regency Council on September 12, 1917, came too late to overcome the distrust that now divided the Central Powers and the Poles.

The Polish National Committee

The fight for self-determination. The October Revolution in Russia, as well as the proclaimed principle of the "right for self-determination of all nations" as stated by both Lenin and the U.S. president Woodrow Wilson (though both with very different interpretations), gave the Polish question international significance. President Wilson demanded the creation of an "independent Polish state" with a free and secured access to the sea in his well-known "14-points speech" of January 8, 1918. This program was ratified as an integral part of the future peace settlement by the governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy on June 3, 1918. The Central Powers used the "right for self-determination of all nations" in the peace negotiations of Brest-Litovsk (now Brest, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) in February–March 1918 as a pretext for the separation of the Kingdom of Poland from the Russian Empire, but they apportioned the Chełm province, with its predominantly Polish population, to the Ukraine on February 9, 1918. This infuriated Polish opinion.

Re-establishment of the state. The military collapse of Austria in October 1918 led to the formation of a Polish Liquidation Commission in Cracow on October 28, 1918, which assumed power in Western Galicia. On November 7 a Provisional Government of the Polish Republic was established in Lublin. With the collapse of the German *Reich* in November 1918, Piłsudski was freed from his internment in Germany. Returning to Warsaw, he took control of the whole of Poland on November 11, 1918. The administrations for the regions of Cracow and Lublin also put themselves under his command. November 11, 1918, has thus been generally recognized as the day of the founding of the Second Polish Republic.

Piłsudski's return to Poland

The Second Polish Republic. To begin with, the Second Polish Republic consisted of the Kingdom of Poland

derived much of their support from the Welsh March. The Lancastrian claim devolved on Henry Tudor, the representative of a Welsh house. He unfurled the red dragon of Cadwaladr at the Battle of Bosworth Field (1485), which his supporters hailed as a Welsh victory. Richard III was killed, and Tudor ascended the throne of England as Henry VII.

By the Act of Union of England and Wales (1536), passed in the reign of Henry VIII, both the principality and the March were assimilated to the realm of England. Wales was divided into 13 shires, which were given parliamentary representation, and Welshmen obtained complete equality with Englishmen before the law, except that official business had to be transacted in English. For the next three and a half centuries (until the Local Government Act of 1888) Wales was governed by its own gentry, who represented it in Parliament and administered justice and local government as magistrates in quarter sessions. In time this class became Anglicized in speech and alienated from their tenantry, especially after the religious revival of the 18th century, for the gentry remained Anglican in religion, whereas the people of Wales became predominantly Nonconformist. The later 19th century witnessed a struggle between them, which came to a head in the movement to disestablish the Church of England in Wales. This also acted as a catalyst in party politics, for the Liberal Party supported disestablishment whereas the Tory Party was opposed to it. Hence Wales became solidly ranged on the side of the Liberal Party. In the election of 1906, which ushered in the greatest of Liberal administrations, not a single Tory candidate was returned for a Welsh constituency. The leadership of the Liberals passed to the Welshman David Lloyd George (1863–1945), the World War I leader and architect of the V sailles settlement.

With its success in securing disestablish (1920), the Liberal Party in Wales seemed have run its course. The year 1925 saw the fo dation of the Welsh Nationalist Party (Pl Cymru), which advocated dominion status Wales, while remaining loyal to the crown. contested several parliamentary elections w out success; nevertheless, it forced on the m parties an awareness of Welsh problems. T intense depression in industry in the inter period, when the unemployment figure for W stood at about 250,000 out of a total populatio 2,500,000, led to the rapid growth of the La Party. As early as the election of 1929, W returned 25 Labour members out of its tota 35, and this proportion, with slight variatio remained constant in subsequent elections despite the varied fortunes of the Labour Party England. Among the party's outstanding Wel leaders have been Aneurin Bevan and Ja Griffiths. In 1942 the provision that the courts must be conducted in English was at repealed. The Labour government establish an Advisory Council for Wales in 1949 to adv it on Welsh affairs, and the Conservative gover ment in 1954 entrusted the oversight of Wel administration to a minister for Welsh affa (who combined this with another office) and 1957, in addition, appointed a minister of st for Welsh affairs. Cardiff was officially made t capital in 1955. In April 1974, Wales' 13 cou ties (shires) were discontinued, and eight ne counties were created in their place.

DAVID WILLIAM
University College of Wales, Aberystwy

Further Reading: Bowen, Emrys George, ed., *Wales, Physical, Historical and Regional Geography* (Methu 1957); Carter, Harold, *The Towns of Wales* (Univ. of Wale Press 1965); Lloyd, Sir John E., *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 2 vols., 3d ed (Longmans 1939); Price, Mary A., *A Modern Geography of Wales*, rev. ed. (C. Davies 1979); Williams, David, *A Histor of Modern Wales* (Musson 1950).

Lech Wałesa, Polish leader who founded the Solidarity union, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1983.

© FRANCOIS LOCHON/GAMMA/LIAISON



WALES, University of (Welsh, Prifysgol Cymru), a British institution established by charter in 1893 and formed by the union or association of three existing colleges: the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (founded in 1872); the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, Cardiff (1883); and the University College of North Wales, Bangor (1884).

The Welsh National School of Medicine, at Cardiff, was founded in 1893 as a department and school of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. It was made a separate college of the university in 1931, and since that time preclinical courses have been provided at the university. Three other colleges are now affiliated with the University of Wales: the Institute of Science and Technology, at Cardiff; the University College of Swansea; and St. David's University College, at Lampeter.

WAŁESA, va-wenz'ə, **Lech** (1943–), Polish labor leader who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1983. He was born in Popowo, a small village near Włocławek, Poland, on Sept. 29, 1943, during the Nazi occupation in World War II. After attending a state vocational school in Lipno, he began work as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, where he participated in the bloody "bread riots" over increased

food prices in 1970. In 1976, as a delegate to the government-sponsored trade union, he was fired for having drawn up a list of workers' grievances at the shipyard.

In 1978, as strikes and protest demonstrations against the Communist regime's food policies increased throughout Poland, Wałęsa, then working at a machine repair shop, founded the Baltic Free Trade Unions Movement, a predecessor of Solidarity. In August 1980 workers took over the Lenin Shipyard and demanded the reinstatement of Wałęsa. On August 31 the government reached an agreement with a strike committee headed by Wałęsa to allow the workers to form independent trade unions. Despite official obstructions, the union called Solidarity, with Wałęsa as its chairman, was sanctioned by the country's supreme court on Nov. 10, 1980.

In the ensuing months, as the threat of Soviet intervention hung over a troubled Poland, Wałęsa followed a careful, diplomatic course between the Communist government and the country's 13 million workers. In February 1981, Wojciech Jaruzelski became premier, and it soon became apparent that Moscow had ordered the Polish government to toughen its labor policies. Nationwide strikes followed, and in mid-December the government declared martial law and arrested Wałesa and other Solidarity leaders. On Oct. 8, 1982, Solidarity was dissolved by Parliament. Wałęsa was released from prison in November, only to be subjected to almost continuous harassment by the government. On Oct. 5, 1983, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his struggle in behalf of workers' rights.

WALKE, wôk, **Henry** (1808–1896), American naval officer. He was born near Norfolk, Va., on Dec. 24, 1808. Entering the Navy from Ohio in 1827, he became passed midshipman in 1833 and was commissioned lieutenant in 1839. Reserved (retired) in 1855 by the action of the Naval Efficiency Board, he was restored to active duty and promoted to commander in 1857. In command of the storeship *Supply* in January 1861, he evacuated the garrison and other personnel from Pensacola on his own initiative after Southern forces had occupied the navy yard there. Taking command of the gunboat *Tyler* of the Mississippi Squadron in September 1861, he aided Ulysses S. Grant at the Battle of Belmont.

In his next command during the Civil War—of the ironclad gunboat *Carondelet* and later of the *Lafayette*—he had a creditable part in every major naval action on the upper Mississippi. His most notable feat, which none in the squadron but he believed could be done, was to run the *Carondelet* past the strong batteries of Island No. 10 on the dark and stormy night of April 4, 1862. This forced the surrender of the Confederate strongpoint.

From September 1863 until the end of the Civil War he commanded the steamer *Sacramento* in the Atlantic, searching for Confederate cruisers. He was promoted to rear admiral in 1870 and retired in the following year. He died in Brooklyn, N.Y., on March 8, 1896.

Walke wrote *Naval Scenes and Reminiscences of the Civil War* (1877) and two articles in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1887). These works were illustrated with his own excellent sketches.

JOHN D. HAYES
Rear Admiral, U.S. Navy (Retired)

WALKER, Sir Emery (1851–1933), English typographer. He was born in Padington, London, England, on April 2, 1851. His formal schooling ended when he was 13. In 1873 he joined a firm of process engravers and in 1886 founded his own firm.

Walker's friendship with William Morris was fruitful in its influence on the improvement of typography, since out of their association came the Kelmscott Press, in 1891. Although Walker had no financial interest in this famous press, for which Morris designed the type and ornaments, he was nevertheless a virtual partner. Following the death of Morris in 1896, Walker and Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson founded the Doves Press, from which Walker withdrew in 1909. He was knighted in 1930 and died in Hammersmith, London, on July 22, 1933.

WALKER, Francis Amasa (1840–1897), American economist and educator. He was born in Boston, Mass., on July 2, 1840. The son of the political economist Amasa Walker (1799–1875), he graduated from Amherst in 1860 and began the study of law, which he gave up to enlist in the Union Army. His rank during the greater part of the Civil War was lieutenant colonel, but in 1865 he was brevetted brigadier general. After serving as chief of the U.S. Bureau of Statistics from 1869 to 1871 and superintending the 9th census (1870), he was commissioner of Indian affairs from 1871 to 1872. From 1873 to 1881 he was professor at the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale, and in 1878 he was the representative of the United States at the International Monetary Conference in Paris. In 1879 he was appointed the superintendent of the 10th census. He accepted the presidency of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1881 and held it until his death in Boston on Jan. 5, 1897. He was president of the American Statistical Association from 1882 to 1897 and of the American Economic Association from 1885 to 1892.

Walker was an earnest advocate of international bimetallism and was deeply interested in the economics of wages and profits. His writings include *The Wages Question* (1876), *Money* (1878), *Political Economy* (1883), *Land and Its Rent* (1883), and *International Bimetallism* (1896). His *Discussions in Economics and Statistics* (2 vols., 1899) was edited by D. R. Dewey, and his *Discussions in Education* (1899) by J. P. Munroe.

Further Reading: Newton, Bernard, *Economics of Francis Amasa Walker, 1840–1897* (Kelley 1968).

WALKER, Frederick (1840–1875), English painter and illustrator. He was born in London on May 26, 1840. After working for a time in an architect's office, he pursued his art studies at the British Museum, in an art academy, and in the Royal Academy schools. He became an apprentice to Josiah Wood Whymper, the wood engraver, in 1858 and soon afterward began to provide drawings for *Good Words*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, and other periodicals. He illustrated the *Adventures of Philip* and the *Dennis Duval* of William Thackeray.

Walker exhibited his first oil painting, *The Lost Path*, at the Royal Academy in 1863. He was elected an associate of the Old Watercolour Society in 1864, and in 1871 he became an associate of the Royal Academy. He died in Fillans, Perthshire, Scotland, on June 5, 1875.

imum power should therefore belong, the world over, to their party. **Stalin**'s genius—evil or good, it was genius—harnessed Russian chauvinism to the party machine to pull it through the war; his obduracy at Yalta and Potsdam (see **Conferences, Allied**) secured the Soviet Union a wide buffer zone on the west, behind which it could repair the wounds of war and prepare its next leap forward.

The emperor of **India** formally resigned his title in 1947 (though it appeared on his coins in 1948); the emperor of **Ethiopia**, **Haile Selassie**, retained his.

M.R.D. Foot

ENGLAND.

See **United Kingdom**.

ENGLANDSPIEL.

Englandspiel was the German code name for certain operations against the British **Special Operatons Executive** (SOE) in northwestern Europe (the operations were also called *Nordpol*, or "North Pole").

Every secret service dreams of taking over some of the other side's operatives and using their means of communication, or better still the operatives themselves, against the enemy. A combination of skill by a German ***Abwehr*** team led by Col. H. J. Giskes, luck and faulty staff work in London enabled the Germans to do this with some success in **the Netherlands** between 1942 and 1944. A Dutch SOE operator was caught close to his clandestine transmitter by normal wireless direction-finding methods, in March 1942. He agreed to help the Germans send messages to London on his set in good faith to the Allies, relying on the absence of prearranged mistakes in the messages to alert London to the fact that he was in German hands. London noticed nothing amiss, however, and over 40 Dutch agents were parachuted straight into *Abwehr* hands. Two of them escaped and returned to London, where they were arrested for a time on the force of apparently authentic messages from Holland, which said they were working with the **Gestapo**. The real situation was not revealed until after the **Normandy landings** in June 1944.

About half of the SOE's operatives in Holland were neutralized by this operation, and the effects of the operation spilled over into work in neighboring countries—**Belgium** and France—and into other parts of SOE, such as **Gerson**'s escape line (which survived). A similar operation, mounted by the German Security Police in France, resulted in the loss of 18 British and French agents of the SOE in early 1944; but they only constituted about one percent of the SOE agents in that country, not 50 percent, as in Holland.

Germany's successes in this field, however, paled into insignificance compared with those of the **United Kingdom**. Every single agent (with one possible exception) planted by the German secret services in Britain was, after the winter of 1941-42, working—consciously or unconsciously—under the direction of **MI-5**. This was not only a 99.9 percent professional success, it also provided the keystone of the arch of **deception** erected in the spring of 1944 to secure strategic surprise in Operation Overlord.

M.R.D. Foot

ENIGMA.

The name of a German coding machine whose prototype appeared in 1926. The model used by the land and air forces of the *Wehrmacht* was last modified in 1937. The advantage of Enigma was that even if the messages it encoded were intercepted, they could not be deciphered except with a duplicate of the machine. Its designers never considered the possibility that an enemy could reconstruct it, yet that was precisely what the French information services labored to do, in cooperation with Polish experts, for eight years. The French Commander Gustave Bertrand researched the necessary documents while Polish coworkers studied the practical aspects of the machine. They succeeded just before the war began. In July 1939 the Polish experts sent two copies of the machine to Bertrand, one for the use of his crew and the other for Gen. **Stewart Menzies** of the British **Intelligence Service**.

ERITREA.

An Italian colony on the southwestern coast of the Red Sea since 1890, Eritrea was the main base for **Italy**'s invasions of **Ethiopia** in 1896 and 1935. As part of Viscount **Wavell**'s invasion of Ethiopia, two Indian divisions under Gen. **William Platt** invaded Eritrea in January 1941. They were held up at Keren by a resolute Italian defense from February 5 to March 26 but thereafter rapidly overran Eritrea and moved on southwestward into Ethiopia. Eritrea was then occupied by the **United Kingdom** until 1952, when (by a decision of the **United Nations**) it was incorporated into Ethiopia.

ESCAPE AND EVASION.

In many countries the Nazi occupation was so oppressive that those subjected to it wanted to flee; Jews in particular needed to escape the persecution that proved fatal to millions of them. One of the tasks of the **Resistance** all over Europe was to devise and manage channels through which people might escape Nazi control. The task was intricate and difficult, but not quite impossible. In addition, the British and the

pass the blocked lines, but also aroused the Party's Politburo and the Soviet neighbors as well. At a meeting on 17 July, the Politburo appealed for a return to work and noted that the situation caused "anxiety among our friends." At the Politburo's behest, one of its members, Deputy Premier Mieczysław Jagielski, went to Lublin to negotiate with the strikers; he was able to reach a settlement in 3 days' time on the basis of variable pay increases.[2]

The significant points in the Lublin strike were that the Politburo, in appealing for an end to the strike, took the action away from the Government and chose to bypass the entire Party-controlled trade union structure. The authorities showed a willingness to deal with ad hoc representatives of the workers and to make wage concessions in order to achieve a quick, peaceful settlement. For their part the strikers selected the most able, firm, and trustworthy representatives for the negotiations, whether or not they were Party or trade union members. They maintained strict discipline within the striking plants, avoided street demonstrations, and unblocked the rail lines in order to eliminate the danger of provoking the Soviets.

Another important facet of the July strikes was establishment of an information network. Although the workers had no means of their own to disseminate information, in most cases they readily informed those who inquired about the situation. The major gatherer and disseminator of information about work stoppages, strikes, and wage settlements was the Committee for Social Self-Defense, or KSS/KOR (formerly the Committee for the Defense of the Workers). When the strikes broke out in July 1980, some KSS/KOR members and their collaborators set up a central information system to gather the latest news on strike activities and funnel it to Western correspondents in Warsaw, or to sources abroad by telephone. These in turn provided Western media with information that was then broadcast to listeners in Poland and elsewhere. Poles, therefore, were able to find out what was happening in Poland from foreign broadcasts at a time when Polish media, under tight censorship control, were not publishing any direct news on these events.[3]

After the partial settlement of the Lublin strike—Jagielski said he would return to deal with the non-wage-related demands—Gierek left on his regular summer visit to the Soviet Union. He met with Brezhnev on 31 July in the Crimea. The communique did not mention Polish domestic labor troubles, but one can assume that the subject came up and that Gierek tried to alleviate any concerns the Soviets may have felt.[4] From Gierek's point of view, the "soft" way of dealing with the workers insured domestic peace and avoided concessions on price increases. If the principle that the Government could increase food prices when necessary were accepted once, it would become a

Poland 1980-81 by Nicholas Andrews

precedent for the gradual introduction of other increases. It would also offer an opportunity to trim excessive Government food subsidies.

What was strange about this way of thinking was the genuine feeling among defenders of the regime that this policy would work. Only when the wage increases granted in July and early August began mounting—to a level of about $1.1 billion—did the Party's optimism seem misplaced. In an unexpected news conference for foreign correspondents as late as 12 August, Jerzy Łukaszewicz, Politburo member in charge of ideology and propaganda, asserted that labor unrest was dying and the Government's policy of "restructuring" food prices would continue.[5]

After seeing Brezhnev, Gierek remained in the Soviet Union. Presumably he was on his annual holiday, although it was rumored in Warsaw that he was trying to obtain a Soviet commitment to increase economic assistance. In any event, he was still there when the shipyard workers in Gdańsk went on strike on 14 August.

The Gdańsk Strike

At 6 a.m. on 14 August 1980, the workers in sections K-1 and K-3 of the Lenin Shipyards in Gdańsk put down their tools and left their machines. By the end of the day the entire yard—17,000 people—had stopped work, and a 13-person strike committee had been formed.[6]

It was obvious to all observers that this strike was crucial. The shipyard workers had more prestige than any other group in the Polish working class except Gierek's favorites, the Silesian coal miners in southern Poland. In December 1970 they had borne the brunt of challenging the price increases of the Gomułka regime. Their street protests and demonstrations had been broken up by force and violence. Although they suffered many deaths and injuries, they succeeded in bringing about the cancellation of price increases and the removal of Gomułka and several close associates.

The shipyard workers' action on 14 August became a catalyst for similar decisions in the next few days elsewhere on the Baltic coast—in Gdynia, Elbląg, and Szczecin—and in other major industrial centers like Łódź, Wrocław, and Warsaw. A leader of the KSS/KOR dissident organization, Jacek Kuroń, called it a "sensation." He was quoted as saying, "It is a solidarity strike and has a political character." The initial demands included the reinstatement of three dismissed workers (Lech Wałęsa, Anna Walentynowicz who had been fired just the day before, and one other), wage increases to compensate for the increase in the cost of living, normal pay for all workers on strike, no reprisals against those who went on strike (to be stated in

writing), and approval to put up a monument to the memory of the workers who died in Gdańsk in December 1970.[7]

In April 1976 the shipyards had dismissed Lech Wałęsa, one of the leaders of the 1970 Gdańsk strike committee, for criticizing the Gierek regime's policies. In 1978 Wałęsa, a 36-year-old electrician; Anna Walentynowicz, a 48-year-old shipyard crane operator; and Andrzej Gwiazda, a 42-year-old electronics engineer, were among the founders of the Free Trade Union of the Baltic Coast. Wałęsa had been dismissed from his latest job in January 1980, ostensibly as part of a reduction in the work force. In reality the dismissal was for leading a commemoration of those killed in 1970.

Between 1976 and 1980, Wałęsa was active in the free trade union movement. He handed out leaflets and proclamations to his friends for distribution. He participated in meetings and discussions on self-government, trade unionism, and local and national economic problems. He attended lectures on labor law and contemporary history. On these occasions, he came into contact with members of other dissident groups like KSS/KOR and the Young Poland Movement which included students and intellectuals. In August 1980, as soon as he heard that a new strike had begun, he climbed over the shipyard wall and joined the strikers. Immediately, it seemed, they made him their leader.[8]

In a television address on 15 August, Prime Minister Babiuch admitted that the country had not been told the whole truth about the Polish economy. He said it would not be possible to solve the meat-supply problem in the near term, but efforts would be made to improve its distribution. He warned that wage increases without production increases would create chaotic market conditions and appealed to the workers to give up their "work stoppages." That same day Gierek returned from the Soviet Union apparently without having completed the rumored economic discussions with the Soviet leadership.[9]

On 16 August the authorities appeared to have agreed to the Gdańsk shipyard strikers' demands. The strike would have ended had not workers from other plants protested that they had yet to begin negotiations with their managements. Arguing that all would be lost if they bargained alone, they pleaded with the shipyard workers—Wałęsa in particular—not to conclude any final settlement until everyone's grievances had been considered. Wałęsa instantly realized that the key to success for all the workers lay in solidarity and unity. He also realized that continuing the strike kept open the opportunity to achieve more basic gains along the lines discussed in the democratic opposition. These included a free trade union, self-government, and economic change. With his uncanny sense of leadership, Wałęsa persuaded a nucleus of a thousand workers to continue the strike. The next day an Inter-Factory Strike Committee of 13 persons, representing striking workers from plants in the tri-city area of Gdańsk, Gdynia, and Sopot, drew up a list of 16 demands.[10]

This expanded list grew to 23, then subsequently shrank to 21 that included the following:

- Acceptance of free trade unions independent of the Party and management in accordance with Convention 87 of the International Labor Organization (which Poland had ratified);
- The right to strike and the personal security of strikers and their supporters;
- Freedom of speech, the press, and publications guaranteed under the Constitution, and access to the mass media for all religious denominations;
- Restoration of rights to persons dismissed in 1970 and 1976 and to students expelled from schools for their beliefs, and the release of three named political prisoners;
- Publication by the media of information about the Inter-Factory Strike Committee and its demands;
- Informing the public fully about the economic crisis and facilitating broad public discussion about the reform program;
- Payment to all strikers for the period of the strike at the rate for vacations;
- Increase in basic worker wages by 2,000 zloty a month (about $60) to compensate for price increases, pegging of wages to the price index, and devaluation of the Polish currency;
- Full supplies of foodstuffs for the domestic market and export of surpluses only, rationing of meat and meat products, abolition of "commercial" prices and of sales for foreign currency in special shops;
- Selection of managerial personnel on the basis of qualification, not of Party affiliation, and abolition of the privileges of the Citizens' Militia, security services, and the Party apparatus;
- Lowered retirement age, raise in disability payments and pensions, improvement in health services, additional space in nurseries and kindergartens, extension of paid maternity leave, and increase in travel and family separation allowances;
- Reduction in the waiting time for apartments; and
- Free Saturdays.[11]

) the leadership that Tadeusz Grabski would not be acceptable to the ›iscopate because of the anti-clerical remarks he had made in the past. his was the sort of penalty the Party had to pay for trying to enlist the hurch as a shock-absorber in social conflicts.*

slighter but more baroque example of the new mood was provided by Bishop Tokarczuk zemyśl, who found several microphones in his palace wall. The bishop summoned a high official from Warsaw to explain this outrage, but no meeting took place because the bishop ed on receiving the official as a penitent at his palace, while the official demanded that shop call upon him at his hotel. Tokarczuk – it is said by a friend of his – then sent one microphones to the Pope, by parcel, and hung another one as an offering on the altar r Lady of Jasna Góra at Częstochowa, where for some months it dangled among the model and limbs and rosaries offered by thankful pilgrims. Eventually the Abbot of Jasna Góra ed it and put it in a cupboard reserved for especially valuable votive gifts.

Chapter Five

Solidarity

The Polish August

by Neal Ascherson

At the Lenin Shipyard

The strike at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk which began on the morning of 14 August was not entirely spontaneous. Few strikes are. In this case, the little Free Trade Union of the Coast decided to strike a match and see if the 17,000 employees of the shipyard would burn. The pretext was a renewed attempt by the management to get rid of Anna Walentynowicz, the crane driver whose appearance – small, middle-aged, a worried expression behind cheap, thick spectacles – disguised the most powerful orator in the whole strike movement. 'Anja' was liked and admired in the yard for her battles with authority, and her political activities in the Free Trade Union group were respected.

The opposition in Gdańsk at this point consisted of two groups, ideologically remote from each other but in practice driven into a certain intimacy. One was the Young Poland Movement, essentially a nationalist and anti-Russian circle. Young Poland was middle-class and tended to extremes; its Gdańsk members included the medical student Dariusz Kobzdej, the considerably older intellectual dissident Tadeusz Szczudłowski and a young girl named Ewa Ossowska. A few months before, in May, the Young Poland people had organized an illegal demonstration to commemorate the Third of May, the anniversary of Poland's enlightened constitution of 1791; Kobzdej and Szczudłowski had been beaten up by the militia and given three-month prison sentences.

The other element was the Free Trade Union, built around its publication *Robotnik Wybrzeża* (*Worker of the Coast*). This was a much more working-class formation. Its guiding nucleus contained names that were to become famous through the strike and later in the leadership of Solidarity: Lech Wałęsa; a serious, bearded engineer in the laboratories of the Elmor plant named Andrzej Gwiazda and his wife Joanna; Bogdan Lis, who was a worker at Elmor and a Party member; Anna Walentynowicz; and the young nurse Alina Pieńkowska from the Lenin Shipyard. The Free Trade Unionists also numbered one man who was more the type of the opposition intellectual. This was Bogdan Borusewicz, a graduate of the Catholic University of

Lublin and a KOR supporter who acted as the chief editor of *Robotnik Wybrzeża*. Borusewicz had a long record of conflict with the authorities, beginning with a three-year gaol sentence in 1968 for handing round illegal leaflets in Gdańsk, and in earlier years he seems to have been close to the conspiratorial nationalist position of Young Poland. He maintained this contact and also provided the trade union group with a direct link to KOR. There is a report, unverified, that Borusewicz arranged a secret meeting between Jacek Kuroń and the nucleus of the Free Trade Union of the Coast some time in August.

Early in August, Young Poland and the unionists met for a party to welcome Kobzdej and Szczudłowski back from prison, and there seems to have been, on the fringes of the celebration, discussion of the possibilities of a shipyard strike. The following day Borusewicz gathered three young workers from the Lenin Shipyard – probably distributors of the group's paper – and held a serious briefing with them on the details. They had experience to learn from. In July, they had attempted to call a strike but failed. As one of the three later told the British journalist Christopher Gibinski, 'We didn't really believe we could bring the yard out. We tried to get a strike going last month when the meat prices went up, but then it didn't work.' This time, the Free Trade Union resolved to light a much more ambitious match. Some six thousand single-sheet leaflets about Anna Walentynowicz's sacking were run off, most of them to be put around the yard itself.[1]

At 4.30 a.m. on 14 August, the three arrived at the yard gate weighed down with posters and leaflets. Nobody stopped them. The first posters went up. The first arguments began around the leaflets. A banner appeared: 'Demand the Reinstatement of Anna Walentynowicz and a Cost of Living Rise of 1,000 Zlotys'. At first hesitantly and then with growing confidence, men gathered round. A march began from one department of the yard, then from another. Party officials who tried to stop them were shouted down. Workers already up on the hulls of vessels under construction stopped work to watch, then began to climb down and join in. By about quarter past six, a mass meeting had begun inside one of the gates.

From the top of a bulldozer, Klemens Gniech, the manager, argued with the workers. He hoped to prevent the formation of a strike committee – three boys with Borusewicz's leaflets were already calling for volunteers – and he told the crowd that if they went back to work, there could be negotiations. But as he spoke, willing hands were helping Lech Wałęsa over the twelve-foot perimeter fence.

Like Anna Walentynowicz, Wałęsa had not worked at Lenin since 1976.

An electrician by trade, he had been on the 1970 strike committee at the yard and one of the delegates who met Edward Gierek when he came to confront the workers in January 1971. Wałęsa hung on as a member of the shipyard's trade union 'works council' until 1976, when he was sacked after a provocative speech. He found a job at a repair station for building machinery, was dismissed for agitation in January 1979, hired by Elektromontaż and sacked again in January 1980.

Wałęsa's irruption into the meeting, on that August morning, was not the entrance of some unknown Messiah. Most people except the young apprentices knew 'Leszek'. He meant trouble, but trouble of the right kind. They liked him for his fast-talking, infectious patter, but they also recognized his underlying decency: a good Catholic, a loyal family man with six children at the age of thirty-seven, a comrade who had paid a heavy price for standing up for his friends. Wałęsa's real obsession was with the memory of the dead of 1970. He had twice been involved in illegal commemoration meetings in December 1978 and 1979, and it was this which had brought him into contact with the circle around *Robotnik Wybrzeża*. By his own account, he had been detained about a hundred times by the police since 1976. No intellectual, he possessed a telepathic grasp of workers' emotions and a deep-seated, driving anger. The morning shift on 14 August welcomed him as the man for this moment.

The meeting was running out of steam as he turned up, and men were drifting away. Wałęsa jumped up on the bulldozer roof and furiously attacked the manager, Gniech – actually a liberal personality with much sympathy for his employees. The crowd clustered back around him. 'Remember me? I gave ten years to this shipyard. But you sacked me four years ago!' He turned to the men and women in their grey overalls below, and shouted that an occupation strike would now begin. They cheered him. Soon they were asking for his reinstatement too, and that of others. After two unsteady hours, the strike had lifted off in earnest.

They went indoors to talk, and settled in the hall of the yard's health and safety centre: two hundred shipyard workers in work denims (many had brought in a spare set, knowing that a strike was on the cards) facing Gniech and his colleagues. Wałęsa and members of the Free Trade Unions of the Coast at first dominated this strike committee, and it soon became clear that the demands were not going to be exclusively economic. The strikers now asked for a 2,000-zloty rise (about a third of the average monthly wage), the reinstatements, family allowances on the scales enjoyed by the police and security service employees, earlier retirement and better food supplies, including abolition of the 'commercial' meat shops. Gniech, after

(McNally/Simon)
June 28, 1989
7:00 p.m.
Draft One
(GDANSK)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
GDANSK SHIPYARD GATES
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
2:10 P.M.

It was in the hour before dawn -- fifty years ago this summer -- that the peaceful waters of this Baltic harbor were shattered by the thunder of the 15-inch guns of a hostile warship. 28 minutes later, the Nazi panzers crossed the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that was to engulf the world -- and linger for five decades.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or stand up against impossible odds. Either way, the cause was hopeless. And during the occupation, the Polish people paid a terrible price for their courageous decision to resist. Poles then -- and now -- set an example for the rest of the world.

But their courage was not wasted. Because before she fell, Poland provided the democracies with a gift. It was called "Enigma" -- the only copy ever obtained of the Nazi's secret coding machine.

Breaking the unbreakable codes saved tens of thousands of Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this we owe Poland a enormous debt of gratitude. And Enigma played a major role -- some would say a decisive role -- in ultimately winning the Second World War.

But in Poland, the war's end did not end the darkness. Now they called it the Cold War, and in Poland the cold brought times of sorrow and hardship.

Yes, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, brave workers occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and became one of history's more improbable heroes.

And above these streets a monument rose -- like America's Statue of Liberty or the Goddess of Democracy in Tiananmen Square -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved false. For under cover of darkness the electrician was arrested and the movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned, colder than before.

But as man has learned from Budapest to Beijing, you cannot massacre an idea. And even in the wintry darkness, candles began to appear in silent protest, lighting the windows in the villages and towns and cities of the Polish nation.

And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, the Polish people -- and their leaders -- turned away from despair. Confidence, hope, and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918 -- against enormous odds. And those same qualities have brought Poland to

the time it is today. A time of possibilities. A time of greatness.

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. And in a land of deep faith, it is nothing less than a miracle: Solidarity's rebirth -- productive negotiations between Poland's government and Polish society -- and the first fruits of democracy.

The United States supports the Roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of Lech Walesa -- one of Poland's great leaders -- and of Solidarity -- a movement that has touched the world. We applaud the Polish people who have made these moves toward democracy possible.

And we recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity, even courage, in proceeding with historic steps.

Hope, confidence and hard work are also the basis of my government's policy toward Poland. Poland is important to us. Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free again.

My government supports honest efforts to make Poland a more democratic and prosperous country. The round table provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out --

can liberate the energy of a freer people to work together to build a better life.

And we understand the legacy of fear and even suspicion as Poles of all political complexion proceed together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

It will not be easy. Sacrifices and economic hardships have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work before the benefits are realized.

On the plains of Texas, where Barbara and I raised our children, there was a pioneer tradition that said: "Plant wheat for yourself -- and pecans for your grandchildren."

Once the grain crops were in, the early Texas farmers would carefully nurture pecan seedlings against the harsh prairie climate. It took hours of back-breaking work, hauling water in the hot sun. But pecan trees grow very slowly -- and the farmer would be dead and buried long before the grove he planted could provide shade or nourishment.

Other farmers thought that work that went unrewarded for a generation was a waste. Instead, they planted fast-growing plum trees. These did well for a time. But soon the soft wood split -- and sprouted scraggly, unproductive plum bushes. Instead of enjoying tall, stately pecan trees -- their grandchildren had the burden of clearing a thicket.

It's planting time now for Poland. Your decisions can either shade and comfort the future -- or create only thickets.

But I do tell you this: The dreams you have of a better life for yourselves and your children can be had. It can't be done overnight -- and certainly not in a year -- but you can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not only in your lifetime, but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Penniless immigrants came to that magical place called "America" and did earn their fortune in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time, it can be done in Poland.

Because the magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed -- but Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a well-trained work force.

The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

You can emigrate to a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. Free Poland. And the visa's are already in your hands -- they are at the ballot box.

I said the path ahead may well be hard. But Poland does not stand alone. America stands in Solidarity with the Polish people

in your quest for a better future for yourselves and your children.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path of democracy and economic reform.

Poland is where World War II began. Poland is also why World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.

It is in your power to end a war that has divided Europe for two generations. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission -- to do what has never been done before. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of spiritual leadership in Rome -- so the people of Poland can shown the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is upon us. It is alive with possibilities. All of us -- every American -- wishes you Godspeed in this great adventure.

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

# # #

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Bob Simon to Ed McNally, re: POTUS Gdansk speech. (4 pp.)	06/26/89	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Solidarity Workers Monument/Gdansk, Poland 7/11/89

Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)
By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed:	10/1/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	06266
FOIA/SYS Case #:			
Re-review Case #:	2004-2265-S		
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:			
MR Case #:		**Appeal Case #:**	
MR Disposition:		**Appeal Disposition:**	
Disposition Date:		**Disposition Date:**	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
(b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE
June 26, 1989
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR ED McNALLY

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: GDANSK SPEECH

I wanted to share with you in a more formal way than usual my thoughts on what the President should try to accomplish in the Gdansk speech.

First, I think the benchmark we should be shooting for is Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech [attached]. By that I don't mean using some snappy Polish phrase (although there's nothing wrong with that.)

What I mean is that the President is speaking at a place and at a time that could be one of the turning points in world history, assuming the Polish move toward democracy flourishes. By giving a good speech, I think we can make that moment even more dramatic. My greatest hope is that the press and the public will look back on this speech in 2 or 3 years and say George Bush helped inspire the people of Poland to fulfill their destiny to join the free people of Europe without provoking a Soviet backlash -- something that just a few months ago most people thought was impossible.

In terms of the structure and content, I think this speech should be short and clean, with about 5 big applause lines sprinkled throughout. Four to 4 1/2 pages should be plenty. If you notice JFK's speech is quite short, and is mostly rhetoric, with few facts, policy or quotes. We are lucky in that most of the policy will be in the Sejm speech, so we are freed from the burden of having to trudge through the details. The "news of the day" may be in the Sejm speech, but I think some sound bites and color from our Gdansk event are more likely to make good TV.

(1) I think it would be helpful to quote both the Pope and Lech Walesa. I have identified some quotes [attached] that fit in with our message. The pope has made three trips to Poland: 1987, when he spoke at the Solidarity Monument in Gdansk, 1983, and 1979.

> At the site of the Black Madonna on 6/18/83, the Pope praised the workers' strike in August 1980, "... when the Polish worker stood up for himself with the Gospel in his hand and a prayer on his lips." The workers' struggle had "touched the hearts and consciences" and served as "a testimony that amazed the whole world."

He continued: "The painful experiences of history have sharpened our sensitivity in the field of the fundamental rights of man and of the nation, particularly the right to freedom, to be sovereign, to have freedom of conscience and religion and the right to human work respected."

(2) There is also an interesting conjunction of events on June 12, 1987. The Pope was speaking at the same site in Gdansk that we will use, and on the same day, President Reagan was at the Berlin Wall, saying, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" In Gdynia the same day, the Pope said, "What is Solidarity? It is a way of living in unity with a full respect for the differences that occur among people. That is solidarity. That is unity."

(3) I pulled the news coverage from December 16, 1980, when the Solidarity Monument in Gdansk was dedicated. Our guidance from State (echoed by Zbigniew Brzezinski) has been to ask for the people to show restraint. To do that, I suggest we quote Walesa, who spoke at the monument's dedication:

"I want peace and love and justice and solidarity to win in our country."

The monument "explains the idea that conflicts can be solved without using force."

"Our country needs, first of all, internal peace. From this place, in the name of patriotism and peace, I call on all of you present here and upon all Poles, people of good will, to assume full responsibility for the fate of the fatherland. I call on you to maintain peace, order and respect."



(4) There are two inscriptions on a wall behind the monument:

"They gave their lives that you could live in better. Honor their memory."

"God will give strength to his nation, God will give his nation the blessing of peace." -- Czeslow Milosz, exiled Polish poet and Nobel Prize winner

(5) As far as appealing to the Poles great love of history, I think we should avoid weighing this speech down with a lot of historical facts and dates. My review of Polish history does not reveal much that meets our present needs. Having said that, I think there is a striking resemblance between Copernicus declaring that the Earth revolves around the sun and Walesa leading his country down an untested path from communism to

democracy. I offer the language below on how this comparison could be made:

> Let me tell you a story -- one in which Poles can take much pride.
>
> There was a man who observed that something was not right in the heavens. The old order of things kept breaking down with greater frequency. The people turned to the experts for answers as to why their world seemed to be turning backwards, not forwards. The experts used their imaginations to come up with complicated new theories to explain away their prior mistakes.
>
> Acting methodically and carefully, knowing the opposition he would face, the man stepped forward with a new way, a new plan. At first this new way was rejected, for it seemed quite revolutionary. But gradually the experts realized it was the only way that made sense.
>
> It took courage; it took vision, to be the first man in history to say that the sun does <u>not</u> revolve around the Earth. Nicholas Copernicus was such a man, and it comes as no surprise that the man who changed the way we look at the universe was a Pole.
>
> Lech Walesa and the people of Poland are leading the communist world into a period of change as sweeping as that of Copernicus. Those who said that the science of communism was the only truth in the universe were as wrong as those who said the earth is the center of the solar system.
>
> To all those who seek to govern the lives of men, remember this: People do not exist to serve the state. The state exists to serve the people.

By telling Copernicus' story in this manner, it makes the listener (I hope) think he is talking about Walesa at first, using the element of surprise to make the Copernicus analogy even more powerful.

(6) The President had some great language in his Inaugural Address that is worth echoing in Gdansk [attached]. I highlighted the relevent passages.

(6) I have one last idea. The Chinese Goddess of Democracy reminded us Americans of the esteem in which our Statue of Liberty is held around the world. I think we could both flatter the Poles and make a powerful point by comparing the Gdansk Solidarity Monument to the Statue of Liberty as one of the greatest monuments to human freedom in the world.

June 29, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR ED McNALLY

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: POLISH-AMERICAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES

I. The Jachimczyk Family

Julien and Sophie Jachimczyk [[Ya-CHEEM-zik]] came to America in the 1920s. Julien was an ice dealer; Sophie, a peasant girl, reared their five children.

All five children have at least two college degrees. The oldest, Joseph, has an M.D., J.D., theology degree, and has taught at Harvard. The second son is a lawyer in Connecticut. The third son was killed in Korea while serving as a helicopter rescue pilot. The two daughters are teachers; both have masters degrees.

II. The Sawko Family

Michael and Mary Sawko came to America with their 3 sons in 1946 as penniless refugees. They were sponsored by a family in Chicago, where their three sons now live. (They are both deceased now.) The oldest son went to work in the R.C. Coil Spring Manufacturing company. In only 13 years, he bought the company and serves as President. He is worth $25 million. The company has 70 employees at three locations.

The second son works for his brother. The youngest son graduated cum laude from Loyola with a law degree.

Gdansk themes

help Poland help itself
we will be with you, but it's
their responsibility
We like roundtable → hang in there
through rough
times
Poland is leading the world

Blind love for americans
all have US relatives

Church is for stability – mediator
spiritual court of last resort

Jaruzelski – vain – appeal to that
don't praise to much
respect

647-1070

Polish Nat'l Anthem: Key line – "Poland has not yet perished while we still live."
"Poland"
Poland still is ours forever, long as
707-5507 Poles remain. Chained the foe bound
on her, never shall the foe retain.

Senate - 99 of 100 solidarity - economists, labor, lay catholic leaders
1 capitalists millionaire

Senate - can veto, remand, initiate

Sejm - 2/3 needed to override Senate veto
only 65% communist coalition
(including peasant party)

choose Presidt 1 delegate, 1 vote
strong Pres. on French model

Solidarity → Citizen's Committee

Analogy of issue-by-issue bi-partisanship

1993 free elections not in Roundtable
but both acknowledge that is the intention

"Renaissance Republic" Noble

May 3 Constitution - enlightenment
Roundtable accords

Solidarity may be at state dinner

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH POLISH AMERICAN LEADERS

DATE: June 28, 1989
TIME: 11:30 a.m.
LOCATION: Roosevelt Room

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: SICHAN SIV
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

I. PURPOSE:

To meet with Polish-American leadership and emphasize the historic importance of the President's upcoming trip to Poland.

II. BACKGROUND:

The President will visit Poland in July. Past visits to Poland by United States leaders have often been preceded by visits with leaders of the Polish-American community.

The new President of the Polish-American Congress, Edward J. Moskal, has not had a chance to lead his membership to a meeting with the President.

III. PARTICIPANTS:

The President

Secretary Edward Derwinski, Department of Veterans Affairs
Ambassador Edward Rowny, Special Adviser to the President and the Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters

14 prominent Polish American leaders (see attached list)

IV. PRESS PLAN:

Press pool.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

-- The President enters the Roosevelt Room and greets the Polish-American leaders

-- Photo Opportunity

-- The President participates in listening session with members of the group as they highlight their thoughts regarding his upcoming trip

-- The President thanks the group and departs.

Talking points provided by National Security Council.

Participants List- Polish American leaders
Roosevelt Room, 6/28/89, 11:30 a.m.

POLISH AMERICAN LEADERSHIP

Polish American Congress
- Edward Moskal, President
- Myra Lenard, Executive Director
- Jan Nowak, National Director

Polish National Alliance
- Leszek Kuczynski, Counsel
- Casimir Musielak, Treasurer

Polish Roman Catholic Union
- Edward Dykla, President

Polish Women's Alliance
- Helen Wojcik, President

Polish Falcons of America
- Lawrence Wujcikowski, President

General Pulaski Memorial Committee
- Thomas Wojslawowicz, President

Polish Daily News
- Boleslaw Wierzbianski, President

National Polish American Republican Clubs
- Steven Markowski, President
- Stanley Glod, General Counsel

Poles for Bush/Quayle
- Frank Piasecki, Head of Poles for Bush (Member of
- Francis Skrobiszewski, Wrote Op-Eds for the Bush campaign

WHITE HOUSE STAFF

Office of Public Liaison
- Sichan Siv, Deputy Assistant to the President
- Scott Sutherland, Assistant Director

National Security Council
- Robert Blackwill, Special Assistant to the President
- Condoleezza Rice, Director, East European/Soviet Affairs

Pronunciation Guide

Edward Dykla (Dick-la)

Leszek Kuczynski (Les Koo-CHIN-ski)

Casimir Musielak (Kas-i-meer Moo-shell-LOCK)

Jan Nowak (Yawn No-vaak)

Frank Piasecki (Pea-ah-seck-ee)

Francis Skrobiszewski (Score-bee-shef-ski)

Boleslaw Wierzbianski(Bowl-a-slov Vee-erz-bee-INE-ski)

Helen Wojcik (Voy-cheek)

Thomas Wojslawowicz (Vo-slow-vo-vich)

Lawrence Wujcikowski (Woo-chee-COW-ski)

Meeting with Polish-American leaders
Roosevelt Room
6/28/89

Edward Moskal

People looking forward to visit - greatest ever
You are a beacon of hope
ecology, food
They have held up their end of the bargain
No China situation
get economy going

Jan Nowak

commies split - hard liners - moderates
Jaruzelski - may represent a minority
would like to co-opt opposition
workers want bread and freedom
Solidarity feels people will not tolerate price hikes on food
rest of E. Europe looks to Polish example

B. Wieczorkiewski

Solidarity afraid of govt breaking deal

President Bush

Western leaders want to help Poland
polish security still wears VP tie bars
$ will be meaningful, help from Western leaders