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**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13749  
**Folder ID Number:** 13749-005

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**Folder Title:**  
Lech Walesa Arrival and Toast 3/15/91 [OA 6856] [1]

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(Smith/Cawley)  
 March 15, 1991  
 5 P.M.  
 TOAST

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA TOAST  
 STATE DINING ROOM  
 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991  
 7 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, and members of the Polish delegation. Two years ago, Barbara and I had the privilege of dining at your home. Today, we are pleased to return that favor.

We welcome to America's home a first citizen of the globe. //

A Polish writer once observed, "The character of a people is embodied in its leaders." // That is true of tonight's honored

guest. / <sup>1983</sup> Eight years ago, you were forbidden from visiting Norway to accept the Nobel Peace Prize. / Tonight, America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. //

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

Poland suffered through a winter of suffering that endured for centuries. But you and your countrymen have delivered Poland into a springtime of thrilling possibility. // You have brought us all to the verge of a new and freer world. You helped a Nation, and a planet, summon lightness against the dark. //

Index -  
 July 10, 1989  
 Assoc. Press

edies  
 Home Journal  
 7-84, p. 58

You have delivered the message of freedom everywhere.

Kuwait's liberated people will tell how Poland helped guarantee that naked aggression would not stand. // Go to Gdansk or Warsaw. They know that by rediscovering its past, Poland is uplifting the future. // Mr. President, under you Poles have learned anew that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow. // You have used that voice to unlock minds, and boundaries. Enlarging Poland's horizons -- and helping define a New World Order. //

For that, I thank you on behalf of every American. //

Let me close with a story that shows off the spiritual ties that bind our lands. // It happened in 1776 -- when America was at a turning point in its history. A great Polish patriot fought with the colonies -- then returned to Poland with a simple three-word message. // Today -- 200 years later -- you have returned General Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] message to the country of its birth: LIBERTY. SECURITY. PROPERTY Freedom. Property. Sovereignty. //

These words inspired our coalition in the Gulf. // They form the very heart of the Joint Declaration of Principles we signed today. //

Our two countries share the majestic free eagle as our national symbol. Fearless. / Resolute. / Soaring. / Free.

// How can tanks or guns combat the Bill of Rights, or Kosciuszko's [ko-SHOO-sko] Act of Insurrection? How can bullets outlast the ballots that express the essence of self-government? //

K per CHRIS Hill 647-1070 State Dept Poland desk

Encyclopedia Americana Vol. 3, p.

Kosciuszko: Leader & Exile by M. Haiman ch. 3, p. 20

K-Per CHRIS Hill, State Dept. 647-1070

Poland Update leaflet Embassy of Poland

Kosciuszko: Leader & Exile by M. Haiman ch. 3, p. 18



Returned to Poland



3

Mr. President, they cannot -- will not. Not in Gdansk, not Budapest, not the Gulf. // The lamp of liberty is political and economic, religious and intellectual. Let us help raise it before the community of Nations. / In that spirit, let us raise our glasses:

-- To Polish-American friendship;

-- To the health of my dear friend;

-- And to the liberty we can, and must, achieve for

all the children of the world. Mr. President, "~~Sto lat.~~" [~~STOW-~~  
~~lot~~]. ~~May you live 100 years.~~

Hexis - Reuter Rpt, 12-22-90

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+  
Embassy of Poland

## RECESS

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the order of the House of Thursday, November 9, 1989, the House will stand in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

Accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 5 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess subject to the call of the Chair.

**JOINT MEETING OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE TO HEAR AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE LECH WALES, CHAIRMAN, SOLIDARNOSC**

The Speaker of the House presided. The Doorkeeper, the Honorable James T. Molloy, announced the Vice President and Members of the U.S. Senate, who entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Vice President taking the chair at the right of the Speaker, and Members of the Senate the seats reserved for them.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to escort the honorable Lech Walesa, Chairman, Solidarnosc, into the Chamber:

The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. GEPHARDT];

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GRAY];

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. FASCELL];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR];

The gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER];

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. MICHEL];

The gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BROOMFIELD];

The gentleman from California [Mr. LEWIS];

The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. EDWARDS];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL];

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. VANDER JAGT];

The gentleman from Ohio [Mr. GRADISON];

The gentleman from New York [Mr. NOWAK];

The gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLARZ];

The gentleman from California [Mr. FAZIO];

The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. SYNAR];

The gentleman from Michigan [Mr. HERTEL];

The gentleman from California [Mr. HUNTER];

The gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. MARTIN];

The gentleman from Florida [Mr. MCCOLLUM];

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. WEBER];

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. BORSKI];

The gentlewoman from Ohio [Ms. KAPTURI];

The gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI];

The gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. SIKORSKI];

The gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KLECZKA]; and

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. KANJORSKI].

The VICE PRESIDENT. The President of the Senate, at the direction of that body, appoints the following Senators as members of the committee on the part of the Senate to join a like committee on the part of the House to escort the Honorable Lech Walesa into the House Chamber:

The Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD];

The Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL];

The Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON];

The Senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR];

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIXON];

The Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN];

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY];

The Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON];

The Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI];

The Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM];

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE];

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON];

The Senator from Colorado [Mr. ARMSTRONG];

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFFEE];

The Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN];

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI];

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS];

The Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR];

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER]; and

The Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI].

The Doorkeeper announced the ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign governments.

The ambassadors, ministers, and chargés d'affaires of foreign governments entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them.

The Doorkeeper announced the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

The members of the Cabinet of the President of the United States entered the Hall of the House of Representatives and took the seats reserved for them in front of the Speaker's rostrum.

At 11 o'clock and 5 minutes a.m., the Doorkeeper announced the Honorable Lech Walesa, Chairman, Solidarnosc.

The Honorable Lech Walesa, Chairman, Solidarnosc, escorted by the committee of Senators and Representatives, entered the Hall of the House of Representatives, and stood at the Clerk's desk.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

The SPEAKER. Members of the Congress, it is my great privilege, and I deem it a high honor and personal pleasure to present to you the Honorable Lech Walesa, Chairman, Solidarnosc.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

**ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE LECH WALES, CHAIRMAN, SOLIDARNOSC**

(The following is an English translation of the address delivered in Polish by Chairman Lech Walesa before the joint meeting, through an interpreter.)

Mr. WALES. Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, members of the Cabinet, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, ladies and gentlemen,

"We the people \* \* \*"

With these words I wish to begin my address. I do not need to remind anyone here where these words come from. And I do not need to explain that I, an electrician from Gdansk, am also entitled to invoke them.

"We the people \* \* \*"

I stand before you as the **third foreign non-head-of-state invited to address the joint Houses of Congress of the United States.** The Congress, which for many people in the world, oppressed and stripped of their rights, is a beacon of freedom and a bulwark of human rights. And here I stand before you, to speak to America in the name of my nation. To speak to citizens of the country and the continent whose threshold is guarded by the famous Statue of Liberty. It is for me an honor so great, a moment so solemn, that I can find nothing to compare it with.

The people in Poland link the name of the United States with freedom and democracy, with generosity and high-mindedness, with human friendship and friendly humanity. I realize that not everywhere in the world is America so perceived. I speak of her image in Poland. This image was strengthened by numerous favorable historical experiences, and it is a very well-known thing that Poles repay warm-heartedness in kind.

The world remembers the wonderful principle of the American democracy: "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

I too remember these words; **I, a shipyard worker from Gdansk, who has devoted his entire life—along with other members of the Solidarity movement—to the service of this idea: "government of the people, by the people, for the people."** Against privilege and monopoly, against violations of the law, against the trampling of human

dignity, against contempt and injustice.

Such in fact are the principles and values—reminiscent of Abraham Lincoln and the Founding Fathers of the American Republic, and also of the principles and ideas of the American Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution—that are pursued by the great movement of Polish Solidarity; a movement that is effective. I know that Americans are idealistic, but at the same time practical people endowed with common sense and capable of logical action. They combine these features with a belief in the ultimate victory of right over wrong. But they prefer effective work to making speeches. And I understand them very well. I, too, am not too fond of speeches. I prefer facts and work. I treasure effectiveness.

Ladies and gentlemen, here is the fundamental, most important fact I want to tell you about. I want to tell you that the social movement bearing the beautiful name of Solidarity, born of the Polish Nation, is an effective movement. After many long years of struggle it bore fruit which is there for all to see. It pointed to a direction and a way of action which are today affecting the lives of millions of people speaking different languages. It has swayed monopolies, overturning some altogether. It has opened up entirely new horizons.

And this struggle was conducted without resorting to violence of any kind—a point that cannot be stressed too much. We were being locked up in prison, deprived of our jobs, beaten and sometimes killed. And we did not do so much as strike a single person. We did not destroy anything. We did not smash a single windowpane. But we were stubborn, very stubborn, ready to suffer, to make sacrifices. We knew what we wanted. And our power prevailed in the end.

The movement called Solidarity received massive support and scored victories because at all times and in all matters it opted for the better, more human, and more dignified solution, standing against brutality and hate. It was a consistent movement, stubborn, never giving up. And that is why after all these hard years, marked by so many tragic moments, Solidarity is today succeeding and showing the way to millions of people in Poland and other countries.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it was 10 years ago, in August 1980, that there began in the Gdansk shipyard the famous strike which led to the emergence of the first independent trade union in Communist countries, which soon became a vast social movement supported by the Polish Nation. I was 10 years younger then, unknown to anybody but my friends in the shipyard, and somewhat slimmer. And I must frankly say, it was important. An unemployed man at that time, fired from my job for earlier attempts to organize workers in the fight for their

rights, I jumped over the shipyard wall and rejoined my colleagues who promptly appointed me the leader of the strike. This is how it all began. When I recall the road we have traveled I often think of that jump over the fence. Now others jump fences and tear down walls, they do it because freedom is a human right.

But there is also another reflection that comes to my mind when I think of the road behind us. In those days, at the beginning, many warnings, admonitions, and even condemnations were reaching us from many parts of the world. "What are those Poles up to?" we heard. "They are mad, they are jeopardizing world peace and European stability. They ought to stay quiet and not get on anybody's nerves."

We gathered from those voices that the other nations have the right to live in comfort and well-being, they have the right to democracy and freedom, and it is only the Poles who should give up these rights so as not to disturb the peace of others.

In the days before the Second World War there were many people who asked: Why should we die for Gdansk? Isn't it better to stay at home? But war soon paid them a visit, and they had to start dying for Paris, for London, for Hawaii. This time, too, there were many who complained: There is that Gdansk again disturbing our peace.

But the recent developments in Gdansk carried a different message. This was not the beginning but the true end of that war. This was the beginning of a new, better, democratic and safe era in the history of our world. There is no longer a question of dying for Gdansk, but of living for it.

Looking at what is happening around us today we may state positively that the Polish road of struggle for human rights, struggle without violence, the Polish stubbornness and firmness in the quest for pluralism and democracy show many people today, and even nations, how to avoid the greatest dangers. If there is something threatening European stability today, it certainly is not Poland. Poland's drive toward profound transformations, transformations achieved through peaceful means, through evolution, negotiated with all the parties concerned, makes it possible to avoid the worst pitfalls, and may be held up as a model for many other regions. And as we know, changes elsewhere are not so peaceful.

Peacefully and prudently, with their eyes open to dangers, but not giving up what is right and necessary, the Poles gradually paved the way for historic transformations. We are joined along this way, albeit to various extents, by others: Hungarians and Russians, the Ukrainians and people of the Baltic Republics, Armenians and Georgians, and, in recent days, the East Germans. We wish them luck and rejoice at each success they achieve.

We are certain that others will also take our road, since there is no other choice.

So I ask now: Is there any sensible man understanding the world around him who could now say that it would be better if the Poles kept quiet because what they are doing is jeopardizing world peace? Couldn't we rather say that Poles are doing more to preserve and consolidate peace than many of their frightened advisers? Could we not say that stability and peace face greater threats from countries which have not yet brought themselves to carry out long-ranging and comprehensive reforms, which do their utmost to preserve the old and disgraced ways of government, contrary to the wishes of their societies?

Things are different in Poland. And I must say that our task is viewed with understanding by our eastern neighbors and their leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. This understanding lays foundations for new relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R. much better than before. These improved mutual relations will also contribute to stabilization and peace in Europe, removing useless tensions. Poles have had a long and difficult history, and no one wants peaceful coexistence and friendship with all nations and countries—and particularly with the Soviet Union—more than we do. We believe that it is only now that the right and favorable conditions for such coexistence and friendship are emerging.

Poland is making an important contribution to a better future for Europe, to a European reconciliation—also to the vastly important Polish-German reconciliation—to overcoming of old divisions and to strengthening of human rights on our continent. But it does not come easily for Poland.

In the Second World War Poland was the first country to fall victim to aggression. Her losses in terms of human life and national property were the heaviest. Her fight was the longest; she was always a dedicated member of the victorious alliance; and her soldiers fought in all the war's theaters. In 1945 Poland, theoretically speaking, was one of the victors. Theory, however, had little in common with practice. In practice, as her allies looked on in tacit consent, there was imposed on Poland an alien system of government, without precedent in Polish tradition, unaccepted by the nation, together with an alien economy, an alien law, and alien philosophy of social relations. The legal Polish Government, recognized by the nation and leading the struggle of all Poles throughout the war was condemned, and those who remained faithful to it were subjected to the most ruthless persecution. Many were murdered, thousands vanished somewhere in Russia's east and north. Similar repression befell soldiers of the underground army fighting the Nazis. It is only now that we are discovering their

bones in unmarked graves scattered among forests.

These atrocities were followed by persecutions of all those who dared think independently. All the solemn pledges about free elections in Poland that were made in Yalta were broken.

This was the second great national catastrophe, following the one of 1939. When other nations were joyously celebrating victory, Poland was again sinking into mourning. The awareness of this tragedy was doubly bitter, as the Poles realized that they had been abandoned by their allies. The memory of this is still strong in the minds of many.

Nonetheless, the Poles took to rebuilding their devastated country and in the first years following the war they were highly successful. But soon a new economic system was introduced, in which individual entrepreneurship ceased to exist and the entire economy ended up in the hands of a state run by people who were not elected by the nation. Stalin forbade Poland to use aid provided by the Marshall plan, the aid that was used by everyone in Western Europe, including countries which lost the war. It is worth recalling this great American plan which helped Western Europe to protect its freedom and peaceful order. And now it is the moment when Eastern Europe awaits an investment of this kind—an investment in freedom, democracy, and peace—an investment adequate to the greatness of the American Nation.

The Poles have traveled a long way. It would be worthwhile for all those commenting on Poland, often criticizing Poland, to bear in mind that whatever Poland has achieved she achieved through her own effort, through her own stubbornness, her own relentlessness. Everything was achieved thanks to the unflinching faith of our nation in human dignity and in what is described as the values of Western culture and civilization.

Our nation knows well the price of all this.

Ladies and gentlemen, for the past 50 years the Polish nation has been engaged in a difficult and exhausting battle. First to preserve its very biological existence, later to save its national identity. In both instances Polish determination won the day. Today Poland is rejoining the family of democratic and pluralistic countries, returning to the tradition of religious and European values.

For the first time in half a century Poland has a non-Communist and independent government, supported by the nation.

But on our path there looms a serious obstacle, a grave danger. Our long subjection to a political system incompatible with national traditions, to a system of economy incompatible with rationality and common sense, coupled with the stifling of independent thought and disregard for national interests—all this has led the Polish

economy to ruin, to the verge of utter catastrophe. The first government in 50 years elected by the people and serving the people has inherited from the previous rulers of the country a burden of an economy organized in a manner preventing it from satisfying even the basic needs of the people.

The economy we inherited after almost five decades of Communist rule is in need of thorough overhaul. This will require patience and great sacrifice. This will require time and means. The present condition of the Polish economy is not due to chance, and is not a specifically Polish predicament. All the countries of the Eastern bloc are bankrupt. The Communist economy has failed in every part of the world. One result of this is the exodus of the citizens of those countries, by land and by sea, by boat and by plane, swimming and walking across borders. This is a mass-scale phenomenon, well known in Europe, Asia, and Central America.

But Poland entered its new road and will never be turned back. The sense of our work and struggle in Poland lies in our creating situations and prospects that would hold Poles back from seeking a place for themselves abroad, that would encourage them to seek meaning in their work and a hope for a better future in their own country, their own home.

One hears sometimes that people in Poland do not care to work well. But even those who say this, know that Poles work well and effectively if only they see the sense and usefulness of their toil. The working people know their arithmetic too. They are working much harder and in worse conditions than their opposite numbers abroad, and on top of that are paid much lower wages. The economic system around them is absurd. To make matters worse, every several or dozen years the country has suffered a new crisis, a new crunch, and time and time again it turned out that past efforts went to waste. Show me people who would have worked well, stuck for decades under such a system. Wouldn't they too have succumbed to pessimism? But I wish no one experiences such as these.

This system had to be changed. And the Poles took it upon themselves to change it.

I know that America has her own problems and difficulties, some of them very serious. We are not asking for charity. We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend. We would like cooperation under decent and favorable conditions. We would like Americans to come to us with proposals of cooperation bringing benefits to both sides.

We believe that assistance extended to democracy and freedom in Poland and all of Eastern Europe is the best investment in the future and in peace, better than tanks, warships, and war

planes, an investment leading to greater security.

Poland has already done much to patch up the divisions existing in Europe, to create better and more optimistic prospects. Poland's efforts are viewed with sympathetic interest by the West—and for this thanks are in order. We believe that the West's contribution to this process will grow now. We have heard many beautiful words of encouragement. These are appreciated, but, being a worker and a man of concrete work, I must tell you that the supply of words on the world market is plentiful, but the demand is falling. Let deeds follow words now.

The decision by the Congress of the United States about granting economic aid to my country opens a new road. For this wonderful decision, I thank you warmly. I promise you that this aid will not be wasted, and will never be forgotten.

Ladies and gentlemen, from this podium, I'm expressing words of gratitude to the American people. It is they who supported us in the difficult days of martial law and persecution. It is they who sent us aid, they protested against violence. Today, when I am able to freely address the whole world from this elevated spot, I would like to thank them with special warmth.

It is thanks to them that the word "Solidarity" soared across borders and reached every corner of the world. Thanks to them the people of Solidarity were never alone. In this chain of people linked in solidarity there were many, very many Americans. I wish to mention here with warm gratitude our friends from the United States Congress, the AFL-CIO trade unions, from the institutions and foundations supporting freedom and democracy, and all those who lent us support in our most difficult moments. They live in all States, in small and large communities of your vast country. I thank all those who through the airwaves or printed word spread the truth. I also wish to say thank you and to greet all Polish Americans who maintain warm contacts with their old fatherland. Their support was always priceless for us. And the support of American Polish was always tremendously worth it to us.

Wholeheartedly thank the President of the United States and his administration for involvement in my country's affairs. I will never forget the then Vice President George Bush speaking in Warsaw over the tomb of the Reverend Jerzy Popieluszko, the martyr for Poland. And I will not forget President George Bush speaking in Gdansk in front of the monument of the Fallen Shipyard Workers. It's from there that the President of the United States was sending a message of freedom to Poland, to Europe, to the world.

Pope John Paul II once said: "Freedom is not just something to have and to use, it is something to be fought for."

good segue to  
new US initiatives: trade  
package ("trade not aid"); Peace Corps, etc.

One must use freedom to build with it personal life as well as the life of the nation."

I thank this weighty thought can equally well be applied to Poland and to America.

I wish all of you to know and to keep in mind that the ideals which underlie this glorious American Republic and which are still alive here, are also living in faraway Poland. And although for many long years efforts were made to cut Poland off from these ideals, Poland held her ground and is now reaching for the freedom to which she is justly entitled. Together with Poland, other nations of Eastern Europe are following this path. The wall that was separating people from freedom has collapsed. And I hope that the nations of the world will never let it be rebuilt.

[Applause, the Members rising.]

At 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m., the Honorable Lech Walesa, Chairman, Solidarnosc, accompanied by the committee of escort, retired from the Hall of the House of Representatives.

The Doorkeeper escorted the invited guests from the Chamber in the following order:

The Members of the President's Cabinet.

The Ambassadors, Ministers, and Chargés d'affaires of foreign governments.

#### JOINT MEETING DISSOLVED

The SPEAKER. The Chair declares the joint meeting of the two Houses dissolved.

Accordingly, at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p.m., the joint meeting of the two Houses was dissolved.

The Members of the Senate retired to their Chamber.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER

The SPEAKER. The House will continue in recess until 12:45 p.m.

□ 1250

#### AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore [Mrs. SCHROEDER] at 12 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m.

#### PRINTING OF PROCEEDINGS HAD DURING RECESS

Mr. BRENNAN. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the proceedings had during the recess be printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Maine?

There was no objection.

#### PERMISSION FOR SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY AND SUBCOMMITTEE ON CIVIL SERVICE OF THE COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE TO SIT ON TOMORROW DURING 5-MINUTE RULE

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Madam Speaker, I ask that the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary and the Subcommittee on Civil Service of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service may be permitted to sit while the House is reading for amendments under the 5-minute rule on Thursday, November 16.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

#### LECH WALESA: AN INSPIRATION FOR FREEDOM

(Mr. BRENNAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. BRENNAN. Madam Speaker, the moving words we have just heard from Lech Walesa were truly inspirational and show that the call for freedom cannot be stifled.

Lech Walesa's struggles in forming the trade union Solidarity were rewarded by the true political reforms taking place today in Poland. His courage and determination led a nation in breaking the bonds of repression they had known for 40 years, but never accepted.

A key part of Lech Walesa's strategy for political reform in Poland, was the strength and unifying force of organized labor—Something we have seen in our country, but many seem to forget. Organized labor serves as a force for change and improvement in many important aspects of our daily lives—through improved working conditions and improved compensation.

The United States has a special responsibility to Lech Walesa and his fellow Poles. We must not remain on the sideline offering little more than words of encouragement. The time is now for economic assistance to keep democracy and freedom alive in Poland. We cannot let Poland fail.

#### THE NAVY NEEDS TO ANSWER QUESTION ON ACCIDENTS

(Mr. SCHULZE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. SCHULZE. Madam Speaker, for some time now, I have been trying to focus attention on the problems of the U.S. Navy, which had three more accidents yesterday—a sad day in the history of our Armed Forces.

Some questions must be answered. Chief of Naval Operations Trost. The Navy has an accident a day and sailors

are dying. Why is this happening? Our other services are not having this problem.

Navy Secretary Garrett. Mothers are coming up to me on the street asking me if their sons are safe on naval ships. Why is this happening? A GAO study I requested documented the extreme number of naval fatalities. Have you read it? Have you finally noticed?

Defense Secretary Cheney. How many more of our sons and daughters will die before the Navy solves this crisis? What are you doing, Mr. Secretary, to address this matter of life and death?

#### CUT LARGESSE AT PENTAGON

(Mr. TRAFICANT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TRAFICANT. Madam Speaker, the Soviets are cutting defense spending, and America should do likewise. The truth of the matter is we are going broke around here. What really hurts is the Air Force has a B-1 bomber. It was shot down by a pelican; the Navy has a rocket that acts like Shamu, it does cartwheels; the Army has a tank that couldn't hit the ocean if it was fired from dockside. To boot, none of these great lethal weapons have any spare parts.

Congress should cut the largesse at the Pentagon, straighten out our budget and economic ills, which is the first place to start, and take a look at NATO spending.

#### AIDS: A PUBLIC HEALTH PROBLEM, NOT A CIVIL RIGHTS PROBLEM

(Mr. DANNEMEYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Madam Speaker, a very significant event took place in the efforts of the Nation to deal with the AIDS epidemic yesterday in New York City when the New York City Board of Health, on the recommendation of Dr. Joseph, the health officer of New York City, recommended to the State health officer, Dr. Axelrod of New York State that we treat HIV carriers, report them in confidence to public health, and conduct contact tracing.

This is significant because New York State has the largest number of AIDS cases in America. It is significant because the voice of organized medicine in New York State, the New York State Medical Society, sued Dr. Axelrod to prepare a list of HIV carriers as a reportable disease. It is significant because the voice of organized medicine in the State with the largest number of AIDS cases is finally waking up to the fact we have to treat this epidemic as a public health problem, not a civil rights problem.

25TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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PAP News Wire

January 23, 1991

SECTION: NEWS

LENGTH: 333 words

HEADLINE: GEORGE BUSH'S LETTER TO LECH WALESA

BODY:

WARSAW, JAN. 23: FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER SENT BY U.S. PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESA:

"I GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 8 AND YOUR EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR OUR COMMON POLICY IN THE PERSIAN GULF. POLAND'S STEADFASTNESS, ITS DIRECT CONTRIBUTION TO THE EFFORT IN THE GULF, AND YOUR PERSONAL RESOLVE ARE IMMENSELY REASSURING DURING THESE DIFFICULT TIMES. I WAS ALSO GLAD TO RECEIVE YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 11 ON THE VITAL ISSUE OF POLISH DEBT REDUCTION WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN ADDRESSING.

"MAY I ALSO EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR DECISIVE LEADERSHIP AT HOME IN TAKING EARLY STEPS TO BUILD A NATIONAL CONSENSUS AROUND POLAND'S TRAIL-BLAZING ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM. AS POLAND PREPARES FOR ELECTIONS LATER THIS YEAR, THE POLISH PEOPLE NEED TO KNOW THAT THE SACRIFICES THEY ARE MAKING WILL LEAD THEM TO A MORE PROSPEROUS FUTURE. IN THAT REGARD, I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES IS REDOUBLING ITS EFFORTS, IN THE PARIS CLUB AND BILATERALLY, TO ACHIEVE A SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION OF POLAND'S OFFICIAL DEBT. AS POLAND RESUMES ITS STRONG IMF PROGRAM UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP, I AM HOPEFUL THAT THIS EFFORT WILL SUCCEED.

"I LOOK FORWARD TO GREETING YOU IN WASHINGTON ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT IN MARCH FOR WHAT I HOPE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN DEVELOPING A STRONG AND ENDURING PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES."

*NSC*  
*Van B...*

*Date of letter per NSC Secretariat JAN 15*

*Poland supported US + coalition in the Gulf War.*

*Per NSC Secretariat Walter Avis X 333 3723*

*Walter Avis X3723*  
*NSC Secretariat - call for date of letter!*

COPIES."

IN DELEGATING A STRONG AND ENDURING PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO  
OFFICIAL VISIT IN MARCH FOR WHAT I HOPE WILL BE AN IMPORTANT STEP

"I LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU IN WASHINGTON ON AN  
EFFORT WILL SUCCEED."

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"MAY I ALSO EXPRESS MY ADMIRATION FOR YOUR DECISIVE  
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TO RECEIVE YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 11 ON THE VITAL ISSUE OF POLISH  
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SUCH POLAND'S STEADFASTNESS, ITS DIRECT CONTRIBUTION TO THE  
EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR OUR COMMON POLICY IN THE BERLIN

I GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 8 AND YOUR  
BY P.S. PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH TO POLISH PRESIDENT TESH MAFESA:  
MAY 23. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER SENT  
BODY:

HEADLINE: GEORGE BUSH'S LETTER TO TESH MAFESA

LENGTH: 333 WORDS

SECTION: MEMO

*See nec [unclear]  
Date of letter*

*See [unclear] for [unclear]  
[unclear]*

RECEIVED 23 JAN 1991

BY MEMO FILE

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 28, 1991, Thursday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 1015 words

HEADLINE: WORLD BEGINS TO FOCUS ON HANDLING THE PEACE AFTER GULF WAR

BYLINE: By Bernard Melunsky

DATELINE: LONDON, Feb 28

KEYWORD:  
GULF-REACTION

BODY:

The world sighed with relief that the Gulf War was over on Thursday and fixed its focus on how to handle the peace.

Post-war security and political and environmental concerns surged to the forefront as the news sunk in that the 42-day fight to oust Iraq from Kuwait was over.

British Prime Minister John Major said the allies were demanding Iraq destroy its ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction.

He said peace "must provide for the security of Kuwait and other countries of the Gulf. It must also deal with the other problems of the region, above all that of the Palestinians".

Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh welcomed the ceasefire, saying the international community had for the first time joined forces to stop the seizure of a country by another.

Bessmertnykh said the main priority now was to prevent any resumption of fighting, and that Moscow was promoting direct contacts between U.S. and Iraqi military leaders.

He also called for a meeting of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council as a first step toward the creation of a regional security system.

German Chancellor Helmut Kohl said that negotiated solutions had to be found for the Lebanese, Palestinian and other problems in the region, and Israel's security had to be guaranteed.

Kohl said wealthy Arab oil states should play the leading role in repairing war damage and creating "social security" in the Middle East.

Israel, even as it celebrated the defeat of Iraq, dug in to counter any postwar drive by the victorious powers to impose a settlement of the Palestinian conflict.

(c) 1991 Reuters; February 28, 1991

"I don't think that the problem of peace in the Middle East is first and foremost one of Israeli concessions," said Defence Minister Moshe Arens.

"The Middle East is an unstable region, the Iraqis are not the only ones who had a policy of hostility toward Israel."

The Israeli government has made clear the outlines of its Middle East strategy -- and it does not include concessions to the Palestinians that have already been refused through 38 months of revolt in the occupied territories.

However the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which has been sympathetic to Iraq, said that after forcing Iraq from Kuwait the international community must get Israel to withdraw from occupied Arab land.

Iranian leaders said they opposed the dismemberment of Iraq.

Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati defended Iran's neutrality in the war and stressed its "opposition to Iraq's partition and foreign meddling in determining the Iraqi people's destiny", Tehran Radio said.

"It is true that Iraq's aggression on Kuwait had to be reversed but not by people who have never had regard for Moslems and their interests," Velayati said.

Syria, which sent troops to join the U.S.-led alliance, said Arabs should work quickly to heal their wounds and rifts.

Jordan, which condemned Baghdad's invasion but alienated Arab patrons with its harsh criticism of allied attacks on Iraq, also called for Arab unity.

Turkish President Turgut Ozal, who has firmly backed the allies, welcomed the ceasefire as a big step towards peace.

Away from the diplomatic arena, other worries surfaced.

In Sweden, a disarmament expert said the crushing allied military display may accelerate attempts by Iraq and other developing nations to counter such power with nuclear weapons.

In Germany, the environmental group Greenpeace, warning of damaged wildlife, smoke from burning oil wells and the possibility of contaminated rivers, said there were no real winners in the war.

The German branch of the organisation said that in addition to the unanswered question of the number of war dead, there were many environmental uncertainties such as the amount of oil from Kuwaiti oilfields and plants that had leaked into the Gulf.

German Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer appealed for an international effort to help repair ecological damage.

The European Commission announced emergency aid for Iraq, saying it was donating 500,000 European Currency Units (700,000 dollars) for water purification equipment.

(c) 1991 Reuters; February 28, 1991

Iraq's Health Ministry has said a serious shortage of treated water due to destruction of water purification facilities by allied bombers could lead to epidemics.

NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner congratulated President Bush for his management of the war.

"This is a great day for all those who believe in freedom, justice and the rule of law...a prompt response to the use of force by a brutal dictatorship is imperative," Woerner said in a statement.

"I pay particular tribute to U.S. President George Bush whose leadership played a crucial role in forming and maintaining the coalition (against Iraq) and in leading it to an overwhelming success," he added.

The 16-nation Western military alliance stayed out of the war because it was being fought outside its borders. It sent fighter jets to protect member state Turkey, which shares a border with Iraq and from where allied bombing raids were flown.

Two NATO members -- Britain and France -- led Europe's contribution to the allied forces.

Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez said negotiations for peace in the Middle East should satisfy both Palestinian cravings for a homeland and Israel's right to security.

"The region needs reconstruction, stability and it needs to resolve historical problems, particularly the problem of the Palestinian people and its aspirations," Gonzalez said.

Polish President Lech Walesa said Poland felt "true satisfaction" at the liberation of Kuwait and the ceasefire.

"The conflict in the Persian Gulf showed how peace-loving nations should react to aggression and expansion. The foundation for success was international solidarity," he said.

Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva sent a message to Bush congratulating him on the allied victory and his "firmness and courage during this difficult period".

Finland welcomed the ceasefire and said it was ready to provide peacekeeping troops and take part in other international efforts to repair the damage caused by the war.

SUBJECT:  
WARFARE; MIDDLE EAST; MILITARY; DIPLOMATIC

Curt: You should read the sections marked. Interesting details on Kosciuszko's heroism + his reputation as "Poland's Washington".

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Haiman, M.

KOSCIUSZKO: LEADER and EXILE

Chapt. III pp. 18-

### 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

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stay in America. But he also tried to interpret them in the light of Poland's situation and needs. He introduced, therefore, some changes in the Act, significant to his way of thinking.

Both documents, the American Declaration and Kosciuszko's Act had identical purposes: externally, to explain the causes and purposes of action; internally, to awake enthusiasm for both movements.

Just like the Declaration, the Act may be divided into three parts, though the order and contents of the divisions differ. The beginning of both documents is strikingly similar: it is an appeal to the sympathies of the world. Just as "decent respect to the opinions of mankind" impelled Jefferson to explain the motives of the American patriots to all the world, so Kosciuszko, too, in the very first sentence turned to all humanity with a tragically brief statement: "The present state of unhappy Poland is known to the world."

Instead of referring next to natural rights, Kosciuszko immediately embarked upon an indictment of Poland's invaders and their hirelings, the Polish Tories. "The indignities suffered by two neighboring powers, and the crimes of traitors, have sunk the country into this abyss of misery," he accused them. "There is no species of falsehood, or perjury, or of treason, which . . . Catherine II and the perjured Frederick William . . . have not hesitated to commit, to satisfy their vengeance and their ambition." This was followed by a long list of wrongs suffered by Poland.

The second part of the Act explained "the sacred objects of our insurrection" which were: "The deliverance of Poland from foreign troops, the recovery of the entire possessions of the state, the extirpation of all oppression and usurpation, external as well as internal, the reestablishment of the national liberties and the independence of the Republic." This part also contained a prayer to God and an appeal to all "Nations which prize liberty above all other worldly goods" to be witness to the pure intentions of the authors of the uprising; though not specifically mentioned, it is clear that the foremost nations to which Kosciuszko addressed this plea were France and, above all, the United States.

The third part of the Act rather resembled the Constitution of the United States. It instituted legislative, executive and judiciary powers, the first two of which Kosciuszko was to share with the Supreme National Council. The functions of that body were modeled after those of the Continental Congress. This consisted of a combination of the legislature and the executive; it differed from the American pattern only in its subjection of all military matters to the authority of Kosciuszko. Undoubtedly, such an arrangement was the result of Kosciuszko's American experiences; he tried to remedy the indecision

and slowness of Congress. Later, according to Kosciuszko's wish, the Supreme Council was subdivided into eight different boards, as these existed under the Continental Congress.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, each Palatinate was to have a Commission of Good Order which was to be the local executive body, and territorial Major Generals who were to head the militia. Judicial powers were confided to the Supreme Tribunal and lower courts.

All these powers were to last only till the winning of the basic purposes of the revolution. "Then the nation assembled by its representatives, . . . will decide on its future prosperity." The transitory character of these Polish revolutionary institutions again demonstrates how Kosciuszko leaned on American precedents.

Like the authors of the American Revolution, Kosciuszko felt the need of explaining the legal foundation of his Insurrection, and in this regard he did not neglect to invoke the American idea of "the right of the people to alter or to abolish governments which become destructive." He expressed the same thought but in a slightly different manner: "the incontestable right of defending ourselves against tyranny and oppression." Neither did he fail to cite natural rights; he mentioned them several times throughout the Act, though there was no separate statement of them. He also deviated from the Jeffersonian definition of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," and from the notions of "life, liberty, property," most often advanced by pre-Revolutionary American political writers. Instead, he chose "liberty, security, property." Twice in the Act he repeated this definition, at one point extending it to "liberty, security and property of our persons and our possessions." Perhaps in this regard he used as his model Samuel Adams' *Rights of the Colonists* of 1772, in which the Massachusetts leader defined "personal security, personal liberty and private property" as the "absolute Rights of . . . all freemen."<sup>2</sup> More probably, however, in this single instance he followed the French Declaration.

What were the causes of these changes? Kosciuszko regarded the natural rights of man as established beyond doubt by the American Revolution. In his eyes, they were truths already accepted by the enlightened world; he used them to support his claims, but they were not uppermost in his fight for the revindication of Poland's rights. The legal statuses of America and Poland were different. America, aspiring to independence, had to invoke the protection of natural rights from her status as a British dependency. Poland, an independent state for long centuries and still enjoying a waning semblance of independence, could base her claims on her status as a state. The Ameri-

<sup>1</sup> Appeal to the Citizens of Poland and Lithuania, May 21, 1794, Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, 329.  
<sup>2</sup> Samuel Adams, *Writings*, II, 356.

→ See McNally's memo about the Eidansk speech :  
 He gives a Polish translation POTUS could use.

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cans withdrew their allegiance from an established order; Kosciuszko aimed at restoring an old order, forcibly overturned by aggressors.

In accepting liberty, security and property as better suited to the needs of Poland, Kosciuszko was likewise guided by considerations of her situation. In his eyes, life was "the only good which tyranny as yet did not want to extort from us," so he offered it unrestrictedly on the altar of his country. As to the "pursuit of happiness," there is no doubt that he aimed at making "all inhabitants of Polish provinces truly happy;"<sup>3</sup> he spoke of happiness of the country not only in the Act itself, but used it in several of his later proclamations. However, there were many Polish magnates who made their natural rights to the pursuit of happiness superior to their duties to the country. To speak of happiness to the patriots and the rest of the nation seemed irony. Long files of them were trodding toward the snowy wastes of Siberia under guard of Russian bayonets; their properties were plundered and confiscated, as the partitioning powers like locust beset and devoured everything. Even removal of external oppression was not enough to make Poland happy; she still needed completion of recently inaugurated internal social reforms, and above all, the further improvement of the condition of the peasants, the largest, the most important and at the same time, in all respects, the poorest class of inhabitants. Kosciuszko, therefore, united his war with an attempt at these reforms and in his intentions he far outreached the work of the Great Diet. He had some precedents in the principles and acts of the leaders of contemporary Polish political thought, but it is evident that he strove to raise Poland to the American ideal of social and political equality. It was in this attempt to reform the Polish social structure that he appealed to the nation to "renounce all the prejudices of opinion, which have divided or may still divide the citizens, inhabitants of the same territory, and children of our common country."

Kosciuszko never excelled as a writer. His Act lacks the orderly logic and the classic style of the American Declaration of 1776. However, its dominant tones are a convincing sincerity, an ardent love of country and patriotic despair. The Declaration of Independence preserves its calmness even in those paragraphs which submit the "injuries and usurpations" of George III "to a candid world." "Our despair is full," said Kosciuszko, "and the love of our country is without bounds." When he said that he and the Polish nation were "determined to die or to entomb ourselves in the ruins of our country or to deliver the land of our fathers from a ferocious oppression," he perhaps was echoing Henry's challenge for liberty or death, or the bold Jeffersonian

<sup>3</sup> Proclamation to the citizens of Brasz and Kobryn, May 15, 1794, *Mościcki, Kosciuszko*, 71; he repeated almost the same phrase in his proclamation to the citizens of Warsaw, June 7, 1794, *Korzon, Kosciuszko*, 372.

resolution "to die freemen, rather than to live as slaves" of the *Declaration of the Causes for Taking Up Arms of 1775*. With firmness he pledged the nation "to spare no sacrifices whatever, but . . . to use all the means which sacred love of Freedom can inspire in the breast of man; all that despair can suggest for its defence."<sup>4</sup>

The deepest analogy between the American and Polish movements was in their character. There was a strong, though small group among the Polish patriots, inclined to follow blindly French examples. But Kosciuszko refused to make his Insurrection a social upheaval of the French sort, even for the prize of French help. "God sees that we do not start a French revolution," he wrote to Princess Czartoryska.<sup>5</sup> He treated the faint-hearted King with official respect. When the mob at Warsaw hanged a few traitors on June 28, he immediately ordered criminal proceedings against the leaders and most strongly condemned the lynching. "What happened in Warsaw yesterday," he said in his proclamation, "filled my heart with bitterness and sorrow. The wish to punish the culprits was right, but why were they punished without the sentence of a court? Why were the authority and sanctity of laws violated? Know this that those who do not want to obey the laws are not worthy of liberty."<sup>6</sup> It was one of his greatest achievements that he saved Poland from a fratricidal struggle and gave the Polish Revolution the dominant American character of a national war for independence.

At the same time, he steadily, though gradually, broadened the social aspect of his movement. He became the champion of the peasants and of all "who as yet even did not know that they have a country."<sup>7</sup> Recognizing in the peasants the new citizens of the country, he called them to its defense and in his vision he already saw "a mighty mass of free inhabitants . . . fighting . . . against the crowd of . . . frightened slaves . . . for their own happiness."<sup>8</sup> In several proclamations he appealed for justice for peasants, forbade their oppression and interposed with nobles to lighten the burden of their forced labor. In his famous Manifesto of Polaniec he put the peasant under the protection of the government, made him free, recognized his rights to his land, and greatly reduced his socage. Even his most critical biographer acknowledged that this manifesto became "most important to the ideology" of all subsequent Polish generations.<sup>9</sup> In outward appearances he also showed his deep spirit of democracy; he chose the white cloak

<sup>4</sup> All quotations from the Act of Insurrection are from the contemporary translation in *Dunlap and Claypoole's Am. Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 22, 1794.

<sup>5</sup> Sometime in 1794, Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, 331; the original in Polish.

<sup>6</sup> Proclamation to the citizens of Warsaw, June 29, 1794, Mościcki, *Kosciuszko*, 80-81.

<sup>7</sup> Kosciuszko to Francis Sapielha, May 12, 1794, Korzon, *loc. cit.*, 316.

<sup>8</sup> Proclamation of Polaniec, Mościcki, *op. cit.*, 57.

<sup>9</sup> Skalkowski, "Finis Poloniac," *Poliska, Jej Dzieje i Kultura*, II, 357.

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of his peasant scythe-bearers as his uniform; he ordered that their flag bear an eloquent inscription: "They feed and defend."

Forgetting only himself, he embraced with his care all the needs of the country, its army and government, its industry and agriculture, its schools.<sup>10</sup> He had to forego all thoughts of foreign help. "The revolution in Poland won the admiration and prayers of the people . . . of Europe," wrote the imprisoned Lafayette,<sup>11</sup> but the corrupt French Committee of Public Safety stubbornly denied him all support. Saint-Just, speaking on its behalf, said to the Polish envoy: "The republic of France will sacrifice not a single grain of gold, not a single soldier" to aid the Polish cause.<sup>12</sup> "La revolution de Pologne n'en sert pas moins nos vues," wrote Rivals, the French agent at Bale.<sup>13</sup> After the fall of Robespierre in July 1794, the Thermidorists were equally indifferent or even openly unfriendly.<sup>14</sup> Thus Kosciuszko had to rely solely on his country's resources. To Gen. Sapieha he wrote: "Our war has its peculiar character . . . its success depends mostly on spreading enthusiasm and on general arming of the country."<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, he tried constantly to raise the nation to the heights of enthusiasm and heroism. In fiery proclamations, revealing the depth of his noble heart, he spoke to different groups of Poland's inhabitants, trying to win them to the national cause. As political documents they are unique in their lofty idealism in the history of 18th century Europe: "By friendliness, by kindness, we want to attach you, our brethren, to our common country," he said to the clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church.<sup>16</sup> He reminded others that "no Pole can honestly look for personal good, except in common good; none can think of saving honors and estates, except in saving the country."<sup>17</sup> He was one of the first statesmen to recognize the modern idea of self-determination and in another proclamation assured the inhabitants of Courland: "Poland will make no decisions concerning you without you. She will ask you what will be pleasant and useful to you."<sup>18</sup> "Let us lift our country out of slavery," he wrote in his proclamation to the Polish and Lithuanian armies,<sup>19</sup> "let us restore its lustre to the name of Pole, to the Nation its independence, let us merit the gratitude of our country and the

<sup>10</sup> Konopczyński, *Od Sobieskiego do Kościuszki*, 325.

<sup>11</sup> "Kosciuszko and La Fayette," an essay by Lafayette, written in 1796, University of Chicago, Lafayette Papers, vol. II.

<sup>12</sup> Akenazy, *Napoleon a Polska*, I, 63.

<sup>13</sup> To Buchot, the Commissary of Foreign Relations, 2 Messidor (June 20), 1794, *Papiers de Borzibelsky*, IV, 152.

<sup>14</sup> Akenazy, *loc. cit.*, I, 67. See also: Tacitus, "Characteristic Sketch—General Kosciuszko," *Claypool's Am. Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, April 12, 1797.

<sup>15</sup> May 12, 1794, Korzon, *loc. cit.*, 316; the original in Polish.

<sup>16</sup> Undated, Mokicki, *op. cit.*, 65.

<sup>17</sup> Appeal to the Roman Catholic clergy of March 24, 1794, Nabelak, *Kosciuszko*, 45.

<sup>18</sup> The Supreme National Council to the citizens of Courland and Semigalia, July 8, 1794, *ib.*, 293.

<sup>19</sup> March 24, 1794, Mokicki, *Kosciuszko*, 45.

good analogy & transition to the determination of solidarity on the road to their new freedom.



glory dear to a soldier." Sometimes his appeals reached poetic heights; in his first proclamation to the citizens he said: "The first step to throw off the yoke is to dare to believe ourselves free — and the first step to victory is confidence in our strength."<sup>20</sup> After the victory of Raclawice (April 4), where he personally led the attack of his peasant battalion armed with scythes, he said: "Nation! . . . Feel at last thy strength, put it wholly forth; set thy will on being free and independent!"<sup>21</sup> When he suffered defeat at Szczekociny (June 6) because of an unexpected appearance of Prussian troops supporting the Russians, he openly explained the circumstances to the nation and closed his proclamation: "Nation! Your soil will be free, only let thy spirit be high above all."<sup>22</sup>

In all his actions he perhaps came nearest to the ideal of Jefferson, who said that "the whole art of government consists in the art of being honest."<sup>23</sup> At the height of his career, though already famous all over the civilized world, and now clothed with dictatorial power, Kosciuszko dreamed of a moment when, after freeing his country, he would "throw his sword at the feet of the Nation,"<sup>24</sup> and again "enjoy peace in a little house and play with his garden."<sup>25</sup> The burden of public duties weighed heavily upon him. "Let no virtuous man desire power," he wrote to Gen. Sapieha. "It was placed in my hands for this critical moment. I do not know whether I have deserved this trust, but I know that to me this power is only an instrument for the efficacious defense of my country and I confess that I desire its end as sincerely as the salvation of the nation itself."<sup>26</sup>

According to an eyewitness who visited Kosciuszko's camp and admired its "fine order, great subordination and discipline," he was "a simple man and . . . one most modest in conversation, manners, dress. He unites with the greatest resolution and enthusiasm for the undertaken cause much composure and judgment. It seems as though in all that he is doing there is nothing temerarious except the enterprise itself. In practical details he leaves nothing to chance: everything is thought out and combined. His may not be a transcendental mind, or one sufficiently elastic for politics. His inborn good sense is enough for him to estimate affairs correctly and to make the best choice at the first glance. The love of his country is the only thing which animates him. No other passion has dominion over him."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> March 24, 1794, contemp. translation from *Dunlap and Claypoole's Amer. Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 22, 1794.

<sup>21</sup> "Report to the Nation" of April 5, 1794, *Moticki*, *loc. cit.*, 52.

<sup>22</sup> June 9, 1794, *Gardner*, *loc. cit.*, 136.

<sup>23</sup> "A Summary View of the Rights of British in America," *Lipcomb*, I, 210.

<sup>24</sup> Proclamation to the citizens of Poland and Lithuania, May 21, 1794, *Korzon*, *op. cit.*, 329.

<sup>25</sup> To Princess Czartoryska, sometime in 1794, *Korzon*, *loc. cit.*, p. 650, note 593; the original in Polish.

<sup>26</sup> May 12, 1794, *Korzon*, *loc. cit.*, 300; the original in Polish.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Ossolinski to Thugut, May 1, 1794, *Gardner*, *loc. cit.*, 131.

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Once he said: "We have sinned by forbearance and this is the cause why Poland is perishing"<sup>28</sup> but, according to his most important biographer, "he had severity on his tongue . . . , his heart overflowed with love and mildness."<sup>29</sup> During all his tenure of office as Commander-in-Chief he signed not a single sentence of death. His love of justice is well illustrated by an episode in which Lewis Littlepage of Virginia was involved.<sup>30</sup> This American Secretary to the King found himself on the list of persons suspected of treason; he was considered an agent of Russia and there was incriminating evidence against him. Littlepage became frightened and appealed for protection directly to Kosciuszko. Introducing himself as an American citizen and reminding Kosciuszko of his former title of an American General, he protested his innocence and conjured him in the name of America, "his second country," to do him justice and appoint a commission to investigate the accusation. Kosciuszko answered him in a letter which revealed again the beauty of his soul and his attachment to America:

"I do not know what opinion you have in Poland, but I know that in your case I have given no orders; however, to get an answer to your questions directed to me you will do best by addressing the

<sup>28</sup> Proclamation to the citizens, March 24, 1794, *Mościcki, loc. cit.*, 44.  
<sup>29</sup> Korzon, *loc. cit.*, 419.

<sup>30</sup> Lewis Littlepage of Virginia (1762-1802) was sent by his guardian, Benjamin Lewis, to Madrid in 1780, to complete his education and to make a start towards a diplomatic career under his relative, John Jay, the American Minister to Spain. Instead he became an adventurer, an highly objectionable character. In 1781, he took part in the Spanish expeditions against Minorca and Gibraltar. In 1782-3, he lived in Paris, and visited London. On his scandalous behavior in France see Mazzei to the King of Poland, Jan 30, 1789, *Mazzaro, "Philip Mazzei," Bulletin of the Polish Institute, II (1944), 786-790*. Together with Prince Charles de Nassau-Siegen, another notorious adventurer, he made a journey to Turkey through Poland in 1784. Introduced to Stanislaus Augustus he received a proposition to become his secretary. Littlepage accepted it gladly, but before entering his new duties in Poland, he returned to the United States to put his affairs in order. On this occasion the King gave him a letter of introduction to George Washington. While in America Littlepage entered into a scandalous dispute with Jay which produced two pamphlets revealing their private affairs and almost resulted in a duel between both relatives. (Jay was the first to publish: *Letters Being the Whole of the Correspondence between the Hon. John Jay and Mr. Lewis Littlepage, a Young Man whom Mr. Jay when in Spain Patronized and Took into his Family*, New York, 1786; Littlepage retorted with: *Answer to a Pamphlet Containing the Correspondence between the Hon. John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Lewis Littlepage, Esquire, of Virginia, Chamberlain and Secretary of the Cabinet of His Majesty the King of Poland*, Philadelphia, 1786). In 1786, Littlepage returned to Poland and remained in the employ of the King till his abdication in 1795, meanwhile serving also as a volunteer with the Russian army in the war with Turkey in 1778-9. It was he who induced John Paul Jones to enter the Russian service to the latter's detriment. Stanislaus Augustus made him his chamberlain and bestowed other favors on him, which did not prevent him from shamelessly exploiting the lawlessness of the King and from betraying Poland (see Jefferson's letter to Madison, July 31, 1788, *Lipscomb, VII, 94-5*). Gen. Igelsstrom, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian forces in Poland, recommending Littlepage to Sievers, the new Russian Ambassador, on March 27, 1793, assured him that Littlepage is "completely of our system. He has all the power over the mind of the King." (Sievers, *Drugi Rozbiór Polski, I, 69*). It was he who extracted from the unhappy King the promise to sign the Second Partition of Poland (*Ibid.*, I, 103), for which service Sievers promised Littlepage to cash the King's notes in his possession; in 1793, these notes amounted to nearly one million Polish zlotys (Korzon, *Wojenne Dziej, III, 90*) and were coaxed out of the King by Littlepage for services of dubious character. The Russian Ambassador contemptuously called him "an Anglo-American spy." After the Third Partition Littlepage remained in Poland waiting for the payment of his Judas' pieces of silver, meanwhile "dividing his time between Venus and Bacchus" (J. U. Niemcewicz to Jefferson, Aug. 7, 1800, *Hayden, Virginia Genealogies, 412*). Broken in health as a consequence of his dissolute life, he returned to America in 1801, and the next year died in Spotsylvania, Va. A Polish historian branded him as "one of the most abominable figures" in the history of Poland's partitions (Krzeminski, *Stanislaw August, I, 155*). A brief biography of Littlepage given by Hayden, *loc. cit.*, is without value, except for a handful of original letters quoted in full. On his relations with John Jay cf. Jay, *Life of John Jay, I, 204 ff.*

Supreme National Council which most assuredly will not fail to render justice and which is better informed in this matter than myself. You may be sure that a despotic act never would receive my approbation. The title of an American will always be sacred to me. You do not need to remind me of it to find justice among us. Can a nation fighting to gain it from its oppressors, deny it to others?

"I venture, therefore, to be an interpreter of principles which are and always will be inspiring the revolution in Poland."<sup>31</sup>

By his untiring efforts, Kosciuszko succeeded in spreading the insurrection to all parts of Poland. In answer to his appeals, Warsaw and Wilno rose spontaneously and rid themselves of the Russians. The flame of Insurrection involved Great Poland and all Lithuania; they even reached Dantzic and Courland.<sup>32</sup> All the best elements of the nation flocked to Kosciuszko's support. His army grew to 90,000 men at one time, the largest armed force old Poland was ever able to muster. His greatest triumph was the repulse of a two-months long siege of Warsaw by the combined Russian and Prussian armies, the last force personally commanded by King Frederick William II (July 13—September 6). But the days of the Insurrection already were numbered. On October 10, overwhelming Russian forces crushed Kosciuszko's army in the bloody battle of Maciejowice. With utmost bravery he personally led his soldiers and, seriously wounded, was taken prisoner. This was almost the end of the Insurrection. Warsaw still tried to resist the armies of Field Marshal Suvorov, but succumbed after the bloody slaughter of almost all the inhabitants of Praga, its suburb, ordered by the ruthless Russian commander. There was no one to take Kosciuszko's place and all resistance was soon crushed. The Third Partition followed (1795), and Poland disappeared from the map of Europe.

Kosciuszko was carried off to St. Petersburg and placed in strict confinement. The best sons of Poland shared his fate. Kollontay, one of his most ardent collaborators, now brooding over the tragic past in an Austrian prison, aptly defined Kosciuszko's role in history of Poland in the simple words of this patriotic elegy:

"Bless the knight who, though perishing himself,

Saved you from a dishonorable death; you have died with honor."<sup>33</sup>

But it was only as a political entity that Poland died on the battlefield of Maciejowice. "Not by the strength of a genius, but by the wisdom of his heart,"<sup>34</sup> Kosciuszko saved the life of the nation.

<sup>31</sup> Dubiecki, "Tytuł Amerykanina Jest Święty." *Dziennik Chicagoski*, Aug. 13, 1926, p. 5; the original letter in French.

<sup>32</sup> Konopczynski, *Dzieje Polski*, II, 400 and 405; Halecki, *History of Poland*, 207.

<sup>33</sup> Janik, *Kollontaj*, 405.

<sup>34</sup> Aakenazy, *Napoleon a Polska*, III, 29.

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What was more, the Insurrection inspired it most strongly, as no other factor, with an indestructible will to survive and with the determination to regain its rights. Kosciuszko became the symbol of the most sublime national virtues and his name a watchword for all patriotic endeavors of succeeding generations. "Out of nonentity," said an eminent Polish historian, "he extracted an immense force; he demonstrated what the nation, even without foreign help, can accomplish; by his single achievement, notwithstanding immediate defeat, he opened a source of lasting hope for the future. From a leader of a lost insurrection, he became forever a symbol of national resurrection."<sup>35</sup>

Undoubtedly Kosciuszko had his shortcomings as a military leader. One fact speaks out for him most eloquently: he was handicapped by the numerical inferiority of his forces, their lack of equipment and experience, and by the devastation of the country by partitions and long foreign military occupations; abandoned and disregarded by all Europe, he succeeded in opposing singlehanded three great military powers of the continent for over six months. His political acts as chief of the nation sometimes lacked an indisputable legal basis, but they all were aimed at the highest good of the nation and no one ever questioned his motives.

A shortsighted Polish historian criticized him for following American examples too often and too closely.<sup>36</sup> As a matter of fact, Kosciuszko became the foremost standard bearer of American ideals in Europe. His Insurrection was so closely associated with and patterned after the American Revolution as no other movement in European history.<sup>37</sup> From among the host of foreign officers who heeded the call of 1776, none, not excepting Lafayette, could compare with him in the audacity of his undertaking, none in purity of his motives and none learned better the lesson of democracy. Revolutionary France disgraced her rapture for freedom with injustice and crimes. Transplanting American ideals into Poland—the farthest point on the globe reached by the immediate influence of the American Revolution—Kosciuszko succeeded in preserving them unstained. He did not attain for his country the blessings of freedom which he saw and tasted in the New World. But, though knowing well from the very beginning all the difficulties of his task, he at least dared to try to wrench the stolen rights of his people out of the bloody hands of tyrants.

Even contemporaries recognized the American influence in the Kosciuszko Insurrection. "The revolution in Poland, conducted by the gallant Kosciuszko, the pupil of the immortal Washington, was a con-

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 30.

<sup>36</sup> Skalkowski, "Finis Poloniae," *Polish, Jej Dzieje i Kultura*, II, 346.

<sup>37</sup> Sister M. Ligouri, "The Ideal Cultural Line," *Polish-American Studies*, II (1943), 68.

sequence flowing from the struggles of America," said the Rev. George Richards of New Hampshire in his Fourth of July oration of 1795.<sup>38</sup>

Since 1791, events in Poland absorbed the attention of Americans. It was the Constitution of the Third of May that started a wave of popular enthusiasm for Poland in the United States. But while the French frenzy, the Whisky Rebellion, the hotly contested election of a new Congress in 1794, Washington's attack on the Democratic societies, the Jay Treaty and other events successively shook and divided American public opinion more and more sharply, Poland escaped the fate of becoming a subject of strife between two warring camps of American political thought. Republicans and Federalists remained unanimous throughout in extolling her struggle for freedom. Sentiment for Poland contained no elements which might have caused any divergence of opinion.<sup>39</sup>

The Insurrection intensified this enthusiasm. Kosciuszko still was well remembered by many of his former comrades-in-arms. At once he became the "Washington of Poland," acclaimed in verse and in innumerable toasts, in sermons and in orations, and in the press. His "bold enterprises, his patient endurance, his invincible courage, his unyielding firmness and his ardent patriotism, were the daily theme of private circles and public journals."<sup>40</sup>

The progress of the Insurrection was followed by Americans with deep interest. The press printed long accounts of events, mostly reprints from the English press. Another proof of this interest is found in contemporary letters touching on the subject. "There is great reason to hope he (Kosciuszko) will be successful, and prove the Washington of Poland, and I am sure there is no harm in saying, *God grant it,*" wrote a "gentleman" of Boston residing at Rotterdam, to his home city.<sup>41</sup> "Kosciusko is by the last accounts going on well," Humphreys informed Washington. "I dread, however, the result from the formidable force that will be opposed to the Poles. Unanimity is everything. If they hold out this Campaign, I trust the Insurrection will terminate in Independence."<sup>42</sup> Rev. William Gordon, historian of the American Revolution, was full of enthusiasm and nearly agreed with Humphreys as to the possible success of the movement. He wrote to Washington: "You was raised up by the Lord of Hosts to be an instrument of saving the United States from slavery. I most sincerely wish, that the same Omnipotent Power may have commissioned Kosciusko to deliver the Poles from under slavery. If he and his coadjutors can just weather the

<sup>38</sup> Richards, *Oration*, 30-31.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Heiman, *Fall of Poland*, *passim*.

<sup>40</sup> Goodrich, *Token*, 346.

<sup>41</sup> May 30, 1794, *Dunlap and Claypoole's Am. Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 26, 1794.

<sup>42</sup> June 28, 1794, Humphreys, *Life and Times of David Humphreys*, II, 213.

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present year, I shall scarce doubt of his succeeding in his glorious at-  
tempt."<sup>43</sup> The strength of the Insurrection seemed to surprise Monroe  
who reported to Jefferson from Paris: "The spirit of liberty begins to  
shew itself in other regions . . . in Poland under the direction of Kos-  
ciuszko who acted with us in America, a formidable head has been  
raised against Prussia and Russia."<sup>44</sup>

According to the testimony of a contemporary, Noah Webster,  
a Federalist, "the minds of Americans . . ." were "extremely agitated  
with respect" to Poland at that period. Extolling the "glorious . . .  
enterprize" of Kosciuszko, he continued in one of his editorials in the  
*American Minerva*: "With what emotions of joy did we hear the in-  
telligence of *Poland in arms!* Kosciuszko was hailed as the deliverer of  
his country and numbered with the Washingtons of the Age! What  
pleasure was inspired in our bosoms, when he was successful . . . How  
short the delusion! No sooner did the irresistible veterans of the savage  
North appear in Poland, than Kosciuszko is defeated, his troops dis-  
persed and the hero himself a prisoner in chains . . . Unfortunate  
Poland! Freemen will never erase the sigh for thy deliverance! . . .  
the hearts of Americans, with one consent, will exult in the triumphs  
which must ultimately crown your exertions."<sup>45</sup>

Rev. Jedidiah Morse, pitying Kosciuszko for his wounds, stressed  
in one of his sermons that his "fate interests the feelings of *the friends*  
*of liberty* through Europe and America."<sup>46</sup> William Loughton Smith  
of South Carolina, another Federalist, assured Kosciuszko and Poland  
of "fervent prayers" of a "united America" for their delivery<sup>47</sup> and  
John Dickinson, the Republican "Fabius," deplored the unhappy out-  
come of the Insurrection "by which a noble nation was despoiled of  
liberty, at the very moment when they were most sensible of its value;"  
he branded the destruction of Poland as "a deed, as base and as cruel,  
as any of the records ancient or modern, of tyrannical hostilities against  
human race, can supply."<sup>48</sup> Jefferson and John Adams agreed that  
partition of Poland was a "wound" inflicted upon the "character of  
honor" of European governments and that it destroyed that old "re-  
spect to faith" and "dignity" which heretofore was considered their  
inseparable attribute.<sup>49</sup> Washington himself was no less indifferent  
toward the sad fate of Poland. Assuring a veteran of the Kosciuszko  
Insurrection that he prayed for Poland during that "arduous contest,"

<sup>43</sup> Sept. 12, 1794, Gordon, "Letters," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, LXIII (1931), 573.

<sup>44</sup> Sept. 7, 1794, Hamilton, *Writings of Monroe*, II, 53.

<sup>45</sup> *Minerva*, as reprinted in *Dunlap and Claypoole's Am. Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 26, 1795.

<sup>46</sup> Morse, *The Present Situation*, 24.

<sup>47</sup> Smith, *Oration*, 28.

<sup>48</sup> Letter IV, "The Letters of Fabius," *Political Writings*, II, 188; also many other refer-  
ences to Poland, *passim*.

<sup>49</sup> Jefferson to Adams, Jan. 11, 1816, and Adams to Jefferson, Feb. 2, 1816, Lipscomb,  
XIV, 394 and 424.

he wrote: "That your country is not as happy as your struggle to make it so, was Patriotic and Noble, is a matter which all lovers of national Liberty and the Rights of Man, have sorely lamented."<sup>50</sup>

The only gesture made by Kosciuszko intended for the United States during his brief rule in Poland were his instructions to Francis Barss, his envoy in Paris, to deliver a copy of the Act of Insurrection to the American Minister.<sup>51</sup> Well he understood what Webster said in the above quoted editorial: "Your distance places you beyond the reach of our assistance." His move had only one purpose: to win the sympathy of the country whose memory was sacred to him. In that he succeeded entirely.

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<sup>50</sup> To Niemcewicz, June 18, 1798, Fitzpatrick, XXXVI, 297.  
<sup>51</sup> This copy, in French, is still preserved in the National Archives, Division of State Department Archives, Miscellaneous Letters.

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(Smith, Cawley)  
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LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991  
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

Budapest

Two years ago, Lech Walesa became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress.

// He impressed us all with his commitment to goodness -- his passion for the hard-fought necessity we call democracy. He inspired us by showing the courage to face death for a cause larger than himself.

Today the hero many call the George Washington of Poland returns to Washington as his nation's first democratically elected president. // Once more, we welcome him.

us/America?

Like George Washington, Lech Walesa has led by principle and example. Your wife, Danuta, said it best: "You have always believed that you are destined by God for something big." // You created a solidarity of spirit that inspired millions of Poles to risk death in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. But after winning the fight for independence, you instilled the sense of tolerance essential for letting democracy set down roots in an unsettled world. You have extended to former tyrants the

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Biography p 439

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very rights they once denied to you. I mean the rights to think, dream, worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. To choose national leaders and personal destinies. You have resisted the temptation to abandon principle in the name of vengeance.

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No wonder your countrymen sing to you: "Sto lat." [STOW-  
lot]. May he live 100 years. //

But your dedication to freedom does not end at your own borders, as you proved during the war in the Gulf. // As I wrote to you two months ago, "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Persian Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

X - Chris Hill, Polish desk, State 647-1070

Medal of Freedom Remains, 3-7-91

referred to as

Mr. President, you understood that Kuwait could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition that won the war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient -- Margaret Thatcher said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland join and shape the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the Cold War ending, and a continent dreaming of becoming at last whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. I salute your efforts to build a free and prosperous land upon the ruins of tyranny.

*difficulty*

*Translation from Polish Embassy*

In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Political reform / you have called for fully free parliamentary elections. / Intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / Spiritual reform. / Honoring the One through whom all things are possible. Two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God -- both a light unto the world. //

*WST, 3-19-91 PAB*

Finally, you have spoken of the economic reform upon which so much depends. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. /

*Walesa's remarks in the Cong'l Record 11-15-89 p. H 8632*

We are pleased to have supported your recent attempts to work with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // We look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around. //

*never BUSINESS REPORT 2-24-91*

*POST ARTICLE*

*Chris Hill, Poland ESL officer, state, 647-1070*

For two centuries this view of government has linked our peoples. It inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and your hero, Dwight Eisenhower. These men all enjoyed the comfort and support of Polish heroes -- from General Kosciuszko [ko-SHOO-sko] to Lech Walesa to His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II . // Together, we have shown that force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man. //

*Noah Webster  
Monroe  
Washington  
Adams*

Per Chris Hill  
Poland Desk Officer  
State 647-1070

later this a.m.

2-28-91 version  
Revised  
Draft from  
State

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles that we will sign today -- principles that support democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. //

They also form the core of our own relationship. Let me conclude with the story of a man who embodied that relationship.

Encyclopedia  
Americana, p. 192

That man was Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski], the great Polish pianist and composer. In life, Ignacy Jan Paderewski [ig-NOT-zee YAWN pad-uh-REV-ski] aided Polish war victims / served as president of its parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. //

He also declared that although his heart would remain forever in America, upon his death his body should return to his native Poland. But only when that land was independent and free.

//

ex from  
Irvington cemetery  
historians  
office

When Paderewski [pad-uh-REV-ski] died in 1941, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / This year, Secretary Derwinski his remains will return to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the anniversary of his death.

Per Chris Hill,  
Poland Desk Officer, State  
647-1070

It seems fitting that he will return home as Poles celebrate the 200th anniversary of their first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and we celebrate the 200th anniversary of our own Bill of Rights.

Bureau of  
History  
p. 260

Two hundred years ago, gallant Polish freedom fighters would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Today we

"  
" p. 270

5

rejoice: Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found --  
because men like you still live. //

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

# # # #

To: Fréd Sainz  
From: Barbara Morland  
202/707-5534

JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
PRIVATE CITIZENS ADDRESSING A JOINT SESSION  
OF CONGRESS\*

- 12/10/1824 Marquis de Lafayette
- 11/15/1989 Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's  
Solidarity trade union
- 6/26/1990 Nelson Mandela, African National  
Congress, South Africa

\*Although Winston Churchill is often included on this list, he was, in fact, the Prime Minister of the U.K. at the times of his three addresses.

*See also Vertical file Congress -- Foreign Dignitaries  
who have addressed*

(Smith/Cawley)  
March 12, 1991  
2 P.M.  
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991  
10 A.M.

Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

Two years ago, you became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. //

Today, you return as Poland's first <sup>democratically</sup> elected President.

Reaffirming the values of tolerance, opportunity, and self-determination. // Values which underscore the dignity of man. //

You fought for them in Gdansk. Because you knew that liberty could light the darkest night. / And from Krakow to Warsaw. For you upheld that faith which links the people of Poland with the peoples of the globe. // You were bullied, but never beaten -- for you believed in the freedom to think, dream, and worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. / For centuries, the world has sorrowed at the tragedy of Poland. Mr. President, you have proclaimed the victory of Poland. /

Today, we celebrate that victory -- and moreover, our intent to build on its beginnings. Your wife, Danuta, has said it best:

"~~You have~~ always believed that ~~you are~~ destined by God for ~~he has~~ <sup>he is</sup>

Handwritten: "Lendker Petrofi", "ie: Kossuth", "Square Remarks"

Handwritten: "Hungarian" with a checkmark

Handwritten: "RS fax", "Orig'l Record", "11-15-89"

Handwritten: "axis-Revter", "12-22-90"

Handwritten: checkmark

Handwritten: "981 Current", "Biography", "p. 439"

Handwritten: checkmark

something big." // That something is a solidarity of spirit which has led millions to gather in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. There, they have sung to you, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. // Our task is to help freedom live still longer. //

Recently, Poland did exactly that through its valor in the Persian Gulf. // As I wrote to you sixty-five days ago (1/15) "I greatly appreciate your . . . support for our common policy in the Gulf. Poland's steadfastness, its direct contribution to the effort, and your personal resolve are immensely reassuring." //

Mr. President, you understood how Kuwait could not allow aggression to stand. So you joined the coalition which won the war and restored the peace. / You realized how the answer to tyranny was "international solidarity." So you proved yourself, as your fellow Medal of Freedom recipient -- Margaret Thatcher said, to be "a great heart, not a faint heart" -- helping Poland enrich the New World Order. //

That Order, of course, began in Europe -- with the Cold War ending, and a continent at last whole and free. // I thank you for helping Poland take its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom. Moreover, I salute your intent to build a new Polish domestic order. // In your New Year's Eve message, you talked of the progress of reform. Speaking of political reform / where you called for fully free parliamentary elections. / And the intellectual reform that can help man begin the hard work of freedom. / You also focused on spiritual reform. / Honoring the

NSC-State

NSC-State

Curt

□

lexis-Reuters Rpt  
12-22-90  
Embassy of Poland

lexis -  
British News Svc.  
1-23-91

lexis-Reuters  
12-31-90

One through whom all things are possible. Two peoples -- Polish and American; both linked by belief in God -- both a light unto the world. //

Finally, you spoke of the economic reform which even now transforms Poland. // In your address to Congress you said, "We are not expecting philanthropy. But we would like to see our country treated as a partner and a friend." You are. We will. / We are pleased to have supported your recent agreement with the International Monetary Fund to reduce Poland's foreign debt. / We believe in trade -- not simply aid. // So we look forward to future pacts -- like the new American Business Initiative for Poland -- which further private enterprise. / Together, we must help government serve the people -- not the other way around. //

Think of America. For two centuries these ideals have inspired Tom Paine and Jefferson and Dwight Eisenhower -- beloved Ike. And for over a millennium the Poland of Chopin and Father Kolbe and His Holy Father, Pope John Paul II. // Today, they move us, inspire us -- in Gdansk, in Budapest, in the Baltics, in the Gulf. They show how force cannot outlast principles forged on the rights of man -- on the inviolability of the heart. //

Mr. President, these beliefs form the core of the Joint Declaration of Principles which we signed today -- principles central to the universal language of democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. // Let me conclude with another universal language -- music -- and of a story which speaks of the liberty

ouse Cong'l Record  
11-15-89  
II, 8634

lexis - Polish  
News SMC  
1-23-91 (EB 1044)

lexis - Reuter  
2-24-91

Polish Embassy PAO +  
Burden of  
History, P-271 +  
McNally's Gdansk  
memo

[ ]

State

[ ]

State

that can bless your seven children, and my five -- indeed, all Embassy  
the children of the world. //

*ax from Arlington Cem. Historian*  
Fifty years ago, the great Polish pianist and composer, <sup>Ignacy YAWN</sup> Jan <sup>Pad-uh-rafski</sup> Paderewski, died in America at the age of eighty. He declared in his will that although his heart was to remain forever in America -- his body should return to his native Poland when -- and only when -- that land was independent and free. //

*state's letter to POTUS, 6-28-90*  
<sup>Pad-uh-rafski</sup> When Paderewski died, President Roosevelt authorized the placement of his remains at Arlington National Cemetery until such time, he said, as "Poland is again free." / Today, his heart rests in Doylestown, Pennsylvania. But his remains will return this year to Poland -- honored by a state burial on the half-century anniversary of his death. // State

*Inc. Americana Vol. 21, p.192*  
In life, this heroic man aided Polish war victims / served as president of its parliament in exile / sought to make Poland the Nation she has again become. / In death, he reminds us of how this year marks the 200th anniversary of Poland's first constitution -- the first written in all of Europe -- and how brutality is powerless against that which is righteous, and fair.

*The Burden of History, p.270*  
Mr. President, two centuries ago, as your land fought for independence, Poles would sing, "Poland is not lost while Poles still live." // Poland is not lost -- but has once again been found -- because men like you still live. // God bless you. God bless your beloved land, and our United States of America. //

# # # #

*manuscript*  
fought for self rule; abol. man.; eqy. rts. for all, property. } but they lost ∴ for 3rd time, P. had to submit to the indignity of partition. } 3 occupying powers were determined to wipe P. off the map... ∴ the people sang "P. is not lost..."

(Smith/Cawley)  
March 12, 1991  
2 P.M.  
LECH

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WALESA ARRIVAL  
SOUTH LAWN  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 20, 1991  
10 A.M.

*Sandor Petzofi  
Hungarian poet  
re: Kossuth  
sq. speech*  
Mr. President, our Polish and American friends. A poet once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, I address you in the name of millions who convey their admiration and their love: the people of the United States. //

*RS fax*  
Two years ago, you became only the second private citizen from abroad to address a joint session of our Congress. // Today, you return as Poland's first <sup>democratically</sup> elected President. ✓

Reaffirming the values of tolerance, opportunity, and self-determination. // Values which underscore the dignity of man. //

You fought for them in Gdansk. Because you knew that liberty could light the darkest night. / And from Krakow to Warsaw. For you upheld that faith which links the people of Poland with the peoples of the globe. // You were bullied, but never beaten -- for you believed in the freedom to think, dream, and worship as we please. Equal protection under the law. And to choose our leaders and our destinies. / For centuries, the world has sorrowed at the tragedy of Poland. Mr. President, you have proclaimed the victory of Poland. /

Today, we celebrate that victory -- and moreover, our intent to build on its beginnings. Your wife, Danuta, has said it best:

*1981  
Current Biography  
p. 439*  
"You have always believed that you are destined by God for  
He has he is" ✓

something big." // That something is a solidarity of spirit which has led millions to gather in steel mills and shipyards and tenements and towns. There, they have sung to you, "Sto lat." [STOW-lot]. May he live 100 years. // Our task is to help freedom live still longer. //

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Jexis-Reuters  
EPOH 12-22-90

Jexis-Polish  
NEWS SVC  
1-23-91

Jexis-Reuters  
12-31-90

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orig Record (HOUSE) 11-15-89, II 8634  
axis-Revier Business Report 2-24-91

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Embassy of Poland Info Officer (130254RS)  
Widen of History, p. 271  
Ed's Gdansk memo  
Nexis

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State

that can bless your seven children, and my five -- indeed, all the children of the world. //

Embassy

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Exe from Arlington Cem. Historian

Curt

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Loumy (State) letter to POTUS 6-28-90

exis-Chicago Tribune, 11-23-90

State

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The Burden of History, p. 260

The Burden of History, p. 270

# # # #

nt'l self rule  
abol. mon.  
equal rts. for all  
property

but lost ∴ for 3rd time, P. had to submit to the indignity of partition. 3 occupying powers were determined to wipe it off the map. But the people sang "P. is not lost" etc....

From Hutchings?

THEMES FOR WALESZA ARRIVAL STATEMENT

- ✓ -- End of the Gulf war -- Poland was an early and resolute supporter of the international effort against Iraqi aggression, despite high costs to Polish economy.
- Successful conclusion of Gulf conflict gives us the opportunity for building new world order.
- ✓ -- The new world order we envision has its foundations in Europe -- where this last year we closed a chapter in history with the end of the Cold War.
- Poland led the way: Solidarity, led by the electrician Lech Walesa, helped the Polish people realize their dream of a free Poland; today Poland takes its rightful place in the commonwealth of freedom.
- And now Poland, led by President Lech Walesa, is committed to a courageous and unprecedented effort to build a free market economy and stable democratic system on the ruins of the totalitarian system.
- ✓ -- Poland's transformation -- Europe's transformation -- is not complete; we must rededicate ourselves to the success of the new democracies of central and eastern Europe.
- From the beginning, the United States committed its strong support to these efforts. (Mention \$240 million Enterprise Fund; referring to Board members present today; \$200 million for Polish stabilization fund; and creation of G-24.)
- ✓ -- [Language on substantial reduction of Poland's debt burden.]
- ✓ -- Although hard work lies ahead, the Polish economy has turned the corner. Its pioneering reform, now into its second year, has put Poland on the path of economic growth, unleashing the talents of Poland's skilled work force. Poland is no longer a land of economic ruin; it is a land of economic opportunity.
- ✓ -- I urge American business to take advantage of these new opportunities, as firms like Marriott and Coca Cola are doing. To further encourage U.S. trade and investment, I am pleased to announce today a new American Business Initiative for Poland. (Details to come.)
- [I am also pleased to announce that Commerce Secretary Mosbacher will lead an investment mission to Poland this summer, so that American firms can see first hand the new Poland.]
- (Conclude with reference to Paderewski: now that freedom has returned to Poland, so too, in keeping with his wishes, should the remains of the great Polish patriot, Poland's first Prime Minister, Ignace Paderewski.)

*We met last in 1989.*

*Polish kind debt.*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUGGESTED REMARKS

WELCOMING POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESZA

March 20, 1991

Today it is my great pleasure to welcome President Lech Walesa of Poland to the United States.

When you were last here in November 1989, Mr. President, you visited America as chairman of the Solidarity trade union. At that time, Poland had only begun its transition to a free society, and its ground-breaking economic reform program had not yet been unveiled.

You return to Washington today as President of the Republic of Poland. In the interim, political freedom has taken root in your country, exemplified in the voting which made you Poland's first popularly-elected president. Poland's historic economic reform program has been in place for over a year now. And despite the difficulties, your people have supported the measures taken to introduce a market economy, and

are now beginning to see the first signs of economic success as more private firms become active and more investment is attracted to Poland.

Poland is a different place from what it was in 1989, and the world has changed as well. We have recently been engaged in a war in the Gulf in which the United States and a coalition of other nations defeated an aggressive power and frustrated its attempt to destroy a smaller neighbor.

There remain many unresolved problems in the world, in the Middle East and elsewhere. But we believe there is now a possibility for a new world order, in which the nations of the world can agree on fundamental principles of freedom and human rights. The nations of the world, working through the United Nations, have it within their grasp to devote their resources more toward constructive cooperation in promoting common goals, and less toward destructive competition in preparing for war against each other.

This possibility of a new world order would not exist without the historic changes which took place in Europe in

the past two years. The Cold War which divided Europe for two generations weakened the stability of the whole world and complicated regional problems, making difficult ones such as the Arab-Israeli conflict nearly intractable. Today we cannot be certain that these difficult regional problems will soon be solved. But the world has learned a powerful lesson from the experience of Kuwait, and there is now reason to hope that the new world order might become a reality.

Europe underwent historic changes in 1989 and 1990 as the communist regimes in countries from the Baltic to the Black Sea collapsed and were replaced by popular movements committed to introducing democracy and a free market economy. At the same time, the decades-long division of Europe began to crumble, the Berlin Wall fell, and finally, a few weeks ago, it was announced that the military structures of the Warsaw Pact would be abolished.

The first of the countries to see off its communist rulers was Poland. The example of Polish resistance to oppression had for decades been an inspiration to the nations of both the East and the West. The rise of Solidarity in 1980 and 1981, and the failure of the communist regime to destroy it despite the

imposition of martial law, gave hope to millions in East and Central Europe.

Thanks to Solidarity, in June 1989 Poland held parliamentary elections which led to the formation of a new government dominated by anti-communists. The effect on Poland's neighbors was electric. By the time of your November 1989 visit, Mr. President, communist governments throughout the region were in crisis.

Mr. President, Poland is once again a vital and vibrant element on the European landscape. It is a full member of the commonwealth of freedom, and with its courageous economic and political transition Poland is making an essential contribution to the dream of a new Europe, whole and free.

There can be no doubt of Poland's special role in bringing about the end of the division of Europe. As we talk hopefully now of our vision of a new world order, let us never forget the contribution of the Polish nation in making such a vision possible today.

Mr. President, I look forward to the opportunity for extensive talks with you on a wide range of issues of mutual interest. Our two nations, united in our love of liberty and dedicated to the lasting principles of democracy, have much to share. I believe we will find that our views have a great deal in common on matters of fundamental concern.

Thank you all very much for coming here today, and again, welcome to you, Mr. President.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

SUGGESTED REMARKS

TOAST FOR DELIVERY BY THE PRESIDENT

AT THE STATE DINNER IHO

POLISH PRESIDENT LECH WALESZA

Mr. President, Mrs. Walesa, and members of the Polish delegation, it is a great honor and privilege to welcome you to the White House this evening. The first day of your State Visit has been a grueling one, I know, but I believe that the meetings you have had have been fruitful ones. I hope that you will consider this evening a time to relax and feel that you are among friends.

Mr. President, you are a man well known to Americans. To many of us Lech Walesa represents not only the struggle of the Polish people to rid itself of a repressive and alien regime, but also the universal longing of all people to be free.

When Lech Walesa climbed the fence of the Gdansk shipyard in August 1980 to join the striking workers there, he entered history. The movement that he led, Solidarity, became known throughout the world for its inspiring devotion to the ideals of justice and democracy and its refusal to be intimidated by the forces of repression.

During the dark years of martial law, Lech Walesa and Solidarity kept the flame of freedom burning. The communist authorities claimed, arrogantly and pathetically, that Solidarity did not exist. Every time they did this, they admitted their own bankruptcy and their alienation from the society they claimed to represent.

The tenacious struggle of the Poles and finally their success in breaking the power of the communists inspired a wave of peaceful revolutions all across east-central Europe. The role of Lech Walesa and Solidarity in liberating Poland and inspiring the struggles for freedom in east and central Europe was aptly recognized in 1989 when Lech Walesa was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Today, Lech Walesa comes to the United States as the first popularly-elected president of the Republic of Poland. Poles have regained control of their own destiny, and their leaders are pursuing policies which reflect the beliefs, aspirations and ideals of the people. A pluralistic political system is developing, and the centralized command economy that impoverished Poland is being replaced by a free market.

The challenges which the Polish people now face in restructuring the country's economy are in a sense less dramatic than the decades-long resistance to the communist regime. But the economic challenges are crucial for the ultimate stability and freedom of Poland.

We Americans supported the Polish people during their long decades of struggle against communism. And today, we are standing by Poland with our initiatives on assistance to encourage the growth of robust economy, and on relief from the crippling foreign debt which the communists bequeathed to the new, free Poland.

We are supporting Poland's economic recovery not only because of our long-standing friendship with the Polish people. We are doing it because if there is really to be a new world order of peace and stability, the Poles and their neighbors must be assured that their hard-won liberty is secure. And a secure future for Poland must be based on both political freedom and economic strength.

I would like to say something about Poland's role in the international response to the invasion of Kuwait. Poland was unstinting in its condemnation of Iraqi aggression, and steadfast in its support for the action of United States and coalition forces to restore Kuwaiti independence.

The American people will remember Poland's principled stand against aggression, the presence of Polish doctors and other medical personnel with the coalition forces, and -- most of all -- Poland's unequivocal support for our men and women in the Gulf. Poland's solidarity with the United States in the Gulf war forms the latest chapter in a long history of mutual support in times of crisis between Americans and Poles -- a history that goes all the way back to the founding of the United States.

Mr. President, I would like to propose a toast to U.S.-Polish friendship: may it continue to grow flourish for generations to come. And may I add, as Poles say when they raise their glasses, may we live a hundred years. Sto lat!  
[stow - laht]

new world records for five miles, ten miles, 15,000 meters, and 20,000 meters; bettered her 10,000-meter mark by fifteen seconds; and again finished first among women in the New York Marathon, with an improvement of two minutes and twenty-five seconds in her time. Her clocking in the 1980 marathon would have beaten all the men who finished in the 1970 marathon, including Gary Muhrcke, who won in 2:31:38, and all male Olympic marathon gold medalists before 1952.

On May 30, 1981 Mrs. Waitz won her third consecutive L'eggs Mini-marathon, covering the 10,000 meters in thirty-two minutes and forty-three seconds, well over a minute slower than the record she set in 1980. "I didn't go for any record because it was much too hot," she explained to Al Harvin of the *New York Times* (May 31, 1981). "I don't like to run all the time against the clock. I just wanted to run to win today."

Mrs. Waitz usually trains twice a day, one hour early in the morning and one hour late in the afternoon, but she says that she "listens to [her] body," and if it tells her to go easy she will limit herself to one hour a day for perhaps one or two days a week. Her training is mostly speed work, with some medium-distance runs thrown in. "I never train more than ten kilometers at once," she explained when Lesley Visser interviewed her on the occasion of her being selected "sportswoman of the year" by *Women's Sports* (January 1981). "To be honest, anything more is boring. I train only for the 3,000." She said that the 3,000-meter limit held true even before marathons, and that she viewed the twenty-mile practice runs of many marathon trainees as extremely ill-advised. "The main difference between me and the other girls is simply that I have more speed, more tempo. Girls training now don't do enough speed or track training. They are running long all the time." She has no special training diet, although she places importance on the ordinary Norwegian practices of a light lunch (rather than a heavy hot meal) at noon and the eating of dark hard-tack rather than white bread (the one dietary proscription she mentions in interview after interview).

Alluding to the Eastern European system of "total sport," her husband has said that Mrs. Waitz is "not easily molded." "She wouldn't have thrived in any more structured system. Hers must be as normal a life as possible. She is very bright, she always got the best marks in school and was the youngest applicant accepted for the teachers' college. She prepared for teaching as carefully as for running, and it [was] just as important to her." Her independence of spirit was demonstrated when she turned down a stipend from the Norwegian Amateur Athletic Federation because she did not want to feel under any pressure to perform well other than that of her own desire to win. "I race to win," she has said, "not to set records."

Jack and Grete Waitz, who were married in 1975, live in a modest apartment on a hill (her favorite training ground) in the Olso suburb of Romsaas. Outside of the traveling that they reluctantly accept as a necessary part of an international running career, they are homebodies, content with each other's company, with watching some television, and with entertaining friends. "We do not like to go places where people will point at me," she told Lesley Visser in the interview for *Women's Sports*. "I do not need publicity. The travel and publicity is sometimes hard. It has meant that I spent Christmas in California, spring in New York, and hours on the telephone. And it makes it difficult to keep my nine o'clock curfew." Miss Visser found her to be "refreshingly demure" in a world where athletic celebrity is usually accompanied by an outsized ego.

Blond, blue-eyed Grete Waitz is five feet seven inches tall and weighs about 116 pounds. When she is running, her face is the impassive register of a drive and concentration that transcend pain, and at other times it is usually solemn and thoughtful. Because, as she has observed, she is "not always smiling and laughing," people mistakenly think she is sad. "I'm not sad . . . maybe a little cool . . . controlled. That's the word. Controlled." As for the future, she will take it a year at a time: "I'll never stop running, but the hard training and the competition call for intensity. Once you know international racing, you can't just ease off a bit. It has to be one or the other; as hard as you can, or just for fun."

*References: N Y Times III p8 O 22 '79; People 14:36 D 29 '80 por; Sports III 51:42+ O 22 '79 pors; Women's Sports 1:32+ Ja '79 pors, 2:15+ Mr '80 pors, 3:35+ Ja '81 pors*

### **Wafesa, Lech (va-wenz'a lek)**

1943(?) - Polish labor leader. Address: b. Morski Hotel, Gdansk, Poland

When labor unrest erupted into massive strikes in Poland in July 1980, Lech Wafesa was an apparently obscure unemployed electrician known to authorities as an incorrigible labor "troublemaker." A mere three months later, as the organizer and chairman of the only independent trade union in the Communist world, Wafesa had become one of the three most powerful men in his country, on a par with the First Secretary of the Communist party and the Primate of the Roman Catholic church. Speaking the simple language of the workingman and identifying himself as a faithful son of the church, he has drawn 10,000,000 of Poland's 17,300,000 workers into his union, known as Solidarity. His achievement has alarmed the

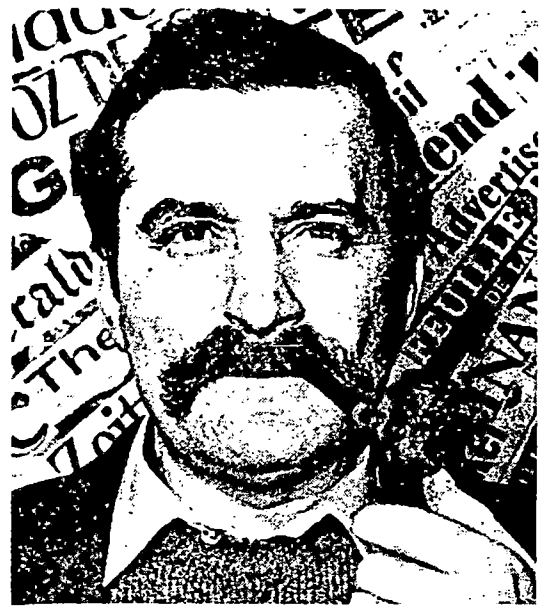
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Lech Wałesa

rulers of the Soviet bloc because it is an implicit contradiction of the Communist party's claim to be the sole legitimate representative of the working class. But Wałesa wisely never makes the contradiction explicit, and by skillfully steering a course between militancy and moderation, he has succeeded thus far in satisfying the basic demands of Poland's aroused workers without provoking intervention by the Soviet Union, which naturally fears that the Polish example might inspire other Eastern bloc nations to do likewise. As one observer has quipped, "Wałesa has surpassed Wallenda in pulling off the biggest tightrope act in history."

One of eight children of a carpenter, Lech Wałesa was born in Popow, Poland during the German occupation of World War II. After his father died, his mother married her brother-in-law, Stanisław Wałesa. While visiting relatives in the United States with her second husband in 1973, Mrs. Wałesa was killed in a traffic accident. The stepfather, a lumberman, remained in the United States and now lives in Jersey City, New Jersey.

Wałesa attended a state vocational school in Lipno, near Popow, and after graduation he moved to Gdansk on the Baltic Coast to work as an electrician at the Lenin Shipyard there. In December 1970 the government's raising of food prices sparked violent protests in and around Gdansk. During the "bread riots" strikers at the Lenin Shipyard moved into the streets, where fifty-five of them were massacred by the police. As the violence continued for four days, Władisław Gomułka was forced to resign as First Secretary of the Polish Communist party and was succeeded by Edward Gierek, who made concessions to the workers.

The improvement of conditions under Gierek proved to be only temporary. By overextending itself in its plan to modernize industry, the Gierek regime ran up unexpectedly high international debts. At the same time, in an effort to right the balance of trade and to build up buying power with the West, it increased the export of goods, including such prized meat and meat products as Polish ham, and those commodities, accordingly, became scarcer at home. Worker discontent seethed, finally erupting in strikes and violent demonstrations at Ursus, near Warsaw, and Radom, in east central Poland, when Gierek attempted to end the five-year freeze on meat and other food prices on April 1976. To avert escalation of the crisis, the First Secretary quickly restored the freeze.

Gdansk was not directly affected by the events of April 1976, but Wałesa was fired from his job at the shipyard for his boldness in protesting the erosion of the concessions made to workers six years before. In the following years he lived inconspicuously, providing for his family as best he could despite successive job losses and jailings resulting from his labor agitation.

Although he was by comparison a moderate, Wałesa's development as a labor leader was strongly influenced by his contact with the radical Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). That organization was founded by the disaffected Communist sociologist Jacek Kuron and other dissident intellectuals to give medical, legal, and material aid to workers—and the families of those workers—who were fired, jailed, or under attack for having taken part in the April 1976 strikes and demonstrations. Partly through its clandestine bulletins and newspaper Robotnik, KOR came to serve an even more vital purpose—that of an information clearinghouse and communications system giving a sense of unity to workers who would otherwise have been isolated in their plight. It also served as an educational agency, a school of formation for an incipient labor leadership generally more moderate than its own leadership. While stressing the difference between his labor movement and KOR—"KOR does not direct us, it helps us"—Wałesa later came to the defense of KOR on those occasions when the state tried to suppress its "anti-socialist" activities.

Two major events in recent Polish history favored the progress of Wałesa's work as a labor leader. One was the Soviet decision, following the signing of the Helsinki agreements of 1975, to make the most of the incorrigibility of Poland, the enfant terrible of the Eastern bloc, and let the country become a "showcase of détente." The other was the election in October 1978 of Karol Cardinal Wojtyła of Poland as the first Slavic pope in the history of the Roman Catholic Church. As Pope John Paul II, Wojtyła returned to his native country for a remarkable nine-day visit in June 1979. The joyous, and sometimes tearful, popular

reception accorded the Pope contrasted dramatically with the grudging protocol extended by the government. An international television audience suddenly saw a demoralized nation renewed in spirit, a whole people daring to assert a patriotism symbolically inseparable from religion and therefore in defiance of the Communist state. All that the solidarity needed was a capitalization of the "s."

Wałesa's cofounding of an embryonic free trade union on the Baltic Coast was signaled in January 1979 by the first issue of the bimonthly *The Worker of the Coast*, subtitled "the organ of the founding committee of the free trade unions." The following July he was among the signers of a charter of workers' rights published in *Robotnik*. Among the demands listed were an end to censorship, an eight-hour day, improved job safety conditions, higher wages, and legalization of the right to strike. But the most important statement in the charter was the following: "Strikes are useful short-term weapons, but free and independent trade unions are necessary to ensure that the gains won through a strike are not later lost. Only they will give us an equal footing in negotiations, a power the authorities cannot ignore."

When the Polish government, plagued by an enormous foreign debt and serious food shortages, doubled meat prices on July 1, 1980, scattered work stoppages followed in factories across Poland as workers demanded higher wages to compensate for the increased prices. On August 14 the Lenin Shipyard was seized by strikers, who immediately demanded and won the reinstatement of Wałesa and two other dismissed workers. Scaling the fence to join the workers occupying the yard, Wałesa became the leader of the strike, which differed from earlier ones in that the workers were making political as well as economic demands, including the right to form trade unions free of party control and greater freedom of expression. Wałesa was ready to call off the strike on August 16, when the management of the shipyard conceded two points—the rehiring of other fired union activists and raises in pay—but changed his mind when radicals on the strike committee insisted on continuing until the free union movement was recognized.

With the strike spreading across the Baltic Coast, an inter-factory strike committee headed by Wałesa was established on August 17. A week later Prime Minister Edward Babiuch and three other Politburo members were dismissed in a party shakeup, and party leader Gierek promised democratization of the official unions. But Wałesa articulated the strike committee's primary goal in his response to Gierek: "A change in personnel does not interest me. What I want is the freedom of the unions, and I don't care who negotiates that."

As the strike expanded beyond the Baltic region to involve over 300,000 workers, a government committee headed by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczysław Jagielski began

negotiating with the strike committee led by Wałesa. On August 31 Wałesa and Jagielski signed an accord, known as the Gdansk agreement, granting workers the right to form independent unions and to strike, the first time such rights had ever been conceded in a Soviet bloc country. The government also pledged to grant wage increases and social benefits, relax censorship, open the state-controlled media to a wide variety of opinion, broadcast Roman Catholic Mass on Sundays, and release jailed members of KOR. The unions, in turn, acknowledged the supremacy of the Communist party in Polish society and accepted Poland's military alliances within the Soviet bloc.

Wałesa demonstrated his organization's strength and discipline when, on his order, workers in Poland's major cities staged a one-hour warning strike on October 3 to protest government procrastination in granting wage increases and greater press freedom as well as its obstruction of union organizing. Next, Wałesa successfully faced down the government on the issue of registration of the independent unions as legal entities. On October 14 a Warsaw court granted the unions the right to register as a single national entity known as Solidarity. But the tribunal added to the proposed charter clauses recognizing the leading role of the Communist party, affirming Poland's alliance system, and abjuring any intent of becoming a political party. Arguing that such items did not belong in a union charter, Wałesa threatened strike action while appealing to the Supreme Court. On October 31 he began discussions with Prime Minister Jozef Pinkowski, and on November 10 the court ruled in the union's favor. With Solidarity registered as a legal organization, party leader Stanisław Kania on November 14 met for the first time with Wałesa, the chairman of the union's national commission. The meeting was generally regarded as a formal indication of the government's acceptance of Solidarity as an integral part of the Polish socialist system.

When political arrests in Warsaw on November 21 prompted that city's Solidarity chapter to call for a general strike, a probe of the police, and a slashing of the state prosecutor's budget, Wałesa flew to Warsaw and warned workers that if extreme demands goaded the Soviet Union to intervene, "we might lose everything." After talks, the authorities released the arrested men and promised to discuss the other issues, and Wałesa called for a six-week moratorium on strikes.

Labor peace prevailed in December as the Soviet Union began a military buildup that put fifty-five divisions near Poland's borders. But in January 1981 worker militancy developed around the government's failure to implement its promised agreement, made in Gdansk, to establish a five-day work week by granting free Saturdays. Wałesa had no choice but to go along with a boycott of work on Saturday,

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January 10. Following a visit to Italy (which included a private audience with the Pope), he himself started another such boycott, on January 24. Wildcat strikes on the issue helped persuade the government to meet with Wałesa, and under a pact concluded on January 31, workers were granted three out of four Saturdays off, and a five-day work week was planned for 1982. In addition, Solidarity was granted weekly radio and television time.

Except in regions of the south, the southeast, and the southwest, wildcat strikes by factory workers and coal miners on other issues ended with an agreement reached by the government and Solidarity early in February 1981. Agitation for full union recognition for Rural Solidarity was defused on February 10, 1981, when the Supreme Court issued a compromise ruling to the effect that the farmers had the right to register as "associations."

Amid increasing signals from Moscow that Warsaw must toughen its labor policy, General Wojciech Jaruzelski replaced Jozef Pinkowski as Premier of Poland on February 9, 1981. Wałesa persuaded striking workers in the southwest as well as student strikers to give the new government a chance, but his own patience wore thin when that government began prosecuting some militant unionists and dissidents, including leaders of the nationalist Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN). On March 10 he began talks with Premier Jaruzelski on the prosecutions, which he, Wałesa, viewed as "reprisals."

The largest organized protest in the history of Communist Poland occurred on March 27, 1981 when most of Poland's 13,000,000 industrial workers held a four-hour strike to protest the beatings of union activists in Bydgoszcz eight days before. Protests over food shortages erupted nationwide in late July and early August, and the national congress of Solidarity in its first session, in September, called for free elections in Poland and more workers' rights and urged other Soviet-bloc workers to form free unions. Despite the dissatisfaction of radical unionists with his moderation and "autocratic" rule, Wałesa was reelected chairman of Solidarity during the second session of the congress, on October 2.

With a mandate for tough action, General Jaruzelski became party leader—in addition to premier—on October 18, 1981. In a counter show of strength, Polish workers held a one-hour nationwide walkout on October 28 to protest food shortages and harassment of Solidarity members. In the first summit session of its kind in Poland, General Jaruzelski, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, and Wałesa met to seek a solution to the national economic crisis on November 5, 1981.

Denying charges that he is opposed to the Communist system, Wałesa answers, "We don't want to bring down this government or any other government." Reluctant to talk about politics, he describes himself as "a union man" who is simply trying to deal with workers'

problems. "Those who brought us to this present situation in our country are anti-socialist. We in the unions are the upholders of socialism." What he is opposed to is any system that "makes people forget they are human beings."

Speaking the simple, sometimes ungrammatical language of the common man, Wałesa has won the loyalty of millions of Polish workers, who at mass rallies follow the song "God Save Poland" with chants of "Long live Wałesa" and "May he live 100 years." Although he is not a powerful speaker, his direct, low-key, anecdotal style appeals to his audiences, as does his combining of nationalism with religion. A crucifix is displayed wherever he speaks and he always wears a lapel medallion of the Virgin Mary in her identity as the Black Madonna of Czestochowa. "These are not only symbols of devotion," Anna Wlentinowicz, another Solidarity leader, has explained. "These symbolize Poland reborn, the Poland of the movement."

Lech and Mirosława Wałesa were married in 1969. They have four sons and two daughters and have been reported to be expecting a seventh child. The gravelly-voiced Wałesa is five feet seven inches tall and has reddish brown hair and moustache and impish brown eyes. Although unpolished in his ways and informal in his manner, he is an adroit politician and diplomat, always well-groomed and polite in his confrontations with government leaders, delivering the harshest of criticism in the gentlest of voices. With his followers, he can be louder and sharper but, regardless of the occasion, his good humor is usually as unflinching as his air of authority.

The Solidarity leader has a union salary of equivalent to \$333 a month, about the same as that of a shipyard worker. He admits that he is sometimes tempted by the offers of automobiles, villas, and other luxuries made by government officials who would perhaps like to corrupt him. "But then I go to church and pray and I'm able to reject them." (He is a daily communicant.) He has, however, accepted help and gifts from followers, including supplies of cigarettes and food. He now has four suits in addition to the rumpled suit he constantly wore when he first emerged on the world scene, and he has moved with his family from a two-room flat into a six-room apartment.

Wałesa always travels with two carloads of bodyguards, and more than arrest he fears death in an automobile "accident." Although he professes to be a reluctant leader, his wife has been quoted as saying "Leszek [little Lech] has always believed he is destined by God for something big."

References: N Y Times p16 Ag 31 '80 por; National R 33:32+ Ja 23 '81; Newsweek 96: 42+ D 8 '80 pors; People 14:28+ D 29 '80 por; Time 116:31 D 29 '80 pors, 117:38 Ja 5 '81 por; U S News 89:19 D 15 '80 por; International Who's Who, 1981-82

(He's a daily communicant.)

# THE WOMAN BEHIND THE MAN



Clockwise, top left: Ledru/Sygnia; Jackek Palikiewicz/Gamma; Noguera/Sygnia; Jackek Palikiewicz/Gamma; Keler/Sygnia; Gamma.

## The Journal visits Mrs. Lech Walesa in Poland

By Christine Sutherland



Editor's note: As we celebrate this Independence Day and face another election, reading about the life of a political leader's wife in a country very different from our own will make us cherish our freedom.

Their apartment in Gdansk, Poland, seems worlds away from the homes of our own political leaders. A few goats wander about outside the building scratching for food, and the vista is gray and forbidding. But for a Polish worker, the six small rooms inhabited by Lech Walesa, the courageous leader of Solidarity, his wife, Danuta, and their seven children, are grand indeed. Located on the outskirts of the city, in a huge workers' housing development, the apartment includes a kitchen, a bathroom, a

small shower and several tiny bedrooms (with bunk beds to conserve space) for the children. Thirty-five-year-old Danuta even has her own washing machine, she says proudly, though she is baffled when I ask if she also has a dryer. "What is that?" she asks. "I've never seen such a machine, but it *sounds* marvelous."

A modest woman who has been thrown into the spotlight by her husband's leadership, Danuta Walesa has a foot in two worlds. She is, in many ways, "an ordinary wife and mother" whose experiences are little wider than her own neighborhood. Up at five every morning, she makes breakfast for her husband, sees her older children off to school, cleans house and prepares dinner for Lech's return from work at two-thirty. The couple never eat at restaurants, and it wasn't until last winter that she watched her first professional theatrical performance.

But because of circumstances,

Danuta has been able to see and do more than she probably ever dreamed. In December 1983 she traveled to Oslo, Norway, to accept

her husband's Nobel Peace Prize. In a private audience with King Olav in Oslo, on center stage at the awards ceremony and later at a press conference, she handled herself with dignity as well as *(continued)*

When Danuta and Lech Walesa married fifteen years ago (top left), they knew little of what was in store for them or their country. Here, in family and press photos, Danuta can be seen with one of her children (bottom left), on a march with Lech (center), in prayer (top right) and holding her youngest child, Maria-Victoria (bottom right) who was born while Lech was still in jail.



Inset photos, Simon/Franconi/Gamma.

**MRS. WALESA**  
continued

charm and made her husband proud of her. ("I have fallen in love with you all over again," Lech was reported to have said as he watched a live broadcast of her speech from Poland.) **In fact, through the last three difficult years her personal strength has won the admiration of many in Poland.** "I have watched her grow as a person and acquire amazing dignity, which impressed everybody in Oslo," says a woman Solidarity member from Gdansk. "In a way, she really has become Poland's First Lady, though she never had such ambition. Her courage as a wife and mother is amazing."

When I met Danuta at her home, she was dressed in a dark sweater and a short woolen skirt and looked thinner and paler than she had appeared in Norway. In her crowded living room, she was just setting up a playpen for the youngest of her children, a rosy-cheeked, curly-haired toddler named Maria-Victoria. Nearby, two other flaxen-haired girls—Anna, four, and Magdalena, five—were playing happily. "I'm going to be an actress," Magdalena told me and danced a little jig in my honor. "My girls are used to people and seem to like them," Danuta says, smiling.

Indeed, the children were born into a house that is frequently full of visitors

and into a family that is a magnet for attention from friend and foe alike. Given the events of recent years, raising them has not been easy. Little Maria-Victoria was ten months old before her father finally saw her for the first time. The day of her birth—January 23, 1982—came five weeks after Lech went to prison.

Like a recent nightmare, the details of her husband's imprisonment are etched in Danuta's memory.

On the night of December 12, 1981, a Saturday—the day before martial law was declared—Lech returned home late from a meeting in the shipyard, where he works as an electrician. Danuta and the children were awakened at two in the morning by a friend bearing the news that police were arresting people on the night shift.

"Lech had anticipated the events, but he was incredibly tired and wanted to go on sleeping," Danuta recalls. "He also did not want to alarm me. So he said that nothing could be done at this hour and that he would cope with it in the morning. We tried to sleep, but half an hour later I heard furious banging on the door. I jumped out of bed, and looking through the spy hole, saw five uniformed policemen and three sinister-looking civilians standing in front of our entrance. They carried long metal rods, obviously preparing to break in, and shouted they had come for my husband. I still refused to open the door and told them they must wait until Lech had had time to get dressed.

"At this point, Lech decided to get up; he put a few essentials in a suitcase, looked in on the sleeping children, made a cross on each of their foreheads and finally came out to meet the intruders. He was told that martial law had just been proclaimed as of midnight throughout the country and that he would be taken to Warsaw for 'consultations.' But that was a lie. There were to be no consultations, just internment. Leaning out of the window I saw them escort my husband into a white Fiat and drive away. The time was twenty minutes after five in the morning. I was eight months pregnant."

Was she afraid she might not see her husband again? "I could not allow myself to think that," she says quickly. "I could not have carried on without faith. But I had moments when I was terrified to be alone and to have to live without him at my side. The first weeks in particular were the worst; all the telephones were cut off, and it was dangerous for friends and colleagues to visit me. I felt totally isolated."

Danuta was allowed to visit her husband in his place of detention—an isolated villa in the country—but their exchanges... (continued on page 128)

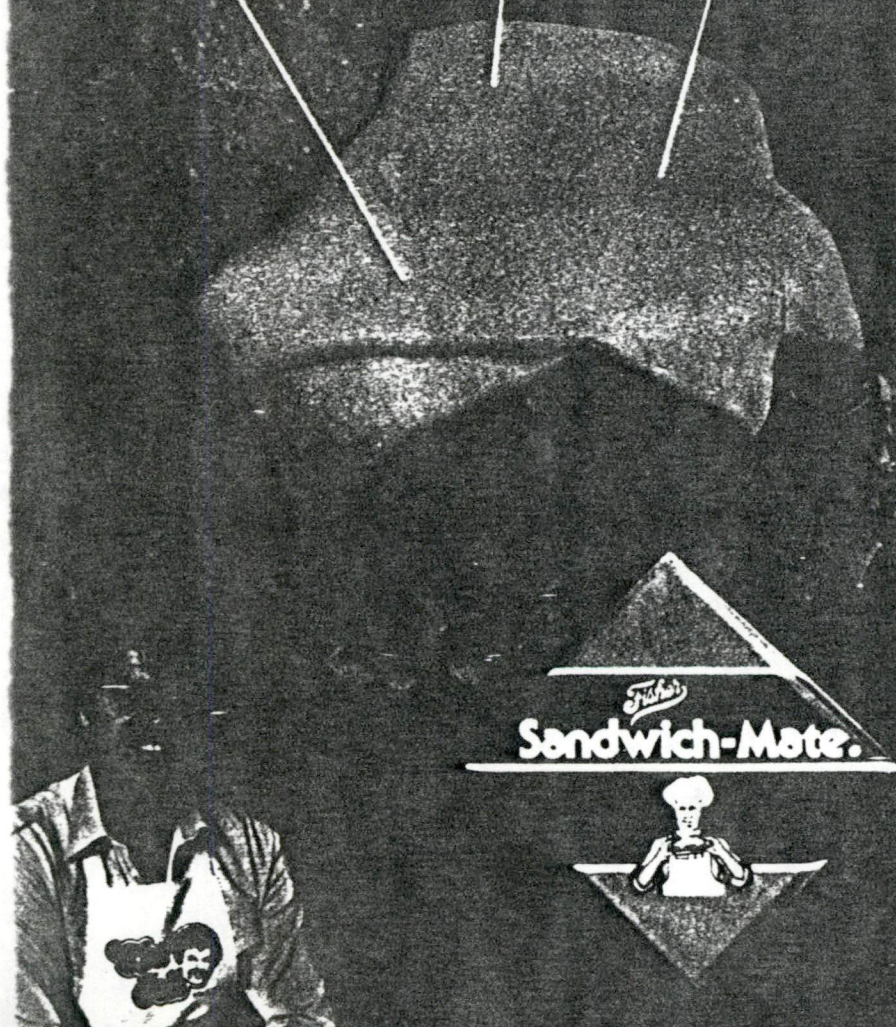
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## MRS. WALESA

continued from page 60

were limited by the secret police always hovering in the background, and Lech rightly suspected the presence of microphones in the room. But the most odious experience for a pregnant woman was the body searches conducted before each visit by callous, cynical members of the "zomos" (militiamen).

Although she was comforted by the presence of her mother and sister, Danuta was at her lowest during the week before the baby was born. "We had enough to live on, thanks to help from the Church and packages from abroad, but life without Lech seemed to be stretching ahead like a succession of gray days without end," she remembers. It was her deep faith that pulled her through this period. "Both Lech and I were brought up in very religious families; prayer is a daily habit with us. I know that Lech likes to converse with God as if He were a friend; he tells Him his plans for the day, asks advice; it is a close, intimate relationship, which has become essential to his makeup and adds much to his strength. I feel the same way, only I am not as articulate as my husband! I prayed a lot after Maria-Victoria was born, asking God to return her father to her. Then one day I just set a date for her christening, some way off, the last Sunday in November. I just *knew* that by then Lech would be back. And so he was—released in the middle of the week, on a Wednesday."

Nothing in her humble childhood and early youth had prepared Danuta for such trying experiences. She was born in a small village in central Poland into a family of nine children. Her education was limited, and at an early age she had to go to work. When her eldest sister married and moved to Gdansk, Danuta decided to try her luck in the same city. She found a job in a florist's shop and likes to tell how one day Lech Walesa came in "not to buy flowers, but to get some change for a bus." They exchanged a few words, and to her surprise he returned the next day and kept coming in "again and again."

Gdansk offered few attractions to a penniless young couple, but there were the sea, the beaches and the forest walks along the seashore. In November 1969, they were married at a local church; one year later, their first son, Bogdan, was born. After Bogdan, a child came every two years—first three more boys, then three girls. "We were permanently short of space and kept moving from one rented room to another. We even lived in a hotel for a while, then in a tiny apartment on the outskirts. Four years ago, we ended up

in this place. And after Lech was elected to head Solidarity, we needed more space to cope with the endless stream of visitors." Danuta says. "His colleagues from the shipyard took down a wall between us and the apartment next door, which gave us two more rooms. Thanks to Solidarity, the children have sleeping quarters of their own."

Like her husband, Danuta is completely committed to Solidarity, the great civic movement, which, though now illegal, still enjoys the overwhelming support of the Polish nation—including workers, intellectuals and peasants. But being connected to Solidarity is very risky. The dreaded zomos keep a constant watch on Walesa's movements, and their hostile sur-

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**“W**hen we were in the police station, thirteen-year-old Bogdan felt thirsty. A policeman brought him a drink. Bogdan hesitated, then shook his head. 'It might be poisoned, thank you. I'd better leave it.'”

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veillance casts a sinister shadow over the life of the entire family. It hampers the normal activities of the day and has ruined countless social occasions, summer picnics, and skating expeditions with the boys. Even christenings and weddings have become an embarrassment when friends have to submit to police interrogation after being seen in the company of the Walesas. "It is like being weighted down," remarks one of Danuta's friends.

Attacks on the Walesa family aimed at destroying their popularity regularly appear in government papers. Petty harassment never ceases. Danuta was greatly excited when an anonymous German admirer presented the family with a small Volkswagen bus for their own use. She took driving lessons and passed the test. The prospect of piling seven children into the van and taking off for the beach seemed like a miracle. But not for long. The excitement quickly faded when she discovered that the zomos were following the van everywhere. She was constantly stopped for alleged driving offenses, hauled in for interrogation, queried about gas coupons. The new

tires developed mysterious punctures, and finally Lech decided that they could not keep this generous gift. Several months ago, Walesa donated it to the Church's Children's Benevolent Fund.

With conditions what they are in Poland today, such pinpricks are considered part of the daily pattern of life, and most people shrug them off with a mixture of resignation and contempt. Much worse is the pervading insecurity that comes from living in a police state. Lech's Nobel Prize award, while greatly enhancing his stature, has by no means ensured his personal safety. Mysterious accidents do happen. And while Lech does have bodyguards who accompany him to and from work each day, they are not with him all the time, and Danuta must fear for her husband's—and indeed her whole family's—safety. She does, however, maintain a brave front. "I am very, very busy, so I don't have much time to brood over things. I have learned to take every day as it comes," she explains. "The only times I worry are when I come up against people's ill will or their intent to do mischief. I find that frightening. I worry about the consequences it might have for all nine of us."

One of Danuta's big problems is how to secure a normal upbringing for her children in the general atmosphere of mistrust that prevails outside the home. Polish children, too, have to learn to cope with life in a police state. We hear about their feelings from letters that have recently drifted from Poland to the West. Listen to Adam, aged ten: "Daddy told me to shut up and be careful, so I won't tell anyone anything now, not even what we have for supper. He says everything now must be a secret. Daddy even sleeps with his eyes open. I swear it."

Or Ianek, aged twelve: "Our teacher, who is married to a policeman, said that during the martial law it is the children of the policemen who are most miserable, because their fathers are on active service. But I told her that my little cousins are the most miserable because my uncle is in prison in Ilawa. My teacher began to shout and told me to shut up or else I, too, would go to prison. And she added that Solidarity people must be exterminated like ticks. Our teacher is a Party Secretary; nobody loves her or even likes her. In our class, everyone's parents are in Solidarity, and it was horrible to hear her threats. But one day she just stopped shouting and burst into tears. . . . it was very strange."

In thirteen-year-old Bogdan's class the majority of children come from Solidarity, but being older, they've already learned how to put up with certain teachers or classmates. In (continued)

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### MRS. WALESA continued

school, it is the younger boys who worry Danuta. At the time of Walesa's imprisonment, her sons Slawek, Yurek and Pshenek were threatened with expulsion when their friends mounted an indignant protest and organized an attack against the sons of Party members. In elementary school, the problems of a nation were translated to: "Your father put Yurek's daddy in prison, you scoundrel. . ."

"I find it terrifying," says Danuta, "but how do you explain to a six-year-old not to use force when all around him in the streets he sees swarms of militiamen armed with batons and ready to pounce on the people?" In Lech's absence, Danuta was hard-pressed to deal with her sons' diffi-

culties. "I had to try corporal punishment," she sighs. "But that seldom works. It only creates resentment."

The situation has improved since Lech's return, but the effects of a difficult couple of years have not entirely disappeared. Bogdan, particularly, has become introverted and silent. "His father's imprisonment and the constant surveillance have had an effect upon him," says Father Jankowski, the parish priest of the local fourteenth-century church of St. Bridget and the Walesas' family friend.

He told me how, after Danuta's return from Oslo, he set off with the Walesas and young Bogdan for the Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa to deposit the Nobel Peace Prize medal at the shrine of Our Lady, Poland's most holy place. "On our way back we were virtually hounded by the zomos; they kept stopping us for

questioning and document checks, which made for a very slow journey. As we were sitting in one of their dreary police stations, Bogdan complained of feeling thirsty. A policeman brought him a glass of water with 'sok,' a kind of fruit juice. Bogdan hesitated a moment, then shook his head. 'It might be poisoned, thank you. I had better leave it.' The guard shrugged his shoulders; Danuta looked away sadly. The drink was probably all right, but the incident revealed Bogdan's troubled young mind. What courage must a mother possess in order to bring up children in such circumstances!"

It also must take courage, or, at the very least, patience, for Danuta to deal with the constant traffic through her apartment. For one thing, politics is not of great interest to her. "I've been thrown into it. I try to inform myself," she explains, "but what I want to do most is to lead a normal, ordinary life. Sometimes I feel ours is not an ordinary life. It is not normal to have so many people around us!" Does she resent it? "Has Solidarity ever come between you and Lech?" I ask. "Of course, I long for a normal life, as do most women. And I don't agree with Lech on everything, but I share his commitment, so I know there have to be sacrifices—even the children understand."

And while Danuta was delighted with the Nobel Prize—"Not so much for my sake or the family, but for Poland"—she does admit to some misgivings about the increased attention and publicity. Her first reaction, she says, was to think that there would be even more visitors, and "When would I have time for the children?"

Then, too, she worries about her husband's health. ("He has ulcers, and ought to take it easy, but he is a difficult patient and never follows doctors' orders," she says.) And she can't help noticing "those telltale little lines" that have recently appeared around her own eyes. "I feel very much older, and I'm permanently tired," she confides. "People ask me what I would do if things were different. They want to know if I have a hobby or something I particularly enjoy doing. But all I can think of is how nice it would be to take it easy for three whole days . . . so that perhaps I could lie down and relax." With the memories of Oslo still fresh, Danuta also thinks of traveling more—perhaps to the United States. "I would love to go there and see how people live. It would be wonderful for the boys to have that opportunity. . . . But at the moment, it all seems like a dream."

Still, despite such longings, Danuta stands by her husband steadfastly, and it's obvious that theirs is a warm, loving marriage. Affectionately, she talks about the private side of Lech. He is not

one, she says, to turn away from a festive occasion. "He likes birthdays and celebrations," she laughs, "and you receive the Nobel Prize only once in a lifetime, so of course that called for a celebration!"

More seriously, she talks of her respect for him and his abilities. "I am not afraid of anything my husband might undertake," she says firmly. "I believe in fate and pray that everything will turn out well."

Given all their problems, I wonder whether the Walesas ever considered leaving Poland. But Danuta is shocked at the very thought. "Never," she insists. "Neither Lech nor I would even contemplate it for a moment. We belong here. How could we abandon our country and the people who depend on Lech's leadership? And nothing would please the government better than to see all nine of us emigrate; getting rid of Lech would indeed solve many problems for them. Oh, no! The Walesas are definitely staying!" **End**

## Journal Shopping Center

### FIFTY AMERICAN HEROINES

Pages 86-87: All photos. Black Star. Photographers. top row, left to right: Clark Masher; Jay B. Mather; Mark Tuschman; Nancy J. Pierce. Middle row, left to right: Nik Wheeler; Gil Kenny; Kip Brundage. Bottom row, left to right: Steve Leonard; Steve Hopkins; George Ceola; Herman Kokojan.

Pages 88-91, 137-144: All flags from the fifty states illustrated on these pages are reproduced from *The Flag Book of the United States*, copyright 1975 Whitney Smith.

### ELEGANCE IN BLOOM

Pages 92-93: "Chambord" 5-piece place setting by Villeroy and Boch Tableware, Ltd. "King Edward" 5-piece place setting in sterling by Gorham. "Slane" glasses in goblet and white wine size. 8-inch salad bowl (used for centerpiece) all by Waterford Crystal, Inc. Antique Adam open-arm chairs (c. 1780) from Hyde Park Antiques, Ltd., 836 Broadway, NYC 10003. "Summer Picnic" painting by Robert LaHotan from Kraushaar Gallery, 724 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10019. All flowers by ZeZe, 398 East 52nd Street, NYC 10022.

Pages 94-95: All floral arrangements by ZeZe. Antique Wedgwood platters, dish and porcupine; Faience glazed monkey jug; Child's Punishment chair in wicker all from Trevor Potts Antiques, Inc., 1011 Lexington Avenue, NYC 10021. "Pendleton" fabric in natural, by Hinson and Company; 979 Third Avenue, NYC 10022.

"Through decorators.

### SPARE PARTS

Pages 98-101: White chair and matching footstool table. Albert Pink bikini, Barbara Lasky. White robe on chair. Ariel for Have Design. Peach cotton underwear, Calvin Klein. Pink futon exercise mat from The Futon Shop, 178 West Houston Street, NYC 10014.

### DOS & DENTS OF SUMMER DRESSING

Page 102: Do: Dress, Nancy Heller. Cuff, James Murphy. Earrings, Alexis Kirk. Shoes, Perry Ellis. Hose, Dim.

Page 103: Dos: top photo: Earrings, Barry Kieselstein-Cord for Perry Ellis. Jacket and shirt, Tallia by Enna Vides. Middle photo: Cotton-knit dress and jacket, Dianne B. for Cygne Designs. Earrings, James Murphy. Cuff, Kruger Gallery, NYC. Shoes, Perry Ellis. Hose, Berkshire. Bottom photo: White linen pants, Giuseppe. Shoes, Manolo Blahnik. Hose, Berkshire.

Page 104: Do: White linen jacket and pleated skirt, Andrea Karas. Pink linen shirt, Calvin Klein. Earrings, Ted Muehling, available at Artwear, NYC. Pearls, Marvella. Shoes, Palazio. Hose, Berkshire.

Page 105: Dos, top row: Black and white swimsuit, OMO Norma Kamali. Black, white and blue swimsuit, Michaela Vellbracht for Sofere. Dos, lower row: White swimsuit with blue sash, L'Ordone. Snakeskin-patterned swimsuit, Wavelengths. Bottom row, do, left: Shoes, Manolo Blahnik. Skirt, Giuseppe. Hose, Dim. Do, far right: Earrings, Detail, NYC. Striped dress, Nancy Heller.

### GREAT SUMMER ENTERTAINING

GLORIOUS OUTDOOR BUFFET—Pages 106-107: Top left: Tiered server and vase from Bullock's, San Diego, CA. Crystal leaf platter from Bo Dannika, La Jolla, CA. Bottom left: Lucite platter and bowl from Bo Dannika. Pink leaf platter from Bullock's. Top right: Flatware, "Braid" pattern by Mikasa. Crystal platter from Bo Dannika. Bottom right: Footed crystal dish from Bo Dannika. Crystal wine glasses, "Sea Mist" pattern by Mikasa.

SURPTUOUS LADY—Pages 108-109: Stoneware plates, "Hibiscus" pattern by Mikasa. Napkin fabric by China Seas. Wooden platter by Dansk from Bullock's, San Diego, CA. Scalloped bowl from Bo Dannika. Chi Chi glasses, "Sea Mist" pattern by Mikasa. Mai Tai glasses from Bo Dannika.

LAST-MINUTE ENTERTAINING—Pages 110-111: Left: Platters, "Basket" pattern by Villeroy & Boch. "Tulip" pattern by Longchamps. Top right: Baking dish, "Vouvray" pattern by Longchamps. Basket by Simone Jeffrey Home from Creative Resources, Inc., 24 W. 57th St., NYC 10019. Fabric from Pierre Deuse, 870 Madison Ave., NYC 10021. Bottom right: Small bowl at left, "Julienne" pattern by Louis Lourioux. Buffet plate, "Dorval Green" by Longchamps. Basket and napkin from Creative Resources, Inc. Tureen, "Strasbourg Chinois" pattern by Lunerville, from La Cuisine, 867 Madison Ave., NYC 10021. Spongeware bowl by Sigma.

# FREE Baker's CHOCOLATE for your Old-Fashioned Ice Cream



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## CHOCOLATE ICE CREAM

- 1 can (13 fl. oz.) undiluted CARNATION® Evaporated Milk
- 4 squares BAKER'S® Unsweetened Chocolate\*
- ½ cup water\*

- 1 cup sugar
- 2 teaspoons vanilla
- 2 tablespoons butter or margarine
- BAKER'S® ANGEL FLAKE® Coconut
- PAM® No-Stick Cooking Spray

Pour evaporated milk into 8- or 9-inch square pan sprayed with PAM® and freeze until ice crystals form around edge of pan, about 30 minutes.

Meanwhile, heat chocolate with water over low heat in saucepan sprayed with PAM®. Stir until chocolate is melted and mixture is smooth. Add sugar; cook and stir until sugar is completely dissolved. Add vanilla. Measure ¾ cup into a small bowl, stir in butter and set aside for sauce. Chill remaining chocolate mixture.

Spoon milk into chilled small mixer bowl sprayed with PAM® and beat until soft peaks form. Fold in chilled chocolate mixture. Return to pan and freeze until firm, 2 to 3 hours. Serve with the sauce. Garnish with coconut. Makes about 6 cups or 10 or 12 servings.

\*Or use 2 packages (4 oz. each) BAKER'S® GERMAN'S® Sweet Chocolate; increase water to ¾ cup.

## ICE CREAM SANDWICHES

For each sandwich, place one scoop of ice cream on an ARCHWAY® Home Style Chocolate Chip Cookie. Let soften slightly, then cover with another cookie and press gently to form a sandwich. Serve immediately or store, wrapped, in freezer.

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