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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Warsaw, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 5, 1992

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BUSH AND PRESIDENT WALESA
TO POLISH CITIZENS

Castle Square
Warsaw, Poland

2:15 P.M. (L)

PRESIDENT WALESA: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. We are receiving the great politician of our time, the President of the United States of America, Mr. George Bush, in Warsaw today. (Applause.) For many years as he has been taking an interest in our struggle, he has supported it and in the wake of a victory, has come forth with assistance for Polish reforms and for reforms in the whole region.

I was given the opportunity to learn about it when I was the leader of Solidarity. This is also happening now when I am the President. America has given us assistance in the struggle for freedom and democracy, and has helped to keep of our spirit even in the most difficult years. We are grateful to you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

We are grateful for your personal contribution to achieving the victory of democracy. This meeting at the gateway of the Royal Castle of Warsaw seems as though we're meeting the whole of Poland. All our fellow countrymen who are living here; likewise those people of Polish origin who are dispersed in the whole world. The Royal Castle is a special place for the Polish people. It is an epitome of the many centuries of national history and tradition. It is a symbol of our identity.

It is precisely at this very place that the Constitution of 3rd May was adopted over 200 years ago. After the American Bill of Rights, ours is the world's second modern-time fundamental law. It is also right in that same castle that Ignacy Jan Paderewski made his debut on the political scene and came to be one of the greatest of Poles. He has made his way to the National Pantheon. Today we are paying tribute to the great man.

Over half a century has gone by since the day of his death, but it is only now that we are able to fulfill his last will. He desired that his remains should be buried in a free Poland, and this has come true. The remains will stay forever in the Basilica of Poland, a place dear to all Poles and the hearts of the capital.

Ignacy Jan Paderewski was a patriot of great stature, and at the same time, an exponent of close bonds between our two nations. He was a statesman in the true sense of the word. Owing to him, decisions of great importance for Poland were made at the Conference of Versailles. This all became possible with the support of the United States. The great and well-set-in American democracy helped the young Polish democracy. Ever since then, and until now, America has been giving us numerous tokens of affection and friendship.

We have received them from many U.S. Presidents, including also yourself, Mr. President. Your present visit to Poland is taking place only a few days before the CSCO countries' meeting in Helsinki. It is taking place shortly before the

MORE

summit meeting of the leaders of the industrialized countries. The latter will be of great importance also for my own country since matters related to Poland and to her economy will be discussed there. The visit of the President of the United States of America to Warsaw, with these events just a few days away, is of great significance.

We regard it as yet one more indication of your interest in the process of Polish reforms. It shows your sincere will to support the reforms and to make it possible for Poland to develop successfully.

We highly appreciate your country's commitment to and sense of responsibility for the destiny of contemporary Europe and of the world as a whole. The United States' presence on the European continent is an indispensable factor of maintaining the balance as well as security.

Of great significance is the attention with which America follows the process of transformations in Central and Eastern Europe. I have already had an opportunity to convey to you, Mr. President, the expressions of our gratitude and acknowledgement of your deep understanding for the essential meaning of these problems.

It is with a great deal of effort but nonetheless quite courageously that Poland is going ahead with the cause of reforms. Through the process of change she is striving to achieve stability.

Some people are saying now that we are a high-risk country and that it is risky to become involved and to invest in Poland. This view is certainly not without any justification. However, we are building a new reality. We are taking the path which no one has ever trodden before. This is the trail of pioneers. It is not easy because any change always brings along a certain measure of chaos. The new is becoming mixed with the old, but an order is growing out of this ferment, an enduring one as it is based on experience.

So we need more time. We want to use that time to learn democracy, to learn how to respect other people's views, to argue with each other and to know how to settle disputes. Changes of government, parliamentary turns of events, difficulties with making and enforcing laws -- all this means an arduous process of education about how democracy works. However, there is one stabilizing element in Poland. That is the office of president. The President was elected in a free election, and under his constitutional powers he can calm down the stormy and turbulent political scene.

Actually, the President is trying to accomplish just that. The people of Poland are now going through the process of change. Individuals are learning to take matters into their own hands. A new middle class is emerging. The private industry continues to account for an ever-greater proportion of the national economy. Private entrepreneurship is becoming an ever more powerful driving force in the economy of Poland. Once again, individuals are getting to know how to live in freedom and on their own account.

This notwithstanding, we continue to look forward to more assistance from the European communities. This is not only in our own interest, geography cannot be circumvented, neither can it be cheated. Business links are going to spring up in this region not merely to give benefit to just one single transaction or to last for a year only, they are going to be built for the benefit of future centuries. So the word long-term prospect should be added to the word profitability. Only then will they become fully meaningful.

MORE

Economic ties have been disrupted in this region. The point is that they have been established for the use of an empire that has now passed into history, for the use of the empire and its battled states. Now we are determined to build up new ties in a new shape and with a different purpose in mind. To make them rely on new principles coming to the forefront there is the process of our step-by-step integration with the European communities.

At the same time we are establishing links with our neighbors. This is why we have signed treaties on good neighborhood and friendly cooperation with nearly all of our neighbors, including Byelorussia, the Ukraine, the Federal Republic of Germany, Czechoslovakia. We have signed treaties also with France, Italy, Hungary, Latvia and Estonia. These states are close to us, though they are not our direct neighbors in terms of geography.

We are also involved in making arrangements for regional cooperation within the Vyshehrad Triangle. As has been shown, Poland is capable of coming to terms with the neighbors and with the other countries of the region. She is capable of establishing reciprocal relations with them. Poland can and should play a stabilizing role in the region. We are working together with others on the setting up of institutions that would enhance stability in it and that would be of service to it. They could exercise their functions both in the political and economic fields as well as in the military one.

I have often said that there is a need for a European peacekeeping force. In this regard, it is necessary to have more coordination between the CSCS, the United Nations, the North Atlantic Alliance and the Western European Union. The choice of an organization will depend on the circumstances. The peacekeeping force could be deployed for peacekeeping missions in particularly threatened places. The situation now prevailing in the Balkans keeps reminding us of such threats.

Mr. President, economic stability is the prerequisite of security. Prosperity is the guarantor of peace, while economic crisis fosters social unrest. I believe that the stabilization fund could play an enormous role in bringing economic stability to the region. It seems that the sooner it comes into operation the sooner it will bear fruit. At long last Europe is beginning to breathe in and out through both its lungs, the Eastern and the Western one. However, we should not allow any fetters to restrict its freedom to breathe.

It is worth the while to talk together about matters related to economics and security. Poland and her capital, Warsaw, would be willing to host any conference. It could be held as early as the autumn of this year. We would welcome the participation in a conference of this kind of the countries of this region as well as of those of the Fund. We hope to be able to make a proposal to this end, for one cannot pursue one's policies in isolation, even though this isolation may be limited to one region alone. With this in mind, I would like to invite you, Mr. President, to take part in it. (Applause.)

It is necessary to pursue policies on a global scale. But no global policies are possible without the United States of America. (Applause.) America has shown the world what a country of free people means and what opportunities it can offer. No other country but America has demonstrated how freedom can be matched with a sense of responsibility, how action can bring success and respect for the rule of law.

It has managed to set a pattern in which political freedom matches that in the field of the economy. Our two countries are situated on two different continents; they are set apart by the ocean. And yet our nations remain close to each other. The geographical distance is less important in view of

MORE

the shared understanding for the most crucial issues, the basic issues. Above all I have freedom in mind.

The people of Poland and of America have treasured it with particular dedication. We have always remained faithful to it. We have never failed to believe in its final victory. And we have won. With the help of God and with the goodwill of our friends, today we have a free homeland. (Applause.)

Today we have a free homeland. This freedom is a challenge and we have taken it up. We want to make it mean prosperity, well-being, a secure life and the happiness of the whole nation. Do not ask me if we can make it. Now that we are faced with so many difficulties, we shall overcome them. We shall certainly succeed. (Applause.) We shall certainly succeed. God bless Poland. (Applause.) God bless America and President Bush. (Applause.)

And now I would like to ask President Bush to honor the Polish nation. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Thank you, Mr. President, for those very kind words. And good afternoon to Mrs. Walesa. It's a pleasure to be back here. I'm pleased that the U.S. presidential delegation, headed by our own Secretary Derwinski, could be here today.

So hello, Warsaw -- and hello, Poland. Thank you all for this warm welcome. (Applause.) Barbara and I are honored to be come back once more -- to come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89. (Applause.) And I'm especially pleased to come here from America's 4th of July celebration of freedom -- and carry that same spirit to a free Poland. (Applause.)

This is truly a homecoming: the day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of freedom. You spoke eloquently of him. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland.

When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the exiled government. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery to rest, in the words of our President Franklin Roosevelt, "until Poland would be free." (Applause.)

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or 50 years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish soil.

Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free. And what a magnificent day this is. (Applause.) On this Sunday, from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane, the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem, but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people. (Applause.)

It's a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here in Poland that the Second World War began. It was here in Poland that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end.

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph

MORE

of the totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart.

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and the welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Poland. We'll never forget it. (Applause.)

Just think of the new world that's emerged these past three years: Europe -- whole and free. Russia -- turning from dictatorship to democracy. Ukraine and the other nations of the old Soviet empire -- free and independent. Look at this new world, and remember where that revolution began -- right here in Poland. (Applause.)

Today, Poland stands transformed. Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support -- and what's more, they're working. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange and the Polish-America Enterprise Fund, providing seed capital to help Poland's private sector growth and prosper. (Applause.) Gone are the slogans and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices and new hope. Freedom has come home to Poland. (Applause.)

For all that is new, there are things that have not changed -- things that sustained you through the darkest days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride.

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening, but from the clamor of new voices must come democracy, a common vision of the common good.

Of course, in many places and for many people, there is more pain than progress. But we must take care to separate cause from consequence: Poland's time of trial is not caused by private enterprise, but by the stubborn legacy of four decades of communist misrule. Make no mistake: the path you have chosen is the right path. (Applause.) And as you say Mr. President, it is the path of pioneers.

Free government and free enterprise have helped Poland overcome a crippling past. Free government and free markets will bring Poland a bright future.

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you were asked to do without for the greater good of the state. But today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destination democracy. (Applause.)

Poland has made great progress in its reforms -- moving this country to a new stage in its economic revolution. As always, the United States of America stands ready to help. (Applause.) In 1989, the United States worked with Poland and other to establish a \$1-billion fund to help support a free currency for a free Poland. Now we need to consider new uses for that fund, to help Poland as it faces today challenges. That's why I am proposing that once Poland is back on track with the IMF that we make that fund available for other uses -- perhaps to finance Polish exports or to help capitalize banks to support new businesses. The U.S. contribution alone will amount to \$200 million. This is a Polish and American idea that I will take to the Economic Summit at Munich. (Applause.) There, I will urge the leaders of the world's great democracies to join with us, to seek new ways to help Poland toward progress and prosperity. (Applause.)

Let there be no doubt: America shares Poland's dream. America wants Poland to succeed. And we will stand at your side until success is guaranteed to everyone. (Applause.)

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this nation: President Lech Walesa; Father Popieluszko; Pope John Paul II. (Applause.) But Poland could not have come this far -- Poland could not have won its freedom -- if only a few had the courage to stand up against the state. Freedom was won by the everyday heroes of the underground -- the men and women who kept faith when faith was forbidden, who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. (Applause.)

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. (Applause.) In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they love, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build that dream right here at home. (Applause.)

As President of the United States of America, as a fellow democrat, as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. (Applause.) America wants Poland to succeed and to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. (Applause.)

Thank you all for this warm welcome. And may God bless the free people of Poland. And may God bless both our great countries, Poland and the United States of America. Thank you, thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

2:55 P.M. (L)

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Date: 1 JULY 1992

Remarks: NEW YORK TIMES, 1 JULY 1941, PAGE 26, "PRESIDENT OFFERS ARLINGTON GRAVE."

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET RE ULRIC BELL TELEGRAM, 30 JUNE 1941, REFERRED TO SECRETARY OF WAR STIMSON, 1 JULY 1941.

THIS IS ALL THAT WE CAN FIND ON PADEREWSKI BURIAL IN OUR COLLECTIONS AT FDRL.

Bob Parks

'ays Tribute to Polish Leader; 'Immortal Artist,' Mayor Says

Speaking for Roosevelt, Declares Paderewski's Spirit Is 'by No Means Extinguished'—Manning Praises Sacrifices

of official Washington, the death of Ignace Jan Paderewski was expressed yesterday by the Acting Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who said the President in deep sorrow at the death of the pianist and Polish

Guardian called Mr. Paderewski "one of the outstanding figures of this age." His statement follows: "The death of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the first Polish, an outstanding genius of the last three centuries and a foremost champion and democrat

of the Polish American, his return to Washington to see to it that his remains be conveyed to his final resting place in the presence of the President of the United States and the people of the United States.

of Mr. Paderewski, his life is as extinguished; his genius must persist. It is to inspire for many more those who are struggling for the highest ideals of human

the American nation is proud among its friends and citizens of Poland, who other distinguished persons are so much to assist in a deeper understanding of those of Poland, and of those of the United States, the ties of friendship have already become

the Guardian said: "A great artist and a composer, in addition to statesmanship and champion of liberty. He will be remembered as long as history is

Army Sends Message to Danerowen, as president of the American Academy of Letters, of which Mr. Paderewski, ineligible for membership because he was not a United States citizen, was an honorary member, sent the following telegram to Mrs. Antonina, sister of the artist:

great musician, statesman and Ignace Jan Paderewski, and our American join the entire civilized world kneeling at his bier in mute admiration for a genius who nobly developed gifts with which God had blessed him. He loved America with a deep and sympathetic feeling for its ideals. We are grateful that he chose the life in which he lived his life on earth. To you we send our tenderest sym-

to express their grief

lish independence and in the establishment of the reunited nation will live for all time in Polish history. And in the later years of his life, although ill and feeble, when the Poles were again enslaved, he again was the spiritual leader for their freedom. To those of us who worked with him in these matters over the years, the passing of his leadership is a great loss."

RISHOP WILLIAM T. MANNING—Paderewski was a man of the noblest character and spirit, a great patriot and a great statesman, as well as a great artist. His sacrifices for his country and for right will live in history, and should inspire all of us in this day of world crisis.

MAJOR WILLIAM J. WALSH, Executive Vice President of the Paderewski Fund—We who worked with him forgot nothing that he was one of the truly great musical geniuses of all time. We thought of him only as a humanitarian of vast compassion for the afflicted of all nations, as a leader above discouragement.

ARTHUR JUDSON, Manager of the Philharmonic Symphony Society—When a man of his ability dies it ends a certain epoch. There isn't anybody to replace him, and there won't be.

LAURITZ MELCHOR, Metropolitan Opera Tenor—A grand musician and a grand human being has passed away, but his name and art will live forever.

LILY PONS, Metropolitan Opera Soprano—With his passing the world loses not only a great musician but also a great human being who gave up everything for his country and his people.

NILES TRAMMELL, President of the National Broadcasting Company—Paderewski left a record of inspiration and courage, as well as of music, that the freedom-loving world needs. Science has preserved the record of his music. Paderewski, the artist and the man, will speak to the world forever through that music, dequelling the inspiration and courage he instilled in others in his lifetime.

"Died of a Broken Heart"
JOHN A. PATRACI, President of the General Paderewski Memorial Committee of Metropolitan New York—He died of a broken heart because of the sorrow, misery and destruction wrought in Poland and the loss of independence of his native land.

GEORGE ENGLER, Manager of Paderewski's Tours since 1922—Paderewski never displayed the attributes of temperament so commonly associated with musicians. He always conducted his business relationships on the basis of a warm friendship. He was lavishly generous, both with his money and with his art. His love of freedom and democracy was so much a part of Paderewski that when he felt duty called he was willing to sacrifice all that his years of hard work had created in order to aid in the preservation of a way of life he held dear. In the final

PRESIDENT OFFERS ARLINGTON GRAVE

Paderewski's Family Accepts Honor Accorded Only to One Other Foreigner

LOTHIAN IS BURIED THERE

Roosevelt's Action Is Tribute to Free Poland as Well as Champion of Liberty

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
JAYDE PARK, N. Y., June 30.—President Roosevelt issued instructions today that Ignace Jan Paderewski be buried temporarily in Arlington National Cemetery if his family desired for him this honor, accorded only once to a foreigner. Later it was learned that the family had accepted.

The law prohibits permanent burial in Arlington of any but native American citizens who have served in the armed forces of the country. As a courtesy to Great Britain, however, the Marquess of Lothian, the late British Ambassador, was buried there temporarily.

By his action, the President not only paid tribute to a free Poland, whose government in exile the United States recognizes, but to a man who probably did more than any individual to recreate such a Poland after the last war.

"At the request of the President, I have asked Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles what may be the wish of the Paderewski family regarding the burial of Mr. Paderewski in Arlington National Cemetery," William D. Hassell, secretary to Mr. Roosevelt, announced late today.

"Mr. Paderewski was, of course, a very close friend of the President. He is taking this step as a tribute of respect to him."

It was pronounced here that the pianist and life-long fighter for the liberty of his country would be buried with full military honors. Thus, just as at the peace table at Versailles Mr. Paderewski found a champion for recreation of partitioned Poland in Woodrow Wilson, in death he found one for himself and for his country in President Roosevelt.

It is believed that Mr. Welles immediately consulted Mme. Antonina Wilkonska, the pianist's sister, who was with the former Premier of Poland at his death.

President Roosevelt frequently has shown his abhorrence of the conquest by Nazis of independent countries and his determination to recognize only free governments in Nazi-occupied territory by showing friendliness to exiled rulers or leaders.

With him this week-end at his Hyde Park retreat, for instance, is Crown Princess Marit of Norway and her three children. They have been Roosevelt family guests here since last Thursday and this afternoon attended, in company of Mr. Roosevelt, the dedication ceremony in connection with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library here.

1,000 AT THE FUNERAL OF MAGISTRATE FLYNN

Many Members of the Bench Are

ASK TRADE AS BASIS OF 'GOOD NEIGHBOR'

Speakers at Virginia Institute Urge Preferential Tariffs and Currency Unification

'AMATEURISH' WOOING HIT

J. F. Norniano Says We Should Work Instead for a Coordinated Continental Economy

By WINIFRED MALLON
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
CHARLOTTESVILLE, Va., June 30.—Implementation of the "good neighbor" policy by adoption of measures which would establish it on a firm foundation of mutual good-will and economic well-being was urged at today's sessions of the University of Virginia's Institute of Public Affairs.

Long-range government investments leading to improve the health conditions of the masses in the republics of South and Central America; stimulation of private investments, preferably in partnership with nationals in each of these countries; a general lowering of tariff barriers, and measures making for unification of currencies were means to that end suggested by Dr. Enrique S. De Lozada, formerly secretary of the Bolivian Legation in Washington and now Professor of Political Science at Williams College.

Of these, the "greatest attack" would come from tariff revisions and currency unification," said Dr. de Lozada.

"Practical Economics" Urged

John W. Evans of New York, adviser on Latin-American economics, and John F. Norniano of Boston, research director of the Latin-American Economic Institute, also spoke of the importance of taking promptly "drastic precautionary steps in this field of practical economics" in the interest alike of hemisphere defense and of presenting to the world "a model of the peace we still hope may be possible after the war."

Adoption without delay of "some system of preferential tariffs for the countries of this hemisphere" was urged by Mr. Evans as a prerequisite to military defense.

"We North Americans often think we can take our foreign trade, or leave it, but every Latin-American country is desperately dependent on its foreign trade, and knows it, and in such countries, where exports mean all the difference between prosperity and chaos, there is a powerful tendency for political friendship to follow the direction of trade," Mr. Evans told the institute.

"Compare, for instance, the attitude of Colombia today with that of Argentina, Colombia is an open ally anti-Nazi as any country in South America. Argentina has lagged behind most of its neighbors in every step for hemisphere action against Germany. Whatever the outcome of the war, Colombia knows we will still be her biggest customer. Argentina knows that the chances are she will have to look to Europe as in the past."

To increase our own purchases above European totals, even at the cost of subsidizing American pro-

by such a program, we worth doing. Mr. Evans Mr. Norniano agreed that the real problem was not organic economic unit-ern Hemisphere and advocated a complete of its economy as a t operative and coordinated continental economy take a competitive one, the handling of the I can problem in this "amateurish," declared numerous good-will banquets in the heat in the worst annoy ou' bars."

Regional Wadding

Dr. Lozada said the normal condition in inter-American which, had the war taken place, would Pan America as a re; a few years.

He said that Germany up a great amount of the American republic result that it was a Latin-American wh years of excellent with German nation them now "as instru diabolical ends of it

It was "imperative," said, for the United States to make itself better South American.

Education of America them to fill post American business had to employ in the men and Germans Augustin Turner, fo national Rotary in

The problem of, gassed by James I nery Far Eastern International New; said that although not strong enough to go to war with a "military fanatical nation to strike at or the Dutch, that win."

The paradox of t according to Mr. Ye founding flimsy Department in con increases of suppl petroleum product:

"Being tough, are war lords. We a bond of Nasta Tokyo a year ago way to keep Japs"

The role of th spondent in the st can foreign policy tonight's meeting der, director of th of The Chicago D

M'ARTHUR

Replaces Turbi Program for R

Edwin McArthur orchestra in Red Philadelphia on Benny Goodman i will take over the Turbi, who said t musical dignity t podium with th leader.

Mr. McArthur services without of Mr. Turbi's r "The Spanish con said, made him an American and the judges and a feel about this a will conduct Mozart's A run, cetero with Mr. solist.

Mr. Goodman the orchestra "Tango" and Ju

July 1, 1941

P. P. J.
881

Respectfully referred to the
Secretary of War. x 2

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

6-30-41 Tel. to Mr. Early,
Ulric Bell, New York, N. Y.

"Suggestion has been made here that Paderewski be buried at
Arlington. Perhaps State Department would be interested."

x #

|
x

RR:mb

Body of Polish leader returns home

Warsaw burial ends journey

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WARSAW — The remains of Polish patriot, pianist and statesman Ignace Jan Paderewski were delivered to their final resting place yesterday, making good a promise by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to return the exiled leader's body only after Poland became free.

President Bush presented the remains to the Polish people yesterday during an emotional funeral Mass for the patriot at St. John's Basilica.

Afterward, Mr. Bush told tens of thousands gathered in nearby Castle Square, "Today is truly a homecom-

ing, the day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history, a great patriot and patron of freedom.

Poles viewed the return of the onetime prime minister as the final recognition by the United States that their country has tossed off communism and is on the path to democracy.

"It is a new beginning, not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world," said Mr. Bush.

Mr. Paderewski was modern Poland's first prime minister, serving from 1919 to 1921.

At one point the world's most popular pianist, Mr. Paderewski gave more than 1,500 concerts in the United States and made several hundred speeches calling for Polish independence.

Largely due to his efforts, Poland was re-created as an independent

nation under the Treaty of Versailles after World War I.

Mr. Paderewski died on June 29, 1941, in New York City and was buried at the Battleship Maine Memorial in Arlington National Cemetery under orders from Roosevelt.

Conforming to tradition requiring that a Pole's heart be buried in an area the person loved, his heart was interred in Brooklyn. It was moved in 1986 to the Shrine of Our Lady Czestochowa in Doylestown, Pa., where the statesman is the patron saint.

Roosevelt made a promise — later enforced by President John F. Kennedy — that Mr. Paderewski's body would remain at Arlington "until Poland is free."

As Mr. Bush, Polish President Lech Walesa and 250 others gathered at St. John's, the casket was pulled slowly through town by an

Army vehicle decorated with flowers and evergreens. The casket, draped in Poland's red-and-white flag, sat on the back of a cannon pulled by the truck.

Cardinal Jozef Glemp said Mass in the church, which was decorated in red and white flowers and banners. Later yesterday, the body was lowered into a crypt.

"The remains will remain forever in the basilica of Warsaw, a place dear to all Poles and the heart of the capital," Mr. Walesa said later.

In his memoirs, Mr. Paderewski recalled that "my true object — my great object — was to be useful to my country. My great hope was to become somebody, and so to help Poland. That was over and above my artistic aspirations. I was always ready and planning to fight for Poland. I was born a patriot."

6 JULY 1992
WASHINGTON TIMES

POLAND

From page A1

difficult. "We are learning democracy. We have our troubles. We shall manage with the help of friends," he said.

Then, Mr. Walesa added, "Everything that is new is born in pain."

Mr. Walesa, introducing Mr. Bush to the thousands gathered at Castle Square in the heart of Warsaw's old city, said he was "building a new reality" but noted, "It is not easy because any change always brings along a certain measure of chaos."

Senior administration officials said Mr. Bush came here to spark new democratic and economic reforms. "The idea of the trip was to show U.S. leadership," said a senior Bush aide.

In his address, simultaneously translated into Polish and repeatedly held up for hearty applause, Mr. Bush cautioned the Warsaw government against giving up its three-year experiment with democracy.

"Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening, but from the clamor of new voices must come democracy, a common vision of the common good," Mr. Bush said after turning over the remains of Polish statesman and pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski.

To give the Polish government a boost, Mr. Bush announced that the United States' portion of a \$1 billion fund set up three years ago to help stabilize the currency should now be used to build trade relations between Poland and the rest of the world.

While the U.S. portion is only \$200 million, Mr. Bush pledged to push his economic allies at the Munich summit to follow suit.

So far, the United States has provided Poland \$4 billion in debt forgiveness and grants since 1989. Presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said Mr. Bush used that as leverage to encourage Mr. Walesa to continue favorable tariff rates for U.S. imports to Poland. In an agreement with the European Community, the tariffs would favor EC nations, not the United States.

"Walesa said that issue could be taken care of," said a senior administration official.

Mr. Bush arrived here to huge crowds that lined the five-mile drive from the airport to the center city. Many held flowers and American flags. Several American officials said the crowds were similar in size and enthusiasm to those that greeted Mr. Bush in July 1989, shortly before Solidarity forces took power from the communists.

After meetings with Mr. Walesa and other government officials, Mr. Bush made the formal transfer of the remains of Mr. Paderewski, who fled Poland to the United States after the Nazis took control in 1939. Then President Franklin D. Roosevelt pledged to return the remains, but only after Poland became free.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Walesa participated in a formal funeral for Mr. Paderewski at St. John's Basilica before walking the short distance to the Castle Square. The two, accompanied by their wives, passed under a blue-and-white banner reading, "Welcome back, President Bush, to free Polish soil." They were greeted with cheers and songs.

As Mr. Bush spoke, a small group of Americans held aloft protest banners — one at a time. One read, "Bush the environmental president. Not!" and another, "Ross for Boss." Mr. Bush ignored the banners, but Barbara Bush stared in dismay.

Before Mr. Bush arrived here, a senior administration official said the White House is concerned about Poland's halting drive to political and economic freedom, noting that American investors are turning to other Eastern European nations for joint ventures.

"We're trying to be a kind of catalyst to get Poles back to doing what they need to do," said an administration official who participated in some of the U.S.-Polish meetings yesterday.

"God knows Poland needs all the help it can get," he said.

Mr. Walesa suggested, and Mr. Bush endorsed, a plan to hold a meeting of nations who contributed to the \$1 billion currency stabilization program to decide what to do with the fund now that the country's zloty has been stabilized.

'We shall succeed'

Walesa tells Bush he'll settle crisis

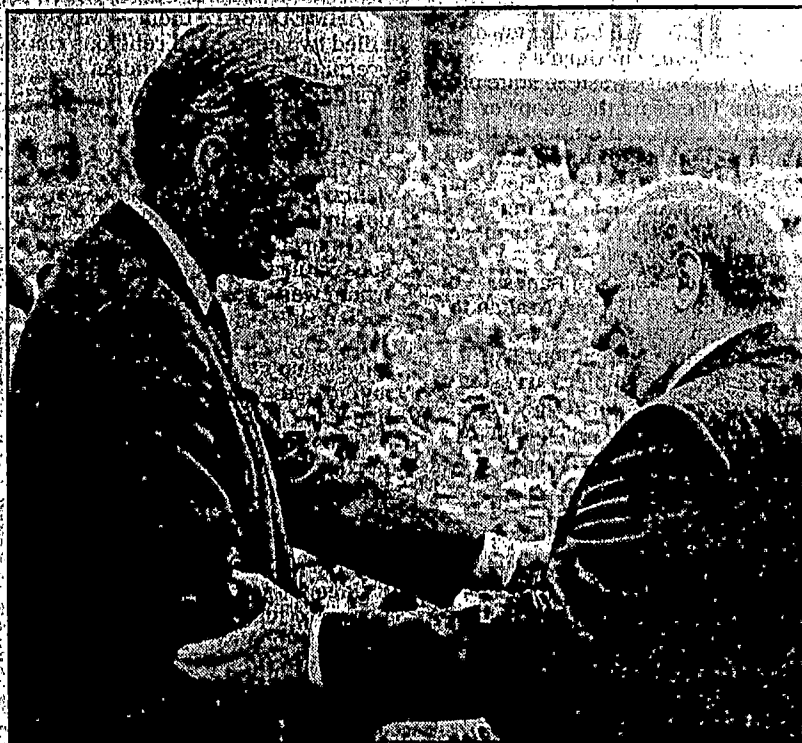
By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WARSAW — President Bush yesterday expressed concern about Poland's shaky drive to democracy, but he won a promise from Polish President Lech Walesa to quickly settle the current political and economic crisis and build a free nation.

"We need more time," Mr. Walesa said, but "we shall overcome — we shall succeed."

In an emotional and symbolic four-hour stop in Warsaw en route to Munich for the annual economic summit, Mr. Bush told an outdoor gathering of tens of thousands of Poles that America "will stand at your side until success is guaranteed to everyone."

Mr. Bush's arrival here came as the government is locked in controversy over plans to fire Polish Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who has failed to form a government. Mr.



Reuters

Warsaw pact: President Bush and Polish President Lech Walesa embrace after pledging cooperation before thousands of people in Castle Square.

Walesa is under heavy pressure to pick another prime minister.

The Polish president has blocked Mr. Pawlak's requests to resign and has threatened to set up his own government if the feuding sides don't come to terms.

Mr. Pawlak was picked by Mr. Walesa because it was thought he could bring bitterly divided post-Solidarity groups together and be-

gin the work toward setting up a Western-style economy. The parliament, however, is considering other candidates for prime minister.

At the start of a meeting shortly after Mr. Bush arrived here yesterday morning, Mr. Walesa acknowledged that building a democracy on the rubble of communism has been

see POLAND, page A8

Photo Copy Preservation

Bush Returns to an Unsettled Poland, But Trade Is the Theme of This Visit

By MICHEL McQUEEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WARSAW—President Bush returned to the scene of an international triumph four years ago, but he arrived with his political standing frayed and with little to offer his host except good wishes.

Mr. Bush's brief and largely symbolic visit to Poland yesterday, on his way to a meeting of leaders of the world's leading industrial powers, was intended to show appreciation for the country's and President Lech Walesa's hard-won transition to democratic capitalism. But the visit underscored how the standing of both political leaders has eroded in the intervening years, with both men struggling through difficult economic times and political upheavals.

"We are learning democracy, and we have many troubles, but we shall manage with the kind of friends we have," said Mr. Walesa, the former shipyard worker who became internationally known when he defied Communist authorities to help organize Solidarity, the first free trade union in the Eastern bloc.

In turn, Mr. Bush said that the U.S. intends to remain involved in Europe. "We feel that a vigorous trade between Poland and the United States is in our interest as well as Poland's," he said.

Although relations between the two countries and the two men were warm—Mr. Bush was again greeted by thousands of cheering Poles who lined the streets waving both nations' flags—U.S. officials made it clear that they were pressing the Poles to extend to the U.S. any special trade privileges extended to the European Community. Last week, Poland accepted associate status in the European Economic Community, which conveys certain favorable trade privileges.

The trade issue is important to Mr. Bush because his political fortunes have sagged along with the U.S. economy. In part to convince Americans he is diligent in addressing their economic worries, the president has billed his trip, which continues through the week with an economic summit in Munich and a meeting on security matters in Helsinki, as a trade mission to enhance the position of U.S. exports through world economic growth.

Four years ago, Mr. Bush made an emotional two-day visit here. He brought with him not only America's admiration for Poland's leadership in discarding communism in Eastern Europe but also a \$200 million package of economic aid to ease the transition. The government was then led by Communist President Wojciech Jaruzelski, though it had recently held party-free parliamentary elections. As Poland jettisoned the Communist leadership, U.S. aid eventually grew to nearly \$500 million in food, technical assistance and currency stabilization funds by the end of 1989.

Mr. Bush said he would allow Poland to convert the U.S.'s \$200 million contribution to the \$1 billion currency stabilization fund to other uses, such as to capitalize banks for business development. Mr. Bush also said he would try to persuade the 16 other donors to the fund, which was never tapped to help stabilize the currency, to do likewise after Poland complies with an International Monetary Fund economic program. He also announced a \$10 million fund to help Poland develop a private sector-led housing market.

Poland's deputy chief of mission in Washington, Maciej Kozlowski, said in an interview last week that Poland has lagged behind other Eastern European countries in attracting foreign investment. But he said more than 50% of the gross national product is now generated by the private sector. U.S. officials traveling with Mr. Bush put the figure at closer to 25%. Although wages have increased substantially since Mr. Bush's last visit, unemployment is now about 12%.

Mr. Kozlowski also said that "the political instability is very expensive for us. There have been four governments in three years, and Western investors may be put off by the constant change in leadership."

Indeed, a political drama erupted just before Mr. Bush's arrival when a coalition of eight political parties selected a new prime minister, Hanna Suchocka, to try to form a government, after the incumbent prime minister, Waldemar Pawlak, failed to do so after a month in office. It wasn't clear until the last minute who would be part of the official delegation meeting Mr. Bush. It was Mr. Pawlak.

MONDAY 6 JULY 1992

PHOTO OF POTUS/FLODUS PRAYING IN CHURCH

WASH. POST. C'TD.

Bush Reassures Poles of U.S. Support, Tells Them to Keep Democratic Faith

BUSH, From A1

tributed to an international stabilization fund for the Polish currency and that he is asking other contributors to the \$1 billion fund to do the same. The offer, which arises because the fund is no longer needed for stabilization, is conditional on Polish compliance with an International Monetary Fund program calling for limits on its budgetary deficit and other austerity policies.

In return, Bush asked Walesa to give U.S. exporters the same tariff advantages that will be granted to the European Community under pending arrangements. A White House official quoted Walesa as saying the issue could be worked out.

"It is not safe at all here after the dismantling of the Soviet Union, only today the dangers are somewhat different," Walesa told Bush as their talks began. Arguing for continued American involvement, he said, "I am convinced that without a U.S. presence we won't make it at all."

Later, speaking to the crowd of about 10,000 people in the square, the former electrician from Gdansk observed, "We are taking a path that no one has ever trodden before, and it is not easy."

Bush's visit en route to the annual meeting of the Group of Seven industrialized democracies in Munich coincided with a moment of high emotion for many Poles—the final funeral Mass for Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish statesman and pianist who died in the United States in exile from Nazi-occupied Poland in 1941. By order of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the wishes of Paderewski's family, his body was interred in Arlington National Cemetery "until Poland is free."

Paderewski's remains were returned to Poland from Washington last week and given elaborate honors, culminating in today's funeral Mass at Warsaw's Cathedral of St. John the Baptist attended by Bush and presided over by the Roman Catholic prelate of Poland, Cardinal Joseph Glemp.

The Paderewski ceremonies in Washington last week and Bush's public appearances today were attended by a number of Polish Americans, a voting bloc the Republican Party hopes will help Bush at the ballot box in November. Bush also praised the contributions of Polish Americans in his speech today, saying that "in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life."

In private talks with Bush, a White House official said, Walesa asked for U.S. help in persuading Moscow to move faster on withdrawing the dwindling number of former Soviet troops who still remain here. Walesa was outspoken in public and private in asking that the United States remain engaged militarily in Europe as "an indisputable factor in maintaining the balance" of security there.

"We have every intention of remaining involved," Bush told the Polish president.

6 July 1992

Bush Urges Poles to Persevere

U.S. Will Help Ease Economic Woes, President Tells Warsaw Crowd

By Don Oberdorfer
and Mary Battiata

Washington Post Foreign Service

WARSAW, July 5—Nearly three years after Poland threw off the shackles of communism, igniting a revolution in Eastern Europe, President Bush urged Poles today to keep the democratic faith in spite of their economic hardships and squabbling leaders, declaring, "America stands with you."

Speaking in the cobblestoned square of Warsaw's historic old town with President Lech Walesa at his side, Bush sought to console Poles, for whom freedom has also meant a five-fold increase in retail prices, a sharp rise in unemployment and the breakup of the anti-communist Solidarity movement into contentious factions that have produced a political deadlock.

"Poland's time of trial is not caused by private enterprise but by the stubborn legacy of four decades of communist misrule," Bush said. "Make no mistake. The path you have chosen is the right path."

Despite his encouraging words, Bush conceded that many Poles have experienced "more pain than progress" during their country's transformation. The people who led Eastern Europe's anti-communist revolution in the 1980s are struggling with a deep recession, for example, and have suffered through months of political turmoil caused in part by seemingly endless debate over how fast to proceed with tough economic reforms.

Poles turned out in large numbers to greet the president warmly, but without the fervor that marked his two earlier trips. During a visit

while vice president in September 1987, Bush spoke out for the cause of the still-banned Solidarity movement; in a July 1989 trip, he urged the communist government to make its peace with a resurgent Solidarity, which had just won its first national elections. When Solidarity was permitted to take over the Polish government the following month and Moscow did not intervene to stop it, one after another of the Soviet Union's East European allies ousted their communist rulers and turned toward the West.

To help ease the severe economic and political problems in the place where the revolution began, as he termed it, Bush announced that the United States will permit Poland to convert for other uses the \$200 million Washington previously con-

See BUSH-A15, Col. 1

LEAD PHOTO OF POTUS &
WALESA SHAKING HANDS
AT PODIUM - SHOT OVER THE
SHOULDER WITH VIEW OF
"MASS OF HUMANITY" IN BACKGROUND.

Photo Copy Preservation

Bush Arrives for Economic Talks After Warm Welcome in Warsaw

Continued From Page A1

ing private sector.
But even Mr. Bush's aides conceded that the gesture, which would require Poland to resolve its problems with the International Monetary Fund as well as the agreement of the 16 other nations that contributed, was only a modest gesture. The sluggish performance of the United States economy prevents Mr. Bush from providing more ambitious economic assistance.

Mr. Bush's trip to Poland, to Munich, and on to Helsinki later this week for a meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, was one of a series of events that the White House hoped would focus voters' attention on foreign affairs, Mr. Bush's strong suit.

But that has not so far worked noticeably. Mr. Bush's political strategists, and Mr. Bush himself, were alarmed by the lack of any marked increase in his political standing after the signing of a sweeping arms-reduction agreement with President Boris N.

Praise for Poland, which badly needs aid, as well.

Yeltsin of Russia. Mr. Bush's embarrassing visit to Panama and his difficulties at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro ended up hurting the President more than they helped.

Although Mr. Bush is trying to keep the focus on foreign affairs and away from the 1992 Presidential campaign, he seemed eager to send word back home that he was working on domestic problems even while he was overseas.

On Monday, Mr. Bush plans to meet with Gov. Carroll A. Campbell Jr. of South Carolina, who helped deliver that state to Mr. Bush in the 1988 election and the 1992 Republican primary, and executives of the BMW automobile

company, which plans to build a plant in South Carolina near the Greenville-Spartanburg Airport.

Changed Aura in Poland
In Warsaw, Mr. Bush did not let slip a chance to remind his audience — and those listening back home — of the millions of Polish-American voters. "In a strange new world called America," he said, "in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they love, Poles worked and worshiped and built a better life."

Mr. Bush sought to evoke the revolutionary euphoria of 1989, when Poland's voters handed the Communist Party a stunning electoral defeat. But the Poland he visited today was markedly different with Mr. Walesa's Solidarity movement long since divided and redivided.

Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who met with Mr. Bush today, handed in his resignation last week after a month of failed attempts to form a Government. The only reason Mr.

Pawlek was there was that President Walesa has refused to accept his resignation. Hanna Suchocka, a lawyer, is front-runner to be Poland's fifth Prime Minister in three years, but her ascendancy is by no means assured.

Mr. Walesa told Mr. Bush, "The people of Warsaw love you," and "Only the Pope has attracted so many."

But there were signs that the enthusiasm of the crowd had dimmed from Mr. Bush's last triumphal visit, at the height of revolutionary fervor in Poland. "This was once an active opposition," said Jadwiga Kutnik, a 46-year-old lab technician. "Now people have other things to do. This is vacation time."

Others, however, were enthusiastic. Lydia Pendrak, 37, an architect, said: "I made a special trip to see him. There are moments that one simply feels one should be in a certain place at a certain time. President Bush represents the friendship of America and Poland, and I think that's a very important thing."

Photo Copy Preservation

6 July 1992
New York Times

WARSAW WELCOMES BUSH AS HE STOPS ON WAY TO SUMMIT

WARM WORDS FROM WALES

President Praises Poland but
Keeps His Eye on Political
Campaign at Home, Too

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

MUNICH, Germany, July 5 — Flying thousands of miles to get a balm for his domestic political ills, President Bush arrived in Munich today for a seven-nation economic conference after receiving a thunderous ovation in a Warsaw square where he promised that "America wants Poland to succeed and to prosper."

"Hello Warsaw! Hello Poland!" Mr. Bush shouted cheerfully from a stage erected in Castle Square. He appeared with President Lech Walesa after a Mass said for the re-interment of the remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish musician and statesman whose dying wish in New York 51 years ago was to be buried in a free Poland.

"Today, Poland stands transformed," said Mr. Bush, who visited Warsaw in part to alleviate worries in Eastern Europe that the United States is too heavily focused on helping Russia to pay attention to its concerns.

"Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support — and what's more, they're working," Mr. Bush said, glossing over Poland's economic and political problems, which have worsened considerably since he last visited, in 1989.

'God Bless America'

President Walesa drew loud cheers when he announced in English, a language he has rarely spoken in public, "God bless America and God bless President Bush."

Mr. Bush came to Munich for a three-day meeting of the leaders of the seven biggest industrial democracies: the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Britain and Canada. To night he dined with President Francois Mitterrand, hoping to smooth over rough spots in French-American relationships that have formed over the United States role in European security and other issues.

White House advisers had hoped that Mr. Bush, whose approval ratings on foreign policy have plummeted with his overall popularity, would get a hero's welcome in Poland, where he was making his third visit. Indeed, the crowd, which seemed to number in the tens of thousands, cheered lustily and some waved American flags when Mr. Bush appeared.

'Ross for Boss'

But there were reminders of Mr. Bush's political problems. Toward the front of the crowd, a half-dozen Americans unfurled banners that read: "Ross for Boss," a reference to Ross Perot, and "Bush: The Environmental President: NOT!"

The President brought with him a plan to bolster Poland's economy by converting the \$1 billion fund used to stabilize the zloty on world currency markets into loans and direct grants to stimulate investment in Poland's flag-

Continued on Page A7, Column 3

Photo Copy Preservation

Bush adds muscle to campaign staff

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush is about to shuffle his communications staff yet again, importing Kentucky Fried Chicken's national spokesman to direct speechwriting and shifting David Demarest to run public liaison.

Word of the shift came yesterday during a politically busy day for Mr. Bush, who vetoed the election-year "motor-voter" registration bill on grounds that it treads on states' rights and is wide open to cheating.

"I cannot ... accept legislation that imposes an unnecessary and costly federal regime on the states and that is, in addition, an open invitation to fraud and corruption," Mr. Bush said in signing the 31st veto of his administration.

He also voiced new public concern for people with AIDS at a time when he is under criticism from AIDS Commission member Magic Johnson, and declared his personal life so clean of wrongdoing that investigators would "drill a dry hole" in search for dirt.

"So let them muck around in my garbage can," Mr. Bush said.

Officials would not confirm the high-level staff changes, which will place Steve Provost of Louisville,

"I think I view as part of my responsibility keeping the public trust, the decency and honor of the presidency," he said.

Ky., KFC's vice president for public affairs, at the helm of a speechwriting office that has been stirred and shaken often in the search for a different tone in presidential speeches.

Mr. Provost takes the post most lately held by Mr. Demarest, who moves to the office of intergovernmental affairs, coordinating relations with mayors and governors, and the office of public liaison, dealing with sensitive religious and ethnic groups.

Mr. Demarest will replace Sherrie Rollins, who quit when her husband, Ed, signed on as co-chairman of the Ross Perot campaign.

The shift is the latest for the popular Mr. Demarest, who as communications director once simultaneously headed speechwriting, media relations, public liaison and intergovernmental affairs before Chief of Staff Sam Skinner cut his responsibilities.

Mr. Bush's declaration of squeaky cleanness came in one of three press conferences that ran the gamut

from nuclear policy to imaginary space aliens.

"I have bent over backwards since the day I walked into [Congress] in terms of disclosure, trying to avoid conflict of interest, so I think they're going to drill a dry hole on that one, because I have really tried my very, very best to keep the public trust," Mr. Bush said somewhat emotionally in the Rayburn Room near the Capitol Rotunda.

"I think I view as part of my responsibility keeping the public trust, the decency and honor of the presidency," he said.

It was just before leaving for a Camp David holiday that Mr. Bush unexpectedly made a statement to display his concern for people afflicted with AIDS following an unannounced meeting with AIDS patients and concerned activists.

"I believe that I must have the nation know that we are all enmeshed in the pain that people feel about this disease, whether they have the disease, afflicted by it, or whether they

are people who just want to help," Mr. Bush said. "I will continue to take to the nation the concern I feel, that Barbara feels, about this dreaded disease."

Earlier he met with House Republicans on Capitol Hill to dramatize his pressure for health care measures, including a new bill that would invoke sanctions on states that did not curb runaway malpractice claims.

Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan indicated, however, that the president has given up for this year expectations that Congress may pass the health care vouchers he sought.

"I propose comprehensive reforms, including four pieces of legislation now waiting in Congress' inbox. Americans could begin enjoying the benefits of reform right away if only Congress would act," Mr. Bush said at the Capitol.

Dr. Sullivan also indicated that no action will be taken to consider admitting for U.S. sale the French abortion pill, RU-486, until its manufacturer applies for approval.

Abortion advocates arranged to have a quantity of the unapproved drug intercepted by federal customs officials in New York Wednesday to force a test case.

FRIDAY, 3 JULY 1992

DAAG-CAM

29 AUG 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE ARMY (CIVIL WORKS)

SUBJECT: Historical Background Material Relating to the Entombment of the Remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski in Arlington National Cemetery

1. Ignace Jan Paderewski (1860-1941), Polish pianist, composer and statesman, was born on November 18, 1860 at Kurylowka, Russian Podolia. He studied music at Warsaw, Berlin, and Vienna. He made his first public appearance in Vienna in 1887, in Paris in 1889, and in London in 1890. His brilliant playing created a furor which went to extravagant lengths, and his triumphs were repeated in America in 1891. In 1889, Paderewski married Baroness de Rosen, and after 1900 appeared very little in public until 1920-23 when he gave recitals in England and in America as well as on the continent. Paderewski's success as a pianist all over the world never caused him to forget his own country. In 1910 on the 500th anniversary of the victory of Grunwald over the Teutonic Knights, he presented a memorial, which was unveiled at Cracow.

2. When World War I broke out in 1914 Paderewski dedicated himself heart and soul to his country's service. In 1915 he went to the United States, where he remained nearly four years, giving numerous concerts and championing the cause of Poland. He collected enormous sums of money and created a powerful pro-Polish movement in the United States. The value of his propagandist work was realized when on January 22, 1917 President Woodrow Wilson alluded to a "united, independent, and autonomous Poland." Up to 1918 Paderewski guided the political and military destinies of 4,000,000 Poles in the United States.

3. After the victory of the Allies in World War I Paderewski visited London and proceeded to Poland by sea in the company of a British mission, disembarking at Danzig on December 24, 1918. On reaching Warsaw he declared himself independent of all political parties, and after difficult negotiations succeeded on January 17, 1919 in forming a coalition government of which he became prime minister as well as minister of foreign affairs. Paderewski went to Paris on April 6, 1919 as Poland's first delegate to the Paris Peace Conference. On two different occasions the

SUBJECT: Historical Background Material Relating to the Entombment of the Remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski in Arlington National Cemetery

29 AUG 1975

Polish parliament renewed its vote of confidence in him and expressed the gratitude of the country. But, as it was impossible to make a national union a reality and, above all, to conclude peace with the Soviet government, in view of the violent opposition of the military party, Paderewski resigned his government offices on November 27, 1919.

4. Paderewski abandoned his political career in February 1921 and retired to his California estate, returning afterward to resume his musical career. Later he established his home at Morges, Switzerland. When Germany attacked Poland in 1939 and President I. Moscicki hastened to Roumania, Paderewski was asked to succeed him, but declined because of ill health. In January 1940, he became president of the new Polish parliament in exile. In December 1940, he went to the United States and died in New York City on June 29, 1941.

5. Upon receipt of word of Paderewski's death, President Franklin D. Roosevelt called the State Department from his Hyde Park home and asked that the Department inform Paderewski's family and officials of the Polish embassy that Paderewski's body could be given a temporary resting place in the vault of the Mast of the Maine Monument in Arlington National Cemetery. At that time President Roosevelt used the phrase "He may lie there until Poland is free."

6. Paderewski's body was brought to Washington from New York to lie in state at the Polish embassy on Sixteenth Street, N. W., the embassy then being under control of the Polish Government in exile. Following the lying in state at the embassy, Paderewski's body was taken to Arlington National Cemetery for entombment in the vault of the Mast of the Maine Monument in Section 24 of the cemetery. The records of Arlington National Cemetery show the following notation concerning the entombment:

MEMORIAL
IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI

On Saturday, July 5, 1941 with full military honors.
Remains were placed in the Mast of the Maine vault to remain until the end of the war.
Remains are still held in the vault.

7. At the time of Mr. Paderewski's death his native Poland was under enemy control of the Nazi forces of Adolf Hitler and the forces of the Soviet Union then allied with Hitler's Germany. The United States was not at that time an acknowledged belligerent in the European War. The attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 December 1941, was some months in the future. However, there was a considerable amount of public opinion and sentiment favoring those who were fighting for the freedom of Poland. The fact of Poland which had been overruled and conquered by the

**SUBJECT: Historical Background Material Relative to the Entombment
of the Remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski in Arlington National
Cemetery**

29 AUG 1975

German blitzkrieg shortly after the onset of hostilities in September 1939 was well known to the people of the United States. President Roosevelt, no doubt, was cognizant of these circumstances. Also, he had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson during World War I and knew of the political activities and influence of Mr. Paderewski during World War I and the post war years of that conflict. All of these factors, in all probability, may have motivated President Roosevelt in his decision to offer the vault of the Mast of the Maine Monument at Arlington National Cemetery as a resting place for the remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski.

→ 8. Mr. Paderewski was not eligible for below ground interment in Arlington National Cemetery, or in any other national cemetery. At no time during his long life (81 years) had he served in the armed forces of the United States or in the armed forces of a nation allied with the United States in World War I or World War II.

9. During the years since July 5, 1941 the entombment of the remains of Paderewski within the vault of the Mast of the Maine Monument at Arlington National Cemetery was quite generally a matter of public knowledge, but there was no marking whatsoever within the grounds of the cemetery to indicate the existence of such an entombment. However, among records currently available there is record of at least one source of correspondence relative to marking of the place of entombment of Ignace Jan Paderewski. Under date of 12 January 1960 a letter was received from a Mr. Francis Dobrowski of Boston, Massachusetts requesting that the National Medical and Dental Association of America be permitted to place a marker or a plaque in honor of the late Ignace Jan Paderewski in an area near the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery. This request was denied in a letter to Mr. Dobrowski under date of 20 January 1960. A copy of cited letter to Mr. Dobrowski is inclosed (Inclosure 1).

10. In July 1962, the matter of public identification of Paderewski's place of entombment in Arlington National Cemetery was given further and ultimately successful impetus by an article which appeared in the Sunday, July 15 edition of the Washington Post, which was written by Mr. Paul Hume, Music Editor of that paper. In the article Mr. Hume stated: "It is an anomaly probably unique in history that the body of a man who was worthy to be called 'perhaps the greatest living man' lies today in a tomb that is wholly without any marking of any kind to indicate his presence there." Mr. Hume stated that the quotation—perhaps the greatest living man—was from Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone.

SUBJECT: Historical Background Material Relative to the Entombment of the Remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski in Arlington National Cemetery

29 AUG 1975

11. Favorable public response to Mr. Hume's Washington Post article of 13 July 1962 brought about a series of meetings participated in by representatives of the State Department, Department of the Interior, and the Department of the Army as well as members of Congress and Polish-American groups. The ultimate result of these meetings and subsequent governmental action was the fabrication of a bronze plaque bearing the following inscription:

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI
POLISH STATESMAN AND MUSICIAN
HIS REMAINS REST TEMPORARILY
WITHIN THE
USS MAINE MEMORIAL

BRONZE
PLAQUE

This plaque was placed on metal supports in Section 46 in Arlington National Cemetery near the Maine Memorial. It was dedicated by President John F. Kennedy, a ceremony held at the site at 10:30 a.m., Thursday, 9 May 1963. Distinguished guests in attendance at the ceremony included Secretary of State Dean Rusk, several members of Congress, and representatives of Polish-American patriotic societies. Inclosed are copies of newspaper items concerning the Paderewski plaque and copies of some of the Department of the Army staff work in connection with the proposal for a Paderewski information plaque in Arlington National Cemetery (Inclosures 2 and 3).

12. A tape recording of President Kennedy's remarks at Arlington National Cemetery on 9 May 1963 at the dedication of the Paderewski plaque is currently among material included in the historical reference library of the Cemetery Division, Casualty and Memorial Affairs Directorate. Also on file in this library is a collection of photographs of President Kennedy and other participants in the 9 May 1963 ceremony.

13. Placement of the Paderewski plaque in Arlington National Cemetery appears to have stimulated interest concerning Mr. Paderewski on the part of the many visitors who come each year to Arlington National Cemetery. Inclosed are copies of two recent pieces of correspondence relating to the Paderewski entombment (Inclosures 4 and 5).

14. The wooden case enclosing the casket of Mr. Paderewski is in very bad condition and should be replaced.

15. Continuation of the so-called "temporary" entombment of Mr. Paderewski's remains within the vault of the Mast of the Maine Memorial Monument is a matter, the resolution of which could bring about problems and a diversity of opinions pro and con.

**SUBJECT: Historical Background Material Relating to the Entombment
of the Remains of Ignace Jan Paderewski in Arlington National
Cemetery**

29 AUG 1975


a. The present Polish People's Republic maintains diplomatic relations with the United States and is a member of the United Nations. However, the philosophy and ideological concepts under which the present government operates are not those of the World War II Polish Government in exile at the time of Paderewski's death from whose embassy his remains were taken to Arlington National Cemetery. The embassy in Washington, D. C. on Sixteenth Street where Paderewski's body lay in state continues as the embassy of the Polish People's Republic.

b. Has the present Polish government evidenced any interest or desire to receive Mr. Paderewski's remains for interment or entombment in Poland? Would such interment or entombment commemorate Mr. Paderewski's historic political and diplomatic activities during World War I and World War II as well as his outstanding reputation as a musical genius?

c. The reaction and climate of opinion among Polish-American citizens of the United States, Polish-American patriotic societies and groups as well as the opinions of members of Congress of Polish descent, such as Senator Muskie and others, should be considered in connection with any plans for disposition of Paderewski's remains--retention in East of the Main vault, removal for interment in a private cemetery, or return of the remains to Poland.

d. The Polish desk at the State Department or other appropriate source within that department should be consulted for advice and suggestions relative to status of Mr. Paderewski's remains.

5 Incl
As stated


C. J. BOBINSKI
Colonel, GS
Director, Casualty
and Memorial Affairs


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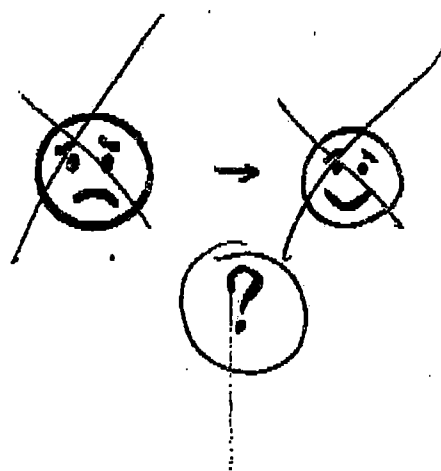
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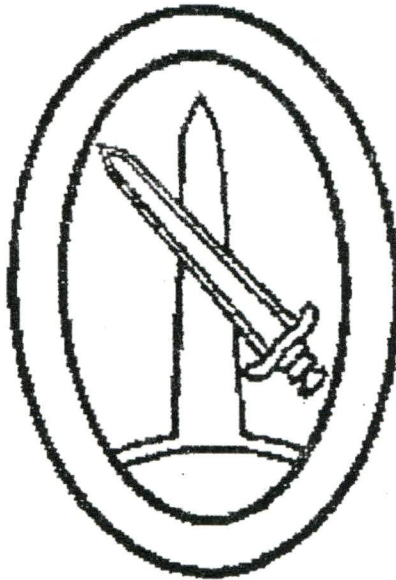


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FAX (202) 475-7833 07
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ADRIEN F. CREECY
POLICY AND PLANS OFFICER

PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICE
U.S. ARMY MILITARY DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON
FT. LESLEY J. MCNAIR
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20319-8050

TO: Jeannie Bunton
White House (Speechwriter) NSR
FAX: 202-456-6218



RELEASED BY:

Adrien F. Creecy

Page 1 of 6 pages.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND
CANADIAN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555

DELIVER TO: 456-6218 WH Jeannie Dunton 7750
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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Documents on Padrevuski

FROM: 647-0555 5220 E Conway 647-1070
(FAX NUMBER) (ROOM NUMBER) (NAME) (OFFICE EXT.)

REMARKS: I hope this is helpful.

PAGE 1 OF 8 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

July 1, 1941, p. 26

PRESIDENT OFFERS ARLINGTON GRAVE

**Paderewski's Family Accepts
Honor Accorded Only to
One Other Foreigner**

LOTHIAN IS BURIED THERE

**Roosevelt's Action Is Tribute
to Free Poland as Well as
Champion of Liberty**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HIDE PARK, N. Y., June 30—

President Roosevelt issued instructions today that Ignace Jan Paderewski be buried temporarily in Arlington National Cemetery if his family desired for him this honor, accorded only once to a foreigner. Later it was learned that the family had accepted.

The law prohibits permanent burial in Arlington of any but native Americans who have served in the armed forces of the country. As a courtesy to Great Britain, however, the Marquess of Lothian, the late British Ambassador, was buried there temporarily.

By his action, the President not only paid tribute to a free Poland whose government in exile the United States recognizes, but to a man who probably did more than any individual to recreate such a Poland after the last war.

"At the request of the President, I have asked Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles what may be the wish of the Paderewski family regarding the burial of Mr. Paderewski in Arlington Cemetery," William D. Hassett, secretary to Mr. Roosevelt, announced late today.

"Mr. Paderewski was, of course, a very close friend of the President. He is taking this step as a tribute of respect to him."

It was presumed here that the pianist and life-long fighter for the liberty of his country would be buried with full military honors. Thus, just as at the peace table at Versailles Mr. Paderewski found a champion for recreation of partitioned Poland in Woodrow Wilson, in death he found one for himself and for his country in President Roosevelt.

It is believed that Mr. Wallis immediately consulted Mrs. Antonia Wilska, the pianist's sister, who was with the former Premier of Poland at his death.

President Roosevelt frequently has shown his abhorrence of the conquest by Nazis of independent countries and his determination to recognize only free governments in Nazi-occupied territory by showing friendliness to exiled rulers or leaders.

With him this week-end at his Hyde Park retreat, for instance, is Crown Princess Martha of Norway and her three children. They have been Roosevelt family guests here since last Thursday and this afternoon attended, in company of Mr. Roosevelt, the dedication ceremonies in connection with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library here.

8606.44 Paderewski

Division of
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JUN 30 1941

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUNE 30, 1941.
No. 323

FOR THE PRESS

STATEMENT BY THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. SUMNER WELLES

I was deeply shocked to learn this morning of the death in New York of Mr. Paderewski, the first President of Poland, an outstanding artist of genius of the last three generations, and a foremost champion of freedom and democratic ideals.

I have asked the Polish Ambassador on his return to Washington today to accord me an opportunity immediately upon his arrival, personally to convey to him the deep sorrow of the President at the loss of this great Polish patriot. I shall also convey to him an expression of grief on behalf of the Government and people of the United States.

The spirit of Mr. Paderewski which illuminated his whole life is by no means extinguished; the influence of his personality, character and genius must persist. It will continue to inspire for many years to come those who are struggling for the highest ideals of humanity. The American nation is proud to have counted among its friends this great citizen of Poland, who among his other distinguished services, has done so much to assist in creating a deeper understanding between the peoples of the United States and those of Poland, and of strengthening the ties of friendship which have already become traditional between the two countries.

8606.44 PADEREWSKI / 3

JUN 30 1941

PS/A/C

RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ

478/SZ-40

June 30, 1941.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that on June 29, 1941, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, First President of the Council of Ministers of Poland after the world war, and up to his death Chairman of the National Council of the Republic of Poland, passed away in the City of New York. I have the honor to request you to convey this news to the President of the United States.

The Government of the Republic of Poland and the Polish Nation will pay tribute to Ignacy Jan Paderewski after the termination of the occupation of Polish territories by the invaders.

For the time being the mortal remains of Ignacy Jan Paderewski will be interred in the United States of America, the country which, next to Poland, he loved most. The Government of the Republic of Poland and the entire Polish nation

The Honorable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State.

FILED
JUL 8 1941

*Mr. Paderewski
602 of Paderewski
Ignacy Jan*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEC 3 PM 1 27

OFFICE OF
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MESSAGE CENTER

RECEIVED JAN 7 1941 PS/MFM

nation would be most grateful if the United States Government would allow that the mortal remains of Ignacy Jan Paderewski could rest at the National Cemetery at Arlington for the duration of the war. Such a privilege granted on the part of the United States Government and the American people to Poland's greatest and most beloved Citizen would create one more link in the close traditional friendship uniting our two countries.

I have the honor to remind that Ignacy Jan Paderewski was Honorary Member of the American Legion.

Accept, Sir, the renewed expressions of my highest consideration.

Jaciek Chawow

July 1, 1941

Excelsiency:

I have received this morning Your Excellency's
 note of June 30, 1941 announcing the death of Ignacy
 Jan Paderewski, first President of the Council of
 Ministers of Poland after the World War, and I hasten
 to supplement by this written word the expressions of
 deep sympathy and condolence I had the honor to convey
 to you orally this morning on behalf of the President
 and people of the United States upon the loss of this
 great Polish patriot.

May I add that before your note was received, the
 President had made his offer to the family of Ignacy Jan
 Paderewski that his mortal remains should rest in the
 National Cemetery at Arlington for the duration of the

His Excellency

86CC.44 PADEREWSKI: IGNAJ JAN / 1
 860.44 PADEREWSKI: IGNAJ JAN / 1 PS/MFM

war, and I am confident every American was gratified
that this expression of the esteem in which your great
countryman is held has been accepted in the same spirit
in which the offer was made.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my
highest consideration.

Sumner Welles

Acting Secretary of State

172 Remarks to Members of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists. May 9, 1963

I WANT you to get this—much thinner than you gentlemen have been—I deliberately took off about 5 pounds before this meeting.

I want to welcome you all to the White House. You entertain and instruct us and I must say that the ability to place in one picture a story and a message and do it with impact and conviction and humor and passion, all that, I think, makes you really the most exceptional commentators on the American scene today.

So we are very much indebted to you for instructions. Those who read the paper quickly get your message, and those who read it slowly study it with more care. I am glad to have you here, and I am going to examine what you have done to us with

some concern. You see, the hair is much less than you have it!

We are glad to have you here.

[At this point John Chase of the New Orleans States-Item introduced Hugh Hutton of the Philadelphia Inquirer who presented the President with an original cartoon by Thomas Nast, a gift of Mr. Nast's son Cyril. The President then resumed speaking.]

I want to thank you very much. We will present this to the White House and have it hung here. We are very much indebted to you. We have hung some of your contemporary cartoons, but those I am going to take with me.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the Flower Garden at the White House.

173 Remarks at the Dedication of a Marker To Identify the Grave of Ignace Jan Paderewski. May 9, 1963

Secretary Rusk, Senator Williams, Members of the Congress, Mr. Rozmarek, Secretary Vance, ladies and gentlemen:

I am very much gratified to participate in this ceremony this morning. Some months ago I read in a newspaper an article by Mr. Hume which related how Paderewski was buried here in this cemetery and that there was no marker on his grave. Senator Williams had read a similar article a year before and had begun to take action in the Congress, with strong support from the Members of Congress who are here today.

I thought that the action by Senator Williams was most appropriate and, therefore, I was particularly anxious to come here today to join with all of you in marking the grave of a man whose distinguished service made his grave well marked, but who deserved to have his history and his country brought to

the attention of those who come to this cemetery to honor our heroes.

It is no accident that men of genius in music like Paderewski or Chopin should also have been great patriots. You have to be a free man to be a great artist. What is remarkable is that he should have so combined two careers of genius, music and statesmanship, with such devotion to his country that he played an almost unique role in bringing to the attention of President Wilson the plight of Poland, enlisting President Wilson's help in securing a free Poland in the days following World War I, playing a role as Prime Minister in arguing the case of Poland at Versailles, and symbolizing, as he traveled through the world in the twenties and the thirties, the whole story, the long story, the extraordinary story of the Poles to maintain their freedom.

He came here when Poland was once more enslaved, and died, and was, by instructions of President Franklin Roosevelt, buried in this cemetery. The understanding was that when Poland would one day be free again he would be returned to his native country. That day has not yet come, but I believe in this land of the free that Paderewski rests easily. We are proud to have him here.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:30 a.m. at Paderewski's grave in Arlington National Cemetery. In his opening words he referred to Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Harrison A. Williams, Jr., United States Senator from New Jersey; Charles Rozmarek, President of the Polish-American Congress of the Polish National Alliance; and Cyrus R. Vance, Secretary of the Army. Later in his remarks he referred to Paul Hume, music critic for the Washington Post.

174 Remarks at a Meeting of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. May 9, 1963

Mr. Gleason, General Maas, Mr. Hall, Mr. Fay, Mr. Macy, Mr. Freeman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I want to express my very great appreciation to all of you who work in this most important and deserving field, the employers, the members of the Federal Government who have concerned themselves with this problem, Mr. Gleason, Mr. Macy, the Armed Forces, the AFL-CIO, Mr. Freeman who has worked very tirelessly in this matter, members of the President's Committee who devoted a good deal of their time, and also to all those across the country.

One of the impressive things that I have seen as I have traveled across the country—I remember going into the McDonnell Aviation Company in St. Louis, Mo., which has been one of our most progressive employers in hiring those who are mentally handicapped and who have been among the most useful employees of the company; others in Long Island; others stretching across this country; employers who have gone to great pains to bring into their establishments disabled men and women who then are able to make a living not because of the support of others, but by their own efforts which have contributed to their rehabilitation, and to organized labor in this country; the AFL-CIO, who have worked with the unions, encouraging the unions to bring men and women in to make it easy for them to be hired.

This is the kind of work which comes not from the top down, but from the inside out. We are hiring today at the White House a young man, who is handicapped, to work on the grounds at the White House. And I am hopeful that people all across the country in the next year will make a special effort to bring into their lives in one way or another, by assisting, by hiring, by working with, men and women who are handicapped, either physically handicapped or mentally handicapped. And this is an area in which in recent months and years we have made a particular effort. We are making a particular effort in the National Government this year to bring up to date and really move ahead in the whole treatment of those who are mentally retarded and mentally disabled, as well as our efforts among those who are physically disabled.

As I have said before, I see no reason why this very rich country of ours should have 3 out of 100 of our children mentally retarded, mentally disabled, while Sweden, which is not any more prosperous than we are, but is more concerned, perhaps, than we have been, has only 1 out of 100.

So this effort which we are all making in the Government, in the cities, in the States, in the employers, in the unions, this great cooperative effort to make a part of our community, a part of our country, a part of our lives for those who have been less fortunate, is deserving of the best you have.

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MONDAY, JULY 6, 1992

Washington Post

President Walesa, left, President Bush and Barbara Bush take part in Warsaw funeral Mass for Ignace Jan Paderewski.



President Bush and Polish President Walesa shake hands after both leaders addressed a crowd of thousands in Warsaw.



President Bush and President Lech Walesa in Warsaw yesterday.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST *DD*
FROM: DAN MC GROARTY *DMG*
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND, CASTLE
SQUARE, WARSAW

I. SUMMARY

On Sunday, July 5 at 2:20 p.m. you will deliver remarks to an audience of about 10,000 in Castle Square, Warsaw, Poland.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 9 minutes / cards), focus on Poland's progress toward free markets and democracy since the Revolution of '89.

Please note: the translation will be simultaneous.

McGroarty/Bunton
July 2, 1992
8:30 am
[WARSAW]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
2:20 P.M.

→ TIME CHANGE CONFIRM POLAND IS
+6 HOURS

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. Thank you
all for this warm welcome. //

Barbara and I are honored today to come back once more -- to
come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of
'89.

Today is truly a homecoming: The day Poland welcomes home a
part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of
freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a
free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski
served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation
came, he joined the Polish government in exile. And when he
died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside
our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery: To rest -- in the words
of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how
many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed
without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took
the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years
or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home / to Polish

EMPHASIS

2

soil. // Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free. //

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane ^{zah-koh-PAHN-eh} [Zah-koh-pahn-eh] -- the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

It is a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here, in Poland, that the Second World War began. It was here, in Poland, that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end. //

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph of totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. //

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

Think of the new world that's emerged these past three years: Europe -- whole and free. Russia ^{SPACE} -- turning from dictatorship to democracy. Ukraine and the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- free and independent. Look at this new

world, and remember where that revolution began -- here, in Poland. //

Today, Poland stands transformed. Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support -- and what's more, they are working. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange, and the Polish-America Enterprise Fund, providing seed capital to help Poland prosper. Gone are the slogans and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices, new hope. Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there are things that have not changed -- things that sustained you through your darkest days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

Of course, in many places, and for many people, there is more pain than progress -- real hardship, resulting from 40 years of Communist mis-rule. But make no mistake: the path you have chosen is the right path. Free government and free enterprise have helped Poland overcome a crippling past. Free government and free markets will bring Poland a bright future. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State. Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by

freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy.

Let there be no doubt: America shares Poland's dream. America wants Poland to succeed. //

[[In the fall of 1989 -- in the early moments of Poland's revolution -- the United States took the lead in creating a \$1 billion fund to stabilize the Polish zloty. That stabilization fund helped support the market reforms that now fuel Poland's growing prosperity. Now, with the success of your reforms, the time has come to take the next step -- to start planning for the day the stabilization fund can be harnessed for new uses.

To that end, once Poland has reached agreement with the IMF on its economic program, the U.S. is prepared to convert its portion of the fund to support the next stage of Poland's reform. Because of your hard work -- because of your energy and enterprise -- Poland's progress is entering a new phase: and I will urge my partners at the Munich Summit to follow our lead.

//]]

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this nation: Lech Walesa. Father Popieluszko. Pope John Paul II.

//

Wah-WHEH-sah

pah-pyeh-WOOSH-koh

But Poland could not have come this far -- Poland could not have won its freedom if only a few had the courage to stand against the State. Freedom was won by the every-day heroes of the underground: The men and women who kept faith when faith was

forbidden -- who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. //

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. // Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands -- building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build that dream -- here at home. //

As President / as a fellow democrat / as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed. America wants Poland to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. //

Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

#



HISTORICAL PICTURE SERVICE, CHICAGO

Ignacy Paderewski, the foremost pianist of his day, was also a leader of the Polish independence movement.

years to the upper Cretaceous and indicates a much wider distribution than presently exists.

The common name derives from the distinctive spatula-like paddle that extends from the snout. It is used to locate food, plankton and small crustaceans, which are filtered by the gill rakers as water is passed through the mouth. The paddle, a large pointed gill cover, and smooth, almost scaleless skin are unique features. Other features are primitive. The short intestine has a spiral valve like that of a shark. The upper lobe of the caudal fin is supported by the vertebral column, and the skeleton is mostly cartilage.

Both species are large river fishes. The American paddlefish averages 30 to 50 pounds (14–23 kg). The record is 168 pounds (76 kg) for a fish slightly more than 6 feet (2 meters) in length. Growth to maturity is slow, taking seven to eight years. Chinese paddlefish grow much larger. The confirmed record is 12 feet (3.6 meters), and there are unconfirmed reports of 20-foot (6-meter) individuals. American paddlefish populations have declined in recent years because of dam construction and river pollution.

The paddlefish family, Polydontidae, is in the subclass Chondrostei, class Actinopterygii.

E. O. WILEY

University of Kansas Museum of Natural History

→ **PADEREWSKI**, pä-de-ref'skē, Ignacy Jan (1860–1941), Polish musician, who was regarded as the leading pianist of his day and was an inspiration for Polish nationalism.

Early Years. Ignacy (Ignace) Paderewski was born in Kurylowka, Podolia, Poland (now in the Ukrainian SSR), on Nov. 18, 1860. Because of his obvious musical talent, he had early training at home, and he soon attracted the attention of rich patrons, who enabled him to attend the Warsaw Music Institute. He was expelled in 1877 for insubordination but was readmitted and graduated, remaining at the institute as an instructor in piano. His first published composition, an

Impromptu in F, was brought out in Warsaw in 1879.

Paderewski married in 1880. After his bride died in childbirth in 1881, he went to Berlin for further study. His wish to become a composer was encouraged by the Russian pianist and composer Anton Rubinstein. A chance meeting with the famous Polish actress Helena Modjeska, who thereafter assisted him financially, led to his taking lessons from Theodor Leschetizky in Vienna between 1884 and 1887. His public debut as a pianist was made in Vienna in 1887, in a recital shared with the soprano Pauline Lucca.

Continuing to coach with Leschetizky, Paderewski began his international career as a virtuoso with a recital at the Salle Érard, Paris, in March 1888 and was first heard in London in May 1890. His New York debut in November 1891 led to a series of more than 100 appearances throughout the United States. Extending his tours to South America, South Africa, and Australia, Paderewski soon became the most famous pianist in the world. For a time his undistinguished compositions, including his Piano Concerto in A Minor, won hearings because of his pianistic fame. Toward the end of the century, he settled at Morges, on Lake Geneva in Switzerland, and married for the second time.

Middle Years. In 1909, Paderewski was appointed director of the Warsaw Music Institute, but in 1914 he settled temporarily at Paso Robles, Calif., though continuing to maintain his home in Switzerland. During World War I he donated the income from all his public appearances to the aid of Polish war victims.

Paderewski soon became the center of the movement for the restoration of Poland as a nation. From 1918 to 1919, after his efforts for the establishment of a Polish state succeeded, he represented his country in Washington, D.C. In 1919 he became the first premier and foreign minister of the Republic of Poland and was a signatory of the Versailles Treaty, but he had difficulties with professional politicians and retired from political life in 1920.

Later Years. In 1922, Paderewski resumed his career as an international virtuoso. Although his physical powers had begun to fail he continued to play in public and was heard in the United States as late as 1939. When Poland was invaded at the opening of World War II, he joined the Polish government-in-exile in France and served as president of its parliament during 1940. He returned to the United States late that year in advanced ill health but continued his work for Poland and the Allied cause. He died in New York City on June 29, 1941, after a brief illness and, by order of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Estimate. Paderewski was a man of striking appearance and remarkable personal magnetism. The legends that grew up about him were frequently out of all proportion to the facts and to his artistic achievements. He earned a great fortune and spent it lavishly—for example, presenting \$50,000 to the Chopin Memorial Hall in Warsaw and donating \$100,000 for the building of a gigantic memorial statue of the medieval hero King Vladislav Jagiello at Krakow. He endowed several funds for fellowships to musicians, including (1900) a \$10,000 fund whose interest was awarded triennially to encourage American composers.

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*An Encyclopedia of
Quotations About Music*

compiled and edited by
NAT SHAPIRO

DOUBLEDAY & COMPANY, INC. GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK 1978

The great pianists have nothing to show save technique and affectation.

Ludwig van Beethoven (1779-1827)
To Marie Pachler-Koschak, 1817

"I Love a Piano"

Irving Berlin (1888-)
Popular song title, 1915

When I consider the appalling platitudes to which the piano has given birth, I give grateful thanks to the good fortune that forced me to compose freely and in silence, and delivered me from the tyranny of the fingers, so dangerous to thought . . .

Hector Berlioz (1803-69)

For instrumental composers the piano is a veritable guillotine that severs the head of nobleman and churl with the same impartial indifference.

Hector Berlioz

Piano, n. A parlor utensil for subduing the impenitent visitor. It is operated by depressing the keys of the machine and the spirits of the audience.

Ambrose Bierce (1842-?1914)
The Devil's Dictionary, 1911

Bach is the foundation of piano playing, Liszt the summit. The two make Beethoven possible.

Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924)
Rules for Practicing the Piano, 1898

Respect the pianoforte! It gives a single man command over something complete: in its ability to go from very soft to very loud in one and the same register it excels all other instruments. The trumpet can blare, but not sigh; the flute is contrary; the pianoforte can do both. Its range embraces the highest and lowest practicable notes. Respect the pianoforte!

Ferruccio Busoni

They laughed when I sat down at the piano. But when I started to play!

John Caples (1900-)
Advertisement for U. S. School
of Music, 1925

If the devil some good night should take his hammer and smite in slivers all and every piano of our European world, so that in broad Europe there was not one piano left soundable, would the harm be great? Would not, on the contrary, the relief be considerable? For once that you hear any real music from a piano, do you not five hundred times hear mere artistic somersaults, distorted jingling, and the hapless pretense of music?

Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881)

It's a pity to shoot the pianist when the piano is out of tune.

René Coty (1882-1962), President of France
Quoted in *Time*, January 4, 1957

'Tis wonderful how soon a piano gets into a log-hut on the frontier.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-82)
"Civilization," 1870

All I know is, for every note, there is another note that melts it. I just hear a sound coming into my head and hope to catch it with my hands.

Erroll Garner (1921-77)

(Bernard Shaw) persisted in regarding the fortissimos of Paderewski . . . as brutal contests between the piano and the pianist to settle the question of the survival of the fittest.

Archibald Henderson (1877-1963)
George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century, 1956

Don't be ashamed if you can't play the piano; be proud of it.

E. W. Howe
Country Town Sayings, 1911

A pianoforte is a harp in a box.

Leigh Hunt (1784-1859)
The Seer, 1840

I never practice; I always play.

Wanda Landowska (1877-1959)
Time, December 1, 1952

My whole trick is to keep the tune well out in front. If I play Tchaikovsky I play his melodies and skip his spiritual struggles. Naturally I condense. I have to know just how many notes my audiences will stand for. If there's time left over I fill in with a lot of runs up and down the keyboard.

Liberace (1919-)
Quoted in *The Popular Arts*, edited
by Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel, 1964

Many persons still wear vests, read books, write their own Christmas greetings, go to the theater, shave with straight razors, and play the piano.

Arthur Loesser (1894-1969)
Men, Women and Pianos, 1954

There was a gentleman who rendered a selection at the piano, very marvelous music that made me want to play the piano very, very much. The only trouble was that this gentleman had long, bushy hair, and because the piano was known in our circle as an instrument for a lady, this confirmed me in my idea that if I played piano I would be misunderstood.

Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton
Quoted in *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya*,
edited by Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, 1955

If I don't practice for one day, I know it; if I don't practice for two days, the critics know it; if I don't practice for three days, the audience knows it.

Ignacy Paderewski (1860-1941)

Piano playing is more difficult than statesmanship. It is harder to wake emotions in ivory keys than it is in human beings.

Ignacy Paderewski

. . . And when he jams with the bass and guitar they holler "Aw, Beat me daddy, eight to the bar."

"Beat Me Daddy, Eight to the Bar,"
Popular song by Don Raye, Hughie Prince,
and Eleanor Sheehy, 1940

The piano bard, the piano rhapsodist, the piano mind, the piano soul is Chopin. Tragic, romantic, lyric, heroic, dramatic, fantastic, soulful, sweet, dreamy, brilliant, grand, simple: all possible expressions are found in his compositions, and all are sung by him upon his instrument.

Anton Rubinstein (1829-94)

I cannot tell you how much I love to play for people . . . sometimes when I sit down to practice and there is no one else in the room I have to stifle my impulse to ring for the elevator man and offer him money to come in and hear me.

Arthur Rubinstein (1887-)
Holiday, May 1963

Please don't tell Mr. Hurok, but I love playing the piano so much, I would do it for nothing.

Arthur Rubinstein
"Rubinstein Speaking," New York
Times Magazine, January 26, 1964

Have I a secret about playing the piano? It is a very simple one. I sit down on the piano-stool and make myself comfortable—and I always make sure that the lid over the keyboard is open before I start to play.

Artur Schnabel (1882-1951)

The notes I handle no better than many pianists. But the pauses between the notes—ah, that is where the art resides!

Artur Schnabel
Chicago Daily News, June 11, 1958

Jazz has never existed in Africa, and it doesn't exist there today. It was formed from the two musical cultures; from the African, which has the highest development of rhythm in the world, and from the European, which has the greatest development of harmony in the world; and it happened in America.

Max Kaminsky (1908-)
My Life in Jazz, 1963

Jazz joins together what man has put asunder. To man the theorizer, builder, tradesman and scientist, jazz restores man the tribesman, maker of symbols and myths and dreams . . .

Father G. V. Kennard, S.J. (1919-)
Quoted by Nat Hentoff in *Show*,
November 1961

To swing is to affirm.

Father G. V. Kennard, S.J.
From album notes to *Shelly Manne and
His Men*, Volume 5

"Jazz," used mainly as an adjective descriptive of a band. The groups that play for dancing, when colored, seem infected with a virus that they try to instill as a stimulus to others. They shake and jump and writhe in ways to suggest a return to the medieval jumping mania.

Walter Kingsley
New York *Sun*, 1917

Jazz is the best of all nourishments. It feeds the creative spirit like nothing else can. It is a fantastic adventure, an exciting game of giving and taking and exchanging musical ideas with brothers and friends. When the conditions are right, it is possible to achieve a level of rapport that is nowhere else to be found in music—or for that matter—in art.

Michel Legrand (1932-)

Swinging is like being on a tightrope or roller coaster. It's like walking in space. It's like a soufflé: It rises and rises and rises.

Marian McPartland (1920-)
Quoted by Whitney Balliett, *Alec Wilder
and His Friends*, 1974

There wouldn't be a soul around. Then, when it was time to start the dance, he'd say, "Let's call the children home." And he'd put his horn out the window and blow, and everyone would come running.

Edward "Kid" Ory (1886-1973)
Speaking about the legendary New Orleans
trumpeter Buddy Bolden, quoted in
Hear Me Talkin' to Ya
Edited by Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, 1955

It (jazz) is obviously a curious use of rhythmic resources. And moreover what a terrible revenge by the culture of the Negroes on that of the whites!

Ignacy Paderewski (1860-1941)

Music is your own experience, your thoughts, your wisdom. If you don't live it, it won't come out of your horn.

Charlie Parker (1920-55)
Quoted in *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya*
Edited by Nat Shapiro and Nat Hentoff, 1955

Jazz,
The meaning of it,
Is as evasive as silence.
Name one who could
Accurately define this
Passional art that slices
And churns one's senses
Into so many delicate
barbarous
And uncountable patterns.

Gordon Parks (1912-)
Esquire, December 1975

July 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO PEOPLE OF POLAND, CASTLE SQUARE, WARSAW

I. SUMMARY

On Sunday, July 5 at 2:20 p.m. you will deliver remarks to a mass of humanity in Castle Square, Warsaw, Poland.

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II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 8 minutes / cards), focus on the

- *democracy; free Poland*
- *economic initiative*

*Poland's progress towards
free markets & democracy
since the
Rev of '89.*

July 2, 1992

* MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST
FROM: DAN MC GROARTY
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND, CASTLE
SQUARE, WARSAW

I. SUMMARY

On Sunday, July 5 at 2:20 p.m. you will deliver remarks to an audience of over 50,000 in Castle Square, Warsaw, Poland.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 8 minutes / cards), focus on Poland's progress toward free markets and democracy since the Revolution of '89.

Please not trans. & b simultaneous.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST
FROM: DAN MC GROARTY
SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND, CASTLE
SQUARE, WARSAW

I. SUMMARY

On Sunday, July 5 at 2:20 p.m. you will deliver remarks to an audience of over ~~50,000~~ in Castle Square, Warsaw, Poland.
about 10,000

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately ⁹8 minutes / cards), focus on Poland's progress toward free markets and democracy since the Revolution of '89.

Please note: the translation will be simultaneous.

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The Struggles for Poland



Neal Ascherson



Random House
New York

the clubs of the ZOMO, people were becoming less willing to take mass action in public. Instead, an unofficial publishing industry had revived on a much larger scale than that of the 1970s, while Solidarity survived mostly in the form of secret workers' groups in the factories which supported workmates in political trouble and distributed opposition literature.

There was talk of setting up an underground 'alternative society', on the model of the wartime resistance or the nineteenth-century conspiracies. To some extent, this came about. But the opposition admitted to a lack of clear perspectives. Its activists could neither prepare insurrection nor expect foreign liberation. The best they could do was to preserve independent thought and discussion, publish as many facts and figures about the past and the present as they could, and wait patiently for something to change.

It was a deadlock. Meanwhile, the Jaruzelski group tried uneasily to combine harsh repression of 'extremists' with an appearance of broad tolerance towards the majority. The contradictions in this approach broke surface in October 1984, when a gang of secret policemen from the religious affairs department of the ministry of the interior abducted and atrociously murdered Father Jerzy Popiełuszko.

'Father Jerzy', a modest, intense young man, was the best known of the radical priests who had become famous in the post-Solidarity period. His 'Masses for the Fatherland' attracted huge crowds of Solidarity supporters to the church in north Warsaw where he worked - much to the alarm of Cardinal Glemp. For over a year, he had been the target of press attacks and police harassment.

His murder outraged the entire nation. Jaruzelski, desperate to show that he bore no responsibility, ordered a long public trial of Popiełuszko's killers, attended by the press. It emerged from the trial that the murderers had enjoyed some encouragement from senior officials in the ministry, but - although there was strong suspicion that powerful hardline figures in the party had provoked the murder to wreck Jaruzelski and his policy of national compromise - guilt stayed with the men in the dock.

Father Popiełuszko became a martyr; his funeral in Warsaw in a sea of flowers and patriotic banners was attended by Lech Wałęsa and many other former leaders of Solidarity. Before nearly half a million mourners, Wałęsa spoke his own farewell. 'Rest in peace. Solidarity is alive, because you have given your life for it.'

This was true, and yet less than the truth. From the murder, the active opposition gained a new moral intensity. But the death of Father Jerzy also revealed the limits of what was possible in Poland. On the one hand, there were elements in the régime prepared to kill rather than to lose control, and this fact - reinforcing the lessons of December 1981 - told the opposition that the price of all-out resistance was too high. On the other hand, the régime was tacitly admitting that the price of reducing Poland to conformity and obedience was

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LEVEL 2 - 1 OF 9 STORIES

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May 26, 1989, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: WEEKEND; PAGE N6

LENGTH: 2613 words

HEADLINE: The Cemetery

BYLINE: Larry Fox

BODY:

BEFORE DAWN this morning, the solemn ritual will have been repeated once again on the hills overlooking Washington. In the dark fields surrounding a mansion built to house a memorial to George Washington, soldiers from the 3d U.S. Infantry will have carefully placed small American flags in front of the more than 200,000 graves and columbarium niches at Arlington National Cemetery.

This 41-year-old ritual -- "Flags In," the military calls it -- takes place each year at a cemetery whose history is woven from every thread of this nation. The long rows of stones on the gentle hills mark the resting places of presidents and slaves, gallant soldiers and political rebels, brave adventurers who challenged the threshold of space and courageous immigrants who left the Old World for the promise of the New.

Resting at Arlington, too, are the Unknowns, the four soldiers whose identities are "known but to God." These four soldiers are honored today at the elegant Tomb of the Unknowns, protected by a round-the-clock honor guard. The tomb is on a hilltop across from another hill holding the graves of John and Robert Kennedy and Arlington House, the Custis-Lee mansion built by Washington Custis, George Washington's adopted son.

These four sites draw thousands of visitors to the cemetery every day. Just a few steps away from these Tourmobile stops, unnoticed by the crowds, are other markers that tell as much about the nation and its past, the good and the bad, as any history book.

THE HONORED DEAD

Arlington Cemetery is considered a resting place of honor today. It wasn't always so.

Until after World War I, the cemetery was considered little more than a potter's field, a burial place for those who could not afford to be shipped home for burial. This changed with the unveiling of the USS Maine Monument in 1912, the erection of the Confederate Monument in 1914 and the creation of the Tomb of the Unknowns in 1921. These three monuments made the cemetery a true national shrine, whose more than 213,000 graves reflect much about America.

The oldest grave is that of Mary Randolph, who claimed a kinship with Pocahontas and was a cousin of Robert E. Lee and Thomas Jefferson, and is believed to have been the godmother of Custis' daughter. Randolph died in

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1828, and Custis allowed her burial on his estate because of her special relationship with his wife and daughter.

The designer of Washington, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, lies in front of Arlington House, buried there in 1909 after his remains were moved from their original resting place in Prince George's County.

And then there is the grave of James Parks, a former slave on the estate who was born on the grounds around 1843. After the Civil War, he worked at the cemetery until his death in 1929. He was buried at Arlington under a special exception to the rules of admission.

Sections 23 and 27, on the north and west sides of the cemetery, are filled with the graves of black soldiers and freed slaves who had lived on the grounds, for it wasn't until 1949 that the military, living and dead, was desegregated.

The military is, of course, well represented, with the graves of the senior ranks apparently following the old military axiom: Take the high ground. At Arlington, the high ground appears taken by the graves of senior officers, admirals and generals.

Among those officers are John Lincoln Clem, who became famous as the Drummer Boy of Chickamauga and later rose to the rank of major general, and Philip Kearny, hero of the Mexican and Civil wars.

As generations passed, new wars brought new markers. On the hill next to the Amphitheater is the mast of the USS Maine, the battleship that blew up in Havana harbor, triggering the Spanish-American War. It stands as a marker for the graves of 229 of its sailors buried around it.

John (Black Jack) Pershing is buried under a simple stone, surrounded by the graves of his comrades from the Great War. Audie Murphy, the most decorated soldier of World War II, lies here, as do Rene Arthur Gagnon, Michael Strank and Ira Hamilton Hayes, three Marines captured forever in a photograph showing them raising the flag on Mount Suribachi on Iwo Jima. The Iwo Jima monument is on the north side of the cemetery.

The modern-day military is also represented, with graves and memorials that say much about the present state of the world. One memorial is a cedar tree next to a stone marker that declares "Let Peace Take Root." Both the tree and the monument are memorials to the 241 American servicemen killed by a terrorist bomb in Beirut in 1983 and to all victims of terrorism. Nearby is the marker of another victim, Robert Dean Stethem, the 23-year-old Waldorf, Md., sailor who was murdered by the hijackers of TWA Flight 847 in June 1985. Another memorial pays tribute to the eight servicemen who died in 1980 trying to rescue the American hostages in Iran.

Some of the graves are for former soldiers who are better known for their nonmilitary accomplishments. William Jennings Bryan, organizer of the Third Regiment of the Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, Spanish-American War, and the gifted orator and secretary of state under Woodrow Wilson; Richard Evelyn Byrd Jr., naval aviator, admiral and polar explorer; Abner Doubleday, a major general, veteran of Bull Run and Antietam, and one of the fathers of baseball; Medgar Wiley Evers, the assassinated civil rights leader and decorated Normandy veteran; boxer Joe Louis, who served in the Army giving boxing exhibitions

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during World War II; detective-story writer and World War II veteran Samuel Dashiell Hammett; Robert Todd Lincoln, son of the president and secretary of war; Grand Canyon explorer and geologist John Wesley Powell, who lost his right arm in the Battle of Shiloh; and Army surgeon Walter Reed, who discovered the cause of yellow fever.

Not all those buried at Arlington are military figures. One estimate has it that a third of the graves are those of soldiers' family members and others who were buried before admission became more restrictive.

Two presidents -- John F. Kennedy and William Howard Taft (who was also a chief justice) -- and more than 100 members of Congress are buried here.

Forty foreigners are buried here, including Sir John Dill, a British field marshal who died while serving in Washington in 1944, and one oddity, Anton Hilberath, a German first sergeant who was a prisoner of war when he died in April 1946. He was buried in Arlington in accord with the Geneva Convention.

One other foreigner, composer Ignace Jan Paderewski, is just visiting. The president-in-exile of Poland died in New York in 1941, while his country was occupied by the Nazis. President Roosevelt decreed that Paderewski's remains rest "temporarily" in a vault in the base of the USS Maine Memorial until Poland was free.

After the war ended, the Soviets took control of Poland and balked at the return of Paderewski's body. If all that isn't strange enough, Paderewski's heart rests in a bronze sculpture in the vestibule of the Shrine of Czestochowa, in Doylestown, Pa., where it was moved in 1985 after 44 years of burial in New York. The shrine bears the same name as the most famous pilgrimage spot in Poland. Questions of why the heart was originally separated from the body and then moved to Doylestown go unanswered.

And there are those who braved the extraterrestrial unknown. Two members of the shuttle Challenger crew -- Francis R. (Dick) Scobee and Michael J. Smith -- are buried here. The entire Apollo 1 crew -- Roger Chaffee, Virgil (Gus) Grissom and Edward H. White -- were buried here after they died in their capsule in a launch pad fire.

And there is one more, a man born under the czar.

THE IMMIGRANT

In the South Court Columbarium at Arlington, Row 26, lower level, are the remains of a man identified on the marker as: Samuel DRADINCAPT USA1902 -- 1983

Shmuel Dovid Radinsky was born on March 15, 1902, in the village of Aran, in what was then Russian Lithuania. Life for Jews like Shmuel was very difficult under the czar. Shmuel's father and other relatives had left for America, but it wasn't until 1910, with sufficient finances and courage, that Shmuel, his sister Fanny and their mother fled over the border into Germany, barely escaping the shots of border guards.

In time they obtained steerage passage and arrived at Ellis Island, where his father, older sister and other relatives welcomed them to the New World. They lived in New York for a year, until Shmuel's father, a very religious man,

The Washington Post, May 26, 1989

heard that a synagogue in the little town of Shenandoah, Pa., was seeking a shamus -- a caretaker.

The family moved to Shenandoah, living in the basement of the synagogue until Shmuel's family was able to buy a house with money his mother earned selling baked goods.

Shmuel, by then known by his Americanized name of Samuel David Radin, graduated from the local high school. Samuel wanted to go to college to study medicine, but his father asserted he would pay for college only if Samuel studied to be a rabbi. Samuel declined, a decision that caused a lifelong rift with his father.

Samuel went to work in the local mines, where he picked up pieces of coal. In time, he saved enough money to go to Columbia University, where he earned a pharmacist's degree. He opened a small drugstore in New York, but his dream still was to be a doctor.

With his own savings and the help of his brother, Abraham, a success in the garment trade in New York, Samuel went to the University of Michigan, where in 1935 he graduated cum laude.

In 1935 he opened a practice in the Bronx. In 1942, he joined the Army of his adopted land as a captain, serving in Arkansas and India during the war. After the conflict, he was stationed in Army hospitals in Missouri and Michigan.

In 1946, he married Dorothy Hirsh, a red-haired, Lithuanian-born nurse who came to America a month before Hitler's attack on Poland. A year later, he left the Army and joined the staff of the Veterans Administration hospital in Butler, Pa., a small industrial town about 35 miles north of Pittsburgh.

In Butler, he settled down to working at the hospital and helping Dorothy raise their two daughters, Sandra and Barbara. After traveling so much -- Aran, Germany, Ellis Island, Shenandoah, New York, Michigan, Arkansas, Missouri and India -- he vowed never to travel again. "Butler," he declared, "has everything I need."

He was a short, rotund man who devoted his retirement years to reading newspapers, books and the entire Encyclopaedia Britannica. He was quiet, but enjoyed lively discussions of foreign and domestic affairs. Frequently he would end the discussion of some Washington blunder by laughing, "What do you expect in a capitalist society?" And he would then turn to the financial pages of the newspaper to check on his defense industry stocks.

He favored boiled eggs for breakfast, but the rest of his meals depended on whatever diet he was on at that time. For example, for months he insisted on eating only pancakes for lunch. Then, suddenly, he would declare that he had changed and would eat only cottage cheese and fruit, or soup and rice. Whatever his main staple, he would always have his "tea," a mixture of hot water and milk.

He loved his daughters and Nelson Eddy and Jeanette MacDonald movies, seemed puzzled by college football and, I am told, could yell loud enough to shake the house. I know all these things, you see, because I married his elder daughter, Barbara.

The Washington Post, May 26, 1989

His remains were interred at Arlington on a cold day in January 1984, in what the military calls a simple honors ceremony, with a flag, a firing party, casket team and bugler.

And on that day, the mournful notes of taps seized my chest just as they had when I first heard them, over the grave of my own father, a simple soldier named Marshall Ronald Fox, on a bleak day in October 1955, when he was buried at Zachary Taylor National Cemetery in Louisville, Ky.

The flags -- one with 48 stars, the other with 50 -- that covered their caskets are possessions I will pass on to my sons.

FULL HONORS

If you visit Arlington National Cemetery, break away from the crowds and wander the fields of stones. If you pause and listen, you can hear sounds of ceremony.

The clip-clop of horses' hoofs. The horse-drawn caisson, usually associated with state funerals, is a common sight at Arlington. The cracks of rifle fire. The salute to another fallen comrade is followed by the bugle notes of taps.

There are about 15 funerals a day at Arlington, and like the rest of the military, even these have rank. There are full honors and modified or simple honors. All former and current members of the armed forces may have modified or simple honors: a bugler, firing party, casket team and flag-draped coffin. Members of the armed forces with a rank equal to warrant officer and above may have full honors: a color guard, escort platoon, military band, casket team, firing party, bugler and flag-draped coffin. Officers are also entitled to a horse-drawn caisson to carry the casket, and colonels and above may also have a caparisoned or riderless horse to accompany the caisson. Generals and admirals may have cannon salutes, 11 for one star up to 17 for four stars.

The rituals are not limited to the funerals. At the Tomb of the Unknowns, the tomb guard goes through a ceremony as eloquent as it is simple.

The tomb guards are an elite corps. All have unblemished military records, meet certain physical requirements and possess an ability to pass the stiff training.

It's tough duty. The tomb guard's post is a 21-step walk in front of the 50-ton white marble tomb on the terrace just east of the Amphitheater. The precision of the guard's walk is attested to by the 21 worn places on the otherwise-unmarked rubber mat on which he steps. The walk, at a precise 90-steps-per-minute cadence, is ended by a sharp click of the heels, a turn to face the tomb, a 21-second pause, a "shoulder arms" movement in which the guard shifts his rifle to his shoulder away from the tomb and then another 21 steps.

The 21 steps and seconds of silence are symbolic of the 21-gun salute.

This 24-hour honor guard has been in existence only 52 years. In 1925, the first guard was a watchman who wasn't even a soldier. A year later, a military guard was posted, but only during daylight hours. The 24-hour guard started in 1937, and 11 years later, the duty was assigned to the elite 3d U.S. Infantry (called the "Old Guard" because it's the oldest active U.S. military unit).

The Washington Post, May 26, 1989

The changing of the tomb guard is a solemn ceremony, a ritual that takes place every half-hour from April through September, hourly from October through March and every two hours at night.

The relief commander walks out to the center of the terrace, salutes the tomb, turns and asks the crowd for silence. He returns to the edge of the terrace and conducts a meticulous inspection of the relief guard, his uniform and his rifle. Then, marching as if one, the relief commander and the incoming guard meet the sentinel on duty in the center of the terrace in front of the tomb.

The three soldiers salute, duty orders are exchanged, and the new guard takes up his post. The relief commander and the retiring guard then exit, again marching in unison.

The tomb guard marches at the Tomb of the Unknowns, but he marches for many, many more than just those four soldiers. Long after the visitors leave and the gates close for the day, alone on a hill surrounded by thousands of stone markers, the silent sentinel patrols his post through the long, lonely night: 21 steps, a turn and 21 seconds of silence.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, MILITARY HEADSTONES AT ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY. JOHN MCDONNELL

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: CEMETERIES AND TOMBS; ARLINGTON COUNTY

ORGANIZATION: ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

LEVEL 2 - 2 OF 9 STORIES

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November 11, 1987, Wednesday, Home Edition

SECTION: View; Part 5; Page 2; Column 1; View Desk

LENGTH: 1014 words

HEADLINE: A NATIONAL SHRINE CALLED ARLINGTON;
NO FACET OF AMERICAN HISTORY OVERLOOKED IN CEMETERY

SERIES: Charles Hillinger's America

BYLINE: By CHARLES HILLINGER, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY, Va.

BODY:

This burial place of history and heroes, of men and women who fought in all of America's wars, will be crowded this Veterans Day with those who come to honor the more than 210,000 interred here.

At 11 a.m. at this national shrine overlooking the Potomac River and the nation's Capitol, outgoing Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger is scheduled to place the traditional Veterans Day presidential wreath at the Tomb of the Unknowns.

Immediately after, the annual National Veterans Memorial Service, sponsored by the Veterans Administration, takes place at the cemetery's Memorial Amphitheatre.

A few of those making a Veterans Day pilgrimage will be men in their late 80s, 90s, and perhaps one or more older than 100. They will trudge up a steep hill to pay homage to General of the Armies and Pulitzer Prize-winning author John J. (Black Jack) Pershing.

These men, who served under Pershing during World War I, will gather as they do each Veterans Day at the simple, white Vermont marble, "government issue" 3-foot headstone that marks his grave.

Graves of men and women who sacrificed their lives in the service of their country -- and burial sites of veterans who served in wars of this country -- will be visited today by relatives and friends.

Everywhere you look across the lush, green rolling hills of the 612-acre national cemetery are rows of white headstones. Interspersed among the glistening marble markers are monuments and memorials.

There is no facet of American history overlooked in this hallowed graveyard. Here rests the remains of those who served in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican and Civil wars, the Indian campaigns, the Spanish-American War, the Philippine Insurrection, World Wars I and II, and the Korean and Vietnam wars.

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Here are the graves of two Presidents, William Howard Taft and John Fitzgerald Kennedy, of Supreme Court Justices, members of Congress and Cabinet and other prominent Americans.

Headstones with gold lettering mark the final resting place of more than 300 Medal of Honor recipients.

One section of the cemetery holds the graves of more than 3,800 former slaves with headstones designated civilian or citizen.

A massive sarcophagus contains the remains of 2,111 unknowns of the Civil War, scattered bones collected from battlefields of Union and Confederate soldiers. A total of 4,725 unknowns from America's wars are buried at the cemetery.

One grave, in a section set aside for Union soldiers, has a pointed headstone signifying a Confederate burial. The unknown soldier was found wearing a Confederate jacket and Union trousers.

The grave of Philip Kearny who lost his left arm in the Mexican War and his life in the Civil War is marked with a life-size statue of the general on his horse.

Confederate Monument

On June 14, 1914, President Woodrow Wilson dedicated the 32-foot-tall Confederate Monument, a gift from the United Daughters of the Confederacy, crowned with a larger-than-life statue of a woman holding a laurel wreath and facing the South.

When the monument was dedicated, Union and Confederate veterans placed wreaths on graves of their former enemies symbolizing reconciliation.

The towering mast of the battleship Maine is here, raised from Havana harbor after the ship was sunk, a prelude to the Spanish-American War. In the shadows of the mast are headstones for the graves of 229 men who went down with the ship.

"Remember the Maine!" The slogan of so long ago is etched on the memorial.

Chaplains' Hill has graves for 134 chaplains of various faiths killed in five wars. Chaplains' Monument on the hill commemorates 23 who lost their lives in World War I. One of the chaplains is Maj. Charles J. Watters, killed during an assault on Hill 875 near Dak To in Vietnam.

The snow-white statue of a nurse stands on a hill above the graves of hundreds of nurses who have served in the Armed Forces. Nearby, are 2,700 cenotaphs in memory of airmen and sailors whose bodies have never been found.

Also, there are the Rough Riders Monument, a Seabees Memorial and the Pyramid Memorial to members of the Coast Guard killed at sea. Nine astronauts are buried in Arlington National Cemetery, and there is a Challenger memorial with busts of those aboard the ill-fated space shuttle mission.

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A memorial to the Screaming Eagles, the 101st Army Airborne Division, commemorates the 248 soldiers killed in the plane crash at Gander, Newfoundland, in December, 1985.

Near the memorial to the 161 servicemen who were killed in the Marine barracks Oct. 23, 1983, near the Beirut International Airport, is the grave of seaman Robert Stethem, killed by terrorists during the TWA hijacking June 15, 1985, and a cedar tree -- a living memorial to all victims of terrorism throughout the world.

Here are buried many of America's best known heroes, "Hap" Arnold, Omar Bradley, Roger Chaffee, Claire Chennault, George Crook, "Wild Bill" Donovan, Gus Grissom, "Bull" Halsey, George C. Marshall, Audie Murphy, Francis Gary Powers, Hyman Rickover, Philip Henry Sherman, Walter Bedell Smith and Jonathan Wainwright -- to name but a few.

Ira Hayes, the Pima Indian of Iwo Jima flag-raising fame is here. So is Daniel (Chappie) James, the first black four-star general, Robert E. Peary, the first person to reach the North Pole, Civil Rights leader Medgar Evers, Chief Justice Earl Warren.

So are heavyweight champion Joe Louis, actor Lee Marvin, ABC correspondent Frank Reynolds and actress Constance Bennett buried with her husband, Air Force Brig. Gen. John Coulter.

The Polish American Legion will be placing a wreath today at a casket that has been temporarily stored since 1941 under the monument to the battleship Maine. When Jan Paderewski, pianist-composer and president of the Polish government in exile, died in this country, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered his body kept in Arlington National Cemetery to be returned to his homeland when Poland was free.

Paderewski is one of 43 foreigners buried at the cemetery, including one German and two Italian prisoners of war.

GRAPHIC: Photo, Pfc. John Porter, 19, on duty at the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery. CHARLES HILLINGER

TYPE:

Series; Profile

SUBJECT:

UNITED STATES -- HISTORY; MEMORIALS; TOMBS; VETERANS; CEMETERIES

LEVEL 2 - 3 OF 9 STORIES

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November 11, 1987, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE D1

LENGTH: 1344 words

HEADLINE: At History's Resting Place;
Veterans Day and the Autumn Stillness of Arlington

BYLINE: Michael Kernan, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The rain is falling straight down on the endless rows of white headstones at Arlington National Cemetery. The ground is covered with leaves, and the bare trees gleam black. Big yellow sycamore leaves plummet one by one to litter the carefully swept walkways. Off back from the road, among the ranked stones, men in slickers are setting up an awning for a burial ceremony.

About 15 burials a day are held here, weekdays. During the Vietnam war as many as 37 a day were buried at Arlington.

At the Tomb of the Unknowns people are working with quiet purpose, getting ready for the Veterans Day memorial program beginning at 11 a.m., the hour the Armistice began in 1918, and the laying of the wreath by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger -- to be one of his last official acts. Already the press scaffolding has been erected next to the tomb, and folding chairs are in place at the amphitheater.

The sentry on duty strides through the rain: 21 steps in the eerie gliding ceremonial pace; turn; pause 21 seconds; turn; march back. By regulation, he is over six feet tall, has a 28-inch waist, patrols the tomb for an hour before being relieved. In the summer, sentinel duty is 30 minutes; at night it is two hours.

The sentry wears wool, even in August, because it holds a crease, and before he goes on his buddies tuck away all wrinkles in the jacket so it looks tailor-made, every button and bit of brass newly shined, every speck of lint plucked off.

On bright days the sentry wears dark glasses against the glare of white marble. Not today. The soldier on duty, with rain dripping from his visor and streaming down his M14 rifle and soaking his pant legs, is Pfc. John Ahearn of Pensacola, Fla.

The large white tomb he is guarding -- and he does guard it, and sometimes will confront an unruly visitor, for this is a working guard post -- overlooks the long slope that leads to the capital, invisible now in the fog. On good days there are crowds here, but today the sentry walks alone. There is no sound but the heel clicks, the slap of white-gloved hand against rifle, the steady splash of rain on stone.

The Unknown Soldier was picked from 1,237 unidentified American dead in World War I. Four anonymous bodies were exhumed from different cemeteries in France,

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and a decorated infantryman, Sgt. Edward F. Younger, was chosen to pick one of these.

"I went into the room and walked past the caskets," he said, as reported in Philip Bigler's book about Arlington, "In Honored Glory," just published by Vandamere Press of Arlington. "I walked around them three times. Suddenly I stopped. It was as though something had pulled me. A voice seemed to say: 'This is a pal of yours.' "

He placed a white rose on the coffin.

The Unknown Soldier was buried Nov. 11, 1921. President Warren Harding presented him the Congressional Medal of Honor and the Distinguished Service Cross. Chief Plenty Coups, a Crow Indian attending the ceremony to represent all native Americans, stepped forward unannounced and put his war bonnet on the sarcophagus.

Since then three other unknowns have been buried close by: from World War II, Korea and Vietnam.

On this rainy day there are few visitors at Arlington Cemetery, no lines of people at the Kennedy graves, no chattering groups. It is quiet. Rain drips from skeletal branches, and leaves mat the ground between the headstones. The even rows follow the curves of the hills to the horizon.

Off in a glade, beneath a huge oak, three people stand by a grave: a young couple and an older woman with an umbrella. They do not move. They do not seem to be talking.

Well over 3 million people a year visit Arlington. Two hundred thousand Americans are buried on its 612 acres, and -- with tier burials, tightened eligibility rules and land acquisitions -- the cemetery can continue to receive American military dead until about 2020.

The first burial was on May 13, 1864, when Pvt. William Christman, 21-year-old Pennsylvania infantryman, was put to earth near the old Lee plantation. He had died of peritonitis barely two months after enlisting.

Not everyone was pleased with this burial, for the plantation had been confiscated on dubious grounds and auctioned to the federal government for \$ 26,800. Twenty years later the Lee heirs regained title through suit and sold the estate back to the government for \$ 150,000.

Eventually, the dead from earlier wars were moved here, so a visitor can find smooth-worn Revolutionary War markers, "wolfstones" laid flat to keep wolves, it was said, from digging into them. On many, the name is completely weathered away.

Others buried here never were known. There are 4,725 anonymous dead at Arlington, most from the Civil War, when a body had one chance in three of not being identified, writes Bigler, an American history scholar and teacher who for two years was the official cemetery historian. The bones of 2,111 soldiers uncovered at Bull Run were brought here and marked with a sarcophagus in 1866.

On a prominent knoll are rows of stones with cryptic notations: "C. Williams, civilian." "Augusta Hawkins, citizen." "Unknown." These are the dead from Arlington Village, a community of freed slaves, which was crowded off the map by the encroaching columns of headstones near the turn of the century. More than 3,800 former slaves are buried at Arlington.

Among those graves are others marked U.S.C.T., for the "colored troops" who served the Union. A few fell in the Indian wars.

Most visitors want to hear about the famous. Two presidents are buried on these slopes: Kennedy and Taft. The Kennedy funeral on Nov. 25, 1963, was one of 23 that day, and the page in the schedule book is full of erasures and notations, for the burial plans were changed several times, and other ceremonies had to be pushed back or forward.

There are empty spaces before and after the 3 p.m. slot. The name there, written in light pencil: John F. Kennedy F-H/C, meaning full honors with caisson.

Names. A lot of generals and admirals. Sheridan. Pershing. Peary. Bradley. Halsey. Marshall. Rickover. Maxwell Taylor, who parachuted into Normandy on D-Day. (One of his men in the 82nd Airborne was Raymond J. Costanzo, now superintendent of the cemetery.) Medal of Honor winners, 325 of them at last count. The Iran hostage rescue mission's dead. The Lebanon bomb victims. Grissom and Chaffee of Apollo 1, Scoobe and Smith of Challenger.

And Joe Louis, and actor Lee Marvin, who had won the Purple Heart, and newscaster Frank Reynolds, with a Silver Star. Michael Strank, Ira Hayes, Rene Gagnon, who helped raise the flag at Iwo Jima.

Confederates buried at Arlington just after the Civil War were marked "Rebel" in the old ledgers, for feelings still ran high. During World War II three prisoners, two Italians and a German, died of illness and ended up here. Every year on All Souls' Day the Italian Embassy puts flowers on the graves of Arcangelo Prudenza and Mario Batista, a long way from home.

There is the curious story of Ignace Paderewski, the great Polish pianist and national leader, who died in New York in 1941. President Roosevelt offered sanctuary for the body "until Poland is free." It still waits, like King Arthur, in a vault beneath the mast of the USS Maine. In 1963 President Kennedy dedicated a plaque memorializing the venerable statesman.

Arlington is a big place. In some older sections there are privately purchased monuments: columns, busts, marble figures, even a cannon. There are sections of close-standing memorials to the missing, and tiny graves for children, who for years were buried separately from their parents to save space. But mostly there are those even rows of white stone with name and rank and religious symbol. (For atheists, there is a whirling atom.) Privates and generals, the young who died in combat and old soldiers, medal winners and rear-echelon clerks ... they mingle here as they never did in life, lined up in modest uniformity, in silent community under the stones, under the grass, under the leaves of November.

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GRAPHIC: PHOTO, ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY'S FIELD OF HEADSTONES. BILL SNEAD

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: VETERANS' DAY; CEMETERIES AND TOMBS; ARLINGTON COUNTY

ORGANIZATION: ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

LEVEL 2 - 4 OF 9 STORIES

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November 11, 1986, Tuesday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section A; Page 14, Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 862 words

HEADLINE: WASHINGTON TALK;
The Monument That Is Arlington

BYLINE: By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Nov. 10

BODY:

It is tradition, explains Specialist Donovan L. Upchurch, one of the tall, spit-and-polish Army sentinels who guard the Tomb of the Unknowns at Arlington National Cemetery. Even the most frigid night provides no excuse for mishandling a ceremonial spin of a 9 1/2-pound M-14 rifle.

"If you drop it, you're gone," Specialist Upchurch said with a proud matter-of-factness. "You pack your stuff and leave."

Tradition rules at Arlington National Cemetery, just across the Potomac River in Virginia, enhancing the sense no doubt shared by four million annual visitors that this is the pre-eminent American shrine, the resting place for heroes from the Revolutionary War to the Challenger astronauts.

With 201,000 American military personnel and others buried there, the cemetery is at once a spiritual and patriotic monument that becomes more impressive each year. John F. Kennedy, William Jennings Bryan, Medgar Evers, Robert Todd Lincoln, Joe Louis - these are people with whom ordinary Americans can identify.

On Fames's eternal camping-ground Their silent tents are spread And glory guards with solemn round The bivouac of the dead So wrote Col. Theodore O'Hara in the poem that is found at Arlington and at all other national cemeteries.

Meticulous Attention to Detail

For many, the strongest impression of Arlington is the sense it conveys that no act of valor or commitment goes unrecognized in the grand scheme of things. Perhaps this is because of the meticulous attention to detail that characterizes the place, from the 26 different approved headstone symbols to designate the deceased's religion to the 29-inch belt to which each sentinel, regardless of physique, must conform himself.

Although many think of Arlington mainly as the burial place of military heroes and prominent politicians, not a day passes without the interment of lesser mortals.

On the day in 1963 when President Kennedy was buried, only two weeks after he had visited the cemetery, there were two dozen other funerals. When Defense

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Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger appears at 11 A.M. Tuesday, Veterans Day, at the Tomb of the Unknowns, he will lay just one of 1,800 wreaths to be placed there this year. In his prepared remarks, Mr. Weinberger says that in Arlington "rests the soul of our nation - here also should be our conscience."

Among many misconceptions about Arlington Cemetery is the idea that one has to be a member of the United States armed forces to be buried there. In fact, two Italians and a German were accorded the honor, under the terms of the Geneva Convention, after they died of natural causes while being held as prisoners of war in this country.

It also holds the remains of 7,725 unknowns, mostly from the Civil War when many fallen soldiers were buried in haste and when identification procedures were relatively primitive. "Most people think there are only three or four" unknowns, said Philip Bigler, a former Arlington historian.

And although it is by far the most famous American burial ground, it is not the only national cemetery or even the largest. It ranks third in size among the 109 national cemeteries, exceeded by those in Calverton, L.I., which has 902 acres, and in Indiantown Gap, Pa, which has 675. Arlington is run by the Army; the others are run by the Veterans Administration.

When Arlington's 612 acres are filled up, about 35 years from now at present rates of burial, it will be operated as a national shrine.

One unusual Arlington inhabitant is the body of Ignace J. Paderewski, the composer and musician who was also head of the Polish Government in Exile. Paderewski did not qualify for permanent burial at Arlington. But, at the order of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, his body was laid "temporarily" inside the memorial to the 260 sailors of the U.S.S. Maine - the ship's mast is a prominent feature of the cemetery's landscape - to await return to a free Poland.

In sharp contrast to what the cemetery has become, there is little that is noble in Arlington's origins. The Government, straining for additional grave space and worried about the land falling into the hands of the Confederacy, confiscated it from the family of Robert E. Lee after he left the ante-bellum home that graced the crest of the hill. Then the Army, intent upon punishing Lee for accepting command of the Confederate forces, filled its grounds with the dead and thereby made the manor house uninhabitable as a residence.

An anguished Mrs. Lee wrote later that graves were "even planted up to the very door without any regard to common decency." Today, Pierre L'Enfant, the man who designed the layout of the capital, is buried not far from the front of the house where the view of Washington is splendid.

Some of the most favored sites now are in Section 46, near the amphitheater, where cremated remains of the Challenger's crew await a permanent memorial to be unveiled in January. Another, which Mr. Bigler calls "very prestigious," is Section 7 A, where Joe Louis lies along with Arthur D. Nicholson Jr., the Army major shot last year by the Russians in East Germany, and John P. East, the Senator from North Carolina.

GRAPHIC: Photo of Arlington National Cemetery (NYT/Marty Katz)

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NAME: HERSHEY, ROBERT D JR

GEOGRAPHIC: ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY

LEVEL 2 - 5 OF 9 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1985 The Washington Post
January 20, 1985, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Metro; G5

LENGTH: 454 words

HEADLINE: Ceremony Remembers Paderewski;
Boys' Choir Sings Tribute to Pianist

BYLINE: By Nancy Scannell, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

The clear, strong voices of a boys' choir could be heard early yesterday at Arlington National Cemetery singing "Boze Cos Polske" (God Who Blessed Poland).

Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish patriot, statesman and musician who was being remembered at a wreath-laying ceremony, undoubtedly would have been pleased, especially by the last verse, which calls for the return of a free Poland.

The 40 boys from St. Mary's Preparatory and Frank Baranowski, dean of the Orchard Lake, Mich., school, had gathered outside the USS Maine Memorial, where Paderewski's body is entombed.

Paderewski's remains have rested in the otherwise barren tomb inside a cedar box on wheels since shortly after he died at the age of 80 in 1941. Hundreds of thousands of Poles await the fulfillment of a pledge originally made by President Franklin D. Roosevelt that the world-famous pianist's body would be returned to his homeland when Poland was free.

"There's no question in my mind he's going to remain here for some time in the future, given the current situation in Poland," said Baranowski, who, along with his students and Washington-area Polish leaders, wore a black button bearing Paderewski's name and red and white ribbons, Poland's colors.

Baranowski and the students from St. Mary's, which is affiliated with the Polish Seminary of America, are here for the inaugural festivities, and to drum up support for a nationwide campaign to persuade Congress to confer honorary U.S. citizenship on Paderewski.

"It's a very restricted privilege," Baranowski said. "You have to have a good cause and a good case." Baranowski, along with Myra Lenard, national executive director of the Polish-American Congress, and her husband, Casimir, president of the group's local chapter, recounted the pianist's accomplishments.

Paderewski, who was called "perhaps the greatest living man" by Supreme Court Justice Harlan Stone, initially gained his fame as a pianist. That reputation was soon matched by one as a statesman and humanitarian.

During World War I, he donated his income to war victims, and became the prime force in the restoration of Poland as a nation through the Versailles Treaty. He subsequently served as ambassador to the United States, and the

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first premier and foreign minister of the Republic of Poland. During the Depression, he helped raised funds for hungry Americans, and served as president of the Polish Parliament in exile during World War II.

Paderewski was decorated by many nations, but it was the United States he loved and believed to be Poland's true friend, said Myra Lenard. He loved this country so much, she said, that he asked that his heart be kept here. It has been enshrined in a Brooklyn mausoleum.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Debra Gordon, member of Paderewski memorial committee board, pays respects. By Rich Lipski -- The Washington Post

LEVEL 2 - 6 OF 9 STORIES

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July 14, 1983, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: Metro; Metro Scene; C2

LENGTH: 282 words

HEADLINE: A Poignant Footnote

BYLINE: By JACK EISEN

KEYWORD: EISEN01

BODY:

MetroScene usually avoids the heavy problems of international relations you can amply read about elsewhere in this paper. But the persistent report that Poland's leaders may soon lift martial law and see American sanctions eased has a poignantly local angle.

My source is Bryson Rash. If you don't recognize the name, you obviously haven't been around town very long. Rash, now retired, was probably Washington's first universally recognized television newscaster (for NBC and its local affiliate, WRC-TV-4).

To his everlasting credit, Rash never allowed the cosmic reporting of global and national events to obscure the fact that his viewer/listeners were Washingtonians. He became a walking repository of local lore.

Which, roundabout as it may seem, brings us back to the Polish situation. Rash has written a book ("Footnote Washington," EPM Publications Inc., \$7.95) that contains many anecdotes, including the one that follows about Ignace Jan Paderewski, a Polish composer, pianist and statesman.

"With his country controlled by foreign armies in World War II, Paderewski became president of the Polish government in exile," Rash wrote.

"He died in New York City in June 1941. Because his body could not be returned to his native land . . . President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered that he would rest in Arlington Cemetery and be returned to his homeland when Poland was free.

"To this day the body of Ignace Jan Paderewski rests in its sturdy oak coffin in the little crypt in the marble base of the Arlington Cemetery memorial of the Battleship Maine," which had been sunk at the outset of the Spanish-American War.

"Poland," Rash concludes sadly, "is not yet free."

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February 20, 1983, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 7; Page 1, Column 2; Book Review Desk

LENGTH: 3297 words

HEADLINE: AN AMERICAN LIFE

BYLINE: By Lewis H. Lapham

BODY:

Lewis H. Lapham, a former editor of Harper's Magazine, is writing a book on the pathologies of wealth in America.

AFTER LONG SILENCE By Michael Straight. Illustrated. 351 pp. New York: W.W.Norton & Co. \$17.50.

BORN rich, endowed with a literary sensibility and fortified by impeccable social and intellectual connections, Michael Straight had every reason to expect that at the end of his life's voyage he would sail into a safe harbor where somebody would meet him with prizes and a band. Things didn't work out as well as he could have hoped. In March of 1981, at the age of 64, Mr. Straight saw himself portrayed in the British press as a traitor and a former agent of Communist espionage. The newspapers further identified him as a wealthy, middle-aged American belonging to a famous family. To Mr. Straight the characterization seemed appallingly inadequate. Surely there must have been more to his life than could be inferred from those few lines of commercial prose; somehow the words seemed too barren, too lacking in subtlety, too small. Much the same sort of description could be affixed as easily to a common plutocrat, to a steel magnate who made a hobby of collecting Impressionist paintings or a university trustee who translated Rilke. Was it not true that Mr. Straight had dreamed heroic dreams, written urgent editorials for The New Republic on the great issues of war and peace, known everybody who was anybody in the middle passages of the 20th century?

Certainly Mr. Straight hopes it was true. He offers 'After Long Silence' as both apology and explanation for a life of which he would like to hold a larger opinion than the one reflected in the mirror of the news. He wants very much to believe that he wasn't merely a well-intentioned amateur playing with the dolls of art and revolution.

The narrative deals with the first 47 years of Mr. Straight's life - from the autumn morning in 1916, when he received a note from Felix Frankfurter welcoming him into the world, until that summer afternoon in 1963 when he went to confess the sins of his Communist youth to Arthur Schlesinger Jr., then President Kennedy's special assistant in the White House. The surface of the tale glitters with the luster of well-known names, and for a while it looks as if Mr. Straight might pull the rabbit out of the hat, might succeed in writing himself a plausible or leading role in a drama of some importance. His technique shows to its best advantage in abbreviated summary:

1916 - Michael Straight, born Sept. 1 in New York City, the third and youngest child of Willard and Dorothy Straight. His parents, prominent in

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political and cultural circles, had established The New Republic in 1914. Woodrow Wilson is a friend of the family; so is Walter Lippmann. In her townhouse on Fifth Avenue, Michael's mother, a woman often seized by gusts of mystical idealism, maintains a salon in which Paderewski plays the piano one evening, and on another Joseph Conrad reads from his works in progress.

1920-32 - Educated (haphazardly) at progressive schools in New York and England. 1933-37 - Attends the London School of Economics, where he enjoys the patronage of Harold Laski, and Cambridge University, where he becomes a friend and disciple of John Maynard Keynes as well as a companion of Guy Burgess and Anthony Blunt. Belongs to a Communist cell at Trinity College, circulates a petition advocating a rise in wages for the college servants and arranges a banquet in honor of Haile Selassie, the exiled Emperor of Ethiopia.

1937-42 - Resides mostly in Washington, D.C., writing high-minded journalism and drafts of speeches for President Roosevelt. He lives in a townhouse with Joseph Alsop, goes to a great many dinner parties and occasionally passes one of his own memorandums to Soviet intelligence.

1942-45 - Serves in the Army Air Corps and learns to fly a B-17. To his sorrow he spends the entire war in the American Middle West. 1945-56 - Various and energetic political activities. Edits The New Republic, sponsors in successive years the opposing Presidential candidacies of Henry Wallace and Harry Truman; engages in sectarian politics within the American Veterans Committee and the Americans for Democratic Action; denounces Senator Joseph McCarthy and bestows The New Republic on a woman rich enough to afford its losses.

1956 - Abandons his ambition to become "a political leader" and takes up a career as a minor novelist. 1963 - Nominated for the post of chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts; refuses the honor and tells the F.B.I. what he knows about Communist espionage in England.

Thus summarized, the autobiographical notes that Mr. Straight presents in his book glimmer with the hope of meaning. But the blooms of youth wither on the boughs of experience; the explanations don't quite scan, and Mr. Straight cannot add the parts of his life into a coherent sum. "After Long Silence" reads like a collection of notes and fragments that another writer, less inhibited and less evasive than Mr. Straight, might have shaped into a fine novel. The effect is disconcerting. It is as if "The Sentimental Education" had been written not by Flaubert but by Frederic Moreau, the hapless victim of the piece.

Utterly lacking the perspective of irony, Mr. Straight writes an earnest and self-absorbed prose, apparently as sentimental at the age of 66 as he was as a boy of 20. He introduces an impressive company of literary and political figures who make brief guest appearances in his narrative. They stay just long enough to say hello to Michael, sometimes to furnish him with an impression for his album, and then they return, as mysteriously as they came, to the annals of history.

Mr. Straight tells the story of a sensibility, not of a man. Always it is hard to know what year he is writing about or whether he happens to be living in his house in Arlington, Va., New York City, Old Westbury, L.I., Washington, D.C., or Nantucket, Mass. Like most children brought up to see themselves either beautiful or rich, he became accustomed to a state of dynamic passivity; he drifts on the currents of his time, preserved from self-knowledge by the

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buoyancy of money. Given the circumstances of his childhood, he didn't have much chance to learn the uses of chronology or structure.

His father was an orphan who paid his tuition at Cornell by working as an artist. Subsequently enrolled in the American diplomatic service, he met his wife, Dorothy Whitney, in 1909, in Peking. She was an heiress making a grand tour of the world's sorrow. Her father, William C. Whitney, had been Secretary of the Navy in the Cleveland Administration, and when she was struggling with her impulse to marry Willard Straight, only President Theodore Roosevelt urged her to follow the promptings of her heart. Her other friends advised her to relinquish the penniless upstart in favor of a more appropriate match. Soon after she married Straight, it was arranged for him to occupy some sort of opulent office in Wall Street.

Michael's birthday letter from Felix Frankfurter, one of the early and illustrious contributors to the magazine that his parents dedicated to the noblest aspirations of mankind, began on a suitably idealistic note:

'Dear Michael: Let me welcome you to a good world! Good not because all is nice and lovely in it. Far from it. But good because there never was a better chance to help make it nicer and lovelier than it is.'

In November 1918 Michael's father died of septic pneumonia in France. He had been serving with the American Expeditionary Forces, and his wife was to have sailed from New York in December in the company of President Wilson and his adviser Col. Edwin House. They wanted her to establish a salon in Paris for after-dinner diplomacy during the negotiation of the Treaty of Versailles. Of her capacity as a hostess, Colonel House had said that Dorothy Straight was 'one of the very few people in America who saw the whole thing clearly.' It is characteristic of her son that he presents the quotation without further comment, never remarking on what Colonel House conceivably could have meant by 'the whole thing.'

After his father's death Michael was brought up largely by the servants. His mother was busy with the tasks of saving or improving humanity, and she had little time for the children. Together with his brother, Whitney, then age 10, and his sister, Beatrice (Biddy), age 7, Michael journeyed back and forth between the house on Fifth Avenue and the estate in Old Westbury. Miss Gardner, his English governess, was a stoutish woman who, although often terrifying, referred to him as 'little angel.' Hutchinson, the chauffeur, conveyed him in the family Packard to a progressive school on the Harlem frontier. Grove, the butler, set up the chairs in the Old Westbury study in order that Biddy and her friends could stage little plays and pantomimes. The older Michael Straight casts the scenes of his childhood in a soft and melancholy light, as if the grass were still wet with dreams. On summer afternoons he watched his Uncle Harry play polo, and at night he lulled himself to sleep with the reading of Thornton Burgess's 'Bedtime Stories' about Reddy Fox and Billy Mink.

In 1925 his mother married Leonard Elmhirst, another penniless but romantic young man who was the son of a Yorkshire parson. Elmhirst wished to become a missionary somewhere east of Suez, but Mrs. Straight persuaded him to fight the noble fight under the banners of progressive education. They went to England and bought an 800-acre fief in South Devon that once had belonged to Richard II. Having restored the ruin of Dartington Hall, they opened a school organized along the lines of a Greek city-state. The showers were coeducational, and the

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presiding ethos, much to the dismay of the local gentry, was distinctly permissive. The school frowned on the bourgeois stuffiness implicit in the obedience to rules. Class attendance was voluntary; the students grew their own vegetables and did the work of carpenters and potters. As usual, Michael's mother was in advance of everybody and everything, and on Sunday evenings in the solar she arranged lectures and concerts to which, over a period of years, she attracted the wonders of the intellectual world. Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau came to sing; Benjamin Britten and Leopold Stokowski came to conduct; Bertrand Russell came to speak, and so did Aldous Huxley and A.S. Neill. Michael fell in love with a ballet dancer at the school, attended the lectures on Freud and, together with almost everybody else, failed to learn anything more than rudiments of grammar and arithmetic. His teachers found him "difficult," "withdrawn," "uncooperative" and "rude"; his mother thought him diffident and hobbled by uncertainty, "an intensely emotional child (who) craves friendship."

His trouble with mathematics obliged him to delay his entrance into Cambridge University, and so he had to spend a remedial year at the London School of Economics. He and his brother rented P.G. Wodehouse's house in Mayfair. Michael joined the university's socialist club and worried about being rich. With the student radicals he shouted at rallies and inveighed against the social injustice then at work in Germany. At home his brother informed him that it wasn't necessary to learn the names of the servants. "All footmen," said Whitney, "are called John."

In the autumn of 1934 Michael went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, and there, for a brief 30 months in the lovely stone courtyards and underneath the willow trees, he held captive in his eager hands the fluttering dream of happiness. His descriptions of Cambridge glow with the romance of infinite promise. He read the poetry of W.B. Yeats and joined a tiny Communist cell. He also belonged to the innermost circle of brilliant young men, most of them homosexual, that revolved around the sun of Lord Keynes. Michael adored the talk and the debates in the political union as well as the excitement of revolutionary zeal so intensely and poetically expressed in the person of a boy named John Cornford. Writing to his mother in 1935, when he was not yet 20, he tried to explain "the terrible significance of it all": "I'd lived in fear that I'd become incapable of loving. Now I've learned that I'm able to love the Communist students, even if I don't love Communism itself." He knew that he wanted desperately to believe in something, for his actions sprang from "my personal needs rather than my convictions."

John Cornford went off to fight with the Loyalist brigades in Spain. In January 1937, Michael learned that his friend had been killed; two weeks later Anthony Blunt ushered Michael into the web of lies.

The recruiting speech took Michael by surprise. Yes, of course, he had been devoted to John, but why did that mean that he must become a spy? "For the same reason," Mr. Straight quotes Mr. Blunt as having said, "that John went to Spain." This is the whole of the explanation that the publishers advertise on the book's cover as "the key" to the celebrated "espionage ring" that embraced Mr. Blunt, Guy Burgess, Donald McClean and Kim Philby.

Mr. Blunt ordered Michael to feign a nervous collapse, break his ties with his Communist friends and leave Cambridge at the end of the spring term. The Communist International had decided that he could better serve the cause by

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returning to the United States to provide "economic appraisals of Wall Street's plans to dominate the world economy." These arrangements Michael found very upsetting. Not only had he wanted to complete his courses at Cambridge (he was to have become chairman of the political union in the fall of 1937), but also "the prospect of leading a life of deceit was repugnant to me." Even so, he accepted Mr. Blunt's fiat, partly because he lacked "the will ... the sense of self" to resist it, and partly because "I wanted to be a martyr. I needed to sacrifice myself, as John had done."

Whatever the reasons, Mr. Straight quit his beloved Cambridge and returned to the United States in the summer of 1937. He didn't know exactly what to do with himself; suffering the agony of "moral solitude," he went to tea with President and Mrs. Roosevelt in the White House to seek sociable advice. They recommended the State Department, which pleased Mr. Straight's Communist friends but imposed on him the burden of ambivalence and the indignity of boredom. He wrote a 30,000-word memorandum arguing the case for an American alliance with Britain against the Nazis. Secretary of State Cordell Hull marked the paper, "Splendid!" and Mr. Straight passed a copy of the text to his Soviet contact. Within a matter of months Mr. Straight left the State Department, where he had served as an unpaid volunteer, and joined forces with Roosevelt's crony Tom Corcoran as a propagandist for the New Deal. Eventually it occurred to him that his mother owned The New Republic, and he appointed himself the magazine's Washington editor. Presumably to the embarrassment of the editors, he published the whole of his State Department memorandum in the form of a tract about the slackness of the American geopolitical effort.

In 1942 he bought a farm in Virginia, published a small volume of thoughts about the need for a world order, stopped supplying the Soviets with documents and married a woman of whom he makes no mention elsewhere in the book. In November of that year, when he enlisted in the Army Air Corps, he imagined himself flying combat missions over Germany, but like so much else in his life the high hope faded into ambiguity and disappointment. The end of the war found him asleep in his bunk in San Antonio, Tex.

Restored to civilian rank in Washington, Mr. Straight still didn't know quite what costume to wear in a world that he conceived as a stage. He wanted very much to play a leading role, but, as always, he wasn't quite sure how or where or with whom. He joined a number of committees, and when Winston Churchill visited Mrs. Roosevelt at Hyde Park, Mr. Straight sent along six bottles of Chateau d'Yquem. In 1946 he named Henry Wallace editor of The New Republic, thus hoping to forward the cause of mankind and, not incidentally, to raise the magazine's circulation from 20,000 to 100,000. But in the following year Wallace wandered too far to the left and fell into "the embrace of misguided men," representing the Communist element in American politics. Mr. Straight canceled Wallace's column and switched his allegiance to Truman; there were those who accused him of being a turncoat. In 1954 Mr. Straight published a farewell essay in The New Republic, an optimistic paean to the American dream in celebration of the magazine's 40th anniversary, and two years later he transferred the title to his friend Gilbert Harrison. Mr. Harrison had married a woman rich enough to continue the magazine in the manner to which it had become accustomed, a manner it still retains as a plaything for the rich.

During this time, or at least since 1942 when he broke off his meetings with the Soviet courier, Mr. Straight had been troubled by feelings of guilt and remorse. On at least four occasions it occurred to him to go to the British

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Embassy or the C.I.A. to tell somebody what he knew of Mr. Blunt. (He excused his lack of resolve by observing that his confession would have tarnished the reputation of an honorable journal and brought a good deal of suffering into the lives of many innocent people.)

The event that forced his confession was his invitation to the chairmanship of the National Endowment for the Arts. Instead of accepting the appointment, which would have entailed a security clearance, he decided to tell his story to Arthur Schlesinger Jr. Mr. Schlesinger called the Justice Department, which called the F.B.I., which thoughtfully arranged for Mr. Straight to make his confession to an agent named Jimmy Lee. Mr. Lee was the son of the head gardener at the estate in Old Westbury, the little boy to whom Miss Gardner gave Michael Straight's castoff clothes.

Mr. Straight's testimony came in due course to the attention of the British authorities, and in 1964 he traveled to London to repeat his evidence to M.I.5 and to look for the last time into the eyes of Anthony Blunt, curator of Queen Elizabeth's art collection, who had been knighted in 1956. To his surprise, Mr. Blunt didn't condemn him; instead he professed to be "immensely relieved," explaining that he never could muster the fortitude to make his own confession. Mr. Straight quotes Mr. Blunt as saying, "Thank God you did what you did!"

And then, as an urbane pleasantry on the way to a conversation about Cezanne, Mr. Blunt observed that both he and Guy Burgess expected that sooner or later Michael Straight would betray them. The remark is deadly, and it defines Mr. Straight's character as that of a moral dandy.

Like so many other people drifting in the pools of narcissism, Mr. Straight invariably means well. He wants so much to do the right thing, to lead the parade for freedom and truth and justice and beauty. But things always get in a muddle and seem to turn out rather badly, and poor Mr. Straight usually ends having to pay the check and mumble some sort of doe-eyed apology.

Unhappily for us all, Mr. Straight's life stands as an embarrassing paradigm for the toy politics that has amused so much of the American intellectual and ministerial elites since the end of World War II. He suffered from an early and particularly virulent form of radical chic. Despite its pathos, his book exhibits the weakness of a mind that imagines the future can be bought instead of earned.

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: photo of Michael Straight

TYPE: review

SUBJECT: BOOKS AND LITERATURE; BOOK REVIEWS; BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

LEVEL 2 - 8 OF 9 STORIES

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November 12, 1982, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: Weekend; Footloose; Pg. 55

LENGTH: 770 words

HEADLINE: ROLLING ACRES OF ANGUISH ON MARSE LEE'S OLD PLACE

BYLINE: BY JEFFREY YORKE

KEYWORD: STORY

BODY:

Arlington National Cemetery is a surprisingly good place to spend several interesting hours very inexpensively. For only \$2, Tourmobile offers public tours.

The tour begins not far from the cemetery's front gates. There's a subway stop about six blocks away or, if you're driving, there's free two-hour parking in a nearby lot. An articulated bus slowly carries its passengers over the winding drives named after historical personalities and events. Guides immersed in the history of the grounds and its occupants narrate as the bus goes along. The guides are "encouraged to do research on their own and keep it (the tour) from being a bunch of disjointed facts -- keep it interesting," according to Eileen Andary, vice-president of personnel at Tourmobile Sightseeing.

Guides can emphasize certain aspects of the tour that they find particularly interesting, but everything is checked against history to prevent embellishment. They take questions and usually can answer them.

The tour takes 30 minutes or, if you get off at all three stops, an hour and 20 minutes or more.

At the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the guard is changed on the hour and there's always a crowd. Long after they've gone, the Army soldier continues his "walk" through the night despite the weather.

"I love it! It's a challenge and it gets harder each walk," said Gerry Mansell, 28, of State College, Pennsylvania. "It's one of the highest honors an enlisted man can have."

The guards serve 24 hours on and 48 off, with each guarding the tomb for an hour at a time, several times per shift. His head must be cocked back, chest out and back straight. Mansell admits there's a lot of pain in the job; the average tour of duty is two years.

The next stop is the Custis-Lee Mansion. Private William Christman of Pennsylvania, who died from peritonitis on May 13, 1864, was the first Civil War soldier to be buried on the grounds of the Confederate commander's home, seized by Union troops. Many thousands more followed, both blue and gray.

George Washington Parke Custis, adopted son of the first president, built the Greek Revival home on 1,100 acres of rolling farmland and forest in the early

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1800s. Upon his death in 1857, Arlington House and its estate became the possession of his daughter, Mary Randolph Custis. She and her husband, Robert E. Lee, raised their children in the seven-bedroom mansion.

A month after war broke out, Mrs. Lee collected the family and eight wagonloads of belongings and fled as Union troops moved across the Potomac. In those days, property taxes had to be paid in person, hard for a family at war against the United States. In 1864 the government claimed the property in lieu of \$92.07 and set aside 200 acres for a national cemetery. An 1883 Supreme Court decision returned the property to the Lees, who sold it back to the government.

Since Christman's burial, 186,000 veterans of American wars and their dependents -- including 11 veterans of the American Revolution who were reburied at the turn of the century -- have been laid to rest on 572 acres. Another 40 acres await use; cemetery officials expect to reach capacity by the year 2020 at the present rate of 12 to 15 funerals per day, Monday through Friday.

The final stop is at the graves of President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy.

Other graves along the route include those of Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. and William O. Douglas, associate Supreme Court justices; Daniel "Chappie" James Jr., first black four-star general; Audie Murphy, most-decorated U.S. soldier of World War II and later a Hollywood star; prizefighter Joe Louis; and Virgil Grissom and Roger Chaffee, two astronauts killed in 1967 when their spacecraft burned.

Three of the eight American soldiers killed in the attempt to rescue Americans held hostage in Iran are also here.

It seems only fitting that Abner Doubleday should be buried at Arlington. Doubleday, better remembered as the alleged father of baseball, is said to have fired the first answering shot from Fort Sumter.

By special decree, President Franklin D. Roosevelt permitted the "temporary" interment at Arlington of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish pianist-composer and president-in-exile, who died in 1941. There are no plans to move him; his heart, at his request, was buried in New York City.

CEMETERY TOURS Buses leave every 15 minutes, every day of the year. The cemetery's winter hours are 8 to 5 (8 to 7 from April to September). The last bus leaves one hour before closing. For information on other Washington tours, call 554-7950..

GRAPHIC: Picture, Curtis-Lee Masion, By Fred Sweets

LEVEL 2 - 9 OF 9 STORIES

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July 7, 1977, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: Metro; B1

LENGTH: 1010 words

HEADLINE: Arlington;
Slice of History Is Interred In Cemetery of 170,000 Graves;
Many Stories Are Buried at Arlington Cemetery

BYLINE: By Ted Gup, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Thousands of tourists, drawn to Arlington Cemetery by the grave of John F. Kennedy and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, are awed by the rows of wind-bleached headstones that line the hills like a regiment attention.

Of the 170,000 graves that covers 570 acres, barely a score are noted on the visitor's map.

There are other stories worthy of note. The grave of a man would have been president but for an undelivered telegram. A president-in-exile who has no final resting place even in death. A general who chose to rest in peace beneath a cannon.

Take the story of Lt. Thomas E. Selfridge, who was the nation's first military air casualty.

Selfridge, 26 years old, volunteered to be a military observer on board a fragile gas-powered plane that took off from Ft. Myer, on Sept. 17, 1908. The plane had been transported to the field on the back of a wagon and had skids instead of wheels.

In the 1908 experimental flight, staged before an audience of high-ranking military, the plane reached an altitude of 150 feet when the propeller struck a brace wire and tumbled into what now is part of Arlington Cemetery. Selfridge was killed.

The pilot-designer of the craft suffered a broken pelvis. His name Orville Wright.

The crash temporarily dampened military interest in flight but one year later, the Army purchased an improved model from Wright for \$25,000, inaugurating the history of military aviation.

Sixty yards from the obelisk that marks Selfridge grave are two modest government markers where the bodies of Virgil I. Grisson and Roger Bruce Chaffee are buried.

Grisson and Chaffee died in an Apollo 1 spacecraft on Jan. 27, 1967, during a simulated launching of the spacecraft that was designated to take them to the moon.

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For some, the patterns of their lives are reflected in the manner of their death and interment.

Polish pianist and president--exile Ignace Jan Paderewski died in New York City on June 29, 1941, and still is awaiting a permanent grave. At the request of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Paderewski's body was given a temporary resting place in the vault of the Battleship Maine Monument at Arlington National Cemetery.

He may lie there until Poland is free," Roosevelt instructed the State Department. Paderewski could not be permanently buried in Arlington because he had not served in the U.S. armed forces or any army allied with the U. S.

The resting place went unmarked until May 9, 1963, when President John F. Kennedy dedicated a plaque that reads, "Ignace Jan Paderewski, Polish Statesman and Musician. His Remains Rest Temporarily within the USS Maine Memorial.

For 36 years the coffin, enclosed in a wooden box, has rested on a dolly inside the monument, waiting to be moved and returned to Poland.

At the pianist's request, his heart was removed before interment, and given to a group of Polish American patriots who buried it in Brooklyn, N. Y.

Abner Doubleday, whom many credit with the invention of baseball, also is buried in Arlington.

Doubleday, was a captain at Fort Sumter, S. C., when it was under attack in April, 1861. As much in dispute as his fathering of baseball is the legend that it was Doubleday who fired the return shot from the besieged fort, in the initial battle of the Civil Wars.

Perhaps the most unusual of the 170,000 grave markers at Arlington National Cemetery belongs to Maj. Gen. Wallace Fitz Randolph, the father of modern field artillery warfare.

He lies beneath a mammoth Civil War cannon with the date of his birth, June 14, 1841, and his death, Dec. 9, 1910, inscribed on a bronze plaque on the cannon's trailer. The wheels are rusting and the muzzle, with the date 1862 on it, has turned a coral green.

"He wanted to be buried under a cannon because he slept under one most of his life," according to cemetery historian Ben Davis.

Also in the cemetery is a drummer boy elevated to fame during the Union defeat at Chickamauga.

Maj. Gen. John Lincoln Clem, known as "Little Johnny Clem, the drummer boy of Chickamauga," entered the Army as a 10-year-old orphan. Thought too young for combat, he was made a drummer.

Legend has it that at the battle of Chickamauga he became separated from his troops. Three bullets tore through his cap as he retreated beating his drum.

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A confederate colonel rode up to take the boy prisoner and laughed to see the lad left behind by his own troops. Clem levelled his sawed-off musket and killed the officer.

When word of his deed reached Gen. William Starke Rosecrans and Gen. George Henry Thomas. Clem was promoted to sergeant and became the youngest ever to wear the chevrons of a noncommissioned officer in the U. S. Army.

In 1915 he was made a brigadier General and a year after 43 years of military service, he retired as a major general. He died in 1937.

His simple grave declares "John Lincoln Clem, the Drummer Boy of Chickamauga, Major General U.S. Army, 1851-1937."

The defeat at Chickamauga, which made a hero of Clem, led to General William Starke Rosecrans' being stripped of his command. Rosecrans, too, is buried at Arlington Arlingtn.

But for a twist fate, Rosecrans, not Andrew Johnson, would have been president after Abraham Lincoln's assassination.

William H. Lamers, hs definitive biography on the general, describes the episode:

It was at the June 7, 1864. National Union Convention in Baltimore where James Garfield, who had a strong voice in the Republican party, controlled enough votes name the vice-presidential candidate to run with Lincoln.

Garfield wired Rosecrans from the floor of the convention offering him the vice-presidential slot on the ticket with Lincoln.

Rosecrans received the telegram and responded that he would accept, but Garfield never got the the reply. "It was pretty well established" that the message had been intercepted by the Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, a long-time foe of Rosecrans.

Hearing nothing from Rosecrans, Garfield tapped Andrew Johnson and the rest is history

GRAPHIC: Picture, Astronauts Virgil Grisson and Roger Chaffee, killed during a simulated launching of their Apollo 1 spacecraft on Jan. 27, 1967, are among Arlington heroes; Picture 2, Father of Modern artillery war Gen. W. F. Randolph, rests under cannon; Picture 3, Paderewski's remains are in USS Maine memorial, awaiting permanent grave; Picture 4, Paderewsk's grave went unmarked until President Kennedy dedicated plaque. Photos by Ellsworth - The Washington Post

UR D. NICHOLSON, JR.

Casualty of the Cold War

March 7, 1947–March 24, 1985)
Section 7A, Lot 171, Grid U-23/24

... who sacrifice their lives for their country do
... as in great wars. Occasionally, a solitary soldier
... portant mission is forced to make that ultimate
... rning and without provocation. Such a soldier
... son.

... ons of the Warsaw Pact and of NATO entered
... hereby they would exchange military delega-
... escalation of tension in Europe. Major Arthur
... mber of the American Military Liaison Group
... agreement and based in Potsdam, East Ger-
... 1985 Major Nicholson, along with his driver,
... was on a routine reconnaissance patrol near
... Germany.

... Schatz pulled to within three hundred yards
... which was used as a training camp by a Soviet
... the Second Guards Division. Dressed in
... and carrying a thirty-five millimeter camera
... owered binoculars, Nicholson emerged from
... he was attempting to photograph the interior
... Soviet military equipment. Suddenly, without
... fired by a Soviet sentry hidden in nearby
... to Nicholson, "Watch out! Come back!" Then
... fired from the Soviet's AK-47 assault rifle.
... Schatz's ear. Still a third bullet was fired, tear-
... chest. "I've been shot, Jess!" Nicholson yelled
... und.

... he first-aid kit and leaped from the vehicle,
... to assist Nicholson, but he was forced back
... viet solders who held him at gunpoint as

Nicholson lay bleeding to death. At least thirty minutes passed before Nicholson was examined by a Soviet soldier and pronounced dead, thereby becoming the first uniformed American soldier killed by Soviet gunfire in more than two decades.

The following day, Nicholson's body was received by a United States Army Honor Guard at the center of Berlin's Glienicke-Brücke Bridge which separates West Berlin from East Germany. This was the same location where Soviet Spy Rudolf Abel was exchanged in 1962 for downed American spy pilot, Francis Gary Powers.

The United States admitted that Nicholson had been stretching the limits of his privileges as a member of the Liaison Group, but contended that such conduct allowed the Soviets only the right to detain him, not to kill him.

The son of a retired Navy Commander, Nicholson had moved from McLean, Virginia to Redding, Connecticut where he graduated from high school in 1965. Shortly after he received his bachelor's degree from Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky in 1969, Nicholson entered the Army. He recognized the dangers connected with his work, volunteering for such duty because, in his own words, he wanted "to be on the cutting edge."

Major Arthur D. Nicholson, Jr. was buried with full military honors in Section 7A of Arlington National Cemetery. His regulation GI headstone acknowledges his service in East Germany as part of the U.S. Military Liaison Mission.

IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI

President-in-exile of Poland, Composer

(November 18, 1860–June 29, 1941)
Sec. 24 [The Maine Memorial]

On September 1, 1939 World War II erupted when Adolph Hitler's troops invaded Poland. Within a few short weeks, that

country fell to German domination, forcing the legitimate Polish government into exile. The Polish leaders who sought refuge in the United States selected seventy-nine-year-old Ignace Jan Paderewski as its President. Paderewski never saw Poland again, dying in exile in 1941. President Franklin Roosevelt authorized the "temporary" interment of the Polish patriot in the vault of the USS *Maine* Memorial at Arlington, specifying that his body was to remain here until Poland was again free and his body could be returned to his homeland. Nearly five decades later, Paderewski remains at Arlington.



Ignace Jan Paderewski was born in Podolia, in the Ukraine region of the Soviet Union. At a very early age he displayed extraordinary musical talent; at the age of twelve he entered the Warsaw Conservatory, achieving the remarkable distinction of being named a professor just six years later. In 1884

Paderewski became a pupil of the famed pianist Theodor Leschetizky in Vienna, and in 1887 he began his career as a concert pianist, a career that would flourish for more than fifty years. He toured throughout Europe, beginning a concert tour of the United States in 1891 during which he gave 117 recitals in ninety days. Yet his greatest love was not music; it was his homeland, Poland.

During World War I he gave concerts to raise relief funds for Polish refugees and to help inspire men to enlist in the Polish army. It was Paderewski who represented Poland at the Versailles Peace Conference where he convinced President Woodrow Wilson to include the cause of Polish independence in his Fourteen Points. He served as both Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Polish Republic.

→ During the 1920s Paderewski resumed his musical career, publishing his memoirs in 1938. When Germany invaded Poland, he dedicated himself to raising thousands of dollars for the relief of Poles throughout the world. He was named President of the

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wski resumed his musical career, in 1918. When Germany invaded Poland, he raised thousands of dollars for the relief of the Polish people. He was named President of the

Polish National Council, the government in exile. He died in New York City in 1941, leaving behind a grand legacy of music. His compositions include "Manru," "Sonata in A Minor for Violin and Piano," "Polish Fantasy," and his last composition, "Symphony in B Minor," a musical picture of Poland's tragic history.

It was to this country that Ignace Jan Paderewski fled in search of freedom during World War II. Upon his death, the people of the United States honored this Polish native son with interment in our nation's most important military cemetery; here he shall remain until his homeland is once again free. His tomb is marked by several plaques dedicated to his memory including one placed by the American Legion and another by the Polish Legion of American Veterans and Auxiliary.

JAMES PARKS

Former Arlington Estate Slave

(? , 1843–August 21, 1929)
Sec. 15, Lot 2, Grid G-26

Only one person buried in Arlington National Cemetery was also born on this property. That person is James Parks, born to slave parents living on the Arlington estate at the time it was owned by **George Washington Parke Custis**. The exact date of Parks' birth remains uncertain, though he is believed to have been born in 1843. An interesting note: Neither Washington Custis nor his wife, Mary Lee Fitzhugh Custis, were born at Arlington. Custis moved here when he built the first wing of Arlington House in 1802; his wife joined him after their marriage in 1804.

Under the terms of George Washington Parke Custis' will, all of his slaves were to be trained and freed by 1862, five years after his death. When the Civil War erupted, Robert E. Lee, as executor of Parke Custis' will, was making provisions for the training and manumission of Parks and the other slaves on the Arl-

BOTH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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March 16, 1990, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 885 words

HEADLINE: Paderewski And the Definition Of Freedom;
Return Of Remains Awaits Polish People's Agreement

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

For 49 years, Polish statesman, humanitarian, composer and pianist Ignace Jan Paderewski has waited in Arlington National Cemetery until he could go home. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who arranged his friend's interment, said it was a temporary wait that would end when Poland was free.

Nazi occupation and the end of the war came, the Russians and their communist form of government came, but freedom never came.

Then last year that started to change. As Poland inched toward democracy, Poles at home and abroad began to wonder: If freedom came, would Paderewski's remains be close behind?

At the State Department, quiet negotiations have been underway to transfer them for reinterment at Krakow. Last month, a member of the family signed the authorization.

In adhering to FDR's spoken edict, some say a key question must be answered: How is "freedom" in Poland defined?

Last summer, as President Bush prepared to visit Poland, the State Department also started asking if circumstances had changed enough to arrange for Paderewski's homecoming.

"The answer," an administration official said yesterday, "was absolutely not."

Even now, after Poland has abandoned a communist government and created a democracy under the leadership of the once-banned Solidarity labor union, the Bush administration is cautious in answering the "fundamental" question of whether Poland is free, at least as long as Wojciech Jaruzelski is president.

"Jaruzelski is the fly in the ointment right now because he's a communist," the official said. "As long as he is in there, there is a group that believes that Poland is not yet free."

Free or not, almost certain to be an emotional moment next week is when Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Poland's first prime minister in history to be officially received in Washington, visits Jan Paderewski, Poland's first

The Washington Post, March 16, 1990

prime minister in history.

Paderewski's body rests in a cedar coffin in the base of the USS Maine Memorial. His heart is elsewhere, encased in a bronze sculpture in the Shrine of Czestochowa in the predominantly Polish American community of Doylestown, Pa.

Paderewski died at New York City's Hotel Buckingham at the age of 80. He had been frail for months but was defiantly determined to help the exiled Polish government by raising money through concerts he gave. He declined the premiership but could not decline being his countrymen's spiritual leader.

A funeral procession with a horse-drawn caisson took Paderewski's body from a memorial mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral through midtown Manhattan to the train that carried him to Washington.

Roosevelt's orders had directed Paderewski's interment by the secretary of the Army at Arlington under the mast of the Maine. No written order was ever found, but FDR's oral instructions, reiterated through the years by other presidents, were that Paderewski would have a resting place "until such time as Poland was free."

Shortly after that, Paderewski's sister asked that his heart be removed, in keeping with Polish tradition (Chopin's heart is in Warsaw's Cathedral of Holy Cross, for instance) and instructions she said he gave her, and interred forever in the United States. The heart was taken to a New York chapel where it remained for a while until it mysteriously disappeared. It reappeared some time later, and in 1986, at the request of the Polish American Congress of Chicago, one of the largest Polish fraternal organizations in the country, was moved to Doylestown.

Clarence Joseph Paderewski, 81, a San Diego architect who is a second cousin and the eldest surviving relative of Paderewski, authorized the transfer.

Last month, Clarence Paderewski signed a new agreement, this one permitting removal of the remains in Arlington. According to Clarence Paderewski, plans worked out by the Paderewski Memorial Committee of Polish-Americans, which is charged with the arrangements, specify that the remains will be reinterred in Krakow's Wawel Cathedral -- in the company of several Polish kings. The target date is the 50th anniversary of his death -- June 29, 1991.

Clarence Paderewski said it is his understanding that President Bush and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa have already discussed the move. An administration official yesterday said he hopes the subject will not come up during Mazowiecki's visit next week.

"What we're working hard to do is to get an agreement from two Polish communities -- one in this country and one in Poland -- that Poland is free," the official said.

Clarence Paderewski, who met his cousin on two occasions when he was a child, said he believes Poland is already free but he understands why the administration wants to make certain that the Polish people agree.

The Washington Post, March 16, 1990

Henry Archacki, chairman of the Paderewski Memorial Committee, said when his group reorganized after years of inactivity, members had no idea political events in Poland would move so swiftly. He and a group surveyed Paderewski's coffin last August as a first step in preparations to move it. He does not expect that to happen, however, until the Polish people give the word through Walesa.

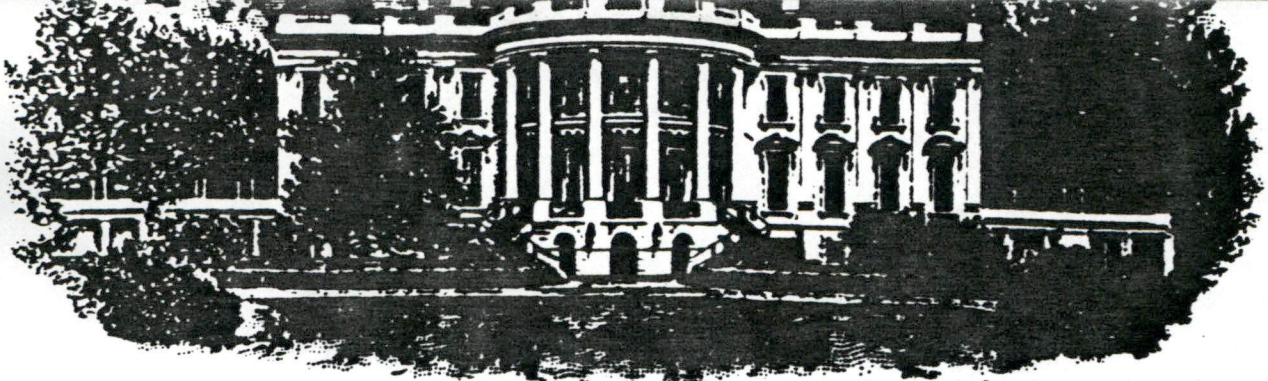
"My personal feeling is that freedom has to be defined in Poland proper," Archacki said. "Freedom being relative, it depends where you are, how free you are and under what conditions."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, PADEREWSKI'S FUNERAL AT ARLINGTON IN 1941. WP

TYPE: FOREIGN NEWS, NATIONAL NEWS

SUBJECT: POLAND; DEATH AND DEATH CEREMONIES

NAMED-PERSONS: CLARENCE PADEREWSKI; IGNACE JAN PADEREWSKI



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER 4

DATE 30 JUNE 1992

TO MR. VERNE NEWTON, DIRECTOR RESEARCH
FDR LIBRARY HYDE PARK, NEW YORK

FAX NUMBER 914-229-0872

COMMENTS DO YOU HAVE WRITTEN DOCUMENTATION
THAT PRES. ROOSEVELT ORDERED/ARRANGED FOR
PADEREWSKI'S INTERNMENT AT ARLINGTON - OR -
THAT HE SAID "PADEREWSKI WOULD HAVE A RESTING PLACE
FROM JEANNIE BUNTON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS

OFFICE NUMBER 202-456-7750 phone
202-456-6218 fax

"UNTIL POLAND WAS FREE." IF YOU
CAN FIND WRITTEN OR SOME KIND OF
DOCUMENTATION OF BOTH - PLEASE PHONE
ME AS SOON AS YOU CAN. I APPRECIATE
YOUR HELP.

Thank you to Susan!
J. Bunton

133 ☉ Radio Address in Honor of General Krzyzanowski of Poland. October 11, 1937

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ambassador, Ladies and Gentlemen:

IN THE epic struggle of the human race to govern itself Poland for centuries has been the champion of freedom. Through stress and storm, whether her sun shone brightly or suffered long though temporary eclipse, she has ever fought to hold aloft the torch of human liberty.

Because we hold this ideal of liberty in common, ours has been a long and unbroken friendship with the people of Poland. From the days of our struggle to achieve nationhood, unbroken by any rift through the century and a half of our life as a Nation, the American people and the people of Poland have maintained a friendship based upon this common spiritual ideal.

General Krzyzanowski, whose patriotism we commemorate today, is another link to bind us to the people from whom he came in the full tide of youthful promise when shadows lay over the land which gave him birth. It is a high privilege to bear witness to the debt which this country owes to men of Polish blood. Gratefully we acknowledge the services of those intrepid champions of human freedom — Pulaski and Kościuszko — whose very names are watchwords of liberty, and whose deeds are part of the imperishable record of American independence. Out of the past they speak to us to bid us guard the heritage which they helped to bestow.

They and the millions of other men and women of Polish blood, who have united their destinies with those of America — whether in the days of Colonial settlement, in the War to attain independence, in the hard struggle out of which emerged our national unity, in the great journeyings across the Western Plains to the slopes of the Pacific, on farm or in town or city — through all of our history they have made their full contribution to the upbuilding of our institutions and to the fulfillment of our national life.

These are the thoughts and reflections that come to mind today as we consign to Arlington National Cemetery the honored dust of a son of Poland who faithfully served the country of his adoption. General Krzyzanowski was the embodiment of the Polish ideal of liberty. Into the making of that ancient ideal had gone the struggles and the vicissitudes of a thousand years of Polish national life. He whom we honor today, no less than those of his blood and kindred, who preceded him to America or who followed him to our shores, brought to us, and with us became partakers in, a common aspiration of freedom.

Neither time nor distance could erase from stout Polish hearts the memory of a glorious struggle for liberty, a struggle which in our own day and generation happily ended in the restoration of Poland to nationhood and to her rightful place as a sovereign state. As we sympathized in her aspirations to freedom, so we rejoice in her attainment of independence.

We as a Nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength, the ideal which would substitute freedom for force in the governments of the world.

134 (The President Calls the Congress into Extraordinary Session. Proclamation No. 2256. October 12, 1937

WHEREAS public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at twelve o'clock, noon, on the Fifteenth day of November, 1937, to receive such communication as may be made by the Executive;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that

McGroarty/Bunton
June 30, 1992
9:00 am
[WARSAW]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
--:00 A.M.

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words.

[Acknowledgements.] Hello, Warsaw -- hello, Polska. //

Barbara and I are honored today to come back once more -- to come home once more -- to the birthplace of the Revolution of '89.

Today is truly a homecoming: The day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history -- a great patriot and patron of freedom. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the Polish government in exile. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery: To rest -- in the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- "until Poland would be free." //

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go -- how many lifetimes would pass -- until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony -- when a small, simple marker took the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish

soil. // Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free.
//

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village churches of Zakopane [Zah-koh-pahn-eh] -- the bells toll not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

It is a new beginning not just for Poland, but for all of Europe and the world. It is proper that we mark this new birth in your country. It was here, in Poland, that the Second World War began. It was here, in Poland, that the Cold War first cast its shadow. And it was here in Poland that the people at long last brought the Cold War to an end. //

I've said many times that in the deepest sense, the Cold War was a war of ideas -- a contest between two ways of life. The rulers of the old regime claimed they saw the triumph of totalitarian ideal written in the laws of history. They failed to see the love of freedom written in the human heart. //

I recall my last visit to Poland: The fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk -- the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

It is a wonder to see just how much has changed in the short span of three years. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters -- now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange. Gone are the slogans

and the sham reality. Everywhere, you hear new voices, new hope.
Freedom has come home to Poland. //

For all that is new, there is the one thing that has not
changed -- the one thing that sustained you through your darkest
days: Polish strength -- Polish spirit -- Polish pride. //

Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know that the
sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening -- but in
the clamor of new voices is not discord, but democracy. //

And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns
across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than
progress. But we must take care to separate cause from
consequence: Poland's time of trial is not caused by these
first, difficult years of democracy -- but by the lingering
legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule. //

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you
were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State.
Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by
freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its
destiny democracy.

Poland has made real progress. [Announce our economic
initiative.]

We mark today not simply the memory of a great Polish
patriot -- we celebrate the men of moral courage who sustain this
nation: Lech Walesa. Father Popielusczko. Pope John Paul II.
//

But Poland could not have come this far -- Poland could not have won its freedom if only a few had the courage to stand against the State. Freedom was won by the every-day heroes of the underground: The men and women who kept faith when faith was forbidden -- who spoke the truth against a wall of lies. The true heroes of democracy: the people of Poland. //

Your strength of spirit drives away all doubt: Poland will succeed. // Poland will succeed because Poles have made this journey before. In a strange new world called America -- in the stockyards of Chicago, in the steelworks of Cleveland, in a thousand towns thousands of miles from this land they loved, Poles worked and worshipped and built a better life. Polish hands -- building the American Dream. Now at long last, Poles can build a new world here at home. //

As President / as a fellow democrat / as friend of a free Poland, I bring this message: America stands with you. America wants Poland to succeed. America wants Poland to prosper. America wants Poland -- now and forever -- to be free. //

Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

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June 30, 1992
9:00 am
[WARSAW]

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Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

#

Double check
"Bells"
don't
second done
for region
"done"

POTUS INTRO

ACKS:

Florus?

Yes June '92

- Simultaneous translation
- third trip to Poland / POTUS

Pad arrived today 29 Jan
51 of death

McGroarty/Bunton
June 28, 1992
9:00 pm
[WARSAW]

POLAND ⊕ 6 / 80 = GERMANY
FINLAND ⊕ 7

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CASTLE SQUARE
WARSAW, POLAND
JULY 5, 1992
--:00 A.M.??

* Sec. Derwinski is in Poland. Will be there for mass.

Thank you, Mr. President, for those kind words. Hello,
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Yes

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the place of a larger stone -- Poles understood. In five years
or fifty years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish
soil. //

First event lunch
Congregation
Remains Castle Square

Ellen Conway

[declined to lead] (participated or member of)

Close ✓ KROSNO [KROOS-NHH] 2

lower corner borders check/

→ further, deep south ZAKOPANE [ZAK-O-PAN-A] mountain region

bet Churches ring bells remote resort rural!

Today, a patriot has come home. Today, Poland is free. //

On this Sunday -- from St. John's Cathedral to the village

→ churches of [region] -- the (bells toll) not simply the solemn requiem -- but a new beginning, a new birth of freedom, for Poland and its people.

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647-1070 Ellen Conway Poland Desk Now ✓ Edamsk Shipyard

I recall my last visit to Poland. Change was in the air -- in the fierce defiance and determination in the faces of the workers gathered in what was then called the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk. In the warmth and welcome for America made plain to Barbara and me by you, the good people of Warsaw. //

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not sure stars were there → Cadres

ELLEN CONWAY POLAND DESK 647-1070

to brokers

slogans did exist!

ELLEN CONWAY POLAND DESK 647-1070

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And I know that here in Warsaw, and in cities and towns across Poland, this transition has often produced more pain than progress. But we must take care to separate cause from consequence: the dislocations you feel are not caused by these first, difficult years of democracy -- they are the lingering legacy of four decades of communist mis-rule.

Poland is no stranger to sacrifice. Many times before, you were asked to "do without" for the greater good of the State. Today is different: This time, yours is a sacrifice blessed by freedom -- the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy.

Poland has made real progress. [Announce our trade initiative.] *BOB SAID USE OTHER INITIATIVE (29 June 92) 12 pm*

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Barbara and I thank all of Warsaw for this warm welcome -- and may God bless the free people of Poland.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 25, 1992

The President has selected the following individuals to represent him for the Return of the Remains of Ignacy Jan Paderewski to Poland on June 28, 1992:

HEAD OF DELEGATION:

SECRETARY DERWINSKI

DELEGATES:

DR. EDWARD ROZEK, of Colorado. Dr. Rozek currently serves as Chairman of the Polish National Council in America.

BEURT SERVAAS, of Indiana. Mr. Servaas currently serves as Head of Curtis International and was the former Director of the United States/Poland Economic Council.

AMBASSADOR EDWARD L. ROWNY, of Virginia. Ambassador Rowny previously served as Ambassador to Poland and as Arms Control Advisor to President Reagan and President Bush.

CLARENCE J. PADEREWSKI, of California.

MR. EDWARD J. MOSKAL, of Illinois. Currently, Mr. Moskal serves as President of the Polish American Congress and Polish National Alliance.

MR. MICHAEL J. KOGUTEK, of New York. Mr. Koguttek previously served as National Commander of the American Legion.

MR. EDWARD G. DYKLA, of Illinois. Currently, Mr. Dykla serves as President of the Polish Roman Catholic Union.

MRS. HELEN WOJCIK, of Illinois. Currently, Mrs. Wojcik serves as President of the Polish Women's Alliance.

LAWRENCE R. WOJCIKOWSKI, of Pennsylvania. Currently, Mr. Wojcikowski serves as President of the Polish Falcons of America.

ANNE PRON, of Pennsylvania. Currently, Ms. Pron serves as President of the Polish National Union.

JAN NOWAK, of Virginia. Ms. Nowak has served as Founding Director of Radio Free Europe's Polish Service, 1951-1976; and currently serves as Vice President of the Polish American Congress.

KATHERINE SUPER, of Virginia. Ms. Super currently serves as Deputy Assistant to the President for Appointments and Scheduling at the White House.

#

Jeanie -
Hope you won't mind doing me a favor.
I'd like to have you deliver a copy of POSS
Draft to Bob Hutchings, for an informal, pre-
staffing review.

~~I'd be happy to take to~~ I plan to
call him from the road - probably
mid-day.

~~Also, I'd like~~
That will do it!

Thanks,

- Dan McG



Also - could you please
fax As Delivered of RARIO/G.I. Bill

to Bill Schambra at

414-291-9991 Hudson 414 291 9915
CALL FOR FAX

Dan →
from AF 1

9:05 am.
Monday

122 am. notes

① fax copy [As dec'd
GI Bill Radio]
fax to Bradley Inst.
Bill Schwamb.

- Warsaw draft / copy to Bob Hatal
368
- sentence on trade insert
- A call later in day from rd.
- → 2nd copy Andy informal read
keep quiet
- ✓ Curt D&A no changes
- → Master of Miyazawa
make over to David

In the following transcriptions, a single "e" has the value of "e" as in "met." Double "ee" has the value of "ee" as in "meet." The symbol o* denotes a back nasal vowel. It is very close to the French vowel in quand.

On government and politics:

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Kto umie rządzić, niech umie bronić. | May he who knows how to govern know how to defend. | [KTO U-mye ZHON-jeech NYEKH U-mye BRON-eech] |
|---|--|---|

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Władza pochodzi od ludu. | Authority derives from the people. | [VWAD-za po-KHO-jee od LU-du] |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| Chcąc ludźmi dobrze władać, nie dosyć jest tylko gadać. | If you want to govern well, it is not enough to just talk. | [KHTSONTS LUJ-mee DOB-zhe VWAD-ach, nye DO-sich TIL-ko GADach] |
|---|--|--|

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Przy kim moc, przy tym prawo. | Who has the power has the right. | [PSHEE KEEM MOTS, PSHEE TIM PRA-vo] |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| We złym rządzie najwięcej praw i rozkazów. | A bad government is the one with the most laws and decrees. | [ve-ZWEEM ZHON-je ny-VYENT-say PRAF EE ros-KAHZ-uf] |
|--|---|---|

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| W polityce słowa są po to, aby ukryć myśli. | In politics, words exist to conceal thoughts. | [fpol-ee-TITS-e SWO-va SO* PO-to AH-bee U-krich MISH-lee] |
|---|---|--|

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Zgoda buduje, niezgoda ruinuje. | Concord builds, discord ruins. | [ZGO-da bu-DU-ye nye-ZGO-da ru-in-U-ye] |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|

On freedom:

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Wolność krzyżami się mierzy. | Freedom is measured in crosses [graves] | [VOL-noshch kshi-ZHA-mee shem-MYE-zhee] |
|---------------------------------|--|--|

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Wolność niezgodą ginie. | Freedom perishes with disunity. | [VOL-noshch nye-ZGO-do* GEE-nye] |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Walka o wolność gdy raz się zaczyna, to z śmiercią ojca przechodzi na syna. | The fight for freedom, Once begun, With the father's death Falls to the son. | [VAL-ka o-VOL-noshch GDI RAS-she za-CHI-na TO SHMYERCH-o* OYTS-a pshe-KHO-jee na-SIN-a] |
|--|---|---|

On Strength:

Siła bez głowy
szaleje, a rozum
bez siły mdleje.

Strength without
reason raves,
but reason without
strength fades.

[SHE-wa bez-GWO-vee
shah-LAY-ye, ah-ROHZ-
um bes-SHE-wee MDLAY-ye]

Próżny gniew bez
siły.

Rage without strength
is empty.

[PROOZH-nee GNYEF
bes-SHEE-wee]

On Courage:

Do odważnych świat
należy.

The world belongs
to the brave.

[DO od-WAZH-neekh SHVYAT
na-LEZH-ee]

Mały człowiek może
mieć wielką duszę.

A small man can
have a big spirit.

[MAH-wee CHWO-vyek MO-zhe
MYECH VYEL-ko* DU-she]

On destiny:

Każdy jest kowalem
swojego losu.

Everyone forges
his own destiny.

[KAHZH-dee YEST ko-VAHL-
em svo-YEG-o LO-su]

Natura wilka do
lasu ciągnie.

Nature draws the
wolf to the woods.

[na-TU-rah VEEL-kah do-
IAH-su CHO*G-nye]

On friendship:

Stary but i stary
przyjaciel są
najmilsi.

An old shoe and
an old friend are
dearest.

[STAH-ree BOOT EE STAH-
ree pshee-YACH-el SO*
ny-MEEL-shee]

Umiej być
przyjacielem
znajdziesz
przyjaciela.

Know how to be
a friend and you
will find a
friend.

[OOM-yay BICH pshee-
ya-CHEL-em ZNY-jesh
pshee-ya-CHEL-ah]

in your own house
you are free to do as you please

[point down of friend]
question - you ask

is servant when a friend or a mother?

answer - a friend

no - a mother, he/c a friend or chooses

myself

5-6 century's back
for your freedom and ours
→ standard phrase everywhere

(Poles were very heroic, not very practical)

better to eat [dog food] in freedom than
greater delicacy in slavery

as better to die attacking than live or
you know

Mirek: Polish Proverbs
"Chance no parliament to address"

- ▲ don't travel without money
- ▲ only when u are in trouble you find out who your real friends are
- ▲ that which you give a friend will not go to waste
- ▲ do not abandon ^{a friend in trouble, but save him} the old friend for the new one
do not leave the old for new friend
- ▲ friendship w/o trust is worthless
- ▲ Concord builds; discord ruins (advice)
- ▲ by concord the nation grows, by discord they fall

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

23-Jun-1992 10:00am

TO: (See Below)
FROM: Carol B. Aarhus
Office of Communications
SUBJECT: Media appearances

According to the Office of Media Affairs, the following Cabinet appearances will take place:

June 24 -- Sec. Alexander will conduct a live interview with Pat Robertson on "The 700 Club". He will also conduct and interview with the Baltimore Sun.

Sec. Martin will co-host ABC's "Home Show" from L.A.

June 25 -- Sec. Alexander will conduct and interview^w with "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour" and "Crossfire".

The Attorney General will appear on "Larry King Live"

▲ POLAND:

• FRIDAY June 26 -- Sec. Derwinski will present the President's Wreath at the grave site of Polish Patriot Ignace Jan Paderewski, at Arlington National Cemetery.

• SATURDAY June 27 -- Sec. Derwinski will participate in a memorial service marking the return of remains of Mr. Paderewski to Poland.

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Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of Poland

March 21, 1990

The President. Prime Minister Mazowiecki and all members of your distinguished delegation, and to all the many friends of Poland who have joined us here this morning, welcome to the White House. And let me first recognize three distinguished Americans, Board members of the Polish American Enterprise Fund: Chairman John Birkelund, Nicholas Rey, and Lane Kirkland.

Mr. Prime Minister, it is my great pleasure to welcome you here to Washington. Since you took office 6 months ago, we've had occasion to consult one another several times, and I've come to value your counsel, come to think of you as a friend. And today, for the first time, we meet in person, and I'm delighted to have this chance to sit down together to discuss the many changes and challenges that affect our two nations.

And of course, Barbara and I welcome this opportunity to repay in some small way the warm reception that we felt this past summer on our last visit to Poland—everywhere from the streets and squares of Warsaw to the gates of a now-historic shipyard at Gdansk. The warmth I felt in your country was a sign of the friendship between the people of our two nations, of the unbreakable bonds that link the people of Poland and the United States, not just the millions of Americans of Polish ancestry who trace their roots to the old country but all of us who share a common love of freedom.

And it's that love of freedom that lights our way today, that sparked the changes we've seen this past year—remarkable changes. On this day 1 year ago, the leaders of Solidarity and the Communist authorities were deep in the midst of those roundtable discussions. Mr. Prime Minister, you sat at the roundtable through the winter weeks of February and on into March. The fate of your nation hung in the balance. All of Poland awaited the outcome. And on April 5, 1989, Poland took its first step towards its democratic destiny. For the first time in

more than 40 years in Eastern Europe, a people's voice would speak in free elections.

Here in our country, we celebrate the Revolution of 1776; but we remember April 19, 1775, the day the Revolution began, the day the "shot heard round the world" was fired in Lexington, Massachusetts. In your country, Poles will always remember April 5th, the dawn of the Revolution of '89. The revolution that began in Poland touched off a chain reaction that changed Europe and the world. Mr. Prime Minister, those two revolutions share a common aim that unites our two nations in the cause of freedom. At Hamtramck, Michigan, nearly a year ago, I pledged America's strong support for Poland's economic reform and its democratic transition. I said then: "Liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe." The enormous changes of this past year have indeed brought that idea, the idea of liberty, to all of Eastern Europe.

Today we welcome to the White House a great Polish patriot and patron of freedom, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, one of the founding fathers of Solidarity—a man who survived the dark days of December 1981 and the heavy hand of martial law, endured a year in prison, life in the underground, editor of the illegal newspaper of an outlawed trade union.

Mr. Prime Minister, you survived. Solidarity survived—survived and triumphed. Today you and your heroic union lead a nation—lead the Polish people from revolution to rebirth.

In the past year, Poland has taken its first steps on the path to a democratic rebirth. For the past 6 months, navigating the difficult transition to democracy has been your daily task. You've shown a great personal courage—courage in taking the necessary steps to clear away the economic wreckage of a system that produced more long lines and empty shelves than anything else. You deserve great credit for introducing a bold economic reform program which aims to build a free market economy on the ruins

of central planning. All of us know this transformation, this road to reform, is not painless. The book of history teaches that the Polish people are well schooled in pain and suffering. But history also teaches a lesson about the Polish spirit: always hopeful, always strong. And today, in this time of trial, there is this difference: Poland's sacrifice is blessed by freedom—the sacrifice of a nation determined to make its destiny democracy.

Mr. Prime Minister, this is my message to the people of Poland: America wants to help Poland succeed. We want to welcome Poland as a full partner in the community of free nations. We want to see Poland prosper, see your people enjoy the fruits of free enterprise. We want to see the nation of Poland achieve its full measure of democracy and independence. In any decisions affecting the fate of Poland, Poland must have a voice.

At this time of great and turbulent change, let me assure you, sir, that the United States will remain a European power, a force for freedom, stability, and security. We see a new Europe in which the security of all European States—and their fundamental right to exist secure within their present borders—is totally assured. And in this new Europe, NATO, linking the United States to Europe in a defensive alliance of democratic states, will remain strong and united. And we want Poland and its neighbors to join with us in building a Europe whole and free.

Once again, Mr. Prime Minister, it is my privilege to welcome you to Washington and to the White House. And may God bless the people of Poland.

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, I express my deep gratitude for your invitation for me to pay this official visit to the United States. We're living in a time of great acceleration of history—acceleration which has affected my homeland, Poland, as well as Europe, and thereby, in fact, the history of the whole world. The visit which I'm now beginning is one of the visible signs of that acceleration. Our presence here today, just as that of other Eastern and Central European visitors, would not long ago have been totally inconceivable.

Yet in a special way, we have always

been here. Throughout all those years, when in the name of building an ideal system we were put into enslavement, the spirit of freedom never died in our hearts. We also felt—and legitimately, I believe—that it was the same spirit which had inspired your Constitution and that the Poles persevering, working up their way to independence, was to you Americans particularly close.

Today such strivings are no longer an exclusively Polish phenomenon. The year 1989 became the year of Eastern and Central Europe, one in which that part of the world made its way toward the recovery of freedom peacefully, though not without the sacrifice of blood at the very end.

We are coming here to talk, above all, about the future—about the future of Polish-American political cooperation in the face of momentous changes in the heart of Europe, about the future of Polish-American economic cooperation, so vital in our building an economy based on free enterprise.

The United States was the first country to adopt, several years ago, the ideals of human rights as a supreme principle of its foreign policy. Poland came to be the first country in Central Europe where the ideals of human rights became the victorious program of a whole nation. It was us who sparked the process of democratic revolution across Eastern Europe. The victory of that revolution will, in a large measure, depend on our success. Therefore, we must succeed, and I do believe that we will.

The time of the present crucial acceleration of history is also one in which partnership is being put to test. Coming to you, I have no doubt that this will be genuine partnership. My conviction springs from our hitherto common experiences, particularly over the past decade when so many signs of a well-wishing attitude and affection for us were shown by the United States, both by your people and the administration. For all this, allow me today to warmly thank you, Mr. President, and the millions of Americans.

I would also like to say that your greatest contribution to the community of man is not material. In the words of your Declara-

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tion of Independence, all people are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights. The ultimate inalienable right is a universal value of political freedom. That same brightly burning light of freedom has nowadays guided the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe into the splendid dawn of the 1990's. We have come here as free people. We have come from a country building a new democratic order. We have come from a country which wants to and can play a significant role in the new emerging order in Europe.

I trust that our talks will be fruitful. I

Remarks on Signing the Poland-United States Business and Economic Treaty

March 21, 1990

The President. Mr. Prime Minister, I'm just delighted that we've signed today this treaty concerning business and economic relations, a treaty that will greatly strengthen business and economic ties between our two countries.

I want to salute three distinguished Members of our United States Congress: Congressman Broomfield; Congressman Rostenkowski; Senator Pell, the chairman of our Foreign Relations Committee. I want to salute the newly appointed members of the Enterprise Fund Board that you just met—these distinguished Americans taking time from exceptionally busy schedules to join in as best they can to guarantee Poland's economic success. And we're looking forward to their mission and their work very much.

This treaty is very important—important not only in its content but what it says about where Poland is going. It says that Poland wants U.S. investment because this investment is good for the Polish people and vital to the growth and development of the Polish economy. In this treaty, Poland is taking a number of very substantial steps, steps that will orient the Polish economy toward the Western economic system and towards global markets. These are courageous steps, and we applaud them.

Following the steps the United States has

trust that our meeting with America will make us stronger. This is the hope which I'm bringing with me to the White House. God bless America.

Note: The President spoke at 10:11 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where the Prime Minister was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. The Prime Minister spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the ceremony, the two leaders met in the Oval Office.

taken to open our markets to Poland, we can now take this treaty to the U.S. business community and say, this is why you should invest in Poland. And I'm also pleased to note that this is the first economic treaty that the United States has concluded with the newly emerging democracies in Eastern Europe. And we all think that it's quite fitting that Poland is first.

This treaty is more than an investment treaty: it is a broad and comprehensive agreement that lays the basis of a new economic relationship. It's a milestone for Poland and also for the United States—a milestone on the road to a prosperous Poland and a stronger U.S.-Polish partnership.

So, once again, welcome. Would you care to say a word, sir?

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, I thank you very much for your kind words.

I also consider this treaty is very important and very significant. As I had a chance to say during our conversation before, we're tying together, linking, political change and economic change in our restructuring efforts. We believe there is a relationship between democracy and the development of an economy based on free market and free enterprise. We believe that to combine these two kinds of changes in Poland allows

dren come up here so we can get a picture. Who is going to take—here, David—David takes the picture. You guys come up here, all you little guys. Anybody under—how old are you? Under 12? Come up here. [Laughter] Come on, all you guys over here. You—hey, come on, bring your flags. Come on, you guys. You've got to get over here. Face David, here we go, over here, here we are. Everybody look at David over here. Ready? Can you see? Wave your flag. We got it. Okay, thank you all. We'll send you these

pictures—to the Ambassador.

Note: The President spoke at 9:18 a.m. on the lawn of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, the President referred to Secretary of State and Mrs. James A. Baker III; U.S. Ambassador and Mrs. John R. Davis, Jr.; Mark Lijek, Administrative Counselor for the Embassy; and David Valdez, Director of the White House Photo Office. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Gdansk, Poland.

Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters Following a Luncheon With Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk

July 11, 1989

Q. Come this way.

Q. We can't hear you. How about coming over?

The President. He said he can't hear us. I'm not sure we want him to, do we?

Mr. Walesa. Mr. President, I am ready. I'll walk up.

The President. All right.

Q. What did you talk about?

The President. She wants to know what we talked about.

Q. And what did you decide?

Mr. Walesa. If that's what you need, I can briefly tell you. Poland has had major achievements now—politically, but the problem centers on matching political reform with economic reform. Let's take the example of China, where the economic topics were not lined up properly with political ones. In Poland, there is a danger, too, but it's in reverse. Here the political problems have gotten ahead of the economic ones.

Meeting with the head of a superpower, a superpower in all areas—in other words, a superpower economically and politically—we hope that in this situation we have a chance to adjust our situation. We're not after any loans; we're after cooperation—cooperation in which one partner would be \$10 billion. If we succeed in opening branches of Western banks which would keep \$10 billion and could strike a good

deal in Poland, that would fix our economic problems. And this is what I asked Mr. President about, and that was my primary appeal and request.

Q. What about this \$10 billion, Mr. President? What about it?

The President. You heard carefully what he said. He is not asking for \$10 billion; he's asking for investment and the potential to build through the private sector to the tune of American banks being in Poland carrying \$10 billion. That could be American banks, other banks. And to me it's interesting and quite different than the interpretation that I've seen placed on this figure by other people.

We had a very good luncheon in the sense that it was—having met Mr. Walesa before, I really rejoiced in his hospitality, he and his Danuta, giving us the hospitality of being in their home. And we talked about a wide array of issues. I clearly salute today, as I have in the past, his contribution to the enormous political reforms that have taken place, and I have told him that I want to work with him and with Poland in every way possible on the economic reforms.

So, now I will go to the economic summit. I will take with me the detail—he gave me a detailed paper—the details of his proposals, and we'll see where we come out. But in terms of his emphasis on the private sector and on job opportunity

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through private investment and private and competitive business practice, I must say I can give strong support to that—standing right here in his yard.

Note: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. at the Walesa residence. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks at the Solidarity Workers Monument in Gdansk July 11, 1989

The President. Hello, Lech Walesa! Hello, *Solidarność!* Hello, *Polska!* And congratulations on what you've done since I last visited: the first free elections in modern *Polska*. Poland has a special place in the American heart and in my heart. And when you hurt, we feel pain. And when you dream, we feel hope. And when you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations; it's more like family relations—and coming to Poland is like coming home. This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream—a recurring dream—the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans, a dream that would not die.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the predawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 15-inch guns of Nazi warship *Schlewswig-Holstein*. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier, and Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world. For Poland the choices were few: surrender to tyranny or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. In World War II, Poland lost everything—except her honor, except her dreams.

Before Poland fell, you gave the allies "Enigma," the Nazis' secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of allied lives, of American lives; and for this, you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And ultimately, "Enigma" and freedom

fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The cold war brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship—and the dream was again denied. And yet there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates and emerged as one of the heroes of our times—Lech Walesa. And above your streets a graceful monument rose, in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty, to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of hope.

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

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

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds, confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities; its time of responsibilities. It is Poland's time of destiny, a time when dreams can live again—Solidarity reborn, productive negotiations between the Government of

Poland and the Polish people, and the first fruits of democracy, elections. At another time, in another city, where the human spirit was being tested, a great American President spoke eloquently about the struggle for liberty. Today the world watches the inevitable outcome of that struggle.

Today, to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say: Let them look at Poland! To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say: Let them look at Poland! And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say: Look at Poland! For here in Poland, the dream is alive.

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. America stands with you.

Audience members. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. Because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of a better future. Here in Poland, the United States supports the roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity, and patience of one of Poland's great leaders—Lech Walesa. And again—

Audience members. Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa!

The President. And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. That movement is *Solidarność*. And we applaud those who have made this progress possible: the Polish people. We recognize, too, that the Polish Government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. A more democratic Poland can be a more prosperous Poland. The roundtable provisions, as they continue to be carried out, can liberate the energy of a dynamic people to work together to build a better life.

We understand the legacy of distrust and shattered dreams as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path

of negotiation and compromise. Your challenge is to rise above distrust and bring the Polish people together toward a common purpose.

Speaking before the new Parliament and the Senate—your freely elected Senate—I outlined steps that America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path of reform. It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and restraint before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and determination. But the Polish people are no strangers to hard work and have taught the world about determination.

So, I say follow your dream of a better life for you and for your children. You can see a new and prosperous Poland not overnight, not in a year—but, yes, a new and prosperous Poland in your lifetime. It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called America and built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it can be done by Polish people again. But this time, it will be done in Poland.

Just before I left a few days ago, I was asked in my beautiful Oval Office in the White House by one of your journalists if I would leave Poland and go to America, were I a young Pole. And I answered that in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to stay in Poland and be a part of it, help make the dream come true for all the Polish people. The magic of America—

Audience members. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. And, yes, our country has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty—ample timber and ore and water and coal, abundant agriculture potential—and a talented, creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea. I described it in my first moments as President of the United States: "We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's

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man on Earth." And today you can redis-
cover a new land—a land of your dreams, a
land of your own making, a Poland strong
and proud.

Poland is where World War II began.
And Poland is where, and why, the cold
war got started. And it is here, in Poland,
where we can work to end the division of
Europe. It is in your power to help end the
division of Europe. I can think of no finer
or more capable people with whom to en-
trust this mission. And just as a son of
Poland has shown the world the heights of
spiritual leadership in the Vatican, so the
people of Poland can show the world what
a free people with commitment and energy
can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is

alive with possibilities. And in your quest
for a better future for yourselves and for
those wonderful children that I saw coming
in from the airport—in that quest America
stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish
people in solidarity. Americans and Poles
both know that nothing can stop an idea
whose time has come. The dream is a
Poland reborn, and the dream is alive.

Poland is not lost while Poles still live. I
came here to assure you we will help
Poland. Goodbye, God bless you, and God
save this wonderful country of Poland!

*Note: The President spoke at 2:32 p.m. out-
side the Lenin Shipyard. In his remarks, he
referred to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.
Earlier, the President participated in a
wreath-laying ceremony at the monument.*

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Technical Assistance for Poland

July 11, 1989

The President today announced a decision to provide technical assistance to Polish independent trade unionists, government officials, and employers to ease the burden of adjustment during the period of economic transition and reform. The workers of Poland will ultimately benefit from their country's reform efforts, but the difficult transition period could jeopardize the reform process, with unemployment possibly being a particularly acute problem.

The Department of Labor, working with the AFL-CIO and American business, will assist Poland in eight areas: training and retraining; job search and employment

services; unemployment insurance; entrepreneurial development, self-employment and employee ownership; labor-management relations; labor statistics; worker safety and health, including mine safety; and women in the work force.

The Department of Labor will provide a mix of in-country technical assistance and U.S. domestic activities and, along with other U.S. Government agencies, will help develop policies and programs to set up an effective labor safety net in each of the eight priority areas. The cost of the initiative is approximately \$4 million.

Advance Text of Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Gdansk

July 11, 1989

This has been the first visit of an American President to Poland in almost 12 years. That, in itself, is something of a milestone.

And it has been a great honor to be here. But what has made this visit most noteworthy, in my mind, are the extraordinary op-

portunities and challenges now faced by Poland and her people. In my 2 days here, I met with leaders of a government that is both responsive and responsible, and determined that Poland shall find her own road to recovery.

I met with the chairman of the Free Solidarity Trade Union, Lech Walesa, whose courage and moral guidance have carried Poland's people from the dark of night to the threshold of a brilliant future. I met with Senators and parliamentary leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized. We discussed their new and weighty responsibilities as Poland enters a new era. And I met with Polish citizens from all walks of life, including the citizens of the great city of Gdansk, at a monument to courage and freedom.

Poland is blazing her own path to a better life for all of her people. With every meeting, with every conversation, we have had meaningful discussions about the possibilities and challenges of Poland's unique

experiment in reform. I have explained that the United States will respond with specific, appropriate measures designed to encourage future economic and political reform, reform that is crucial to Poland's long-term economic health. But the real work begins now, as Poland joins the community of nations committed to open elections and open markets and the open exchange of ideas.

I add my voice to those of so many around the world who are impressed with Poland's courage and committed to help a great nation fulfill its destiny. Poland's wisdom and strength will be tested. But such a nation, fully engaged in such an enterprise, need only summon the will of her people to succeed. The world watches, confident that they will triumph.

Note: The President spoke at 4:50 p.m. on the tarmac at Gdansk Airport. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Budapest, Hungary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in Budapest July 11, 1989

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Mr. President. Is somebody going to translate this? I'm going to take this speech, and I'm going to tear it up. You've been out here too long.

Let me just speak to you from the heart, and I'll be brief—tear that thing up. [Applause] Thank you. You've been standing here long enough. But Barbara and I feel the warmth of this welcome, and the rain doesn't make a darn bit of difference. We feel at home right here in this great capital.

And I salute the leaders of Hungary; I salute the reforms and change that is taking place in this wonderful country. And I want you to know that I am here as President of the United States because we have in our country a special affection and feeling for the people of Hungary. We are delighted to be here. We're only here for 2 nights and 1

day, but I am looking forward to my consultations and my discussions with the leaders of this great country. And I will be bringing them the warm greetings from the American people and the conviction of the people of the United States that we must work with Hungary. We want to work with Hungary to continue the changes and the reforms that are going forward in your great country as of today.

So, thank you very much for this welcome. You'll have to listen to me tomorrow, I'm sure, at some drier time and drier place. But once again, once again, long after this rain is gone, I'm going to remember the warmth of the welcome from the people of Hungary.

Thank you. God bless you, and God bless your great country. Thank you very much. Thank you all.

dentistry, and director of the medical center of the University of Rochester, 1979-1984, and vice president for health affairs, 1981-1984.

Dr. Young graduated from Union Col-

lege, the medical center of the State University of New York (M.D.), and Case Western Reserve University (Ph.D). He is married and has five children.

Remarks to Citizens in Hamtramck, Michigan April 17, 1989

Cardinal Szoka, your Eminence. Bob, thank you for the warm greeting to your wonderful community. Governor Blanchard—it's an honor to have the Governor of the great State here. And I want to pay my respects to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation that came out here with me—Senator Riegle and several distinguished Members of the House of Representatives sitting over here—and also to Senator John Engler, who is the majority leader of the Michigan State Senate, and to other elected leaders not only from your community but in other parts of this State.

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the Earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address, at this important gathering, the health and prosperity of a whole nation—the proud people of Poland. You know, we Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond: a bond of blood, of culture, and shared values. And so, it is only natural that as dramatic change comes to Poland we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.

In my Inaugural Address, I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing; its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient leafless tree." I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. And I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals: of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will.

And we should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe, the homeland of philosophers of freedom, whose ideals have been so fully realized in our great United States of America. And Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe, and make no mistake about it.

For almost half a century, the suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the military power of the Soviet Union, has kept nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor. And as East and West now seek to reduce arms, it must not be forgotten that arms are a symptom, not a source, of tension. The true source of tension is the imposed and unnatural division of Europe. How can there be stability and security in Europe and the world as long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their own future, a right explicitly promised by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling authoritarianism? The United States—and let's be clear on this—has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations.

And yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent, and Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence, and prosperity. In the Soviet Union

itself, we are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We see new thinking in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting, and far more reaching change. So, let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place, and we will continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections.

East and West are now negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe, and if it is to end, it will end in this crucible of world conflict. And it must end—the American people want to see east and central Europe free, prosperous, and at peace. With prudence, realism, and patience, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom—the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki accords and the deepening East-West contact. In recent years, we have improved relations with countries in the region. And in each case, we looked for progress in international posture and internal practices—in human rights, cultural openness, emigration issues, opposition to international terror. While we want relations to improve, there are certain acts we will not condone or accept, behavior that can shift relations in the wrong direction—human rights abuses, technology theft, and hostile intelligence or foreign policy actions against us.

Some regions are now seeking to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been absolutely unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5th, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if faithfully implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the roundtable agreements, the free trade union *Solidarność* was today—this very day, under those agreements—*Solidarność* was today formally restored. And the agreements also pro-

vide that a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free association will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of General Jaruzelski and his colleagues, and they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people, and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa.

Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics: It is the death of economics. In Poland, an economic system crippled by the inefficiencies of central planning almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise—almost. But economic reforms can still give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the great Polish people.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the moral, political, and economic support of the West, and the West will respond. My administration is completing now a thorough review of our policies toward Poland and all of Eastern Europe, and I've carefully considered ways that the United States can help Poland. And we will not act unconditionally. We're not going to offer unsound credits. We're not going to offer aid without requiring sound economic practices in return. And we must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community—and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say; and I'm delighted he's here, good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck—that the Congress, the Polish-American community, the American labor movement, our allies, and international financial institutions—our allies all must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root anew and sustain itself. And we can and must answer this call to freedom. And it is particularly appropriate here in Hamtramck for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidari-

ty through its darkest days. Labor deserves great credit for that.

Now the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And I have decided as your President on specific steps to be taken by the United States, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway and to encourage reforms yet to come now that *Solidarność* is legal. I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries. We will work with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow.

I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors. We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses—both sides can benefit. The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation. We believe that the roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies. We will encourage business and private nonprofit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises, and for charitable, humanitarian, and environmental projects. We will support imaginative educational, cultural, and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and Government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind that we now see—both of them valued that assurance. So, it is especially gratifying for me today to witness the changes now taking place in Poland and to announce these important changes in U.S. policy. The United States of America keeps its promises.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And while we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future. We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of peoples, goods, and ideas. We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, free, contested elections. And we dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including closer ties with Western Europe. And we envision an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy—on any pretext. We share an unwavering conviction that one day all the peoples of Europe will live in freedom. And make no mistake about that.

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic alliance, I will meet with the leaders of the Western democracies. The leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these concerns. And these are not bilateral issues just between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should understand, in turn, that a free, democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country. Such an evolution would imply and reinforce the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions—arms reductions, political relations, trade—in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

What has brought us to this opening? The unity and strength of the democracies, yes, and something else: the bold, new thinking in the Soviet Union, the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom

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opening? The ocracies, yes, new thinking te desire for nen. We will to freedom

now. And if we're wise, united, and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all Europe free.

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, came to these American shores to stand for freedom. Let us honor and remember this hero of our own struggle for freedom by extending our hand to those who work the shipyards of Gdansk and walk the cobbled streets of Warsaw. Let us recall the words of the Poles who struggled for independence: "For your freedom and ours." Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. *Niech Zuje Polska!* [Long live Poland!] Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:53 a.m. at Hamtramck City Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to Cardinal Edmund C. Szoka, the Archbishop of Detroit, and

Robert Kozaren, mayor of Hamtramck. He also referred to Edward Moskal, president of the Polish-American Congress. Following his remarks, the President attended a luncheon at the Eagle Restaurant. Following the luncheon, he returned to Washington, DC.

A fact sheet entitled "Support for Polish Reforms" was also released by the Office of the Press Secretary. In addition to covering the material on this subject found in these remarks, the fact sheet also contained the following points concerning U.S. policy toward Poland:

"Once authorized, OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation] and the Polish Government will negotiate an investment incentives agreement detailing OPIC's rights and the GOP's [Government of Poland's] responsibilities for OPIC-assisted investment.

"In the absence of GSP [Generalized System of Preferences], OPIC would make an independent determination that Poland is taking steps to adopt and implement worker rights. We will work closely with Solidarity."

Remarks at the National Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO April 18, 1989

Thank you for that warm welcome. Thank you, Bob Georgine, for that warm welcome. Since the election is over, the story can now be told: a proud story about all the help this guy gave me in the last two elections. [Laughter] No, here's the way it worked, really. [Laughter]

In this very room, I'm at an Italian-American dinner in 1984, sitting up here at the high—you know, the big dais here and everything. Georgine comes over—very pleasant to my wife, who could well be his campaign manager if he has higher aspirations. [Laughter] And he says, "You've got to understand, George," he tells me, "you've got to understand. Don't you realize Geraldine Ferraro is an Italian? Don't you understand that?" I said, "Yes, I understand, so I was

waiting for 1988." [Laughter] See him at the same dinner, same place, looking at him. "Hey, come on." And he says, "You've got to understand." I looked at his nametag. I'm running against Michael Dukakis, famous Greek-American. I see his nametag—Bob Georgapolis—[laughter]—little much.

But look, here I am, and I appreciate very much the tone with which your outstanding leader set the agenda here today and the warm welcome that you gave me. And I do have great respect for Bob Georgine. I've told him this. The door will be open over there to him, to the leaders here, and to all of you, whom he represents so well. And he doesn't hide behind the differences. We get them out there on the table.

TELEFAX**UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
OFFICE OF RESEARCH
EUROPEAN BRANCH
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547**

June 19, 1992

TELEFAX FOR: Jeannie Bunton
[Telefax Number: 202.456.6218]

FROM: Susan White
[Telephone Number: 202.619.5133]
[Telefax Number: 202.619.6977]


SUBJECT: Contact in Office of Research

I have just spoken with our Deputy Director, Steve Shaffer (619-4965) who says there should be no problem in your using the information I could send you, but that he would like to speak with you before I fax it over. So, give him a call today before 5 p.m. or Monday morning.

I also forgot to get your phone number, which would have made some of this a bit simpler. Sorry for the confusion.

Chriss
Winston @
USIA

019-4353

5pm. 19 June '92
Mr. Shaffer asked that we not cite source
the poll/study/etc. in the speech -
I told him no probs. we just want it
for background/awareness.


4965

CHRIS WINSTON 619-4700

TELEFAX

**UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
OFFICE OF RESEARCH
EUROPEAN BRANCH
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20547**

June 19, 1992

TELEFAX FOR: Jeannie Bunton
[Telefax Number: 202.456.6218]

FROM: Susan White
[Telephone Number: 202.619.5133]
[Telefax Number: 202.619.6977]

SUBJECT: Recent reports on Polish public opinion

I made a small technical error during our earlier conversation. Unfortunately, I forgot that any inquiries for information from outside the agency have to be forwarded to the Office of Public Liaison (619-4355). Sorry, but I can't send you anything without prior approval from them. So, if you give them a call, they will be able to work something out for us.

For additional information on current events, I would suggest the *RFE/RL Daily Report* since it gives summaries of each day's events. They are largely useful in a political/economic sense, but some of them could provide anecdotal material.

Let me know what the outcome is and whether I can be of assistance in the future.

QUOTES

"In Poland, everyone is a leader."

-- Lech Walesa

"[I kiss the soil] as if I placed a kiss on the hands of a mother, for the homeland is our earthly mother. I consider it my duty to be with my compatriots in this sublime and difficult moment."

-- Pope John Paul II

On arriving in Poland during period of martial law.

June 27, 1983

"The heart of Poland hath not ceased to quiver, tho' her sacred blood doth drown the fields, and out of every smouldering town cries to Thee."

-- Tennyson

Poland 1.3

Poland National Anthem:

Poland still is ours forever, long as Poles remain;
Chains the foe bound on her never shall the foe retain.
On! On! Dabruski! from Italy's fair plain!
Lead us on to greet our homeland,
Lead us back again.

Victula and Wartar over, Poles we'll ever be;
And from Bonaparte discover paths to victory.
On! On! Dabruski! from Italy's fair plain!
Lead us on to greet our homeland,
Lead us back again.

When the Swede had forged our chain, the Fatherland to save;
Czarniecki, Poznan town to gain, plunged into the wave.
On! On! Dabruski! from Italy's fair plain!
Lead us on to greet our homeland,
Lead us back again.



USIA

**USIA PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE:
ALBANIA, BULGARIA, CZECH and SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC, ESTONIA*,
HUNGARY, LATVIA*, LITHUANIA*, POLAND, ROMANIA, and THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA**

May, 1992

The revolutions of 1989 brought freedom to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. The toppling of the Berlin Wall, the disappearance of the Iron Curtain, the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the restoration of independence for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania provide the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) with a historic opportunity to lay the foundation for new relationships and re-establish old ones.

USIA has a long history of cultural, educational and informational programming in Central and Eastern Europe. We have promoted understanding of the U.S. through the Voice of America, the Fulbright Program, tours of American performing groups, and traveling exhibits about American life and values. It is only with the fall of authoritarian regimes in more countries that our U.S. Information Service posts can begin to operate fully and freely.

USIA programs and initiatives in these countries demonstrate the creativity, diversity and durability of U.S. democratic institutions as a model of a free society. Our primary objective is to help citizens understand democratic processes and free-market economies. We therefore focus our resources on programs promoting economic liberalization, democratization, respect for human rights, and the rule of law.

BUDGET

In FY 92, USIA's overall budget for the Central and Eastern European countries is \$47.1 million. This total includes exchange programs (\$16.7), broadcasting (\$13.1), Agency-produced publications, and salaries and expenses at overseas posts (\$17.3). An additional \$23 million from the Support for East European Democracy Act (SEED), which is funded by U.S. Agency for International Development, is also used by USIA for democracy and market economic programs in the region.

* See separate fact sheet for more details on Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

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POSTS AND PEOPLE

207 employees currently serve at 18 posts. In 1992, we have opened posts in Tirana, Albania; Tallinn, Estonia; Riga, Latvia; Vilnius, Lithuania; and a branch post in Bratislava, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. We have opened a cultural center in Budapest, Hungary and are planning to open new cultural centers in Prague, Warsaw, Sofia and Tirana. Following the establishment of embassies we will be opening country posts in Zagreb, Croatia; Ljubljana, Slovenia; Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hercegovina; and upon recognition, Skopje, Macedonia.

USIA BROADCASTING

Voice of America

Voice of America broadcasts 130 hours weekly in fourteen languages to listeners in Albanian, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Estonian, German, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak and Slovene.

In addition to direct broadcasts, VOA's broadcasts are now carried on several national radio networks and a growing number of affiliated private stations throughout Eastern and Central Europe, and the Baltic countries.

VOA Europe, an around-the-clock English-language service for young Europeans, broadcasts 168 hours weekly to 99 affiliated stations in 25 countries.

USIA Television (WORLDNET) and Film Service

Since 1990, USIA's WORLDNET has been transmitting two-hour daily feeds to Central and Eastern Europe for rebroadcast by local television stations. This specialized programming emphasizes free market economics, American life, institutions, and how these institutions function in a democratic society.

WORLDNET also continues to sponsor numerous co-productions (co-ops) with broadcasters from this region. TV crews come to the United States to report about stories on business, democracy, management, public administration and a variety of other timely topics. These co-ops result in television programs being shown to prime time audiences in these regions. WORLDNET also helps the crews with access to U.S. Government officials, provides information on important stories about America, and helps them cover visits by their heads of state.

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WORLDNET also supports a broad range of projects which translate business and management programs into Central and Eastern European languages. This programming receives wide and repeated placement on local television. New programming is constantly being acquired for translation and rebroadcast.

USIA'S INTERNATIONAL/VOLUNTARY VISITOR PROGRAMS

USIA's International Visitor (IV) Program, created in 1940, affords established and future leaders in foreign societies the opportunity for personal and professional exposure to U.S. life and institutions.

In FY 91, USIA brought 288 leaders nominated by our embassies from throughout Central and Eastern Europe to the U.S. In FY 92, we expect that number to rise to at least 320.

In FY 92, the IV office has implemented grant projects which have brought groups of leaders to the U.S. to deal with such topics as:

- o the role of the military in a democracy
- o rule of law
- o the free-market economy
- o university and secondary education in the U.S.
- o entrepreneurship
- o free press
- o banking and capital markets
- o the environment
- o American politics and government

USIA's Voluntary Visitor office conducts programs for individuals already traveling to the U.S. under other auspices. This fiscal year, the office has conducted programs for the former Prime Minister of Romania; the Romanian Minister of the Interior; the Bulgarian Minister of Education; the Chairman of the Constitutional Court of Slovenia; a group of ten parliamentarians from Lithuania; the Lithuanian Minister of Education; and a group of graduate business students from Poland, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

In FY 91, 116 Voluntary Visitors from Eastern and Central Europe visited the U.S. In FY 92, we expect that number to be about 80.

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USIA'S PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

Two basic conceptual pamphlets, *What is Democracy?* and *What is a Market Economy?* provide the fundamental information on two of our most important themes. Close to 70,000 copies of *What is Democracy?* will be circulated in 14 languages for this region. It will be published in Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Croatian, Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Serbian, Slovak and Slovene.

What is a Market Economy? will be translated into multiple language editions to explain the basic workings of a market economy to readers who are only beginning to extricate themselves from the strictures of a centralized, command economy.

The Press and Publications Service is also launching a series of special pamphlets entitled *The Freedom and Prosperity Papers*. This new pamphlet series offers nuts and bolts, "how to" information for mid-level managers, journalists, entrepreneurs and government officials.

Economic Reform is another new quarterly being co-produced with the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE). It provides a broad survey and practical information about the workings of the market economy.

Dialogue, an 80-page quarterly, reprints the best articles from serious American publications such as *Atlantic*, *Commentary*, *The Wilson Quarterly*, and *The New York Review*. Among its broad array of articles and striking graphics, each issue contains a special focus section offering penetrating discussions of key, policy-related themes. *Dialogue* is distributed in Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Romanian and other languages of the former Yugoslavia.

U.S. SPEAKERS - PROFESSIONALS-IN-RESIDENCE

The U.S. Speakers Program is playing a key role in USIA's efforts to promote economic reform and democracy building. For example, USIA sent six American judges to Romania who participated in a training seminar with 60 Romanian judges. Among the areas emphasized were the role of the prosecution, judicial conduct and discipline of judges; due process, criminal procedure, and protection for the accused; rules of evidence; and judicial review.

The U.S. Speakers Program will also be sending Professionals-in-Residence to Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Federal

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Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania. They will serve as resident consultants, for three to five months, to leading reformers working to develop the institutions of free-market economics and investment; legal and judicial reform; and free and independent media.

USIA'S OFFICE OF ACADEMIC PROGRAMS

Fulbright: The Fulbright Program exchanges a total of just over 200 lecturers, researchers and graduate students between the U.S. and the countries in the region. USIA's historical experience with this exchange provides a network for implementing programs in educational, economic, and democratic reform by sending U.S. specialists to lecture in academic fields critical to the region's development.

Management of the program has also promoted reform in the region by establishing bilateral Fulbright Commissions, which give local Board members decision-making responsibility in program planning. It also introduces open, merit-based competitions for the selection of nominees.

Support from special Congressional SEED funding expanded the Fulbright program and has enabled East Europeans specializing in business administration, law, and political science to come to the U.S. for advanced study.

Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program: This program brings upwardly mobile mid-career professionals from Central and Eastern Europe and other regions of the world to the U.S. for a year of academic study and related practical professional experiences. It focuses on such fields as public administration, economic development, environmental management and public health.

Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program: The countries of Central and Eastern Europe, including Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, have joined some 25 other nations in exchanging secondary and post-secondary educators with the U.S. A typical program involves one-year, classroom-to-classroom exchanges for teachers in the fields of languages, history, the sciences, business and art. Related exchanges of students, such as a 1992 two-week program involving Hungarian and Maine secondary school students, are typical spinoffs from this popular program.

Samantha Smith Program: The U.S. Congress established the Samantha Smith Memorial Exchange Program in 1988. The program provides grants to U.S. non-profit organizations to support

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undergraduate and youth exchange projects between the United States and the countries of Eastern Europe.

On a yearly basis, approximately 200 undergraduates (100 each way) participate in the Samantha Smith Program; and about 300 high school students (approximately 100 U.S. - 200 Eastern Europe) participate in the Samantha Smith youth exchange.

The President's University Undergraduate Exchange: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are eligible for this program, which provides for the expansion of undergraduate exchanges between the U.S. and the former Soviet Union until 1000 students are exchanged from each side by the 1995/1996 academic year. Grants are made to U.S. institutions, which must have letters of agreement with a Baltic partner institution at the time of application.

Benjamin Franklin Fellowship Program: Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are eligible for participation in this program, which provides scholarships for graduate study and internships in the U.S. for qualified applicants in the fields of business administration, economics, law, and public administration. This program is intended to bring solely graduate students from the former Soviet Union to the U.S. for academic programs of one or two years in length, some of which will lead to a graduate degree or certificate.

University Affiliations Program: USIA's University Affiliations Program fosters long-term cooperation and communication between the U.S. and institutions of higher education. These faculty exchanges focus on the humanities, social sciences, education and communications. Through an annual competition, USIA awards institutional grants of approximately \$125,000 for a period of three years. Affiliations now exist between U.S. universities and partner institutions in 25 to 30 programs.

Student Advising: USIA currently operates, or is in the process of establishing, student advising centers in multiple locations in all Eastern and Central European countries. We also maintain a regional educational advising coordinator in Budapest. The centers provide high school, college and graduate students with information about educational opportunities in the United States.

This program gives our overseas posts the capability to respond to ad-hoc programming opportunities by providing single-country grants for American academics and professionals. They then consult with or instruct academics or professionals at foreign partner institutions about specific issues and problems or

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conduct seminars/workshops for key personnel. This activity lasts from two to six weeks.

The Academic Specialist program has awarded FY 92 grants to specialists who will address topics such as management training (Poland, Latvia, Hungary), rule of law (Czech and Slovak Federal Republic), education reform (Lithuania, Romania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Baltics) English teaching (Poland, Hungary, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Baltics), book publishing (Bulgaria), media (the former Yugoslavia), and public administration and economic development (Latvia).

CITIZEN EXCHANGES

USIA's Office of Citizen Exchanges awards competitive grants to U.S. non-profit institutions and organizations to conduct exchange programs. The competing organizations include exchange organizations, professional associations, universities and think tanks. The projects may include workshops and seminars; internships; long-term consultancies; creation of institutional linkages; development of specialized instructional materials; and enhancement of Central and Eastern European counterpart non-governmental institutions as magnet centers.

This program manages just over \$3.2 million worth of grants for FY 92 to U.S. non-profits institutions which focus on public administration and local government development, business administration/management training, media development, economic and educational reform, rule of law, development of civic and community organizations, library development, performing and visual arts, historical and cultural conservation and preservation.

Some examples of specific grants include:

- o Exchange of 17 Central and Eastern European law school deans for an in-depth orientation of American law schools and the development of sister law school linkages with the United States.
- o Assistance in developing emerging social welfare voluntary associations in Hungary.
- o Curriculum development assistance for university rectors focusing on the land grant tradition and diversity in higher education, including the contribution of \$10,000 worth of books to each university library.

(more)

- o A three-week summer management institute for individuals from the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to focus on managerial problems experiences in companies trying to become market driven enterprises.
- o Parliamentary exchange programs for Hungary, Poland and Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. They include two-week study tours in the United States and two-week consultancies by former Members of Congress in Central and Eastern Europe.
- o Long-term consultancies by leading U.S. policy and legal experts to help in the formulation of environmental protection laws in Poland, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

SISTER CITIES

A major grant from USIA's Office of Citizen Exchanges helps support the work of Sister Cities International. The organization works to develop partnerships between U.S. towns, cities, and states with similar jurisdictions in other countries. Thirty-five cities in eight countries have formed relationships with U.S. sister cities. They include Bulgaria, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and the former Yugoslavia.

USIA BOOK PROGRAMS/TRANSLATIONS

USIA has signed contracts with publishers to produce language editions of more than thirty books, most of which deal with various aspects of democracy and free-market economics.

Titles include:

- American Political Tradition (Hofstadter)- Romanian
- The Americans (Boorstin)- Hungarian, Polish
- Democracy in America (de Tocqueville)- Hungarian
- The Federalist Papers (Several Eastern and Central European languages are being considered.)
- Innovation and Entrepreneurship (Drucker)- Bulgarian, Polish
- Privatization (Savas)- Hungarian, Polish
- The Grand Failure (Brzezinski)- Romanian, Bulgarian

(more)

LIBRARY FELLOWS

The Library/Book Fellows Program sends American librarians to foreign institutions for periods of several months to one year to carry out specific assignments. This program is administered by the American Library Association through a grant from USIA. Some examples of fellowships include:

- o Warsaw, Poland: National Library of Poland - Stanley Elman, formerly of the Lockheed Aeronautical Systems Company Library (California) is assisting in the development of automation and in training staff in its use at the National Library, which contains more than 1.4 million volumes.
- o Bucharest, Romania: Central University Library - James Moldovan, U.S. Court of Appeals Library (California), is assisting in the installation of automation and the development of an online catalog in the country's major university library. The library staff is also being taught how to use such technology in this institution which owns over 1.6 million volumes.
- o Belgrade, Yugoslavia: Library of the City of Belgrade - Despite the political turmoil in the country, Gloria Fulton, Humboldt State University (California), worked on the development of a national library network and advised on current U.S. library practices at national, university and public libraries.

ENGLISH TEACHING

Throughout the years of the Cold War, USIA supported English teaching in Central and Eastern Europe insofar as permitted. English teaching programming in Poland, for example, was conducted without interruption for more than thirty years. At the present time, in response to urgent requests for assistance throughout the region, USIA is supporting the development and reform of English teaching curricula, textbooks, and teacher training programs. This activity will go far to stimulate and reinforce academic exchange programs and to explain American life to audiences abroad.

In the fall of 1991, USIA announced a \$3 million program which for the first time began to fund English as a Foreign Language (EFL) Fellows for a full year at teacher training institutions in Bulgaria, the Czech and Slovak Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the former Yugoslavia. A group of forty Fellows are helping with priority training programs throughout the region, with the

(more)

goal of training 4,000 teachers of English. Six of the forty Fellows are English for Special Purposes (ESP) instructors and are working to improve the teaching of English in specific areas such as business, banking, marketing and economics.

USIA is also supplying Central and Eastern European countries with much needed English instructional materials. It has obtained, for the first time, rights for Central and Eastern European publishers to print U.S. English language materials locally.

We have assisted Peace Corp English teachers with 60,000 publications for classroom use. USIA is also helping with the placement of the USIA/MacMillan *Family Album U.S.A.* and *Tuning in the U.S.A.* instructional programs with local television and radio stations.

ARTS AMERICA

USIA's Arts America program communicates the vitality, creativity and pluralistic quality of American society by presenting the best of American visual and performing arts to overseas audiences.

In FY 92, Arts America's efforts have included:

- o Ahmed Abdullah with the Solomonic Sextet visited Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to perform their brand of jazz in October 1991.
- o Classical pianist John Davis was the first official American to appear in Tirana, Albania in 50 years in November 1991. Davis also performed in Sofia and Ruse, Bulgaria.
- o The classical jazz group, New York String Trio, visited Romania to participate in the Sibiu International Jazz Festival in March 1992.
- o The American Tap Dance Orchestra performed its jazz tap repertoire while visiting Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in April and May 1992.
- o Arts America's major *Craft Today USA* exhibition with over 200 works by more than 180 U.S. artists in all areas of contemporary craft continued its European tour with a showing in Bratislava during February - March 1992.

(more)

- o An exhibition of 48 contemporary prints, *Multiple Memories*, represented the U.S. at the Ljubljana Graphics Biennial after opening in Krakow, Poland in the summer of 1991. The exhibition is currently in Bucharest, Romania (April - June 1992). Negotiations are underway to present it in Tallinn, Estonia and possibly in the other two Baltic countries later this year.

SPORTS AMERICA

Sports America is the only federal government entity engaged in international sports exchange programming. The Sports America Program arranges international exchanges of coaches in sports for the disabled, physical education, sports medicine, management and world-class competitions.

Sports America activity in Eastern Europe has focused on baseball. The office has worked actively with the Friends of Bulgarian Baseball, the Romanian Baseball Federation, and programs in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Hungary. Coaching exchanges and equipment donations have targeted everything from Little League programs to elite competition.

For further information, contact:
Office of Public Liaison
(202) 619-4355

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Research Memorandum

United States Information Agency
Washington, D.C. 20547



Office of Research

October 21, 1991

Poles Link Democracy With Economic Prosperity

This is the second¹ in a series of reports based on a recent USIA-commissioned survey in Poland. A representative, nationwide sample of 1002 adults, 18 years of age and older, responded to face-to-face interviews between September 14 and September 24, 1991. Central Europe Market, a polling firm in Krakow, conducted the study for USIA.

Key Findings:

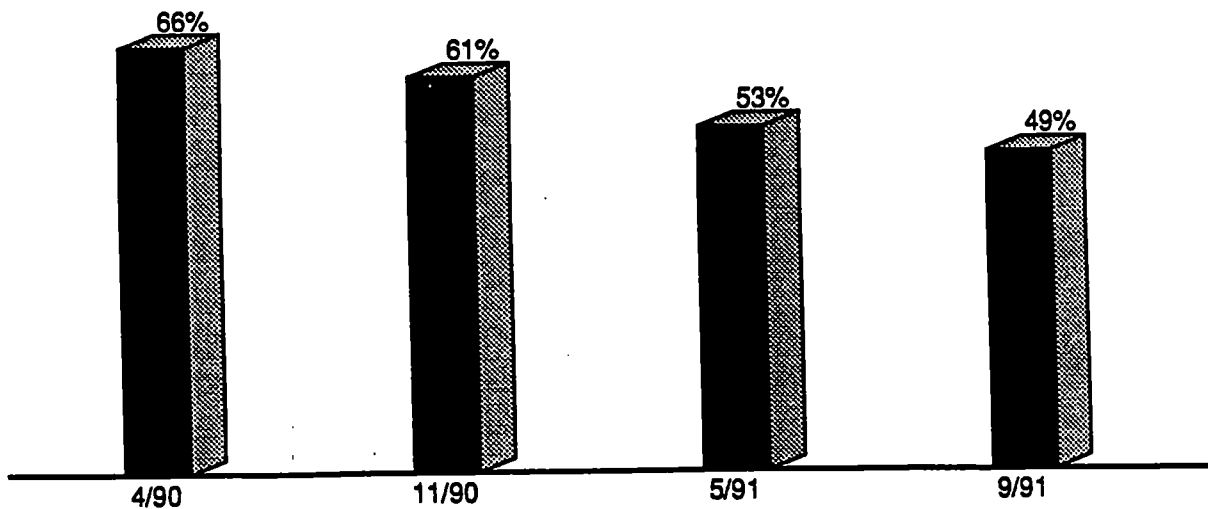
- As Poland ends its second year of sweeping economic and political change, the public's satisfaction with progress made toward democracy has sunk to its lowest level in 18 months. In April 1990, nearly two in three Poles voiced satisfaction with the progress Poland had made toward becoming a democracy. Today, substantially fewer Poles (49%) share this view.
- One of the reasons for this decline is the tendency of Poles to define democracy in economic rather than political terms. The Poles' gloomy view of their economic situation apparently carries over into many people's increasingly pessimistic attitude toward political reform. Thus, until the economic situation improves, discontent with the democratic reform process is likely to remain high.
- At the same time, a large majority believe basic political and civic freedoms have been achieved. Most Poles now say they have the right to: practice the religion of their choice freely or to practice no religion (91%); talk freely about what they think or to say whatever they want to (83%); gather, march, protest or petition the government (82%); and receive a speedy trial (78%). Somewhat fewer (57%) believe they have the right to a free press.
- Civic participation in community or political affairs is commonly thought to be a critical ingredient in solidifying democratic institutions. At this point, Poles are substantially less likely than Americans to engage in community or political activity. For example, approximately 40 percent of Americans say they have contacted a public official or written a letter to a newspaper, compared to 8 percent of Poles who make this claim.

¹See USIA Report M-165-91.

Satisfaction With Progress Toward Democracy Declines...

As Poland ends its second year of sweeping economic and political change, the public's satisfaction with progress made toward democracy has sunk to its lowest level in 18 months. In April 1990, nearly two in three Poles voiced satisfaction with the progress Poland had made toward becoming a democracy. Today, substantially fewer Poles (49%) share this view (Table 1, Figure 1). In another expression of their opinion of the democratic reform process, just one in three Poles voices satisfaction with the "way democracy is developing" in Poland (Table 2). University-educated and urban Poles tend to be more satisfied than primary school educated and rural Poles with both the progress that has been made toward becoming a democracy and the way democracy is developing.

Figure 1. Satisfaction With Progress Toward Democracy



...But Democracy Defined in Primarily Economic Not Political Terms

The meaning Poles attribute to democracy is key to understanding their lack of satisfaction with democratic reform. Poles define democracy predominately in economic rather than political terms. Although Poles believe a number of characteristics are essential to a democracy (Table 3), a plurality (42%) rank **economic prosperity** as the most important defining characteristic of democracy (Table 4). The next most important characteristics are also economic:

- A government that guarantees economic equality among its citizens (14%)
- A government that guarantees that the basic economic needs of its people will be met (14%)

Political characteristics of a democracy are:

- A system of justice that treats everyone equally (13%)
- Having at least two political parties competing in elections (9%)
- Freedom to criticize the government (3%)

The fact that just one Pole in ten (9%) thinks having at least two political parties competing in elections is important may be due to the confusion generated by the multitude of political parties in Poland today.

The less well-educated (less than secondary education) and those 30 years of age and older are more likely than others to select the economic-related definitions of democracy, while those under 30 and the well-educated are more inclined to select the politically-related definitions.

Further Evidence that Economic Issues Color the Concept of Democracy

The general tendency of Poles to define democracy in economic terms is further confirmed by the reasons they offer for their opinion of the way democracy is developing in Poland. A majority (60%) of those who voice dissatisfaction with the way democracy is developing cite economic reasons (the poor economic conditions in the country and problems with economic reform) for their discontent. Among the non-economic reasons Poles give, a weak leadership is most frequently mentioned (11%) (Table 5a).

Even those Poles who are satisfied with the way democracy is developing explain their satisfaction in both economic and political terms. Those who are satisfied mention an improved economic system (32%) and greater political liberty (30%) as the main reasons for their satisfaction, followed by political reform (23%) (Table 5b).

Given the public's current view of democracy, the successes and failures of the economic reform process are almost certain to affect the people's political assessments. Many Poles paint a gloomier picture of their economic situation now than earlier in the year. This attitude apparently carries over into many people's increasingly pessimistic assessment of political reform. Thus, until the economic situation improves, discontent with the democratic reform process is likely to remain high.

Majority Believe Most Political Freedoms Achieved

Perhaps one of the reasons democracy is more closely linked with economic, rather than political, issues is the belief of most Poles that the liberties traditionally

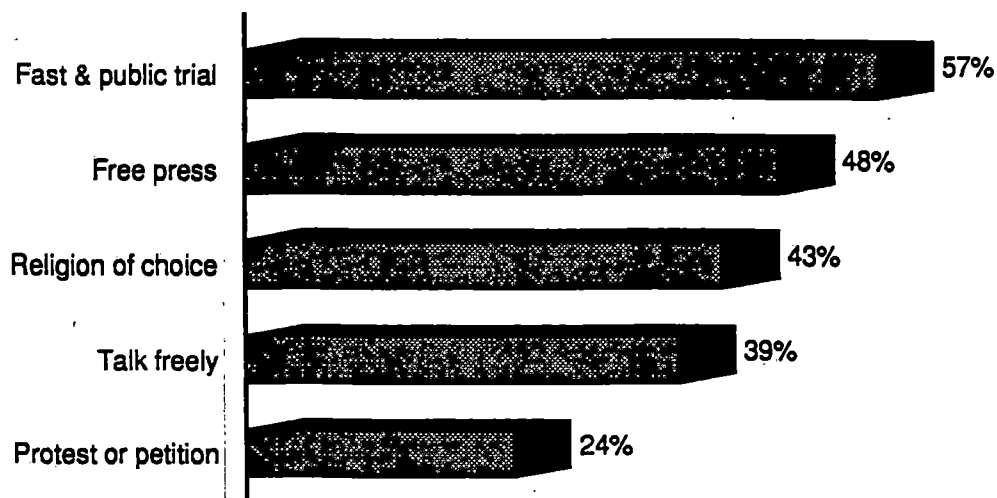
associated with a democratic society have been achieved (Table 6). Most Poles believe they have the right to:

- Practice the religion of their choice freely or to practice no religion (91%)
- Talk freely about what they think or to say whatever they want to (83%)
- Gather, march, protest or petition the government in support of causes they favor (82%)
- Receive speedy and public trial if they are accused of a crime (78%)

Somewhat fewer (57%) believe they have the right to a free press not controlled by the government. A sizable minority (27%), however, do not believe they have this right. Males, those between the ages of 30 and 44, the university-educated and urban dwellers are more likely than others to say they do not have the right to a free press.

The importance Poles attribute to each of these rights varies greatly. After decades of not enjoying fully protected rights, it may have been expected that each of these rights would be deemed **very important** by a majority of Poles (Table 7). But only the right to a speedy and public trial is thought to be a **very important** right by a majority (57%) (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Democratic Rights Deemed Very Important to Poles



Urban dwellers, the well-educated, those interested in politics, and Poles supportive of a parliamentary system of government are more inclined to believe all of these rights are very important.

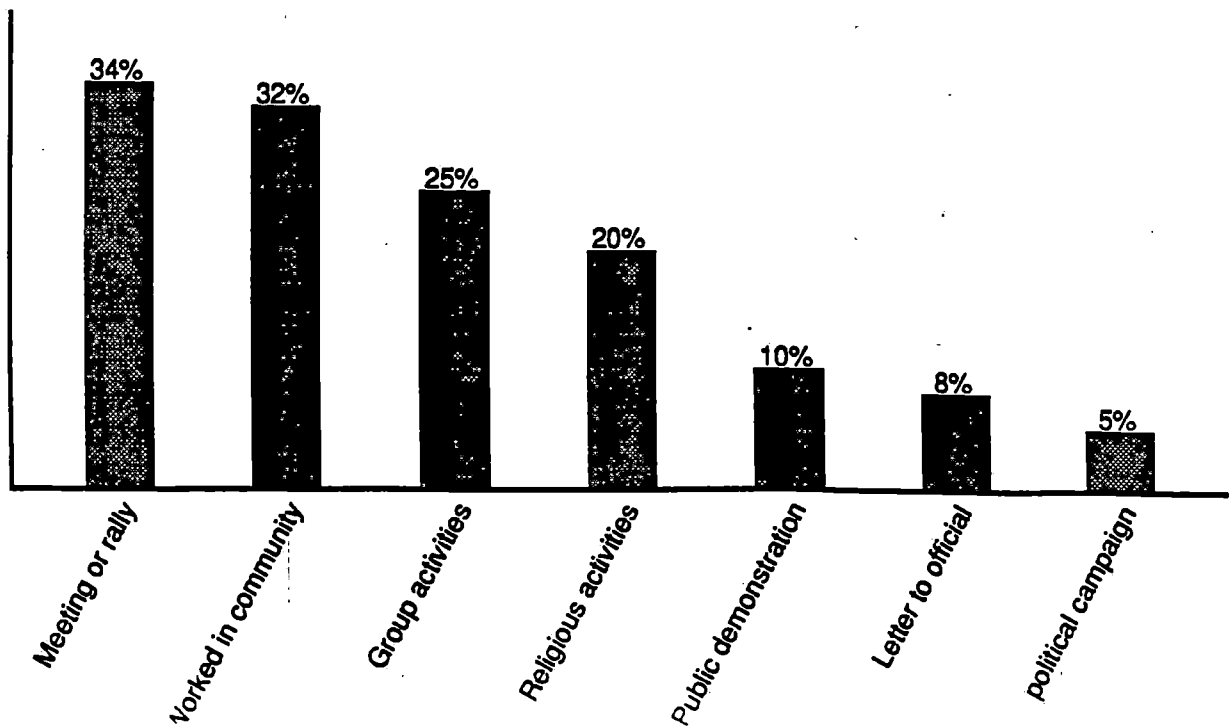
A comparison of the importance accorded each of these rights by Poles and Americans show that Poles place relatively less importance on the right to talk freely, but attribute relatively more importance to the right to a free press than do Americans (Table 8). Both Poles and Americans place least importance on the right to gather, march, protest or petition the government. Compared to other rights, Poles rank freedom of religion lower than do Americans. While a majority (91%) of Poles feel they have the right to practice the religion of their choice or to practice no religion, less than half (43%) view this right as very important. Perhaps because some Poles are distracted by concern for their economic well-being, they may not fully recognize the potential advantages to exercising their civil rights.

Involvement in Community and Political Affairs

Poles were also asked about their involvement in community and political affairs. Civic participation in community or political organizations is commonly thought to be a critical ingredient in solidifying democratic institutions. Participation in civic associations provides outlets for criticism and constructive change and encourages community problem solving.

A third of the Polish public say they have attended a meeting (34%) or worked with other people in the community to try to solve some local problem (32%) (Table 9, Figure 3). A quarter have participated in group activities of a professional or cultural association and 20 percent have participated in activities of their parish or religious association. One in ten or less has participated in a public demonstration (10%), written a letter to an official (8%), or worked on a political campaign (5%).

Figure 3. Participation in Community and Political Affairs



Comparing participation in Poland to such activities in the U.S. provides context to better understand the degree of Polish involvement in civic affairs.¹ Poles are much less likely than Americans to engage in community or political affairs. For example, 40 percent of Americans say they have contacted a public official and 17% have written a letter to a newspaper, while a total of 8 percent of Poles make this claim (Table 9). Half the American public has attended a public meeting or rally compared to a third of the Polish public. Roughly equal percentages of Americans (12%) and Poles (10%) say they have taken part in a public demonstration or march. But fewer Poles (5%) than Americans (17%) claim to have worked on a political campaign.

In general, the well-educated and those under 60 are more likely than others to participate in political or community affairs. An exception is participation in religious activities: those 60 years of age or older and less well-educated are the most active.

Conclusion

After enduring two years of grueling political and economic change, Poland's public is increasingly less satisfied with the progress toward democracy. Although most Poles believe they enjoy many basic rights, their apparent preoccupation and dissatisfaction with Poland's economic situation is likely to have an impact on their attitude toward the democratic reform process. This impact is likely to be negative until Poles begin to witness economic improvements.

Prepared by: Mary McIntosh and Lisa Ellis (619-5104) M-170-91
 Lisa Ralph (graphics)
 Approved by: Ronald H. Hinckley
 Director, Office of Research

¹U.S. data are from Robert Wyatt, *Free Expression and the American Public: A Survey Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the First Amendment*, (Tennessee: Middle Tennessee State University, 1991).

How the Poll Was Conducted

This survey is based on face-to-face nationwide interviews with a random sample of 1002 people, representative of residents of Poland aged 18 and older. Interviewing was conducted between September 14 and 24, 1991.

USIA commissioned Central Europe Market, a firm in Krakow, Poland to conduct the survey. The company regularly conducts public opinion polls for Polish and Western clients. Survey questions were written by the USIA Office of Research.

Nineteen times out of 20, results from samples of this size will differ by no more than about 3 percentage points in either direction from what would be found if it were possible to interview every adult in Poland. The potential margin of sampling error is larger for smaller groups. In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting a survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the results.

Additional information about the methodology employed may be obtained from the analysts.

Table 1. Satisfaction with Progress Toward Democracy in Poland

Question: How satisfied are you with the progress we have made toward becoming a democracy -- very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all?

| | 4/90 (1000) | 11/90 (997) | 5/91 (1042) | 9/91 (1002) |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Very satisfied | 18% | 11% | 6% | 4% |
| Fairly satisfied | 48 | 50 | 47 | 45 |
| Not very satisfied | 23 | 24 | 31 | 33 |
| Not at all satisfied | 5 | 7 | 12 | 12 |
| Don't know/no answer | <u>6</u> 100% | <u>8</u> 100% | <u>3</u> 99% | <u>6</u> 100% |

Table 2. Satisfaction with the Way Democracy Is Developing in Poland

Question: On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way democracy is developing in Poland?

| | 9/91 (1002) |
|----------------------|------------------|
| Very satisfied | 2% |
| Fairly satisfied | 30 |
| Not very satisfied | 46 |
| Not at all satisfied | 18 |
| Don't know | <u>5</u> 101% |

Table 3. What is Essential to a Democracy in Poland

Question: People associate democracy with diverse meaning such as those on this card. For each of these, please state whether you think it is essential, important but not essential, not very important, or not important at all for a society to be called a democracy.

| | <u>Importance</u> | | | | |
|--|-------------------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|
| | Essential | Important | Not very | Not at all | Don't know |
| Economic prosperity in the country | 73% | 20 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| A system of justice that treats everyone equally | 65% | 25 | 2 | 1 | 7 |
| A government that guarantees that basic economic needs of its people will be met | 58% | 31 | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Freedom to criticize the government | 40% | 40 | 10 | 2 | 8 |
| At least two strong political parties competing in elections | 39% | 35 | 11 | 3 | 12 |
| A government that guarantees economic equality among its citizens | 34% | 38 | 15 | 6 | 8 |

Table 4. The Most Important Characteristic in a Democracy

Question: People associate democracy with diverse meaning such as those on this card. Which of the things on this card would you say is the most important in a democracy?

| | |
|--|------------------|
| | 9/91 (1002) |
| Economic prosperity in the country | 42% |
| A government that guarantees economic equality among its citizens | 14 |
| A government that guarantees that basic economic needs of its people will be met | 14 |
| A system of justice that treats everyone equally | 13 |
| At least two strong political parties competing in elections | 9 |
| Freedom to criticize the government | 3 |
| Don't know/no answer | <u>5</u> 100% |

Table 5a. Reasons Why Poles Are Dissatisfied with the Way Democracy is Developing in Poland

Question: What are your reasons for saying that [you are dissatisfied with the way democracy is developing in Poland]?

| | 9/91 (1002) |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| Bad economic conditions | 57% |
| President/Prime Minister too weak | 11 |
| Detrimental effect of changes | 6 |
| Worse social conditions | 5 |
| Political reforms too slow | 4 |
| No influence on decisions | 3 |
| Power of Nomenklatura | 3 |
| Economic reforms too slow | 3 |
| Limited liberty/human rights | 1 |
| Power of Catholic Church | 1 |
| Dependent on foreign capital | 1 |
| Parliament too weak | 1 |
| Other | 4 |
| Don't know/No answer | <u>1</u> 100% |

**Table 5b. Reasons Why Poles Are Satisfied with The Way
Democracy Is Developing in Poland**

Question: What are your reasons for saying that [you are satisfied with the way democracy is developing in Poland]?

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------|
| | 9/91 (1002) |
| Economic improvement | 32% |
| Liberty/human rights | 30 |
| Political reform | 23 |
| Citizens have more influence | 3 |
| Independence from Soviet Union | 3 |
| Better social conditions | 2 |
| Positive foreign relations | 2 |
| Foreign investment | 1 |
| Other | 3 |
| Don't known | <u>3</u> 102% |

Table 6. Opinions of Rights Achieved in Poland

Question: I'm going to mention a number of different rights that may or may not exist in our country. People have different ideas about how important each of these rights is. For each right I mention, please tell me whether or not you believe we have this right, and how important it is to you personally.

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>Have Right</u> | |
|---|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | | <u>No</u> | <u>DK/NA</u> |
| What about the right to practice the religion of your choice freely or to practice no religion? | 91% | 5 | 4 |
| What about the right to talk freely about what you think or to say whatever you want to? | 83% | 9 | 7 |
| What about the right to gather, march, protest or petition the government in support of causes you favor? | 82% | 9 | 7 |
| What about the right to a speedy and public trial if you are accused of a crime? | 78% | 7 | 15 |
| What about the right to have a press not controlled by the government? | 57% | 27 | 15 |

Table 7. The Importance of Democratic Rights to Poles

Question: I'm going to mention a number of different rights that may or may not exist in our country. People have different ideas about how important each of these rights is. For each rights I mention, please tell me how important it is to you personally.

| | <u>Importance</u> | | | | |
|---|-------------------|----------|----------|-----|----|
| | Very | Somewhat | Not Very | Not | DK |
| What about the right to a speedy and public trial if you are accused of a crime? | 57% | 32 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| What about the right to have a press not controlled by the government? | 48% | 37 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
| What about the right to practice the religion of your choice freely or to practice no religion? | 43% | 42 | 8 | 3 | 4 |
| What about the right to talk freely about what you think or to say whatever you want to? | 39% | 48 | 6 | 2 | 6 |
| What about the right to gather, march, protest or petition the government in support of causes you favor? | 24% | 49 | 16 | 5 | 7 |

Table 8. Rank Ordering of Democratic Rights by Americans and Poles

Question: I'm going to mention a number of different rights that may or may not exist in our country. People have different ideas about how important each of these rights is. For each right I mention, please tell me how important it is to you personally. (Mean scores were calculated for both the American and Polish data and a rank ordering derived from the means.)

| | <u>Americans</u> 4/90 (1501) | <u>Poles</u> 9/91 (1002) |
|---|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| What about the right to a speedy and public trial if you are accused of a crime? | 3 | 1 |
| What about the right to have a press not controlled by the government? | 4 | 2 |
| What about the right to practice the religion of your choice freely or to practice no religion? | 1 | 3 |
| What about the right to talk freely about what you think or to say whatever you want to? | 2 | 4 |
| What about the right to gather, march, protest or petition the government in support of causes you favor? | 5 | 5 |

Table 9. American and Polish Participation in Community and Political Affairs

Question: Some people are quite involved in community or political affairs while others find they haven't the time or perhaps the interest to participate in these activities. I'll read you briefly some of the things people do and I would like you to tell me how often you do each of them -- often, sometimes, seldom, or never. What about ...

| | <u>Poles</u> 9/91 (1002) | <u>Americans</u> 4/90 (1501) |
|--|--------------------------------|---|
| Attended a public meeting or rally | 34% | 51% |
| Worked with other people in the community to try to solve some local problem | 32 | NA |
| Worked in group activities of a cultural or professional organization | 25 | NA |
| Participated in activities of your parish or religious association | 20 | NA |
| Taken part in a public demonstration or march | 10 | 12 |
| Written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or otherwise contacted a public official | 8 | 40 (Contacted a public official) 17 (written a letter) |
| Worked on a political campaign | 5 | 17 |

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND
CANADIAN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555

DELIVER TO: 456-6218 WH Jeannie Bunton 7750
(FAX NUMBER) (AGENCY) (NAME) OFF EX.

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Documents on Paderewski

FROM: 647-0555 5220 E. Conway 647-1070
(FAX NUMBER) (ROOM NUMBER) (NAME) (OFFICE EXT.)

REMARKS: I hope this is helpful.

PAGE 1 OF 8 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

July 1, 1941, p. 26

PRESIDENT OFFERS ARLINGTON GRAVE

**Paderewski's Family Accepts
Honor Accorded Only to
One Other Foreigner**

LOTHIAN IS BURIED THERE

**Roosevelt's Action Is Tribute
to Free Poland as Well as
Champion of Liberty**

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

HYDE PARK, N. Y., June 30—

President Roosevelt issued instructions today that Ignace Jan Paderewski be buried temporarily in Arlington National Cemetery if his family desired for him this honor, accorded only once to a foreigner. Later it was learned that the family had accepted.

The law prohibits permanent burial in Arlington of any but native Americans who have served in the armed forces of the country. As a courtesy to Great Britain, however, the Marquess of Lothian, the late British Ambassador, was buried there temporarily.

By his action, the President not only paid tribute to a free Poland whose government in exile the United States recognizes, but to a man who probably did more than any individual to recreate such a Poland after the last war.

"At the request of the President, I have asked Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles what may be the wish of the Paderewski family regarding the burial of Mr. Paderewski in Arlington Cemetery," William D. Hassett, secretary to Mr. Roosevelt, announced late today.

"Mr. Paderewski was, of course, a very close friend of the President. He is taking this step as a tribute of respect to him."

It was presumed here that the pianist and life-long fighter for the liberty of his country would be buried with full military honors. Thus, just as at the peace table at Versailles Mr. Paderewski found a champion for recreation of partitioned Poland in Woodrow Wilson, in death he found one for himself and for his country in President Roosevelt.

It is believed that Mr. Welles immediately consulted Mme. Antonia Wilskonska, the pianist's sister, who was with the former Premier of Poland at his death.

President Roosevelt frequently has shown his abhorrence of the conquest by Nazis of independent countries and his determination to recognize only free governments in Nazi-occupied territory by showing friendliness to exiled rulers or leaders.

With him this week-end at his Hyde Park retreat, for instance, is Crown Princess Martha of Norway and her three children. They have been Roosevelt family guests here since last Thursday and this afternoon attended, in company of Mr. Roosevelt, the dedication ceremonies in connection with the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library here.

8600.44 Paderewski



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

JUNE 30, 1941.
No. 323

FOR THE PRESS

STATEMENT BY THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE, MR. SUMNER WELLES

I was deeply shocked to learn this morning of the death in New York of Mr. Paderewski, the first President of Poland, an outstanding artist of genius of the last three generations, and a foremost champion of freedom and democratic ideals.

I have asked the Polish Ambassador on his return to Washington today to accord me an opportunity immediately upon his arrival, personally to convey to him the deep sorrow of the President at the loss of this great Polish patriot. I shall also convey to him an expression of grief on behalf of the Government and people of the United States.

The spirit of Mr. Paderewski which illuminated his whole life is by no means extinguished; the influence of his personality, character and genius must persist. It will continue to inspire for many years to come those who are struggling for the highest ideals of humanity. The American nation is proud to have counted among its friends this great citizen of Poland, who among his other distinguished services, has done so much to assist in creating a deeper understanding between the peoples of the United States and those of Poland, and of strengthening the ties of friendship which have already become traditional between the two countries.

8600.44 PADEREWSKI / 3

JUN 14 1941
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RZECZYPOSPOLITEJ POLSKIEJ

478/SZ-40

June 30, 1941.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that on June 29, 1941,

Ignacy Jan Paderewski, First President of the Council of Ministers of Poland after the world war, and up to his death Chairman of the National Council of the Republic of Poland, passed away in the City of New York. I have the honor to request you to convey this news to the President of the United States.

The Government of the Republic of Poland and the Polish Nation will pay tribute to Ignacy Jan Paderewski after the termination of the occupation of Polish territories by the invaders.

For the time being the mortal remains of Ignacy Jan Paderewski will be interred in the United States of America, the country which, next to Poland, he loved most. The Government of the Republic of Poland and the entire Polish nation

The Honorable
Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State.

*remains
8602 44 Paderewski
Ignacy Jan*

FILED
JUL 8 1941

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MESSAGE CENTER
DEC 3 PM 1 27
PS/MFM

nation would be most grateful if the United States Government would allow that the mortal remains of Ignacy Jan Paderewski could rest at the National Cemetery at Arlington for the duration of the war. Such a privilege granted on the part of the United States Government and the American people to Poland's greatest and most beloved Citizen would create one more link in the close traditional friendship uniting our two countries.

I have the honor to remind that Ignacy Jan Paderewski was Honorary Member of the American Legion.

Accept, Sir, the renewed expressions of my highest consideration.

Jacques Chauvot

July 1, 1941

His Excellency

I have received this morning Your Excellency's note of June 30, 1941 announcing the death of Ignacy Jan Paderewski, first President of the Council of Ministers of Poland after the World War, and I hasten to supplement by this written word the expressions of deep sympathy and condolence I had the honor to convey to you orally this morning on behalf of the President and people of the United States upon the loss of this great Polish patriot.

May I add that before your note was received, the President had made his offer to the family of Ignacy Jan Paderewski that his mortal remains should rest in the National Cemetery at Arlington for the duration of the

His Excellency

8600.44 PADEREWSKI, IGNA CY JAN / I
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way, and I am confident every American was gratified that this expression of the esteem in which your great countryman is held has been accepted in the same spirit in which the offer was made.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

Sumner Welles

Acting Secretary of State