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White House News Summary

Wednesday, October 10, 1990

1:00 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

TRIP NEWS (Thomas Ferraro, UPI) -- An embattled President Bush stuck to his vow not to hold grudges against breakaway Republicans by campaigning for Sen. Helms, "a champion of conviction."... Speaking at a breakfast fund-raiser, Bush described him as an effective leader and "a watchdog of taxpayer money." But Bush...said, "Occasionally, there are going to be differences."... For his part, Helms lavished praise on Bush, calling him "a courageous leader, a great friend."

(Tom Raum, AP) -- President Bush, treading carefully on the tax issue as he campaigned for Sen. Helms, promised to work to "put together a better package" to match the \$500 billion in deficit cuts.... Bush steered completely clear of the issue of higher taxes, and didn't mention them when he ticked off a list of features that the new pact should include.... Helms avoided areas of disagreement with the President completely, calling him "evenhanded" in all matters.

APPROVAL RATING (AP) -- President Bush's job approval rating has fallen to the lowest point of his Presidency, a media group said today. The Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press said its survey put Bush's rating at 55 percent, 21 points below the rating he was given in early August.... Twenty-eight percent of those said they disapproved of Bush's job performance and 17 percent said they didn't know. The survey also indicated that the most closely followed stories in the news are the crisis in the Gulf and gas

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The 1st Presidential Working Toast
PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL STATEMENT
Knuch

July 10, 1989

MR. PRESIDENT, THANK YOU FOR YOUR GRACIOUS WORDS OF WELCOME. TO YOU AND TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND, I EXTEND THE HEARTFELT BEST WISHES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IT IS GOOD TO BE BACK IN POLAND AT SUCH AN EXCITING TIME IN ITS HISTORY. A GREAT DEAL HAS HAPPENED SINCE MY LAST TRIP HERE, LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO.

POLAND HAS STARTED ALONG AN ASCENDING PATH OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE. THIS PATH IS NOT EASY AND WILL REQUIRE FURTHER SACRIFICES BUT, IF FOLLOWED, IT WILL LEAD TO THE RENAISSANCE OF THIS GREAT NATION. I HAVE GREAT HOPES FOR POLAND. SOLIDARITY IS AGAIN LEGAL. THE BEGINNINGS OF A FREE PRESS NOW EXIST. A NEW PARLIAMENT IS IN PLACE AND THE POLISH SENATE HAS BEEN RESTORED THROUGH FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. POLAND IS MAKING ITS OWN HISTORY.

THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND AND YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, HAVE SHOWN WISDOM AND COURAGE IN TAKING THE PATH OF THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS. THE WORLD IS INSPIRED BY POLAND'S EFFORTS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I LOOK FORWARD TO MY UPCOMING TALKS WITH YOU AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT AND WITH THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. I HOPE TO MEET AS MANY OF THE POLISH PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE AND TO HEAR THE CANDID VIEWS OF ALL MAJOR SEGMENTS OF YOUR SOCIETY. THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF WORK TO BE DONE AND WE WILL WORK TOGETHER TO MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS IN U.S.-POLISH TIES.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR THIS WARM WELCOME. NIECH ZYJE POLSKA
(nyekh ZHEE-ye POL-ska - Long Live Poland).

prosperous, peaceful, and free.

Note: The President spoke at 7:10 a.m. on

the tarmac at Andrews Air Force Base, MD. The remarks as delivered were not released by the Office of the Press Secretary.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony in Warsaw July 9, 1989

Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your hospitable and gracious words of welcome. To you and to the people of Poland, friends and cousins of so many in my homeland, we extend the heartfelt best wishes of the American people. And here in the heart of Europe, the American people have a fervent wish—that Europe be whole and free.

In my first moments as President, I told my countrymen that a new breeze was blowing across the world. And the winds of change have surely touched the land here, where so much has happened since my last visit. It is wonderful to be back at such an exciting time. History, which has so often conspired with geography to deny the Polish people their freedom, now offers up a new and brighter future for Poland.

I listened carefully, sir, to your words of welcome, and yes, Poland has started along an ascending path of change—democratic change. And this climb is exhilarating, but not always easy, and will require further sacrifices. But, if followed, it will lead to a renaissance for this remarkable nation.

These are great days for Poland. Solidarity is legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place. The Polish Senate has been restored through free and fair elections. And Poland is making its own history—and America, and the whole world, is watching. The Government of Poland and you, Mr. Chairman, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of those roundtable accords. And the world is inspired by what is happening here.

Mr. Chairman, we do look forward to our talks with you and other representatives of the Polish Government, with the democratic opposition as well. While in your country, I want to hear the many voices of the people of Poland.

And as we begin these discussions, I carry with me many happy memories of my first visit to Poland. And my thoughts turn on this Sunday to the memory of another Sunday outside Warsaw, when we attended morning Mass at St. Margaret's Church in Lomianki. The cracks of her historic walls were filled with flowers, and the church itself was filled to overflowing with your countrymen, their devoted faces touched by tears of joy. And it reminds me of other churches that I've visited since that morning at St. Margaret's, churches like St. Adalbert's in Philadelphia, St. Hyacinth's in Chicago, churches built by Polish hands and nurtured by Polish dreams. In America and in Poland those dreams are as ancient and as fundamental as the courageous spirit of the Polish people.

And as we meet this evening in Warsaw, the Sun still shines on those churches across the sea. It's still Sunday afternoon there, and America's churches are filled with people in prayer. And as we begin these discussions—and as your country continues its hard journey up the path it has chosen—my prayers and the prayers of the American people remain with Poland, as they have throughout its long struggle. And, yes, there is a good deal of work to be done, and we will work together to gain new ground, to expand our common ground and U.S.-Polish ties.

So, thank you again, sir, for this warm welcome. Rest well on this Sunday night. And long live Poland! Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:25 p.m. on the tarmac at Okecie Airport. In his remarks, the President referred to Wojciech

July 9 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's Council of State. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the Parkowa Guest House.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Polish Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski in Warsaw

July 10, 1989

President Bush and General Jaruzelski talked for more than 2 hours this morning, from 9:45 to 12:05, and discussed a full range of bilateral and international issues. President Bush outlined the economic program [proposals] that he will make to the Polish Parliament this afternoon. The President also discussed his conventional arms proposal made at the NATO summit. General Jaruzelski said the Warsaw Pact applauded the President's proposal and felt the timetable was achievable. General Jaruzelski spent a good deal of the time discussing the internal political situation in Poland. President Bush reiterated the United States desire to be helpful in Poland's reform efforts without being intrusive.

In the plenary session, Secretary of State Baker and Poland's Foreign Minister Ole-

chowski amplified these same themes. Secretary Baker referred to the close and historic bonds between the two peoples. The Secretary outlined in some detail the President's economic incentives. The two Ministers discussed the full range of bilateral issues, including increased dialog between U.S. and Polish officials, technical and scientific exchanges, trade increases, environmental improvements, international fishing clarifications, and various economic prospects. President Bush felt the meeting was quite productive and friendly.

Note: At their meeting at Belweder Palace, the President and Chairman Jaruzelski signed agreements rescheduling Poland's debt payments.

Toasts at a Luncheon at the United States Ambassador's Residence in Warsaw

July 10, 1989

The President. First, my thanks to our host and hostess, our able Ambassador and his wife, for this informal, lovely luncheon. It's an honor and privilege to be with you here today.

Some of us met 2 years ago in Warsaw, and so much has changed. These are hopeful times for Poland. It's a special moment in Poland's history, perhaps the most profoundly challenging period in many decades. I told Chairman Jaruzelski this morning that my country and the world are inspired by Poland's success at the roundtable and by the implementation of the roundtable's provisions. And I hope you've noticed that today we are all sitting at round tables. [Laughter]

But look, we are also aware of the many difficulties and the economic pressures that lie ahead. And your challenge is to rise above the mistrust, to bring the Polish people together for a common purpose. The United States will stand with Poland; we will support Poland's hopeful mission, unparalleled in your history.

And so, with deep respect for you, Mr. Chairman, and your colleagues and for Solidarity and for the roundtable process and for all the guests at this luncheon that made that process work, I would like to lift my glass—if I can find it—[laughter]—to the Nation and the people of Poland.

Chairman Jaruzelski. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, Mr. Ambassador, Mrs. Davis, let me,

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or, Mrs. Davis, let me,

first of all, thank you very much for this nice hospitality and for the fact that we could meet in this beautiful scenery and have this excellent lunch.

I have been taken by surprise by your President with the offer to come and speak to you. So, let me just share with you a few loose observations. But I consider as a significant fact that it is here at the residence of the U.S. Ambassador we could meet in such a pluralistic company. What is more, we were able to meet in a friendly atmosphere, and I believe we have felt well together.

One other personal reflection for me: I live perhaps 50 or 80 meters away from here for 16 years, and it is for the first time that I have come to this building and this residence. [Laughter] I think it is also a sign of time, and I and Mrs. Jaruzelski doubly appreciate this meeting.

Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind and well-wishing words. I value very highly these long conversations today with you. I believe they allowed us to better come to know each other and better understand each other, and I have no doubt that it will benefit the cooperation and friendship between our two countries and people.

Once again, thank you very much for this meeting today, and I wish you all the best. I know that the important person in this company according to the protocol is the U.S. President, but may I be allowed to fracture the protocol and follow the old Polish tradition of offering to everybody to raise our glasses to the good health of Barbara Bush and all the ladies present with us here today.

Mr. Geremek. Mr. President of the United States and Mr. Chairman, even this very beginning tells us of what Poland stands for now. A man from Solidarity, a member of Solidarity, I, who have been in this house several times in the past—even though I don't live that far from it—I can admit and say openly that something new is arising, emerging, in the ties between Poland and the United States.

Roughly 2 years ago, the Vice President of the United States and Mrs. Barbara Bush talked with members of Solidarity right in

this house. And even though at that time we heard words of hope, I believe that none of us at that time expected that we would meet in 2 years in a situation like the present. Poland is still divided, but it's possible that what's taking place right now is actually taking place, that together we have the representatives of Solidarity, of the opposition, and of the authorities. We feel that what's happening now, what's taking place—the political and economic reform, all of that, is in the interest of Poland, not just one particular side. And at moments like these, we think of the Founding Fathers of the United States, whose message about freedom has not lost any of its current significance.

First of all and above all, we seek understanding for what is happening in our country. The future of Polish reforms depends on Poles alone. We do not expect that they will be carried at somebody else's cost or by others' hands. But we believe that these reforms will be understood the world over as serving the whole world: serving the purposes of not only Poland but also of Czechoslovakia and Hungary and the interests of that part of the world and the whole world itself.

And in this house, the house of Helen and John Davis, who have done so much for the Polish cause, let me say that this is exactly what we expected from the President of the United States. The words he uttered, that the United States will support the reforms taking place in Poland, are the words that we were hoping for. And for that, let me propose a toast to the President of the United States and the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. on the patio of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his remarks, he referred to Ambassador and Mrs. John R. Davis, Jr.; Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's Council of State; and Bronislaw Geremek, parliamentary opposition leader and a senior adviser for Solidarity. A tape was not available for verification of the contents of the remarks.

Remarks to the Polish National Assembly in Warsaw July 10, 1989

Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshalls Koza-kiewicz and Stelmachowski, Prime Minister Rakowski, and senators and delegates, on behalf of the people of the United States, I am honored to greet the newly elected representatives of the Polish Parliament. To be here with you on this occasion is proof that we live in extraordinary, indeed, thrilling times.

The power and potential of this moment was first made clear to me when I saw a photo, a worldwide photo, flashed all around the world: a photo of General Jaruzelski, senator leader Lech Walesa, shoulder-to-shoulder—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa—shoulder-to-shoulder at the opening session of this Parliament, committed to new progress in Poland. Believe me, that sent a wonderful signal all around the world.

Poland and the United States are bound, it is often said, by ties of kinship and culture. But our peoples are linked by more than sentiment. The May 3d Constitution of 1791 set Poland ahead of her peers, ahead of her time, in the pursuit of freedom and democratic ideas, just as our Constitution, the American Constitution of 1787, set new standards for protection of the rights of the individual. For decades, beginning with the Versailles Peace Conference, the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, prosperity. And we are proud of our early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. As America's President, I am here today to reaffirm that proud commitment.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my own public service in the American Congress. Democratically chosen legislatures are among mankind's greatest forums for debate and dialog. And while I've been to Poland before, I did not expect to return so soon nor to such altered circumstances in your country. And so, too, perhaps many of you didn't expect to be here, serving in this or any Polish Parliament, and your achievement has surpassed all expectation and has

earned all our admiration.

Our meeting today bears witness to the character of our age. Some 450 years ago, when the Polish astronomer Copernicus came to understand the natural order of the planets and had the courage to question accepted wisdom, the world was changed forever. From this year forward, as Poland works to reaffirm the natural order of man and government, so, too, will Poland be changed forever. For today the scope of political and economic change in Poland is indeed Copernican—a fundamental change in perspective that places the people at the center, a new understanding that the governed are the true source of lasting social peace and economic prosperity around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

Poland has a rich democratic heritage. The May 3d Constitution was a stroke of genius. Today, at the dawn of that document's third century, you're called upon to match its genius with contemporary action, to make a peaceful transition toward political and economic renewal through representative government that expresses the will of the people.

I said a few weeks ago, here in Europe, that East and West have arrived at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. Chairman Jaruzelski recently said of Poland that "the life of the Nation has undergone deep changes; society has the full right to ask when a ray of sun will shine over Poland." In truth, this applies not just to Poland but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

A profound cycle of turmoil and great change is sweeping the world from Poland to the Pacific. It is sometimes inspiring, as here in Warsaw, and sometimes it's agonizing, as in China today. But the magnitude of change we sense around the world compels us to look within ourselves and to God to forge a rare alloy of courage and restraint.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find

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themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. The people of these nations and the courage of their leaders command our admiration. The way is hard; but the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path. On the day Solidarity was restored, I spoke of my support and admiration for the political experiment just getting underway in Poland. You've since proceeded further along that road, including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean not just for Poland but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here—right here, in Poland—50 years ago this summer. Your country, and then nearly all of Europe, was first besieged and then occupied by totalitarian, despotic forces. A courageous Poland was our ally. And in that fearful time, Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill devised the Atlantic Charter, which outlined principles on which we hoped to build a better world, including freedom from want and fear, and the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. But as you know better than anyone, the world that we sought then was not to be. Stalinist systems were imposed over a third of a continent—the cold war began. The countries of the West organized themselves in defense of democratic principles, and we proposed that the Marshall plan include Eastern Europe, but again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy, our strategy of containment, was a means but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe, and we did not forget the frustrated and lost hopes of 1945 nor the promise of a better world—neither did the Polish people. You have been a crucible of conflict; you're now becoming a vessel for change. Poland is where the cold war began, and now the people of Poland can help bring the division of Europe to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to a world too long deferred, a better world.

And now, at long last, two developments have allowed us to redeem the principles of

the Atlantic Charter for which the United States and Poland fought as allies. One is the manifest failure of the classic Stalinist system; and the other is the indomitable will of the people—through leaders in Poland and Hungary, who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity and, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And now, in part because of what you are doing here, the genuine opportunity exists for all of us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940's. That Europe, the Europe of our children, will be open, whole, and free. We can make it so in two ways.

First, a new East-West relationship must rest on greatly reduced levels of arms. I notice what General Jaruzelski said on that point, and I support him. We in the West have proposed dramatic reductions in conventional armed forces in Europe, reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops and tanks and aircraft and other categories of weapons gives us hope that the negotiations in Vienna will succeed. A good beginning has been made. Constructive proposals are being offered on both sides. We are determined to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks.

Second, reductions in military forces will go further and be more sustainable if they take place in parallel with political change. Excessive levels of arms, we believe, are the symptom, and not the source, of political tensions. In Europe those tensions spring from an unnatural and cruel division. Poland's decision to embrace political reform and Hungary's movement in the same direction thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will—by that, your reforms can be the foundation of stability, security, and prosperity not just here but in all of Europe, now and into the next century.

Mikhail Gorbachev has written: "Universal security rests on the recognition of the right of every nation to choose its own path

of social development and on the renunciation of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." In principle, I agree, but I might well have said that the people of a nation may freely choose either a free-market economy or socialism—that is their right. And so, the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security but to help forge closer and enduring ties between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the roundtable accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands, and there it must ever remain. Your responsibility for your country's future is immense. Poland's friends, including the American people, want Poland to be free, prosperous, democratic, independent—true to the best tradition of your nation's past. And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage in a time of great difficulty and challenge. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. This Parliament, by its very existence, is advancing pluralism, and the church has served as a source of spiritual guidance and unity in turbulent times. But above all, there are the people of Poland, people who are steadfastly working toward productive change.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponents. But its virtue is that it grants legitimacy to leaders and their policies; it gives governments and societies the mandate to make hard choices. And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.

For over 200 years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interests, over individual and civil rights, and the role of a loyal opposition. Democracy is not a conclusion; it's a process, and perfecting it never ends. But history has taught Americans one very clear lesson: Democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a danger that can threat-

en any great democratic experiment. And I must speak honestly: Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government: how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation; how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit; how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency; how to handle the painful disruptions of change for the sake of productivity, for the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents an historic challenge. There can be no substitute for Poland's own efforts, but I want to stress to you today that Poland is not alone. Given the enormity of this moment, the United States stands ready to help as you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, 3 months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. I proposed specific steps, carefully chosen, to recognize the reforms underway here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on dynamic interplay of progress in Poland and Western engagement, and not on unsound credits made without regard to necessary reforms. That was the record of the 1970's; Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland. We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through Generalized Systems of Preferences and that will authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, providing investment insurance and setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here. The United States is proposing a private business agreement that will promote contacts between Poland's growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conclude an agreement soon to build on what promises to be an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing

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in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade, and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've said that as Poland reforms itself, the U.S. will respond. Much has happened even in the short time since Hamtramck. So, today I'm pleased to announce that we plan to do more and go farther for the sake of a stable and prosperous Poland.

First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit, that Summit Seven, intensify their coordination and concerted action to promote democratic reform in Poland and Hungary and to help manage compassionately the process of change. We will work with our partners at the summit, moving quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance. This concerted action will complement existing institutions like the World Bank, the Paris Club, and IMF [International Monetary Fund], and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

Second, I will ask the United States Congress to provide a \$100 million fund to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector, and we will encourage parallel contributions from other nations of the economic summit.

Third, I will encourage the World Bank to move ahead with \$325 million in economically viable loans to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of.

And fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt. This could provide deferral of debt payments amounting to about \$5 billion this year if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering liberalized terms. I plan to discuss this issue with my colleagues at the Paris summit.

Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of our common heritage, our

common inheritance—the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries, and this concern is worldwide. Almost 2 years ago, I visited Krakow, your former royal capital, a city recognized by UNESCO as an international treasure. Today Krakow is under siege by pollution; its priceless monuments are being destroyed. Krakow must be reclaimed, and the United States will help. And I'll ask the Congress for \$15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I begin my remarks—when I began them, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a cultural and information center in Warsaw, and we'll ask Poland to establish a similar center in the United States. This will be the first time that either of our two countries will be able to conduct educational and cultural programs outside of our Embassies and consulates.

The elections which brought us—all of us—together here today mean that the path the Polish people have chosen is that of political pluralism and economic rebirth. The road ahead is a long one, but it is the only road which leads to prosperity and social peace. Poland's progress along this road will show the way toward a new era throughout Europe, an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people and other peoples of this region.

Democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Like all forms of government, though it may be defended, democracy can never be imposed. We believe in democracy—for without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, the destiny of man.

Two hundred years ago, democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful influence of the Enlightenment, as a testament to ideas that endure. The American Constitution was first and has stood the test of history for over 200 years of our existence as a repub-



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, pā-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 Versailles 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.

Padua's Basilica of St. Anthony, with its golden domes, suggesting Byzantine influences, shelters the tomb of the saint, who died near Padua in 1231. Rising from the foreground is the equestrian statue of the military captain Erasmo

Paderewski's performance was expressive and in his hands any doubt of the performance exercised members of which other pianists. He rarely performed. He was once highly regarded in Dresden in 1901, Metropolitan Opera and later in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Baltimore. The permanence of one of his Humoresque Familiar Minuet in G. In 1936, Paderewski's picture *The Moon* many recordings for the phonograph. Edition of Frédéric Chopin's 1836-1838 by the He received numerous degrees, and since the States, and other stamps honoring I

PADRE ISLAND, Padre Island, Texas, on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, separated by tide north, it is about 1,400 feet (425 meters) long and separated from the mainland by the Padre Island Channel. The island is in the counties of Cameron and Hidalgo. County the north and so

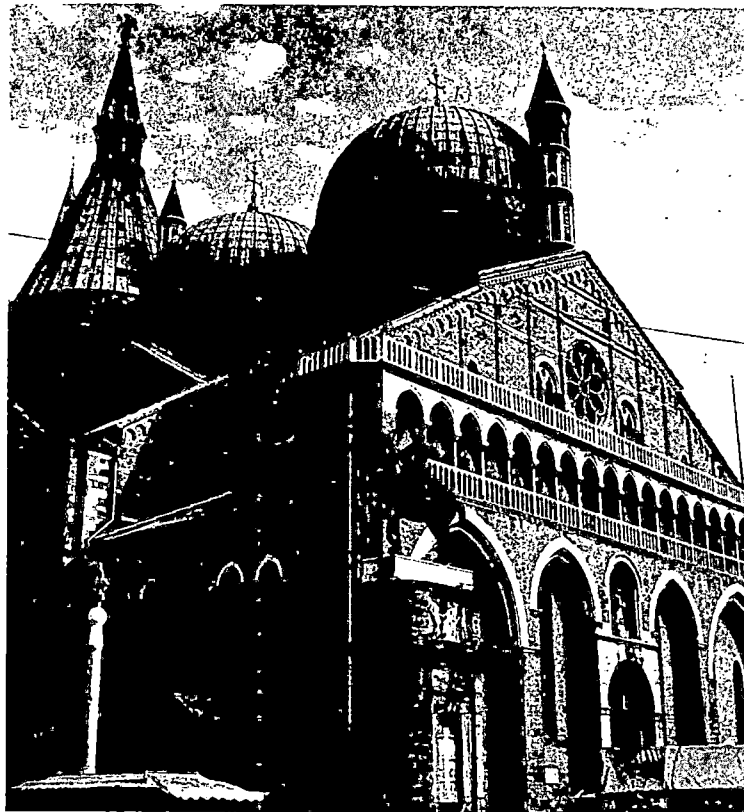
was brought out in Warsaw in 1880. After his bride in 1881, he went to Berlin for his wish to become a composer by the Russian pianist and composer Theodor Leschetizky in Vienna in 1887. His public debut as a soprano Pauline Lucca. Paderewski's international career as a virtuoso at the Salle Érard, Paris, in 1887 was first heard in London in 1888 and in New York in 1889. He has made more than 100 appearances in the United States. Extending his tours to America, South Africa, and Australia, he soon became the most famous pianist in the world. For a time his undisturbed recitals, including his Piano Concerto, won hearings because of his recitals. Toward the end of the century, he gave recitals on Lake Geneva in Switzerland for the second time.

In 1909, Paderewski was appointed director of the Warsaw Music Institute, and he settled temporarily at Paso Robles, California, continuing to maintain his home in Poland. During World War I, he came from all his public appearances to help the Polish war victims. He soon became the center of the movement for the restoration of Poland as a nation. In 1919, after his efforts for the independence of a Polish state succeeded, he moved to the country in Washington, D.C. He was 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 in 1920.

In 1922, Paderewski resumed his international virtuoso. Although his health had begun to fail he continued to give recitals and was heard in the United States in 1939. When Poland was invaded by Germany in World War II, he joined the Polish government-in-exile in France and served in its parliament during 1940. He moved to the United States late that year in poor health but continued his work for the Allied cause. He died in New York on June 29, 1941, after a brief illness. He is buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Paderewski was a man of striking personality and remarkable personal magnetism. The facts that grew up about him were in all proportion to the facts and events. He earned a great reputation and was honored lavishly—for example, presentation of the Chopin Memorial Hall in Warsaw, donating \$100,000 for the building of a memorial statue of the medieval Polish hero Jan Jagiello at Krakow. He received \$100,000 in funds for fellowships to musicians. In 1900 a \$10,000 fund was established triennially to encourage composers.

Padua's Basilica of Sant'Antonio, with its golden domes and minarets suggesting Byzantine influences, shelters the tomb of the saint, who died near Padua in 1231. Rising from the square in the foreground is Donatello's equestrian statue of the Venetian military captain Erasmo da Narni.



© G. RICATTO/SHOSTAL

Paderewski's playing was poetic and idiosyncratic and in his later years was more personally expressive than accurate. But there never was any doubt of the sorcery that his presence and performance exercised on vast audiences, many members of which had never attended recitals by other pianists. His compositions now are only rarely performed. However, his opera *Manru* was once highly regarded. After its premiere at Dresden in 1901, the opera was staged at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, in 1902, and later in Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Baltimore. An exception regarding the permanence of his music must be made for one of his *Humoresques de concert*, the eternally familiar Minuet in G.

In 1936, Paderewski played in the motion picture *The Moonlight Sonata*. He also made many recordings for both mechanical pianos and the phonograph. He supervised a complete edition of Frédéric Chopin's works published in 1936-1938 by the Chopin Institute, Warsaw. He received numerous decorations and honorary degrees, and since his death Poland, the United States, and other countries have issued postage stamps honoring him.

HERBERT WEINSTOCK
Coauthor of "Men of Music"

PADRE ISLAND, pá'drē, an island in southeastern Texas, on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, extending south from Corpus Christi Bay to Brazos Island near the mouth of the Rio Grande. When separated by tides from Mustang Island to the north, it is about 110 miles (177 km) long. From 1,400 feet (425 meters) to 4 miles (6.4 km) wide, it is separated from the mainland by Laguna Madre, now channeled for the Intracoastal Waterway. The island forms part of five Texas counties. County parks have been developed at the north and south ends, each joined to the

mainland by a causeway. South Padre Beach is a resort area.

The central part of the island was designated the Padre Island National Seashore in 1962. Administered by the National Park Service, its 133,919 acres (54,195 hectares) are notable for abundant bird and marine life.

The island was named Isla Blanca by Alonso de Piñeda, a Spanish explorer, who entered Brazos Santiago Pass in 1519. It was then inhabited by the Karankawa Indians, and was later a pirate refuge. The name was changed to Isla del Padre for a priest, Father Nicholas Balli, who received the island as a land grant from Spain in the late 18th century.

PADUA, pad'ū-ā, a city and province in the region of Venetia in northeastern Italy. The city of Padua (Italian, Padova) is situated on the Bacchiglione River, 22 miles (35 km) west of Venice. Rich in history and art, Padua preserves much from its glorious past, including great works of art, medieval palaces, and the gilded domes of its churches. Giotto and Donatello worked in Padua, Saint Anthony preached and died there, and Galileo taught at the university—the second oldest in Italy after Bologna.

Economy. Padua vies with Verona as the most important commercial center of Venetia, as Venice now is economically a shadow of its former self. Manufactures include foods and beverages, agricultural machinery, bicycles and motorcycles, electrical goods, textiles, chemicals, and plastics. The city also is the most important communications node of the northeastern Po Plain. Major rail and motor arteries radiate to Milan, Trieste, and Bologna. Secondary rail lines link Padua with Trento, Belluno, and other towns of the Venetian Alpine fringe to the north. The Naviglio di Brenta is a canal connecting Padua with the Venice Lagoon.

The 1st Presidential Working Toast Dinner

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT THE STATE DINNER

July 10, 1989

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MEMBERS OF THE POLISH DELEGATION, I APPRECIATE YOUR HOSPITALITY TONIGHT AND THROUGHOUT MY STAY. I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE HERE NOW, BOTH BECAUSE I HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN POLAND AND BECAUSE I HAVE WATCHED SOME REMARKABLE EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY.

THIS IS THE FIRST VISIT OF A U.S. PRESIDENT TO POLAND IN ALMOST TWELVE YEARS. IT IS NOT AN ORDINARY VISIT, FOR THESE ARE NOT ORDINARY TIMES FOR POLAND. WHEN I WAS LAST HERE, IN SEPTEMBER 1987, U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS HAD JUST EMERGED FROM A LONG, CHILLY PERIOD.

OUR RELATIONS HAVE PROGRESSED VERY QUICKLY SINCE THEN. PRESIDENT JARUZELSKI AND I COVERED A LOT OF ISSUES IN OUR MEETINGS IN 1987 -- CULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, CONSULAR, SCIENTIFIC, COMMUNICATION, COUNTERTERRORISM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHERS -- AND ON VIRTUALLY EVERY ISSUE BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE CONCRETE PROGRESS SINCE.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE REWARDS FOR SUCCESSFUL EFFORT ARE, AS ALWAYS, MORE AND GREATER CHALLENGES. I RECALL THAT AS OUR GOVERNMENTS PICKED UP THE PACE OF OFFICIAL DIALOGUE, THE POLISH SIDE RAISED THE QUESTION OF SOMEHOW PROCEEDING TO A NEW

- 2 -

State binner

STAGE OF RELATIONS. I THINK IT IS CLEAR THAT LIFE ITSELF HAS BROUGHT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND POLAND, AND BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND POLISH PEOPLES, TO A NEW AND CHALLENGING STAGE.

POLAND IS ENTERING A NEW ERA. IT IS BEGINNING ONCE AGAIN TO COMMAND ITS OWN HISTORY. POLISH ENERGY AND CREATIVITY ARE BEING TAPPED. GREAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN ALREADY -- THE NEGOTIATION OF THE REMARKABLE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, THE LEGALIZATION OF SOLIDARITY, THE HOLDING OF FAIR ELECTIONS, THE RESTORATION OF A FREELY-ELECTED POLISH SENATE -- AND MORE STEPS WILL BE TAKEN ON THE ROAD AHEAD.

POLAND HAS SURPASSED THE EXPECTATIONS EVEN OF ITS FRIENDS. AND WE RESPECT YOU FOR IT.

REFORM IS A DIFFICULT PROCESS, AS YOU WELL KNOW. THERE ARE NEITHER EASY ANSWERS NOR COST-FREE SOLUTIONS. POLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS ECONOMIC REFORM AND RECOVERY PLACES A SPECIAL BURDEN ON POLES OF ALL POLITICAL VIEWS TO WORK TOGETHER HONESTLY AND SERIOUSLY.

IT IS HARD. BUT POLAND CAN NOW BEGIN TO LOOK TO A FUTURE OF HOPE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG TIME, AND NOT RETURN TO THE PATTERN OF DESPAIR.

I BELIEVE YOU WILL SUCCEED. I BELIEVE POLAND CAN FULFILL THE PROMISE OF THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, AND NEGOTIATION OF DEMOCRATIC REFORM. I BELIEVE THE SPIRIT THAT PRODUCED THAT CONSTITUTION OF MAY 3, 1791, A DOCUMENT CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR OWN CONSTITUTION AS A FOUNDING CHARTER OF WESTERN LIBERTY, LIVES ON IN WARSAW, IN KRAKOW, IN GDANSK.

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State Dinner

POLAND DOES NOT STAND ALONE IN THIS HISTORIC EFFORT. WE WANT POLAND TO SUCCEED. WE WILL STAND WITH YOU AND HELP AS BEST WE CAN. I HAVE OUTLINED FOR YOU WAYS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP POLAND HELP ITSELF. BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE A GOOD DEAL OF WORK TO DO.

MY GOVERNMENT WILL PROCEED FORWARD WITH PRUDENCE AND REALISM, AS WE HAVE DONE SO FAR, BUT WITH OUR EYES ON THE GREAT TASKS THAT LIE AHEAD. OUR HEARTS, AS ALWAYS, WILL REMAIN FILLED WITH THE ABIDING COMMITMENT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL FOR POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. PRIME MINISTER, LET US LIFT OUR GLASSES TO THE PROGRESS IN RELATIONS WE HAVE MADE, AND TO OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED ON AN EVER ASCENDING PATH TOWARD BETTER DAYS AND GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS STILL TO COME.

League began—a humble winner, a gracious loser, a man of self-discipline and pride. And really, he became perhaps the most famous Polish-American athlete—Stan Musial. And he put it very simply. He said: “My greatest thrill was just putting on my uniform every day.”

So, I just came on over to wish you well. I hope you feel the same way about baseball as Stan Musial did. And I just have a wonderful feeling that if I don't see you in the

Olympics, I'm going to see some of you guys in the big leagues in the United States.

Good luck to you. All right, let's go over there now. Who's the best pitcher out here? [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 4:22 p.m. on the patio of the U.S. Ambassador's residence. In his opening remarks, he referred to Creighton Hale, president of the U.S. Little League Foundation.

Toast at the State Dinner in Warsaw July 10, 1989

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, and members of the Polish delegation, thank you for your hospitality tonight and throughout our stay. We are very pleased and honored to be here.

The American people have a special and enduring interest in Poland. And in recent months, we have watched remarkable events unfold here. And so, this is not an ordinary visit, for in Poland these are not ordinary times. When I was last here, almost 2 years ago, our relations had just emerged from a long, chilly period. But we have made great progress and covered many issues: cultural, commercial, consular, scientific, communications, human rights, and others.

Mr. Chairman, the rewards for successful effort are, as always, more and greater challenges. Poland is entering a new era; it is beginning once again to command its own destiny. Polish energy and creativity are being tapped, and great steps have been taken already—the remarkable roundtable accords, Solidarity's legalization, the holding of fair elections, the restoration of a freely elected Polish Senate. And more steps await on the road ahead. Poland has surpassed all expectations, and we respect you for that.

Reform is a difficult process, as you well know. And there are neither easy answers nor cost-free solutions, but there is a sound basis for hope. And today you have the good will of an expectant and hopeful world. We see hope not only for a new

beginning in Poland but for the beginning of Europe's reconciliation—for making Europe whole and free and at peace with itself. We want Poland to succeed in this historic effort, and we have outlined ways in which the United States can help Poland help itself. Both our governments have a great deal of work to do.

Our hearts, as always, will be filled with the abiding commitment the American people feel for this land and for her people. You know, over the past 2 years, we have celebrated the 200th anniversary of the United States Constitution, and yet not every American knows that a short time later the world's second written constitution was adopted by the Polish Parliament. And today I believe the spirit that produced the 3d May Constitution lives in Warsaw, in Krakow, and in Gdansk. And my wish for you is that 2 years from now, on the bicentennial of your Constitution, the Polish people will have achieved the kind of political transformation so long awaited, so long deferred.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, let us lift our glasses to the progress we have made in relations and to our determination to proceed toward the better days and great achievements still to come. And may I say in closing to you and Mrs. Jaruzelski, our heartfelt thanks for your superb hospitality and the warmth of your welcome to me, to Barbara, and to all that are traveling with me.

Taj H

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT AMBASSADOR'S LUNCH
FOR THE INDEPENDENT INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY

July 10, 1989

IT IS AN HONOR AND PRIVILEGE TO BE WITH YOU HERE TODAY. SOME OF US MET TWO YEARS AGO, IN WARSAW. HOW VERY MUCH HAS CHANGED SINCE.

IT'S A PRIVILEGE TO BE IN POLAND IN THESE HOPEFUL TIMES. AS YOU KNOW FAR BETTER THAN I, THIS IS A SINGULAR MOMENT IN POLAND'S HISTORY, PERHAPS THE MOST PROFOUNDLY CHALLENGING YET HOPEFUL PERIOD SINCE THAT TERRIBLE SUMMER FIFTY YEARS AGO.

POLAND HAS ALREADY MOVED BEYOND HISTORICAL PRECEDENT. THERE ARE NO MODELS, NO RULES FOR THE TASK POLES ARE FACING SO COURAGEOUSLY -- THE BUILDING OF STABLE, DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL AND MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC STRUCTURES ON THE RUBBLE OF A STALINIST PAST. POLAND IS AGAIN MAKING ITS OWN HISTORY, BLAZING A TRAIL FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW.

YOU, THE REPRESENTATIVES AND BUILDERS OF INDEPENDENT POLISH SOCIETY, ARE LEADING THE WAY. YOU ARE NOT DOING IT ALONE -- YOU HAVE COUNTERPARTS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PARTY -- BUT, WITHOUT YOU, IT WOULD NOT BE HAPPENING; THEREFORE, YOU ARE MAKING IT HAPPEN. IF THIS CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS SUCCEEDS, AS IT MUST, YOU WILL BE THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF A NEW POLAND AND, I BELIEVE, A NEW EUROPE.

MY COUNTRY AND THE WORLD ARE INSPIRED BY POLAND'S SINGULAR SUCCESS AT THE ROUNDTABLE AND BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ROUNDTABLE'S PROVISIONS.

*intellectuals
lunch*

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WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE VAST DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE BEFORE YOU. WE UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC PRESSURES THAT OVERHANG THIS PROCESS. WE UNDERSTAND THE DEPTH OF MISTRUST, FEAR AND CYNICISM THAT HAVE SO POLARIZED POLISH SOCIETY AND MAKE THE TASK OF POLITICAL COMPROMISE AND ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING SO DIFFICULT. WE KNOW, AS YOU KNOW, THAT THERE IS NO WAY OTHER THAN THE HARD, EVEN PAINFUL ROAD TO ECONOMIC REFORM AND RECOVERY. BUT WE DO NOT TAKE THIS LIGHTLY.

I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND WITH POLAND, DOING WHAT WE CAN TO SUPPORT POLAND'S HOPEFUL EXPERIMENT, UNPARALLELED IN THE HISTORY OF OUR TROUBLED CENTURY.

WITH DEEP RESPECT FOR YOU, FOR SOLIDARITY, FOR THE ROUNDTABLE PROCESS; WITH ADMIRATION FOR THE RESILIENCY AND GENIUS NOW BEING EXHIBITED BY POLISH SOCIETY; WITH HOPES FOR THE FUTURE, I LIFT MY GLASS TO THE NATION AND PEOPLE OF POLAND.

July 9 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's Council of State. Following his remarks, the President and Mrs. Bush went to the Parkowa Guest House.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the President's Meeting With Polish Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski in Warsaw July 10, 1989

President Bush and General Jaruzelski talked for more than 2 hours this morning, from 9:45 to 12:05, and discussed a full range of bilateral and international issues. President Bush outlined the economic program [proposals] that he will make to the Polish Parliament this afternoon. The President also discussed his conventional arms proposal made at the NATO summit. General Jaruzelski said the Warsaw Pact applauded the President's proposal and felt the timetable was achievable. General Jaruzelski spent a good deal of the time discussing the internal political situation in Poland. President Bush reiterated the United States desire to be helpful in Poland's reform efforts without being intrusive.

In the plenary session, Secretary of State Baker and Poland's Foreign Minister Ole-

chowski amplified these same themes. Secretary Baker referred to the close and historic bonds between the two peoples. The Secretary outlined in some detail the President's economic incentives. The two Ministers discussed the full range of bilateral issues, including increased dialog between U.S. and Polish officials, technical and scientific exchanges, trade increases, environmental improvements, international fishing clarifications, and various economic prospects. President Bush felt the meeting was quite productive and friendly.

Note: At their meeting at Belweder Palace, the President and Chairman Jaruzelski signed agreements rescheduling Poland's debt payments.

Toasts at a Luncheon at the United States Ambassador's Residence in Warsaw

July 10, 1989

The President. First, my thanks to our host and hostess, our able Ambassador and his wife, for this informal, lovely luncheon. It's an honor and privilege to be with you here today.

Some of us met 2 years ago in Warsaw, and so much has changed. These are hopeful times for Poland. It's a special moment in Poland's history, perhaps the most profoundly challenging period in many decades. I told Chairman Jaruzelski this morning that my country and the world are inspired by Poland's success at the roundtable and by the implementation of the roundtable's provisions. And I hope you've noticed that today we are all sitting at round tables. [Laughter]

But look, we are also aware of the many difficulties and the economic pressures that lie ahead. And your challenge is to rise above the mistrust, to bring the Polish people together for a common purpose. The United States will stand with Poland; we will support Poland's hopeful mission, unparalleled in your history.

And so, with deep respect for you, Mr. Chairman, and your colleagues and for Solidarity and for the roundtable process and for all the guests at this luncheon that made that process work, I would like to lift my glass—if I can find it—[laughter]—to the Nation and the people of Poland.

Chairman Jaruzelski. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, Mr. Ambassador, Mrs. Davis, let me,

t to the Parkowa Guest

President's Meeting Law

These same themes. Sec-
ond to the close and his-
tory of the two peoples. The
in some detail the Presi-
dents. The two Minis-
ters. The full range of bilateral
reached dialog between
political, technical and scien-
tific. The increase, environ-
mental, international fishing
various economic pros-
pects. I felt the meeting was
friendly.

ing at Belweder Palace,
Chairman Jaruzelski
rescheduling Poland's

President's Residence

Also aware of the many
economic pressures that
our challenge is to rise
to bring the Polish
to a common purpose.
I will stand with Poland;
Poland's hopeful mission,
history.

With respect for you, Mr.
President and for Soli-
darity's process and
his luncheon that made
I would like to lift my
it—[laughter]—to the
level of Poland.

Thank you, Mr. President, Mrs.
Barbara Bush, Mrs. Davis, let me,

first of all, thank you very much for this
nice hospitality and for the fact that we
could meet in this beautiful scenery and
have this excellent lunch.

I have been taken by surprise by your
President with the offer to come and speak
to you. So, let me just share with you a few
loose observations. But I consider as a sig-
nificant fact that it is here at the residence
of the U.S. Ambassador we could meet in
such a pluralistic company. What is more,
we were able to meet in a friendly atmos-
phere, and I believe we have felt well to-
gether.

One other personal reflection for me: I
live perhaps 50 or 80 meters away from
here for 16 years, and it is for the first time
that I have come to this building and this
residence. [Laughter] I think it is also a sign
of time, and I and Mrs. Jaruzelski doubly
appreciate this meeting.

Thank you, Mr. President, for your kind
and well-wishing words. I value very highly
these long conversations today with you. I
believe they allowed us to better come to
know each other and better understand
each other, and I have no doubt that it will
benefit the cooperation and friendship be-
tween our two countries and people.

Once again, thank you very much for this
meeting today, and I wish you all the best. I
know that the important person in this
company according to the protocol is the
U.S. President, but may I be allowed to
fracture the protocol and follow the old
Polish tradition of offering to everybody to
raise our glasses to the good health of Bar-
bara Bush and all the ladies present with us
here today.

Mr. Geremek. Mr. President of the United
States and Mr. Chairman, even this very
beginning tells us of what Poland stands for
now. A man from Solidarity, a member of
Solidarity, I, who have been in this house
several times in the past—even though I
don't live that far from it—I can admit and
say openly that something new is arising,
emerging, in the ties between Poland and
the United States.

Roughly 2 years ago, the Vice President
of the United States and Mrs. Barbara Bush
talked with members of Solidarity right in

this house. And even though at that time
we heard words of hope, I believe that
none of us at that time expected that we
would meet in 2 years in a situation like the
present. Poland is still divided, but it's possi-
ble that what's taking place right now is
actually taking place, that together we have
the representatives of Solidarity, of the op-
position, and of the authorities. We feel that
what's happening now, what's taking
place—the political and economic reform,
all of that, is in the interest of Poland, not
just one particular side. And at moments
like these, we think of the Founding Fa-
thers of the United States, whose message
about freedom has not lost any of its cur-
rent significance.

First of all and above all, we seek under-
standing for what is happening in our coun-
try. The future of Polish reforms depends
on Poles alone. We do not expect that they
will be carried at somebody else's cost or by
others' hands. But we believe that these re-
forms will be understood the world over as
serving the whole world: serving the pur-
poses of not only Poland but also of Czecho-
slovakia and Hungary and the interests of
that part of the world and the whole world
itself.

And in this house, the house of Helen and
John Davis, who have done so much for the
Polish cause, let me say that this is exactly
what we expected from the President of
the United States. The words he uttered,
that the United States will support the re-
forms taking place in Poland, are the words
that we were hoping for. And for that, let
me propose a toast to the President of the
United States and the United States of
America.

*Note: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. on
the patio of the U.S. Ambassador's resi-
dence. In his remarks, he referred to Am-
bassador and Mrs. John R. Davis, Jr.; Woj-
ciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of Poland's
Council of State; and Bronislaw Geremek,
parliamentary opposition leader and a
senior adviser for Solidarity. A tape was not
available for verification of the contents of
the remarks.*

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND
CANADIAN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555

DELIVER TO: 456-6218 WH Gary Gershowitz
(FAX NUMBER) (AGENCY) (NAME) OFF/EX.

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: July 10, 1985: Pres Visit to Poland:
Arrival Stmt, 2 toasts

Foreword from 3rd of May Constitution Booklet
FROM: 647-0555 5220 E. Conway 647-1070
(FAX NUMBER) (ROOM NUMBER) (NAME) (OFFICE EXT.)

REMARKS: Please let me know if you need
anything else. I'll call Polish Emb
tomorrow.

PAGE 1 OF 11 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

647-1099(x3037)

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State; x3037

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555

DELIVER TO: 456-6218 (FAX NUMBER) WH (AGENCY) Gary Gershowitz (NAME) 7750 OFF EX.

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Relevant dates around July 5

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

REMARKS: I spoke to Mr. Jarecki. Three significant dates: 1 June 2-10, 1979. First visit of newly elected Pope John Paul II. He addressed crowds in Warsaw,

PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

claiming Poland is a "special case/experiment" in Europe.

2 June 28, 1956. "Black Thursday" in Poznan (a city which associated with Paderewski): 1st strike / confrontation against Communist regime. Workers wanted "bread and flowers"

3 Late June 1989. Parliamentary elections following "roundtable agreement" between Solidarity and government. First "free" elections (Communists were guaranteed 2/3 of seats in lower house. All senate seats freely elected - Solidarity won 99 of 100 senate seats and 2/3 of seats in lower house). Breakthrough elections.

Soldiers refused to fire on workers - eventually security troops did the job. Watershed year in Polish history (1956)

SIGNIFICANT DATES IN POLAND AROUND JULY 5

1. June 2-10, 1979: first visit of newly-elected Pope John Paul, II. He addressed crowds in Warsaw, claiming Poland is a "special case/experiment" in Europe.

2. June 28, 1956 -- Black Thursday -- in Poznań (a city associated with Paderewski) -- 1st strike/confrontation (of workers) against Communist regime: known primarily as "food riots." Workers demanded "bread and freedom" -- free elections -- soldiers would not fire on their fellow countrymen, so the regime sent in special security troops to put down the strike. 1956 is considered an important year because that was the end of Stalinism, 1st time workers rebelled against Communist regime.

3. Late June 1989 Parliamentary Elections following "roundtable agreement" between Solidarity and government first "free" elections communists were guaranteed 2/3 of seats in Lower House. All Senate Seats freely elected Solidarity won 99 of 100 Senate Seats and free 1/3 of seats in Lower House. Considered breakthrough elections.

-Provided by Ellen Conway,
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FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

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Fax No: 456-6218

To: Mr. Gary Gershovitz, White House, Research Office

From: Andrzej Jarecki, Counselor for Cultural Affairs

Message: Pope John Paul II

"... I am invoking the name and word
"Solidarity" because it has always made part of the social doctrine
of the Church. It was in its spirit that the Fathers (of the Church) a
theologians have spoken. It has inspired the social encyclicals of the
last one hundred years, as well as the teachings of both Popes of our
time - John and Paul - including Pope John's Pacem in terris!

Solidarity must take priority over struggle. Then the humanity will
be able to survive. And every nation within the great human family will
be able to survive. For what does Solidarity mean? It signifies the
manner of existence (e.g. of a nation) within the human diversity, in
unity, and in respect for all differences and dissimilarities which
mark human beings; the existence, that is, in unity in diversity; all
these things are inherent in the concept of solidarity. It signifies
the manner of existence of a human plurality - whether smaller or
bigger - that of the whole humanity, and of any separate nation's
existence in the unity behooving man's dignity.

"Solidarity, as I said, has to take priority over struggle. I would
add: solidarity also generates struggle. But it is ~~never~~ ^{never} the struggle
against others; it neither treats others as enemies, nor seeks to de-
them. It is the struggle for man, for his rights and his true advance-
ment; it is the struggle for a more mature form of human life. For
then does man's existence on earth becomes 'more humane' when it
is governed by truth, freedom, justice and by love."

PLEASE NOTE;

OUTLINED HERewith IS POPE JOHN PAUL'S STATEMENTS
ON THE EVENTS OF 1989 . THIS IS TAKEN FROM HIS SOCIAL ENCYCLICAL
"CENTESIMUS ANNUS....VATICAN MAY 1, 1991" THE QUOTES ARE FROM
CHAPTER THREE.....

IF YOU NEED MORE INFORMATION OR HELP, PLEASE FELL FREE TO CALL:

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Centesimus Annus

**CONTENTS OF
THIS ISSUE:**

*"Centesimus Annus":
Encyclical on the 100th
Anniversary of "Rerum
Novarum," by Pope John
Paul II, p. 1;
*On File, p. 2 ;
*Datebook, p. 2.

"The historical experience of the West ... shows that even if the Marxist analysis and its foundation of alienation are false, nevertheless alienation — and the loss of the authentic meaning of life — is a reality in Western societies too," writes Pope John Paul II in his ninth encyclical, titled "Centesimus Annus" ("The 100th Year"). The encyclical was issued for the centenary of Pope Leo XIII's social encyclical "Rerum Novarum." The encyclical, made public May 2, is written in the wake of communism's collapse in Eastern Europe and looks to the new things ("rerum novarum") today influencing the social order. The pope examines strengths and weaknesses of different forms of capitalism and the free market, and he takes up such themes as work, unions and wages, unemployment, profit, atheism, class struggle, freedom and private property. Modern times are witnessing a new form of ownership, the pope writes: "the possession of know-how, technology and skill." The poor, in addition to lacking material goods, now lack "knowledge and training, which prevents them from escaping their state of humiliating subjection." Human work, he states, "is becoming increasingly important as the productive factor both of non-material and material wealth." The pope insists that the human person cannot be understood "on the basis of economics alone" or defined "simply on the basis of class member-

ship." Of the church, he writes: "Her contribution to the political order is precisely her vision of the dignity of the person revealed in all its fullness in the mystery of the incarnate Word." The text of the encyclical follows.

Introduction

1. The centenary of the promulgation of the encyclical which begins with the words "*rerum novarum*," by my predecessor of venerable memory Pope Leo XIII, is an occasion of great importance for the present history of the church and for my own pontificate. It is an encyclical that has the distinction of having been commemorated by solemn papal documents from its 40th anniversary to its 90th. It may be said that its path through history has been marked by other documents which paid tribute to it and applied it to the circumstances of the day.²

In doing likewise for the 100th anniversary, in response to requests from many bishops, church institutions and study centers as well as business leaders and workers, both individually and as members of associations, I wish first and foremost to satisfy the debt of gratitude which the

(continued on page 3)

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origins
CMS documentary service

more skilled and productive, as well as careful controls and adequate legislative measures to block shameful forms of exploitation, especially to the disadvantage of the most vulnerable workers, of immigrants and of those on the margins of society. The role of trade unions in negotiating minimum salaries and working conditions is decisive in this area.

Finally, "humane" working hours and adequate free time need to be guaranteed as well as the right to express one's own personality at the workplace without suffering any affront to one's conscience or personal dignity. This is the place to mention once more the role of trade unions, not only in negotiating contracts, but also as "places" where workers can express themselves. They serve the development of an authentic culture of work and help workers to share in a fully human way in the life of their place of employment.⁴⁴

The state must contribute to the achievement of these goals both directly and indirectly. Indirectly and according to the principle of subsidiarity, by creating favorable conditions for the free exercise of economic activity, which will lead to abundant opportunities for employment and sources of wealth. Directly and according to the principle of solidarity, by defending the weakest by placing certain limits on the autonomy of the parties who determine working conditions and by ensuring in every case the necessary minimum support for the unemployed worker.⁴⁵

The encyclical and the related social teaching of the church had far-reaching influence in the years bridging the 19th and 20th centuries. This influence is evident in the numerous reforms which were introduced in the areas of social security, pensions, health insurance and compensation in the case of accidents, within the framework of greater respect for the rights of workers.⁴⁶

16. These reforms were carried out in part by states, but in the struggle to achieve them the role of the workers' movement was an important one. This movement, which began as a response of moral conscience to unjust and harmful situations, conducted a widespread campaign for reform far removed from vague ideology and closer to the daily needs of workers. In this context its efforts were often joined to those of Christians in order to improve workers' living conditions. Later on this movement was dominated to a certain extent by the Marxist ideology against which *Rerum Novarum* had spoken.

These same reforms were also partly the result of an open process by which society organized itself through the establishment of effective instruments of solidarity which were capable of sustaining an economic growth more respectful of the values of the person. Here we should remember

the numerous efforts to which Christians made a notable contribution in establishing producers', consumers' and credit cooperatives, in promoting general education and professional training, in experimenting with various forms of participation in the life of the workplace and in the life of society in general.

Thus as we look at the past there is good reason to thank God that the great encyclical was not without an echo in human hearts and indeed led to a generous response on the practical level. Still, we must acknowledge that its prophetic message was not fully accepted by people at the time. Precisely for this reason there ensued some very serious tragedies.

17. Reading the encyclical within the context of Pope Leo's whole magisterium,⁴⁷ we see how it points essentially to the socioeconomic consequences of an error which has even greater implications. As has been mentioned, this error consists in an understanding of human freedom which detaches it from obedience to the truth and consequently from the duty to respect the rights of others. The essence of freedom then becomes self-love carried to the point of contempt for God and neighbor, a self-love which leads to an unbridled affirmation of self-interest and which refuses to be limited by any demand of justice.⁴⁸

This very error had extreme consequences in the tragic series of wars which ravaged Europe and the world between 1914 and 1945. Some of these resulted from militarism and exaggerated nationalism, and from related forms of totalitarianism; some derived from the class struggle; still others were civil wars or wars of an ideological nature. Without the terrible burden of hatred and resentment which had built up as a result of so many injustices both on the international level and within individual states, such cruel wars would not have been possible in which great nations invested their energies and in which there was no hesitation to violate the most sacred human rights, with the extermination of entire peoples and social groups being planned and carried out. Here we recall the Jewish people in particular, whose terrible fate has become a symbol of the aberration of which man is capable when he turns against God.

However, it is only when hatred and injustice are sanctioned and organized by the ideologies based on them, rather than on the truth about man, that they take possession of entire nations and drive them to act.⁴⁹ *Rerum Novarum* opposed ideologies of hatred and showed how violence and resentment could be overcome by justice. May the memory of those terrible events guide the actions of everyone, particularly the leaders of nations in our

own time when other forms of injustice are fueling new hatreds and when new ideologies which exalt violence are appearing on the horizon.

18. While it is true that since 1945 weapons have been silent on the European continent, it must be remembered that true peace is never simply the result of military victory, but rather implies both the removal of the causes of war and genuine reconciliation between peoples. For many years there has been in Europe and the world a situation of non-war rather than genuine peace. Half of the continent fell under the domination of a communist dictatorship, while the other half organized itself in defense against this threat. Many peoples lost the ability to control their own destiny and were enclosed within the suffocating boundaries of an empire in which efforts were made to destroy their historical memory and the centuries-old roots of their culture. As a result of this violent division of Europe, enormous masses of people were compelled to leave their homeland or were forcibly deported.

An insane arms race swallowed up the resources needed for the development of national economies and for assistance to the less-developed nations. Scientific and technological progress, which should have contributed to man's well-being, was transformed into an instrument of war: Science and technology were directed to the production of ever more efficient and destructive weapons. Meanwhile, an ideology, a perversion of authentic philosophy, was called upon to provide doctrinal justification for the new war. And this war was not simply expected and prepared for, but was actually fought with enormous bloodshed in various parts of the world. The logic of power blocs or empires, denounced in various church documents and recently in the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*,⁵⁰ led to a situation in which controversies and disagreements among Third World countries were systematically aggravated and exploited in order to create difficulties for the adversary.

Extremist groups, seeking to resolve such controversies through the use of arms, found ready political and military support and were equipped and trained for war; those who tried to find peaceful and humane solutions, with respect for the legitimate interests of all parties, remained isolated and often fell victim to their opponents. In addition, the precariousness of the peace which followed World War II was one of the principal causes of the militarization of many Third World countries and the fratricidal conflicts which afflicted them as well as of the spread of terrorism and of increasingly barbaric means of political and military conflict. Moreover, the whole world was oppressed by the threat of an atomic war capable of leading to the extinction of

humanity. Science used for military purposes had placed this decisive instrument at the disposal of hatred strengthened by ideology. But if war can end without winners or losers in a suicide of humanity, then we must repudiate the logic which leads to it: the idea that the effort to destroy the enemy, confrontation and war itself are factors of progress and historical advancement.¹¹ When the need for this repudiation is understood, the concepts of "total war" and "class struggle" must necessarily be called into question.

19. At the end of World War II, however, such a development was still being formed in people's consciences. What received attention was the spread of communist totalitarianism over more than half of Europe and over other parts of the world. The war, which should have re-established freedom and restored the rights of nations, ended without having attained these goals. Indeed, in a way, for many peoples, especially those which had suffered most during the war, it openly contradicted these goals. It may be said that the situation which arose has evoked different responses.

Following the destruction caused by the war, we see in some countries and under certain aspects a positive effort to rebuild a democratic society inspired by social justice, so as to deprive communism of the revolutionary potential represented by masses of people subjected to exploitation and oppression. In general, such attempts to endeavor to preserve free-market mechanisms, ensuring by means of a stable currency and the harmony of social relations the conditions for steady and healthy economic growth in which people through their own work can build a better future for themselves and their families. At the same time, these attempts try to avoid making market mechanisms the only point of reference for social life, and they tend to subject them to public control, which upholds the principle of the common destination of material goods. In this context, an abundance of work opportunities, a solid system of social security and professional training, the freedom to join trade unions and the effective action of unions, the assistance provided in cases of unemployment, the opportunities for democratic participation in the life of society — all these are meant to deliver work from the mere condition of "a commodity" and to guarantee its dignity.

Then there are the other social forces and ideological movements which oppose Marxism by setting up systems of "national security" aimed at controlling the whole of society in a systematic way in order to make Marxist infiltration impossible. By emphasizing and increasing the power of the state, they wish to protect their people from communism, but in doing so they run the grave risk of destroying the

freedom and values of the person, the very things for whose sake it is necessary to oppose communism.

Another kind of response, practical in nature, is represented by the affluent society or the consumer society. It seeks to defeat Marxism on the level of pure materialism by showing how a free-market society can achieve a greater satisfaction of material human needs than communism, while equally excluding spiritual values. In reality, while on the one hand it is true that this social model shows the failure of Marxism to contribute to a humane and better society, on the other hand, insofar as it denies an autonomous existence and value to morality, law, culture and religion, it agrees with Marxism in the sense that it totally reduces man to the sphere of economics and the satisfaction of material needs.

"Trade unions ... serve the development of an authentic culture of work and help workers to share in a fully human way in the life of their place of employment."

20. During the same period, a widespread process of "decolonization" occurred by which many countries gained or regained their independence and the right freely to determine their own destiny. With the formal reacquisition of state sovereignty, however, these countries often find themselves merely at the beginning of the journey toward the construction of genuine independence. Decisive sectors of the economy still remain de facto in the hands of large foreign companies which are unwilling to commit themselves to the long-term development of the host country. Political life itself is controlled by foreign powers, while within the national boundaries there are tribal groups not yet amalgamated into a genuine national community. Also lacking is a class of competent professional people capable of running the state apparatus in an honest and just way nor are there qualified personnel for managing the economy in an efficient and responsible manner.

Given this situation, many think that Marxism can offer a sort of shortcut for building up the nation and the state; thus many variants of socialism emerge with specific national characteristics. Legitimate demands for national recovery, forms of nationalism and also of militarism, principles drawn from ancient popular traditions (which are sometimes in harmony with Christian social doctrine) and Marxist-Leninist concepts and ideas — all these mingle in the many ideologies which

take shape in ways that differ from case to case.

21. Last, it should be remembered that after World War II and in reaction to its horrors, there arose a more lively sense of human rights, which found recognition in a number of international documents¹² and, one might say, in the drawing up of a new "right of nations," to which the Holy See has constantly contributed. The focal point of this evolution has been the United Nations. Not only has there been a development in awareness of the rights of individuals, but also in awareness of the rights of nations as well as a clearer realization of the need to act in order to remedy the grave imbalances that exist between the various geographical areas of the world. In a certain sense these imbalances have shifted the center of the social question from the national to the international level.¹³

While noting this process with satisfaction, nevertheless one cannot ignore the fact that the overall balance of the various policies of aid for development has not always been positive. The United Nations, moreover, has not yet succeeded in establishing as alternatives to war effective means for the resolution of international conflicts. This seems to be the most urgent problem which the international community has yet to resolve.

CHAPTER 3 The Year 1989

22. It is on the basis of the world situation just described and already elaborated in the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* that the unexpected and promising significance of the events of recent years can be understood. Although they certainly reached their climax in 1989 in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, they embrace a longer period of time and a wider geographical area. In the course of the '80s, certain dictatorial and oppressive regimes fell one by one in some countries of Latin America and also of Africa and Asia. In other cases there began a difficult but productive transition toward more participatory and more just political structures. An important, even decisive, contribution was made by the church's commitment to defend and promote human rights. In situations strongly influenced by ideology, in which polarization obscured the awareness of a human dignity common to all, the church affirmed clearly and forcefully that every individual — whatever his or her personal convictions — bears the image of God and therefore deserves respect. Often the vast majority of people identified themselves with this kind of affirmation, and this led to a search for forms of protest and for political solutions more respectful of the dignity of the person.

From this historical process new forms of democracy have emerged

which offer a hope for change in fragile political and social structures weighed down by a painful series of injustices and resentments as well as by a heavily damaged economy and serious social conflicts. Together with the whole church, I thank God for the often heroic witness borne in such difficult circumstances by many pastors, entire Christian communities, individual members of the faithful and other people of good will; at the same time I pray that he will sustain the efforts being made by everyone to build a better future. This is, in fact, a responsibility which falls not only to the citizens of the countries in question, but to all Christians and people of good will. It is a question of showing that the complex problems faced by those peoples can be resolved through dialogue and solidarity rather than by a struggle to destroy the enemy through war.

23. Among the many factors involved in the fall of oppressive regimes, some deserve special mention. Certainly the decisive factor which gave rise to the changes was the violation of the rights of workers. It cannot be forgotten that the fundamental crisis of systems claiming to express the rule and indeed the dictatorship of the working class began with the great upheavals which took place in Poland in the name of solidarity. It was the throngs of working people which foreswore the ideology which presumed to speak in their name. On the basis of a hard, lived experience of work and of oppression, it was they who recovered and in a sense rediscovered the content and principles of the church's social doctrine.

Also worthy of emphasis is the fact that the fall of this kind of "bloc" or empire was accomplished almost everywhere by means of peaceful protest, using only the weapons of truth and justice. While Marxism held that only by exacerbating social conflicts was it possible to resolve them through violent confrontation, the protests which led to the collapse of Marxism tenaciously insisted on trying every avenue of negotiation, dialogue and witness to the truth, appealing to the conscience of the adversary and seeking to reawaken in him a sense of shared human dignity.

It seemed that the European order resulting from World War II and sanctioned by the Yalta agreements could only be overturned by another war. Instead, it has been overcome by the non-violent commitment of people who, while always refusing to yield to the force of power, succeeded time after time in finding effective ways of bearing witness to the truth. This disarmed the adversary, since violence always needs to justify itself through deceit and to appear, however falsely, to be defending a right or responding to a threat posed by others.⁵⁴ Once again I thank God for having sustained people's

hearts amid difficult trials, and I pray that this example will prevail in other places and other circumstances. May people learn to fight for justice without violence, renouncing class struggle in their internal disputes and war in international ones.

24. The second factor in the crisis was certainly the inefficiency of the economic system, which is not to be considered simply as a technical problem, but rather a consequence of the violation of the human rights to private initiative, to ownership of property and to freedom in the economic sector. To this must be added the cultural and national dimension: It is not possible to understand man on the basis of economics alone nor to define him simply on the basis of class membership. Man is understood in a more complete way when he is situated within the sphere of culture through his language, history and the position he takes toward the fundamental events of life such as birth, love, work and death. At the heart of every culture lies the attitude man takes to the greatest mystery: the mystery of God. Different cultures are basically different ways of facing the question of the meaning of personal existence. When this question is eliminated, the culture and moral life of nations are corrupted. For this reason the struggle to defend work was spontaneously linked to the struggle for culture and for national rights.

But the true cause of the new developments was the spiritual void brought about by atheism, which deprived the younger generations of a sense of direction and in many cases led them, in the irrepressible search for personal identity and for the meaning of life, to rediscover the religious roots of their national cultures and to rediscover the person of Christ himself as the existentially adequate response to the desire in every human heart for goodness, truth and life. This search was supported by the witness of those who in difficult circumstances and under persecution remained faithful to God. Marxism had promised to uproot the need for God from the human heart, but the results have shown that it is not possible to succeed in this without throwing the heart into turmoil.

25. The events of 1989 are an example of the success of willingness to negotiate and of the Gospel spirit in the face of an adversary determined not to be bound by moral principles. These events are a warning to those who in the name of political realism wish to banish law and morality from the political arena. Undoubtedly the struggle which led to the changes of 1989 called for clarity, moderation, suffering and sacrifice. In a certain sense, it was a struggle born of prayer, and it would have been unthinkable without immense trust in God, the Lord of history, who

carries the human heart in his hands. It is by uniting his own sufferings for the sake of truth and freedom to the sufferings of Christ on the cross that man is able to accomplish the miracle of peace and is in a position to discern the often narrow path between the cowardice which gives in to evil and the violence which, under the illusion of fighting evil, only makes it worse.

Nevertheless, it cannot be forgotten that the manner in which the individual exercises his freedom is conditioned in innumerable ways. While these certainly have an influence on freedom, they do not determine it; they make the exercise of freedom more difficult or less difficult, but they cannot destroy it. Not only is it wrong from the ethical point of view to disregard human nature, which is made for freedom, but in practice it is impossible to do so. Where society is so organized as to reduce arbitrarily or even suppress the sphere in which freedom is legitimately exercised, the result is that the life of society becomes progressively disorganized and goes into decline.

Moreover, man, who was created for freedom, bears within himself the wound of original sin, which constantly draws him toward evil and puts him in need of redemption. Not only is this doctrine an integral part of Christian revelation, it also has great hermeneutical value insofar as it helps one to understand human reality. Man tends toward good, but he is also capable of evil. He can transcend his immediate interest and still remain bound to it. The social order will be all the more stable, the more it takes this fact into account and does not place in opposition personal interest and the interests of society as a whole, but rather seeks ways to bring them into fruitful harmony. In fact, where self-interest is violently suppressed, it is replaced by a burdensome system of bureaucratic control which dries up the wellsprings of initiative and creativity. When people think they possess the secret of a perfect social organization which makes evil impossible, they also think that they can use any means, including violence and deceit, in order to bring that organization into being. Politics then becomes a "secular religion" which operates under the illusion of creating paradise in this world. But no political society — which possesses its own autonomy and laws⁵⁵ — can ever be confused with the kingdom of God. The Gospel parable of the weeds among the wheat (cf. Mt. 13:24-30, 36-43) teaches that it is for God alone to separate the subjects of the kingdom from the subjects of the Evil One and that this judgment will take place at the end of time. By presuming to anticipate judgment here and now, man puts himself in the place of God and sets himself against the patience of God.

Through Christ's sacrifice on the cross, the victory of the kingdom of God has been achieved once and for all. Nevertheless, the Christian life involves a struggle against temptation and the forces of evil. Only at the end of history will the Lord return in glory for the final judgment (cf. Mt. 25:31) with the establishment of a new heaven and a new earth (cf. 2 Pt. 3:13; Rv. 21:1); but as long as time lasts the struggle between good and evil continues even in the human heart itself.

What sacred Scripture teaches us about the prospects of the kingdom of God is not without consequences for the life of temporal societies, which, as the adjective indicates, belong to the realm of time, with all that this implies of imperfection and impermanence. The kingdom of God, being in the world without being of the world, throws light on the order of human society, while the power of grace penetrates that order and gives it life. In this way the requirements of a society worthy of man are better perceived, deviations are corrected, the courage to work for what is good is reinforced. In union with all people of good will, Christians, especially the laity, are called to this task of imbuing human realities with the Gospel.⁵⁶

26. The events of 1989 took place principally in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. However, they have worldwide importance because they have positive and negative consequences which concern the whole human family. These consequences are not mechanistic or fatalistic in character, but rather are opportunities for human freedom to cooperate with the merciful plan of God, who acts within history.

The first consequence was an encounter in some countries between the church and the workers' movement, which came about as a result of an ethical and explicitly Christian reaction against a widespread situation of injustice. For about a century the workers' movement had fallen in part under the dominance of Marxism in the conviction that the working class, in order to struggle effectively against oppression, had to appropriate its economic and materialistic theories.

In the crisis of Marxism, the natural dictates of the consciences of workers have re-emerged in a demand for justice and a recognition of the dignity of work in conformity with the social doctrine of the church.⁵⁷ The worker movement is part of a more general movement among workers and other people of good will for the liberation of the human person and for the affirmation of human rights. It is a movement which today has spread to many countries and which, far from opposing the Catholic Church, looks to her with interest.

The crisis of Marxism does not rid the world of the situations of in-

justice and oppression which Marxism itself exploited and on which it fed. To those who are searching today for a new and authentic theory and praxis of liberation, the church offers not only her social doctrine and, in general, her teaching about the human person redeemed in Christ, but also her concrete commitment and material assistance in the struggle against marginalization and suffering.

In the recent past, the sincere desire to be on the side of the oppressed and not to be cut off from the course of history has led many believers to seek in various ways an impossible compromise between Marxism and Christianity. Moving beyond all that was short-lived in these attempts, present circumstances are leading to a reaffirmation of the positive value of an authentic theology of integral human liberation.⁵⁸ Considered from this point of view, the events of 1989 are proving to be important also for the countries of the Third World, which are searching for their own path to development, just as they were important for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

"If war can end without winners or losers in a suicide of humanity, then we must repudiate the logic which leads to it: the idea that the effort to destroy the enemy, confrontation and war itself are factors of progress and historical advancement."

27. The second consequence concerns the peoples of Europe themselves. Many individual, social, regional and national injustices were committed during and prior to the years in which communism dominated; much hatred and ill will have accumulated. There is a real danger that these will re-explode after the collapse of dictatorship, provoking serious conflicts and casualties should there be a lessening of the moral commitment and conscious striving to bear witness to the truth which were the inspiration for past efforts. It is to be hoped that hatred and violence will not triumph in people's hearts, especially among those who are struggling for justice, and that all people will grow in the spirit of peace and forgiveness.

What is needed are concrete steps to create or consolidate international structures capable of intervening through appropriate arbitration in the conflicts which arise between nations, so that each nation can uphold its own rights and reach a just agreement and peaceful settlement vis-a-vis the rights of others. This is especially needed for the

nations of Europe, which are closely united in a bond of common culture and an age-old history. A great effort is needed to rebuild morally and economically the countries which have abandoned communism. For a long time the most elementary economic relationships were distorted, and basic virtues of economic life such as truthfulness, trustworthiness and hard work were denigrated. A patient material and moral reconstruction is needed, even as people, exhausted by longstanding privation, are asking their governments for tangible and immediate results in the form of material benefits and an adequate fulfillment of their legitimate aspirations.

The fall of Marxism has naturally had a great impact on the division of the planet into worlds which are closed to one another and in jealous competition. It has further highlighted the reality of interdependence among peoples as well as the fact that human work by its nature is meant to unite peoples, not divide them. Peace and prosperity, in fact, are goods which belong to the whole human race: It is not possible to enjoy them in a proper and lasting way if they are achieved and maintained at the cost of other peoples and nations by violating their rights or excluding them from the sources of well-being.

28. In a sense, for some countries of Europe the real postwar period is just beginning. The radical reordering of economic systems, hitherto collectivized, entails problems and sacrifices comparable to those which the countries of Western Europe had to face in order to rebuild after World War II. It is right that in the present difficulties the formerly communist countries should be aided by the united effort of other nations. Obviously they themselves must be the primary agents of their own development, but they must also be given a reasonable opportunity to accomplish this goal, something that cannot happen without the help of other countries. Moreover, their present condition, marked by difficulties and shortages, is the result of a historical process in which the formerly communist countries were often objects and not subjects. Thus they find themselves in the present situation not as a result of free choice or mistakes which were made, but as a consequence of tragic historical events which were violently imposed on them and which prevented them from following the path of economic and social development.

Assistance from other countries, especially the countries of Europe which were part of that history and which bear responsibility for it, represents a debt in justice. But it also corresponds to the interest and welfare of Europe as a whole, since Europe cannot live in peace if the various conflicts which have arisen as a result of the past are to become more

acute because of a situation of economic disorder, spiritual dissatisfaction and desperation.

This need, however, must not lead to a slackening of efforts to sustain and assist the countries of the Third World, which often suffer even more serious conditions of poverty and want.⁵⁹ What is called for is a special effort to mobilize resources, which are not lacking in the world as a whole, for the purpose of economic growth and common development, redefining the priorities and hierarchies of values on the basis of which economic and political choices are made. Enormous resources can be made available by disarming the huge military machines which were constructed for the conflict between East and West. These resources could become even more abundant if in place of war reliable procedures for the resolution of conflicts could be set up, with the resulting spread of the principle of arms control and arms reduction also in the countries of the Third World, through the adoption of appropriate measures against the arms trade.⁶⁰ But it will be necessary above all to abandon a mentality in which the poor — as individuals and as peoples — are considered a burden, as irksome intruders trying to consume what others have produced. The poor ask for the right to share in enjoying material goods and to make good use of their capacity for work, thus creating a world that is more just and prosperous for all. The advancement of the poor constitutes a great opportunity for the moral, cultural and even economic growth of all humanity.

29. Finally, development must not be understood solely in economic terms, but in a way that is fully human.⁶¹ It is not only a question of raising all peoples to the level currently enjoyed by the richest countries, but rather of building up a more decent life through united labor, of concretely enhancing every individual's dignity and creativity as well as his capacity to respond to his personal vocation and thus to God's call. The apex of development is the exercise of the right and duty to seek God, to know him and to live in accordance with that knowledge.⁶² In the totalitarian and authoritarian regimes, the principle that force predominates over reason was carried to the extreme. Man was compelled to submit to a conception of reality imposed on him by coercion and not reached by virtue of his own reason and the exercise of his own freedom. This principle must be overturned and total recognition must be given to the rights of the human conscience, which is bound only to the truth, both natural and revealed. The recognition of these rights represents the primary foundation of every authentically free political order.⁶³ It is important to reaffirm this latter

principle for several reasons:

a) Because the old forms of totalitarianism and authoritarianism are not yet completely vanquished; indeed there is a risk that they will regain their strength. This demands renewed efforts of cooperation and solidarity between all countries.

b) Because in the developed countries there is sometimes an excessive promotion of purely utilitarian values, with an appeal to the appetites and inclinations toward immediate gratification, making it difficult to recognize and respect the hierarchy of the true values of human existence.

"In a sense, for some countries of Europe the real postwar period is just beginning. The radical reordering of economic systems, hitherto collectivized, entails problems and sacrifices comparable to those which the countries of Western Europe had to face in order to rebuild after World War II."

c) Because in some countries new forms of religious fundamentalism are emerging which covertly, or even openly, deny to citizens of faiths other than that of the majority the full exercise of their civil and religious rights, preventing them from taking part in the cultural process and restricting both the church's right to preach the Gospel and the rights of those who hear this preaching to accept it and to be converted to Christ. No authentic progress is possible without respect for the natural and fundamental right to know the truth and live according to that truth. The exercise and development of this right includes the right to discover and freely to accept Jesus Christ, who is man's true good.⁶⁴

CHAPTER 4 Private Property and the Universal Destination of Material Goods

30. In *Rerum Novarum*, Leo XIII strongly affirmed the natural character of the right to private property, using various arguments against the socialism of his time.⁶⁵ This right, which is fundamental for the autonomy and development of the person, has always been defended by the church up to our own day. At the same time the church teaches that the possession of material goods is not an absolute right and that its limits are inscribed in its very nature as a human right.

While the pope proclaimed the right to private ownership, he affirmed with equal clarity that the "use" of goods, while marked by freedom, is subordinated to their original common destination as created goods as well as to the will of Jesus Christ as expressed in the Gospel. Pope Leo wrote: "Those whom fortune favors are admonished ... that they should tremble at the warnings of Jesus Christ ... and that a most strict account must be given to the Supreme Judge for the use of all they possess"; and quoting St. Thomas Aquinas, he added: "But if the question be asked how must one's possessions be used, the church replies without hesitation that man should not consider his material possessions as his own, but as common to all," because "above the laws and judgments of men stands the law, the judgment of Christ."⁶⁶

The successors of Leo XIII have repeated this twofold affirmation: the necessity and therefore the legitimacy of private ownership as well as the limits which are imposed on it.⁶⁷ The Second Vatican Council likewise clearly restated the traditional doctrine in words which bear repeating: "In making use of the exterior things we lawfully possess, we ought to regard them not just as our own but also as common, in the sense that they can profit not only the owners but others too"; and a little later we read: "Private property or some ownership of external goods affords each person the scope needed for personal and family autonomy, and should be regarded as an extension of human freedom.... Of its nature private property also has a social function, which is based on the law of the common purpose of goods."⁶⁸ I have returned to this same doctrine, first in my address to the third conference of the Latin American bishops at Puebla and later in the encyclicals *Laborem Exercens* and *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*.⁶⁹

31. Rereading this teaching on the right to property and the common destination of material wealth as it applies to the present time, the question can be raised concerning the origin of the material goods which sustain human life, satisfy people's needs and are an object of their rights.

The original source of all that is good is the very act of God, who created both the earth and man, and who gave the earth to man so that he might have dominion over it by his work and enjoy its fruits (Gn. 1:28). God gave the earth to the whole human race for the sustenance of all its members, without excluding or favoring anyone. This is the foundation of the universal destination of the earth's goods. The earth, by reason of its fruitfulness and its capacity to satisfy human needs, is God's first gift for the sustenance of human life. But the earth does not yield its fruits without a particular human response to

God's gift, that is to say, without work. It is through work that man, using his intelligence and exercising his freedom, succeeds in dominating the earth and making it a fitting home. In this way he makes part of the earth his own, precisely the part which he has acquired through work; this is the origin of individual property. Obviously he also has the responsibility not to hinder others from having their own part of God's gift; indeed he must cooperate with others so that together all can dominate the earth.

In history, these two factors — work and the land — are to be found at the beginning of every human society. However, they do not always stand in the same relationship to each other. At one time the natural fruitfulness of the earth appeared to be and was in fact the primary factor of wealth, while work was, as it were, the help and support for this fruitfulness. In our time, the role of human work is becoming increasingly important as the productive factor both of non-material and of material wealth. Moreover, it is becoming clearer how a person's work is naturally interrelated with the work of others. More than ever, work is work with others and work for others: It is a matter of doing something for someone else. Work becomes ever more fruitful and productive to the extent that people become more knowledgeable of the productive potentialities of the earth and more profoundly cognizant of the needs of those for whom their work is done.

32. In our time in particular there exists another form of ownership which is becoming no less important than land: the possession of know-how, technology and skill. The wealth of the industrialized nations is based much more on this kind of ownership than on natural resources.

Mention has just been made of the fact that people work with each other, sharing in a "community of work" which embraces ever widening circles. A person who produces something other than for his own use generally does so in order that others may use it after they have paid a just price mutually agreed upon through free bargaining. It is precisely the ability to foresee both the needs of others and the combinations of productive factors most adapted to satisfying those needs that constitutes another important source of wealth in modern society. Besides, many goods cannot be adequately produced through the work of an isolated individual; they require the cooperation of many people in working toward a common goal. Organizing such a productive effort, planning its duration in time, making sure that it corresponds in a positive way to the demands which it must satisfy and taking the necessary risks — all this too is a source of wealth in today's society. In

this way the role of disciplined and creative human work and, as an essential part of that work, initiative and entrepreneurial ability becomes increasingly evident and decisive.⁷⁰

This process, which throws practical light on a truth about the person which Christianity has constantly affirmed, should be viewed carefully and favorably. Indeed, besides the earth, man's principal resource is man himself. His intelligence enables him to discover the earth's productive potential and the many different ways in which human needs can be satisfied. It is his disciplined work in close collaboration with others that makes possible the creation of ever more extensive working communities which can be relied upon to transform man's natural and human environments. Important virtues are involved in this process such as diligence, industriousness, prudence in undertaking reasonable risks, reliability and fidelity in interpersonal relationships as well as courage in carrying out decisions which are difficult and painful, but necessary both for the overall working of a business and in meeting possible setbacks.

"Development must not be understood solely in economic terms, but in a way that is fully human. It is not only a question of raising all peoples to the level currently enjoyed by the richest countries, but rather of building up a more decent life through united labor, of concretely enhancing every individual's dignity and creativity."

The modern business economy has positive aspects. Its basis is human freedom exercised in the economic field, just as it is exercised in many other fields. Economic activity is indeed but one sector in a great variety of human activities, and like every other sector, it includes the right to freedom as well as the duty of making responsible use of freedom. But it is important to note that there are specific differences between the trends of modern society and those of the past, even the recent past. Whereas at one time the decisive factor of production was the land and later capital — understood as a total complex of the instruments of production — today the decisive factor is increasingly man himself, that is, his knowledge, especially his scientific knowledge, his capacity for interrelated and compact organization as well as his ability to perceive the

needs of others and to satisfy them.

33. However, the risks and problems connected with this kind of process should be pointed out. The fact is that many people, perhaps the majority today, do not have the means which would enable them to take their place in an effective and humanly dignified way within a productive system in which work is truly central. They have no possibility of acquiring the basic knowledge which would enable them to express their creativity and develop their potential. They have no way of entering the network of knowledge and intercommunication which would enable them to see their qualities appreciated and utilized. Thus, if not actually exploited, they are to a great extent marginalized; economic development takes place over their heads, so to speak, when it does not actually reduce the already narrow scope of their old subsistence economies. They are unable to compete against the goods which are produced in ways which are new and which properly respond to needs, needs which they had previously been accustomed to meeting through traditional forms of organization. Allured by the dazzle of an opulence which is beyond their reach and at the same time driven by necessity, these people crowd the cities of the Third World where they are often without cultural roots and where they are exposed to situations of violent uncertainty without the possibility of becoming integrated. Their dignity is not acknowledged in any real way, and sometimes there are even attempts to eliminate them from history through coercive forms of demographic control which are contrary to human dignity.

Many other people, while not completely marginalized, live in situations in which the struggle for a bare minimum is uppermost. These are situations in which the rules of the earliest period of capitalism still flourish in conditions of "ruthlessness" in no way inferior to the darkest moments of the first phase of industrialization. In other cases the land is still the central element in the economic process, but those who cultivate it are excluded from ownership and are reduced to a state of quasi-servitude.⁷¹ In these cases it is still possible today, as in the days of *Rerum Novarum*, to speak of inhuman exploitation. In spite of the great changes which have taken place in the more advanced societies, the human inadequacies of capitalism and the resulting domination of things over people are far from disappearing. In fact, for the poor, to the lack of material goods has been added a lack of knowledge and training which prevents them from escaping their state of humiliating subjection.

Unfortunately, the great majority of people in the Third World still live in such conditions. It would be a mistake, however, to understand this

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SECTION: Humankind

SUBJECT: Religion; Spirituality

LENGTH: 148 words

SOURCE: Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Primate of Poland

QUOTE:

I tell you, you will serve only your God, because man is too noble to serve anyone but God.

Sermon against Communist adversaries, NY Times 20 Mar 61

When the soil is covered with grass, the fiercest whirlwinds will not easily blow it away, even if it is sandy. But when the soil becomes a desert place, it is very easily conquered.

On importance of "the bond of man to the land," April 2, 1981, statement supporting anti-Communist Rural Solidarity Movement, quoted by John Paul II during visit to Poland 20 Jun 83

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SUBJECT: Religion; Polity & Religious Leaders

LENGTH: 83 words

SOURCE: Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, Primate of Poland

QUOTE:

You have to know the psychology of priest who spend a good part of their time praying and serving people and finally discover that they are not being rewarded properly by God on earth. They don't want to blame the Holy Ghost, so they turn to their peers and try to maneuver them into recognizing them as a little more than equal.

On how his countryman Karol Wojtyla became Pope John Paul II, quoted by Antoni Gronowicz God's Broker: The Life of John Paul II Richardson & Snyder 84

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An Appeal for the Sahel

The pope's two days in Guinea-Bissau and Mali brought him to countries where Catholics and Christians are a tiny minority. In several public talks, he sought to explain how the faith of Catholics and the building up of society are closely intertwined.

While Catholics in Guinea-Bissau make up only 5 percent of the population, they run four hospitals and 17 dispensaries — a substantial portion of the country's medical system. Guinea-Bissau has one of the highest infant mortality rates and the lowest life expectancy in Africa.

In Mali, Catholics are only 1 percent of the population, but manage six hospitals and dozens of other medical and welfare centers.

In Chad, Muslims make up approximately 44 percent of the estimated 5.7 million people, Christians about 33 percent and followers of native religions 23 percent. Catholics are said to number 306,000.

Of Muslims, the pope said in Chad: "I greet them and assure them that I come as a man of dialogue and a messenger of peace." The pope praised Chad's recently adopted constitution, which protects freedom of religion and maintains the secular nature of the state. "I hope that in this climate of liberty, Muslim and Christian communities may develop an increasingly constructive spirit of cooperation," the pope said.

Of the four nations visited by Pope John Paul II during his January pilgrimage to West Africa, only Cape Verde is predominantly (91 percent) Catholic.

"In the land of Africa, millions of men, women and children are still threatened by never enjoying good health, never being able to live in dignity from their work... and losing the wealth of their ancestral heritage while being deprived of the positive contributions of science and technology," Pope John Paul II said Jan. 29 when he addressed the West African Economic Council in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso — formerly Upper Volta. There, on the edge of the West African desert, he renewed an appeal he had made in 1980 for the people of the Sahel region during a visit to Upper Volta. "Having enough bread and water is always a real problem for populations of the Sahelian zone.... The world must know that Africa is experiencing real poverty: Its available resources are decreasing, vast expanses of land are becoming sterile, malnutrition is chronic for tens of millions of human beings and too many children are dying," the pope told his Burkina Faso audience. Appealing to the world, the pope urged humanity "not to scorn the starving in this continent, not to deny them the universal right to human dignity and the security of life." A Catholic News Service translation of his French-language address follows.

1. Ten years ago, as my dear and honored brother Cardinal Paul Zoungrana has just reminded us, I stepped on the soil of your beautiful country for the first time. My joy is great to be back today.

I thank the cardinal for his words. And I also express my gratitude to the executive secretary of the Interstates Committee for the Fight Against Drought in the Sahel for the message he has just given us.

I respectfully greet the head of state, His Excellency Capt. Blaise Compaore, who wished to take part in this meeting. I also greet all the Burkina Faso authorities gathered around him and I wholeheartedly express my respect for the personalities here representing neighboring countries, friendly countries and international institutions such as the West African Economic Council, which is welcoming us at its own headquarters.

Ladies and gentlemen, you are responsible for directing your people's progress in the political, financial, social, cultural and religious spheres. I pray that God may give you the moral strength, prudence and discernment necessary to accomplish your important missions as a service to peace and justice, not only in this country, but throughout all this land of Sahel and on the African continent as a whole.

2. In 1980 I launched a solemn appeal to the world for the Sahel, which has been so cruelly affected by drought and desertification. I wanted

to join my voice to all those appealing for a generous and efficient solidarity with those populations suffering thirst and hunger. I wanted to make people hear the cry of innocent people exterminated or threatened by not being able to survive.

Considerable efforts have already been made to come to the aid of the people of this region during the very long period of hardship they have been suffering. And, since 1980, my appeal has been heard. It has given rise to new waves of solidarity. German Catholics in particular made it possible in 1984 to create the John Paul II Foundation for the Sahel, which serves eight countries and whose administrative council has its headquarters in your capital.

I thank Cardinal Zoungrana and the members of the foundation's council for the tenacity they have shown in their work. And I greet Cardinal Roger Etchegaray, who is present today, the president of the Pontifical Council Cor Unum, which exercises important responsibilities within the foundation.

"We are still a far cry from being in a position to ensure everyone a basic formation and the acquisition of the professional skills required for a regular increase in production and an improvement in health conditions; in a word, the harmonious development of man himself."

The structure of this organism is a result of certain deep-seated convictions of the church facing developmental issues. Collaboration between the North and the South makes a real sharing of resources possible between the most privileged and the most underprivileged. But the effective direction of action in the territory is in the hands of the direct representatives of the people concerned. Is it necessary to repeat that though aid and advice can come from elsewhere, it is up to each people to assume its own development with clear-sightedness?

On the other hand, the still modest means of the foundation are devoted first and foremost to "encouraging the formation of people who put themselves in the service of their country and their brothers without discrimination in a spirit of integral human promotion and of solidarity, to fight against desertification and its causes and to rescue the victims of drought in the countries of the Sahel" (Statutes, Art. 3:1).

3. Ladies and gentlemen, by their concerted action, the governments of each country,

the international governmental and non-governmental organizations have done a great deal to make the specters of hunger and thirst recede. I acknowledge the notable efforts of the Interstates Committee for the Fight Against Drought in the Sahel. You leaders are contributing with energy to the pursuit of immense and difficult tasks. For in the countries I am visiting at the moment, the situation remains a source of worry, as in many regions of the African continent.

Having enough bread and water is always a real problem for populations of the Sahelian zone. The harvests of the industrious peasants remain as jeopardized by scarce and irregular rainfall as by exploitation. Equipment to put the land to its best use, to make the most of the available water and for the transport of products is lacking. We are still a far cry from being in a position to ensure everyone a basic formation and the acquisition of the professional skills required for a regular increase in production and an improvement in health conditions; in a word, the harmonious development of man himself.

“Real development can only be encouraged efficiently through relationships of trust between partners. More than produce is shared. Knowledge and scientific research are shared, the traditions and riches of each one are respected and access to autonomous responsibility is given to those who were receiving advice over a certain period. This is how development can really become a human and a social commitment.”

The world must know that Africa is experiencing real poverty: Its available resources are decreasing, vast expanses of land are becoming sterile, malnutrition is chronic for tens of millions of human beings and too many children are dying. Is it possible that such destitution should not be felt as a wound in the side of the whole of humanity?

4. At this time, when I am visiting several countries in the Sahel, I must observe the gravity of the misfortunes affecting so many of the African peoples. Again, I must launch a solemn appeal to humanity, in the name of humanity itself. In the land of Africa, millions of men, women and children are still threatened by never enjoying good health, never being able to live in dignity from their work, never receiving the education to broaden their intelligence, seeing their environment become hostile and sterile, and losing the wealth of their ancestral heritage while being deprived of the positive contributions of science and technology.

In the name of justice, the bishop of Rome, successor of Peter, beseeches his brothers

and sisters in humanity not to scorn the starving in this continent, not to deny them the universal right to human dignity and the security of life.

How would history judge a generation that has all the means to feed the population of the planet and that refused to do so in fratricidal indifference?

What kind of peace can be expected by people who do not put the duty of solidarity into practice?

What a desert a world would be where poverty could not encounter life-giving love.

5. The appeal I am renewing today is addressed to the peoples of the world, especially to those in the North who have more human and financial resources. Generous action has already been initiated as much by public powers as by private organizations, notably Catholic. But if we now want to help Africa overcome its handicaps, more than ever opinion needs to be awakened: Solidarity will only find its just measure if everyone becomes aware of its necessity. Here I am repeating what I wrote in the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*: Solidarity is not “a feeling of vague compassion or shallow distress at the misfortunes suffered by so many people both near and far. On the contrary, it is a firm and persevering determination to commit oneself to the common good; that is to say, to the good of all and of each individual because we are all really responsible for all” (No. 38). Who would not want the world to be fraternal? If it is to be more than an empty word, fraternity implies some obligations.

The first obligation is that of sincere reflection: Should not the “developed” societies examine the example they are offering the world, the needs they have created, the nature and the source of the riches which have become essential to them?

Such an examination of conscience ought to convince the greatest number of citizens to call on their leaders not only to increase the intensity of their links of solidarity with underprivileged peoples, but also to keep themselves from any deviation: It is not, in fact, a question of seeing in the poorest countries only clients or debtors who are more or less solvent. Whether it is conscious or not, this kind of attitude has led to too many blind alleys.

Real development can only be encouraged efficiently through relationships of trust between partners. More than produce is shared. Knowledge and scientific research are shared, the traditions and riches of each one are respected, and access to autonomous responsibility is given to those whom one advised over a certain period. This is how development can really become a human and a social effort.

I appeal to the most privileged people to recognize in their African brothers the beauty of their qualities, their love of life, their dignity, their sense of mutual help, their openness to transcendence. May the people of the North show as much interest in the values of African culture as those of the South in the contributions of the rich countries.

The 1980 speech in which Pope John Paul II issued an appeal to the world on behalf of the Sahel appeared in Origins, vol. 10, pp. 45f. He delivered the speech in Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, the country now known as Burkina Faso. It was in Ouagadougou that he also presented what some observers described as the keynote address of his January 1990 visit to West Africa, renewing his appeal for the Sahel.

In his 1980 appeal, the pope said: “From here, from Ouagadougou, from the center of one of these countries which can be called the countries of thirst, may I be therefore permitted to address to everyone, in Africa and beyond this continent, a solemn appeal not to shut their eyes before what has happened and what is happening in the Sahelian region....

“The needs are immense if one wants to stop the advance of the desert and even gradually to push it back, if one wants each man, each woman and each child of the Sahel to have enough water and food, to have a future ever more worthy of a human being.

“That is why, from this place, from this capital of Upper Volta, I launch a solemn appeal to the whole world. I, John Paul II, bishop of Rome and successor of Peter, raise my pleading voice, because I do not want to be silent when my brothers and sisters are threatened....

“Let us not wait till frightening and devastating drought returns! Let us not wait for the sand to bring death again! Let us not permit the future of these peoples to remain forever threatened!”

In his 1980 address, the pope appealed directly to international organizations and scientists, government officials and non-governmental organizations, journalists and others. Speaking to Catholics of the world, he said, “Those who hunger and thirst in the world are at your door!”

FOREWORD

The text which follows is Poland's first written constitution. The Governmental Statute of May 3, 1791, as the Polish basic laws were called, was also the first European written constitution and was preceded only by the American Constitution of 1787. It was followed shortly by the first French Constitution of September 3, 1791.

The American Constitution has endured for over two hundred years; neither the Polish nor the first French constitution survived two years. The three countries differed in the historic experiences they inherited and cultural legacy they followed but for all of them the process of constitutional development had deep roots in centuries long attempts to limit the power of the government. Looking at constitutional history from this point of view, the American, Polish, and French constitutional traditions are comparable and it is not incidental that Poland was the first European country to adopt the written constitution.

Poland's Constitution of 1791 was the product of the Poles' four-and-a-half century struggle to both restrain the king's power and

to create institutions fundamental to a constitutional government. In trying to trace the origins of the Polish constitutional government, one finds that the process of limiting the king's power began in Poland as early as the fourteenth century, and that Poland emerged as a constitutional monarchy in a period when other major European countries were reinforcing their absolutism. When English absolutism reached its peak in the sixteenth century and the French monarchy built the potential to surpass the hampering restraints on the exercise of royal authority, the drive towards absolutism in Poland was losing its momentum. On the one hand, Poland was successfully establishing mechanisms limiting the king's power, on the other hand, it was not able to stand up to the power of its neighbors. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the internal problems of Poland coincided with successful internal reforms in Prussia, Russia and Austria which resulted in the reconstruction of the power of the central governments in these countries and the general growth and their military potential. The neighbors were interested in keeping Poland demilitarized, neutralized and in the state of anarchy. On the

other hand, the anarchy in Poland was used to justify plans to partition off Polish territories. The first partition of Poland took place in 1772 and, under pressure from Russia, was "ratified" in 1775, a year before the American colonies produced the Declaration of Independence.

In the eighteenth century, a faction of politically mature nobles, determined to prepare a sound program of reforms, was formed in Poland. The partition opened their eyes to the fact that under Russian tutelage no further transformations of the Polish government would be possible. In fact, when the American Constitutional Convention was nearing its end, the Polish movement for reform was trying to make use of the unusual geopolitical situation which seemed to open the road for a major transformation in the Polish political system. When Russia entered into a war with Turkey and its northern army was also busy fending off Swedish attacks the Polish reform faction decided that this was the time to end the Russian guarantees for the fundamentals of the obsolete Polish political system. On October 7, 1788, the historical Sejm convened; this Sejm was later called the "Four Year Diet"

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or the "Great Polish Parliament." In the next three years the Sejm passed several significant laws and in the meantime the group of reformers which joined forces with the royal coterie started to work on the more detailed projects of a written constitution. The framers of the Constitution decided to discuss the final draft in the Sejm on May 3, 1791. After a long and fervent discussion, the king Stanislaw Augustus Poniatowski backed with the voices of the deputies chanting "Viva Constitution" asked the bishop of Cracow to read the words of the oath. He swore and stated, "Juravi Domino, non me poenitebit" (I swore and would not regret that). The Constitution became an accomplished fact.

The Constitution of May 3, 1791 survived only a little more than one year. Under Russian pressure on April 27, 1792 the rebel faction of the Polish magnates, opposing the Constitution, signed in St. Petersburg the act of Confederation which was later promulgated under the false date of May 14, in the border town of Targowica. Six months later on January 23, 1793, Russia and Prussia signed in St. Petersburg the second agreement of the par-

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tion of Poland. The partition abolished the Governmental Statute of May 3, 1791 and re-established the fundamental laws and pre-constitutional institutions. The basic principles of the government, which have been advanced by the framers of the Constitution remained however, very much alive in Polish political thought.

The Polish Governmental Statute of 1791 was not only the first European written constitution, but for the generations of Poles, it became a symbol of a mature political culture. It left important legacy which was followed by the Polish constitutions in the twentieth century. The ardent defenders of the 1791 reforms set the constitutional act among the most praiseworthy achievements of the nation. The Constitution was a document drafted by the nobility, but was to serve the whole nation. The framers of the Constitutional Act tried to convey a message that the ruling social group of the nobles has both rights and duties. The Constitution also confirmed the democratic traditions of the Polish political culture; it was a special tradition of equality within one social estate, the nobles. The concept, however, assumed that all those who were finally

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admitted to the "common order" should actively participate in the control of common affairs. The legend of the Constitution transmitted a belief in a sense of fighting in "lost battles." In this meaning, the noble battle for a Polish Constitution was lost but nevertheless successful. Although the Constitution fell, its legacy is still very much alive.

The Polish Constitution of May 3, was published and commented on in many European countries. The text which follows is a facsimile of the 2nd edition of the original English translation printed in 1791 for J. Debrett by Burlington House of London.

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regional banks constitute an obstacle to their participation in effective debt-reduction schemes, U.S. representatives on these institutions' governing boards should be instructed to initiate action to waive or modify them.

56. We urge our commercial bankers, including the many who are Catholic, to understand and accept coresponsibility for the solution of this urgent and crucial problem. This is not a matter of what is often, but inaccurately, termed "charity," but of justice. Justice is neither sentimental nor optional; it is realistic, and it is obligatory. Coresponsibility is not optional either; and properly interpreted, it entails effective debt relief, which can include at least partial forgiveness of debt. Deciding upon debt relief for developing countries is necessarily a complex and technical matter, but it need not be as drawn out and arduous as it has been in the past. We urge U.S. bankers to place considerations of justice and coresponsibility above those of short-term financial gain or loss. They should use their unique influence as leaders in the world financial community to forge just and lasting solutions to the debt crisis in each of the most affected nations.

57. Pope John Paul II's exhortation in a private audience with members of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank on June 19, 1989, is particularly relevant and helpful:

"Your position as business leaders and board members of a prestigious international bank enables you to understand and to influence the complex, interdependent economic life of today's world.... I am thinking in particular of the international debt question, which remains a serious threat to the peace and progress of the human family. The Holy See has ... urged greater human solidarity and mutual

respect based on our common humanity and the common good of all mankind.... It is my conviction that the attitudes and decisions of leaders like yourselves make a profound difference for good or ill in shaping the future of humanity. I am confident that you ... will not fail to be compassionate as well as responsible stewards of the material goods entrusted to you" (L'Osservatore Romano, June 19-20, 1989).

58. We urge that the pope's words be heard and heeded by leaders in government and business as well as in banking — indeed by all who in any way can help relieve the tragic burden of the poorer countries' external debt. In short, we call on the four "coresponsibles" identified above (Para. 43) to exercise the solidarity described by the pope in Madagascar, on May 1, 1989:

"When one speaks of solidarity, one sees straight away that institutional cooperation has as its main aim the good of all nations, the proper utilization of their human resources, the development of their capacities, the optimum exploitation of their territory, the acceptance of their particular contribution to the richness of the whole human community, even if this richness cannot be measured in economic terms."

59. In "Economic Justice for All," we restated the classic principles of justice:

"Commutative justice calls for fundamental fairness in all agreements and exchanges between individuals or private social groups.... Distributive justice requires that the allocation of income, wealth and power in society be evaluated in light of its effects on persons whose basic material needs are unmet.... Social justice implies that persons have an obligation to be active and productive participants in the life of society and that society has a duty to enable them to participate in this way"

(pp. 69-71) .

In our view, the Third World debt crisis violates all three of these forms of justice, and the approaches thus far made or proposed to deal with it fail to offer adequate remedies.

60. We believe that interdependence is a fact of economic — indeed, of all — life. Solidarity, in the pope's words, is "the correlative response as a moral and social attitude, as a virtue" (*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, 38). Coresponsibility is the expression of that virtue relative to, among other things, the problem of Third World debt. Like the Holy Father, we are not interested in assessing blame or assigning guilt; these are descriptions of the past, and there is plenty of both to be shared. Rather, we want to stress responsibility, which looks to the future.

61. We are aware that even total forgiveness of the indebtedness would not solve the problem, because it would leave the underlying systemic causes of the present crisis — both structural and behavioral — intact. Therefore, we believe that future lending to Third World countries should be designed to benefit *all* the inhabitants equitably.

62. We desire and urgently plead that considerations of justice, human dignity and human rights enter centrally into the decisions made about this and other social justice issues. Solving the problem of Third World debt will take time — but not as much, we hope, as the problem itself has taken to develop and be recognized. But while the longer-term systemic change is being pursued, there also needs to be immediate action to assist the victims. Our brother bishops remind us repeatedly that many persons, human beings created in God's image, especially the most vulnerable — women and children — are literally dying of the consequences of the debt. And that is intolerable. ☒

Bishop McHugh/Medical Ethics

Artificially Assisted Nutrition and Hydration

"Artificially assisted nutrition and hydration are not customarily burdensome." Moreover, such nutrition and hydration "are not useless," Bishop James McHugh of Camden, N.J., said in a paper titled "Principles in Regard to Withholding or Withdrawing Artificially Assisted Nutrition/Hydration." He said in a cover letter Sept. 21 to Camden priests that the New Jersey bishops had agreed to mail the paper to their priests and that it "should be seen as the direction to be followed in our diocese." McHugh's paper focused

primarily on the "permanently unconscious but non-dying patient," while also presenting ethical principles for other cases. He noted that more than one position is found among Catholic theologians on artificially assisted nutrition and hydration. But, he said, "a more convincing approach holds that food and water are not primarily forms of therapeutic medical treatment.... Rather, they are basic means of sustaining life.... Thus nutrition and hydration should be provided as part of a patient's normal care, even if provision of such

care requires medical technology, unless or until the benefits of nutrition and hydration are clearly outweighed by a definite danger or burden, or they are clearly useless in sustaining life." McHugh said the matter of intent is important in such cases. "If the withholding or withdrawal of nutrition is intended to cause or hasten death, the intention then is euthanasia." He cautioned against introducing "a new cause of death, that is, starvation and dehydration." His paper follows. (See also the two texts on continuing or

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TELEPHONE /202/ 234-3800
FAX /202/ 328-6271

FAX TRANSMISSION COVER SHEET

Date: June 23, 1992

Pages: 2

Fax No: 456-6218

To: Mr. Gary gershovitz, White House

From: Andrzej Jarecki, Counselor for Cultural Affairs

Message: Dear Mr. Gershovitz,
It is my pleasure to help you with Polish National Anthem. Be carefull, please, because of very literally, verbally translation to English. It is not adequate as a poetry.

*Sincerely,
Andrzej Jarecki*

NATIONAL ANTHEM

The Polish national anthem is popularly known as **Dąbrowski's Mazurka**. It was composed in 1797 by Józef Wybicki in Reggio (Italy) in 1797, for the Polish Legions established by gen. Henryk Dąbrowski with consent from gen. Bonaparte. But shortly it gained a popularity and was generally sung by people living in all three parts of partitioned Poland. It was sung both during national uprisings and various patriotic demonstrations. Soldiers of World War I also sang it and in 1918 it became an unofficial national anthem.

The lyrics of the hymn, called Mazurka after a folk dance, were repeatedly changed, their final version being officially approved in 1926 when it was officially proclaimed Poland's national anthem.

Dąbrowski's Mazurka had had no predecessors. During the reign of the Piast dynasty there was no song which would function as an anthem, while under the Jagiellonian dynasty such role was partly played by *Bogurodzica* (Mother of God) which was sung in the Battle of Grunwald in 1410, and the Battle of Varna in 1444. So it was part a religious hymn and part a combat song. In the 16th century it stopped

being a combat song and was performed only during state ceremonies. Most probably it became the dynastic hymn of the Jagiellonians. After the death of the last of the dynasty it was sung only in churches.

In the years of the Partitions and after the regaining of independence in 1918, Dąbrowski's Mazurka, whose opening lines are *Poland has not yet perished, as long as we live* was sung as a national anthem. It was officially proclaimed in 1926.

In 1978 a Museum of National Anthem opened in Będzin near Kościerzyna, the birthplace of J. Wybicki.

Alta Mazurka (J-118)

Je- szcze Po- liska nie zgi- nę - ta - , kie - dy my ży- je - my.

Co nam o - bca prze- moc wzię - ta - , sza- blą o- dbie - rze- my.

Marsz, marsz, Dą - bro - wski, z zie - mi wło- skiej do Po - lskii

Za two- im prze- wo- dem złą- czym się z na - ro- dem. - ro - dem.

POLISH NATIONAL ANTHEM

1. Poland will not be lost
until we live.

We will fight for everything that our enemies
had taken from us.

March, march Dąbrowski,
from Italy to Poland!
Under your command
we will unite.

2. We will cross the Vistula and Warta Rivers,
we will be Poles,

Bonaparte showed us how to win.

March, march Dąbrowski . . .

3. Like Czarniecki to Poznań
after Swedish annexation
we will come back across the sea
to save our motherland.

March, march Dąbrowski . . .

4. Father says to his wife Basia in tears:
"listen only, apparently our people are
beating the kettle - drums".

March, march Dąbrowski . . .

1. JESZCZE POLSKA NIE ZGINEŁA,
KIEDY MY ŻYJEMY,
CO NAM OBCA PRZEMOC WZIEŁA,
SZABLĄ ODBIERZEMY.

MARSZ, MARSZ, DĄBROWSKI,
Z ZIEMI WŁOSKIEJ DO POLSKI!
ZA TWOIM PRZEWODEM
ZŁĄCZYMY SIĘ Z NARODEM.

2. PRZEJDZIEM WISŁĘ, PRZEJDZIEM WARTĘ,
BĘDIEM POLAKAMI,
DAJ NAM PRZYKŁAD BONAPARTE,
JAK ZWYCIĘŻAĆ MAMY.

MARSZ, MARSZ, DĄBROWSKI...

3. JAK CZARNIECKI DO POZNANIA
PO SZWEDZKIM ZABORZE
DLA OJCZYZNY RATOWANIA
WRÓCIM SIĘ PRZEZ MORZE.

MARSZ, MARSZ, DĄBROWSKI...

4. JUŻ TAM OJCIEC DO SWEJ BASI
MÓWI ZAPŁAKANY:
„SŁUCHAJ JENO, PONO NASI
BIJA W TARABANY”.

MARSZ, MARSZ, DĄBROWSKI...

JÓZEF WYBICKI

(Hinchliffe/Gershowitz)
June 25, 1992 11 a.m.
POLAND Draft One

**PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: WORKING LUNCH TOAST
POLAND
JULY 5, 1992**

[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS] I'm proud to represent the American people, your friends, here at your table. When we lift our glasses, it will be freedom that we salute. Yesterday, my country celebrated the anniversary of our independence -- here, today, we celebrate Poland's independence.

In this powerfully resilient country, I remember an old Polish proverb: "The world belongs to the brave." For centuries the Polish people have been astoundingly brave -- again and again willing to fight for your nationhood. But the Polish spirit blazes with a hope that never dies: the belief, as your national anthem proclaims, that "Poland will not perish as long as we live".

Throughout history, your country has risen like a Phoenix after oppression and devastation by outside forces. And you always held true to your noble past. In the Cathedral of St. John, I've seen a wonderful example of Poland's rebirth. After the unspeakable destruction of WWII, you rebuilt this cathedral faithful to the original, a worthy symbol of your historic Third of May Constitution, confirmed there over two centuries ago.

And now right here, for the first time in history, a communist government has been peacefully removed from power. Polish people have made a reality of Pope John Paul II's words:

*Now Backman
Library of Congress,
European
Division*

*Fodor's 91
Eastern Europe
273*

*Fodor's
'91
Eastern
Europe
Mary
Zychlinski
Polish
American
Congress*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

"... man's existence on earth become[s] more humane when it is governed by truth, freedom, justice and by love."

FROM A SPEECH POPE JOHN PAUL II GAVE ON 'SOLIDARITY'

Today, on behalf of the United States, I pledge our resolute support for Poland as it struggles to rebuild its economy. We toast the proud democratic spirit that flourishes here. We toast your courageous choice of free-market reform. And in the strongest tradition of Polish-American friendship, we toast the good, brave, democracy-loving people of this land. STO-LAT.

provided by A. Jarecki, of the Polish Embassy

#

"STO-LAT"
Andrzej Jarecki,
Polish Embassy

Bob Hutchings-X5732-Project Officer
for "Working Lunch Toast" in Poland;
Hutchings is with the NSC

Ellen Conway-Poland Desk-
State Department: 647-1070 (or: 0757)

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

25-JUN-1992 03:13PM

686-6546

TO: GARY J. GERSHOWITZ
FROM: ELIZABETH M. HINCHLIFFE
OFFICE OF COMMUNICATIONS

SUBJECT: HI

HI THERE. I'VE GONE THROUGH THE POLISH MATERIAL, AND THE FEW THINGS LISTED BELOW ARE JUST ABOUT ALL I CAN THINK OF THAT WE MIGHT NEED:

1. KEEP CHECKING WITH CHRISTINA ABOUT THE NSC DRAFTS.
2. I'D REALLY LIKE SOME QUOTES BY THE POPE ABOUT POLAND AND HER FREEDOM -- MAYBE SOMETHING ABOUT WHEN SOLIDARITY WON THE ELECTIONS (LATE JUNE OR EARLY JULY 89), OR WHEN LECH WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT (12/22/90). INSPIRING QUOTE -- COMBINING POLITICS, RELIGION AND DESTINY.
3. WHAT EXACTLY IS THE STATUS OF THE CONSTITUTION -- CAN WE STILL REFER TO THE MAY 3, 1791 CONSTITUTION AS THEIR CONSTITUTION?
4. IS THAT NATIONAL ANTHEM STILL THE ONE THEY USE?
5. DOES THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAVE ANY KIND OF MOTTO OR SAYING?
6. IS THERE A POLISH SAYING FOR TOASTS? (E.G. "BOTTOMS UP!" "TO YOUR HEALTH")

1951 - little constitution - transition constitution to replace communist
 7/22/52
 COMM
 First in Europe, 1st in World next to AME CON

~~NA ZDROWIE~~
 NA ZDROWIE / NA-ZDROH-V year
 MORE informal
 Oh [For your Health]
 Can't come to an agreement
 STO LAT="100 years, 100 years of life"
 This is more ceremonial

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

22-Jun-1992 09:36am

TO: Gary J. Gershowitz
FROM: Elizabeth M. Hinchliffe
Office of Communications
SUBJECT: hi

Hi there --

Just some thoughts on what we can be doing this week to prepare for the Polish speech -- obviously no rush, because we won't be able to write anything until the NSC draft arrives.

1. Keep checking with Christina to see if the NSC draft is here.
2. Get copy of the other NSC Polish draft, also.
3. Please make a copy of the Polish material Carol gave to Jeannie (from her pre-advance trip).
4. Get copies of previous working lunch toasts from various trips.
5. Find out if July 5 (or any nearby date) is any special date in Poland.
6. What date do they celebrate as their equivalent of Independence Day? *May 3, is their National Day - 1791 - the day the constitution*
7. What are the words of their National Anthem? *Grov statute was enacted*
8. Get quotes from famous (and appropriate) writers, statesmen, and the Pope. *& it's based on OUR CONSTITUTION.*

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Fodor's 91 Eastern Europe

2/5/91

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times of Poland's greatest romantic poet, visit the Adam Mickiewicz Museum of Literature at no. 20.

Poland is a land of churches, and in your wanderings through the narrow streets of old Warsaw, you'll see a fair selection. The most important is the Cathedral of St. John, on the right of ul. Świętojańska as you walk towards Rynek Starego Miasta. Destroyed like everything else in the area, it has been completely rebuilt, but in its original late 14th-century Gothic form, thus removing later accretions. Two Polish kings were crowned here and the crypts contain the tombs of famous Poles, among them Henryk Sienkiewicz, whose story of life in early Christian Rome, *Quo Vadis?*, won the 1905 Nobel Prize for Literature. It was here that the historic Third of May Constitution, the first written constitution in Europe and the second in the world (after that of the United States), was confirmed by oath in 1791. There is also a legend—a figure of the crucified Jesus in one of the chapels miraculously grew hair, which every year had to be cut by a Warsaw virgin.

Next to the cathedral, separated by a narrow lane, is the Renaissance Jesuit Church which was built in 1608 over the foundations of burgher houses that had been destroyed in the fire of 1607 (the cellars are open to the public). On the other side of the cathedral is the narrow ul. Dziekankania, where you can still see the arcaded gallery that once connected the cathedral with the Royal Castle. This was built to protect King Sigismund III Vasa after an attempt had been made on his life. The would-be assassin was disposed of in a fairly thorough manner: he was torn apart by horses, his body burnt and the ashes shot out of a gun. Further on, embedded in the south wall of the cathedral, is a relic of World War II: the crawler-chain of a self-propelled German Goliath mine. For a stroll down Old Warsaw's most picturesque street, cross over into medieval ul. Piwna, running parallel to ul. Świętojańska.

The surviving remnants of the 15th- and 16th-century fortifications that once circled the Old Town have been partially restored, and in summer are often bedecked with modern pictures, which you are earnestly invited to buy. On the northern side is the Barbican, a carefully restored and fairly rare example of medieval defensive architecture, leading through into Warsaw's "New Town"—which was actually founded at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries! This part of Warsaw was rebuilt after the war in 18th- and 19th-century style, so has a more elegant and spacious feel about it than the Old Town. Of interest are: the Marie Curie-Skłodowska Museum at ul. Freta 16, where the Polish discoverer of radium and polonium was born; the Baroque Church and Convent of the Blessed Sacrament Sisters in the Rynek Nowomiejski (New Town Market), founded in 1688 by Queen Marysieńka Sobieska to commemorate her husband's victory over the Turks; and the Gothic Church of the Visitation on an embankment overlooking the Vistula, the oldest church in the New Town, with a 16th-century belfry that survived the war remarkably undamaged.

At the intersection of Długa and Miodowa streets a major new monument, unveiled in 1989, marks the site of a manhole through which 5,300 insurgents escaped by way of a sewer canal from the Old Town through to the City Center and Żoliborz during the Warsaw uprising in September 1944. Anyone who has seen Wajda's shattering film *Canal* won't need reminding of the horrors of this journey through the sewers.

Castles and Columns

Warsaw's most instantly recognizable monument is the Column of the Motherland, standing on the site of Plac Zamkowy (Castle Square). The tall, slender column carries the figure of a woman holding a sword (the one who made Warsaw his name). It was the honor of being Warsaw's symbol that the Column was the first monument to be rebuilt after the war. The column was the first monument to be rebuilt after the war. The column was the first monument to be rebuilt after the war.

The cleared site in front of the Column stood empty for more than 25 years. The Column again dominates the escarpment of the city. The Column again dominates the escarpment of the city. The Column again dominates the escarpment of the city.

Down the Royal Road

All towns with kings had the Royal Road. The Royal Road stretches south from Castle Square through busy Krakowskie Przedmieście (a sort of Embassy Row) to Łazienki Park. Lots of "architectural" monuments. Some of Warsaw's finest churches are along the Royal Road. You'll find the names of famous Poles: Skłodowska carried out her first experiments in the building adjoining St. Anne's Church; Mickiewicz; Tadeusz Kościuszko. Casimir II, received his military education in the Casimir Palace in the second part of the 13th century. The neo-Classical Staszic Palace, which is at the end of the street, is a statue (1930) of the pernicious by the famous Danish sculptor. The name of Frederick Chopin is on the Royal Road. As a child he played in the Casimir Palace and then in the Radziwiłł Palace and then in the Radziwiłł Palace, now the Academic Chopin Family Drawing Room, the home before he went abroad. He died again, but his heart returned and is buried in the Church a short distance away. Oskar Reuter. The famous name in Nowy Świat is the name of Oskar Reuter. The famous name in Nowy Świat is the name of Oskar Reuter. The famous name in Nowy Świat is the name of Oskar Reuter.

reconstruction was begun. By 1923 the Poles were building up industry, particularly coal-mining and shipbuilding, and were constructing a new naval base and commercial harbor at Gdynia.

But economic, ethnic and political problems constantly plagued the country. Party strife intensified, governments rose and fell. In 1926 her war hero Marshal Piłsudski, the man to whom she owed her freedom, marched on Warsaw and took control, establishing what was virtually a military dictatorship. He remained the arbiter of his country's destiny, with one brief interval, until his death in 1935, and then left his less competent lieutenants and nominees to carry on the work.

World War II and After

It was in Poland that World War II began. On 1st September 1939 the Germans invaded the country in pursuance of Hitler's territorial demands. An extraordinary diplomatic coup the previous month had secured the Soviet Union's approval of the invasion—at a price. With Hitler's blessing, the Red Army entered eastern Poland and in a short space of time the whole nation was split down the middle, half occupied by the Nazis and the other half by the Soviets.

No nation suffered more terror, death, and devastation in World War II than Poland. Six million Polish citizens, half of them Jews, were exterminated. Millions more were deported for forced labor. Many cities and huge areas of countryside were destroyed. Yet despite the severe repression, Polish soldiers and civilians set up the most widespread and possibly most effective of Europe's underground organizations. Thousands of Polish sailors, soldiers, and airmen also managed to find their way to Britain from where they went on to fight alongside the Allies.

The defeat of Germany in 1945 permitted the Soviet Union to "liberate" the whole country. The Polish people found themselves with no alternative but to accept Soviet-style communism. The country was thus duly turned into a People's Republic and had to endure a grim chapter of Stalinist repression.

All the enslaved nations faced enormous reconstruction problems after the war, but none so much as ruined and famine-stricken Poland. To revive her major industries and her agriculture took longer than many Poles thought reasonable; a further cause of disaffection was the increasing pressure which the government put on the Catholic Church, an institution of central importance in the spiritual and moral life of the nation. In 1956 the people's patience ran out and, following civil disturbances, the government leadership was changed in favor of a more liberal regime under Władysław Gomułka.

The Bubbling Pot

Sadly, Gomułka's promises of a better life under communism fell short of expectations, and by 1970, following riots and reprisals, he was forced to stand down. A new reformist and ostensibly liberal regime under First Secretary Edward Gierek took over. Gierek embarked on an ambitious but poorly conceived program of industrialization and modernization, which by the late 1970s disintegrated into an economic crisis. Nationwide strikes, initially against food prices, broke out in 1980 and led to the formation of Eastern Europe's first independent trades union, Solidarność (Sol-

idarity), led by its charismatic leader, the shipyard worker Lech Wałęsa. The union's popularity and enthusiasm for democratic change, however, alarmed the government, and martial law was declared in December 1981. Solidarność was subsequently banned, forcing it to continue its existence underground. Eight years later, popular pressure forced the government to reinstate the union and introduce measured democratic reforms. Poland was the first country in Eastern Europe to appoint a noncommunist Prime Minister, although most Poles agree that there is still a long way to go before all their aspirations are met.

Poland Today

Forty-five years of Communist rule failed to produce the economic miracle experienced by the democratic countries of Western Europe. Although big strides have been made in industrialization and education, standards of living in Poland remain low and life is hard. The country has been racked by a decade of economic crises. For the average Pole, this means shortages of consumer goods, inflation, poor welfare services and a waiting period of some 20 years for houses.

Poland is predominantly a youthful nation (the average age of the population is 28, and is the lowest in Europe) and the hopes and expectations of this generation, which has listened to promises for so long, are far from satisfied.

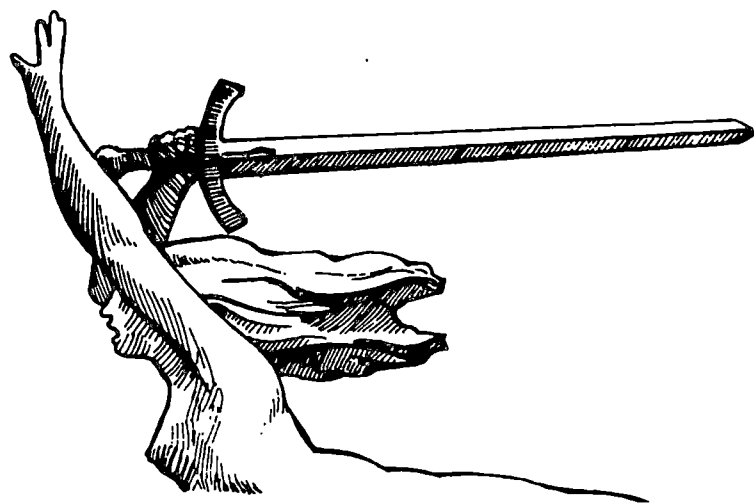
Despite communism's traditional wariness of priestly involvement in politics, the majority of Poles remain practicing Catholics and community life is still focused on the church. Poland's bond with Rome in the present decade has been firmly cemented by the election of one of her archbishops to the papacy as Pope John Paul II.

The Cultural Scene

The Polish writer who is best known outside Poland is Joseph Conrad; born Józef Korzeniowski (1857–1924), author of some classic English novels of the sea. He did not learn English until he was 20, but became one of the greatest novelists in the language. Even in Poland his *Typhoon*, *Lord Jim* and *The Outcast of the Islands* are widely read. Of Polish authors writing in Polish, Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916) received the Nobel Prize for Literature on the strength of his one memorable novel *Quo Vadis?* Władysław Reymont (1868–1925) also won the Nobel Prize—in 1924 for his novel *Chłopi* (The Peasants)—but his near-contemporary Witold Gombrowicz (1904–1969) is more admired. Gombrowicz's best-known novel *Ferdynand* had the distinction of being banned by both prewar right-wing and postwar left-wing governments. The third and most recent Polish Nobel laureate (1980) is Czesław Miłosz. In books such as *The Captive Mind*, Miłosz deals outspokenly with the plight of intellectuals who are forced into compromise with a rigid political system.

Polonaise and Mazurka

Poland could fairly claim to have been the fountainhead of popular music in Europe, from the 18th century to the period Chopin (1810–1849) was alive. Her polonaises and mazurkas whirled their way round the continent, her stirring march tunes set feet tapping to unfamiliar rhythms.



INTRODUCING POLAND

Throughout their troubled history the Poles have been set down by other Europeans as strange, wild, unpredictable and given to excesses; enthusiastic eaters and drinkers, suckers for a noble cause, inclined to go over the top on slight provocation without a thought for the consequences. Yet it is precisely these characteristics that have enabled the Poles to endure even the most difficult of times and still retain their dignity and sense of humor.

Seeing the confines of the state reorganized has been a Polish experience for several centuries. Like other nations in the historically unsettled region of Central Europe, Poland has been embroiled in the power struggles of larger nation-states, fought over by warring Slav and Mongol hordes, squeezed almost out of existence by the mutually hostile great powers—Russia, Prussia, Austria-Hungary—on her borders. Yet today she remains by far the largest of the Warsaw Pact countries apart from the Soviet Union.

Poland does not easily fit one's preconceptions of a state that was under Communist rule for 45 years. The country's peculiarities include the fact that more than 80% of the land is under private ownership, and a population that, despite 45 years of atheistic Communism, remains profoundly Roman Catholic. Moreover, Polish culture both past and present is strongly Western oriented, and has continued to flourish with or without government approval.

The People and Their Past

Poland came into existence as a separate unit in the 10th century when one of the Slavic tribes, the Polanie, began to lord over other Slavs in the

INTRODUCING POLAND

263

area. The first crowned king of Poland was Boleslaus "The Brave" who consolidated the power of the country's first great dynasty, the Piasts. Boleslaus was a good fighting man and under him the kingdom was enlarged, but after his death it gradually fell to pieces. Neighboring countries seized part of it while the rest, though continually ravaged by the Mongols who pushed into Europe during the Middle Ages, was divided up into petty dukedoms. The feudal landowners quarreled with each other, big chieftains swallowed little chieftains and those who survived became the ancestors of the proud Polish aristocracy. They grew rich and powerful and their estates were the size of small countries.

In the 14th century Poland was again reunited, and under Casimir the Great she became a great power. Casimir took the first sensible steps to develop the economy and make the country prosperous. It is said of Casimir that "he found a Poland of wood and left her built of stone." In due course a grand-niece succeeded Casimir, and by her marriage to the Grand Duke of Lithuania she united Poland and Lithuania thus founding the family of Jagellon, Poland's second great dynastic line. In 1410 her husband achieved an important victory at the battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg) over the league of Teutonic Knights that had long tried to dominate Poland.

The Knights returned again and again. Long wars were fought in East Prussia (was this when Hamlet's father "smote the sledged Polacks on the ice"?), but Poland at last emerged from them with a settled coastline on the Baltic. The Poles revealed an unsuspected talent for building ships and sailing them. Around 1500, as an agricultural and maritime land, she was a power to be reckoned with in European affairs. As is so often the case, power led to prosperity and the 16th century subsequently became a golden age of economic and cultural development.

When the royal Jagellons died out in 1572, Poland's nobility began electing her monarchs, not always from among themselves but sometimes from foreign stock in order to separate the crown from the domestic feuds of the court officials. Domestic or foreign, her kings knew no peace. No sooner had the threat from the west been dealt with than another sprang up in the east: the rising power of Russia and Turkey.

In 1683 King John Sobieski defeated the Turks at the gates of Vienna and rescued Christian Europe from the Ottoman onslaught. But Poland's neighbors rewarded her sacrifices by taking advantage of her exhaustion and moving in with invading armies. Piece by piece Russia, Prussia and Austria dismembered her until, a century later, scarcely anything was left of the proud kingdom but the unquenchable patriotism of her people. Exiled Poles, unable to help their native land, led freedom movements in distant countries. In the American War of Independence, for example, Pulaski died for the colonial cause and Kościuszko distinguished himself.

Into the 20th Century

Rebellions in Poland, mostly romantic and ill-conceived adventures, brought harsh reprisals from her foreign occupiers but helped to keep the national spirit alive. During this period many Poles fled poverty and repression in their country to seek a new life in America and other countries. Those that stayed had to wait, as did other European peoples, for the 1919 Versailles settlement to grant them freedom and independence.

The early interwar years were a difficult time for the Poles. An invading force from Soviet Russia was defeated, and the daunting task of national

The works of Frédéric Chopin, her greatest composer, took their roots from folk rhythms and melodies of exclusively Polish invention. Equally indebted to the national heritage of song and dance were Henryk Wieniawski (1835–1880), a celebrated violinist as well as a composer, and Karol Szymanowski, who flourished early this century. Among renowned living composers and conductors are Witold Lutosławski and Krzysztof Penderecki, the latter an important innovator. Immortal virtuosi on violin and piano have sprung from Poland's large Jewish community. The mantle of Ignacy Paderewski settled on the shoulders of Artur Rubinstein and has now passed to Krystian Zimmerman.

A dense network of musical institutions covers the whole country. Every major city has its opera company and symphony orchestra and numerous semi-professional ensembles. Poles respond avidly to music—where but in Poland would you find a musician elected to the highest political office, as Paderewski was? A concert by the National Philharmonic of Warsaw or the Great Symphony of Katowice is a red-letter event, and audiences discuss the performances of individual musicians the way spectators in some countries discuss football players.

Art and Architecture

The best of native architecture is seen in the old city of Cracow with its well-preserved or restored medieval and Renaissance buildings. All over the country fine manor houses and palaces have been rebuilt in their original styles. If contemporary architecture is not especially exciting, contemporary art is vigorous and imaginative and of global significance. From Toronto to Tasmania, one-man shows by living Polish painters and sculptors are a feature of gallery programs.

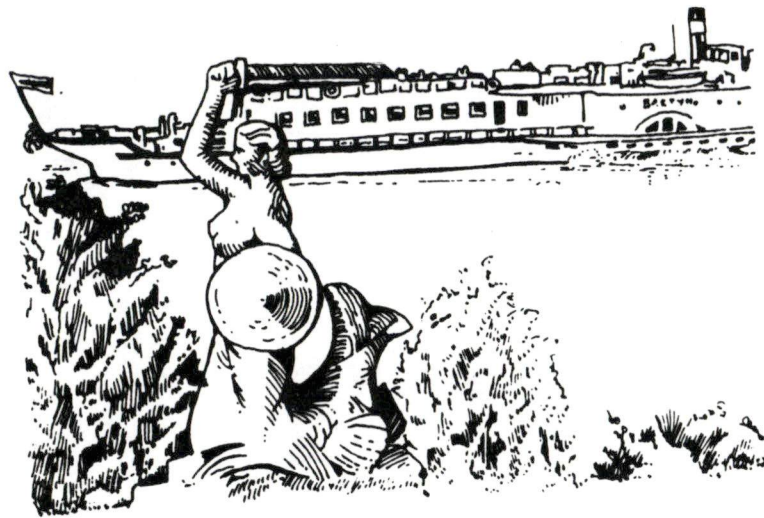
The works of the "constructivists," from Stażewski and Kantor onwards, are brilliantly displayed in the national museums of Warsaw and Poznań and at the modern arts museum in Łódź, whose director is the much-respected Ryszard Stanisławski. There are sculpture galleries in Warsaw's parks and the leading 20th-century sculptor, Xawery Duniowski, has a special Warsaw gallery, the Królikarnia.

Stage and Screen

Theater in Poland enjoys high prestige in an open-minded and artistically enlightened society. The standard of stage design is particularly high: the best artists do not disdain to compete for this kind of work. Jerzy Grotowski, impresario and director of the Laboratory Theater of Wrocław, is a household name abroad—he pioneered "essential" theater, which is serious, austere and intent on keeping the actor at the center of the drama. The Laboratory Theater has toured in France, Germany and the U.S.A.

Possibly the best-known Polish playwright living is Sławomir Mrożek, author of some *avant-garde* comedies and a favorite of the more progressive young directors. But foreign drama is extremely popular too, if it is sharp and witty or if it comes into the category of "world literature." Both in large cities and in provincial towns the broad cosmopolitan sweep of drama is covered, from Shakespeare to Albee (*Tiny Alice* and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*) played to packed houses in Warsaw and Cracow) and from adaptations of Dostoevsky to adaptations of James Joyce and Samuel Beckett.

There has been cinema in Poland since 1909, but Polish movies were almost unheard-of abroad until an eruption of outstanding films occurred in the 1950s. Andrzej Wajda, Roman Polanski and Krzysztof Zanussi are perhaps the best known Polish film directors in the West. One of Andrzej Wajda's trilogy, *Ashes and Diamonds*, made an international star of the late Zbigniew Cybulski, dubbed the James Dean of Poland. Wajda is now the patriarch of Polish cinema, revered at home and abroad, and still capable—as his masterpieces *Man of Iron*, *Man of Marble*, and *Danton* showed—of keeping up the momentum of his country's movie renaissance.



WARSAW

The Phoenix City

In January 1945, Warsaw—Poland's capital since the early 17th century—was a heart-breaking, barren, depopulated desert of ruin and rubble, a prostrate victim of systematic Nazi destruction. Only a third of its prewar population remained. But Warsaw's survivors, determined to rebuild their ancient city, set about the task so energetically that today the hollow shells of buildings have disappeared and there is a new Warsaw of a million-plus inhabitants. Across what was once a giant construction site, stretch wide avenues, new apartment houses, handsome buildings, broad parks, and painstakingly accurate replicas of Warsaw's old quarters. Historically, Warsaw is a relatively new city, as you will be told by an ultra-conservative Cracovian, who will dismiss the 13th-century city's inhabitants as *nouveau riche* wheeler-dealers; all in strictly friendly rivalry of course. The capital of the Duchy of Mazovia until 1526, Warsaw was in that year incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland when the last duke died without an heir. From then on its prosperity was assured and in 1611, after Wawel Castle in Cracow had burnt down and the king transferred his court here, it became the capital (the king also found that it was a much better place from which to keep a wary eye on the Swedes marauding on the Baltic Sea).

With ironic humor, Warsaw citizens will tell you that the best vantage point from which to admire their rebuilt city is from the top of the 37-story (234-meter high) Palace of Culture and Science on pl. Defilad (Parade Square). Why? Because it's the only spot from which you can avoid looking at the Palace of Culture and Science—a wedding-cake-skyscraper gift from Stalin. Built in "Stalin-Gothic" style, it houses an impressive number

of theaters, museums, swimming pools, libraries, restaurants, a cellar nightclub and, of course, the Academy of Science. From the pinnacle of the palace you can see the river Vistula to the east, with three of its bridges, the Ślasko-Dąbrowski, Poniatowskiego and Syreny, crossing to the Praga side of the city.

Praga was the poor quarter of Warsaw up until the war, housing the working and artisan classes. The area was virtually undamaged during the war, and despite the introduction of new industry and housing estates it has managed to retain a specific character of its own best seen by visiting the Różycki bazaar on ul. Targowa 55-57.

The Old Town

The rebuilding of the historic Old Town district of Warsaw, situated on an escarpment on the left bank of the Vistula, is a real phoenix-risen-from-the-ashes story. Post-war architects, determined to get it absolutely as it was before, turned to old prints, photographs in family albums and paintings, in particular the detailed views of the 18th-century Bernardo Bellotto (the nephew of Canaletto). This eliminated some of the later, less-attractive buildings, but resulted in a curious back-to-front situation, since some of Bellotto's views were painted not from real life but from sketches of projects that were never realized. Whatever your feelings about reproduction architecture—and there's an awful lot of it in Warsaw—it seems to have worked here. The warm, pastel colors have "aged" attractively, and the atmosphere is further enhanced by the fact that the Old Town is closed to all traffic except horse-drawn cabs.

The narrow houses, little winding streets and numerous churches cluster round a living replica of the city's old market place—the cobblestoned Rynek Starego Miasta—with its pretty house fronts, wrought-iron grillwork and steep tiled roofs, all charmingly uneven. The old Town Hall that once stood in the middle of the square was pulled down in the early 19th century; it was not replaced and today the square is full of open-air cafés, tubs of flowering plants, and earnest guided tourists. The whole is a sort of cleaned-up version of Montmartre, with the inevitable art students displaying their talents in and around the square throughout the summer. At night the Rynek is romantically floodlit and if you're after good food and atmosphere this is definitely the place to head for.

For those with time to stop and stare, however, the frescoes and architectural details on the late Renaissance and Baroque facades round the square will be a delight. For legend-lovers there are the vaults of the Bazyliszek restaurant where, the story goes, there used to live a basilisk with a literally deadly glance. Undeterred, an enterprising young shoemaker's apprentice got himself a suit of many mirrors to confront the Terror of Warsaw. The monster saw himself—and died. The "Negro House" at no. 36 ("Pod Murzynkiem") has a fine Renaissance doorway and a sculpted black man's head on the wall (not difficult to guess that the former occupants of the house were engaged in "overseas trade"). During the war the building miraculously survived and today, together with the seven adjoining houses, it is the home of the Warsaw Historical Museum (chamber concerts here every Tuesday; also a moving 15-minute documentary film showing Warsaw "before" and "after"). The House of the Mazovian Dukes, or St. Anne's House (no. 31), is one of the oldest in the square and has the greatest number of surviving Gothic details. For the life and



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FAX COVER SHEET

TO: WHITE HOUSE

ATTN: JEFF HOCHBERG

DATE: JUNE 25, 1992

FROM: CAS LENARD

MESSAGE:

" ZA NASZĄ I WASZĄ WOLNOŚĆ"

FOR YOUR AND OUR FREEDOM"

In 1830, by Polish writer, Joachim Lelewel.

Later picked up and used as a call to Freedom.

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FAX COVER SHEET

TO: W: H

ATTN: GARY GERSHWITZ (P)

DATE: 6-25-92

FROM: CAS LENARD

MESSAGE:

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FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Mr. Gary Gershowitz
The White House

ATTN:

DATE: July 2, 1992

FROM: Myra Lenard

Mary Gyslerowski for Myra Lenard

MESSAGE: Destruction of Warsaw

Number of pages including cover sheet 7

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P. 2

The Nazis had no scruples in their choice of methods to suppress the Uprising. Mass executions of soldiers taken prisoner and of civilians; women and children driven as a screen in front of the tanks advancing upon the insurgents' barricades; the bombing of all parts of the city by artillery and from the air; setting fire to buildings and streets — all this, in addition to the unceasing horror of relentless fighting in a city with more than a million people in it, was part of Warsaw's experience in August and September 1944.

Upon the capitulation of the Insurgents the supreme authorities of the Third Reich issued orders for the complete evacuation of the city. Within a few days the whole population was forced to abandon all that was left of their homes and, taking nothing but a little bundle in hand, turn up for transports which took some of them to other parts of the Government General others to work in factories within the Reich, and others yet to slave labour and concentration camps.

And now the Nazis started their final, decisive attack — this time on a city already deserted, half-ruined in the course of hostilities.

This incredible campaign of destruction was based on a special order of Hitler's, discovered soon afterwards among the papers of the civilian administration of the Warsaw District.

Here is an excerpt of that document:

Warsaw, October 11, 1944, 10.30 a.m.

No. 13,265

Re: New policy on Poland

After the call paid by SS Obergruppenführer von dem Bach on the Commander-in-Chief of the SS, I have the following to communicate:

...2) Obergruppenführer von dem Bach has received a new order: Warsaw shall be pacified, i.e., razed to the ground while the war still lasts, unless military necessity connected with fortifications should make that impracticable. Before destruction, all raw materials, textiles and furniture are to be removed. The

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main responsibility for the fulfillment of this task rests with the General Administration.

I am bringing the above to your notice because this new order of the Führer is of the utmost importance for the new policy on Poland (Neue Polenpolitik).
Signed: Dr. Fischer.

Governor of Warsaw District (temporarily at Sochaczew).

On the basis of numerous documents and depositions of war criminals responsible for the crime perpetrated on Warsaw, who were questioned by the Polish and the Allied authorities and by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, it is possible today to find out exactly how Hitler's special order, by which Warsaw was to be "razed to the ground," was carried into effect.

The whole campaign was directed by a special staff which divided Warsaw into districts and quarters. Buildings and blocks were pedantically marked with numbers and dates indicating the order in which they were to be destroyed. After shipping to Germany all that was left of material resources, and after plundering the cellars and interiors of all buildings, special units — *Sprengkommandos* and *Vernichtungskommandos* — went into action.

With the help of combustible liquids and flame-throwers, building upon building and street upon street were set afire. After burning, the ruins were blown up.

In March 1945, in a small town named Leszno Wielkopolskie, a set of 137 pedantically filed and described photographs were found in a flat belonging to engineer-architect Alfred Mensenbach; most of them were pictures taken during that campaign of destruction. For engineer-architect Mensenbach, Fellow of the *Reichskammer der bildenden Künste*, an organization in which the creative workers and artists of the Third Reich were associated, had been a member of one of the afore-mentioned *Sprengkommandos* and had evidently wished to perpetuate his share in that truly unusual campaign.

Special units were assigned to the task of destroying historic buildings, monuments, museums, libraries and archives. Those units benefited from the advice of experts — art

historians, architects, etc. — who told them which buildings, monuments and collections were to be destroyed in the first place as representing particular historic or artistic value.

In spite of the great damage wrought in the course of the Uprising itself, the losses suffered at that time by archives, museums and libraries amounted to not more than 10 or 15 per cent of their holdings. This was due to their being hidden and protected against the effects of hostilities by the Polish staffs of those institutions. Now the Nazi detachments, after removing from Warsaw an insignificant part of the saved collections, proceeded to destroy the rest. The Varsoviana museum — the largest and only one of its kind in Poland, the Municipal Archives, and two State Archives were burnt one after the other. All the unique, century-old documents, manuscripts, parchments, books and records — invaluable treasures of culture and history — fell prey to fire. It was only by a strange coincidence that the National Library was saved from the disaster: it was set afire carelessly and the fire went out by itself.

In the six largest archives and library collections, ultimate losses reached 80 to 100 per cent.

In December, Warsaw's most important monuments were blown up or smashed to pieces: the statues of Mickiewicz, of Copernicus, of Poniatowski (the latter two were the work of the celebrated Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen), and many others. In the same month specialists proceeded to destroy palaces, churches and other historic buildings.

The thorough and methodical way in which Hitler's order was carried out verges on the insane. Specially equipped detachments destroyed the city's underground installations; tanks were used to pull electric cables out of the earth. Other special units were charged with the task of destroying parks and open spaces, felling trees, etc. Lastly, some special squads first plundered and then destroyed industrial buildings. Nothing was left undone to carry Hitler's order into effect. Hence, in one of his last addresses to the Reichstag, Hitler could well say that "Warsaw is now no more than a geographical term on the map of Europe."

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One other thing is worthy of note, particularly today, when so many attempts are made to shift the entire blame for war crimes on the SS, the police and a few leading personalities of the Nazi Reich. The destruction of Warsaw — both during the Uprising and after its defeat — was a joint operation carried out not only by SS and police forces but also by detachments and commanding officers of the regular Wehrmacht and by the whole civilian administrative machine, with which even experts on art and culture willingly and eagerly collaborated.

A particular and exceptional characteristic of the destruction of Warsaw was the fact that, perhaps for the first time in world history, the almost total annihilation of a great city was a deliberate political move, planned beforehand and methodically carried into effect.

This conclusion can be drawn from a whole series of Nazi documents such as orders issued by Hitler and Himmler, notes from "Frank's Diary" concerning Warsaw, and various others.

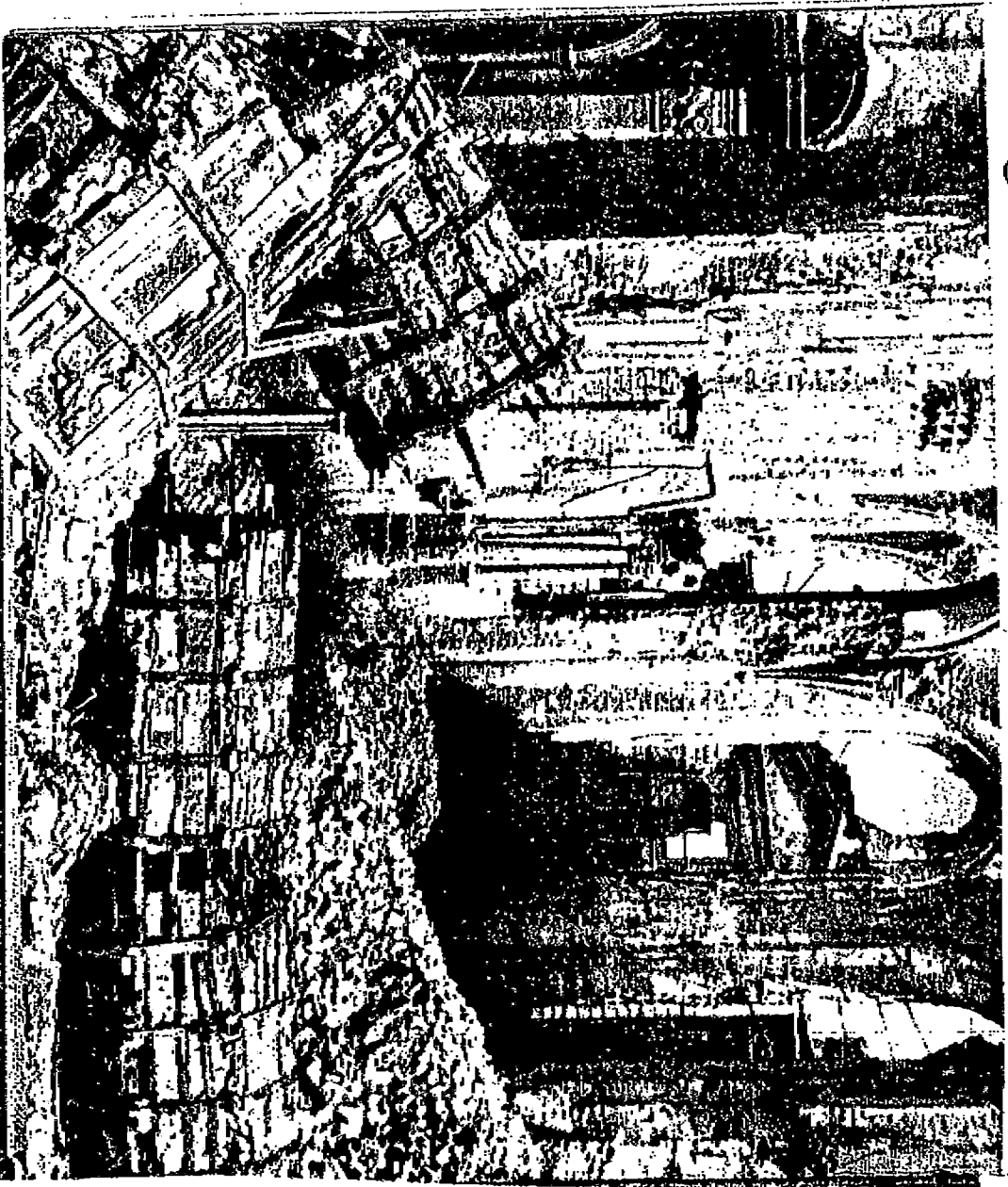
And that was Chapter Three, the last chapter of the destruction of Warsaw.

When the Soviet and Polish troops entered Warsaw on January 17, 1945, the "liberation of the capital city" could be spoken of only in a purely symbolical sense. For the city was one vast field of ruins and cinders, and its people had been murdered, killed in battle, or deported.

The balance of the damage was terrible. In this case even bare figures were poignantly eloquent. And it must be remembered that behind each figure were the misfortunes and tragedies of men and women: the loss of their nearest and dearest, of homes, of possessions accumulated in a lifetime of hard work. Those figures, when tabulated reveal the truth: the complete annihilation of the capital of a State and of a people.

And here are some of the figures:

Out of Warsaw's pre-war population, over 300,000 people perished in the battles for the city, in concentration camps and in executions.



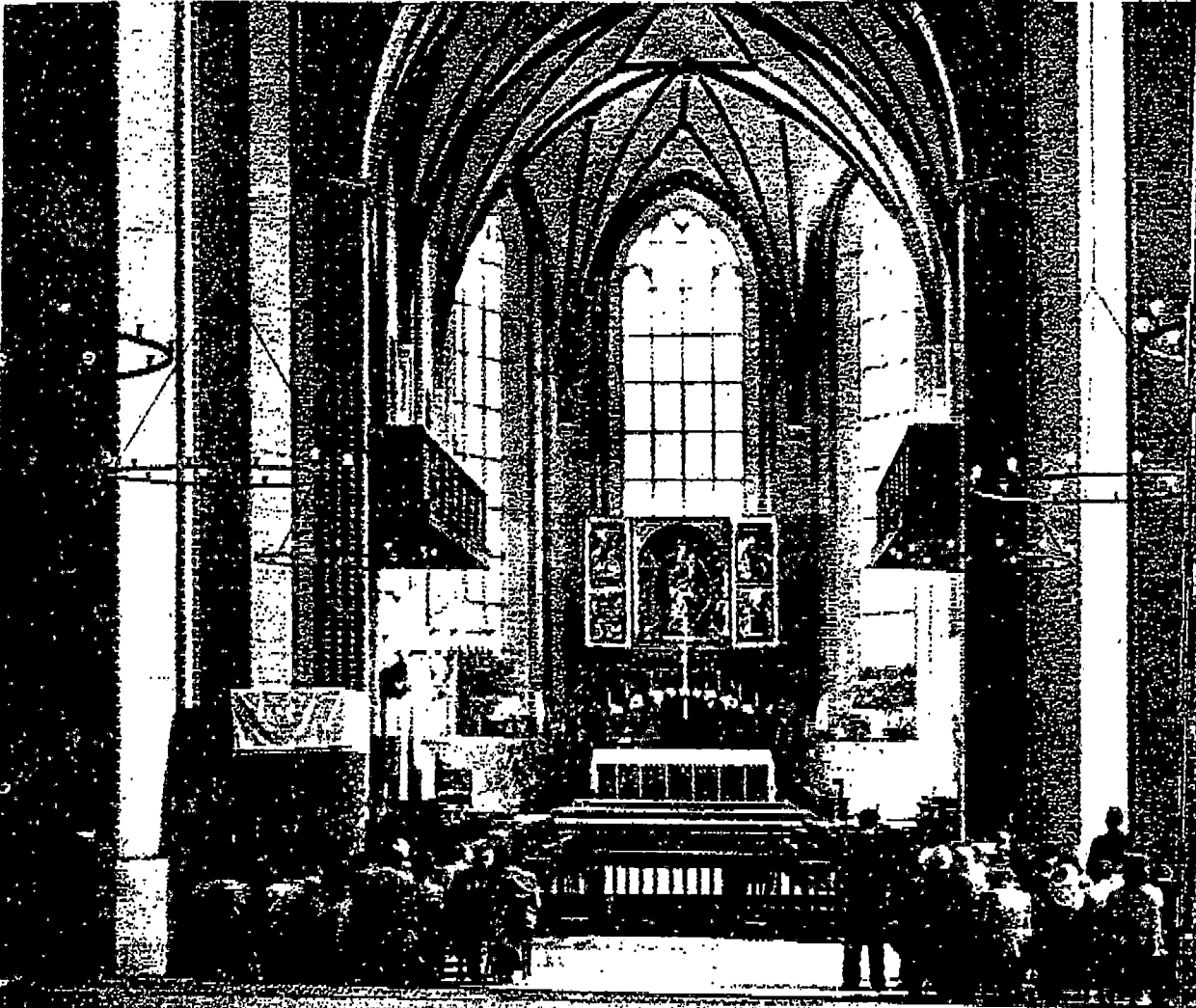
56

1945

1902

St. John's Cathedral

57



60

1945



1962

Old Town Market Square Dekert's side

61

