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Folder Title:
Hamtramck, Michigan 9/5/92 [OA 7579]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	7	5

POLAND

(Bilateral Visit)

NSC: Beth Fenner
x5732

State Department: John Boris, Desk Officer (647-1070) ✓
Ellen Conway, Desk Officer (647-1070)

National Geographic: Brian, Indexing, 857-7000

American Embassy: Dan Freed, Head of Political Section
Call through Signal
Sharon O'Neil, Political Section

Polish Embassy: Mr. Kudas (KOO-dash), Political Counselor
234-3800

Mr. Kozlowski (kahz-LOW-skee), DCM
328-8020

Library of Congress: Ron Bachman
707-8484

BQ '92: Colleen Peroe
517-337-1992

Voice of America/Poland Desk: Mark Walicki
619-0251
or Anders at 619-2256

Polish-American Congress/Washington Office: Mr. and Mrs. Lenard
296-6955

Reverend Phillip Majka ((MI-cah)); young priest in Warrenton
703-347-2922

Mr. Jan ((Yahn)) Novak; grand old man of Poland; in Annandale
703-354-0747

Foreign Service Language Institute: 703-875-7264
Talk to Polish language teachers: Victor Litvinsky (interpreted
for POTUS in 1989), Christina Volanchuk

✓ Mayor Bob Kazaran: 313-876-7766

Paul Odrobina ((oh-dro-BEE-nah)): Polish-American Congress:
313-365-9400 (o)
313-875-1649 (h)

Religious leaders to call for anecdotes, etc.

Monsignor Ted Ozog; St. Florian's (largest parish)
313-871-2778

Reverend Stanley Ulman; St. Lad's
313-872-0709

Father Ted Blaszczyk ((BLAZH-chick)); Queen of Apostles
313-891-1520
(is out of town -- call back Thursday morning)

Stazh Lisiecki; International Institute; social worker for
Polish-Americans
313-871-8600

RANDOM NOTES

- * In 1989, the Mayor of Hamtramck had a key to the city made out of Kielbasa. Due to a change in schedule, he was not able to get it to POTUS.
- * POTUS last visit -- ate dill pickle soup, and a sampler plate of sausage
- * Old quotes by Pope John Paul II:
 - "The greatness of work is inside man." -- 1979
 - "Hands are the heart's landscape." -- 1979
 - "Are the children to receive the arms race from us as a necessary inheritance? How are we to explain this unbridled race?" -- 1979
- see enclosed fax for more recent quotes.
- * More than 1,000 Poles in Michigan voted by absentee ballot in the Polish Presidential election in 1990. The Michigan state site for voting was in Hamtramck.
- * As of July 12, Hamtramck (2.2 square miles) holds 86 liquor licenses.
- * A newspaper reports that on the entire eastern wall of the Mayor's office, an amateur portrait of Bobby Vinton hangs.
- * Bobby Vinton, "The Polish Prince of Song", played to a crowd of more than 500 in August of 1991 at a Polish festival in Hamtramck. He said of Poland's push for democracy, "It started with the Polish people, because they had... the nerve to do it first. They did it so good that the Russians believed it."
- * On June 21, 1991, Detroit Archbishop Adam Maida threw out the first pitch at Polish-American night at Tiger Stadium. Pre-game activities included the singing of the American and Polish national anthems, and a performance from several Polish dance groups. Other church leaders, as well as the mayor of Kielce, Poland, participated. I just thought this might be a nice example of how Polish-Americans unite for America's favorite past-time.
- * World's largest kielbasa made in Hamtramck in 1987
- * See enclosed NEXIS article for wacky holiday tradition.

* From Stazcz Lisczicki: a social worker for the International Institute

Poles come to the U.S. to get illegal jobs. They take the minimum wage jobs that no American will take (since American's can make more on welfare). One gentleman made \$15,000 in a year and a half. He took it back to Poland where he bought a bakery. Now he employs 10 people, and clears thousands in profit each month. He recently bought an ice cream parlor and is planning to open a soda pop factory.

The Poles will take a lot of these crappy jobs because they feel it is better to be making something than doing nothing. In Poland, there was a saying: whether you're working on the job, or laying down on the job, you still make your \$2,000. There was no incentive to work harder, or do better. The Polish government taxed the workers so heavily that they used to steal from the factories where they worked because they felt it was owed them. The churches in Poland are now trying to educate them toward responsible behavior, fighting alcoholism, and encouraging them to get actively involved in politics.

The Detroit suburbs are a middle class area, concerned most about high taxes. The two highest ethnic concentrations are Poles and Ukrainians. Both are very hard-working and conservative, and pleased with the freedom now experienced in their homeland.

These people equate the word "liberal" with "socialist". They abhor socialism and knew it was a flop and they want nothing of the kind in America. They want low taxes and free enterprise.

There are 800,000-1 million Poles in Detroit suburbs.

As far as contemporary heroes in Poland go -- it is hard to pick just one. Many have shown courage and strength, and besides, there are more than 100 political parties in Poland. If the President chose one person, he'd have a lot to answer to over there.

These people love Reagan since he and the Pope got rid of communism in their countries.

* From Woodrow W. Woody: friend of the President's; Pontiac dealer in Hamtramck. Not Polish, but the unofficial patriarch of Hamtramck. His dealership is 100 yards away from where POTUS will be speaking. We should definitely mention him somewhere, probably in the acknowledgements.

* **Anecdote:** Helen Suchara is a retired teacher who moved to the United States with her family from Poland when she was 9 years old. When she first moved to the Detroit area, people looked down upon her family. They moved to a more mixed neighborhood, and found a much happier life. There were 10 children in all, and each child had someone special in the community to help take care of them and love them. They called them "the friendly Americans", although they later realized that these "friendly Americans" were once foreigners, too, from Germany and Russia, etc., just like they were. The parents were far from wealthy, and the mother had to take in cleaning and sewing for other people in order to keep food on the table for her family.

When Helen went to school, she found teachers and educators who were fabulous and really helped her. That is what inspired her to become a teacher. When she retired from teaching in Detroit, she joined the Peace Corps and taught English as a second language.

One of her most recent assignments was to teach English to court officials -- from Supreme Court judges to just-starting judges. The Supreme Court judges looked down upon those lower than themselves and did not even address them in passing. In her classes, Helen encouraged them to speak English to each other, and practice in an informal setting. Within a few months, the Supreme Court judges were greeting the newer judges in the hallway and inviting the newer judges into their chambers for coffee -- the English language, and exposure to the American lifestyle was the common bond that brought them together.

Four days before the President visited Warsaw this summer, Helen was flown home. She hadn't been feeling well for months and needed to be sent home for tests. Once stateside, she was diagnosed with cancer. She is now recovering from her first cancer surgery and unfortunately is too ill to attend the President's speech.

When asked about her Peace Corps experience overall, she said, "... you didn't see anything at the end of the tunnel for yourself. It was for other people. It's the American spirit, you know."

Crowd est. 150,000
Monday, September 7
Hamtramck, MI
Largest Polish concentration outside Poland

Find anecdotes: after Pope visited, community tried to raise \$\$ to erect a statue in his honor. They only had enough to build the throne, and when the statue was finally finished, they had a huge celebration.

Acknowledgements
Congressional races

Synopsis of what's happened in Poland since April 1989 speech

What are the sensitive issues in Hamtramck

Heart-warming stories linking Poles in Poland to those in Hamtramck.

[[Punchkeese]] -- huge annual festival, celebration, revolves around a jellyroll?

John Boris, new Poland Desk Officer
647-1070

Michael Dodman, Poland economics guy
647-3052

Artist will be painting a mural based on a photo of POTUS visit in 1989. Will be used as backdrop.

August 31, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR KEN ASKEW

FROM: CAROL AARHUS

SUBJECT: ACTIONS TAKEN WITH REGARD TO 1989 SPEECH

I am enclosing a copy of the 1989 speech with each item labeled by number. Below, you will find the corresponding action taken regarding each issue:

- A. Historic nuclear arms reductions announced June 16, 1992. First, President Bush and President Yeltsin agreed to eliminate the world's most dangerous weapons: heavy ICBMs

and all other multiple-warhead ICBMs. Second, we agreed to dramatically reduce our total strategic nuclear weapons. This agreement was reached in 5 months. These reductions will take place no later than the year 2003, and may be completed as soon as the year 2000. What a way to ring in the new millennium!

- B. "In 1989, the United States worked with Poland and others to establish a \$1 billion fund to help support a free currency for a free Poland. Now we need to consider new uses for that fund, to help Poland as it faces today's challenges. That is why I am proposing that once Poland is back on track with the IMF that we make that fund available for other uses, perhaps to finance Polish exports or to help capitalize banks to support new businesses. The U.S. contribution alone will amount to \$200 million. This is a Polish and American idea that I will take to the economic summit at Munich. There I will urge the leaders of the world's greatest democracies to join with us to seek new ways to help Poland toward progress and prosperity."

-- From POTUS speech in Warsaw; July 5, 1992

"Your bold economic reforms have earned the world's admiration and support. and what's more, they're working. Shelves that once stood empty are now stocked with goods. Gone is the old Communist Party headquarters, now home to the Warsaw Stock Exchange and the Polish-America Enterprise Fund, providing seed capital to help Poland's private sector grow and prosper."

-- From POTUS speech in Warsaw; July 5, 1992

- C. POTUS spoke at the Biennial Convention of the AFL-CIO on November 15, 1989. Here are some excerpts:

"... this is a great moment for the AFL-CIO. After 8 long years of struggle, Mr. Walesa has accepted the George Meany Human Rights Award, first intended for Solidarnosc. Back in 1981, you remember, Lech wasn't allowed to be here to claim that prize, and the waiting began."

"The AFL-CIO was at the forefront, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour, firm in the belief that the dawn would come. Because of that support, courageous leaders like Lech Walesa are now transforming Poland before the eyes of an admiring world."

"Just as a house is built from the ground up, labor's house rests on a bedrock principle of free association and rises by the strength of its members. Free trade union movements today stand on the threshold of change as a leading force

for democracy. Labor's strength has opened the door to freedom for millions. The door must remain open."

- D. Yes, as of January 5, 1990, Poland gained access to the Generalized System of Preferences. This special GSP treatment means that Polish exports will enjoy the most liberal access possible to the American market, and it will pave the way for increases in Polish exports to the United States -- a vital contribution to Poland's economic recovery. However, we probably shouldn't brag about it. Many U.S. businesses want to take it away from Poland because of their association with the EC.
- E. OPIC is definitely active in Poland.
- F. Re: loans by the private sector through the International Finance Corporation
- G. Re: encouraging businesses and private non-profit groups to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises.
- H. "Just think of the new world that's emerged these past three years: Europe, whole and free; Russia, turning from a dictatorship to democracy; Ukraine and the other nations of the old Soviet Empire, free and independent. Look at this new world, and remember where that revolution began: right here in Poland."

-- From POTUS speech in Warsaw; July 5, 1992

- I. See H. and A.
- J. See H. and A.

#

From Mayor:

150,000 - 200,000 in attendance
largest annual gathering

UAW wants Gore to attend. Mayor says no. Got call from Gore's Washington office -- threw away message slip. Wants nothing to do with them, even tho' Mayor's a DEM.

Past people to address in Hamtramck: Roosevelt, Truman, Reagan, Bush, Pope

QUOTES

"In Poland, everyone is a leader."

-- Lech Walesa

"[I kiss the soil] as if I placed a kiss on the hands of a mother, for the homeland is our earthly mother. I consider it my duty to be with my compatriots in this sublime and difficult moment."

-- Pope John Paul II

On arriving in Poland during period of martial law.

June 27, 1983

"The heart of Poland hath not ceased to quiver, tho' her sacred blood doth drown the fields, and out of every smouldering town cries to Thee."

-- Tennyson

Poland 1.3

Poland National Anthem:

Poland still is ours forever, long as Poles remain;
Chains the foe bound on her never shall the foe retain.
On! On! Dabruski! from Italy's fair plain!
Lead us on to greet our homeland,
Lead us back again.

Victula and Wartar over, Poles we'll ever be;
And from Bonaparte discover paths to victory.
On! On! Dabruski! from Italy's fair plain!
Lead us on to greet our homeland,
Lead us back again.

When the Swede had forged our chain, the Fatherland to save;
Czarniecki, Poznan town to gain, plunged into the wave.
On! On! Dabruski! from Italy's fair plain!
Lead us on to greet our homeland,
Lead us back again.

September 4, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: STEVEN PROVOST

FROM: KEN ASKEW

SUBJECT: POLISH LABOR DAY PARADE REMARKS
HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

On Monday, September 7 at 3:45 p.m., you will address a crowd of 200,000 (estimated) Polish-Americans immediately following the Hamtramck Polish Labor Day Parade in Hamtramck, Michigan. Your remarks are twenty minutes in length, and discuss the progress made in regard to your April 1989 address to the citizens of Hamtramck.

NOTE: The mention of Dombrowski on page three refers to a line in Poland's National Anthem that asks Dombrowski to "lead us on to greet our homeland, lead us back again".

Detroit Free Press

Peace Corps

July ~~20~~ 1992 ~~E~~
23 (Wed.)

Helen Suchara

8900 E. Jefferson #823

Detroit, MI 48214

send picture of me to her.

→ a woman - the ^{new} premiere

↓
within a week she had a cabinet
called for the political parties to stop squabbling

in her cabinet
rally around her
work in cooperation w/ her

due to appeal of Pope
and Jan Novak
journalists

ready to rally around Walesa

→ people trusted her in the courts

too sick to attend parade.

still has stitches

can't sit up or walk, etc.

can't stand for a little while.

can only lay on stomach.

she became a teacher because of her positive
education experience in Detroit area.

taught 7B kids in MI for 2 yrs.

when age 9 after seeing people who cared
and wanted her to be better
she wanted to help them have
just as nice a transition

keeps their memories alive by helping others.

→ Poles at first wondered since she was network
why she taught etc.

"you didn't see anything at the end of the
tunnel for yourself - it was for
other people. It's the American
spirit."

but only did she teach them english,
but they have learned something about
the USA than their lifestyle
Marian

many video cameras

she taught nuns (Mother Theresa missionaries)
businessmen

↓
taped "the family album" for her.

→ ~~what we are doing now~~

~~the time is coming that the USA
will find it useful~~

→ legacies

→ had a terrible life as an immigrant child
looked down upon
when she moved to a mixed community,
people were more interested
every child had someone to love them
family of 10 children
mother took in washing and cooking

called them Americans, they were Germans
and Russians

no longer ~~in~~ on

They would show 1st segment
First segment would review language and
conversation on their

then once a week
produced by an American company
story about a family in America

all in English; students read it
The Family Album - shown 2x week

John program

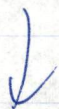
→ What made you join the Peace Corps?

the stores more polite
- took training

People are friendlier
more accommodating
in everyday service; post office, transportation

~~to 1992, don't look at people when entering stores~~
~~more!~~

he built a school there



in each household, someone goes onto college
in surrounding towns

→ Supreme court judges had to mingle w/ lower
level judges to learn english
spoke english to each other, when they
never addressed each other before.
became friends.
english brought them together
practice english in informal setting
english in everyday language
coffee time

- taught while tired, sick, etc.

- changes → universities have increased
where communist buildings once were
took over buildings

Casinos

→ Helen Suchara
teaching English for the Peace Corps
in Warsaw until 7/1
cancer identified once back stateside

- took pictures of families and sent them
to them as souvenirs; also took pictures
of Easter processional in 1991
~~1991~~ to see it thru a visitors' eyes

~~1992~~
- a couple semi-retirement
she is medical (^{was a} pediatrician)
he is attorney (works w/ ~~of~~ rural problems)
in 1966 - Helen met them
the man could speak English
~~the~~

in Helen's mother's village - said
good

uncle in Poland's armed services
age 94
served in 2 WWs
received small pension from
French govt.

Came back and took proper place in village

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

CAROL

YOU WERE CALLED BY - YOU WERE VISITED BY -

OF (Organization)

Helen Suchara
Re: Hambrack

PLEASE PHONE ▶ FTS AUTOVON

313 822 3320

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE



10:58

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

☆ U.S. G.P.O. 1991 281-781/40011

(Askew/Aarhus)
September 3, 1992
3:00 p.m.
HAMTRAMCK

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LABOR DAY PARADE
HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN
SEPTEMBER 7, 1992
1:30 P.M.

Thank you, Governor.

Archbishop Maida, your Eminence. Governor and Mrs. Engler, members of the Michigan Congressional delegation, friends, distinguished guests...

My fellow Americans.

This past Independence Day, I traveled to the heartland of Poland... to bury a treasure.

In the crypt of an ancient cathedral... I stood with President Walesa... as the remains of the great patriot and artist, Ignacy Paderewski, were finally laid to rest... in the rich and free Polish soil that conceived and sustained him.

And it struck me... this was not so much a burial... as it was a resurrection -- the resurrection of a nation's dreams.

A patriot was at long last laid to rest in Polish soil... in Polish soil... that was finally free.

And the ripples from that moment, as his remains were consecrated to earth on that warm summer day in Warsaw... are passing through this crowd, here and now.

Sons and daughters of Hamtramck... your forebears came to this great country because they too could not countenance a

Poland... shackled by repression.

Rather than cling to native soil bled dry by empty promises... they chose instead to flourish free on foreign soil... and to make it their own.

Today you are part of the great family that is America.

And fellow Americans... I am proud to be with you in Hamtramck on Labor Day.

You are the blood and bone of Copernicus... Chopin... and Curie.

You are the sweat and sinew that built this city and its industry.

You are the voice and vision of your parents, who struggled to be heard -- and won that struggle, that labor's voice may be heard always. Always.

But I'm here... not to talk about the past.

I'm here today to face a new struggle, together with you.

We Americans have watched and prayed and given support through recent years... as the great nation of Poland, wracked by the rhythms of war and oppression, rose like a phoenix -- a free nation once again.

We Americans watched as a Gdansk electrician electrified the world with the charge that all people should be free and be heard.

We watched the nation of Poland reborn, brimming with a new and different fluid of life... inspired by a Pope... and by a passion for freedom, for freedom at last.

We watched this new force, not pushed down from a tyrant, but up from the people.

And we watched as American Labor took to the forefront during the struggle, standing with Solidarity in its darkest hour, firm in the belief that the dream was real.

Fellow Americans... the dream is real. It is real. It was a long time coming... but marching, marching... Dombrowski has led Poland back.

Back to a cause whose heartbeat grew faint but never faltered within the breast of a nation.

Back to a cause which finally prevailed... and toppled the tyranny of rule by sheer force.

And back to a cause that now understands... toppling tyrants is easier than building democracies.

I stood before you three years ago, Hamtramck... with this message: Communism has left an ugly scar on Poland. It will heal... but with pain. The pain of insecurity and insolvency.

And I pledged America's help.

Today, I return to say to you that this country and our allies have responded forcefully.

First, our concern for Poland's security.

On that day here three years ago, I called for an end to the Cold War. And thank God, it has ended. And thank God, freedom won... and America will do what's right to make certain Poland never again braves the chilling corridors of communism.

And second, our concern for Polish solvency.

CKW/Hutchings 647-~~0000~~
0853

It's been said that communism is not a form of economics; it is the death of economics.

→ So three years ago, I called for all to rally 'round with sound economic practices, to help pull Poland from an economic grave.

I called for giving Poland preferred trade treatment so she can reach out to the world through exports.

I called for reducing Poland's debt to ease her heavy burden.

I called for investors to help unleash the explosive entrepreneurial energy of the Polish people.

I called for loans so the Polish private sector can help her economy blossom.

I called for international financial agreements so Poland can build a financial base worthy of a great nation.

In 1989, these and other major initiatives marked a radical new direction in U.S. foreign policy toward Poland and other *new democracies.*

In 1992, I've returned to tell you: They've all come true.

Every... single... one.

And more. The United States has worked with the Polish and German governments during German unification to secure a friendly border between the two.

We've produced a housing-loan guarantee program which invested in new Polish building for a new Polish age.

We've organized a billion-dollar stabilization fund to secure the value of the Zloty.

And we've announced other initiatives to help cut Polish debt in half... to encourage Polish enterprise... to enhance Polish-American trade... to forgive most of Poland's official US debt... and put some of the rest to work, cleaning Poland's environment.

All this we've done with a willing and eager heart.

But why? Why has America put its money where its mouth is?

Very simple: We love freedom. We love Poland.

And we recognize that the noble experiment taking place in that great nation today... is in fact an inspiration for her neighbors and the rest of the world.

Yes, once again... the eyes of the world are on Poland.

And friends... we Americans know freedom is hard work.

By turning to face her dreams, Poland also faces harsh economic and social realities in the way. Difficult reforms and tough choices lie ahead.

In short order, Poland must strengthen its political base, pass a sound budget and re-generate momentum toward free-market and democratic reforms.

The United States stands by to help.

We look forward to the day when Poland stands tall in NATO, and shoulder-to-shoulder with the economic powers of our time.

So we pledge our support for Poland's security.

We pledge our support for Poland's solvency.

We pledge to work for a democratic peace -- an enduring peace anchored in economic and political freedom.

Hutchings

*ck w/
Gompert*

*Pentagon
State-ns*

And most of all... we pledge to keep our word.

(Brief pause.)

Fellow Americans, we stand today in the twilight of one millennium... and the dawn of the next.

Never before has humankind beheld such a view.

And never before has our nation been pressured by such deep energies of change and growth... reshaping America like the strong hands of a potter on wet clay.

But we will survive... and we will thrive.

Why? Because the American people are like the great Statue of Liberty that stands in New York Harbor.

We're like that great Statue, brought over in pieces from the Old World... strapped together with bolts and steel right here on our own American soil... assembled, raised and anchored on a rock in our own American waters...

We're like that statue because the family that is America... came over in pieces as well. From Asia... Europe... Africa... and the Americas.

We came as Poles... Czechs... Chinese... Germans... Irish... British... Swedes... and French...

Italians... Russians... Spanish... Cubans... Koreans... Hondurans... Brazilians... and Thais. And the roster of new Americans... never ends.

And like that great statue, we came over in pieces... our cultures were bolted together by hope.

Our cross-struts are many. Our strengths are internal. Our

hopes unite us... and our vision is one.

That vision's of prosperous peace for our children, and the last best hope for that vision is you.

My fellow Americans... what I'm here to tell you... is that is the point and the crux of this day.

It's now time to put those same heartfelt urges... that made us that statue... to work here at home.

This fight for freedom isn't fought on dark, treacherous borders far from home.

This fight for freedom is fought on the economic battlefield... by creating new jobs... opening new markets... building new American strengths both here and abroad.

The fight is fought with creativity... determination... and investment in the hearts and minds of the American people.

Here in Hamtramck... and across this nation... these are the forces Americans must bring to bear on our future... so every American's human potential is stretched to its God-given best.

The Mayor tells me there are 200,000 Americans here in Hamtramck's streets today. That's almost a full one-thousandth of this nation's population -- right here, right now.

Hamtramck -- you can change the world with a gift your mothers and fathers left behind.

Today, I challenge you to redeem the struggles they endured. Make their labors mean something.

Redeem the struggles Solidarity suffered. Redeem the struggles of Kosciuszko and Pulaski... and in fact of all the

Kowalskis and Janowskis who lived and died and aimed at one simple thing:

To be heard.

To have a voice.

To vote.

Come November 3rd, I challenge you to breathe life into the meaning of Labor Day... and into the meaning of Solidarity... and into the hopes and dreams of the thousands who have died for that precious right we so often ignore.

I challenge you to vote your conscience. I would hope you vote for me and my party, but only you know your own heart.

And as you cast that vote, observe... how easy it is. And remember... how costly -- how terribly costly -- this great gift was, to win and to earn and to pass down to us here today.

Ladies and gentlemen... that is the legacy of Hamtramck.

That is the legacy of your ancestors' homeland.

That is the legacy of the family that is America.

Make her proud.

Thank you all.

God bless Hamtramck.

God bless Poland.

And God bless America.

• GSP → 1/90

• IFC → we gave the IFC \$2mil in 1991
so they could invest in private
cos. in Poland

• equity swap → no one knows anything
about it.

Czarnecki
(Char-NBT-skee))

Borowski
(Bor OFF-skee))

Kowalczyk
(Kowal checks))

Majewski
(May-er-skee))

Urbanski
(oor BANskee))

Nowak
(Norak))

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

CHOL
 YOU WERE CALLED BY-- YOU WERE VISITED BY--

Father Stan Uman
OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE ▶ FTS AUTOVON

313-872-0709
 WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY

DATE

TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018

* U.S.G.P.O.: 1963 - 421 - 529/321

STANDARD FORM 63 (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
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2:27

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Ewa Matuszewski to Carol Aarhus, re: Suggestions for Hamtramck, Michigan speech. (2 pp.)	09/02/92	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Hamtramck, MI 9/5/92

Date Closed: 12/3/2004	OA/ID Number: 07579
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	

MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions obsolete

TO:

YOU WERE CALLED BY Pawlowski

OF (Organization) (Paw lo' skie))

PLEASE PHONE AUTOVON FTS

WILL CALL AGAIN Mazurkiewicz

RETURNED TO CALL (Mazur kieu' ich))
MESSAGE

RECEIVED BY _____ DATE _____ TIME _____

STANDARD FORM NO. 64 (REV. 5-51)
GPO: 1954 O-544-4018
PRINTED BY GSA
FORM 641 (REV. 5-51)

Henry Kozak

50-50

Satisfaction v. dissatisfaction
w/ Δs in Poland

Free Poland is great

don't really discuss conditions

from Eva

Hamtramck is no longer a Polish enclave
they're all mixed to:
Westerⁿ Hts. and
Stirling Hts.
Oakland County

Hamtramck is a transient area
- major melting pot

23RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 Gannett Company Inc.

GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

April 1, 1991, Monday

LENGTH: 313 words

HEADLINE: SMIGUS DYNGUS! WATCH OUT FOR WATER AND WILLOWS

BYLINE: TOM GREENWOOD; The Detroit News

KEYWORD: POLISHDAY

BODY:

Just some friendly advice: If you're strolling in a Polish neighborhood Tuesday and someone drenches you with a bucket of water and lightly beats you with a pussy willow, don't dial 911.

Just yell ''Smigus Dyngus'' and have a Jim Dandy Dyngus Day.

For those who aren't in the know (basically, this means everyone who isn't Polish), Dyngus Day is a more than 1,000-year-old tradition that marks the end of the Lenten season in Poland.

On the Monday and Tuesday after Easter, Poles - especially children - break the somber mood of Lent by soaking each other with water and/or cologne and lightly striking one another with pussy willows.

The water and the willows have been flying ever since 966 A.D., when Poland converted to Christianity with the baptism of Prince Mieszko.

According to legend, the water commemorates the prince's baptism, while the beating with pussy willows commemorates the scourging of Christ by the Roman soldiers.

Tradition holds that the boys soak the girls on Easter Monday, then on Tuesday, the soakers become the soakees. As for the cry ''Smigus Dyngus,'' Poles say there is no English translation. Consider it the Polish equivalent of Americans yelling ''Geronimo!'' while jumping out of an airplane.

Age, power and position are no protection.

''You have to be very careful when you're around young people,'' said Ewa Matsuzewski-Juocys, managing editor of The Polish World, an 87-year-old, bilingual newspaper in Hamtramck, Mich., a Detroit enclave. ''They have no respect for us old people,'' Matsuzewski-Juocys said Monday. ''I was doused by a troop of Polish Girl Scouts first thing this morning.''

Joan Bittner, owner of the Polish Art Center, said most Dyngus Day soakings occur in the home.

''My husband really soaked me this morning,'' Bittner said Monday. ''Tomorrow I'll get him back but good. You can count on it.''

- - -

1991 GANNETT NEWS SERVICE, April 1, 1991

SUBJECT: MINORITY; HOLIDAY

17TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1989

September 21, 1989, Thursday, BC cycle

ADVANCED-DATE: September 20, 1989, Wednesday, BC cycle

SECTION: Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: Michigan

LENGTH: 113 words

HEADLINE: Michigan News Briefs

DATELINE: HAMTRAMCK, Mich.

KEYWORD: Michbrfs

→ Get details!

BODY:

Polish Americans are rallying to prop up the financially troubled Polish Daily News, which temporarily suspended publication this week and laid off its staff.

Susan Bratkowski and Ewa Matuszewski-Juocys said they have formed a group called Proud American Polish Emergency Response or PAPER to raise funds statewide to save the 85-year-old publication.

'We are deeply concerned,' said Matuszewski-Juocys. 'The Polish community may be without a newspaper at a very important time, during the growth and development of a free Poland.'

The Polish Daily News actually is two papers -- one in English and the other in Polish. Despite the name, both are weekly publications.

now called:
Polish World

new \$ in charge:
40 yrs. old
used to work for Nixon

*Matuszewski-
Ewa Juocys
✓ 40-chis*

*✓ Ham
ref. Amsey* 313-365-1990
(Staszek referred me)

313-



→ Mayor Robert Kagan
 - He says as Mayor of Hamtramck
 quote note is from

→ Judge Walter Davis
 leading citizen in Hamtramck
 mentions for Rotary partnership

85 yrs. old → patronage of the community
 Hamtramck on 9th. appears
 100 ft. - from platform

Motor
 leading citizen for options
 Pontiac dealer
 will have Pontiac convertible available
 if PONS needed.

CALL WEDNESDAY

Religious leaders to call for anecdotes, etc.

✓ Monsignor Ted Ozog; St. Florian's (largest parish)
313-871-2778

Reverend Stanley Ulman; St. Lad's
313-872-0709

Father Ted Blaszczyk ((BLAZH-chick)); Queen of Apostles
313-891-1520
(is out of town -- call back Thursday morning)

✓ Stazh Lisiecki; International Institute; social worker for
Polish-Americans
313-871-8600

WEDNESDAY

- ✓ 10:54am
Call Ron Bachman at LOC: 707-8484
Quotes from → Pope John Paul II
 - General Dombrowski
 - Jan Sobieski
 - Adam Mickiewicz
- ref. by Mr. Lenard
Call Rev. Phillip Majka ((MI-cah)) → a young priest in Warrenton 703-347-2922
- ref. by Mr. Lenard
Call Mr. Jan ((Yahn)) Norak → grand old man of Poland; in Annandale 703-354-0747
- ref. by Mr. Lenard
Foreign Service Language Institute: Polish Language Teachers
Victor Litvinsky (interpreted for POTUS in 1989)
Christina Volanchuk
703-875-7264
- ✓ 11am - left msg.
Call Henry Kozak 313-925-3220
ref. by Mayor
- ✓ 10:45am
Woodrow W. Woody 313-891-1600
ref. by Mayor
 - die-hard Republican
 - 57 yrs. in business
 - 80+ yrs. old
 - past pres. of COC

Carol - I've scoured up some
of the info we spoke about. What I need
now:

1. stirring anecdotal vignettes / etc. of courage in
the face of change. →
exemplifies freedom, optimism, fearlessness
2. myths, folklore, fables, proverbs
3. contemporary stories of imagination + initiative
4. ~~Bush Warsaw speech, July 5, '92~~
5. Polish heroes / outstanding figures - the arts,
sciences, humanities, state + political, military,
etc. (e.g. Chopin, Kosciuszko, Madam
Curie, Palaski, etc.)

You might try VOA for the
warm + fuzzy stuff -

U

→ contemporary person who has shown initiative
and courage, etc.
Doesn't have to be a famous person

19TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 PR Newswire Association, Inc.
PR Newswire

June 19, 1991, Wednesday

SECTION: State and Regional News

DISTRIBUTION: TO CITY, RELIGION AND SPORTS EDITORS

LENGTH: 189 words

HEADLINE: ARCHBISHOP MAIDA TO THROW OUT FIRST PITCH AT TIGERS GAME

DATELINE: DETROIT, June 19

KEYWORD: bc-Archbishop-Tigers

BODY:

Detroit Archbishop Adam Maida will throw out the first pitch at Polish -American Night at Tiger Stadium on Friday, June 21, as the Detroit Tigers host the California Angels at 7:35 p.m.

Pre-game activities will begin at 7 p.m. and include the singing of the Polish and American national anthems and a performance by more than 350 dancers from several Polish dance groups.

Participating in the festivities will be Father Ted Blaszczyk, pastor of Our Lady Queen of Apostles Parish in Hamtramck, and Dorothy Pasikowski, Miss Polish Festival of Detroit. Robert Rzepka, the mayor of Kielce, Poland, will be in attendance.

The event is being coordinated by the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America and the Pope John Paul II Society No. 1593. Wally Ozog, the national vice president of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, anticipates a crowd of approximately 25,000.

Reserved seats are \$10, box seats \$12.50, grandstand \$7 and bleachers \$4. For more information about Polish -American Night at Tiger Stadium, call Ozog at 313-751-8168. CONTACT: Rich Laskos of the Archdiocese of Detroit, 313-237-5943

ORGANIZATION: Archdiocese of Detroit

GEOGRAPHIC: Michigan

MEMORANDUM OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO: CAROL

YOU WERE CALLED BY-- YOU WERE VISITED BY--

EWA Matuszewski
OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE ► FTS AUTOVON

313 909 6637

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

11:06

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 **STANDARD FORM 63** (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
☆ U.S.G.P.O. 1991 281-781/40011 FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

MEMORANDUM OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO: CAROL

YOU WERE CALLED BY-- YOU WERE VISITED BY--

EWA MATUSZEWSKI
OF (Organization)

PLEASE PHONE ► FTS AUTOVON

AGAIN

313 368 1990

WILL CALL AGAIN IS WAITING TO SEE YOU

RETURNED YOUR CALL WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Leaving... will be at this number again this afternoon.

LP

11:43

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

63-110 NSN 7540-00-634-4018 **STANDARD FORM 63** (Rev. 8-81)
Prescribed by GSA
☆ U.S.G.P.O. 1991 281-781/40011 FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

14TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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August 28, 1991, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 859 words

HEADLINE: People in the News

DATELINE: HURON, S.D.

KEYWORD: People

BODY:

Country singer Garth Brooks, nominated for five Country Music Association awards this year, played to a record-breaking crowd at the South Dakota State Fair.

Brooks, known for his twangy country voice and such hits as "I Got Friends In Low Places," performed Tuesday for 7,900 screaming fans.

Brooks also was the first performer at the South Dakota State Fair to sell out before the fair opened. Tickets to his concert were grabbed up three weeks after he was booked, said Carv Thompson, the fair's entertainment coordinator.

"Life is good," Brooks said when told of that distinction after his performance. "Things have been going really well for us."

He attributed his large crowds to drawing more than just country-music fans.

"The audience is a crossover," he said. "I see people coming over to country music. The people who come see us are very, very sincere."

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (AP) - Andy Williams says he still enjoys singing "Moon River" but remains puzzled by the lyrics.

"The lyrics are just abstract enough to make them interesting," Williams said Tuesday. "I mean what is 'Moon River'? It doesn't mean exactly what it says.

"For a while, I tried to figure out what the heck it meant. It still thrills me to hear the music and sing those lyrics."

The lyrics include the lines: "Wider than a mile, I'll be crossing you in style, some day. You dream maker, you old heart breaker."

The tune was the theme song for Williams' network TV show from 1962 to 1971. He is in Nashville this week to celebrate the release of his album "Nashville," a collection of country music tunes.

The Associated Press, August 28, 1991

"My music isn't traditional country, exactly," Williams said. "It's country, but there are all different kinds of country."

"I don't want to sound like anybody else - not like Garth (Brooks), or Randy Travis - but I do want to capitalize on these musicians and on this music down here, the songs."

"I'm not wearing cowboy boots and sparkly shirts and pretending that I'm that kind of country because I'm not."

VENTURA, Calif. (AP) - Zsa Zsa Gabor was back in court this week, and left a winner this time.

Miss Gabor, whose movie credits include "Moulin Rouge" and "Queen From Outer Space," was awarded \$ 430 during a Small Claims Court action Tuesday seeking payment for horses boarded at her Moorpark ranch.

"The courts were very good to me, this time," Miss Gabor said, alluding to her 1989 trial and conviction for slapping a Beverly Hills police officer after a traffic stop.

Miss Gabor claimed Charlotte Randopoulos owed her more than \$ 1,000 for boarding horses at her ranch, located in the hills about 60 miles northwest of Los Angeles.

Municipal Judge John R. Smiley agreed, in part, and ordered Miss Randopoulos to pay Miss Gabor \$ 430.

After the hearing, Miss Randopoulos said the entertainer had promised rubber mats and grain supplements for her two horses.

"She made me promises and they just weren't kept," Miss Randopoulos said.

MYRTLE BEACH, S.C. (AP) - Actor Mitchell Laurance has appeared on several television shows and movies, but says he's always recognized as the man who becomes frustrated with poor telephone service in an AT&T commercial.

Laurance, who was in South Carolina for a date resulting from the March of Dimes Bid for Bachelors charity auction, said the commercial has run for more than a year.

Laurance has appeared on episodes of "L.A. Law," "Night Court," "Not Necessarily the News," and "Cop Rock." He was featured in "Absolute Strangers," a CBS television movie broadcast last spring.

"It is amazing that I do TV movies about AIDS and abortion, and people recognize me from a commercial," said Laurance.

Eds: Version moving on sports wires.

BALTIMORE (AP) - Novelist Tom Clancy is considering taking his military expertise onto the battlefield of professional football.

The Associated Press, August 28, 1991

The author of "The Hunt for Red October" and "Patriot Games" is considering applying for ownership of a prospective NFL expansion team in Baltimore, his attorney said Tuesday.

"He is on the perimeter, looking into it," said attorney David Cohan.

Clancy, 44, is a Baltimore native and lives in Prince Frederick. His most recent novel, "The Sum of All Fears," is about nuclear terrorism and is currently No. 1 on The New York Times best-seller list.

The insurance-agent-turned-writer has "been a Colts enthusiast since he was a boy, going with his father to Colts games," said Cohan.

NFL commissioner Paul Tagliabue said Tuesday that the league's owners still are committed to expansion by two teams for the 1994 season.

HAMTRAMCK, Mich. (AP) - Bobby Vinton, the Polish Prince of Song, serenaded about 500 of his fans and praised Poland as a leader of the push for democracy in Eastern Europe.

"It started with the Polish people, because they had ... the nerve to do it first. They did it so good that the Russians believed it," the 56-year-old crooner said Tuesday at Hamtramck's Polish Festival.

Vinton drew cheers in Hamtramck, an enclave of Detroit, with the story of how his mother talked him into writing his 1975 hit "Melody of Love" because there were no Polish songs in his repertoire.

GRAPHIC: LaserPhoto NY44, Brooks, Gabor

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Detroit News
Copyright The Detroit News, Inc. 1992;
Business Dateline; Copyright 1992 UMI/Data Courier

July 12, 1992

SECTION: Sec A; pg 1

LENGTH: 1217 words

HEADLINE: Hamtramck Economy Worn but Vibrant

BYLINE: Diane

DATELINE: Hamtramck; MI; US

BODY:

The Polish bakeries fronting Jos. Campau, the ones with rum tortes and crusty rye bread, are run by Yugoslavs now. Koreans have cornered wigs and ready-to-wear, filling one storefront after another with Styrofoam heads and rayon outfits studded with rhinestones.

Anarchist T-shirts sell at June Hankins' upstart boutique. And Majid Shaukat, a Pakistani, stocks sexy halters with loads of zipper at his Big Deal Leather Shop;

This is not your babcia's Hamtramck.

Of course, smoked kielbasa and Krakow sausages still fill the butcher shops catering as much to Yemenis and Albanians as Poles. Restaurants still ladle gallons of sauerkraut and potato soup to Warren retirees visiting the old neighborhood.

And the finer clothiers, having outlasted a world war, multiple recessions and finicky turns of fashion, still do a good business despite their faded glory.

Downtown Hamtramck is one of Metro Detroit's few surviving urban retail strips in this Age of Mall, this Era of Franchise. It perseveres against the odds with an improbable blend of old and new. The bakers, butchers and restaurateurs satisfy an affluent generation's yearning for grandma's kitchen. The bins and racks of discount goods feed the needs of the bargain-hungry.

"For an older central city area, in a community developed well before World War II, Hamtramck is remarkably healthy," said Robert

Swartz, professor of geography and urban planning at Wayne State University.

Yet the area makes marketers weep. Nowhere in this "Touch of Europe in America" does an international flag fly. Kielbasa vendors don't work the street. Paint peels from brick and tile facades; the street scape is ratty.

So much untapped potential, they say.

The Detroit News, July 12, 1992

The cement foundation of the Martha Washington Bakery is visible where linoleum has been worn away by seven decades of customer shuffling. Sandy Petrovski-Bakic moves to the counter as a regular swings open the wood frame screen door into carbohydrate heaven.

She is patient as the old man peers into the cookie case; inspects the coffee cakes; examines the rye and pumpernickel. Minutes tick away before he settles on his order. Petrovski-Bakic wraps a solitary apple turnover in tissue and gently bags it for the trek home. This is family business, the care and attention to detail proffered by those with a personal stake. It's what brings customers back every time.

Petrovski-Bakic can name each of the five owners who preceded her father, dating to the bakery's founding in 1925. Mostly it's been breads and coffee cakes. The sugary layered stuff came later. "You've got to move with times," Petrovski-Bakic says. "The old brings them back, but the new keeps us going."

Wholesale and retail trade have slipped substantially from their postwar heyday. Yet few strips anywhere, even malls, can match the nearly 90-percent occupancy rate of this half-mile of Jos. Campau between Holbrook and Caniff.

Rent runs cheap when absentee landlords don't remodel; storefront can lease for \$ 550 a month. Three bus lines ring the area. Adjacent freeways run east-west and north-south. And perhaps most importantly, merchants respect the blue-collar dollar.

Seung Hong came to America from South Korea 12 years ago. Pumping gas was his first job. He lived with his sister and studied English at Oakland Community College. He found a factory job a couple years later. He saved religiously. By 1989 he had enough to open a wig shop in Highland Park. It went bust in 1990. Undeterred, he opened Grace Fashions a year ago. His windows display off-brand clothes also available from at least seven other shops along the strip. "There's a lot of competition, yes," he says. "But that's good business. That's the American way."

Most of the Polish immigrants who sweated the line at Dodge Main, who bought food and clothes for growing families on Jos. Campau, have gone to their graves. Their kids have gone to Warren; their grandchildren to Sterling Heights. Taking their place is a new wave of cash-strapped refugees--from Yemen and Yugoslavia, Romania and Albania--creating a customer base buoyed by scores of Detroiters whose own commercial strips are shuttered.

June Hankins named her store Curlys, after a cat. Her piece of Jos. Campau is part gallery to unknown artists (this month a Romanian named Anny or Ani or Anni, depending on the picture); part tailor shop; part punk boutique. Hankins opened shop with \$ 800 two years ago. "We're trying to make something of Hamtramck," she says. "We're trying really hard. This could be a cool town."

Dodge Main has been demolished. Much of Hamtramck's manufacturing base has dwindled. The General Motors Poletown plant replaced some lost revenue, as has Wayne County's new jail. But workers live elsewhere and spend their paychecks outside the city.

Time was when Hamtramck bartenders lined up a dozen shots-and-beers along the mahogany when the shift change whistle was set to blow. The men crowded in

The Detroit News, July 12, 1992

for a quick belt before walking home.

This city of 2.2 square miles holds 86 liquor licenses.

The carpet inside the mayor's office is stained filthy. Fallen from the wall, its frame in pieces, is a photo of Rosalyn Carter and Coleman Young. The entire eastern wall of this chamber is covered by an amateur painting of singer Bobby Vinton.

Here sits Robert Kozaren, mayor of 13 years, still dreaming of Hamtramck's shining future. Imagine all the business those liquor licenses could generate. Imagine ethnic restaurants by the dozen, bustling with affluent customers. "The shot-and-a-beer days are over," he says. "There's a bonanza to be made here if people were only willing to invest."

Parking is a headache in Hamtramck. Shoppers and diners tend to shun the lots built off the main strip. Too many car thefts. Too many potholes. Too far away. Even though they wouldn't balk to walk a quarter-mile across a mall parking lot.

Population is projected to decline nearly 10 percent by 2010. The 1990 U.S. Census indicated that the city lost 15.7 percent, or 1,621, of its housing units in the past decade.

All of which prompted A Strategic Planning Committee to release an Action Plan.

"There is concern," it says, "regarding the health of the downtown core centered around Jos. Campau. Business activity in that area has decreased over time, without anchor stores to draw customers to the area...Shoppers still come regularly from the suburbs to shop at the ethnic bakeries and meat stores. The unique ethnic aspect of Hamtramck's retail businesses was felt to be an asset which should be marketed more aggressively..."

"Examining the ownership of commercial properties in the downtown provides a picture of absentee landlords, with some large holdings. Most of the retail establishments do not have proprietor-owners as was the case in the 1950s and 1960s.... Hamtramck's image as a safe community is an asset."

John Ciemniak bought out his brother-in-law from the butcher business 42 years ago. Fifteen clerks used to work the counter. Customers would pass their turn to wait for their favorite. Ciemniak's Meat Market now employs five. "Times really have changed," says Ciemniak, 85, who came to the United States from Poland in 1912. "How it is going to work out? I don't know. I won't have to worry about it. I won't be here."

GRAPHIC: Photo; Map; Graph

SUBJECT: Economic conditions; Central business districts; North Central

GEOGRAPHIC: Midwest Region; Detroit; MI; US

LOAD-DATE-MDC: August 11, 1992

30TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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

November 24, 1990, Saturday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 532 words

HEADLINE: U.S. Poles Cast Absentee Ballots for Presidential Race in Homeland

BYLINE: By BRENDA C. COLEMAN, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: CHICAGO

KEYWORD: Polish Vote

BODY:

Thousands of Poles in Chicago helped shape their homeland's future Saturday by casting absentee ballots in the first presidential election since communism's collapse in Poland.

"We are all very happy about the turnout so far. It is difficult to say how many will come," Andrzej Jaroszynski, a Polish consul in Chicago, said about midday.

He estimated upwards of 15,000 - out of some 40,000 Chicago area Poles eligible to vote in the Polish elections - would cast ballots.

Chicago has the largest bloc of Poles of any city outside Warsaw, about 800,000 to 1.2 million.

Poland allows naturalized U.S. citizens to hold Polish passports and vote. Newly arrived immigrants and visitors to the United States also can vote.

About 400,000 Poles in the United States were eligible to cast ballots Saturday, a day before the general election in Poland, officials said.

The contest pits labor leader and Solidarity Party founder Lech Walesa against Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and four lesser known candidates.

The U.S. returns could prove important if the vote is close in Poland, where more than 27 million people are eligible to vote.

At the least, a high U.S. turnout would encourage the same in Poland, said Chicago Alderman Roman C. Pucinski, a Walesa backer who represents the heavily Polish 41st Ward on the city's northwest side.

"If there's a good turnout, you will have a bandwagon effect," Pucinski said as he stood in front of the Polish American Congress, one of three polling places in the city.

The Associated Press, November 24, 1990

A steady stream of voters moved through the modest, two-story brick building at Saturday, when an almost celebratory air pervaded the activity around voting booths.

"I just think it's great," Slawek Kosycarz, a 28-year-old manager of an office supply company in suburban Niles, said after casting his ballot. "My vote was for Walesa. He's the one who brought the whole thing down."

Danuta Stelmaszok, 37, a visitor from Dzierzoniow, Poland, and a friend, Edward Figarski, 37, a steel press operator in Chicago, took photographs of each other after voting.

"To show to family in Poland," said Ms. Stelmaszok, a divorcee whose parents and children remain there.

A runoff will be necessary if no candidate gets 50 percent of the vote, a virtual certainty, said Elisabeth Slosarski, a member of the specially appointed Election Commission which is handling the election in the Chicago consular district.

The commission is overseeing balloting at six sites in 26 states it covers - the three Chicago sites, Milwaukee, Detroit and Los Angeles. All voters must go to a designated site; no voting is permitted by mail, said consul spokesman Robert Michniewicz.

In Michigan, about 1,050 Poles voted, said Jamusz Wrobel of the American Polish Congress in Hamtramck, a Detroit enclave that was the state site for casting absentee ballots.

Stanlay Madeja, who was running the voting in Manhattan, said that by 1 p.m. EST, more than 1,000 Polish citizens had voted in New York City.

Polling places were also open in Boston; Buffalo, N.Y.; and Passaic, N.J.

Jaroszynski said all ballots would be counted by hand and results sent from each of the consular districts to Warsaw.

GRAPHIC: LaserPhoto CX3

13TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago Tribune

August 29, 1991, Thursday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 28; ZONE: C; NEWSMAKERS

LENGTH: 732 words

HEADLINE: Will he hurl the bomb?

BYLINE: Richard Rothschild

BODY:

L.A. Raiders owner Al Davis and the late coach George Allen were accused of applying spy-like tactics to professional football, but even those two worthies would have to take a back seat to a prospective new owner who really knows about "throwing the bomb." Espionage novelist Tom Clancy, author of "The Hunt for Red October," is considering applying for ownership of a possible NFL expansion team in Baltimore, his hometown. The National Football League expects to have two expansion cities by 1994. "He is on the perimeter, looking into it," said David Cohan, Clancy's attorney. Clancy, 44, whose latest novel, "The Sum of All Fears," tops many best-seller lists, has been a football fan since his father took him to see the Baltimore Colts play in Memorial Stadium. But since the Colts fled for Indianapolis in 1984, under the cover of darkness it should be noted, Baltimore has been without football. Clancy, apparently has done his homework, at least for the New England franchise. One of his best-sellers was "Patriot Games."

Good music

Bobby Vinton, the nation's most famous Polish-American troubadour, delighted 500 of his fans Tuesday night in Hamtramck, Mich., with music and words. Vinton told the cheering crowd that Poland deserves credit for the burst of democracy in Eastern Europe. "It started (in 1980) with the Polish people because they had . . . the nerve to do it," Vinton said. "They did it so good that the Russians believed it." Vinton also drew applause for his story of how his mother persuaded him to write his 1975 hit "Melody of Love" because until that time he had no Polish songs in his repertoire.

Bad music

New York state police had to play peacemaker Monday night when ill will between the reunited Styx rock band and an offshoot group erupted during a concert at the New York State Fair in Syracuse. Police say the Styx road crew refused to let members of Damn Yankees pay a backstage visit. Damn Yankees tour manager Bob Lieberman said the sour notes began when ex-Styx guitarist Tommy Shaw chose to tour with his new band rather than the reunified Styx. Police said troopers had to intervene when the two camps started shouting at each other alongside the stage.

Broccoli winner

1991 Chicago Tribune, August 29, 1991

Everyone knows that President Bush just hates the thought of eating broccoli, so a company that sells condensed cream of broccoli soup had an idea: They would sponsor a "How to Get President Bush to Eat Broccoli" recipe contest. More than 3,000 contestants jumped into the soup, er, contest, seeking the top prize of \$7,500 and a trip to Washington. And the winner, announced Wednesday in Washington, was Priscilla Yee, a telephone company accountant from Concord, Calif. Would Bush like Yee's broccoli lemon sauce over steamed vegetables? Yee said: "He might taste it."

Bush 1, Bee 0

Speaking of the president, if there's anything he used to hate more than broccoli, it was bee stings. Bush was once allergic to bees, and years ago a nasty sting caused him to be treated at a hospital for a severe reaction. Maybe it's the aura of the presidency, but on Wednesday, Bush said bees are no bother. After finishing nine holes of golf in Kennebunkport, Maine, he calmly flicked one off his head. "About five years ago that bee would have been a winner over me," Bush told reporters. "Now I've had these shots for 10 years and that bee is lying feet up right there because he made the mistake of biting me."

It's, it's, it's a boy

It took awhile but officials at the New York Aquarium finally can say that two beluga whales born on Aug. 7 and Aug. 14 are boys. Why the wait? Well, when young whales are bonding with their moms the last thing a slightly outsized human would want to do is get real close to determine the newborn's sex. But photographs were taken and it was determined that both calves are males. "The calves are nursing and growing," the aquarium said Wednesday.

Leapin' lizard

It's sometimes called a Jesus lizard for its ability to run lightly across water, but naturalists know it as a basilisk, one of nature's rarest reptiles. The Tulsa Zoo hatched a basilisk this month from a trio of wild lizards brought from Central America. The new basilisk has remained healthy, and a zoo official said it will provide a new gene pool to help keep the captive population free of hereditary defects.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO (color): Cooper's day: Holding his pet python, singer Alice Cooper greets fans Tuesday after he was inducted into Hollywood's Rock Walk, which honors artists who have contributed to rock 'n' roll. AP Laserphoto.

TERMS: BRIEFS



Voice of America

EUROPEAN DIVISION

FAX {202} 619-1208
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DATE: Sept. 1, 92

TO: MS CAROL ARTHUR / WHITE HOUSE

FROM: MAREK WALICKI - VOA / POLISH SERVICE

MESSAGE: INCLUDED

PAGES TRANSMITTED {INCLUDING COVER} 9

Postmark:

From: Marek Walicki:EUR:VOA To: MS. CAROL ARHUS
Sender: Copies: Marek Walicki:EUR:VOA
Subject: POLISH COURAGE

In Reply To:

Answer To:

Note:

MAIN POINTS : IN THE LONG PROCESS (OF STRUGGLE) WHICH LED TO THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM - POLAND PLAYED A ROLE OF AN ICEBREAKER. BY THEIR COURAGE AND SOLIDARITY POLES SET UP AN EXAMPLE WHICH ENCOURAGED OTHER NATIONS. DURING OVER HALF A CENTURY OF THE COMMUNIST RULE POLISH CHURCH MAINTAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND SPIRITUAL INFLUENCE. POLISH FARMERS RESISTED SUCCESSFULLY COLLECTIVIZATION AND SAVED PROPERTY OF THEIR LAND. POLISH INTELIGENTSIA WAS IN FORE-FRONT OF THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT AND WON FOR ITSELF CONSIDERABLE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, POLISH WORKERS FORMED FIRST INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION MOVEMENT "SOLIDARITY". POLES WERE NOT INTIMIDATED NEITHER BY BREZHNEV DOCTRINE AND THREAT OF THE SOVIET INVASION NOR BY AWESOME POWER OF THE COMMUNIST STATE AND TERROR OF THE POLITICAL POLICE. BUT THE COURAGE DISPLAYED BY POLES WAS NOT BLIND; IT WAS COUPLED WITH COLLECTIVE WISDOM AND RESTRAINT. POLISH PEOPLE WERE CAREFULLY AVOIDING CONFRONTATION WITH THEIR OPPRESSORS WHICH WOULD HAVE ENDED IN PEOPLES DEFEAT. THEY CHOOSE INSTEAD A PATH OF NON-VIOLENCE, STEP BY STEP STRUGGLE WHICH ULTIMATELY LED TO VICTORY OF SOLIDARITY IN 1981 AND FORMATION OF THE FIRST NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN THE SOVIET ORBIT. POLISH SUCCESS TRIGGERED AN AVALANCHE WHICH LED TO LIBERATION OF EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE AND EVENTUALLY TO THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE SOVIET EMPIRE AND VICTORIOUS END OF THE COLD WAR.

XXXXXXXXXX

PS: Please ,let us know when President will meet Polish-American

community in Michigan .

Attachments: MailNote

HEART OF EUROPE

A Short History of Poland

by
NORMAN DAVIES

DK
4140
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1984
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CLARENDON PRESS · OXFORD
1984

the national educational strike in November 1981, only days before the declaration of the State of War, their appeal for donations to the strike fund was accompanied by a long poem pasted to a billboard outside the academy's locked gates:

Polonia Resurrecta

My country, of joyful promise and sorrowful Springs,
 My country of greying birch trees,
 My country of the Vistula, flowing slowly,
 My country of church bells, singing in tears,
 My country bearing shame in patience . . .
 This is not the Poland desired by our forebears.
 This is not the land of which they dreamed.
 For Poland, You are a City of the Dead;
 Poland, You are a tomb for the living.
 Your nation, oh Poland, is a half-cremated corpse,
 And your body an unfulfilled vision.
 Yet the day at last will dawn
 When that dream will become reality, . . .
 When the Word will be reborn,
 When superfluous words will be banished,
 When everyone will say what they feel,
 What they love, and what they need. (Miroslaw Biskupski)

Above all, the mood of the moment was caught in popular songs—in new defiant words set incongruously to old melodies, in fierce parodies of official anthems, and in angry doggerel and sentimental lament. Sometimes, the wrath of the people found voice in bitter refrains—'Let the red rabble tremble', 'Only one verdict fits', 'Thirty-six wasted years'. But most frequently, it broke surface in a great chorus of assertion of the nation's history and of their ancient sense of longing:

When the Tsar was cast down from the schoolroom wall,
 And Father Ściegienny was saying his prayers,
 And Old Drzymała and his cart stood their ground,
 And Norwid was writing his verses with pride,

Every man who could carry a sabre on high
 Would form a legion, or an Army, and cry:

'So that Poland may be Poland, So that Poland may
 be Poland',

Żeby Polska była Polską, żeby Polska była Polską.

5 *Underground Resistance*

Poland has been occupied so often in the years that passive resistance and clandestine the population as second nature. The State of 1981 revived all the habits learned under German Occupation. Young people ask the wartime Resistance tried to outwit the Nazis what grandfather had recalled of the battle of wits between the forces of order and population is older than anyone can remember fought instinctively—not with bullets, but symbols. What was more natural, when they on the streets of Warsaw, then the crowd have chanted 'GE-STA-PO, GE-STA-PO'.*

Once SOLIDARITY was forced into illegality, its leaders were obliged to rethink tactics for the duration of the State of War. In 1981, *Tygodnik Mazowsze* (Mazowsze Week) published three connected articles all devoted to the underground. The first of the articles, written by a man smuggled out of his cell in Białołęka Prison, was a well-known creation of an underground state, 'a well-known movement'. Entitled 'A way out of the impasse: a concerted effort to drive the authoritarian agreement was the best way to stem the tide. It appeared to envisage a mounting series of diversions, centrally directed, which in a few weeks' or so would lead to a decisive overthrow of the Military Regime. It also recommended the effect that the strategic and military would be safeguarded.

The second article, entitled 'Walk to Freedom', was written by Zbigniew P. from the Warsaw branch of SOLIDARITY. It criticized Kuroń's analysis on the grounds

*The analogy was somewhat exaggerated. No one was taunted the Gestapo for long, and lived to tell the tale.

ry Valois in the sixteenth century was ally with the Vasas and with Sobieski in ury, and with Stanisław-Leszczyński and Bar in the eighteenth. France's special land already had a pedigree of 250 years nted in perpetuity by the Napoleonic high reputation in Poland, which was e p. 162), derived from the one fact that he Poles from Russian captivity. All lliances with the Western powers—with eventually the USA—have been inspired -in 1831-2, in 1863-4, in 1914-18, and in Western powers are far away, and have ve Poland any substantial practical help. ccn Poland's fierce attachment to the feeble response to Poland prompts one or s. At one level, it suggests that the hard- een rather more true to their principles Western democracies have ever been. At egets that in the long run spiritual ties culture and a common religion are more ediate concerns of commercial profit or Poland's physical separation from the ng to dampen the Polish admiration for Separation, it seems, makes the Polish nfamilyarity precludes contempt. The he West to come to Poland's aid have pain; but they have not diverted the tward gaze.

and's much closer physical contact with le but to sharpen existing antagonisms. f the Huns and the Mongols have been occasion that the Russian armies have from the East; whilst the traditional wal Schism has been perpetuated by gainst the state-backed Orthodoxy of gatory atheism and Marxism-Leninism Recurrent violence only drives the et the depth of Poland's rejection of her n only be gauged in full by the absence

of any redeeming features, by the almost total lack of any mitigating emotions. Poland's extended confrontation with the Tartars, whose incessant raiding across the centuries took tens of thousands of Poles into slavery and ruin, did not prevent the Polish nobility from dressing in Tartar style or cultivating Tartar horsemanship. Poland's long wars with the Turks did not discourage a strong taste for Persian rugs and oriental fashions. A weakened Turkey eventually became a weakened Poland's ally. But Poland's age-old contact with the Russians has brought nothing but bitterness and mutual mistrust. For the Pole, few things from Russia have any value—neither its shoddy manufactures, nor its ideology, nor even its superb dance, art or sport. For the average Russian nothing ever came out of Poland except trouble. The antipathies are reflexive. The Poles expect the Russians to bully them; and the Russians expect the Poles to resist. Russia is East, and Poland is West; and never, it seems, the twain shall meet.

Poland's Westernism, therefore, is fundamental and compulsive. It differs both in kind and degree from the Westernizing trends which most other East European countries have experienced. Russia's own Westernizers, for example, from Peter the Great to the advocates of *Détente*, have always been an intellectual minority, obliged to assure their compatriots that the imports and ideas of the West will not harm the country's native products and traditions. In Russia, the dominant Easternizers, the Slavophiles, the majority which prides itself in their barbarian 'Scythian past', have always held their own. In Poland, in contrast, the dominant Westernizers have hardly any native opponents with whom to contend. True Polish Russophiles—as distinct from politicians who reluctantly argue for a *modus vivendi*—do exist; but they are as rare as Polish teetotallers. For the Poles, the West is a dream, a land beyond the rainbow, the lost paradise. The Poles are more Western in their outlook than the inhabitants of most Western countries.

8 Diversions from the East

For the first 500 years of the current millennium, Poland lay on the very edge of the civilized world. Beyond the eastern

run the greatest risk of a popular
years after the economic nadir has been
it would be perfectly logical to argue
self-preservation the Polish leadership
awn of the economic upturn for as long

However, all calculations based exclusively
ics of Polish events miss the main point
ely, that ever since 1944-5 ultimate
ffairs has lain not in Warsaw but in
h motto about the primacy of external
questions regarding the policies of the
performance or under-performance of
the resistance or non-resistance of the
nt though they are, cannot be judged of
importance. The key issues concern the
viet tolerance towards Poland, and the
in to any new shifts on the Polish scene.
for Poland's fate has been bequeathed
he Soviet Politburo, and it is their
em, which will prove decisive in every
s. The Soviet leaders are not omnipo-
se an infallible cure-all on Poland's ills;
wers of veto and coercion are immense.
ack, or to remove a Polish leader; to
the Polish economy or to demand
possibility of popular unrest in Poland
the Poles to stew in their own juice or to
alming military force. They could come
package of political and economic
d continue, in deference to Brezhnev's
eats, inertia, and on muddling through.
xisting structures of the Soviet Bloc are
rtled, Poland cannot escape from Soviet
continue to be dependent on the whims
s; and Moscow will continue to be
iability of its wayward Polish client.
ten to draw attention to features of the
n be observed in most of the unhappy
of the last 300 years. An unbending

Russian overlord, a subservient Polish government, a disaf-
fected society, an economic collapse, a rising generation with
shattered hopes, a bottomless gulf between Russian and Polish
attitudes—all might be taken to imply that Polish History is
sure to repeat itself and that a further violent conflict is
inevitable. If so, this implication is mistaken; but equally it
cannot be dismissed as pure fantasy. No contemporary
problem can ever be an exact reconstruction of similar
problems in the past. New factors must always come into play,
and the outcome must always differ in certain respects from
earlier precedents. Yet the burden of History in Poland is
heavy indeed; and, despite the best of intentions on the part of
individual leaders, the weight of Soviet oppression as en-
shrined in the ruling system is capable of dragging down its
victims into the slough of violent despair. All is not yet lost.
But it behoves the optimists to explain why History might *not*
be repeated no less than the pessimists to justify their fears
that it will.

The Polish Crisis, which came to the surface in 1980,
unfolds in an ideological and international environment
which bears little resemblance to that of the last Rising, in
1944, let alone that of 1920, 1905, 1863, 1830, 1794, 1791,
1768, or 1733. The chief hope of the optimists must lie in the
belief that the new factors will prove stronger than the old,
and will act more as a deterrent to conflict than a spur.

For one thing, the technological advances of recent years
have ensured that all international conflicts take place in a
blaze of publicity and a flood of instant information. Satellite
reconnaissance and communication networks ensure that the
progress of any major unrest or fighting could be immediately
followed by unseen watchers and could conceivably be
beamed, if the watchers so desired, on to the television screens
of the whole world. Given the immense logistical tasks
involved, the Soviet Army could not invade Poland with the
same element of surprise that it achieved in Czechoslovakia in
1968, and the cost in terms of propaganda and prestige would
be correspondingly high.

More importantly perhaps, the Soviet Union would be
acting in a Polish Crisis where the German factor would be
absent for the first time in more than two centuries. In 1944,

the elements of the equation are quite the same as they were, of course. The Government is as disreputable as ever; but it has much greater technical, logistical, and organizational support, and it can calibrate its response to popular resistance with far greater precision. It is no longer in the position where it must surrender to its opponents or call in the Cossacks to massacre them. The Church has grown in stature, and its influence over the masses has increased. As a result, the Hierarchy has so far enjoyed much greater success than its erstwhile predecessors in holding the people on the path of restraint and non-violence. For its own part, the patriotic opposition is torn between its contempt for the State, and its respect for the Church. In 1980-1, it was in the early stages of the Romantic, idealist upturn; and it was stunned by the December Coup. But it is inconceivable that it will lie low indefinitely. Every day without genuine Dialogue between the three contestants of the Polish scene hastens the day of an eventual explosion. If the younger generation is convinced that the peaceful methods advocated by the Church do not persuade the regime to treat their aspirations seriously, then sooner or later they will turn to Poland's insurrectionary tradition waiting in the wings. The Poles, as always, face a moral choice of agonizing proportions.

It is in this respect that Poland stands as a symbol of moral purpose in European life, and a warning of the dangers which beset the whole world. Poland is back in its usual condition of political defeat and economic chaos; but for all its troubles it is something more than an object of curiosity and pity. Once again, during the brief interlude of SOLIDARITY, it showed that it is a repository of moral ideas and ancient values that can outlast any number of military or political catastrophes. In the long run, the fate of the Polish People's Republic is of little significance; it is rotten to the core. But the fate of the Poles themselves must be of the greatest concern to everyone. Poland's destiny, in the cockpit of European conflict, is one of the few indicators of the destiny which lies in store for the rest of the continent. It is very tempting for each nation in Europe to pretend that it is entire of itself, that if Poland is washed away one's own manor might still be safe. But that is the greatest illusion. Poland's agony threatens to undermine the

Main. The bell on the Vistula tolls for point where the rival cultures on continent confront each other in the tensions of the European drama and nerves of a large nation. Poland is a distant promontory; it is the heart c

Beyond History

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Beyond History

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Main. The bell on the Vistula tolls for us all. For Poland is the point where the rival cultures and philosophies of our continent confront each other in the most acute form, where the tensions of the European drama are played out on the flesh and nerves of a large nation. Poland is not just a clod, or even a distant promontory; it is the heart of Europe.

Youth is given. One must put it away
like a doll in a closet,
take it out and play with it only
on holidays. *How to Be Old [1963]*

The idea is to make a vehicle
out of it. *Out of My Head [1963]*

In the lobby (in a niche)
between two glass revolving doors
sluff sluff sluff sluff
(rubber bottoms of whirling doors)
flick flick click click
(women in women out) sits a nun.
A Fixture [1963]

My face
a negative in the slate
window,
I sit
in a lit
corridor that races
through a dark
one. *Riding the "A" [1963]*

But night is a fiction
hollowed at the back of our ball,
when from its obverse side
a cone of self-thrown shade
evades the shining.
*Sleeping Overnight on the Shore
[1967]*

A bloody
egg yolk. A burnt hole
spreading in a sheet. An en-
raged rose threatening to bloom.
Out of the Sea, Early [1967]

Pope John Paul II [Karol Wojtyla]

1920-

The greatness of work is inside man.
*Easter Vigil and Other Poems [1979].
The Quarry, I, Material*

Hands are the heart's landscape. *Ib.*

Man matures through work
Which inspires him to difficult good.
Ib. II, Inspiration

We must ask ourselves whether there will
continue to accumulate over the heads of this
new generation of children the threat of com-
mon extermination . . . Are the children to
receive the arms race from us as a necessary
inheritance? How are we to explain this un-
bridled race?

*Speech at the United Nations
[October 2, 1979]*

Timothy Leary

1920-

11 Turn On, Tune In, Drop Out.
Title of lecture [1967]

Howard Nemerov

1920-

12 But all that whalebone came from whales.
*I Only Am Escaped Alone to Tell
Thee [1955]*

13 And he heard how once
a team and driver drowned in the break of
spring:
the man's cry melting from the ice that sum-
mer
frightened the sherbet-eaters off the terrace.
The Icehouse in Summer [1960]

14 Flaubert wanted to write a novel
About nothing. *Style [1967]*

15 On this side of the tapestry
There sits the bearded king.
The Tapestry [1973]

16 When the gray stranger shows up in your
dream. *Nightmare [1975], st. 1*

17 You know
That if you were for a time in mortal danger,
And are so still, it was not from a stranger.
Ib. st. 3

Mario Puzo

1920-

18 I'll make him an offer he can't refuse.
The Godfather [1969]

Stewart Lee Udall

1920-

19 The most common trait of all primitive
peoples is a reverence for the lifegiving earth,
and the native American shared this elemental
ethic: the land was alive to his loving
touch, and he, its son, was brother to all crea-
tures. His feelings were made visible in medi-
cine bundles and dance rhythms for rain, and
all of his religious rites and land attitudes
savored the inseparable world of nature and
God, the master of Life. During the long
Indian tenure the land remained undefiled
save for scars no deeper than the scratches of

dentistry, and director of the medical center of the University of Rochester, 1979-1984, and vice president for health affairs, 1981-1984.

Dr. Young graduated from Union Col-

lege, the medical center of the State University of New York (M.D.), and Case Western Reserve University (Ph.D). He is married and has five children.

Remarks to Citizens in Hamtramck, Michigan April 17, 1989

Cardinal Szoka, your Eminence. Bob, thank you for the warm greeting to your wonderful community. Governor Blanchard—it's an honor to have the Governor of the great State here. And I want to pay my respects to the members of the Michigan congressional delegation that came out here with me—Senator Riegle and several distinguished Members of the House of Representatives sitting over here—and also to Senator John Engler, who is the majority leader of the Michigan State Senate, and to other elected leaders not only from your community but in other parts of this State.

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the Earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address, at this important gathering, the health and prosperity of a whole nation—the proud people of Poland. You know, we Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond: a bond of blood, of culture, and shared values. And so, it is only natural that as dramatic change comes to Poland we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.

In my Inaugural Address, I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing; its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient leafless tree." I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of individuals. And I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideals: of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will.

And we should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe, the homeland of philosophers of freedom, whose ideals have been so fully realized in our great United States of America. And Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe, and make no mistake about it.

For almost half a century, the suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the military power of the Soviet Union, has kept nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor. And as East and West now seek to reduce arms, it must not be forgotten that arms are a symptom, not a source, of tension. The true source of tension is the imposed and unnatural division of Europe. How can there be stability and security in Europe and the world as long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their own future, a right explicitly promised by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling authoritarianism? The United States—and let's be clear on this—has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations.

And yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent, and Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence, and prosperity. In the Soviet Union

(A)
action? ✓

itself, we are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We see new thinking in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting, and far more reaching change. So, let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place, and we will continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections.

East and West are now negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe, and if it is to end, it will end in this crucible of world conflict. And it must end—the American people want to see east and central Europe free, prosperous, and at peace. With prudence, realism, and patience, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom—the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki accords and the deepening East-West contact. In recent years, we have improved relations with countries in the region. And in each case, we looked for progress in international posture and internal practices—in human rights, cultural openness, emigration issues, opposition to international terror. While we want relations to improve, there are certain acts we will not condone or accept, behavior that can shift relations in the wrong direction—human rights abuses, technology theft, and hostile intelligence or foreign policy actions against us.

Some regions are now seeking to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been absolutely unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5th, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if faithfully implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the roundtable agreements, the free trade union *Solidarność* was today—this very day, under those agreements—*Solidarność* was today formally restored. And the agreements also pro-

vide that a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free association will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of General Jaruzelski and his colleagues, and they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people, and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa.

Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics: It is the death of economics. In Poland, an economic system crippled by the inefficiencies of central planning almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise—almost. But economic reforms can still give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the great Polish people.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the moral, political, and economic support of the West, and the West will respond. My administration is completing now a thorough review of our policies toward Poland and all of Eastern Europe, and I've carefully considered ways that the United States can help Poland. And we will not act unconditionally. We're not going to offer unsound credits. We're not going to offer aid without requiring sound economic practices in return. And we must remember that Poland still is a member of the Warsaw Pact. And I will take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

The Congress, the Polish-American community—and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say; and I'm delighted he's here, good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck—that the Congress, the Polish-American community, the American labor movement, our allies, and international financial institutions—our allies all must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root anew and sustain itself. And we can and must answer this call to freedom. And it is particularly appropriate here in Hamtramck for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidari-

(B)
action?

(C)
action?

ty through its darkest days. Labor deserves great credit for that.

Now the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And I have decided as your President on specific steps to be taken by the United States, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway and to encourage reforms yet to come now that *Solidarność* is legal. I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries. We will work with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow.

D action?

I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors. We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses—both sides can benefit. The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation. We believe that the roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies. We will encourage business and private nonprofit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises, and for charitable, humanitarian, and environmental projects. We will support imaginative educational, cultural, and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

E action?

F action?

G action?

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and Government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind that we now see—both of them valued that assurance. So, it is especially gratifying for me today to witness the changes now taking place in Poland and to announce these important changes in U.S. policy. The United States of America keeps its promises.



If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. And while we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. And second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future. We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of peoples, goods, and ideas. We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, free, contested elections. And we dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including closer ties with Western Europe. And we envision an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy—on any pretext. We share an unwavering conviction that one day all the peoples of Europe will live in freedom. And make no mistake about that.

H dreams realized

I arms reductions?

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic alliance, I will meet with the leaders of the Western democracies. The leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these concerns. And these are not bilateral issues just between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should understand, in turn, that a free, democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country. Such an evolution would imply and reinforce the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions—arms reductions, political relations, trade—in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

J action?

What has brought us to this opening? The unity and strength of the democracies, yes, and something else: the bold, new thinking in the Soviet Union, the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom

now. And if we're wise, united, and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all Europe free.

who? [Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, came to these American shores to stand for freedom. Let us honor and remember this hero of our own struggle for freedom by extending our hand to those who work the shipyards of Gdansk and walk the cobbled streets of Warsaw. Let us recall the words of the Poles who struggled for independence: "For your freedom and ours." Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. *Niech Zyje Polska!* [Long live Poland!] Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:53 a.m. at Hamtramck City Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to Cardinal Edmund C. Szoka, the Archbishop of Detroit, and

Robert Kozaren, mayor of Hamtramck. He also referred to Edward Moskal, president of the Polish-American Congress. Following his remarks, the President attended a luncheon at the Eagle Restaurant. Following the luncheon, he returned to Washington, DC.

A fact sheet entitled "Support for Polish Reforms" was also released by the Office of the Press Secretary. In addition to covering the material on this subject found in these remarks, the fact sheet also contained the following points concerning U.S. policy toward Poland:

"Once authorized, OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation] and the Polish Government will negotiate an investment incentives agreement detailing OPIC's rights and the GOP's [Government of Poland's] responsibilities for OPIC-assisted investment.

"In the absence of GSP [Generalized System of Preferences], OPIC would make an independent determination that Poland is taking steps to adopt and implement worker rights. We will work closely with Solidarity."

Remarks at the National Conference of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL-CIO

April 18, 1989

Thank you for that warm welcome. Thank you, Bob Georgine, for that warm welcome. Since the election is over, the story can now be told: a proud story about all the help this guy gave me in the last two elections. [Laughter] No, here's the way it worked, really. [Laughter]

In this very room, I'm at an Italian-American dinner in 1984, sitting up here at the high—you know, the big dais here and everything. Georgine comes over—very pleasant to my wife, who could well be his campaign manager if he has higher aspirations. [Laughter] And he says, "You've got to understand, George," he tells me, "you've got to understand. Don't you realize Geraldine Ferraro is an Italian? Don't you understand that?" I said, "Yes, I understand, so I was

waiting for 1988." [Laughter] See him at the same dinner, same place, looking at him. "Hey, come on." And he says, "You've got to understand." I looked at his nametag. I'm running against Michael Dukakis, famous Greek-American. I see his nametag—Bob Georgapolis—[laughter]—little much.

But look, here I am, and I appreciate very much the tone with which your outstanding leader set the agenda here today and the warm welcome that you gave me. And I do have great respect for Bob Georgine. I've told him this. The door will be open over there to him, to the leaders here, and to all of you, whom he represents so well. And he doesn't hide behind the differences. We get them out there on the table.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Lech Walesa of Poland in Warsaw

July 5, 1992

President Walesa. I'd like to state once again that we owe a great deal to America. We'd like to pay tribute to the President and try to do everything to retain the interest of the States and of Mr. President, and at the same time making it as good as possible for America.

American involvement in leading towards democracy was great. And in Poland, American involvement is necessary for Europe. We simply cannot envisage Europe without an American presence.

It is not safe at all here after the dismantling of the Soviet Union, only today the dangers are somewhat different. And I am convinced that without U.S. presence we won't make it at all. That is why I wish to thank the President and to thank America for everything that Central Europe has achieved, particularly in this very special moment, and hoping for the presence of the President and of America in order for us to be successful. It can be successful; it can be great business; however, only if we do it together.

Once more I wish to welcome you most cordially, Mr. President and your delegation. And I would wish you less problems with this part of the world.

President Bush. And may I just respond and tell the Polish side here what I've just told President Walesa, and that is we have every intention of remaining involved. We appreciate the President's understanding of the importance of NATO. And we feel that a vigorous trade between Poland and the United States is in our interests as well as Poland's.

So I told the President we would do everything we can to keep the United States involved, to keep a strong NATO, to stay in touch on the security side of things, and then to figure out what we can do to go forward on the trade matters because we think he has properly assessed the security concerns and economic concerns in Europe, and we want to continue to be helpful. And we will be. We will be.

There is a great affection in the United States for Poland, as you know from your visits there. And the fact that Poland wants us to do what we're doing, stay involved, to be constructive partners, that's very helpful for the United States, too. So thank you for your hospitality.

Note: The remarks began at 12:45 p.m. in the Green Room at the Royal Palace. President Walesa spoke in Polish, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Polish Citizens in Warsaw

July 5, 1992

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

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

This is truly a homecoming, the day Poland welcomes home a part of its proud history, a great patriot, a patron of freedom. You spoke eloquently of him. Through his long life, Ignacy Paderewski fought for a free and independent Poland. When independence came, Paderewski served as Prime Minister of your new nation. When occupation came, he joined the exiled government. And when he died, America gave this great friend of freedom a place alongside our honored dead in Arlington Cemetery to rest, in the words of our President Franklin Roosevelt, "Poland would be free."

Few knew then how many dark days would come and go, how many lifetimes would pass until this day. When years passed without fanfare or ceremony, when a small, simple

marker took the place of a larger stone, Poles understood. In 5 years or 50 years, Paderewski would one day come home to Polish soil.

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

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

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

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

Just think of the new world that's emerged these past 3 years: Europe, whole and free; Russia, turning from dictatorship to democracy; Ukraine and the other nations of the old Soviet empire, free and independent. Look at this new world, and remember where that revolution began: right here in Poland.

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

For all that is new, there are things that have not changed, things that sustained you through the darkest days: Polish strength, Polish spirit, Polish pride. Reaching your dreams will be difficult. I know the sheer volume of new voices can sometimes be deafening. But from the clamor of new voices must come democracy, a common vision of the common good.

Of course, in many places and for many people there is more pain than progress. But we must take care to separate cause from consequence. Poland's time of trial is not caused by private enterprise but by the stubborn legacy of four decades of Communist misrule. Make no mistake: The path you have chosen is the right path. And as you say, Mr. President, it is the path of pioneers. Free government and free enterprise have helped Poland overcome a crippling past. Free government and free markets will bring Poland a bright future.

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

Poland has made great progress in its reforms, moving this country to a new stage in its economic revolution. As always, the United States of America stands ready to help. In 1989, the United States worked with Poland and others to establish a \$1 billion fund to help support a free currency for a free Poland. Now we need to consider new uses for that fund, to help Poland as it faces today's challenges. That's why I am proposing that once Poland is back on track with the IMF that we make that fund available for other uses, perhaps to finance Polish exports or to help capitalize banks to support new businesses. The U.S. contribution alone will amount to \$200 million.

This is a Polish and American idea that I will take to the economic summit at Munich. There I will urge the leaders of the world's great democracies to join with us to seek new ways to help Poland toward progress and prosperity. Let there be no doubt: America shares Poland's dream. America wants Poland to succeed. And we

will stand at your side until success is guaranteed to everyone.

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

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

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

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

Note: The President spoke at approximately 2:30 p.m. at Castle Square. In his remarks, he referred to Father Jerzy Popieluszko, an anti-Communist priest who was murdered in 1984.

Munich Economic Summit: Yugoslavia Communique

July 7, 1992

We, the leaders of our seven countries and representatives of the European Community are deeply concerned about the ongoing

Yugoslav crisis. We strongly condemn the use of violence in the former Yugoslavia and deplore the suffering inflicted upon its population. We particularly deplore those actions directed against civilian populations, as well as the forced expulsion of ethnic groups.

Although all parties have contributed to this state of affairs, the Serbian leadership and the Yugoslav army controlled by it bear the greatest share of the responsibility. We support the EC Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington as the key forum for ensuring a durable and equitable political solution to the outstanding problems of the former Yugoslavia, including constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Hercegovina.

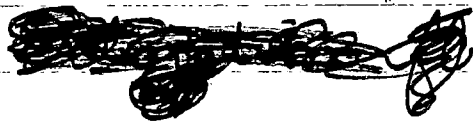
We call on all parties to resume negotiations in that conference in good faith and without preconditions. We welcome the close consultations between the conference chaired by Lord Carrington, the EC, the U.N. and other parties concerned with the Yugoslav crisis.

These consultations could lead to the holding of a broader international conference to address unresolved questions, including issues related to minorities. We stress the absolute need for the parties in former Yugoslavia to show the will for peace which is indispensable to success and without which the peoples of former Yugoslavia will continue to suffer.

The tragic humanitarian situation, especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina, is unacceptable. We fully endorse as heads of state and government the efforts of the international community to provide relief. We welcome the efforts made in achieving the opening of the airport of Sarajevo, and we support actions taken by UNPROFOR to secure the airport.

The blockade of Sarajevo must be lifted, and the shelling of the town stopped in order to sustain a comprehensive relief operation. We express our gratitude to all participants in the airlift to Sarajevo and the supply of its population. We appeal to all parties in Bosnia and Hercegovina not to imperil humanitarian effort.

We firmly warn the parties concerned, including irregular forces, not to take any action that would endanger the lives of those engaged in the relief operation. Should these



Delegation dug him up and flew over his remains in June.

He was buried @ Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw on July 5.

"pianist, statesman, a believer in God and country."
→ @ memorial

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND
CANADIAN AFFAIRS

FACSIMILE NUMBER (202) 647-0555

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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: fact sheets on Poland

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

REMARKS: as requested. call if you have more questions

PAGE 1 OF 5 PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

UNCLASSIFIED*local gov elections
were May 25, 1990*FACT SHEET: POLAND - POLITICAL

- o On December 22, 1990, Lech Walesa became the first popularly elected president of the Republic of Poland.
- o Following the first fully free, democratic parliamentary elections in October 1991, Jan Olszewski was named prime minister. On June 4, 1992, after only six months in power, Olszewski's government was brought down by an overwhelming vote of no-confidence by the Polish lower house of Parliament (Sejm). The vote came in response to a crisis generated by Olszewski's Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz, who had provided the Sejm with a list of alleged secret police collaborators.
- o On June 5, 1992, after Walesa formally proposed Waldemar Pawlak, leader of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) to be Prime Minister, the Sejm voted Pawlak into office. Pawlak was unable to assemble a cabinet because of differences on economic policy among potential coalition partners.
- o The Sejm accepted Pawlak's resignation July 10 and then immediately approved the nomination of UD Sejm Deputy and human rights lawyer Hanna Suchocka. The next day the Sejm accepted Suchocka's seven-party post-Solidarity coalition.
- o The best known political parties emerging from the old Solidarity movement are the Christian Democratic Center Alliance (led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski) and the Democratic Union (led by former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki). Solidarity itself fielded candidates for the 1991 elections, but remains primarily a trade union.
- o A new constitution is being drafted for adoption by the new parliament. The Sejm recently adopted an interim "Small Constitution, which must also be approved by the Senate and the President.
- o On May 22, 1992, Poland and Russia signed several agreements on arrangements for Russian troop withdrawals. All but 6000 support troops will leave Poland by November 15, 1992, and the remainder will be out by the end of 1993.
- o Poland, like other Warsaw Pact countries, now has a liaison mission to NATO through its embassy in Brussels. Poland is an active participant in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC).
- o The leaders of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary signed a declaration at the Visegrad summit on February 15, 1991, pledging cooperation on matters of common concern.
- o Poland and Germany signed a comprehensive bilateral friendship treaty on economic and other matters in June 1991.
- o On May 18, 1992, Poland and Ukraine signed a treaty of friendship that includes cooperation on economic issues, science and technology, and security issues such as military trade.

*call me
about this**don't mention
specific political
parties*

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ECONOMIC SITUATION IN POLAND

- o Economic conditions vary throughout Poland. They are generally better in Warsaw and other large urban areas. In predominantly rural southeast Poland and in the northeast conditions are worse with unemployment approaching 20%.
- o The burden of transition, especially frustration with declining living standards, rising unemployment, and uneven income distribution have hampered support for reform.
- o In 1991 Poland suffered a decline in GDP of 8-10%. Overall industrial production decreased 11.9%, although the private sector posted a gain of 25%. Inflation ran 60-70%, unemployment nation-wide hit 11.4%.
- o First quarter 1992 figures showed improvement: inflation ran below a projected 3% per month; industrial production in March was up 17% from February; unemployment declined to 12.2% from 12.5%, the first drop in two years. However, profitability of state enterprises continues to fall.
- o In 1991 Poland ran a trade surplus of \$182 million. Overall exports dropped 1.4%, the first decline in 10 years, as exports to former CEMA partners fell 42%. Hard currency exports increased 18.3% to \$14.2 billion, while hard currency imports jumped 72.6% to \$14.3 billion.
 - Trade is skewed toward the EC, Germany by far the largest trading partner. In 1991 42.9% of Polish exports went to the EC, up from 36.1% in 1990. In 1991 57% of Poland's imports were from the EC, up from 51.3% in 1990.
 - In contrast, in 1991 2.4% of Poland's exports went to the US, down from 2.5% in 1990. Poland's imports from the US were 3.1% of total imports in 1991, down from 3.2% in 1990. (US figures for 1991 are for 7 months.)
- o The association agreement with the EC offers potential for increased exports. In order for Poland to take full advantage of the opportunity, Polish firms must produce goods which are competitive in western markets. Products in which Poland has an advantage and account for nearly 40% of exports to the EC - textiles, steel, agriculture - will face barriers for at least five years.

- o Poland's market is generally open. However, in August 1991 a new tariff schedule with higher rates was introduced to establish a higher base for negotiations with the EC, to raise government revenues, and to protect domestic industry from an expected flood of imports. As the association agreement is implemented these high tariffs could disadvantage US exporters.
- o Poland has been actively entering into economic agreements with Hungary and CSFR and with neighboring CIS republics.
 - The troika countries are beginning talks aimed at creating a free trade area among themselves which would be more liberal, especially in agriculture, than the association agreements with the EC.
 - Poland negotiated a \$2.8 billion barter deal with Russia in December 1991, exchanging foodstuffs, coal, and pharmaceuticals for oil and natural gas. Russia did not deliver the expected amounts of energy - most likely because of technical and administrative glitches and payment disputes - and Poland renegotiated the agreement.
 - The troika signed on February 16 a border agreement with Ukraine aimed at facilitating trade and promising mutual assistance in the case of mass emigration from CIS. The troika has no plans at present to include Ukraine as a member of the troika, however.
- o Foreign investment in Poland has been disappointing. It totals about \$800 million: the US with about \$225 million is second-largest investor after Germany. In great part, this reflects an ambiguous investment climate and slowness by the GOP in making decisions.
- o Poland made progress in reform under its IMF program, controlling inflation and creating necessary frameworks for market economies. While privatization of small firms proceeded quickly, privatization of large enterprises has been sluggish.
 - Poland has only privatized 10.5 % of its large industrial firms. The GOP is attempting to implement a mass privatization program involving investment funds and vouchers, but it will not begin until 1993.
- o Poland must get back on an IMF program so it can take full advantage of benefits from the Paris Club debt reduction agreement and some IBRD lending. Poland also needs to reach agreement with its London Club creditors.

- o On June 5 the Sejm passed by a 230-90 margin the budget introduced by the former Olszewski government. The budget was designed to meet the IMF's key criteria for a new agreement, holding the deficit to 5% of GDP.
- o US economic relations with Poland are good. We have encouraged Poland to maintain the pace of economic reform and improve the investment climate, including adequate protection of intellectual property.
 - IPR concerns regard copyright protection for software and two patent issues, compulsory licensing and protection during a transition period. Until these are resolved, we cannot bring the Business and Economic Treaty into effect because Poland's current laws are not compatible with its obligations under the Treaty.
- o There is concern that Poland's EC Association Agreement will damage US investors. Implementation of the tariff provisions has seriously disadvantaged US exporters.
 - We are addressing this problem through GATT negotiations and by requesting a temporary suspension of the most critical tariff increases.

Make no mistake about it, your jobs and your very welfare depend upon the men you choose in this election to lead your country.

The Democratic Party has worked hard for peace and prosperity over the past 20 years, and this country has made tremendous gains. But our work is far from completed. We can lose all those gains in short order if the party in control of our Government does not understand the programs that have brought such great returns to the American people.

During the final 2 weeks of this campaign, the Republican candidate for President has come forth—as I predicted—with a lot of “me too” promises about the programs of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. It took him quite a while to learn that the people of this country really believe in the programs that have been endorsed in five presidential elections.

Now he is trying to convince the voters of this country that they can trust him and his Old Guard friends to keep these programs going, if they get control of the Government. Don't you take a chance like that—you'll be sorry if you do.

That line just won't work with the people. A victory for the reactionary Republicans, who are running this campaign, would threaten every one of the gains the people of this country have made in the past 20 years. The Republican Party is still the party that is run by the special interests. There's just no two ways about it.

If the Republicans get a chance to tear down the social and economic reforms we have brought about in this country, that will be bad enough. But if they get a chance to start tearing down all the work we have done for world peace, that will be something that will be bad indeed.

Everybody knows that Communist aggression is a serious threat to the whole free world. We have been working to meet that threat without bringing on a third world war. The only way to do this is by building up our military strength and the strength of

our allies. The only way we can do it is through international cooperation. But most of the Republicans do not believe in these programs of international cooperation. They usually vote to cripple them whenever they get a chance. If they had their way, very soon we would be left alone with no friends or allies to help fight off the Communists.

Instead of fighting in Korea, we might soon be fighting here in Michigan, or San Francisco, or New Orleans. I am terribly afraid of what might happen to this country if the Republican isolationists get control of the Government.

Now I know you are not going to let that happen. I know you don't want to see a third world war any more than I do. I want you to think about these things. It is absolutely necessary that the people of this country use their heads. The only reason in the world that I am going around over the country talking about the issues is because you can't find out about them any other way. The Republican press and the Republican leaders are not going to tell you anything about the issues. They want to get you off on a side road and fool you. I am going to see that they don't do that.

All I am asking you to do is to study the record. Study the record of the Republicans in the Congress. Study the record of the Democrats in the Congress. Think about the things that have happened over the last 20 years, and then decide whether you want the clock to be turned back, or whether you want to go forward with Adlai Stevenson in the White House for the next 4 years—and 4 years of good government.

[7.] HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN (Memorial Park, 4:26 p.m.)

I appreciate most highly this cordial reception. I have always remembered with pleasure my former visit here. This is the best Democratic town in the country, and I am always glad to be here for that reason. I

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remember how well you treated me when I came here in 1948. And I remember also how you voted for me that year, too—and I appreciate that most highly, and always will—for I needed it then.

Now I am out here for another purpose this time. I hope that you will do even better for Adlai Stevenson. Governor Stevenson is a great American, and he will make you a great President—I haven't any doubt of that at all. If you will elect him and a good Democratic Congress, then you will continue to have a government that works for the welfare of the plain people—the everyday people in this country. That is what the Democratic Party believes in: It believes in the people. Its first consideration is the welfare of the people.

The Republican Party has no heart. I have always said that they use a calculating machine for a heart, for they are thinking about the big wealth all the time.

The Democrats think of the people that make up the country—the vast majority of them. We believe that the Government ought to help provide jobs for people, and help make it possible for workingmen to raise their families in decency and health.

We believe that people ought to have decent homes in which to live, and a chance to send their children to good schools. We believe that people are entitled to some security in their old age.

Now that is the kind of government you have had for 20 years under the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt, and the Fair Deal of Harry Truman. That is the kind of government you will get from Adlai Stevenson. But I will tell you right now, it is not the kind of government you would get from the Republicans and their five-star general. Oh no, my friends, they don't believe in that kind of thing. They are coming around now, at election time, making you a lot of promises, giving you a lot of false propaganda. But I hope you won't believe them. You have been through that kind of propaganda five times before, and you weren't fooled, and I

don't want you to be fooled this time.

Ask your good Democratic Congressman about them—ask Thad Machrowicz. He can tell you what the Republicans really stand for and what they have been doing down there in the Congress. Thad has done a fine job for you in the Congress. He has fought for the St. Lawrence Seaway. He has done good work for the committee that investigated the Katyn Forest massacre. I was glad to cooperate with that committee, because they were doing a job that needed to be done. The facts about that terrible crime ought to be fully exposed.

Thad Machrowicz helped me fight that terrible immigration law that Congress passed over my veto. That law discriminates against the Poles and other people in eastern Europe. It gives a second-class status to naturalized citizens. That is un-American, and the Democratic Party platform promises to get it changed. The platform also pledges further aid to refugees from communism, and we ought to change our laws so we can take into this country more of the people who escape from behind the Iron Curtain.

I have been working for that for 7 long years. Blair Moody has been in this fight, too. Send him back to the Senate to work with Thad Machrowicz—and Adlai Stevenson. I am sure you will do that. And if the rest of the country will send us enough good Democrats like yours, we will get those terrible immigration laws corrected.

We don't believe in the Republican theory that the Poles and other people from eastern Europe are not desirable immigrants. On the contrary, we welcome them with open arms—and we always will.

Now the Republicans have been coming around telling you all the things they would do about Poland. But they don't tell you what they have been doing down in Washington to cripple our fight against Communist aggression. You know and I know that for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to achieve their freedom, the free nations of the world must first have strong defenses

against Communist aggression. That is what we have been working for, and we have made a lot of progress. We have built up the strength of our own Armed Forces, and we have helped our allies build up theirs.

But we haven't had much help from the Republicans. They have been voting to cut the funds for our national defense and for help to our friends abroad. That is still what they want to do. And if you were to elect a Republican President and a Republican Congress, they would wreck our programs against Communist aggression, just as sure as I am standing here. And we would be that much closer to a third world war.

But I know you are not going to do that. I know you are not going to turn this country over to the Republican isolationists and reactionaries. Instead, you are going to vote for this fine bunch of Democratic candidates you have here in the great State of Michigan. You are going to send Thad Machrowicz to Congress, Blair Moody to the United States Senate, Mennen Williams you will make your Governor again, because he has made you a good Governor—and because a man has been tried and true you ought to give him another chance.

I have been going up and down this country from one end to the other—I have been between 17,000 and 18,000 miles, and I have made over 180 talks on the subject of government and the issues that are before the people. The only way you can find out what the issues really are and get the truth on them is to have the President of the United States tell you about them. That is what the President of the United States has been doing. That is one of his duties, to let the people know and to report to them just exactly what the situation is.

You will not find out what the issues are from the Republican press. The Republicans won't tell you anything about the issues. They want to get you off on a side street and keep you from looking at the issues.

I want you to do a little thinking. I want you to study the record, and that is the only

way you can find out—because what people will do is what they have done in the past. Study the record of the Republicans in the Congress. Study the record of the Democrats in the Congress, and find out which of those records is for the people, and which of those records is for the special interests. When you do that, I won't have to argue with you. You will vote your own interests. You will vote the Democratic ticket on November the 4th, and you will send Adlai Stevenson to the White House for the next 4 years, and we will have 4 more years of good government. Now vote in your own interests on election day.

[8.] DETROIT, MICHIGAN (Maybury Grand, 4:48 p.m.)

I appreciate that more than I can tell you. I think you took in a little too much territory, Mr. Chairman. I don't pose as the greatest man who ever sat in the President's chair. But I do pose as one of the hardest working ones that ever sat there.

I have had quite a career in public life. Thirty years ago next month I will have been elected to elective public office for 30 years. I have been in elective public office for 30 years—except for 2 years which I spent in the First World War. So I have been in public office for 30 years. And I have tried my best always to give the people the best I had in me.

Now one of the great problems which I faced when I became President of the United States, was the problem of the unfairness in racial conditions in this country. I immediately appointed a commission which made a complete survey of the whole situation. That commission brought in one of the best reports that has ever been made to any President—the best report, in fact, that has ever been made on that subject.

The effect of that report has been phenomenal. There has been an immense improvement in racial relations in the United States of America since that report was made.