

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

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FOIA Number:

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# FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential Library Staff.**

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13612  
**Folder ID Number:** 13612-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Polish American Community 3/16/92 [OA 6099]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

92 MAR 13 11:07

DATE: 3/13/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: TODAY, 3/13/92 1:00pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
 SUBJECT: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 3/16/92

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>705</i> SCOWCROFT <i>Hickings 5732</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>W/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS <i>by phone to Joe D</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
<i>✓</i> GRAY <i>N/C 6026 Radkiewicz</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 1:00 p.m., TODAY, FRIDAY, MARCH 13, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
 Assistant to the President  
 and Staff Secretary  
 Ext. 2702

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

02 MAR 13 9:46

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments], ladies and gentlemen:  
Thank you for this warm welcome to the heart of Chicago's Polish-American community. It is an honor to be here again.

Whenever I return to the Polish-American community in Chicago, I remember my visit here in 1988 to the church of your patron saint -- St. Hyacinth. It was my privilege then to join with you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! Since 1988, our world has been transformed. Soviet imperial communism has given way peacefully to freedom and self-government in Poland, in eastern Europe, in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain.

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko. They sneered at believers. They called religion the "opium of the people" and said they would wipe it out.

But believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the camps. Patient believers who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski stood tall against the oppressors. "If a citizen does not demand his rights," Cardinal Wyszynski declared when communist power was at its peak, "he is no longer a citizen. He becomes a slave." The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the motto of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as though everything depended on themselves - and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military people worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them.

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and which we continue to supply today, helping Poland consolidate its new democratic government. Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor offered indispensable help. Through it all, we looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: ". . . wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

Two brave sons of Poland -- Lech Walesa and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II -- have altered world history through their courage and moral leadership. And I daresay this: These two inspired men could not have accomplished what they have -- had it not been for the unceasing good works and prayers of the Polonia.

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those countries still tormented by totalitarian violence and oppression and instability -- nations like Croatia and Serbia and Cambodia. Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam.

We've helped change the world -- and now we must work to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

We must keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility paramount as we reform our welfare system. We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

1944

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



92 MAR 13 P7:13

DATE: 3/13/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: TODAY, 3/13/92 1:00pm

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 3/16/92

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

March 13, 1992

NSC concurs with changes indicated.

*[Signature]*  
for Brent Scowcroft

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

02 MAR 13 09:46

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

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For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

(Not quite true  
in Poland.)

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Even in the darkest days,  
the United States remained  
resolute in support of Poland's  
3 right to be free.

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and ~~which we continue to supply~~ <sup>the substantial assistance we</sup> today, helping Poland ~~consolidate its new democratic government.~~ <sup>build stable democracy and a prospering economy.</sup> Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor offered indispensable help. Through it all, we looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: ". . . wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

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The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget ~~the enormous work still to be done in transforming the~~ <sup>the enormous work still to be done in transforming the</sup> ~~those countries still tormented by totalitarian violence and~~ <sup>old totalitarian systems into prospering free market</sup> ~~oppression and instability -- nations like Croatia and Serbia and~~ <sup>democracies.</sup> Cambodia. Nor must we forget the people who <sup>still</sup> live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship, ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam.

Attorney

Our work is far from over. America's leadership in defense of freedom must continue.

*Just as we must continue changing  
the world,* 4

*redouble our  
efforts*

~~We've helped change the world~~ and now we must <sup>redouble our</sup> work to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

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America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

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# # #

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 1944

ACTION OFFICER: HUTCHINGS

DUE: 12:00 PM FRI 13 MAR

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Howe

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Brady

Prepare Memo For Sittmann

Prepare Memo to SCOWCROFT

to McGrarty w/cc: BRAY

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS:

PHONE: to action officer at ext. \_\_\_\_\_

Concur	<input type="checkbox"/>	FYI	<input type="checkbox"/>	Concur	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FYI	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	Andricos	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hutchings	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Popadiuk	<input type="checkbox"/>	Popadiuk
<input type="checkbox"/>	Barth	<input type="checkbox"/>	Jones	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pryce	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pryce
<input type="checkbox"/>	Beers	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kansteiner	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rademaker	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rademaker
<input type="checkbox"/>	Burns	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lampley	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Riedel	<input type="checkbox"/>	Riedel
<input type="checkbox"/>	Canas	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lowenkron	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rostow	<input type="checkbox"/>	Rostow
<input type="checkbox"/>	Carney	<input type="checkbox"/>	McNamara	<input type="checkbox"/>	Stettner	<input type="checkbox"/>	Stettner
<input type="checkbox"/>	Chellis	<input type="checkbox"/>	McShane	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tilley	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tilley
<input type="checkbox"/>	Davis	<input type="checkbox"/>	Melby	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tobey	<input type="checkbox"/>	Tobey
<input type="checkbox"/>	Deal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Menan	<input type="checkbox"/>	Van Eron	<input type="checkbox"/>	Van Eron
<input type="checkbox"/>	Dyke	<input type="checkbox"/>	Morley	<input type="checkbox"/>	Waguespack	<input type="checkbox"/>	Waguespack
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fry	<input type="checkbox"/>	Needles	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wayne	<input type="checkbox"/>	Wayne
<input type="checkbox"/>	Gordon	<input type="checkbox"/>	O'Leary	<input type="checkbox"/>	Whitley	<input type="checkbox"/>	Whitley
<input type="checkbox"/>	Gompert	<input type="checkbox"/>	Paal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Working	<input type="checkbox"/>	Working
<input type="checkbox"/>	Haass	<input type="checkbox"/>	Patterson	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Holl	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pavitt	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Hewett	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pilling	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Hull	<input type="checkbox"/>	Poneman	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

INFORMATION

Sittmann

Hill

Exec Sec Desk

Scowcroft (advance)

Howe (advance)

Secretariat

COMMENTS

**URGENT**

Logged By [Signature]

Return to Secretariat  
379 OEGB

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/13/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: TODAY, 3/13/92 1:00pm

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 3/16/92

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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**RESPONSE:**

NSC concurs with changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft

**PHILLIP D. BRADY**  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

12 MAR 13 9:46

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

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The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget ~~the enormous work still to be done in transforming the those countries still tormented by totalitarian violence and old totalitarian systems into prospering free market democracies.~~ <sup>And I'm thinking particularly of the brave people of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia & Macedonia. as they seek to achieve</sup> Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam.

we support Croatia's freedom  
we must also help people struggle to achieve their freedom

AS Poland launch its dem. rev. which is needed to help the economy  
② US to support emergency fund - then create Pol. in Europe  
③ US leaders reduce to most the help needed  
foreign official debts  
(one has \$17 B in debt relief)  
④ new v. important to open US & Euro markets & strengthen foreign trade & invest and more on prop. mil. Peace Corp.

No one knows politics better than Poland. Our work is far from over. America's leadership in defense of freedom must continue.

*Just as we must & continue changing  
the world,* 4

*redouble our  
efforts*

~~We've helped change the world~~ and now we must work to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

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DATE: 03/13/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS -- 3/16/92

SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_  
(03/13 - draft five)

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>FINDLAY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>KAUFMAN</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			<u>MCGROARTY</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

**PHILLIP D. BRADY**  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MARCH 12 1963 P6:19

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

DAVID DEMAREST *DD*

FROM:

JOSEPH P. DUGGAN *JD*

SUBJECT:

PROPOSED REMARKS TO THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, March 16 at 4:05 p.m. you will deliver remarks to an audience of 200 members of the Polish-American community at the headquarters of the Polish National Alliance in Chicago, Illinois.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks (approximately 6 minutes / cards) celebrate the collapse of Communism and praise Poles and Polish-Americans for their crucial role in that triumph.

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Five  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Thank you for that Chicago welcome. Somebody suggested this visit has something to do with the Illinois primary election. \\ That's true -- I'm working to win that election. But if anyone thinks we have political headaches here -- they're nothing compared with what Lech Walesa has to go through in Poland. We have only two major parties. At last count, I think Lech had to wrangle with 18 different political parties! \\

Whenever I visit here, I remember my trip in 1988 to another center of Polish-American activity in Chicago -- St. Hyacinth's Church. I had the privilege to join with many of you in prayers for peace and freedom, and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyr of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years. Since 1988, our world has been transformed -- and that change began in Poland. \\ Poland overthrew the cruel tyranny that Stalin imposed after Yalta. \\ Now, imperial communism is dead - - and the Soviet Union has ceased to exist. \\ \\ The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain. \\

For decades we faced mortal danger. The communists fought to dominate the world. The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive

armies and nuclear arsenals. The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko.

But all the while, believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers -- who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and labor camps. Patient believers -- who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers -- who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

Inspired by brave leaders like Lech Walesa and Pope John Paul, good people on both sides of the Iron Curtain worked as though everything depended on themselves -- and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\

Even in the darkest days, we stood steadfast for Poland's right to be free. We kept our alliances strong. We gave humanitarian aid to Solidarity when it was needed the most. Today we continue to give substantial assistance, helping Poland build a stable democracy and a prospering economy. Just as important has been the voluntary help from the Church, from organized labor, and from the Polish-American community.

History will honor the role of the Polonia -- the worldwide Polish community -- for giving birth to a new age of freedom. And to symbolize this, this year we will fulfill the dying wish of Ignacy Paderewski and send his remains for burial in the sacred soil of a free Poland. \\

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget

those who still have not won full freedom. I think especially of the brave people of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Macedonia. \\

Our leadership for freedom must continue. You know that: No one knows better than Polish-Americans the rewards of staying strong and engaged in the world. No one knows better than you the tragic harm that comes from weakness and isolationism. We'll keep working together. We'll secure the peace and win new prosperity -- for Poland and all the Free World.

We must continue changing the world -- and we must redouble our efforts to change America for the better. To strengthen our freedoms we need more power for families and parents -- and limits on big government.

Let me close with a fable about liberal social planners that reminds me of Lech Walesa's down-to-earth humor. It's a story Russians used to tell during the last days of Communism:

A farmer's chickens were dying. So for help he went to the communist party hack who was the local agriculture commissar. The commissar said, "Give them aspirin." And over the next few days, 50 chickens died. The commissar then said, "give them penicillin." And in a few days, a hundred more chickens died. So the commissar advised castor oil.

After the castor oil therapy, the farmer went to the commissar and announced that all the remaining chickens had died.

"What a pity! What a pity!" the commissar said. "I had so many other ideas I wanted to try!" \\\

Well let me tell you: As long as I'm President, American

families will not be guinea pigs for social planners. \\ We will keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility first -- and we'll make this country better. This country was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As Barbara and I count our many blessings, we know we can count on Polish-Americans to move our country forward to new glories. Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- lands of the free and homes of the brave.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

92 MAR 13 10 46:20

March 13, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Polish American Community,  
Chicago, Illinois

Pursuant to Phil Brady's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter and has no objection to the proposed Presidential Remarks.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Four  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Thank you for that Chicago welcome. Somebody suggested this visit has something to do with the Illinois primary election. \\ That's true -- I'm working to win that election. But if anyone thinks we have political headaches here -- they're nothing compared with what Lech Walesa has to go through in Poland. We have only two major parties. At last count, I think Lech had to wrangle with 18 different political parties! \\

Whenever I visit here, I remember my trip in 1988 to another center of Polish-American activity in Chicago -- St. Hyacinth's Church. I had the privilege to join with many of you in prayers for peace and freedom, and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyr of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years. Since 1988, our world has been transformed -- and that change began in Poland. \\ Poland overthrew the cruel tyranny that Stalin had imposed after Yalta. \\ Now, imperial communism is dead -- and the Soviet Union has ceased to exist. \\ \\ The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain. \\

For decades we faced mortal danger. The communists fought to dominate the world. The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive

armies and nuclear arsenals. The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko.

But all the while believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers -- who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and labor camps. Patient believers -- who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers -- who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

Atheistic communism's empire fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski and Father Popieluszko -- like Lech Walesa and Pope John Paul -- stood tall against the oppressors. The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the motto of a saint: the worked as though everything depended on themselves - - and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\  
\\

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. We kept our alliances strong. And even in the darkest days, we stood steadfast for Poland's right to be free. We gave humanitarian aid to Solidarity when it was needed the most. Today we continue to give substantial assistance, helping Poland build a stable democracy and a prospering economy. Just as important has been the voluntary help from the Church, from organized labor, and from the Polish-American community.

History will honor the role of the Polonia -- the worldwide Polish community -- for giving birth to a new age of freedom. And to symbolize this, this year we will fulfill the dying wish

of Ignacy Paderewski and send his remains for burial in the sacred soil of a free Poland. \\

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those who still have not won full freedom. I think especially of the brave people of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Macedonia. \\ There is enormous work still to be done to transform the old totalitarian systems into prospering free market democracies.

Our leadership for freedom must continue. You know that: No one knows better than Polish-Americans the rewards of staying strong and engaged in the world. No one knows better than you the tragic harm that comes from weakness and isolationism. We'll keep working together. We'll secure the peace and win new prosperity for Poland and all the Free World.

Just as we must continue changing the world, we must redouble our efforts to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose.

Let me close with a fable about liberal social planners that reminds me of Lech Walesa's down-to-earth humor. It's a story Russians used to tell during the last days of Communism:

A farmer's chickens were dying. So for help he went to the communist party hack who was the local agriculture commissar.

The commissar said, "Give them aspirin." And over the next few days, 50 chickens died. The commissar then said, "give them penicillin." And in a few days, a hundred more chickens died. So the commissar advised castor oil.

After the castor oil therapy, the farmer went to the commissar and announced that all the remaining chickens had died.

"What a pity! What a pity!" the commissar said. "I had so many other ideas I wanted to try!" \\\

Well let me tell you: As long as I'm President, American families will not be guinea pigs for cockeyed social planners. \\ We will keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility first as we make this country better. Sure, we need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. \\\

This country was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans to move our country forward to new glories. Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America.

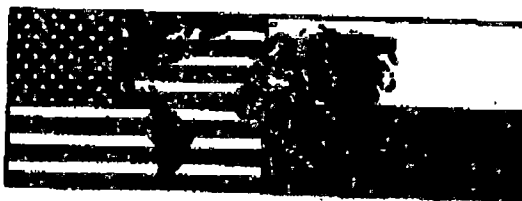
# # #

economic growth plan I asked Congress to pass by March 20: this Friday. My plan offers new incentives to get this economy moving: It's critical to get Congressional approval immediately.

I'd also like to let you in on an exciting new idea. ~~It's going to be called~~ <sup>I call it</sup> a "cash for clunker" proposal, ~~but let me tell~~ <sup>just</sup> you what it's really going to mean for this country -- cleaner air and fuel efficiency. It's very simple. We will allow companies or states to provide cash incentives to get older cars retired earlier -- sending these heavy polluters and gas guzzlers off to the junkyards. That will help these companies or local areas meet the tough requirements of our clean air law -- and we'll all breathe easier over that. But think how this might also help the auto industry -- in a chain reaction, the number of new-car sales could rise. These are the kind of innovative ideas we're going to keep introducing to bolster our economy. \ \

But I'd like to talk with you about another battle for the health of the economy -- the struggle against excessive regulation. American workers have shown to foreign competitors that, given a level playing field, we can outthink, outperform and outproduce anyone, anyplace, anytime. Well, a level playing field outside the United States is all well and good, but you'll never reach it if you have to run yourselves to exhaustion right here at home on a treadmill of overzealous regulation.

In my State of the Union Message, I instituted a 90-day review of proposed and existing federal regulations that could affect economic growth. Now we're speeding up rules that help



**Polish-American Enterprise Fund**  
**Polsko-Amerykański Fundusz Przedsiębiorczości**  
535 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10022

**Facsimile Transmision**

Telephone: (212) 339-8330

Date: 3/13/92

Fax: (212) 339-8359

**TO:**

Company: The White House

Fax Number: (202) 456-6218

Attention: Mr. Joseph P. Duggan

**FROM:**

Name: Francis J. Skrobiszewski

Phone Ext.: \_\_\_\_\_

**MESSAGE:**

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\_\_\_\_\_  
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## Polish-American Enterprise Fund

**VIA Fax: (202) 456-6218**

March 13, 1992

Mr. Joseph P. Duggan  
Office of Communications  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Joe:

It was good talking with you. President Bush can take a great deal of pride in the work of the Polish-American Enterprise Fund.

**We have closed investments in the Polish private sector exceeding \$80 million, and we are providing capital to more than 800 Polish entrepreneurs, many of whom would not have had access to financing without our program.**

I have been speaking to business groups around the United States to tell them about the Enterprise Fund's progress as a source of encouragement to their own investment efforts. It is important that the ethnic Polish community know that the innovative initiative established as the Polish-American Enterprise Fund is indeed working to help redevelop Poland's private sector.

I will continue to keep you informed of our activities and look forward to seeing you in Washington.

Best regards,



Francis J. Skrobiszewski  
Vice President

*Ed Moskal*

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Three  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments]: Thank you for this warm welcome to the heart of Chicago's Polish-American community. It is an honor to be here again. Somebody suggested that my neighborly visit had something to do with the Illinois primary election. \ \ Yes, there's something to that. I'm working to win that election. And I know my friends in the Democratic party have quite a number of primary contests on their side too. I mention this because if we think we have political headaches here -- they're nothing compared with what my friend Lech Walesa has to go through in Poland. *America's just got just -- maybe that's*  
~~I only have two parties to deal with in Congress.~~ *major* At last count, I think Lech had 18 different political parties to wrangle with in the Polish Parliament! \ \

Whenever I meet with your community, I remember my visit here in 1988 to another center of Polish-American activity in Chicago -- the church of St. Hyacinth. It was my privilege then to join with many of you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko [po-PYUSH-ko].

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! Since 1988, our world has been transformed -- and the transformation began in Poland. \ \ Brave Poland overthrew the cruel tyranny that Stalin had imposed after Yalta. \ \ And now,

*+ the Soviet Union  
has ceased to exist*

~~Soviet~~ imperial communism is dead. It has given way peacefully to freedom and self-government not only in Poland, but in Poland's neighboring countries of Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and eastern Germany. Communism is dead in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain. \ \

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in <sup>Moscow</sup> Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and <sup>nuclear</sup> ~~arsenals~~ of nuclear weapons.

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski [vi-SHIN-ski] and murdered Father Popieluszko. ~~They sneered at believers.~~

But <sup>all the while</sup> believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers -- who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the <sup>prisons</sup> camps. Patient believers -- who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers -- who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski and Father Popieluszko -- like Lech Walesa and Pope John Paul -- stood tall against the oppressors. The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the motto of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as

though everything depended on themselves -- and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \ \

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them.

Our government gave crucial support, <sup>during the dark days</sup> like ~~the~~ humanitarian aid ~~which we gave~~ Solidarity -- and the substantial assistance we supply today, helping Poland build a stable democracy and a prospering economy. As Poland launched its democratic revolution, we've tried to be helpful every step of the way. We've launched the Polish-American Enterprise Fund; we gave \$200 million to help stabilize the Polish currency; we led the way in reducing some \$17 billion in Poland's official debt; and we're working hard to open U.S. and European markets and to strengthen investment in Poland. Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor also gave indispensable help.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history <sup>will</sup> ~~must~~ give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Two brave sons of Poland -- Lech Walesa and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II -- have altered world history through their courage and moral leadership. And I daresay this: These two inspired men

could not have accomplished what they have -- had it not been for the unceasing good works and prayers of the Polonia. \\\

Another symbol of the rebirth of freedom involves the late Ignacy Paderewski, Poland's great musician and statesman. It was his dying wish that his body should not be returned to home until Poland was free. And our President honored his request and gave him a temporary resting place at Arlington National Cemetery. Now, 51 years after his death, Paderewski's remains will go to their permanent resting place <sup>the good earth of a Free Poland</sup> in Poland. \\\

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those people who still have not won full freedom. I am thinking especially today of the brave people of Croatia, of Slovenia, of Bosnia, and of Macedonia. \\\ Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam. There is <sup>still</sup> ~~enormous work~~ <sup>much</sup> still to be done to transform the old totalitarian systems into prospering free market democracies.

Our work is far from over. America's leadership in defense of freedom must continue. And if ever there were a case of preaching to the choir -- I suppose that would be giving this message to Polish-Americans. No one knows better than Polish-Americans the rewards of staying strong and engaged in the world. No one knows better than Polish-Americans the tragic harm that comes from weakness and isolationism. So I pledge to you today: I'll keep working with you -- and together, we'll secure Poland's new freedoms. <sup>Together</sup> ~~And~~ we'll win the campaign for prosperity. We'll

to Poland

do this by opening world markets and giving people the freedom to follow their dreams.\\\

Just as we must continue changing the world, we must redouble our efforts to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of ~~the~~ child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

Speaking for myself, I'm sick and tired of how the liberals treat the American families like lab specimens for their social theories. I'd like a return to basic common sense.

Whenever I talk with my friend Lech Walesa, he salts his conversation with down-to-earth humor. He <sup>s</sup> especially ~~likes to~~ *find* ~~tell~~ fables about farm animals. So let me offer you a little parable about social planners and their theories. This happens to be a story the Russians used to tell during the last days of Communism:

A farmer's chickens were dying. So for help he went to the communist party hack who was the local agriculture commissar. The commissar said, "Give them aspirin." <sup>And</sup> ~~But~~ over the next few days, 50 chickens died.

The commissar then said, "give them penicillin." <sup>And</sup> ~~But~~ in a few days, a hundred more chickens died. So the commissar advised castor oil.

After the castor oil therapy, the farmer went to the commissar and announced that all the remaining chickens had died.

"What a pity! What a pity!" the commissar said. "I had so many other ideas I wanted to try!" \\\

Well let me tell you: As long as I'm President, American families will not be guinea pigs for cockeyed social planners.

*over* \\\ ~~We will keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility paramount as we make this country better.~~ We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

And we can get this economy moving again sooner and faster if only Congress would meet my deadline and pass my economic growth plan. That deadline is this Friday -- March 20. \\\

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans to move our country forward to new glories. Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**

92 MAR 13 P12:11

DATE: 3/13/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: TODAY, 3/13/92 1:00pm

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY

SUBJECT: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 3/16/92

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 1:00 p.m., TODAY, FRIDAY, MARCH 13, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*Please see  
Comments.  
Thank you.*

PHILLIP D. BRADY  
Assistant to the President  
and Staff Secretary  
Ext. 2702

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

02 MAR 13 A 9:46

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments], ladies and gentlemen:  
Thank you for this warm welcome to the heart of Chicago's Polish-American community. It is an honor to be here again.

Whenever I return to the Polish-American community in Chicago, I remember my visit here in 1988 to the church of your patron saint -- St. Hyacinth. It was my privilege then to join with you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! Since 1988, our world has been transformed. Soviet imperial communism has given way peacefully to freedom and self-government in Poland, in eastern Europe, in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain.

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in ~~Moscow~~ <sup>St. Petersburg</sup> 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." <sup>↑</sup> The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States, with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko. They sneered at believers. They called religion the "<sup>opiate</sup> ~~opium~~ of the people" and <sup>pledged to</sup> ~~said they would~~ wipe it out.

But believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the <sup>labor</sup> ~~labor~~ camps. Patient believers who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski stood tall against the oppressors. "If a citizen does not demand his rights," <sup>The</sup> ~~Cardinal Wyszynski~~ declared when communist power was at its peak, "he is no longer a citizen. He becomes a slave." The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the motto of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as though everything depended on themselves - and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military people worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, <sup>The United States stood by them</sup> ~~Americans worked with~~ <sup>and gave them our steadfast</sup> ~~them.~~ <sup>Support.</sup>

America played a critical role in bringing freedom to the East Bloc -- Through government action, economic influence, and the ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~less~~ <sup>less</sup> voluntary efforts of communities such as yours. ~~Our government gave crucial support, like~~ the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and which we continue to supply today, helping Poland consolidate its new democratic government.

In particular, I'm thinking of the volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor, <sup>who have</sup> offered indispensable help. Through it all, we looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about ~~our eventful times~~ <sup>this momentous era</sup>, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people.

Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: ". . . wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

Two brave sons of Poland -- Lech Walesa and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II -- have altered world history through their courage and moral leadership. And I daresay this: These two inspired men could not have accomplished what they have -- had it not been for the unceasing good works and prayers of the Polonia.

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those countries still tormented by totalitarian violence and oppression and instability -- nations like Croatia and Serbia and Cambodia. Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba, ~~and~~ <sup>North Korea</sup> China, and Vietnam.

But just as important have been the →

Good!

4

We've helped change the world -- and now we must work to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

Because we are committed to strengthening families

→ We must keep ~~family~~, dignity, work, and responsibility paramount as we reform our welfare system. We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

*Excellent piece of work.  
A few suggestions.*

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments], ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you for this warm welcome to the heart of Chicago's Polish-American community. It is an honor to be here again.

Whenever I return to the Polish-American community in Chicago, I remember my visit here in 1988 to the church of your patron saint -- St. Hyacinth. <sup>whose commitment to meaningful employment opportunities and the hope of economic advancement was great.</sup> It was my privilege then to join with you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! Since 1988, our world has been transformed. Soviet imperial communism has given way peacefully to freedom and self-government in Poland, in eastern Europe, in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain, <sup>not to mention our belief in excellent schools and a culture that fosters lifelong learning.</sup>

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." <sup>The Soviet Union</sup> threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

*And what did he know about ~~our~~ my commitment to quality health care and a sense of well-being?*

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko. They sneered at believers. They called religion the "opium of the people" and said they would wipe it out.

But believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the camps. Patient believers who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski stood tall <sup>for a decent, drug-free and safe place to live in a clean environment</sup> against the oppressors. "If a citizen does not demand his rights," Cardinal Wyszynski declared when communist power was at its peak, "he is no longer a citizen. He becomes a slave." The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the motto of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as though everything depended on themselves - and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military people worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them.

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and which we continue to supply today, helping Poland <sup>in its commitment to children, youth developing good character and values and strong families.</sup> ~~consolidate its new democratic government.~~ Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor offered indispensable help. Through it all, we looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: ". . . wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

Two brave sons of Poland -- Lech Walesa and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II -- have altered world history through their courage and moral leadership. And I daresay this: These two inspired men could not have accomplished what they have -- had it not been for the unceasing good works and prayers of the Polonia.

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those countries still tormented by totalitarian violence and oppression and instability -- nations like Croatia and Serbia and Cambodia. Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam.

We've helped change the world -- and now we must work to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

We must keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility paramount as we reform our welfare system. We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Three  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments], ladies and gentlemen:  
Thank you for this warm welcome to the heart of Chicago's Polish-American community. It is an honor to be here again.

Somebody suggested that my neighborly visit had something to do with the Illinois primary election. \\ Yes, there's something to that. I'm working to win that election. And I know my friends in the Democratic party have quite a number of primary contests on their side too. I mention this because if we think we have political headaches here -- they're nothing compared with what my friend Lech Walesa has to go through in Poland. I only have two parties to deal with in Congress. At last count, I think Lech had 18 different political parties to wrangle with in the Polish Parliament! \\

Whenever I meet with your community, I remember my visit here in 1988 to another center of Polish-American activity in Chicago -- the church of St. Hyacinth. It was my privilege then to join with many of you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko [po-PYUSH-ko].

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! Since 1988, our world has been transformed -- and the transformation began in Poland. \\ Brave Poland overthrew the

cruel tyranny that Stalin had imposed after Yalta. \\ And now, Soviet imperial communism is dead. It has given way peacefully to freedom and self-government not only in Poland, but in Poland's neighboring countries of Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and eastern Germany. Communism is dead in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain. \\

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski [vi-SHIN-ski] and murdered Father Popieluszko. They sneered at believers.

But believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers -- who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the camps. Patient believers -- who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers -- who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski and Father Popieluszko -- like Lech Walesa and Pope John Paul -- stood tall against the oppressors. The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed

the motto of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as though everything depended on themselves -- and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\\

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military ~~people~~ worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them.

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and the substantial assistance we supply today, helping Poland build a stable democracy and a prospering economy. As Poland launched its democratic revolution, we've tried to be helpful every step of the way. ~~And~~ ~~so~~ we've launched the Polish-American Enterprise Fund; we gave \$200 million to <sup>help</sup> ~~a fund to~~ stabilize the Polish currency; we led the way in reducing some \$17 billion in Poland's official debt; and we're working hard ~~now~~ to open U.S. and European markets and to strengthen investment in Poland. Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor also gave indispensable help.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Two brave sons of Poland -- Lech Walesa and His Holiness, Pope John

Paul II -- have altered world history through their courage and moral leadership. And I daresay this: These two inspired men could not have accomplished what they have -- had it not been for the unceasing good works and prayers of the Polonia. \\

Another symbolic expression of the our new freedom ~~is has to~~ <sup>concerns</sup> ~~do with~~ the remains of the great musician and statesman, Ignacy Paderewski. It was his dying wish that his body should not be returned to ~~Poland~~ <sup>home</sup> until Poland was free. And our President honored his request and gave him a temporary resting place at Arlington National Cemetery. Now, 51 years after his death, Paderewski's remains will go to their permanent resting place in Poland. \\

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those people who still have not won full freedom. I am thinking especially today of the brave people of Croatia, of Slovenia, of Bosnia, and of Macedonia. \\ Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam. There is enormous work still to be done to transform the old totalitarian systems into prospering free market democracies.

~~Our work is far from over.~~ ~~America's~~ leadership in defense of freedom must continue. And if ever there were a case of preaching to the choir -- I suppose that would be giving this message to Polish-Americans. No one knows better than Polish-Americans the rewards of staying strong and engaged in the world. No one knows better than Polish-Americans the tragic harm that

comes from weakness and isolationism. So I pledge to you today: I'll keep working with you -- and together, we'll secure Poland's new freedoms. And we'll win the campaign for prosperity. We'll do this by opening world markets, <sup>by</sup> and giving people the freedom to follow their dreams.\\\

Just as we must continue changing the world, we must redouble our efforts to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

Speaking for myself, I'm sick and tired of how the liberals treat the American families like lab specimens for their social theories. I'd like a return to basic common sense.

Whenever I talk with my friend Lech Walesa, he salts his conversation with down-to-earth humor. He especially likes to tell fables about farm animals. So let me offer you a little parable about social planners and their theories. This happens to be a story the Russians used to tell during the last days of Communism:

A farmer's chickens were dying. So for help he went to the communist party hack who was the local agriculture commissar.

The commissar said, "Give them aspirin." But over the next few days, 50 chickens died.

The commissar then said, "give them penicillin." But in a few days, a hundred more chickens died. So the commissar advised castor oil.

After the castor oil therapy, the farmer went to the commissar and announced that all the remaining chickens had died.

"What a pity! What a pity!" the commissar said. "I had so many other ideas I wanted to try!" \\\

Well let me tell you: As long as I'm President, American families will not be guinea pigs for cockeyed social planners.

\\ We will keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility *in first place first* paramount as we make this country better. *Sure,* We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

Document No. 314978ss

92 MAR 13 P12:12

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 3/13/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: TODAY, 3/13/92 1:00pm

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY CHICAGO, ILLINOIS - 3/16/92

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
			MCGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please forward your comments directly to Dan McGroarty, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 1:00 p.m., TODAY, FRIDAY, MARCH 13, with a copy to this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Pg 4 - No mention of Economy + Jobs + Growth Package.

PHILLIP D. BRADY Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

32 MAR 13 A 9:46

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

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For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

2

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko. They sneered at believers. They called religion the "opium of the people" and said they would wipe it out.

But believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the camps. Patient believers who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

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On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military people worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them.

3

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and which we continue to supply today, helping Poland consolidate its new democratic government. Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor offered indispensable help. Through it all, we looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: ". . . wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

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4

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We must keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility paramount as we reform our welfare system. We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

*Jennifer*

Memorandum for Speechwriting Staff

From: Dan McGroarty

Regarding: *Polish American*

Please return your comments to  
Room 122 by:

*12 noon*

Today's Date: MAR 13 1992

Good

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

*pinch up the  
applause lines*

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments], ladies and gentlemen:

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Whenever I return to the Polish-American community in Chicago, I remember my visit here in 1988 to the church of your patron saint -- St. Hyacinth. It was my privilege then to join with you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

*Jokes  
needed.  
polka?  
Welle?*

*(need an applause line)*

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! // Since 1988, our world has been transformed. ~~Soviet Imperial~~ *redundant* communism has ~~given way peacefully to freedom and self-government~~ *dissolved. In its wake -- freedoms, dignity.* in Poland, in eastern Europe, in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. ~~The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically.~~ *// The nightmare of nuclear war has dispersed to a new dawn of peace* These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain.

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive <sup>red</sup> armies and arsenals of <sup>bombs & missiles</sup> nuclear weapons.

*(imagery)*

The communists <sup>denied God, punished the faithful</sup> persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszkö. They sneered at <sup>humble</sup> believers. They called religion the "opium of the people" and <sup>declared war on faith</sup> said they would wipe it out. <sub>(repetitive)</sub>

But believers kept on believing: ~~Stubborn believers~~ who suffered <sup>ing</sup> every sort of torment in the prisons and the camps. Patient believers who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to <sup>beat heads + ?</sup> change the world in their folded hands. nice

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski stood tall against <sup>oppression</sup> the oppressors. "If a citizen does not demand his rights," Cardinal Wyszynski declared when communist power was at its peak, "he is no longer a citizen. He becomes a slave." The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the <sup>better: words</sup> (motto) of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as though everything depended on themselves - - and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\\

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, <sup>kept alive the fires</sup> people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military people <sup>helped</sup> ~~worked for~~ <sup>win</sup> and ~~won~~ <sup>goal</sup> the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them. <sup>in spirit</sup> -- side by side

This is kindly repetitive

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and which we continue to supply today, helping Poland consolidate its new democratic government. Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, <sup>+</sup> from organized labor offered indispensable help. Through it all, we <sup>turned</sup> looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when <sup>our grandchildren & great grandchildren</sup> new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the <sup>Polish diaspora</sup> ~~worldwide~~ community of Polish people. Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: "~~was~~ ... wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

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*is the instability totalitarianism?*

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We must keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility <sup>?</sup> (paramount) as we reform our welfare system. We need an efficient <sup>?</sup> government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to <sup>heal America</sup> ~~cure our social ills~~ we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

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# # #

better word

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
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- -

On both sides of the Iron Curtain, people labored for peace and freedom. By keeping the Free World's alliances strong, our military people worked for and won the same achievement as the men and women of Solidarity. During those harrowing years when the people of Solidarity struggled to build a civil society amid the hollowness of the communist state, Americans worked with them.

Our government gave crucial support, like the humanitarian aid which we gave Solidarity -- and which we continue to supply today, helping Poland consolidate its new democratic government. Volunteers from the Church, from the Polish-American community, from organized labor offered indispensable help. Through it all, we looked to Heaven for help -- and help was granted.

Many years from now, when new generations are learning about our eventful times, history must give special merit to Poland and to the Polonia -- the worldwide community of Polish people. Poles are a people with a special sense of mission. Kosciuszko and Pulaski showed this spirit in helping Americans win our War for Independence. And the poet Adam Mickiewicz captured this spirit a century and a half ago when he wrote: ". . . . wherever freedom is oppressed and is fought for, there is our struggle, and there is our homeland and our duty."

Two brave sons of Poland -- Lech Walesa and His Holiness, Pope John Paul II -- have altered world history through their courage and moral leadership. And I daresay this: These two inspired men could not have accomplished what they have -- had it not been for the unceasing good works and prayers of the Polonia.

The world is safer and freer now, but we must not forget those countries still tormented by totalitarian violence and oppression and instability -- nations like Croatia and Serbia and Cambodia. Nor must we forget the people who live under regimes that deny freedom of expression and freedom to worship -- for instance the people of Cuba and China and Vietnam.

We've helped change the world -- and now we must work to change America for the better. We need excellent schools -- to offer education that's worthy of the love we have for our children. At the center of my education reform plan is real financial freedom for parents to choose their children's schools -- including private and parochial schools. This would follow the model of the child-care bill I've already pushed through Congress, protecting parents' rights to choose who cares for their children.

We must keep family, dignity, work, and responsibility paramount as we reform our welfare system. We need an efficient government to preserve our liberties, but if we really want to cure our social ills we must have more voluntary community action -- what I've called points of light. We'll solve our greatest social problems when millions more individuals and tens of thousands more voluntary groups enlist in the cause.

America was built on family, faith and freedom -- and we must renew those sources of our strength. As I count my many blessings, I know I can count on the help of Polish-Americans as we work to heal the ills that still afflict our society.

Thank you. May God bless Poland and the United States of America -- both of them lands of the free, both of them homes of the brave.

# # #

(Duggan/Gershowitz)  
March 13, 1992  
Draft Two  
Polish

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH AMERICAN COMMUNITY  
WHITE EAGLE BANQUET HALL  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992  
[time]

Ed Moskal, [other acknowledgments], ladies and gentlemen:

Thank you for this warm welcome to the heart of Chicago's Polish-American community. It is an honor to be here again.

Whenever I return to the Polish-American community in Chicago, I remember my visit here in 1988 to the church of your patron saint -- St. Hyacinth. It was my privilege then to join with you in prayers for peace and freedom and to lay a wreath at the memorial for the martyred hero of Solidarity, Father Popieluszko.

How our prayers have been answered in those few short years! Since 1988, our world has been transformed. Soviet imperial communism has given way peacefully to freedom and self-government in Poland, in eastern Europe, in central Asia -- and in Russia itself. The threat of nuclear war has diminished dramatically. These are blessings that millions of us have worked -- and prayed -- to attain.

For decades, we faced a mortal danger. After seizing power in Moscow 75 years ago, the communists fought to dominate the world. Khrushchev shouted, "We will bury you." The Soviet Union threatened the very existence of free Europe and the United States with its massive armies and arsenals of nuclear weapons.

The communists persecuted believers and demolished houses of worship. They imprisoned Cardinal Wyszynski and murdered Father Popieluszko. They sneered at believers. They called religion the "opium of the people" and said they would wipe it out.

But believers kept on believing: Stubborn believers who suffered every sort of torment in the prisons and the camps. Patient believers who thought they'd never live to see the answer to their prayers. Simple believers who grasped little of geopolitical facts and theories, but knew they held the power to change the world in their folded hands.

The empire of atheistic communism fell because brave men like Cardinal Wyszynski stood tall against the oppressors. "If a citizen does not demand his rights," Cardinal Wyszynski declared when communist power was at its peak, "he is no longer a citizen. He becomes a slave." The empire collapsed because enough good men and women followed the motto of a saint: Like Ignatius of Loyola, they worked as though everything depended on themselves - - and they prayed as though everything depended on God. \\\

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SOLIDARITY AND FREEDOM

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A TIME FOR RESOLVE AND VISION

### Hong Kong

RELATION WITH CHINA

### Ethical Choice in Food Systems

BALANCING RESPONSIBILITY

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President, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland—Page 158

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AUTHENTIC

THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS ON CURRENT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

give him our assurance that America welcomes reform not as an adversary seeking advantage, but as a people offering support. Our goal is to see this historic tide of freedom broadened, deepened — and sustained. We find enormous encouragement in its peaceful advance and its acceptance by the Soviet Union. We can now raise our hopes on other issues — our common environment, our common war against drugs, as well as on human rights, and the regional conflicts that remain.

Immediately after my visit with President Gorbachev, I will go to Brussels to consult with our partners in NATO — the very alliance that has kept the West free for 40 years. I will assure them that no matter how dramatic the change in Eastern Europe, or in the Soviet Union itself, the United States will continue to stand with our allies and our friends.

For in a new Europe, the American role may change in form but not in fundamentals. After all, the Soviet Union maintains hundreds of thousands of troops throughout Eastern Europe. Study the map, review history and you'll see that this presence, with the Soviet Union's natural advantage of geography, cannot be ignored. So even if forces are significantly reduced on both sides, a noble goal indeed, we will remain in Europe as long as our friends want and need us.

Off the island nation of Malta, Mikhail Gorbachev and I will begin the work of years. We can help the peoples of Europe achieve a new destiny, in a peaceful Europe whole and free. I will tell President Gorbachev, the dynamic architect of Soviet

reform, that America wants the people of the Soviet Union to fulfill their destiny. And I will assure him that there is no greater advocate of perestroika than the President of the United States.

When we meet, we will be on ships at anchor in a Mediterranean bay that has served as a sealane of commerce and conflict for more than two thousand years. This ancient port has been conquered by Caesar and Sultan, Crusader and King. Its forts and watchtowers survey a sea that entombs the scuttled ships of empires lost — slave galleys, galleons, dreadnoughts, destroyers. These ships, once meant to guard lasting empires, now litter the ocean floor, and guard nothing more than reefs of coral.

So if the millennia offer us a lesson, perhaps it is this: True security does not come from empire and domination. True security can only be found in the growing trust of free peoples.

It has been said that peace is not the work of a single day, nor will it be the consequence of a single act. Yet every constructive act contributes to its growth; every omission impedes it. Peace will come, in the end, as a child grows to maturity — slowly, until we realize one day in incredulous surprise that the child is almost grown.

It is our hope that Malta will be such a constructive act — guiding brave pilgrims on their journey to a new world of freedom.

## Poland

### SOLIDARITY AND FREEDOM

By LECH WALESZA, *Chairman, Solidarnosc*

*Delivered before the Joint Session of Congress, Washington, D.C., November 15, 1989*

MR. SPEAKER, Mr. President, members of the Cabinet, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, ladies and gentlemen, "We the people. . ." With these words I wish to begin my address. I do not need to remind anyone here where these words come from. And I do not need to explain that I, an electrician from Gdansk, am also entitled to invoke them.

"We the people. . ."

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

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

The world remembers the wonderful principle of the Amer-

ican democracy: "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

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

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

Ladies and gentlemen, here is the fundamental, most important fact I want to tell you about. I want to tell you that the social movement bearing the beautiful name of Solidarity, born of the Polish Nation, is an effective movement. After many long years of struggle it bore fruit which is there for all to see.

It pointed to a direction and a way of action which are today affecting the lives of millions of people speaking different languages. It has swayed monopolies, overturning some altogether. It has opened up entirely new horizons.

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

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

Ladies and Gentlemen, it was 10 years ago, in August 1980, that there began in the Gdansk shipyard the famous strike which led to the emergence of the first independent trade union in Communist countries, which soon became a vast social movement supported by the Polish Nation. I was 10 years younger then, unknown to anybody but my friends in the shipyard, and somewhat slimmer. And I must frankly say, it was important. An unemployed man at that time, fired from my job for earlier attempts to organize workers in the fight for their rights, I jumped over the shipyard wall and rejoined my colleagues who promptly appointed me the leader of the strike. This is how it all began. When I recall the road we have traveled I often think of that jump over the fence. Now others jump fences and tear down walls, they do it because freedom is a human right.

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

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

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

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

Looking at what is happening around us today we may state positively that the Polish road of struggle for human rights, struggle without violence, the Polish stubbornness and firmness in the quest for pluralism and democracy show many people today, and even nations, how to avoid the greatest dan-

gers. If there is something threatening European stability today, it certainly is not Poland. Poland's drive toward profound transformations, transformations achieved through peaceful means, through evolution, negotiated with all the parties concerned, makes it possible to avoid the worst pitfalls, and may be held up as a model for many other regions. And as we know, changes elsewhere are not so peaceful.

Peacefully and prudently, with their eyes open to dangers, but not giving up what is right and necessary, the Poles gradually paved the way for historic transformations. We are joined along this way, albeit to various extents, by others: Hungarians and Russians, the Ukrainians and people of the Baltic Republics, Armenians and Georgians, and, in recent days, the East Germans. We wish them luck and rejoice at each success they achieve. We are certain that others will also take our road, since there is no other choice.

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

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

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

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

discovering their bones in unmarked graves scattered among forests.

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

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

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

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

Our nation knows well the price of all this.

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

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

But on our path there looms a serious obstacle, a grave danger. Our long subjection to a political system incompatible with national traditions, to a system of economy incompatible with rationality and common sense, coupled with the stifling of independent thought and disregard for national interests — all this has led the Polish economy to ruin, to the verge of utter catastrophe. The first government in 50 years elected by the people and serving the people has inherited from the previous rulers of the country a burden of an economy organized in a manner preventing it from satisfying even the basic needs of the people.

The economy we inherited after almost five decades of Communist rule is in need of thorough overhaul. This will require patience and great sacrifice. This will require time and means. The present condition of the Polish economy is not due to chance, and is not a specifically Polish predicament. All the countries of the Eastern bloc are bankrupt. The Communist economy has failed in every part of the world. One result of this is the exodus of the citizens of those countries, by land

and by sea, by boat and by plane, swimming and walking across borders. This is a mass-scale phenomenon, well known in Europe, Asia, and Central America.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is thanks to them that the word "Solidarity" soared across borders and reached every corner of the world. Thanks to them the people of Solidarity were never alone. In this chain of people linked in solidarity there were many, very many Americans. I wish to mention here with warm gratitude our friends from the United States Congress, the AFL-CIO trade

unions, from the institutions and foundations supporting freedom and democracy, and all those who lent us support in our most difficult moments. They live in all States, in small and large communities of your vast country. I thank all those who through the airwaves or printed word spread the truth. I also wish to say thank you and to greet all Polish Americans who maintain warm contacts with their old fatherland. Their support was always priceless for us. And the support of American Polish was always tremendously worth it to us.

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

sage of freedom to Poland, to Europe, to the world.

Pope John Paul II once said:

"Freedom is not just something to have and to use, it is something to be fought for. One must use freedom to build with it personal life as well as the life of the nation."

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

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

## Challenges to NATO in the 1990s

### A TIME FOR RESOLVE AND VISION

By SAM NUNN, U.S. Senator from Georgia

*Delivered before the International Institute for Strategic Studies, London, England, September 4, 1989*

**T**HANK YOU, Sir Michael. Members of the Council, members of the Institute, and distinguished guests, I am deeply honored to be asked to deliver the Alastair Buchan Memorial Lecture for 1989. It is a personal privilege for me to follow in the footsteps of the distinguished statesmen and strategic thinkers who have delivered this lecture since its inception in 1976.

As I view it, this annual lecture is a fitting tribute and testament to the man who helped create IISS and served as its first Director. Alastair Buchan was a leader of resolve and vision. "Somewhere between the hawks and doves," wrote one biographer, "he hoped to find a position that would keep the peace." The strong reputation this institute enjoys throughout the world today for precise, impartial and objective analysis is a tribute to Alastair Buchan's original vision of the IISS and the important role it could play — and indeed has played — within the international community, and particularly the strategic-military-foreign policy community.

Even for men as far-sighted as Alastair Buchan, the changes we are now witnessing in the political and security landscape in Europe would have seemed virtually impossible at the time of his death thirteen years ago.

— In 1976, who could have imagined that Poland would freely elect a non-communist Catholic Prime Minister, or that the leader of the Soviet Union would urge the Polish Communist Party to cooperate with a Solidarity-led coalition in governing the country?

— Who could have imagined at that time that Andrey Sakharov would be released from exile in Gorky, be elected a member of the Soviet parliament, and then become co-leader of a parliamentary faction opposed to the official primacy of the Communist Party?

— Who could have imagined at that time that the Soviet Union would begin a unilateral withdrawal of six tank divisions from Eastern Europe and would agree in principle in on-going

arms control negotiations to reduce Warsaw Pact forces to levels of parity with NATO? (Interestingly enough, the unilateral reductions that Gorbachev has announced were — and will if carried out — exceed the most ambitious goal that NATO ever proposed in fourteen years of Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks. And that's the scope of it.)

— And who in 1976 would have thought that by the end of the 1980s twelve European nations would be on the threshold of realizing the Community's dream of a single market in which the border between France and Germany will be no greater a barrier to economic activity than the border between my home state of Georgia and the state of Florida or the state of Alabama?

If continued, these profound changes will lead to a fundamental restructuring of the European security system. In this new environment, as I view it, the danger to NATO is not that it will fall apart, but that it will be increasingly seen as irrelevant. If NATO is not to become an anachronism, it must demonstrate resolve and vision in serving not only as a force of stability but also as an instrument for change.

The Alliance's first challenge is to develop an appropriate strategy for responding to change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Neither we — nor probably even President Gorbachev himself — can predict confidently the future course of reform in the Soviet Union.

We also cannot ignore the fact that Soviet military capabilities remain formidable today, and that reductions beyond those announced by President Gorbachev last December are still a matter of negotiation. Equal conventional ceilings are still not even a matter of treaty obligation, let alone a matter of treaty implementation.

Moreover, while a return to a more hostile Soviet foreign policy seems unlikely in the near-term, one cannot say it is impossible. As the Librarian of Congress of the United States, James Billington, recently pointed out before our Armed Services Committee:

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LEVEL 1 - 22 OF 99 STORIES

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Polish News Bulletin

March 22, 1991

SECTION: News

LENGTH: 1973 words

HEADLINE: Walesa Meets Congress Leaders

BYLINE: (By Zycie Warszawy's permanent Washington correspondent Tomasz  
Wrablewski)

SOURCE: Zycie Warszawy No. 69, 22 March 1991 p.1

... But so are they for President Bush. "I am raising a toast today to the  
most popular politician in Poland - to President George Bush," said Walesa  
in a ceremonial toast speech [for both speeches - see below].

Elevated declarations, bands playing, sincere ...

**LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®**

1991, The Boston Globe, March 21, 1991

Bush, welcoming Walesa to Washington for the ...

... throughout Eastern Europe, smiled as he met Bush on the South Lawn of the White House. Walesa ended his speech in Polish by saying in English to Bush: "God bless you, Mr. President. God bless America."

Walesa said Bush's action will relieve "a major part of our debt burden."

"Your personal involvement in this course has for ...

... prosper and helping capitalists make a profit.

"I invite you to this cooperation, for it is going to be advantageous to both sides," Walesa said.

The Bush administration wants to help assure that Poland's difficult transition from a Soviet satellite to a market-oriented capitalist society be successful. As the most populous country in ...

LEVEL 1 - 31 OF 99 STORIES

Proprietary to the United Press International 1991

March 21, 1991, Thursday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 657 words

HEADLINE: Walesa: Bush most popular politician in Poland

BYLINE: BY HELEN THOMAS UPI White House Reporter

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: WALESAS

BODY:

Polish President Lech Walesa thanked President Bush Wednesday evening for slashing \$2.6 billion from Poland's debt to the United States and told him he was "the most popular politician in Poland."

**LEXIS® NEXIS® LEXIS® NEXIS®**

Proprietary to the United Press International, March 21, 1991

Walesa made the remarks in a toast at a state dinner following a busy day of talks with the White House and State ...

... encourage American business to invest in Poland.

'We want your economic transformation to succeed, your new democracy to flourish,' Bush said on the arrival of the Polish president who as leader of the Solidarity movement led a popular revolt in Poland that ousted a decades-long communist rule.

In his toast to Walesa, Bush said: 'Tonight America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. You have defined your time; you've been resolute in defeat and ...

Proprietary to the United Press International, March 20, 1991

Walesa made the remarks in a toast at a state dinner following a busy day of talks with the White House and State ...

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'We want your economic transformation to succeed, your new democracy to flourish,' Bush said on the arrival of the Polish president who as leader of the Solidarity movement led a popular revolt in Poland that ousted a decades-long communist rule.

In his toast to Walesa, Bush said: 'Tonight America salutes you as an apostle of peace throughout the world. You have defined your time; you've been resolute in defeat and ...

... in Central Europe to set upon the path of freedom ... which paved the way for other nations to liberate themselves from communism.'

Walesa's remarks were translated into English. But in conclusion, he tried out the language on his own, saying, 'God bless you, Mr. President, ' and 'God bless America.'

# Excerpts From Remarks by Walesa and Bush at

**GDANSK, Poland, July 11 (AP) —** Following are excerpts from Lech Walesa's remarks introducing President Bush at the Solidarity workers monument today, and from Mr. Bush's address there. Mr. Walesa's remarks were translated by an interpreter for Mr. Bush.

## WALESA'S REMARKS

Mr. President, we are here today standing at the place which for Poles is a special one. We are grateful to you, Mr. President. We are grateful to Mrs. Bush and all the American officials who have come here to the monument of fallen shipyard workers, those who fell for bread and freedom.

A dramatic challenge of fate has caused that this place where one man shot another, where when men shot men, is the place where Solidarity was born.

You are aware, Mr. President, of our tangled and difficult route which hasn't run its course yet, for we continually keep facing very difficult tasks.

If the bends in that road ... have not discouraged us from action, this happened to a large extent thanks to our conviction that we were not alone, that we can count on our friends and their solidarity with us.

We have found ourselves today in a situation in which political reform was necessary because a slave never makes a good worker.

And also for another reason: because today's progress of civilization cannot develop in an atmosphere of restraining monopoly.

## Road to Democracy

So, we're shaking off that ugly hump of totalitarian Stalinism, and we're trying to catch up with the rest of Europe and the whole developed world, which is getting farther and farther away from us.

We are heading towards democracy and pluralism. But all this makes it necessary for us to keep in mind the proportions that must exist between the reforms in the economic sphere and those in the political sphere.

Changes must occur at the same time in both of these fields, at the same time and equally. The experience of China has taught us a lesson: if the proportions are not respected, we will not be able to succeed.

If we want our square, the square of Solidarity where we are now, to be kept in the memory of generations forever as a place of hope, we must all work together to make sure that economic changes follow closely those in the political field.

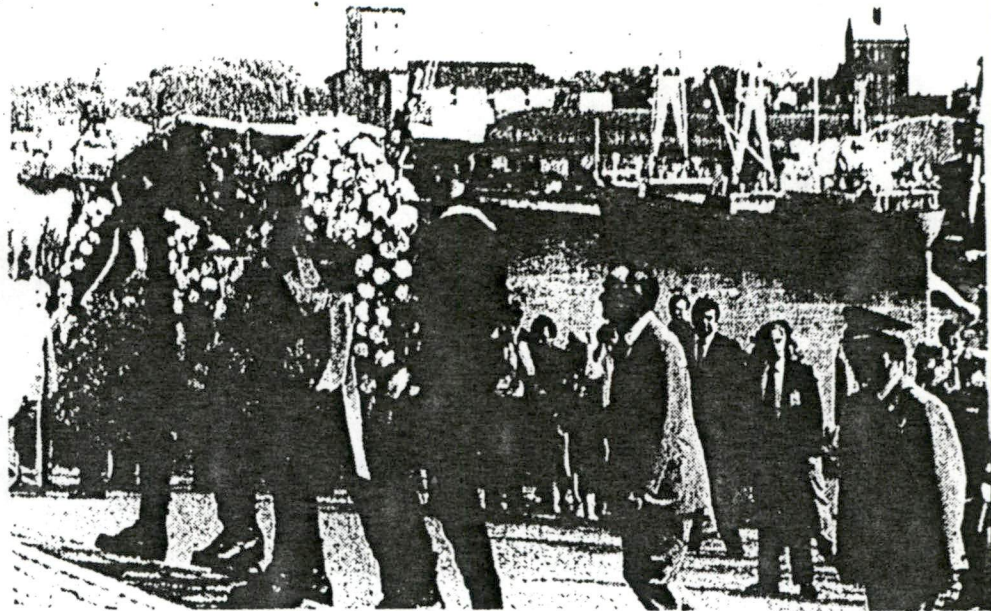
## Influence of Work

The people who are standing around the monument today are good workers, just as the millions of Poles, Polish men and women in the United States as well as the whole of Europe, are trying to help and have an influence through their economic policy the course of our reforms.

It can have millions of hands removed from useless work to have solid, sane, healthy, economically healthy cooperation to proceed, and competition between our enterprises, and, finally, it can help the lack of an effective economic reform, it can prevent it from destabilizing this part of the world.

This would be a threat to Poland as well as to other countries. It would be a failure of democracy.

I attempted to present this point of view orally and in writing to you, Mr.



President Bush and Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader, at a wreath-laying ceremony yesterday at the monument at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to workers killed in a 1970 strike.

President. I'm expressing my hope and the hope of millions of Poles that you will leave Poland convinced that our country is worthy of your help and should be helped.

I truly believe that the links between our nations will gain a new stimulus, and that more than ever before, Solidarity will become a challenge to Poles and Americans. God bless America and God bless our homeland.

## BUSH'S ADDRESS

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

This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream, a recurring dream, the dream of freedom.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk 50 years ago this summer. The predawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 15-inch guns of Nazi warship Schleswig Holstein. Within the hour, Iron Panzers rolled across the Polish frontier and Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few, surrender to tyranny or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten.

In World War II Poland lost everything except her honor, except her dreams. Before Poland fell you gave the Allies Enigma, the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis code saved tens of thousands of Allied lives, of American lives, and for this you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And ultimately, Enigma and freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

## Shipyards and a Symbol

But for you the war's end did not end the darkness. The cold war brought a long and chilly night of sor-

row and hardship and the dream was again denied. And yet there were glimmers of the long awaited dawn.

In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand and a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates and emerged as one of the heroes of our times, Lech Walesa.

And above your streets a graceful monument rose in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty to become a symbol recognized around the world

as a beacon of hope.

But the hope, like the dawn, proved fleeting, for under cover of darkness the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world.

But still, the dream would not die.

## The Time for Poland

Your time has come. It is Poland's

# At the it pays to Cross



don't feel any resistance, just incompetence." President Wojciech Jaruzelski, the general who outlawed Solidarity in 1981, "realizes that his place in history depends on [the success of] reforms," said Solidarity leader Sen. Bronislaw Geremek.

With the Communists fading from the picture, Solidarity and other former opposition groups are showing internal strains. Within Solidarity, the split is particularly acute between its urban and rural constituencies. "This is an argument between socialism and liberalism," said Rural Solidarity spokesman Jacek Szymanderski; the peasants want free-market solutions while city dwellers are reluctant to go that route. Solidarity's base in heavy industry makes it awkward to enact reforms that would lead to layoffs there. Meanwhile, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, the Polish primate, has endorsed a Christian Democratic movement; Solidarity social democrats denounce this as reactionary.

The movement does contain activists who can bridge the gap. "This is not the time to break apart into small groups," said Sen. Zofia Kuratowska, Solidarity's deputy parliamentary leader. Zbigniew Janas, a former worker and Solidarity leader at the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw, now represents the district where the plant is located. He hopes to organize joint ventures to privatize sections of his former

workplace and considers himself a pragmatist: "Demagoguery is easy when you aren't doing anything. But once you're involved, you see all the problems."

The problems are staggering. Housing Minister Aleksander Paszynski echoed a sentiment I heard in every government office. "I did not imagine that the economic situation is so bad, to what extent the system destroyed all normal economic rules," he said. "We have to rebuild everything." He himself must deal with a massive shortfall of apartments; creating a genuine real-estate market will require new laws. The Finance Ministry's Lis faces the same obstacles in his bid to privatize an economy dominated by antediluvian state firms.

**Emotional appeal:** But Solidarity's determination to push for a radical overhaul of the economy is no longer in doubt. This has spurred Western governments to start delivering on promises of economic aid. After Walesa delivered an emotional appeal to a joint session of Congress last week for "an investment in freedom," Congress approved an aid package for Poland and Hungary of \$938 million—double the Bush administration's request. Visiting Poland, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl topped that with a \$2.2 billion package.

Poland's new economic strategy is already producing small but encouraging results. The disparity between the official

and free-market exchange rate for the Polish zloty has dropped dramatically against the dollar, from 10 to 1 in September to almost 2 to 1 last week, making the government's goal of achieving a convertible currency next year look within reach. And while prices are steep, butcher shops have begun to fill up with meat.

Nonetheless, any attempt to transform a state economy is risky. "It's a bit like diving into the water without knowing how deep it is," says University of Maryland economist Bartlomiej Kaminski, who recently returned to Warsaw for his first visit since emigrating in 1980. On a trip to his constituency in the town of Wyszogrod, Sen. Andrzej Celinski was peppered with questions about inflation, shortages and the nomenclatura's attempts to "privatize" state property by seizing it for themselves. "Please, people, give us a little time," the Solidarity sociologist pleaded. "If we do not succeed . . . everyone will be able to say we missed our chance."

There are bound to be setbacks and angry debates about tactics. But I found Poles eager to seize the opportunity they created by years of resistance. "The communist system has practically disappeared, although we still have to deal with its remnants," said Janas. That is no small task, but Poland's new rulers are beginning to think that they just might pull it off. ■

## The Wit and Wisdom of Lech Walesa

*During his first visit to the United States last week, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa appealed for U.S. aid and American investment to help transform Poland's socialist system into a market economy. At a series of meetings in Washington, New York and Chicago, he pleaded his country's case with both force and humor. Examples:*

**To the AFL-CIO:** Sometimes I feel we are swimming chained hand and foot, trying to summon all our energy just to make it safely to shore, and on the shore there is a cheering crowd of people who offer us their admiration instead of simply throwing a life belt . . . I know that investing money in Poland requires a bit of courageous thinking or maybe even a bit of imagination . . . Such is the fate of a Polish trade union-

ist: he has to launch a publicity campaign for private entrepreneurship.

**To the U.S. Congress (public session):** We have heard many beautiful words of encouragement. These are appreciated, but being a worker and a man

of concrete work, I must tell you that the supply of words on the world market is plentiful but the demand is falling. Let deeds follow words now.

**To the Congress (private session):** If [the congressional pay-raise bill] doesn't go through,



'Deeds now': With Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher

come to Poland. It's one place you can afford to live.

**To the National Press Club:** [The issue of German reunification] is a bomb. We paid a heavy price for the existence of Hitler. I do not need to say how heavy . . . There was a second nation on Polish soil, the Jewish nation, and it disappeared . . . We should leave the political situation as it is now.

**To Newsweek and Washington Post editors:** How did these reforms appear? That's a result of civilization—of computers, satellite TV [and other innovations] which present alternative solutions. Satellites can read religious books from thousands of miles in space. Is it possible for a new Stalin to appear today who could murder people? It's impossible. [Mikhail Gorbachev and I] just happen to be people in the right time, in the right situation.

POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE \ CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992

GOVERNOR EDGAR, ED MOSKAL, ED DYKLA, BISHOP  
ZAWISTOWSKI [ZA-VI-STOFF-SKI], FATHER PHILLIPS, ED  
DERWINSKI, MICHAL GROCHOLSKI [GROW-HALL-SKI] (CONSUL-  
GENERAL OF POLAND IN CHICAGO), LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:  
THANK YOU FOR THAT WARM CHICAGO WELCOME. SOMEBODY  
SUGGESTED THIS VISIT HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THE  
ILLINOIS PRIMARY ELECTION. \ \ THAT'S TRUE -- I'M  
WORKING TO WIN THAT ELECTION.

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- 7A -

I REMEMBER HOW MOVING IT WAS IN 1987 WHEN AS VICE  
PRESIDENT I STOOD WITH LECH ON THE BALCONY OF FATHER  
POPIELUSZKO'S CHURCH -- FLASHING THE VICTORY SIGN TO  
THE THOUSANDS OF SUPPORTERS BELOW. ONCE AGAIN THE  
CHURCH WAS CENTRAL TO THE POLISH PEOPLE'S YEARNING FOR  
FREEDOM.

POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE \ CHICAGO, ILLINOIS  
MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992

*Brenda*

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~~Cong. Henry Hyde~~

Sec. Ed Derwinski

- 2 -

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LOOK AT ALL THE PARTIES HE HAS TO CONTEND WITH -- CLOSE  
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Admiral Howell:

*Yugoslavia*

- 3 -

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POLAND OVERTHREW THE CRUEL TYRANNY THAT STALIN IMPOSED AFTER YALTA. \\

**NOW, IMPERIAL COMMUNISM IS DEAD -- AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS CEASED TO EXIST. \\\ THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR HAS DIMINISHED DRAMATICALLY. THESE ARE BLESSINGS THAT MILLIONS OF US HAVE WORKED -- AND PRAYED -- TO ATTAIN.**

**FOR DECADES WE FACED MORTAL DANGER. THE COMMUNISTS FOUGHT TO DOMINATE THE WORLD. THE SOVIET UNION THREATENED THE VERY EXISTENCE OF FREE EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES WITH ITS MASSIVE ARMIES AND NUCLEAR ARSENALS.**

**THE COMMUNISTS PERSECUTED BELIEVERS AND DEMOLISHED HOUSES OF WORSHIP. THEY IMPRISONED CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI [VI-SHIN-SKI] AND MURDERED FATHER POPIELUSZKO.**

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**EVEN IN THE DARKEST DAYS, WE STOOD STEADFAST FOR POLAND'S RIGHT TO BE FREE. WE KEPT OUR ALLIANCES STRONG. WE GAVE HUMANITARIAN AID TO SOLIDARITY WHEN IT WAS NEEDED THE MOST.**

TODAY WE CONTINUE TO GIVE ASSISTANCE, HELPING POLAND BUILD A STABLE DEMOCRACY AND A PROSPERING ECONOMY. IN ADDITION TO THE SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL AID, I UNDERSTAND THE ONE THOUSANDTH CARGO CONTAINER OF AMERICAN HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES WAS JUST SENT ON ITS WAY TO POLAND. AND I'VE JUST WRITTEN LECH WALESZA TO OFFER FURTHER HELP IN BRINGING MORE AMERICAN INVESTMENT TO POLAND.

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- 11 -

THE WORLD IS SAFER AND FREER NOW, BUT WE MUST NOT FORGET THOSE WHO STILL HAVE NOT WON FULL FREEDOM. I THINK ESPECIALLY OF THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF THOSE REPUBLICS OF A DISINTEGRATING YUGOSLAVIA WHO ARE SEEKING TO ESTABLISH THEIR SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENCE. AS WE TOLD OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES LAST WEEK, WE ARE GIVING POSITIVE CONSIDERATION TO THE RECOGNITION OF SLOVENIA AND CROATIA.

- 12 -

WE ALSO ARE CONSIDERING THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAYS TO MEET THE DESIRE FOR PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE ON THE PART OF THE OTHER REPUBLICS.

OUR LEADERSHIP FOR FREEDOM MUST CONTINUE. YOU KNOW THAT: NO ONE KNOWS BETTER THAN POLISH-AMERICANS THE REWARDS OF STAYING STRONG AND ENGAGED IN THE WORLD. NO ONE KNOWS BETTER THAN YOU THE TRAGIC HARM THAT COMES FROM WEAKNESS AND ISOLATIONISM.

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A FARMER'S CHICKENS WERE DYING. SO FOR HELP HE WENT TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY HACK WHO WAS THE LOCAL AGRICULTURE COMMISSAR. THE COMMISSAR SAID, "GIVE THEM ASPIRIN." AND OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS, 50 CHICKENS DIED.

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