

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 22 March 96 10:43
FROM Malley, Robert
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT Another [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Letts, Kelly J.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY [[1443.DOC : 2627 in 1443.DOC]][[1443A.DOC : 2628 in 1443A.DOC]]
**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 22 March 96 10:42
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** 1443.DOC

Dear Mr. Silk:

Thank you for your letter concerning United States policy toward China.

As you note, and despite some positive developments, China has failed to take important steps to improve its human rights situation. Many prisoners of conscience remain in detention; dialogue on Tibet with the Dalai Lama has not resumed; and China continues to deny international organization access to prisoners.

In addition, recent events in China have renewed our concern. These include the trial and sentencing of Wei Jingsheng, the rounding up of dissidents in the weeks leading up to the Beijing Women's conference, and the harassment of non-governmental organization representatives throughout the course of the conference.

As a result, and as was the case last year, the United States will co-sponsor a resolution on China's human rights practices. Of course, we expect China to table a "no-action" motion to block debate on the resolution. While the "no-action" motion was defeated for the first time in 1995, the composition of the Commission this year will make success more difficult. Nonetheless, we will continue to push vigorously both to defeat the Chinese motion and for passage of the human rights resolution.

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to meet with Ms. Wei and for forwarding her inspiring letter. Please convey to her my concern for the well-being of her brother and our commitment to make every effort to ensure his release. On behalf of the President, let me also commend the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial for playing such an important role in promoting human rights throughout the world.

Sincerely,

[Name/Title in Initial Caps]
[Title/Senate/House in Initial Caps]
[Organization/Position - Initial Caps]
[Address - Initial Caps]

FILE NAME 1443A.DOC
1443

March 22, 1996

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ERIC SCHWARTZ

FROM: ROB MALLEY

SUBJECT: Response to James Silk Letter on China Resolution

James Silk, Director of the Center for Human Rights at the Robert Kennedy Memorial, has written to commend the Administration for its decision to pursue a China resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission. He also thanks you for meeting with Ms. Wei and forwards a letter from her to you.

Concurrence by: Bob Suettinger

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached response to James Silk.

Attachments
Tab A Response to James Silk
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 22 March 96 16:06

FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.

CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT Women's History Month, 1996 Proclamation [UNCLASSIFIED]

TO

Abdulmalik, April B.
Alijanil, Leyla
Andreasen, Steven P.
Appel, Edward J.
Argarin, Jocelyn D.
Armstrong, Fulton T.
Atlas, Edwin L.
Baker, Jane E.
Baker, James E.
Bakke, Kyle D.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Bassett, Leslie A.
Bass, Peter E.
Battenfield, Pat
Beardsley, Tyler S.
Beers, Rand R.
Behring, Deanna M.
Bellamy, Ralph C.
Bell, Robert G.
Bendick, Gordon L.
Benjamin, Daniel
Birkland, Andrea L.
Blacker, Coit D.
Black, Todd F.
Blieberger, Marion H.
Blinken, Antony J.
Bolinski, Charlene C.
Boynton, Peter J.
Bresnahan, Gary E.
Broadway, Jamuna
Brown, Dallas
Brown, Nancy E.
Bruton, Robert G.
Bryan, Lloyd D.
Bujold, Noelle D.
Burrell, Christina L.
Canty, Mary T.
Carter, Michael E.
Cicio, Kristen K.

Clark, Bronya
Clarke, Richard A.
Cooper, Kathleen H.
Cullin, Brian P.
Daadler, Ivo H.
Daniel, Patty A.
Danvers, William C.
Darnes, Victoria J.
Davis, William K.
Deshazer, Macarthur X.
Dimel, Marsha L.
Dobbins, James F.
Dohse, Fred J.
Dragone, Karen D.
Dupuy, Shawn L.
Dymersky, Debra L.
Eddy, Randolph P.
Edwards, Joan
Eisenhower, James J.
Fairfax, Kenneth J.
Feeley, John F.
Fetig, James L.
Ficklin, John W.
Flessas, Daniel
Florio, Elaine
Frias, Angela M.
Fried, Daniel
Friedrich, M. K.
Fuerth, Leon S.
Fuhrman, Thomas A.
Gates, Brian K.
George, Christopher
Gerstner, Christina L.
Gladbach, Damon J.
Glinski, David L.
Goldgeier, James M.
Gorsuch, Robert P.
Gray, Wendy
Grummon, Stephen R.
Guekel, Kathi A.
Haines, Mary A.
Hale, John E.
Hall, Wilma G.
Hamilton, Roy A.
Harding, Bruce D.
Harmon, Joyce A.
Harris, Elisa D.
Harrison, Lyle M.
Hawes, David J.
Hawkins, Ardenia R.

Heslin, Sheila N.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Hill, Roseanne M.
Hilty, JoAnne M.
Hofmann, Stephan D.
Houck, Baerbel K.
Huggins, Peter
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Johnson, David T.
Jones, Kerri-Ann D.
Jordan, Donald L.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kelly, Sandra L.
Kerr, Andrew S.
Kessinger, Jodi
Kreczko, Alan J.
Kristoff, Sandra J.
Kyle, Robert D.
Leary, William H.
Letts, Kelly J.
Lindsey, Wanda
Lorin, Matthew E.
Lowry, Jay E.
MacDonald, Bruce W.
Malley, Robert
Marshall, Betty A.
Martinez, Alejandro
Maxfield, Nancy H.
Mazzuchi, Anthony D.
McCormick, Shawn H.
McIntyre, Stuart H.
Merchant, Brian
Miller, Matthew E.
Millison, Cathy L.
Miscik, Judith A.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Miyaoka, Lester H.
Moody, Angelyn D.
Moore, Lori A.
Mueller, William (Doug) D.
Naplan, Steven J.
Neil, M. Elise
Norman, Marcia G.
Norris, John J.
Nuccio, Richard A.
O'loughlin, Kathrine
Parco, Jim E.
Gwyn M. Parker
Parramore, Carl W.
Parris, Mark R.

Pascual, Carlos E.
Peggins, John W.
Peters, Mary A.
Pifer, Steven K.
Kenneth M. Pollack
Poneman, Daniel B.
Porter, Gidell
Quinn, Mary E.
Ragan, Richard F.
Ramsay, Martha S.
Reade, Evan G.
Reed, George
Reznik, Victoria (NMI)
Rice, Susan E.
Ritterhauff, Robin
Roach, Darren S.
Roundtree, Beverly J.
Salvetti, Lisa M.
Samore, Gary S.
Sanborn, Daniel R. K.
David B. Sandalow
Satterfield, David M.
Saunders, John W.
Saunders, Richard M.
Schifter, Richard
Schmidt, John R.
Schmidt, Sandra E.
Schuker, Jill A.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Sculimbrene, Thomas A.
Seaton, James B.
Sens, Andrew D.
Sestak, Joseph A.
Sevigny, Theodore T.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Showalter, Victoria A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simon, Steven N.
Simons, James R.
Smith, Michael P.
Snyder, Julie A.
Stauffer, Helen L.
Suettinger, Robert L.
Sulser, Jack A.
Tarullo, Daniel K.
Unrue, Michael M.
Van Tassel, David S.
Veit, Katherine M.
Vershbow, Alexander R.
Verville, Elizabeth G.

Wadsworth, Valon J.
Walsh, Helen C.
Ward, JoAnn X.
Weber, Paul A.
Whitworth, Frank D.
Wiley, Mary C.
Wilhelm, Richard J.
Willis, Robin M.
Wise, William M.
Witkowsky, Anne A.
Woolston, Ann E.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Wright, Allison M.
Yorkdale, Glenn H.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY [[WOMEN.DOC : 4122 in WOMEN.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 22 March 96 15:56

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** WOMEN.DOC

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release March 19, 1996

WOMEN'S HISTORY MONTH, 1996

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

It is impossible to fully appreciate America's proud history

without recognizing the extraordinary contributions that women have made to our country since its founding. Women's History Month provides an opportunity to celebrate the countless women who have enriched our Nation and to ensure that their achievements -- in homes and businesses, schools and hospitals, courtrooms and statehouses -- will always be remembered.

We have come a long way since Abigail Adams asked her husband John to "remember the ladies" when drafting the Constitution, and we recognize that women not only have broadened and reshaped the path laid by our Founding Fathers, but also have made new avenues toward progress and justice. Female workers filled the textile mills that drove the Industrial Revolution. Women like Susan B. Anthony, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton fought tirelessly for suffrage and women's rights. Jane Addams founded America's first settlement house for poor immigrants and established social work as a new and respected field. And farm and migrant laborers across the country gained the leadership of Dolores Huerta when she joined the newly created United Farm Workers Union.

Indeed, there is no aspect of our history left untouched by women -- from the first published American poet, Anne Bradstreet; to Sacajawea, Lewis and Clark's interpreter and guide; to Harriet Tubman, heroine of the Underground Railroad; to Margaret Mead, who revolutionized the study of anthropology. Writers and artists such as Laura Ingalls Wilder, Mary Cassatt, Beverly Sills, Amy Tan, and Martha Graham have captured our imaginations. Champions like Wilma Rudolph and Bonnie Blair have taken America to great heights in the international sports world.

Today, women make up close to half of our Nation's labor force, and women-owned businesses are changing the face of the American and global economies. But barriers to equality remain. Despite the efforts of women like Esther Peterson, a leader in the effort to end gender-based salary differences, many women are still paid considerably less than their male counterparts. Often these women also struggle with the dual responsibilities of raising a

family and meeting the demands of a full-time job.

Last September, thousands of women from around the globe met to discuss these issues at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, and to develop a Platform for Action. The resulting document represents a powerful consensus on the need to advance women's status by improving access to education, health care, jobs, and credit. It describes the fundamental desire of all women to enjoy basic legal and human rights and to take part in political life. Only through our commitment to these principles can we forever end discrimination and injustice based on gender, promote women's full participation in all aspects of American life, and join people everywhere who seek true equality.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim March 1996, as Women's History Month. I call upon Government officials, educators, and all Americans to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities; to remember year-round the many important contributions that women make to our country each day; and to learn and share information about women's history in homes, classrooms, and community centers across the Nation.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

#

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 08 April 96 16:07
FROM Malley, Robert
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT China [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO Schwartz, Eric P.
CARBON_COPY Letts, Kelly J.
TEXT_BODY

1. I have arranged a meeting with Leon Fuerth and Bill Wise tomorrow, Tuesday, at 4:00. You should be there, of course. Kelly - for his calendar, it is in room 298.

2. Attached is a memo to TL with talking points for his call to Egyptian ambassador. Kelly -- could you prepare package for Eric's review? Thanks

[[CHINTL.DOC : 4100 in CHINTL.DOC]][[CHINTLA.DOC : 4101 in CHINTLA.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 8 April 96 16:0
**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** CHINTL.DOC

Talking Points for Call to Egyptian Ambassador

-- Calling in regard to matter of importance to U.S. and to all parties interested in promotion of human rights.

-- This year U.S. will again co-sponsor resolution on human rights in China at the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

-- After careful consideration, we decided to pursue such a resolution because China has not taken steps to improve its human rights record. The Chinese government continues to detain many prisoners of conscience and has not granted international organizations access to prisoners.

-- Other troubling developments include the trial and sentencing of

Wei Jingsheng and the arrests of dissidents in the weeks leading up to the Beijing women's conference.

-- A vote probably will take place the week of April 22. We expect China to propose a no-action motion to prevent debate on the merits of the resolution.

-- Last year, Egypt voted with China on the no-action motion.

-- We were disappointed by this vote. Such motions prevent a country's human rights record from being examined by the Commission.

Human rights are a global concern, and therefore we believe resolutions should be judged on their merits -- including resolutions dealing with the United States.

-- If the Chinese government seeks to avoid Commission debate through a no-action motion, we would ask that your delegation in Geneva be instructed to vote against it.

-- We also would ask that the delegation be instructed to vote in favor of the resolution itself.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

8 April 96 16:5

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

CHINTLA.DOC

April 8, 1996

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ERIC SCHWARTZ

FROM: ROB MALLEY

SUBJECT: China Resolution -- Call to Egyptian Ambassador

Attached are talking points for your call to the Egyptian ambassador regarding the China resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission. A vote on the resolution is expected the week of April 22.

Concurrence by: Bob Suettinger; Mark Parris

Attachment
Tab A Talking Points

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 11 April 96 20:19
FROM Wozniak, Natalie S.
CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED
SUBJECT National Pay Inequity Awareness Day, 1996 [UNCLASSIFIED]
TO

Abdulmalik, April B.
Alijanil, Leyla
Andreasen, Steven P.
Appel, Edward J.
Argarin, Jocelyn D.
Armstrong, Fulton T.
Atlas, Edwin L.
Baker, Jane E.
Baker, James E.
Bakke, Kyle D.
Baldwin, Kenneth
Bassett, Leslie A.
Bass, Peter E.
Battenfield, Pat
Beardsley, Tyler S.
Beers, Rand R.
Behring, Deanna M.
Bellamy, Ralph C.
Bell, Robert G.
Bendick, Gordon L.
Benjamin, Daniel
Birkland, Andrea L.
Blacker, Coit D.
Black, Todd F.
Blieberger, Marion H.
Blinken, Antony J.
Bolinski, Charlene C.
Boynton, Peter J.
Bresnahan, Gary E.
Broadway, Jamuna
Brown, Dallas
Brown, Nancy E.
Bruton, Robert G.
Bryan, Lloyd D.
Bujold, Noelle D.
Burrell, Christina L.
Canty, Mary T.
Carter, Michael E.
Cicio, Kristen K.

Clark, Bronya
Clarke, Richard A.
Cooper, Kathleen H.
Cullin, Brian P.
Daadler, Ivo H.
Daniel, Patty A.
Danvers, William C.
Darnes, Victoria J.
Davis, William K.
Deshazer, Macarthur X.
Dimel, Marsha L.
Dobbins, James F.
Dohse, Fred J.
Dragone, Karen D.
Dupuy, Shawn L.
Dymersky, Debra L.
Eddy, Randolph P.
Edwards, Joan
Eisenhower, James J.
Fairfax, Kenneth J.
Feeley, John F.
Fetig, James L.
Ficklin, John W.
Flessas, Daniel
Florio, Elaine
Frias, Angela M.
Fried, Daniel
Friedrich, M. K.
Fuerth, Leon S.
Fuhrman, Thomas A.
Gates, Brian K.
George, Christopher
Gerstner, Christina L.
Gladbach, Damon J.
Glinski, David L.
Goldgeier, James M.
Gorsuch, Robert P.
Gray, Wendy
Grummon, Stephen R.
Guekel, Kathi A.
Haines, Mary A.
Hale, John E.
Hall, Wilma G.
Hamilton, Roy A.
Harding, Bruce D.
Harmon, Joyce A.
Harris, Elisa D.
Harrison, Lyle M.
Hawes, David J.
Hawkins, Ardenia R.

Heslin, Sheila N.
Hilliard, Brenda I.
Hill, Roseanne M.
Hilty, JoAnne M.
Hofmann, Stephan D.
Houck, Baerbel K.
Huggins, Peter
Hunerwadel, Joan S.
Johnson, David T.
Johnson, Natalie A.
Jones, Kerri-Ann D.
Jordan, Donald L.
Joshi, M. Kay
Kelly, Sandra L.
Kerr, Andrew S.
Kessinger, Jodi
Kreczko, Alan J.
Kristoff, Sandra J.
Kyle, Robert D.
Leary, William H.
Lee, Malcolm R.
Letts, Kelly J.
Lindsey, Wanda
Lorin, Matthew E.
Lowry, Jay E.
MacDonald, Bruce W.
Malley, Robert
Marshall, Betty A.
Martinez, Alejandro
Maxfield, Nancy H.
Mazzuchi, Anthony D.
McCormick, Shawn H.
McIntyre, Stuart H.
Merchant, Brian
Miller, Matthew E.
Millison, Cathy L.
Miscik, Judith A.
Mitsler, Elaine M.
Miyaoka, Lester H.
Moody, Angelyn D.
Moore, Lori A.
Mueller, William (Doug) D.
Naplan, Steven J.
Neil, M. Elise
Norman, Marcia G.
Norris, John J.
Nuccio, Richard A.
O'loughlin, Kathrine
Parco, Jim E.
Gwyn M. Parker

Parramore, Carl W.
Parris, Mark R.
Pascual, Carlos E.
Peggins, John W.
Peters, Mary A.
Pifer, Steven K.
Kenneth M. Pollack
Poneman, Daniel B.
Porter, Gidell
Quinn, Mary E.
Ragan, Richard F.
Ramsay, Martha S.
Reade, Evan G.
Reed, George
Reznik, Victoria (NMI)
Rice, Susan E.
Ritterhauff, Robin
Roach, Darren S.
Roundtree, Beverly J.
Salvetti, Lisa M.
Samore, Gary S.
Sanborn, Daniel R. K.
David B. Sandalow
Satterfield, David M.
Saunders, John W.
Saunders, Richard M.
Schifter, Richard
Schmidt, John R.
Schmidt, Sandra E.
Schuker, Jill A.
Schwartz, Eric P.
Sculimbrene, Thomas A.
Seaton, James B.
Sens, Andrew D.
Sestak, Joseph A.
Sevigny, Theodore T.
Sheehan, Michael A.
Showalter, Victoria A.
Sigler, Ralph
Simon, Steven N.
Simons, James R.
Smith, Michael P.
Snyder, Julie A.
Stauffer, Helen L.
Suettinger, Robert L.
Sulser, Jack A.
Tarullo, Daniel K.
Unrue, Michael M.
Van Tassel, David S.
Veit, Katherine M.

Vershbow, Alexander R.
Verville, Elizabeth G.
Wadsworth, Valon J.
Walsh, Helen C.
Ward, JoAnn X.
Weber, Paul A.
Whitworth, Frank D.
Wiley, Mary C.
Wilhelm, Richard J.
Willis, Robin M.
Wise, William M.
Witkowsky, Anne A.
Woolston, Ann E.
Wozniak, Natalie S.
Wright, Allison M.
Yorkdale, Glenn H.

CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE

TEXT_BODY [[INEQUITY.DOC : 5192 in INEQUITY.DOC]]

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE** 11 April 96 20:18

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME** INEQUITY.DOC

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release April 11, 1996

NATIONAL PAY INEQUITY AWARENESS
DAY, 1996

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

More than three decades after the passage of the Equal Pay Act and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, women and people of color continue to suffer the consequences of unfair pay differentials. In comparing median weekly earnings, last year American women earned only 75 cents for every dollar a man brought home, with African American women and Hispanic women collecting just 66 cents and 57 cents, respectively. Significant wage gaps exist for African American and Hispanic men, Asians, Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans as well.

April 11 is the day on which American women's wages for 1996, when added to their entire 1995 earnings, finally equal what men earned in 1995 alone. Unfair pay practices exist at all education levels and in every occupation. Last year, women physicians and lawyers earned substantially less than their male counterparts. The problem is particularly acute in female-dominated professions and in jobs where minority groups are disproportionately represented. Though changing technologies and a growing demand for services have made their positions increasingly vital, America's child care providers, secretaries, textile workers, telephone operators, social workers, and maintenance people are among those who bear the greatest wage discrepancies.

Ensuring fair pay is an essential part of helping women and their families become and remain self-sufficient. According to 1993 data, the vast majority of households depend on the wages of a working mother, and 12 percent of all families are supported by a woman working as the single head of household. Studies show that salary inequities often force women to turn to public assistance to keep a roof over their children's heads and food on the table.

Fair pay equity policies can be implemented simply and without incurring undue costs. Twenty States have already established programs aimed at increasing the wages of employees in female-dominated jobs, and many private sector businesses have implemented voluntary policies. These employers understand that fair pay is an invaluable human resource management tool that helps attract and retain the best workers.

At the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing,

China, the United States joined more than 180 other countries to address problems facing women and to promote workers' basic rights. This was an important step, and we must build on it to further the dialogue about fair pay and treatment in this country. Women and minority workers have long fueled our Nation's progress, and we must do all we can to recognize their achievements and to leave a legacy of equality and justice for their children to cherish.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim April 11, 1996, as National Pay Inequity Awareness Day. I call upon Government officials, law enforcement agencies, business and industry leaders, educators, and all the people of the United States to recognize the full value of women's skills and contributions to the labor force. I urge all employers to review their wage-setting practices and to see that their employees, particularly women and people of color, are paid fairly for their work.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eleventh day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

#

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 19 June 96 13:22
FROM Fried, Daniel
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT RE: Poland Papers [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO Joseph, Jofi J.
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 04/20/16
2018-0094-F

Polish papers attached. Assistance paper to follow, upon revision.

[[POLBEIJ.DOC : 3354 in POLBEIJ.DOC]][[POLBILA.DOC : 3355 in
POLBILA.DOC
]][[POLCHIL.DOC : 3356 in POLCHIL.DOC]][[POLCOMP.DOC : 3357 in
POLCOMP.DOC]][[POLECON.DOC : 3358 in POLECON.DOC]]
[[POLEDUC.DOC : 3359
in POLEDUC.DOC]][[POLHLTH.DOC : 3360 in POLHLTH.DOC]]
[[POLHUMA.DOC :
3361 in POLHUMA.DOC]][[POLMISS.DOC : 3362 in POLMISS.DOC]]
[[POLPOL.DOC :
3363 in POLPOL.DOC]][[POLPOP.DOC : 3364 in POLPOP.DOC]]
[[POLSCOP.DOC :
3365 in POLSCOP.DOC]][[POLSECU.DOC : 3366 in POLSECU.DOC]]
[[POLWOME.DOC
: 3367 in POLWOME.DOC]]

From: Joseph, Jofi J.
To: Fried, Daniel
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Poland Papers [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
Date: Wednesday, June 19, 1996 11:04 AM

<<Attached File: POLBEIJ.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLBILA.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLCHIL.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLCOMP.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLSCOP.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLSECU.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLUSAS.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLWOME.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLHLTH.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLHUMA.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLECON.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLEDUC.DOC>>

<<Attached File: POLMISS.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLPOL.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLPRES.DOC>>
<<Attached File: POLPOP.DOC>>

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:48

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLBEIJ.DOC

POLAND: Beijing Conference Position

Preparations for the Beijing Women's Conference catalyzed a heated debate in Poland between so-called "feminist" nongovernmental organizations, and "Catholic" groups centering on abortion and women's role in society. Various events occurred both in anticipation and as follow-up to the Beijing Conference:

- ☐ Pre-Beijing reports issued by the Government and women's NGO's cited as problems sexual harassment, practices of discrimination, and the strict anti-abortion law.
- ☐ Catholic groups claim discrimination against women is not a problem in Poland; their report called for more pro-family government policy, i.e. solving housing problems, reforming the health care insurance system and protecting women's health.
- ☐ The government sent a 14-person delegation to Beijing. Senator Zofia Kuratowska (a former Solidarity activist and intellectual leader) boycotted to protest the violation of human rights in China. Kuratowska observed to us that: "Hilary Clinton based her decision on going to China on the freeing of Mr. Wu, an American citizen. We can't forget, however, that the prisons are full of Chinese citizens."
- ☐ During the Conference, nineteen Polish women protested in Huairou both against forced sterilization in China and against strict anti-abortion laws in Poland.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:32

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLBILA.DOC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(b)

Declassify by: 6/20/06

U.S.-Polish Bilateral Relations

Relations are probably better now than at any time in our common history as independent states. Poland made a firm commitment to membership in the Western community of nations in 1989 which has broadened and deepened as the post-Cold War transformation has moved

forward. Poland has made NATO membership its top foreign policy priority -- it enjoys about 80 percent support in public opinion -- followed by integration with the European Union. The Poles see their relationship with the U.S. as the key to NATO.

Successive Polish leaders have stressed Poland's strong desire for a continued U.S. security presence in Europe to ensure political stability in the new century. The Poles are ready and eager to play a role as our chief security partner in the Central European region.

Pitfalls in our relations include the prospect of arms sales to pariah regimes and the reprivatization of nationalized property since World War II.

Key Issues:

- o Poland has become a prime candidate for NATO membership through its extremely active participation in the Partnership for Peace. Reforms in the last year have strengthened democratic civilian control of the armed forces.

- o Polish volunteer troops are serving side by side with GI's in IFOR in Bosnia; Poles also participated with the U.S. in the successful MNF in Haiti.

- o Poland is a reliable, constructive partner for the U.S. in a variety of international fora, including the United Nations

Security
Council and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in
Europe.

o The U.S. is the number one foreign investor in Poland, new
investment inflows are continuing.

o After five years of successful absorption of U.S. assistance,
Poland is preparing to shift from an AID recipient to an AID
donor in
a number of areas, including Bosnia.

o Poland is a leading participant in the U.S. Regional Law and
Democracy Initiative aimed at enhancing international cooperation
in
combating organized crime and terrorism.

o In response to Special Envoy Eizenstat's mission to the
region
on Jewish property restitution, the Poles have recently brought
legislation to parliament that would open the way to return
communal
property to the local Jewish community.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:28

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLCHIL.DOC

Poland: Children's Issues

The infant mortality rate, 15.9 deaths per 1000 live births in
1989,
recently has been estimated at approximately 11. However, 50 per
cent of these infant deaths still seem to be occurring among
families
in the lowest third of the household income distribution - about
two-
thirds of infant deaths are related to prematurity and problems
during the first month of life.

School enrollment remains high at 98 per cent.

Negative disruptions in overall child welfare tend to be greater
in
rural households, in families with more than three children, and
where there is an unemployed head of household. Among the
unemployed
(14-15 per cent) there is higher-than-average presence of

alcoholism, child abuse, divorce, crime and other forms of social dysfunction.

For the last two decades, the US Government has provided assistance to Polish child health care institutions, the biggest of which has been the Polish-American Children's Hospital in Krakow, the biggest pediatric center of its kind in Europe. USAID has assisted the Litewska Children's Hospital in Warsaw to establish an American-style foundation based on business contributions. The U.S. "Democracy Network" Project includes grants to non-governmental organizations focusing on the welfare and rights of children in Poland, including organizations concerned with abused and/or autistic children, children's participation in school democratic process, involvement in environmental activism, and rights of minority youth.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Access and quality of perinatal health care to mothers and children from poor households.
- ☐ Maternal health, including issues with rising smoking, and alcohol.
- ☐ Signs of growing child abuse, and exposure to alcoholism and drug abuse; lack of good preventive and treatment programs.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:19

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLCOMP.DOC

Major U.S. Companies in Poland

The United States is Poland's number one foreign investor, with \$2.92 billion dollars invested through the first half of 1996.

This represents approximately 25 percent of foreign investment in Poland.

American firms have invested in Poland across a wide spectrum -- more than fifty different business categories. Not surprisingly,

the
American services industry has followed its clients here,
including
accounting firms (the big six are all represented) and law firms
(11
American law firms operate here).

The American Chamber of Commerce in Poland, established just in
1991, now has over 230 corporate members, and a growth trend of
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percent per year. American companies are attracted to Poland by
the
size of the market (38 million people), skilled labor market,
strategic location (including potential access to the EU market),
and
economic growth.

A number of concerns remain. Problems exist with a lack of
consistency in all areas of business and tax policy,
administration,
and legislation. It is often very difficult, if not impossible,
to
get necessary rulings, decisions, or determinations, from Polish
officials. Many U.S. products face significantly higher customs
duties than their EU competitors.

Top U.S. Investors

International Paper - US \$292 million
Phillip Morris - US \$227 million
Procter & Gamble - US \$131 million
Curtis - US \$100 million
Pepsico - US \$92 million
Epstein - US \$90 million
D. Chase Enterprises - US \$65 million
Ford Motor Company - US \$54 million
Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company - US \$53 million
Mars Incorporated - US \$50 million
Mc Donald's - US \$49 million
Ameritech - US \$45 million
RJ Reynolds - US \$40 million
Airtouch - US \$25 million
Liquid Carbonic - US \$20 million
Citibank - US \$20 million
General Motors - US \$18.6 million
Gerber - US \$18.5 million

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLECON.DOC

Poland: Economic Overview

1996 will be Poland's fifth straight year of strong, export-led economic growth. Last year the growth rate was about 7 percent; this year it will be around 5 percent, in part because of the current economic slowdown in Germany. Successive governments from a variety of political orientations have maintained the same tight budget policies. A strongly independent Central Bank has also done a good job controlling monetary and exchange rate policies. There are still structural adjustment problems that need to be addressed to assure continued economic growth.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Privatization has been disappointingly slow, in part because of public apprehension that privatization will throw large numbers of people out of work. The large private sector has largely grown up on its own, from the grass roots.
- ☐ Some of the most important sectors of the Polish economy, such as agriculture, coal mining and steel, require major restructuring in order to become viable in a market economy. At the same time, restructuring these sectors is particularly difficult because they employ such large numbers of people.
- ☐ Budget deficits need to be even tighter to bring inflation down from 20 percent plus. The key to reducing deficits is pension reform. The government is working on a comprehensive pension reform plan, but still has not decided between two models: one similar to the U.S. Social Security system, and the other relying more heavily on private pension funds.
- ☐ Unemployment is high at around 15 percent. The key to bringing it down is more new private companies creating new jobs.

- Poland has regained its international financial standing after a spectacular debt default in the 1980's. It restructured its foreign debt (still high at about \$40 billion), graduated from IMF monitoring, and received investment grade credit rating.
- Poland has met all requirements to join the OECD. It should sign the OECD Treaty July 11 or 12. Full membership will come around September, after Parliament ratifies the treaty.
- Poland will probably join the EU around the beginning of the next century. This will require major adjustments in the economy as it opens up fully to European competition.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 13:11

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FILE NAME**

POLEDUC.DOC

Poland: Education

Poland has long prided itself on its system of public education, from preschool through university, which delivers at least some education free to most people. Poland has provided the world with some notable brilliant minds and, generally, Polish students complete their schooling with solid factual educations. However, Poland's education system has been woefully underfunded.

About 90 percent of primary schools are now under local control. Others remain completely under central control. Some of the locally controlled schools are thriving, but not many. Education reformers are nonetheless pressing hard for complete decentralization. Local authorities are already reeling under the burden of many other social responsibilities inherited from the highly centralized communist system with insufficient funding or revenue to meet the needs. The move toward decentralization of education is undoubtedly healthy in the long run. In the short term, it is causing considerable

disarray
and uncertainty in Poland's schools, at least in part because it
hasn't been done decisively enough.

Possibly the most serious problem facing Polish education today
is
not directly related to funding, however. Like systems of
education
throughout Europe, Poland's is overwhelmingly traditional and
strictly hierarchical. The teacher is viewed as the giver of all
knowledge and rote learning is what is most valued. The lecture
is
the standard teaching method. Class participation and give and
take
are not encouraged. In fact, American teachers, at whatever
level,
who try to employ more participatory teaching techniques in
Polish
classrooms usually meet strong resistance, at least at first.
One
American teacher of English, who has worked in Poland since 1983,
says that Polish students seem to believe that learning has to
hurt
to be serious.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Public education is underfunded at all levels.
- ☐ Education needs to be decentralized quickly and clearly.
- ☐ Private alternatives to publicly funded education must be encouraged, especially at the university level.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:56

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLHLTH.DOC

POLAND: Health Issues

Poland has a socialized health care system with all levels of
care
theoretically provided at no cost to the patient. In fact, the
system is in crisis with public hospitals becoming old and
outdated.
There is insufficient money provided to the system for

renovation, updating equipment, or paying adequate salaries to doctors and nurses. There are a few private clinics in Poland, which are out of reach financially for the vast majority of Poles. Public health statistics are static or deteriorating. Life expectancy for men is 67 years, and women 72 years.

Key Issues

- ☐ The Polish health care system is facing a financial crisis which will make it extremely difficult to improve the quality of service and afford expensive new medical technology.
- ☐ Health care workers are poorly paid, and many physicians and nurses must seek other jobs to make a living.
- ☐ Poland is addressing and making progress against environmental pollution, but southern Poland remains one of the most environmentally devastated areas in Central Europe.
- ☐ The incidence of smoking and its secondary health effects is increasing, especially in young women. Tobacco companies are heavily targeting Poland as a new market.
- ☐ AIDS is present in Poland, and on the increase although numbers are significantly below US and Western Europe.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 13:1

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLHUMA.DOC

Poland: Human Rights

The government generally has a good human rights record with basic freedoms guaranteed and respected in practice. Some issues need attention:

- ☐ The condition of many detention facilities and prisons is poor and several dozen should be closed for renovation. Poland's Ombudsman for Civil Rights has recommended that actions be taken to lower the prison population.

- ☐ Freedom of speech is somewhat limited by laws that provide for imprisonment for anyone who "publicly insults...or derides the Polish nation..." It is also illegal to offend "religious sentiment". This has not created problems in practice, however.
- ☐ A prosecutor or judge, in the context of a criminal trial, may require a journalist to divulge the name of a source.
- ☐ Roman Catholic religious instruction is sponsored by the state in the public schools.
- ☐ Violence against women and various discriminatory practices continue to be a problem.
- ☐ There are some incidents of intolerance towards minorities, but mainly among extremist elements.
- ☐ Lack of public confidence as well as an inadequate budget plague the court system. Court decisions are frequently not implemented, particularly in the administrative courts. Low salaries for prosecutors and judges resulted in many leaving the public service for more lucrative employment.
- ☐ The Civil Rights Ombudsman sent a special letter to the Interior Minister to investigate why he has received so many complaints from citizens who believe that their phones are being tapped. (A 1994 law passed to help combat organized crime permits wiretapping if authorized by a judge or chief prosecutor.)

**ATTACHMENT
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19 June 96 13:12

**ATTACHMENT
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POLMISS.DOC

U.S. Mission In Poland

The U.S. Mission to Poland has grown steadily in size and in the scope of its USG responsibilities since 1989, approximately doubling the number of its American and Polish employees and expanding to include operational and reporting duties handled by 15 different agencies. Over 450 Polish employees and approximately 170 American

employees carry out an expanding portfolio of duties in the Embassy in Warsaw and in the Consulate General at Krakow. Ambassador Rey, in consultation with the Department of State and other USG agencies, made the determination to close the Consulate General in Poznan in December 1995 to better utilize shrinking USG resources.

Points of Contact:

Embassy phone number: 011-48-22-628-3041
After hours number: (after 1400 Washington time:
011-48-22-625-00-55

Embassy fax: 011-48-22-628-8298

Embassy points of contact (all numbers start 011-48-22)

Name Direct Line Home Phone

Ambassador
Nicholas Rey 621-6981 via Embassy
switch

Mrs. Lisa Ray Embassy ext. via Embassy
switch
2400

DCM James Hooper 621-6981 45-21-09

Control Officer
Steve Mull 625-6035 642-9047

Administrative Control
Officer Eileen Quinn 625-3209 642-5097

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 13:15

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLPOL.DOC

Poland: Political and Social Overview

Seven years after the fall of Communism, Poland is a thriving multiparty democracy. President Kwasniewski, a post-Communist who defeated Lech Walesa in Poland's second postwar free presidential election in November 1995, shares power with the Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, and the bicameral parliament. The 460-member Lower House (Sejm) is the pre-eminent chamber; the 100-member Senate plays an advisory role.

The three governments since 1993 have been coalitions of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), a successor to the former Communist party, and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), a successor to the Peasant Party of the Communist era. The coalition holds a nearly two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament. Since February 1996 Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz has headed the government. In order to compete more effectively in the next parliamentary elections due in the Fall of 1997, the various parties of the fragmented Post-Solidarity Movement are currently discussion consolidation into electoral blocs.

There is a broad policy consensus in favor of NATO membership as soon as possible, and strong support for Polish integration with the European Union.

Poland's post-1989 economic reforms have generated high annual growth since 1993, and pockets of prosperity are expanding from Poland's largest cities. However, restructuring of state-owned enterprises and farms has resulted in large-scale layoffs in many provincial areas. Local unemployment reaches 40 percent in the hardest-hit "rust belt" towns, and is around 15 percent nationwide.

Polish farmers, heavily subsidized under communism, have also adjusted unevenly to change. Millions of farmers on small plots are living at or near poverty.

Key Issues:

- Over four million people work in the highly unionized public sector as government employees, teachers, health workers, and employees of state-owned industry. Pay in this sector bottomed

out in
1994, but remains well below pre-1989 levels.

☐ Retirees and pensioners on government benefits, number over 9 million (total work force is 12 million).

☐ Local government, restored in 1990, has taken over many basic services, including primary schools, and in the big cities also runs high schools and some parts of the public health system. Where the local economy is healthy, as in Warsaw, those services are improving. However, in many economically depressed areas, schools and clinics are run-down and short of necessities.

Unfinished restructuring tasks now dominate Poland's political agenda:

☐ Keeping the government pension system solvent, while allowing a private system to emerge.

☐ Transitioning to an insurance-based self-financing public health system.

☐ Moving most remaining public services from central to local government.

☐ Privatizing the remaining "difficult case" state-owned enterprises.

☐ Encouraging Polish agriculture to become competitive with the EU to facilitate Polish membership.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 13:19

**ATTACHMENT
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POLPOP.DOC

Poland: Population and Family Planning

In 1995, Poland's population stood at 38.62 million people, 8th largest in Europe. Poland's population growth rate has declined since 1989, and grew at a rate of only 0.11 per cent in 1995, the smallest annual increase in the post-war period. The fertility

rate
in Poland is declining and has now fallen below the level
necessary
for maintaining current population levels.

A migration from rural to urban areas is under way, but 38 per cent
of Poles still live in rural areas with 25 per cent of the
population
employed in the agricultural sector. Currently, 68.7 per cent of
Poles are under the age of 45. However, an improving standard of
living is causing the population to gradually age, which poses a
problem for Poland's over-burdened pension system.

Abortion is illegal in Poland, with a few exceptions in cases of
rape and severe medical difficulties. Other forms of birth
control
are widely available, although more education about the use of
birth
control measures is needed, especially in rural areas.

Key Issues:

- o Total population: 38.62 million.
- o Ethnic Poles make up 98 per cent of the population.
- o 51 per cent of Poles are women.
- o 68.7 per cent of Poles are under the age of 45.
- o Lower fertility rates are causing population growth to slow.
- o 90 per cent of Poles are Roman Catholics.
- o 27 per cent of Poles have completed secondary school, and seven per cent have a university degree.
- o The population is 62 per cent urban, 38 per cent rural, but migration to the cities continues.
- o 15.2 per cent of marriages in Poland end in divorce.
- o Total population in 2020 (projection): 40.7 million.

FILE NAME

POLSCOP.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(b)
Declassify on: 6/20/06

SCOPE PAPER - POLAND**I. Introduction**

Our relations with Poland are rooted in the millions of Americans of Polish ancestry. Polish emigration to the U.S. came in waves -- noblemen during the American Revolution (Kazimierz Pulawski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko are revered in both nations for their contributions to Polish and American independence); farmers and miners in the 19th and early 20th centuries; displaced persons after World War Two; and opposition intellectuals and workers in the 1960's and 1980's. While the cold war separated some families for some periods of time, people-to-people contact continued throughout the period. Since 1989, as a nation of 38 million well-educated, highly pro-American potential consumers, Poland has become one of the world's big emerging markets for trade and investment. The American presence has expanded far beyond ethnic Poles to include a broad range of business.

Poland today is the centerpiece of our policy to enlarge NATO to include the Central European members of the former Warsaw Pact. Since 1994, we have worked more and more closely with the Polish military through the Partnership for Peace to improve Poland's military compatibility with NATO systems, and the Poles are upgrading their skills and equipment as fast as means permit. The Poles are working with our units in IFOR in Bosnia -- a natural bridge between decades of Polish participation in UN Peacekeeping Forces and NATO membership.

Your visit comes will be seen in the context of events affecting Poland's major relations with East and West: a few days after

your visit, the second round of the Russian presidential elections -- which the Poles are watching even more closely than we -- will be held. In mid-July, Poland will likely receive a formal invitation to join the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). You will be visiting Warsaw just six days before Polish President Kwasniewski makes his first visit to Washington. The Poles will see the week of double-hitter high level visits as an opportunity to confirm their gathering confidence that Poland will be invited to join NATO as well, either at the end of 1996 or early in 1997. They will be looking to your visit for signs that Poland has "made it" as a member of the family of Western nations.

II. Key Points:

- ☐ We are pleased with Poland's success in building a healthy democracy, free press, and a market economy since 1989, and proud of the part that U.S. assistance and investment have played in the transformation.
- ☐ Polish patriots joined our democratic revolution two centuries ago; we would like to build a partnership with Poland today as an anchor for democracy and "exporter of stability" in the region.
- ☐ Poland should build reformist coalitions and avoid a communist/anti-communist polarization.
- ☐ Other former communist countries which are still struggling with basic transformation issues look to Poland as a model; we encourage you to share your "lessons learned" with others.
- ☐ We look to Poland to set an example of tolerance for ethnic and religious minorities, in particular, and would like to encourage steps from both sides in constructively resolving the sometimes difficult problems of Polish-Jewish relations.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:9

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLSECU.DOC

Poland: Regional and Security Issues

NATO entry is Poland's top foreign policy and national security objective. Poland's NATO aspirations enjoy wide support across the political spectrum: 85 percent of Poles supported Polish entry into NATO. Polish decision makers expect NATO to announce in early 1997 the beginning of accession negotiations with Poland and other Central European countries.

Since 1989, Poland has pursued an active policy of building strong relations with its seven neighbors and has largely succeeded, especially with Germany, Ukraine, Lithuania and the Czech Republic. Poland takes justified pride in being an "exporter of stability" to its neighbors. One of President Kwasniewski's priorities has been to improve relations with Russia.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Poland is engaged in an "intensified dialogue" with NATO on its candidacy for NATO membership and has announced it will have a comprehensive plan for integration with NATO ready by September.
- ☐ A February law clarified the chain of command and placed the Chief of the General Staff subordinate to the Minister of Defense. The Defense Ministry and General Staff are undergoing major restructuring to bring them into line with this law.
- ☐ Polish parliamentarians have limited experience overseeing the operation of the Defense Ministry and uniformed military. They are developing the expertise to serve as independent watchdogs and monitors on security issues.
- ☐ Much of Poland's Soviet-era equipment - including airplanes - needs replacing. The Poles are reportedly considering three fighter options, the American F-16 and F-18 and the Swedish Grippen.
- ☐ Poland's armed forces are adapting to western attitudes and procedures, but they need to accelerate English language training for their officers and improve the transparency of their budgeting,

planning and procurement procedures.

☐ Poland has sent a combat battalion to IFOR and is serving in the U.S. sector.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 12:47

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POLWOME.DOC

Poland: Women's Status and Issues

While women are not subject to blatant discrimination nor ill-treatment, various inequities in the law and in practice exist.

In

particular, the health care system has neglected women's concerns such as breast cancer and maternity conditions and the government has

not focused attention on women's societal problems like domestic violence and workplace discrimination.

Women's organizations can be typed as a) derived from pre-1989 "official" (i.e., communist-linked); b) "Catholic/conservative"; c)

liberal/secular. The latter group is both the closest counterpart to

Western notions of feminist organizations and the smallest. A few

women are very prominent in politics, media and government, e.g., the

National Bank President in culture, politics. President Kwasniewski's chief advisor on social and women's issues is a former

Solidarity activist and anti-clerical activist.

Specific problems women face in Poland include:

☐ Domestic Violence: government statistics do not differentiate between male and female victims of violence, and the government has no program to investigate it.

☐ Increase in Trafficking in Women: Increasing numbers of Polish women are induced, often under false pretenses, to work as prostitutes in Western Europe.

- ☐ Harassment or Discrimination in the Workplace: Few register complaints because of the lack of specific provisions in the Labor Code that provide for redress.
- ☐ Discriminatory Job Advertisements: Ads frequently indicate gender preference and age, often discriminating against women.
- ☐ Exclusion and Unemployment: Women remain banned from working in 90 occupations in 18 fields and account for 55.2 percent of all those unemployed as of July 1995.
- ☐ Glass Ceiling: Few women hold high government positions (only one out of 17 government ministers is a woman). The PM recently chose an advisory team of 34 and only two are women.
- ☐ Rigid Roles: While both the husband and wife usually must work to make ends meet, women are still expected to do most of the domestic work, stay home for child rearing and care for sick family members.

M S M a i l

DATE-TIME 19 June 96 16:37
FROM Fried, Daniel
CLASSIFICATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SUBJECT FW: Poland Papers [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
TO Fried, Daniel
CARBON_COPY NO CC's on THIS MESSAGE
TEXT_BODY

DECLASSIFIED E.O. 13526
White House Guidelines,
September 11, 2006

By KDE NARA, Date 04/20/16
2012-0094-F

From: Joseph, Jofi J.
To: Fried, Daniel
CC: /R, Record at A1
Subject: Poland Papers [~~CONFIDENTIAL~~]
Date: Wednesday, June 19, 1996 11:04 AM

[[POLBEIJ.DOC : 4113 in POLBEIJ.DOC]][[POLBILA.DOC : 4114 in
POLBILA.DOC
]]][[POLCHIL.DOC : 4115 in POLCHIL.DOC]][[POLCOMP.DOC : 4116 in
POLCOMP.DOC]][[POLSCOP.DOC : 4117 in POLSCOP.DOC]]
[[POLSECU.DOC : 4118
in POLSECU.DOC]][[POLUSAS.DOC : 4119 in POLUSAS.DOC]]
[[POLWOME.DOC :
4120 in POLWOME.DOC]][[POLHLTH.DOC : 4121 in POLHLTH.DOC]]
[[POLHUMA.DOC
: 4122 in POLHUMA.DOC]][[POLECON.DOC : 4123 in POLECON.DOC]][[
POLEDUC.DOC : 4124 in POLEDUC.DOC]][[POLMISS.DOC : 4125 in
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POLPRES.DOC
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ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE 19 June 96 10:41

ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME POLBEIJ.DOC

POLAND: Beijing Conference Position

Preparations for the Beijing Women's Conference catalyzed a

heated
debate in Poland between so-called "feminist" nongovernmental
organizations, and "Catholic" groups centering on abortion and
women's
role in society. Various events occurred both in anticipation
and
as follow-up to the Beijing Conference:

□ Pre-Beijing reports issued by the Government and women's NGO's
cited as problems sexual harassment, practices of discrimination,
and
the strict anti-abortion law.

□ Catholic groups claim discrimination against women is not a
problem in Poland; their report called for more pro-family
government
policy, i.e. solving housing problems, reforming the health care
insurance system and protecting women's health.

□ The government sent a 14-person delegation to Beijing. Senator
Zofia Kuratowska boycotted to protest the violation of human
rights
in China. Kuratowska observed to us that: "Hilary Clinton based
her
decision on going to China on the freeing of Mr. Wu, an American
citizen. We can't forget, however, that the prisons are full of
Chinese citizens."

□ During the Conference, nineteen Polish women protested in
Huairou both against forced sterilization in China and against
strict
anti-abortion laws in Poland.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 10:42

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLBILA.DOC
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Reason: 1.5(b)
Declassify by: 6/20/06

U.S.-Polish Bilateral Relations

Relations are probably better now than at any time in our common
history as independent states. Poland made a firm commitment to

membership in the Western community of nations in 1989 which has broadened and deepened as the post-Cold War transformation has moved forward. Poland has made NATO membership its top foreign policy priority -- it enjoys about 80% support in public opinion -- followed by integration with the European Union. The Poles see their relationship with the U.S. as the key to NATO.

Successive Polish leaders have stressed Poland's strong desire for a continued U.S. security presence in Europe to ensure political stability in the new century. The Poles are ready and eager to play a role as our chief security partner in the Central European region. Pitfalls in our relations include the prospect of arms sales to pariah regimes and the resolution of outstanding property issues, especially the reprivatization of nationalized property since World War II.

Key Issues:

- o Poland has become a prime candidate for NATO membership through its extremely active participation in the Partnership for Peace. Reforms in the last year have strengthened democratic civilian control of the armed forces, eliminating the only significant political question mark.
- o Polish volunteer troops are serving side by side with GI's in IFOR in Bosnia; Poles also participated with the U.S. in the successful MNF in Haiti.
- o Poland is a reliable, constructive partner for the U.S. in a variety of international FORA, including the United Nations Security Council and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- o The U.S. is the number one foreign investor in Poland, new investment inflows are continuing.
- o After five years of successful absorption of U.S. assistance under the Seed Act of 1989, Poland is preparing to shift from an AID recipient to an AID donor in a number of areas, including Bosnia.
- o Poland is a leading participant in the U.S. Regional Law and Democracy Initiative aimed at enhancing international cooperation

in
combating organized crime and terrorism.

o In response to Special Envoy Eizenstat's mission to the region on Jewish property restitution, the Poles have recently brought legislation to parliament that would open the way to return communal property to the local Jewish community.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 10:43

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLCHIL.DOC

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School enrollment remains high at 98 per cent.

Negative disruptions in overall child welfare tend to be greater in rural households, in families with more than three children, and where there is an unemployed head of household. Among the unemployed (14-15 per cent) there is higher-than-average presence of alcoholism, child abuse, divorce, crime and other forms of social dysfunction.

For the last two decades, the US Government has provided assistance to Polish child health care institutions, the biggest of which has been the Polish-American Children's Hospital in Krakow, the biggest pediatric center of its kind in Europe. USAID has assisted the Litewska Children's Hospital in Warsaw to establish an

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Key Issues:

- ☐ Access and quality of perinatal health care to mothers and children from poor households.
- ☐ Maternal health, including issues with rising smoking, and alcohol.
- ☐ Signs of growing child abuse, and exposure to alcoholism and drug abuse; lack of good preventive and treatment programs.

**ATTACHMENT
FILE DATE**

19 June 96 10:38

**ATTACHMENT
FILE NAME**

POLCOMP.DOC

Major U.S. Companies in Poland

The United States is the number one foreign investor in Poland, in terms of value, with a total of 2.92 billion U.S. dollars invested through the first half of 1996. This represents approximately 25 percent of foreign investment in Poland. (In terms of number of firms, however, the U.S. is second to Germany.)

American companies have invested in Poland across a wide spectrum of industry -- more than fifty different business categories. Not surprisingly, the American services industry has followed its clients here, including accounting firms (the big six are all represented) and law firms (11 American law firms operate here).

The American Chamber of Commerce in Poland, established just in

1991, now has over 230 corporate members, and a growth trend of 25 percent per year. American companies are attracted to Poland by the size of the market (38 million people), skilled labor market, strategic location (including potential access to the EU market), and economic growth. Opportunities for investment exist across virtually all industrial and consumer sectors in Poland.

Despite Poland's impressive economic growth and demographics, a number of concerns remain for U.S. companies doing business or investing in Poland. Overall, there are problems with a lack of consistency in all areas of business and tax policy, administration, and legislation. It is often very difficult, if not impossible, to get necessary rulings, decisions, or determinations, from Polish officials. Many U.S. products face significantly higher customs duties than their competitors from the EU.

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 Mc Donald's - US \$49 million
 Ameritech - US \$45 million
 RJ Reynolds - US \$40 million
 Airtouch - US \$25 million
 Liquid Carbonic - US \$20 million
 Citibank - US \$20 million
 General Motors - US \$18.6 million
 Gerber - US \$18.5 million

U.S. Law Firms with Offices in Poland

Alzheimer & Gray Baker & McKenzie
 Dewey Ballantine-T.Goddard Hogan & Hartson
 Dickinson, Wright...Freeman McKenna & Co
 Miller, Canfield...Stone Salans Hertzfeld &
 Heilbronn

Weil Gotsal & Manges White & Case
Hunton & Williams

**ATTACHMENT
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19 June 96 10:51

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POLSCOP.DOC
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Reason: 1.5(b)
Declassify on: 6/20/06

SCOPE PAPER - POLAND

I. Introduction

Our bilateral relationship with Poland is rooted first and foremost in the family ties that link Poland to millions of Americans of Polish ancestry. Polish emigration to the U.S. came in waves -- noblemen during the American Revolution (Kazimierz Pulawski and Tadeusz Kosciuszko are revered in both nations for their contributions to Polish and American independence); farmers and miners in the 19th and early 20th centuries; displaced persons after World War Two; and opposition intellectuals and workers in the 1960's and 1980's. While the cold war separated some families for some periods of time, people-to-people contact continued throughout the period. Since 1989, as a nation of 38 million well-educated, highly pro-American potential consumers, Poland has become one of the world's big emerging markets for trade and investment. The American presence has expanded far beyond ethnic Poles to include a broad range of business.

Poland today is the strategic centerpiece of our policy to enlarge NATO to include the Central European members of the former Warsaw

Pact. Since 1994, we have worked more and more closely with the Polish military through the Partnership for Peace to improve Poland's military compatibility with NATO systems, and the Poles are upgrading their skills and equipment as fast as means permit. The Poles are working with our units in IFOR in Bosnia -- a natural bridge between decades of Polish participation in UN Peacekeeping Forces and NATO membership.

Your visit will be seen in the context of events affecting Poland's major relationships with East and West: A few days after your visit, the second round of the Russian presidential elections -- which the Poles are watching even more closely than we -- will be held. In mid-July, Poland will likely receive a formal invitation to join the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). You will be visiting Warsaw just six days before Polish President Kwasniewski makes his first official visit to Washington. The Poles will see the week of double-hitter high level visits as an opportunity to confirm their gathering confidence that Poland will be invited to join NATO as well, either at the end of 1996 or early in 1997. They will be looking to your visit for signs that Poland has "made it" as a member of the family of Western nations.

II. Objectives

Key Points:

- ☐ We are pleased with Poland's success in building a healthy democracy, free press, and a market economy since 1989, and proud of the part that U.S. assistance and investment have played in the transformation.
- ☐ Polish Patriots joined our democratic revolution two centuries ago; we would like to build a partnership with Poland today as an anchor for democracy and "exporter of stability" in the region.
- ☐ Other former communist countries which are still struggling with basic transformation issues look to Poland as a model; we

encourage you to share your "lessons learned" with others.

☐ We look to Poland to set an example of tolerance for ethnic and religious minorities, in particular, and would like to encourage steps from both sides in constructively resolving the sometimes difficult problems of Polish-Jewish relations.

III. Strategy

Your visit is an opportunity to cement the tremendous good will Poles feel toward the U.S. and build the Poles' self-esteem and sense of responsibility as a future regional leader.

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POLSECU.DOC

Poland: Regional and Security Issues

Gaining entry into NATO is Poland's top foreign policy and national security objective. Poland's NATO aspirations enjoy wide support across the political spectrum. In recent opinion surveys, 85% of Poles supported Polish entry into NATO. Polish decision makers expect NATO to issue invitations for Poland and other Central European countries to join the alliance in early 1997.

Since 1989, Poland has pursued an active policy of building strong and friendly diplomatic and security relations with its seven neighbors. It has negotiated friendship treaties with all its neighbors, confirming Poland's current borders. One of President Kwasniewski's priorities has been to improve relations with Russia which were strained under the Walesa Administration.

Poland aspires to "export security" to its eastern neighbors. Poland already has strong defense cooperation with Ukraine and the two countries will form a joint peacekeeping battalion by the end of 1996. Poland has tried to serve as a mentor for Lithuania's fledgling military by providing training, advice and some equipment and vehicles. Poland and the Czech Republic are confident that

they
will be among the first new NATO members and are coordinating
closely
on approaches to the alliance.

Key Issues:

☐ Poland is engaged in an "intensified dialogue" with NATO on its candidacy for NATO membership and has announced it will have a comprehensive plan for integration with NATO ready by September.

☐ A February law clarified the chain of command and placed the Chief of the General Staff subordinate to the Minister of Defense.

The Defense Ministry and General Staff are currently undergoing major restructuring to bring them into line with this law.

☐ Polish parliamentarians have limited experience overseeing the operation of the Defense Ministry and uniformed military. They are

developing the expertise to serve as independent watchdogs and monitors on security issues.

☐ Much of Poland's Soviet-era equipment - including airplanes - needs replacing. The Poles are reportedly considering three fighter options, the American F-16 and FA-18 and the Swedish Grippen.

☐ Poland's armed forces are adapting to western attitudes and procedures, but they need to accelerate English language training for their officers and improve the transparency of their budgeting, planning and procurement procedures.

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POLUSAS.DOC

Poland: U.S. Assistance

Since 1989, the U.S. has provided \$800 million in technical assistance, training, capital for investment in private businesses and banks, construction (affordable private housing), and equipment

(for environmental clean-up and energy efficiency) to assist Poland with its transition to democracy and market economy.

Major results to date include:

- ☐ 512 enterprises have been privatized under a Mass Privatization Program and shares are owned by over 13 million citizens;
- ☐ Thousands of Polish businesses and consultants have received U.S. technical assistance and training that is increasing their profitability;
- ☐ Supervisory and regulatory bodies for banks and the securities industry are in place;
- ☐ Non-performing loans dropped from 35 per cent to 25 per cent of bank loans; banking is more competitive, with 4 of 9 State-owned banks privatized and 300 independent cooperative banks and 150 credit unions;
- ☐ Systems that support financial and securities markets have been established; and many modern financial products have been introduced including mortgages and municipal bonds.

We plan an additional \$141 million to continue USAID-funded activities through September 30, 2000, the planned date of Poland's graduation. U.S. assistance will be focused on achieving the following three strategic objectives:

- ☐ Stimulate the private sector at the firm level;
- ☐ Establish a competitive and efficient private financial sector;
- ☐ Establish effective, responsive and accountable local government.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Ensure sustainability of indigenous Polish institutions and organizations which are receiving USAID support.
- ☐ Determine how to more effectively replicate Polish successes within Poland, the CEE and the NIS.
- ☐ Improve the management of local government resources to ensure

continued economic development and further democratization.

☐ Assist Poland's cities with a severe crisis in providing adequate urban services and infrastructure, including water supply, health care delivery, and education.

☐ Help Poland meet demand for housing, currently over one million units.

☐ Speed the pace of privatization.

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POLWOME.DOC

Poland: Women's Status and Issues

While women are not subject to blatant discrimination nor ill-treatment, various inequities in the law and in practice exist.

In

particular, the health care system has neglected women's concerns such as breast cancer and maternity conditions and the government has

not focused attention on women's societal problems like domestic violence and workplace discrimination.

The pre-1989 communist system encouraged a variety of women's organizations, many of which continue to exist as independent non-governmental organizations (NGO's) linked to the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD). However, Western-style women's interest groups and

lobbying efforts are still embryonic. According to one outspoken woman NGO leader, "a women's agenda has not yet developed in Poland."

Women's groups were not active in the 1995 presidential campaign,

though the female National Bank President was a candidate.

Former

President Lech Walesa, along with other candidates, paid little attention to women's concerns. A slight plurality of women favored

Walesa, although the more liberal Kwasniewski gave visible support to

a "women's agenda." Most women activists believe more older religious women, who are likely to vote, supported Walesa.

Specific problems women face in Poland include:

- ☐ Domestic Violence: government statistics do not differentiate between male and female victims of violence, and the government has no program to investigate it.
- ☐ Increase in Trafficking in Women: Increasing numbers of Polish women are induced, often under false pretenses, to work as prostitutes in Western Europe.
- ☐ Harassment or Discrimination in the Workplace: Few register complaints because of the lack of specific provisions in the Labor Code that provide for redress.
- ☐ Discriminatory Job Advertisements: Ads frequently indicate gender preference and age, often discriminating against women.
- ☐ Exclusion and Unemployment: Women remain banned from working in 90 occupations in 18 fields and account for 55.2 percent of all those unemployed as of July 1995.
- ☐ Glass Ceiling: Few women hold high government positions (only one out of 17 government ministers is a woman). The Prime Minister recently chose an advisory team of 34 and only two are women.
- ☐ Rigid Roles: While both the husband and wife usually must work to make ends meet, women are still expected to do most of the domestic work, stay home for child rearing and care for sick family members.

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POLHLTH.DOC

POLAND: Health Issues

Poland has a fully socialized health care system with all levels of care provided at no cost to the patient. The system is in financial crisis with public hospitals becoming old and outdated.

There is insufficient money provided to the system for renovation, updating equipment, or paying adequate salaries to doctors and nurses. There are a few private clinics in Poland, which are out of reach financially for the vast majority of Poles. Public health statistics are static or deteriorating. Life expectancy for men is 67 years, and women 72 years.

Key Issues

- ☐ The Polish health care system is facing a financial crisis which will make it extremely difficult to improve the quality of service and afford expensive new medical technology.
- ☐ Health care workers are poorly paid, and many physicians and nurses must seek other jobs to make a living.
- ☐ Poland is addressing and making progress against environmental pollution, but southern Poland remains one of the most environmentally devastated areas in Central Europe.
- ☐ The incidence of smoking and its secondary health effects is increasing, especially in young women. Tobacco companies are heavily targeting Poland as a new market.
- ☐ AIDS is present in Poland, and on the increase although numbers are significantly below US and Western Europe.

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POLHUMA.DOC

Poland: Human Rights

The government generally has a good record on respecting human rights. The interim constitution (a parliamentary committee is

currently drafting a new one) provides guarantees for fundamental rights such as freedom of speech, press, assembly and association, religion and fair treatment by the courts. It prohibits torture and unequal treatment because of one's race, religion, sex or nationality. The 1991 laws on trade unions and resolution of collective disputes generally create a favorable environment to conduct trade union activity. While Poland has made great strides in transforming itself into a viable democracy, there are some abuses which need attention:

- ☐ The condition of many detention facilities and prisons is poor and several dozen should be closed for renovation. The Ombudsman for Civil Rights has recommended that actions be taken to lower the prison population.
- ☐ Freedom of speech is somewhat limited by laws that provide for imprisonment for anyone who "publicly insults...or derides the Polish nation..." It is also illegal to offend "religious sentiment".
- ☐ A prosecutor or judge, in the context of a criminal trial, may require a journalist to divulge the name of a source.
- ☐ Roman Catholic religious instruction is sponsored by the state in the public schools.
- ☐ Violence against women and various discriminatory practices continue to be a problem.
- ☐ There are some incidents of intolerance towards minorities, but mainly among more extremist elements of society and the political spectrum.
- ☐ Lack of public confidence as well as an inadequate budget plague the court system. Court decisions are frequently not implemented, particularly in the administrative courts. Low salaries for prosecutors and judges resulted in many leaving the public service for more lucrative employment.
- ☐ The Civil Rights Ombudsman sent a special letter to the Interior Minister to investigate why he has received so many complaints from citizens who believe that their phones are being tapped. (A 1994 law passed to help combat organized crime permits

wiretapping if authorized by a judge or chief prosecutor.)

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POLECON.DOC

Poland: Economic Overview

1996 will be Poland's fifth straight year of strong, export-led economic growth. Last year the growth rate was about 7 percent. This year it will be a bit less, around 5 percent, in part because of the current economic slowdown in Germany. The main reason for this economic success is that successive governments from a variety of political orientations have maintained the same tight budget policies. A strongly independent Central Bank has also done a good job controlling monetary and exchange rate policies. There are still structural adjustment problems that need to be addressed to assure continued economic growth in the long term.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Privatization has been disappointingly slow, in part because of public apprehension that privatization will throw large numbers of people out of work.
- ☐ Some of the most important sectors of the Polish economy, such as agriculture, coal mining and steel, require major restructuring in order to become viable in a market economy. At the same time, restructuring these sectors is particularly difficult because they employ such large numbers of people.
- ☐ Budget deficits need to be even tighter, to bring inflation down from current levels of around 20 percent. The key to reducing deficits is pension reform. The government is working on a comprehensive pension reform plan, but still has not decided between

two models: one similar to the U.S. Social Security system, and the other relying more heavily on private pension funds.

☐ Unemployment is high at around 15 percent. The key to bringing it down is more new private companies creating new jobs.

☐ Poland has regained its international financial standing after a spectacular debt default in the 1980's. It restructured its foreign debt (still high at about \$40 billion), graduated from IMF monitoring, and received an investment grade credit rating.

☐ Poland has met all requirements to join the OECD. It should sign the OECD Treaty July 11 or 12. Full membership will come around September, after Parliament ratifies the treaty.

☐ Poland will probably join the EU around the beginning of the next century. This will require major adjustments in the economy as it opens up fully to European competition.

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POLEDUC.DOC

Poland: Education

Poland has long prided itself on its system of public education, from preschool through university, which delivers at least some education free to most of the people. Poland has provided the world with some notable brilliant minds and, generally, Polish students complete their schooling with solid factual educations.

Schooling is mandatory through eighth grade. But, especially since the demise of communism, Poland's education system has been woefully underfunded and administrative structures are under ongoing debate and remain unclear.

Many schools have been "decentralized," put under local control with partial funding from the central government. About 90 percent of primary schools are now under local control. Others remain completely under central control. Some of the locally controlled schools are thriving, but not many. Education reformers are nonetheless pressing hard for complete decentralization. Local authorities are already reeling under the burden of many other social responsibilities inherited from the highly centralized communist system with insufficient funding or revenue to meet the needs. The move toward decentralization of education is undoubtedly healthy in the long run. In the short term, it is causing considerable disarray and uncertainty in Poland's schools, at least in part because it hasn't been done decisively enough.

Possibly the most serious problem facing Polish education today is not directly related to funding, however. Like systems of education throughout Europe, Poland's is overwhelmingly traditional and strictly hierarchical. The teacher is viewed as the giver of all knowledge and rote learning is what is most valued. The lecture is the standard teaching method. Class participation and give and take are not encouraged. In fact, American teachers, at whatever level, who try to employ more participatory teaching techniques in Polish classrooms usually meet strong resistance, at least at first. One American teacher of English, who has worked in Poland since 1983, says that Polish students seem to believe that learning has to hurt to be serious.

Key Issues:

- ☐ Public education is underfunded at all levels.
- ☐ Education needs to be decentralized quickly and clearly.
- ☐ Private alternatives to publicly funded education must be encouraged, especially at the university level.

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POLMISS.DOC

U.S. Mission In Poland

The U.S. Mission to Poland has grown steadily in size and in the scope of its USG responsibilities since 1989, approximately doubling the number of its American and Polish employees and expanding to include operational and reporting duties handled by 15 different agencies. Over 450 Polish employees and approximately 170 American employees carry out an expanding portfolio of duties in the Embassy in Warsaw and in the Consulate General at Krakow. Ambassador Rey, in consultation with the Department of State and other USG agencies, made the determination to close the Consulate General in Poznan in December 1995 to better utilize shrinking USG resources.

Points of Contact:

Embassy phone number: 011-48-22-628-3041
After hours number: (after 1400 Washington time:
011-48-22-625-00-55

Embassy fax: 011-48-22-628-8298

Embassy points of contact (all numbers start 011-48-22)

Name Direct Line Home Phone

Ambassador
Nicholas Rey 621-6981 via Embassy
switch

Mrs. Lisa Ray Embassy ext. via Embassy
switch
2400

DCM James Hooper 621-6981 45-21-09

Control Officer
Steve Mull 625-6035 642-9047

Administrative Control
Officer Eileen Quinn 625-3209 642-5097

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POLPOL.DOC

Poland: Political and Social Overview

Seven years after the fall of Communism, and after six fully free and fair elections at various levels, Poland is a thriving multiparty parliamentary democracy. President Aleksander Kwasniewski, a post-Communist who defeated Lech Walesa in Poland's second postwar free presidential election in November 1995, shares power with the Prime Minister, the Council of Ministers, and the bicameral parliament.

The 460-member Lower House (SEJM) is the pre-eminent chamber, and the 100-member Senate plays an advisory role.

The three governments since 1993 have been coalitions of the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), a successor to the former Communist party, and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), a successor to the Peasant Party of the Communist era. The coalition holds a nearly two-thirds majority in both houses of Parliament. Since February 1996 Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz (SLD) has headed the government. In order to compete more effectively in the next parliamentary elections due in the Fall of 1997, the various parties of the fragmented Post-Solidarity Movement are currently discussion consolidation into electoral blocs.

There is a broad policy consensus in favor of NATO membership as soon as possible, and strong support for Polish integration with

the
European Union.

Poland's post-1989 economic reforms have generated high annual growth since 1993, and pockets of prosperity are expanding from Poland's largest cities. However, restructuring of state-owned enterprises and farms has resulted in large-scale layoffs in many provincial areas. Local unemployment reaches 40 percent in the hardest-hit "rust belt" towns, and is around 15 percent nationwide.

Polish farmers, heavily subsidized under communism, have also adjusted unevenly to change. Millions of farmers on small plots are
living at or near poverty.

The SLD and PSL rode into power in 1993 on workers' and farmers' fear of the destabilizing effects of economic reforms, which the SLD/PSL government has slowed but not rolled back. Although a majority of workers are now in the private sector, the number of voters whose livelihood depends on government remains high enough to
be a strong political factor.

Key Issues:

☐ Over four million people work in the highly unionized public sector, as government employees, teachers, health workers, and employees of state-owned industry. Pay in this sector bottomed out in 1994, but remains well below pre-1989 levels.

☐ Retirees and pensioners on government benefits, number over 9 million (total work force is 12 million).

☐ Local government, restored in 1990, has taken over many basic services, including primary schools, and in the big cities also runs
high schools and some parts of the public health system. Where the
local economy is healthy, as in Warsaw, those services are improving.
However, in many economically depressed areas, schools and clinics
are run-down and short of necessities.

Unfinished restructuring tasks now dominate Poland's political agenda:

☐ Keeping the government pension system solvent, while allowing a

private system to emerge.

- ☐ Transitioning to an insurance-based self-financing public health system.
- ☐ Moving most remaining public services from central to local government.
- ☐ Privatizing the remaining "difficult case" state-owned enterprises.
- ☐ Encouraging Polish agriculture to become competitive with the EU to facilitate Polish membership.

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POLPRES.DOC

POLAND: Arrival and Departure Statements

Arrival Statement

It is a great pleasure to have the opportunity to visit Poland again. President Clinton and I were deeply impressed by our visit two years ago, and I would like to extend his greetings and those of the entire American people to the people of Poland. During my stay in Warsaw and Krakow, I look forward to meeting with President and Mrs. Kwasniewski and other leaders, as well as many other Poles from a variety of professions. I am especially looking forward to meeting Polish women who are leaders in their areas of public life, and with Poles who are devoting themselves to improving care for children. I hope that my visit will be an occasion to enhance the longstanding and warm ties between our peoples.

Departure Statement

I would like to thank President and Mrs. Kwasniewski and all of Poland's leaders and people for extending such a warm welcome to me during my stay in Poland. I have gained a deeper appreciation for the tremendous effort that the Polish nation has made to transform its economy and political system in recent years, and for the work that remains to be done. It was particular gratifying to have an opportunity to exchange views with a number of outstanding women leaders in public life, and to learn of the efforts underway to improve the lot of disadvantaged children.

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POLAND: POPULATION AND FAMILY PLANNING

In 1995, Poland's population stood at 38.62 million people, 29th largest in the world and 8th largest in Europe. Poland's population growth rate has declined since 1989, and grew at a rate of only 0.11 per cent in 1995, the smallest annual increase in the post-war period. The fertility rate in Poland is declining and has now fallen below the level necessary for maintaining current population levels.

A migration from rural to urban areas is under way, but 38 per cent of Poles still live in rural areas with 25 per cent of the population employed in the agricultural sector. Currently, 68.7 per cent of Poles are under the age of 45. However, an improving standard of living is causing the population to gradually age, which poses a problem for Poland's already over-burdened pension system.

Abortion is illegal in Poland with a few exceptions in cases of rape and severe medical difficulties. Other forms of birth control are widely available, although more education about the use of birth control measures is needed, especially in rural areas.

Key Issues:

- o Total population: 38.62 million.
- o Ethnic Poles make up 98 per cent of the population.
- o 51 per cent of Poles are women.
- o 68.7 per cent of Poles are under the age of 45.
- o Lower fertility rates are causing population growth to slow.
- o 90 per cent of Poles are Roman Catholics.
- o 27 per cent of Poles have completed secondary school, and seven per cent have a university degree.
- o The population is 62 per cent urban, 38 per cent rural, but migration to the cities continues.
- o 15.2 per cent of marriages in Poland end in divorce.
- o Total population in 2020 (projection): 40.7 million.