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006440

3400

DD .4

GI002

FG006-12

February 23, 1981

Your Imperial Highness:

You were very kind to send us the lovely floral gift. We deeply appreciate your remembering us in this special way.

Nancy joins me in sending our sincere thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

X Her Imperial Highness
Princess Ashraf Pahlavi
625 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

RR/AVH/NSC/cbs--

(NSC approved 2/20/81.)

10

810229

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

17

2/20/81

Anne Higgins

Anne:

Attached are the draft replies to Princesses Shams and Ashraf which have been revised by NSC and approved by Richard Allen.

Both of Shah's sisters should be treated equally using their honorary royal titles.

We would appreciate having copies of both signed letters.

Carole Farrar

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/22/81

Salutation:

"Your Imperial Highness"

or

"Dear Princess Ashraf"

Per Office of the Secretariat, Dept.
of State.

Charles Free

When you think of flowers, think of Bird's



Bird's Florists

915 15TH STREET N. W.
AT McPHERSON SQUARE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005
638-0204

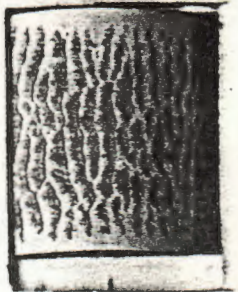
SHOREHAM AMERICANA HOTEL
2500 CALVERT STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008
234-4222

TO President & Mrs. Ronald Reagan
White House



Congratulations
and
Best wishes,

ASHRAF PAHLAVI



8100015 DATE 810122 WHITE HOUSE GIFT UNIT

NAME PAHLAVI, Ashraf
Last First Middle

ADDRESS 625 Park Avenue, New York
Street City

STATE NY ZIP 10021

COUNTRY
CATEGORY CODE 9904
GIFT INTENDED FOR

- P President
- F First Lady
- B President and First Lady
- K First Family, Other
- W White House Staff
- O Other

- F Personal Friend — Under Minimal Value
- G Personal Friend — Over Minimal Value
- H Foreign Official — Under Minimal Value
- I Foreign Official — Over Minimal Value
- P General Public — Under Minimal Value
- Q General Public — Over Minimal Value
- Y VIP — Under Minimal Value
- W VIP — Over Minimal Value
- O Other — Under Minimal Value
- T Other — Over Minimal Value

DESCRIPTION Assortment, 2 lg. boxes of long stemmed.

ORGANIZATION

TITLE Her Imperial Highness; Princess S (sister of the former Shah of Iran)

RECEIVED BY M Mail Room
 C Congressional Liaison Staff
 P Presented Personally
 S Staff Other Than Congressional Liaison
 O Other

ACKNOWLEDGED BY _____ FORM _____ DATE _____

- AR Archives
- CA
- CB
- CC
- CG
- DS Destroyed
- PR President
- FL First Lady
- FO First Family, Other
- WH Residence Flower Rm.
- FS Presidential Staff
- PS First Lady Staff
- RA Returned to Sender, Commercial
- RB Returned to Sender, Over Minimal Value
- RC Returned to Sender, Other
- DA Camp David
- EW East Wing
- WW West Wing
- OH Other

ARCHIVE BOX #

COMMENT Del. by Bird's Florists, Wash., DC.; Address per Milbank, Tweed, Hadley and McCloy, NY., NY;
Title verified w/Iranian Working Group Desk Officer, State.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION, STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
 MISSISSIPPI
 1000

OH Chief
 MM Asst. Chief
 EM Exec. Asst.
 DV Comm. Dir.
 RC Sec'y
 RB Asst. Sec'y
 BA Asst. Sec'y

ES Chief Clerk
 EC Asst. Chief Clerk
 EC Asst. Chief Clerk
 EC Asst. Chief Clerk
 EC Asst. Chief Clerk
 EC Asst. Chief Clerk

DD Director
 CC Chief Clerk
 CC Chief Clerk
 CC Chief Clerk
 CC Chief Clerk
 CC Chief Clerk

Name	Date
D. Amigo	5-1-81

ACKNOWLEDGED BY
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 RECEIVED BY

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gab

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

mpc

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 8/10/25

ID # 006742
GI 002

Name of Correspondent: Larry J. Hopkins

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Requests appointment with President Reagan for Tom Leonard who desires to present a photograph of Genuine Risk to the President

ROUTE TO:		ACTION	DISPOSITION		
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>EA</u>	<u>FRIE</u>	ORIGINATOR	^{DD} <u>8/10/26</u>	^{DD} <u>7m7</u>	^{DD} <u>8/13/26</u>
<u>SC Newell</u>		^{DD} <u>A</u>	<u>8/13/18</u>	<u>GN</u>	<u>8/15/05</u>
<u>SC Donaldson</u>		Referral Note: <u>A</u>	<u>8/15/05</u>		<u>C L W S</u>
		Referral Note: _____	<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note: _____	<u>1 1</u>		<u>1 1</u>
		Referral Note: _____			

- ACTION CODES:**
- A - Appropriate Action
 - C - Comments
 - D - Draft Response
 - F - Fact Sheet
 - I - Info Copy
 - R - Direct Reply w/Copy
 - S - For Signature
 - X - Interim Reply

- DISPOSITION CODES:**
- A - Answered
 - B - Non-Special Referral
 - C - Completed
 - S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
 Type of Response = Initials of Signer
 Code = "A"
 Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
 Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOB).
 Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
 Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 1240 _____

Prime Subject Code: GI 002 Secondary Subject Codes: PR 007 _____
EG 032 _____
RE 016 _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence
 - n - 0 - Unknown
 - n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
 - n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
 - n - 3 - Ron
 - n - 4 - Dutch
 - n - 5 -
- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
 - n - 2 -
 - n - 3 -
- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
 - n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

- B - Box/package
- C - Copy
- D - Official document
- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

May 5, 1981

Dear Congressman Hopkins:

Max Friedersdorf has brought to my attention his acknowledgement of your letter requesting a meeting with the President for your constituent, Mr. Tony Leonard, who wishes to present him with his framed picture of Genuine Risk.

I wanted to let you know that particular notation has been made of your request, and that just as soon as possible I will contact you further about this appointment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Gregory J. Newell
Special Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Larry J. Hopkins
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

✓ cc & inc: Helen Donaldson
Inf copy: Nancy Kennedy ✓ *Sent*
GJN:mhr:emb-41a

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

24 MARCH 1981

TO: GREGORY J. NEWELL
FROM: MICHAEL P. CASTINE *MAC*
SUBJ: GENUINE RISK-~~RISK~~-PHOTO PRESENTATION.

MAX FRIEDERSDORF RECOMMENDS HOLDING
THIS REQUEST FOR A FILLER IN
CONGRESSIONAL TIME.

REP. LARRY HOPKINS AND CONSTITUENT
TONY LEONARD WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT
THE PRESENT WITH A SIGNED PICTURE
OF GENUINE RISK, THE 1980 KENTUCKY
DERBY WINNER. MR. LEONARD IS THE
PHOTOGRAPHER.

March 14, 1981

Dear Larry:

I regret the delay in responding to your February 20 letter requesting a meeting with the President for your constituent, Mr. Tony Leonard.

You may be assured that I have brought your request to the attention of the President's Scheduling Office, and that they are aware of Mr. Leonard's desire to present to the President his framed picture of Genuine Risk. I am certain it will be carefully considered.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Larry J. Hopkins
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF:CMP:KIR:kir

cc: w/inc to Greg Newell for further handling
cc: w/copy of inc to Nancy Kennedy - FYI ✓

9



Photography By
TONY LEONARD INC.
Box 11613
Lexington, Ky. 40511

LARRY J. HOPKINS
6TH DISTRICT, KENTUCKY

COMMITTEES:
AGRICULTURE
ARMED SERVICES
SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

February 20, 1981

514 CANNON-HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-4706
400 EAST MAIN
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40507
(606) 233-2848
175 JOHN HILL ROAD
HIGHLAND HEIGHTS, KENTUCKY 41076
(606) 441-9066

006742

mf
Mr. Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. Friedersdorf:

Enclosed is a picture of President Reagan accepting a picture of the famous Triple Crown winner, Secretariat, at a Rotary meeting in Lexington, Kentucky during a visit a few months ago.

Tony Leonard, who is well known for his artistry in photography, especially of horses, took the picture of Secretariat. He has more recently taken a picture of the 1980 Kentucky Derby winner, Genuine Risk, which is of equal, if not better, quality than the picture of Secretariat.

I have in my possession, the framed picture of Genuine Risk which has been autographed by Tony Leonard for the President.

Mr. Leonard would be extremely pleased if the President could find time in his busy schedule to accept the picture from him in person and I am honored he has asked me to contact you in this regard.

It is my hope that arrangements can be made for this and I look forward to a favorable response.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Yours very truly,

LARRY J. HOPKINS
Member of Congress

LJH:jc
Enclosure

Copies sent to James L. Higgins 2-7-84

[Faint, mostly illegible text and markings, possibly bleed-through or ghosting from the reverse side of the page.]

006760

4620

DD GI 002

February 24, 1981

Dear Mr. Szostak:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your book In the Footsteps of Pope John Paul II.

I am most grateful and look forward to reading it at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN^g

^x
Mr. John M. Szostak
Washington Liaison News Service
822 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

RR:Wells:lrc

✓ cc: H. von Damm/J.Wells/CF

✓ cc: Mary Power, Gift Unit, w/book
(NOTE: After logging, book should be sent to Helene von Damm)

Gift

810224

February 24, 1981

Dear Mr. Szostak:

I want to thank you so much for sending me In the Footsteps of Pope John Paul II. I appreciate your thoughtfulness and concern in sending it. I look forward with great interest to reading it soon.

Again, thank you for your gracious gift.

Sincerely,

Helene von Damm
Special Assistant
to the President

Mr. John M. Szostak
Washington Liaison News Service
822 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

✓ HVD:Wells:lrc

cc: H. von Damm/J.Wells/CF

✓ cc: Mary Power, Gift Unit, w/book

(NOTE: After logging, book should be sent to Helene vonDamm)

10

Dear Mr. Szostak,

Thank you for sending
me a copy of your book,
In the Footsteps of Pope
John Paul II.

I am most grateful
and look forward to reading
it at the earliest opportunity.

Sincerely,
P. A.

← Mr. John M. Szostak
Washington Correspondent
Washington Liaison News Service
822 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

RR:Wells:

cc: H. von Damm/J.Wells/CF

cc: Mary Power, Gift Unit, w/book

(NOTE: After logging, book should be sent to Helene von Damm.)

WASHINGTON LIAISON NEWS SERVICE

822 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

JOHN M. SZOSTAK

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

Constance W. Szostak

Editor

Telephones:

(202) 393-1923

(703) 548-0741

February 9, 1981

The President
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As a White House Correspondent, I am honored to share with you and several members of your staff a copy of my book : In The Footsteps of Pope John Paul II.

Pope John Paul II will have a profound impact on this world as a leading statesman especially with regard to the situation in Eastern Europe. Lenin and Marx have met their match. Before meeting this man and working with him, I hope this book will live up to your expectations in knowing as much about him as a person, what makes him tick?

In closing Mr. President, this is one small way that I as a journalist and a private citizen want to help you and the nation. With best wishes and prayers to you and Nancy, I remain,

Sincerely yours,



John M. Szostak

Jack -

Thank you
for Helene &

2 RR - Then
cc & books to

Gift unit -

W request that
books be returned to
HUD

Dear Mr. Szostak,

I want to thank you so much for sending me In the Footsteps of Pope John Paul II. I ~~greatly~~ appreciate your thoughtfulness and concern in sending it. I look forward with great interest to reading it soon.

Again, thank you for your gracious gift.

Sincerely,
Helene von Damm

Mr. John M. Szostak
Washington Correspondent
Washington Liaison News Service
822 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

RR:Wells:

cc: H. von Damm/J.Wells/CF

cc: Mary Power, Gift Unit, w/book

(NOTE: After logging, book should be sent to Helene von Damm.)

WASHINGTON LIAISON NEWS SERVICE

822 National Press Building
Washington, D.C. 20045

JOHN M. SZOSTAK

Telephones:

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

February 9, 1981

(202) 393-1923
(703) 548-0741

Constance W. Szostak

Editor

Mr. James Brady
Press Secretary
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Jim:

President Reagan as governor has stood for many of the ideals that I believe in especially in regard to foreign policy. My 18 years of experience has come of age with the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyla of Krakow as Pope John Paul II and now the mounting crisis in Poland.

As a member of the White House Press corps, I not only support the President but also want to be helpful to the administration in any way I can. After the honeymoon period is over, the President will need all the support he can get especially from the press corps. You can count me in as one of the few.

Jim, here is what I have in mind: As a specialist in Eastern European affairs (Poland) and the Vatican, I feel that these two areas will be of great importance to this administration in trying to preserve world peace. Therefore the President will be in need of expert advice from the government and the private sector on these matters. As an experienced journalist, I would like to offer my services to the President as a non paid consultant on these matters when and if the situation merits it.

My 18 years experience in Eastern European affairs has brought a close and lasting friendship with Pope John Paul II while still a Cardinal. Even today I still continue to be in contact with John Paul II on matters that are dear to his heart while still a Cardinal. I feel that this combined experience can be of great value to the administration at the proper moment when there is a need.

In closing, I am honored to send you a copy of my latest book on the Pope and other material that will prove to be interesting reading in learning more about my background and how I can be of future help to the administration in these matters. I sent a copy of my book also to the President and Mr. Richard Allen.

With kind personal regards and best wishes, I remain,

Sincerely yours,



John Szostak

RESUME OF JOHN M. SZOSTAK IN BRIEF

**PUBLIC
RELATIONS/
INFORMATION
SPECIALIST**

Currently, Director of *Washington Liaison News Service* and a White House correspondent accredited to the U.S. Congress, U.S. Department of State and the Pentagon. Cover national and international events; recently, the NATO Conference, assigned exclusively to West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. Attend nationally televised Presidential press conferences at the White House and Camp David. Articles and photos have appeared in numerous periodicals in the U.S. and abroad. (Samples upon request.) Have been interviewed frequently by Voice of America and Radio Free Europe.

PUBLIC RELATIONS: Have represented the interests of small businesses, nonprofit organizations and individuals, including testifying before Congressional committees on their behalf. Recently, directed the PR campaign of Hungarian-American organizations seeking to keep the Crown of St. Stephen in the U.S.

**GOVERNMENT
LIAISON**

Extensive Capitol Hill experience. While working for *John Dingle Associates* (1972-1973) and *National League of Cities-U.S. Conference of Mayors* (1969-1972) monitored legislation, attended hearings and assisted in preparing testimony for clients who testified before Congressional committees. Developed close liaison with key Members of Congress and their respective committees. Advised newly elected Congressmen on how to run more efficient offices. Worked closely with Federal program officers to develop programs and sources of funding for cities. Established trade and marketing contacts with foreign nations. Developed a systematic process for local government officials to apply for Federal funds. Process is called Chief Executive Review and Comment (CERC). As a policy analyst wrote policy statements, position papers and informed Congressional leaders on the following areas: criminal justice, child advocacy, labor and manpower and mass transit. From 1961 to 1969 served in staff and consultant capacities in the White House, in the offices of several Senators and Congressmen and the National Archives and Records Service.

**PROFESSIONAL
AFFILIATIONS**

White House Correspondents Association
American Society for Public Administration
The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences
The American Judicature Society
The National Press Club

UPDATE NEXT
PAGE

EDUCATION

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. — B.S., 1967
International Relations

LaSalle Extension University, Chicago, Illinois — LL.B., 1964
(Three-year correspondence institute)

Nacrelli Bar Review School, 1971

Detailed capability statement and samples of published articles and photos upon request.



Republican
National
Committee.

Mary Louise Smith
Chairman

MEMORANDUM

TO: John Szostak

November 8, 1976

John:

The other day, Col. Jay Niemczyk has brought to my attention the report of your campaign activities for the GOP Heritage Groups Council. I want to congratulate you for doing such an outstanding job both during the campaign and in writing this report. This report is a remarkable piece of work that points to genius in administrative and political know how. Keep up the good work. We here at the National Committee are proud of you. The last time I was at the White House, I was told that the President thinks very highly of you and your abilities. You have been of great service to President Ford in those last two months. We need people like you with such talent and political acumen.

Mary Louise Smith

NOTES TO THREE AUTOGRAPHED PHOTOS



To John Szostak

In appreciation for your leadership role
in resolving the October 6, 1976 campaign crisis.

Henry Ford



To John Szostak

In appreciation for your personal efforts
in my behalf.

Henry Ford



To John Szostak

with best wishes a memento of your
White House visit November 2, 1976
to view the election returns.

Henry Ford Betty Ford

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 12, 1972

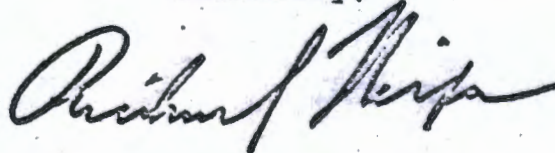
Dear Mr. Szostak:

Nothing could please me more than to join in tribute for the many accomplishments of the past that you have already earned. Most of all your interest and contribution in the area of Criminal Justice. Your current report on Child Advocacy is the finest possible tribute to your accomplishments.

I am encouraged by the steps that have resulted from the meeting between Key members of my Cabinet; Staff and yourself and I hope that in the future we will be able to further cement our cooperation in regional programs to advance the constructive goals we share.

I again warmly salute your years of impressive professional leadership and I assure you of my support as you further expand your important service to the citizens of this great Nation. I also hope that we will continue to see more of you and your talents in years ahead.

Sincerely,



Mr. John M. Szostak
601 13th Street N.W.
Suite 303
Washington D.C. 20006

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

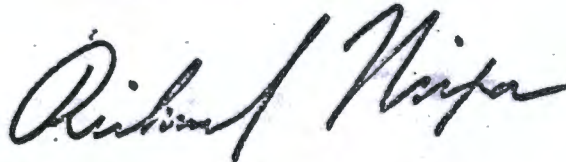
December 20, 1972

Dear Mr. Szostak:

It has been a great personal pleasure for Pat and I to see you again at the Sunday White House Prayer Service. John Cardinal Krol is not only a great friend of yours as I understand it to be, he is also a great religious leader and a patriot.

Pat and I extend to you and your family our warmest best wishes for this Holiday Season and may the New Year be even better. We hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Richard Nixon".

Mr. John M. Szostak
3512 Valley Drive
Alexandria, Virginia
22302

The Alexandria Gazette

"Northern Virginia's News and Opinion Leader"

Tuesday, September 2, 1980

Polish Expert

Parkfairfax Resident Keeps Polish Readers Informed

By SARA WILLIAMS
Staff Writer

ALEXANDRIA — The recent unrest in Poland has made Alexandria resident John M. Szostak a busy man.

Szostak, a resident of Parkfairfax, is a journalist writing for 35 Polish language newspapers in the United States, Canada, Great Britain and France. With the recent workers strikes, his work has taken on a new importance.

"I've really been the leader of the pack at the daily press briefings at the State Department," he said last week. "Because I have a personal interest in Eastern European events I've also been talking frequently with the workers, dissidents and government officials. If you have had an interest in a country for about 20 years you get to know people indirectly who will get in touch with you when something important happens. It's like the chain-letter routine."

BECAUSE OF THE unrest in Poland, Szostak has been spending his days running from the State Department to the White House attending the briefings, interviewing key officials and talking with other journalists covering the political situation.

"My colleagues covering the State Department have been very solicitous of my knowledge. I was chased down the hall by one reporter

who wanted to ask me some questions" he said laughing.

Since his days are filled with following the events and chasing down tips, Szostak types his stories at night in his bedroom office. With 35 papers on his list he writes one article and mails it to all of them.

BECAUSE OF THE time difference between the United States' east coast and Poland, any phone calls he receives from there come late at night, giving him more up-to-date information than many of the dailies have.

"The papers I work for are weeklies and bi-weeklies so I have to get a different angle from the wire services. My papers aren't paying me to parrot the dailies so what I write is analytical, in-depth pieces," he said.

Szostak, originally from Germany, came to the United States in 1949. In 1967 he received his Bachelors of Science in International Relations at Georgetown University. In 1973 he began working as a journalist part time, and three years later he began doing it full time.

WHILE THE WORKERS' strikes have been the major Polish story he has followed recently, he covered Pope John Paul II's visit here last fall.

When there is no big news event in Poland or other Eastern European countries, Szostak writes a lot of lifestyle features about what life is like in that part of the world.

FRONT PAGE
Lower LEFT



Library #1283
Show #6043

WNET/Thirteen: 356 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019
Transcripts: MacNeil/Lehrer Report, Box 345, New York, N.Y. 10101
Press contact: Roz Boyle (212) 560-3016

the MacNeil/Lehrer report

Poland

In New York

ROBERT MacNEIL Executive Editor
JANE CURRY Columbia University

In Washington

JIM LEHRER Associate Editor
RICHARD DAVIES Former U.S. Ambassador to Poland
JOHN SZOSTAK Journalist

Producer DAN WERNER
Reporter MONICA HOOSE

Funding for this program has been provided by this station and other Public Television Stations and by grants from Exxon Corporation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

A co-production of WNET and WETA

Air Date: August 27, 1980

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All transcripts since Jan. 1, 1979 are available on microfiche and 35mm microfilm published quarterly with accompanying printed index. Contact: Microfilm Corporation of America, P.O. Box 10, Sanford, NC 27330. For information call (800) 334-7501.

Poland

[Tease]

ROBERT MacNEIL [voice-over]: Polish workers today claimed important advances as their strike entered its 14th day and spread further inside the country. On Poland's borders, the communist governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union watched with growing concern.

[Titles]

MacNEIL: Good evening. Leaders of the striking Polish workers claimed late today that the communist government had made a major concession: preliminary agreement for independent trade unions. There was no confirmation from the Polish government negotiators. Free trade unions is one of the central demands of workers whose stoppage constitutes the biggest threat to communist government since the liberal wave in Czechoslovakia was crushed by Moscow in 1968. As negotiations resume today at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, the strike continued to spread to cities in the interior of Poland. Despite increasingly strong official warnings that continued defiance might bring catastrophe, assumed to mean Soviet intervention, the workers showed no sign of weakening. The strike leader, Lech Walesa, said today, 'We are demanding, not pleading.' Besides free trade unions, their other demands include the right to strike and an end to censorship. Today, the U.S. International Longshoremen's Association said East Coast dock workers will refuse to handle Polish cargoes after today to demonstrate support for the Polish strikers. Tonight, how will the crisis in Poland be contained, and if it isn't, what will follow. Jim?

JIM LEHRER: Robin, the Soviet Union finally acknowledged publicly today what the world already knew—the situation in Poland is a very serious matter to them and their Eastern European communist bloc. The Soviet news agency Tass charged anti-socialist elements in Poland were trying to push Poland off the socialist road. It also accused the Western news media of aggravating the crisis, of instigating unrest and arousing anti-state, anti-socialist elements. Until today's statement, the Soviet Union had been playing it cool, saying publicly that Poland's problems were simply internal Polish problems. Everybody, of course, knew differently. The systems of labor and government among the Eastern communist bloc nations and worker complaints about them are almost identical. Any deals, concessions or changes negotiated between the Polish government and its workers would dramatically impact on them as well. Thus the question of how far each side in Poland can or will go before it's all resolved remains a central question. And it's one we put first to Polish journalist John Szostak. He's the Washington correspondent for 35 Polish newspapers published here and abroad. He's been in close and continual contact with leaders on both sides of the strife in Poland. First, can you add anything to this report today that the government has agreed to an independent trade union movement?

JOHN SZOSTAK: Well, from my reports from Poland yesterday, I was rather surprised that this come about so soon. I was told that this would be coming about in— within three or four days. However, the trade unions that we seem to believe being free trade unions not in the terms of a Western definition— They are definitely going to be under some sort of umbrella organization, perhaps under the existing organ that is now there at the present time. So, meaning that it will have a umbrella organization of the present trade union in these small trade unions, and they're giving— will be given a certain amount of autonomy, but not clear autonomy as we see it to be in the West.

LEHRER: But apparently there'll be enough autonomy to satisfy the strike leaders and the workers, is that correct?

SZOSTAK: Right, right.

LEHRER: That's what you understand, that they're satisfied?

SZOSTAK: Right. As a matter of fact, when I was talking to Poland the other day, it was told to me that they were working out the finalities of how to work this—

LEHRER: I see. Well, is it possible for you to define in Western terms what a free trade union movement under this agreement might look like in Poland?

SZOSTAK: Well, it's sort of— they will be given their demands. How many of these demands will be given, we do not know. To what degree, is another question yet to be resolved. However, they are still— will have to fall in line with the main umbrella organization.

LEHRER: I see.

SZOSTAK: So in other words, they are giving enough latitude to go so far, but there is a stopping point. While here in the United States, a free trade union—you can just go and do anything you want.

LEHRER: Yeah. I see. Well, now, the government had already conceded in earlier negotiations, as I understand it now— correct me if I'm wrong here— that in some cases, the legal right to strike. Is that true?

SZOSTAK: Right.

LEHRER: And they had also conceded some elections.

SZOSTAK: Right.

LEHRER: What would be the scope of the elections? What—as it is now, the workers do not elect the members, or their leaders within their unions, correct?

SZOSTAK: Right.

LEHRER: They're appointed by the government.

SZOSTAK: Correct.

LEHRER: Now, the government has now agreed to let them elect some of their leaders. Is that true?

SZOSTAK: Correct. But—

LEHRER: Yes, go ahead. What's the but?

SZOSTAK: But those who are elected— But they are more or less members of the Communist Party. They may have one or two token non-Communist Party members, but the bulk of those who will be elected will be from the Communist Party.

LEHRER: Well, the big point that has been raised throughout this 14-day strike up till now, is that the workers were asking for something that really goes against the basic communist system in Poland. Is it your feeling that the government can do— can make the concessions that apparently they are prepared to make, without disturbing the basic system there?

SZOSTAK: Well, Poland is in a unique situation. The Soviet Union knows very well. First of all, Poland does not have a common border with the West. Poland is— has sort of a love and hate relationship with the Soviet Union. Poland wants this— these improvements for Poland itself internally. However, at the same time, to keep a close alliance with the West. And every Pole realizes it. Look what happened in World War II. Most recently,

Strauss, who is campaigning for German chancellor, he made a overture about the eastern borders that Poland has, they should be going back to Germany. And every Pole remembers that. And so this is for the sake of Poland's territorial security, it has to keep a close alliance with the Soviet Union. Soviet Union knows this, and this is why the Soviet Union is willing to bend over and work with the Poles in these matters.

LEHRER: I see.

SZOSTAK: But the only—the only fear factors that the Soviet Union can let Poland go so far is the fact that what will happen in the other Eastern European countries. And this is where the problem with the Soviets find themselves.

LEHRER: Do you think that the Soviet Union can live with what the government apparently has agreed—the Polish government apparently has agreed to?

SZOSTAK: Yes. In Poland. But what happens if the other countries of the Eastern bloc want the same? That's another question. And this is what the Soviet Union is concerned about.

LEHRER: Right. We're going to get to that one in a moment. Thank you. Robin?

MacNEIL: Another view from an American expert on Poland, Jane Curry, senior research associate at Columbia University's Center for Eastern European Studies. Ms. Curry also works for the Raad Corporation. She was last in Poland a year ago. Her specialty is the role of Polish journalists. Ms. Curry, until today, observers were saying the one thing the government could not grant would be absolutely free trade unions. Does this report from the workers surprise you?

JANE CURRY: It doesn't surprise me, because it doesn't sound like what they're getting is absolutely free trade unions.

MacNEIL: You would agree with what we've just heard?

CURRY: Yes. I think they're getting something very near the kind of workers' councils that exist in Yugoslavia, and what this means is, is that the workers are now going to be increasingly informed about the economic problems in Poland. And they're going to have to begin to take more responsibility for them. So that once you put the workers in a position where they're responsible, hopefully productivity will rise and they'll come to understand that Poland does have a very difficult economic situation.

MacNEIL: Now, does this sound to you like what the workers had been demanding?

CURRY: I think the workers are aware that they can only go so far, and that better some concession than the potential Soviet invasion.

MacNEIL: Have we been misunderstanding, we in the Western press, have we been misunderstanding their rhetoric to mean more than—to mean more than they meant it to mean?

CURRY: I think we've failed to understand how difficult the living situation in Poland is. We failed to realize that in a situation where there's severe shortages of food, where housing takes 10 years to get an apartment, where medical care and education have become less and less available. The situation is very tense. And also, I think we've failed to see that the Communist Party leadership has had decreasing authority in the society. People are very aware that there's little they can do. They haven't been able to stop the dissident movement in the last four years. When they tried price increases in 1976, they had to rescind them. And more importantly, within the society on a day-to-day basis, there's a constant bending of the law just to survive. So, I think we've failed to understand the whole situation.

MacNEIL: What do you see as the outcome of this situation?

CURRY: Well, I think what has to occur in Poland is there has to be a move to a much more liberal regime. But I think the situation, particularly in terms of the openness of information, has become so difficult during the Giersek period, that any kind of release of increased information—Only two days ago did they announce for the first time that Poland owes \$2 billion, and admit that. I think they are moderate demands. I also think that it's a very likely scenario that Giersek will have to go. And that the Soviet Union is much more willing to see moderate concessions and a change of leadership in that the hopeful honeymoon period that a new leader will have to convince workers that he's going to try to make a change, rather than much more major concessions which may not be credible coming from Giersek.

MacNEIL: Does that mean that Giersek could promise certain things, or might promise certain things, and then renege on them?

CURRY: I think that's going to be very hard to do, because I think by now the workers know that they can strike and get what they want. And they're a very savvy group of people in terms of having had experiences at voting with their feet. But I think that the kinds of reforms Giersek is willing to make are not the kinds of reforms being sought by the white collar workers and the intelligentsia.

MacNEIL: Are the concessions that the government may have to make—would they constitute an actual threat to their present way of doing business, an actual threat to the communist regime?

CURRY: I don't think so. I think that they will be made in enough of a moderate form, and there's enough of an awareness, as we heard before, that Poland must stay within certain boundaries, both domestically and in terms of international politics.

MacNEIL: Mr. Szostak, would you agree with that?

SZOSTAK: I would, yes. I would agree very much. As a matter of fact, speaking of Giersek, the workers have been pushing for Giersek's resignation. Even within the official political circles, they have been pushing for resignations, and the latest report is that the question is, who would succeed Giersek, and the likelihood would be either [Stefan] Olszowski, who was former foreign minister and ambassador to the German Democratic Republic, or Mieczyslaw Jagielski, the present Deputy Prime Minister.

MacNEIL: So, you both agree that Mr. Giersek will probably go as a result of this? You agree with that?

CURRY: I agree with that.

MacNEIL: And—?

SZOSTAK: I think, too, if he does go, it would be after the strike, I think, shortly after the strike. This is the reports I get.

MacNEIL: How long would you both predict this will last before a settlement will be—will come out? Ms. Curry?

CURRY: I think the Poles are getting very near making some kind of change in terms of the leadership, because—

MacNEIL: In terms of days?

CURRY: In terms of days. On Sunday we saw Giersek's worst rival return to power, shown second on television after Giersek, Stefan Olszowski, who has made it very clear for

the last three years that he wanted to become first secretary.

MacNEIL: Would you say a matter of days, also, Mr. Szostak?

SZOSTAK: Yes. When I talked to Poland on the subject two days ago, they said within four days. So, if—without making it a horse bet, I would say maybe Monday, Labor Day—most ironic. We may see the thing settled. This is my prediction based on what I've gotten from Poland.

MacNEIL: Do you also both agree that the workers, after all this huge demonstration and show of force, are going to settle for promises or offers by the government that would appear to our ears to fall somewhat short of what they are demanding now, in terms of their rhetoric? I mean, they are demanding free trade unions, free elections to those trade unions, an end to censorship. All those sound to us like extremely provocative things to a communist regime.

CURRY: I think they're going to be willing to agree to that only because the kind of moderate position on free trade unions, on an end to censorship is going to be so much better than what exists now, that that's going to be a viable alternative to them, rather than wait and try to get much more. I think they're aware that the system cannot provide all of their demands.

MacNEIL: And you agree with that, Mr. Szostak?

SZOSTAK: I think in their making their demands, it's going to be in part—meaning, when we talk about censorship, it's not going to be 100 percent censorship-free. I think it may be 80 or 90 percent. There's still going to be a certain element. As far as free elections, this will be given, but still there's going to be a control. So, I think they're working at it gradually. It's not trying to get the whole pie at once. They're taking a slice at a time. I think this is the intelligent way the Poles seem to see the situation. And, who knows, maybe in 10 years or five years, something else is gonna pop up, so it's a gradual de-communization of the system.

MacNEIL: Well, thank you. Jim?

LEHRER: A perspective now on some of the broader implications of what the Polish workers have wrought from Richard Davies, the U.S. ambassador to Poland from 1972 to '78. He was in the foreign service for 33 years, spending all but five of those involved in Soviet, Polish and Eastern European affairs. He retired earlier this year. Mr. Ambassador, how will the deal struck between Poland and its workers, assuming one is, affect the rest of Eastern Europe?

RICHARD DAVIES: Well, in the first place, I think it's a matter of stages. The rest of Eastern Europe is going to look to see what happens in Poland first, and how that is regarded by the Soviet Union, before anybody jumps to any conclusions. So, we've got to see what the exact content, what the details of the agreement are, how those are implemented, to what extent the regime holds to its promises and permits them to be realized in practice, and then we've got to see how the Soviets treat this. Each of these countries is different. For example, in Hungary, you have already a rather good situation—

LEHRER: Worker councils.

DAVIES: Worker councils, something more or less halfway between the Polish model and the Yugoslav model. Now, if you can something in Poland closer to the Yugoslav model, that would—shouldn't necessarily affect Hungary. It would have a very considerable effect in Czechoslovakia and East Germany. People there would be looking at this and saying, 'Humm, if the Poles can do this, why can't we?'

LEHRER: What form is the fallout likely to come? Is it—once the deal—once, assuming the strike is over soon and all of the things that we've been talking about up till now are locked into some kind of concrete, at least enough to end the strike, is the fallout likely to come in terms of these other governments on their own will make these concessions to their workers, say, in Czechoslovakia and East Germany? Or will it trigger worker strikes that will have to go through the same negotiating process that Poland did?

DAVIES: Well, I think one—I speak about stages.

LEHRER: Okay.

DAVIES: An extremely important stage—the crucial stage—will be the reception of all this in the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly, the Soviets are going to be very unhappy that the Polish regime has been compelled—as it has been, they're not doing this voluntarily, as we know. They're being compelled to accept the workers' demands. So, the Soviets are going to have to do some readjusting of their thinking and their approach to these countries. Incidentally, it seems to me that the Soviets should finally, however grudgingly, welcome these changes, because in each of these countries, in sort of descending order, beginning with Hungary as the sort of the one where things are best handled, and going down all the way to Rumania, you have very difficult economic situations. This is costing the Soviet Union something. It's not by no means cost-free. Not only do they have to maintain all these troops in East Germany, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Hungary, but they also have to provide loans, as they did for example to the Poles in 1976.

LEHRER: Yes. What's your reading of what the Soviet reaction is going to be to this arrangement in Poland?

DAVIES: I would say perplexed at the outset. No, they understand—I believe they understand that there is no reasonable alternative. It's going to take some time for them to absorb what has happened, to readjust their thinking to this. After all, we need to remember that in the Soviet Union itself over the past 20 years, there have been voices. I remember when I was there in the early '60s, there was Professor Liberman, who was espousing very much the same sort of arrangement in the Soviet Union. So, of course there is going to be a great deal of interest on the part of Soviet scholars and economists in what goes on here, too.

LEHRER: Is there any question in your mind that the Soviet Union will keep hands off, though? I mean, that they will not intervene in any way, assuming the arrangement is about what we've been talking about?

DAVIES: There's no question in my mind that the Soviets will not intervene. That is the last thing they want to do. They don't want to get involved in a situation where they have to use force against Poles. They know the Poles will fight, as they did four times in the 19th Century, as they've done really three times since 1945.

LEHRER: So, for the Soviet Union, it's a case of acceptance and then trying to figure out a way to keep it from spreading, and to say to Czechoslovakia, 'Okay, Poland got it, but don't you people think you're going to be able to get it,' and figure out a way to accomplish all that, right?

DAVIES: Well, yes. Or perhaps we could put it this way, that various—that variants of this solution might be applicable in other countries, but it's gonna take time until the Soviets figure out what they're prepared to tolerate there, and until the local leadership figure out how this is applicable to their situation. I don't really expect a wave of strikes. The two countries primarily affected, East Germany and Czechoslovakia, have pretty highly-disciplined labor movements. What happened in 1968, the Warsaw Pact invasion of

Czechoslovakia, is still fresh in people's minds there.

LEHRER: All right. Thank you. Robin?

MacNEIL: Ms. Curry, if major concessions are granted to the Polish workers and tolerated by the Soviet Union, what will the effect be on the neighboring East European countries?

CURRY: I think first of all you have to keep in mind that the Soviets must have agreed to whatever concessions were made. These weren't made alone by the Polish leadership. And secondly, that the other workers in Eastern Europe, although economically they're getting to be in the same position as the Polish workers, they're still better off than the Poles. And these concessions, these political concessions are not going to bring economic prosperity to Poland, at least in the short run. So, I think the Czechs are going to remember what happened in '68. That's not something they've forgotten. The Hungarians are fairly well off economically. I don't think they're gonna be concerned about threatening their economic well-being. The East Germans are a fairly repressed society, so the options for East German workers are far more limited than for Poles, who've always been a very different country than anywhere else in Eastern Europe.

MacNEIL: So, in short, you don't see a wave of imitation following this incident in Poland?

CURRY: No, I don't see a wave of imitation.

MacNEIL: Mr. Szostak, do you?

SZOSTAK: Yes, I see a selective imitation with possibly Czechoslovakia, Rumania. But with East Germany, it's a different situation, because the Soviet Union has witnessed the ravages of war with Germany, and I think Soviet Union would think twice before it loosens the reins in East Germany. This is why East Germans are so repressive. However, the other countries that I've mentioned, they will see what the model in Poland, and they will gradually acquiesce, because there's no need for violence, and I think their feeling is, 'If the Soviet Union agrees to Poland, they will agree to us.' But East Germany—that's a different situation, because definitely for its own security protection, she wants to keep East Germany totally independent of the western part of Germany.

MacNEIL: Mr. Ambassador, Mr. Szostak just used the phrase, 'loosening—Soviets loosening the reins.' If there is some imitation of this event in other countries, other East European countries, should we in the West interpret this as a weakening of—a further weakening of Soviet control over its satellites?

DAVIES: Well, I think—

MacNEIL: If the Soviet Union is forced to tolerate some concessions, as it appears about to be—should we interpret that as a weakening of their control over Eastern Europe?

DAVIES: Yes. I don't even think it's a question of our interpreting it that way. That's what it will be. It will be a weakening of Soviet control, but I think we should realize that this may not necessarily be a bad thing from the Soviet point of view. There are, although it's hard for us to see them, people in Soviet society—I mentioned Mr. Liberman, there are others—who would like to see some liberalization of the Soviet system take place, too. They're going to take heart from this. I might just say one other thing. I'm not at all sure that the Soviet leadership is agreeing—I mean, my impression when I was in Poland was not that they micro-managed the activities of the Polish government. I think, if it is true, and I believe it is, that Mr. Giersek saw some members of the Soviet Politburo this past weekend, the purpose was rather to inform them of the situation, and tell them what the Polish leadership felt it was going to have to do, rather than for the Soviets to give

orders in detail to the Poles about how they should handle their domestic affairs.

MacNEIL: Finally, I'd like to ask you all what do you think the posture of the United States should be in this situation? What do you think, Ms. Curry?

CURRY: Well, I think we should make it very clear to the Soviets that their intervention is not acceptable to us or to the Western allies.

MacNEIL: Privately or publicly clear?

CURRY: Well, I think we should make it as publicly clear as we can. I don't, however, think the Poles are counting on us for support in terms of intervening in their domestic politics. I think Poles have now become very aware that our economic interests are with their stability, and that the best position is the more money Poland owes the West, the more the West is going to be interested in Poland's economy, willing to help it out. And also, the more the Polish leadership is going to have to take into consideration Western public opinion in terms of what it does domestically with dissidents, with the church, with any other groups in Poland.

MacNEIL: Mr. Szostak, what should Washington be doing?

SZOSTAK: I think Washington should be watching this very closely and diplomatically to give overtures that—for the Soviet Union to stay out as much as possible. However, we are witnessing an evolution in the socialist—communist-socialist system by what the events have occurred recently. And I think to help not only Poland, but the Eastern European countries in general, we should assist them more economically, and this—I think this is the best thing rather than going out there and saying that 'being dead than Red' sort of speech.

MacNEIL: Mr. Ambassador, what do you think we should be doing?

DAVIES: Well, I think certainly to the extent that we are discussing this subject with the Soviet leadership, and I hope we are in private diplomacy—

MacNEIL: You assume we are, do you?

DAVIES: I assume we are. I don't know, but I certainly hope we are. I would hope that we have made it clear to them in private channels that intervention by them would be— would help to create a terribly dangerous situation. I'm not sure that that is terribly necessary, or has been necessary at any time during this crisis, because my strong feeling is that the Soviets really want to keep out of this for their own good reasons. And I don't think we ought to be going out publicly and saying that unless we're prepared to do something to back it up if the eventuality should arise. I'm afraid this administration at any rate has tended to issue serious warnings the way the Chinese used to do when they were so— so weak. As we did, for example, before the invasion of Afghanistan, there were a number of warnings to the Soviets not to go into Afghanistan, but in fact, when they went in, we did not very much. So, I would feel that we should be talking with our allies in NATO— it's a matter of great interest to them — acting to the extent possible in concert with them, watching the situation very carefully, and saying whatever we feel we can back up about our policy towards the Soviet Union.

MacNEIL: Well, thank you very much indeed, Mr. Ambassador Davies, for joining us. Mr. Szostak, Ms. Curry. Thank you, Jim. Good night.

LEHRER: Good night, Robin.

MacNEIL: That's all for tonight. We will be back tomorrow night. I'm Robert MacNeil. Good night.



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TESTIMONY TO HELSINKI COMMISSION

HON. BARBARA A. MIKULSKI

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 22, 1977

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention the following testimony which was delivered by Mr. John Szostak to the Helsinki Commission recently. Mr. Szostak testified on behalf of Amnesty International and the newly created Polish Human Rights Division called the Movement for the Defense of the Human and Civil Rights of Man. The following testimony illustrates the extent of censorship imposed upon the Polish citizens by their government:

Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the members of this Commission for the privilege of testifying before the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (Helsinki Commission) with the hope of bringing about freer movement of people, ideas and information to the people of Poland. For the purpose of this testimony I will confine my remarks to the lack of free flow of information to the people of Poland. This testimony is being presented on behalf of the Movement for the Defense of the Human and Civil Rights of Man. This is a part of the London-based, Amnesty International. The Polish representative is Adam Wojciechowski. Among its members are three Roman Catholic priests, a retired general of the Pre-Communist Polish Army, Jerzy Andrzejewski the dissident member of the (KOR) Workers Defense Committee has not yet joined. The organizations hope is for gradual changes in the political system by which non-Communist political parties could once again come into existence and the implementation for freer flow of information from the West to the people of Poland.

The so-called guarantee of freedom of information exchange is extremely limited to the people of Poland. Heading the list of restricted publications are works by Polish writers living abroad. Polish dissident Adam Michnik has recently stated to the Helsinki Commission (May 9, 1977) and I quote that "Access to information is restricted. Citizens are able to purchase small quantities. Number of distribution points of foreign publications has slightly increased since Helsinki (tokenism) however copies which contain information about Poland, which does not meet with the authorities approval are censored. It affects especially such publications as Le Monde, Unita, Time, Der Spiegel, Newsweek, Nouvelle Observateur etc. etc."

Polish language publications published abroad are restricted regardless of subject matter and are confiscated if brought into the country. Books and publications that are accepted by Polish officials are very limited and access to these publications is very difficult. Polish language newspapers from the West are prohibited so are Catholic publications from the West. Only a few are allowed and subject to strict control. Poland's largest

allowed a circulation of 40,000 copies on the pretext of paper shortage. This is in a nation where 90 percent of the population is Catholic. Books published by the only Catholic University in Poland, the University of Lublin in Kraków are printed in quantity of 500 copies again the excuse is the shortage of paper. The only unrestricted flow of information from the West comes from Radio Free Europe (FRE) and the Voice of America (VOA). Even then there are attempts by the Soviet Union to jam certain broadcasts.

On the subject of information exchange in Poland, Party Secretary Mr. Lukaszewicz stated on April 2, 1976 that "For the purpose of peaceful coexistence means uncompromising ideological struggle; we clearly distinguished between the cultural values which we admit to our society and those which we decisively reject in the interests of socialism and of our people we cannot permit the access of information which represents ideological danger to our society."

It is noteworthy to mention that the "only" publications that are allowed free entry into Poland and other Soviet Bloc nations are scientific and technical publications for obvious reasons. All other so-called social-cultural publications are either restricted or subject to strict censorship control.

Poland's system of censorship is defined by Stanislaw Boranczak a scholar at Poznan University to include two basic characteristics: One is that not only the censor is responsible for determining what must not be printed and what is to be printed but also the editor of the publication, the author himself and in some cases even the proofreader. Second there is the lack of clearly defined criteria of what is considered to be official censorship.

Poland's Chairman of the Central Customs office Mr. J. Nowicki stated on January 31, 1976 that "Publications from the West lead public opinion into error by giving information not in agreement with reality of information otherwise potentially damaging to the welfare of interests of the Polish Peoples Republic are forbidden". I myself know of personal cases where tourists going back to Poland after visiting Washington D.C. have had various publications confiscated such as White House and Capitol tour books on the pretext that this would serve their intelligence needs. The same is for such non-sensitive items being sent via the mail. Western publications that are available in Poland remain very limited since the choice of titles are politically restrictive. Most of the American authors whose works are permitted in Poland are as mentioned before of scientific and technical nature.

Mr. Chairman this testimony is considered by the Polish Communist regime to be slander against their nation. I wish to re-phrase this by saying that the lack of free flow of information from the West is slander to the people of Poland by their officials as a insult to their intelligence and their ability of discerning of what is best for them. Above all it is slander to their dignity as human beings.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission having presented my introduction and examples, I would like at this time to present to you a copy of a document that was smuggled out of Poland and to further verify my statement before the Commission. This document is called "Official Bulletin 'S' of the Central Customs Office Warsaw Poland marked Confidential." From reliable intelligence sources in the West this document is considered to be the most accurate and comprehensive listing foreign periodicals denied entry into Poland. This was provided to me by the North American Study Center for Polish Affairs. Its circulation up until now has been very limited especially during the era of "Détente". This important

document should serve as evidence of Poland's dismal record of permitting a free flow of information from the West to the people of Poland. Also it is tragic to learn not only the publications that are denied entry but also the extreme measures taken by the Polish authorities concerning their inspection and confiscation.

Mr. Chairman in conclusion I have stated my case not only for the organization I represent but also for the people of Poland who are unable to speak out as a free people. This testimony and accompanying document is evidence enough beyond doubt that Poland has violated the principles of Basket III that she has pledged to uphold as one of the signatory nations. Communism in Poland and elsewhere can only survive with absolute censorship and control of information and ideas that are considered to be in conflict with their Marxist ideology. The only solution to this complex problem is increased broadcasts of the VOA and RFE and by implementing some kind of economic pressure in order to bring about a freer flow of information and exchange of ideas to the People of Poland.—JOHN M. SZOSTAK



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FREEDOM OF RELIGION IN POLAND

HON. DOUGLAS WALGREN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, July 15, 1977

Mr. WALGREN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Delegation from the United States Congress to the Parliament of Europe meeting prior to the review of the Helsinki Accords, I want to recommend to my colleagues the testimony of Mr. John M. Szostak, on the failure of the communist regime in Poland to allow full expression of the basic human right of freedom of religion.

For over 1,000 years the Roman Catholic Church in Poland has exercised a very important role not only in religion but also in social, moral, and educational matters. The social and educational work of the church has been greatly hampered in the past 30 years by closing down of schools and the liquidation of its religious centers and organizations. Religious instruction has been banned from the school curriculum and it is also being obstructed even outside the schools. The construction of new churches is met with enormous obstacles and social activities of the parish are greatly impeded.

Poland's record of religious freedom in those past 30 years is a dismal one due to violations of the basic human rights that its citizens cannot fully enjoy and practice openly. The Polish Constitution guarantees the freedom of religion in theory only, however. Active participation impedes ones success in the professions and career advancement. It is a known fact that a practicing Catholic cannot hold high office or head a department or any other executive position in the state or the economic sector.

The so-called guarantee of religious freedom under the Polish Constitution is systematically violated. The people of Poland, especially its youth, are constantly persecuted and harassed for having exercised this basic human right. Only the old people are left alone to practice their faith with very little opposition. The present regime feels that it would be counterproductive and next to impossible to stamp out religion in Poland overnight without bloodshed. Therefore, time is their only weapon.

The strategy is to indoctrinate the youth by stepping up their campaign of atheism via materialism to create a new generation of nonbelievers as an answer to the Marxist dream of creating a perfect Communist state society.

Poland and other Eastern European nations, including the Soviet Union, are today witnessing a great spiritual renewal among its youth, as well as the older generation. Much of this is going on underground for fear of social and economic repression. The movement of religious renewal is there and growing. This movement has become a great concern to the Polish Government officials. They do not know what to do or how to cope with new problem as they consider it to be.

A card-carrying party member who wants to protect his career must send his children for religious instruction in secret and practice his faith in the same manner—oftentimes traveling to a distant town where he will not be recognized and in disguise. Although religious instruction is allowed in Poland, obstacles are put in the way to discourage this kind of practice via the school curriculum that has made it extremely difficult for the students to attend. The Polish Catholic Episcopate has sharply criticized this tactic as a direct and open violation of the constitution that guarantees religious freedom—in theory—to the people of Poland.

The Communist regime here again systematically obstructed the construction of new churches and religious facilities, blaming it on the lack of material and skilled labor. The overflow of faithful attending religious services is not only an example of religious devotion, but most of all, the lack of new churches that are desperately needed by the Polish faithful.

Catholic publications are restricted on the pretext of paper shortage, so are publication of books that are only permitted to be printed in very small quantities so as to avoid mass circulation. Pastoral letters are confiscated, and recently attempts have been made by the regime to forge the pastoral letter of Cardinal Wyszynski in hopes of creating confusion within the Catholic Church in Poland—this has failed. For the average Polish citizen, the pulpit and foreign broadcasts are the only avenues of truth and information from the west.

The Polish Government considers religious holidays—such as Christmas and Easter—as nothing more than social affairs at which to eat and drink, rather than meaningful religious experiences. The same is considered of weddings and baptisms. Every effort is being made by the regime to promote atheism especially among its youth during these solemn occasions, proclaiming that God is dead and that religion is a novelty for the old people.

Foreign publications, especially of a religious nature, are strictly prohibited and are confiscated if brought into the country by a foreign visitor or by a Polish national returning. The chairman of the Central Committee for Customs in Poland stated on January 31, 1976, that "such material be forbidden

since it leads public opinion into error by giving information not in agreement with reality or information otherwise potentially damaging to the welfare or interests of the Polish Peoples Republic."

Forty years ago, Pope Pius XI issued the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* in which communism was condemned in that organized religion cannot collaborate with communism because Marx condemned all religion as the opium of the people. Atheism is the very core of Communist doctrine. To deny this fact is indeed living in a fool's paradise.

The history of communism in Poland and in the other parts of the captive world is an uninterrupted chain of violations of the fundamental human rights—especially the right to worship. The ultimate goal of the present Communist regime is to stamp out religion in Poland altogether because communism can only survive by total elimination of the rights and dignity of man. This is what the Catholic Church in Poland stands for and preaches. The basic principles on which Catholic social teaching is built on is the dignity and freedom of the individual. Communism in Poland and elsewhere is totally opposed to any system which defends the dignity of man as an individual. Pope Pius XI, in his encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* stated that, "The problem of communism lies in the cultural revolution which aims at producing a new type of man without faith, without hope, without love and also without personal freedom and responsibility."

Cont. →

The present Communist regime in Poland feels that the Roman Catholic Church poses a threat in that it is an elaborate international organization undermining the authority of the Communist state. Because of the prospect of outside influence which is considered to be in conflict with their Marxist doctrine, it is therefore considered to be a very serious threat.

Kazimierz Kokal, head of the Office for Religious Denominations, in May of 1976, flatly stated that, "The Church is the enemy which should be annihilated. Religion has, in the long run, been excommunicated from human consciences and thought." Furthermore, Kokal stated, "We shall yield nothing to the Church." Therefore, after 30 years of Communist rule in Poland, very little has changed in regard to the Government's policy of church and state relationship. It can be compared to nothing more than a cat and mouse existence. Today the regime continues to strive through a sophisticated campaign of atheism and social harassment in its goal to stamp out religion in Poland altogether.

The West often asks why do the Polish people enjoy more freedom than the rest of the Soviet bloc? The answer is quite simple. After 1,000 years of Christianity and survival of the Nazi barbarism during World War II, the Communist regime in Poland has been unsuccessful in their efforts to stamp out religion without creating additional problems and obstacles for the regime. The Polish Catholic Episcopate knows and understands that as long as there is a Communist government in Poland, this struggle will continue. Another reason for this so-called Polish freedom is that the Communist regime knows that the true power in Poland is the Roman Catholic Church, under the pastoral guidance of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland. This tradition of the church being supreme in Poland has been around for over 1,000 years.

The Polish nation would have gone through many devastating revolts against the present regime if it were not for the plea for peaceful cooperation by the Polish Catholic Episcopate. The Communist regime knows this and so does the Polish nation.

The Roman Catholic Church in Poland is prepared to uphold the virtues of the gospel that is committed to her, regardless of what obstacles are put in the way by the present Communist regime. The Polish Catholic Episcopate believes that the God-given dignity invested in man should be restored to the human individual if there is to be genuine peace and harmony in Poland. The basic virtues of the gospel are the right to maintain and develop one's corporal, intellectual, and moral life—especially the right to worship and education in private and public. Pope Paul VI stated that,

The Church is concerned, above all, with the right of God and can never dissociate herself from the rights of man created in the image and likeness of his creator.

Therefore, man can only foster and penetrate these rights through the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The Catholic Episcopate in Poland believes that the responsibility of evolution in the area of Human Rights and genuine religious freedom in Poland rests not upon a single international organization but upon everyone without exception. The Roman Catholic Church in Poland feels that the Helsinki Commission can be instrumental in strengthening the international juridical mechanisms for the purpose of making effective the full operation of human rights for the people of Poland and other captive nations in the Soviet bloc a possible reality. This can only be achieved through evolution not by revolution.

The Catholic Episcopate believes that the suppression of the right to worship and other basic human rights in Poland have become institutionalized and this violates the most fundamental rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Catholic Church's mission of evolution is to create or reactualize world opinion by an auto-critical conscience in the hopes that, with the cooperation of the various international human rights organizations, an effective mechanism may be achieved and thus assure the realization of genuine religious freedom and human rights to the people of Poland.



not to the Soviet-controlled government of Janos Kadar.

So that the American people can learn how the Hungarian people really found out about the administration's wondrous gift to them, I ask that the text of the January 5 press conference be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

STATEMENT BY JOHN M. SZOSTAK

As one of the officials of the St. Stephen Crown Protection Committee, I would like to share with the American people a statement that I prepared and delivered on January 5, 1978 at a press conference in Washington, D.C. This statement was transmitted by Radio Free Europe (RFE) to the people of Hungary on the day and the hour that the Holy Crown of St. Stephen was being handed over to captivity by the Executive Branch of our Federal Government.

STATEMENT

The issue confronting America today is not the Crown of St. Stephen, the issue is the Constitution of the United States. The Executive Branch, of our Federal Government through deceit and intimidation of the Judiciary Branch have violated the constitutional prerogatives of the Legislative Branch. The United States Senate, under Article II, Section 2 of the United States Constitution regarding the Senate's right to ratify treaties. The exchange of letters by the U.S. and Hungarian Governments on December 18, 1977 and the final act of handing over the Crown of St. Stephen to the Hungarian Communist Government is tantamount to entering into a treaty between the United States and Hungary, without proper advice and consent of the United States Senate.

Through deceitful tactics, the Department of State has gone to great lengths in secret to formulate plans of how and when the Crown is to be returned. Fortunately on November 4, 1977 this action was uncovered and leaked to the press via The New York Times. Since November 4, 1977, the White House and the Department of State still conducted their policy of deceit with greater intensity and boldness. The unethical conduct of outright lies and denial on the part of the Executive Branch was not only limited to the American people but also to the Legislative Branch who have the privilege of obtaining classified information.

Since the official public announcement for the return of the Crown was made on December 15, 1977, the issue was brought to the attention of the U.S. Federal courts to seek a temporary injunction until the matter could be resolved in a Constitutional manner. At that moment, the Executive Branch directed their deceptive tactics to the Judiciary Branch where the American people would prevail.

The conduct of justice in this matter has been violated as a result of pressure from the Executive Branch. The premise of justice was to do everything possible not to embarrass the President by delaying his plans to return the Crown. In essence the Executive Branch is under the opinion that the office of the President comes before the law, meaning the United States Constitution and its sacred tribunals.

The Executive Branch claims that the Crown of St. Stephen is the property of the Hungarian people, than why not let the American people via their elected representatives decide on this matter in a fully constitutional manner.

We as Americans grew up with the creed: "the government of the people by the people and for the people". As a result of the captive actions by the Executive Branch this sacred creed that is guaranteed to us by the

And yet the Carter administration is still adamant in its assertion that the Crown was returned to the "people" and them. And yet the Carter administration is still adamant in its assertion that the Crown was returned to the "people" and them. And yet the Carter administration is still adamant in its assertion that the Crown was returned to the "people" and them.

The remarkable thing about this press conference is that this is the way the Hungarian people found out about the return of the crown. The Kadar regime had not told them. The Carter administration had not told them. The con-

On January 5, the day before the Crown of St. Stephen Protection Committee held a press conference depicting the actions of the administration. Radio Free Europe transmitted the entire text of this press conference to the people of Hungary on the day and the hour that the crown was returned to the Communist regime.

MR. DORNAN, Mr. Speaker, yesterday I read into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial and sworn testimony concerning the facts surrounding the Crown of St. Stephen, the U.S. possession of it and its surrender to the Communist regime of Janos Kadar.

HON. ROBERT K. DORNAN
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 2, 1978

The media reports showed only gloomy, tense expressions on the faces of the carefully selected individuals who attended the ceremony. The Hungarian "people" were conspicuously absent. In fact it was Radio Free Europe that first announced the news of the Crown's return to the Hungarian people, which forced the Hungarian government to announce the return as well, but this was done in a low key manner.

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Communists Unsuccessful in Campaign to End Religion in Russia

By JOHN SZOSTAK

Ever since the Communists came to power in the Soviet Union in 1917, there has been a concerted effort to destroy religion. Yet, the campaign appears largely to have failed. "Religion," a Soviet Minister of Education once remarked, "is like a nail; the harder you hit it, the deeper it goes into the wood."

Today, religion remains a strong force in almost all parts of the Soviet Union — among Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Moslems, and the Orthodox. In a well documented study, anti-religious propaganda in the Soviet Union (M.I.T. Press), Professor David E. Powell explores the propaganda techniques used by the Communists over the past sixty years and suggests that the anti-religion drive has often had the opposite effect — of strengthening religion.

"Marxists," writes the author, "view religion as the product of a society beset with antagonism and contradictions. Why, then, should a country whose means of production were nationalized in 1917, which claims to be virtually free of internal contradictions have more than a handful of religious citizens? ... The early expectation that religion would disappear quickly without the proper economic base to sustain it has not been fulfilled."

The Soviet leaders, the author notes, seem to have little faith in Marx's prediction that religion would wither away with the state when 'socialism' came into existence. They are impatient with the "forces of history" and have sought to eliminate religion now. To do so, he writes, "The government has harassed, intimidated, threatened, and punished clergymen and ordinary believers. It has erected an elaborate network of legal and quasi-legal barriers to the expression of religious views ... the laws regulating religious practices continue to be harsh, and there have been ... demands that they be enforced even more strictly in the future. Extralegal and illegal measures have been used to close churches and intimidate believers. During the Khrushchev period, for example, the Russian Orthodox, Baptists, Lutherans, and Catholics lost approximately half of their churches. The Jewish faith was treated even more harshly; synagogues were reduced in number from some four hundred to less than one hundred."

The author discusses the manner in which Stalin eased the persecution of religion to unify the country during World War II, and also reports on the manner in which the Russian Orthodox Church has been tolerated because it has been largely made an instrument of the state. At the present time, he writes, "The emphasis in combating religion is no longer on terror ... It is on the propaganda of science, atheism and 'Communist morality.' Since the late 1950s, the Party has sustained an anti-religious propaganda effort of massive proportions..."

Professor Powell concludes that, "The drive to create an atheist society has not lost its significance during the half-century of Soviet power. Indeed, the Soviets argue, the battle against religion has assumed even greater importance as the day of the ultimate Communist society draws near." Yet, at the same time, "The Party has been very unsuccessful in achieving its objective... Large numbers of citizens continue to believe in God, and the Soviet contention that believers are merely ignorant old women does not really come to grips with the strength of religion ... the same argument has been made for half a century, which means that each new generation of the elderly provides a new generation of churchgoers..."

Often, he reports, such approaches have backfired. Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) used to tell about a worker who once visited the Moscow planetarium. After viewing the display, he is said to have remarked: "Well, well, who would have believed how wisely God has organized the world." The *Nauka I Religya* (Science and Religion) told of a lecturer who described recent discoveries in astronomy and physics revealing the "secrets of the distant stars and the micro-world." The audience listened attentively, but later an elderly lady exclaimed in admiration: "See how cleverly everything in the world is arranged. And they say there is no God." One atheist lecturer, after explaining the "contradictions" in the Bible at great length to a believer was answered with words from the Bible itself: "The foolishness of God is wiser than wisdom turned away from or turned against God."

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Despite the best efforts of the Soviet regime, religion appears still to be a force to reckon with.

-Letters to the Editor-

Alexandra
John M. Szostak

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Mr. President, will you be-
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imposed by force against
Stephen to a government
turning the Crown of St.
America asks — after re-
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President of the AFL-CIO,
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To the Editor:
As participant in the
movement to protect the
crown of St. Stephen, I
want to congratulate you
and the "Herald" for giv-
ing this important issue
proper coverage. The rea-
son why you and other re-
sponsible journalists
throughout America have
taken such an interest in
this matter is because the
morality of our nation is at
stake. America is again
betraying friends and
allies to satisfy the appe-
tite of a totalitarian power
whose sole purpose is
world domination. Ameri-
ca was asked to protect the
crown, not to keep it as a
confiscated war trophy.
This is identical to
sending a political refugee
back to the nation he fled
from. The majority of
Americans are sick at
heart at the proposed plan
to return the crown of St.
Stephen. The White House
has been besieged by let-

Letters To The Editor

A Salute To Cardinal Mindszenty

The news of the death of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, the strong-willed Primate of Hungary who became the symbol of freedom, has come as a shock to all, especially to those who have known the Cardinal and worked with him in his years of exile. Almost a year ago to the day, Washington was fortunate to have Cardinal Mindszenty as an honored guest of the city, the Congress and the Archdiocese.

For me his passing was a personal loss because during this two-day visit, I was privileged to be his personal photographer and covered his Washington visit from beginning to end. The feeling and observation that I gathered during those two days was as though I were covering a giant. I was, because Cardinal Mindszenty is a saint of our times.

During those close photographic moments,

Letters to the editor must be received at the Standard office no later than noon Monday to be included in that week's issue. All letters must include the writer's name and address, but names will be withheld upon request. Short letters have the best chance of being printed, and the Standard reserves the right to edit letters for space requirements. No letter will be returned.

especially in private, one could capture through the lens of the camera the suffering he had gone through; his love for God; his love for Holy Mother the Church; his love for mankind, and his special affection for children. At one private moment as he

was praying, having his eyes fixed on the crucifix, one could see tears come down his cheeks: I was moved to do the same. In leaving to give him privacy, the Cardinal said "Please stay, my son." I will never forget his humility and kindness. I had the same feeling as the author of the book titled "Journal of a Soul," the private moments with Pope John.

To personify the Cardinal's greatness, one can best put it in these words: The Church and the world will mourn for they have lost a great example of our Faith and a patron of freedom. The Church and the world will remember him as the man of the hour who stood up for the Church in its darkest hours. The Church and the world will write tribute and finally remember him as a saint of our time.

John M. Szostak

Soviet Definition of 'Detente'

instruments of this historic will. Detente is countries, with 'freezing' the emerging and current liberation movements."

John M. Szostak

Delusions concerning the meaning of "detente" are widespread and pernicious.

However, the communists cannot be blamed for the existence of such delusions as they repeatedly state what detente means to them. They repudiate specifically the interpretations so many liberals cherish.

One recent article by a Soviet spokesman is entitled "Detente and the Class Struggle" and is published in the World Magazine segment of the Communist Daily World, December 10, 1977. The author is Y. Krasin, and the authoritative nature of the article is indicated by the statement that it is an abridgement of an article that appeared in The Democratic Journalist (#4, 1977), the Magazine of the International Organization of Journalists. This indicates that the article is to instruct journalists on how they must interpret detente.

Ridiculing the concept that detente means the maintenance of the status quo and the renunciation of the communist goal of world conquest, the author states:

"More bourgeois ideologists recognize detente but oppose it to mean that Russia's 'revolutionary' policy may well be nearing an end. Others identify detente with a social status quo, with the world's division into spheres of influence of the two systems. Some even say it is 'freezing the class struggle completely.' As they see it, detente is a means of 'conciliation' and 'convergence' between socialism and capitalism.

L.I. Brezhnev pointed out the following in his Report to the 25th CPSU Congress: 'Detente does not in the slightest abolish or alter, the laws of the class struggle.' International detente does not mean the rejection of antagonisms between the two social systems, the two poles of the main contradiction in our contemporary epoch, the contradiction which determines the progress of world history. The demand that the antagonisms be ended cannot be fulfilled. The real problem is to eliminate military confrontation, the use and threat of force."

The phrase "the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism" is significant. It expresses the conviction that the whole world is moving to "socialism," characterized by communist dictatorship. This is the will of history. The communists are the in-

In practice, detente means:

1. The attainment of world communist power.
2. The avoidance of thermonuclear war.
3. The intensification of "national liberation struggles" in the countries such as Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Panama, Mexico, Chile, South Korea, Taiwan, and South Africa.

"The ideological antagonism of the two systems is one of the basic forms of the class struggle in the modern world. Certain bourgeois ideologists are trying to spread detente and peaceful co-existence to the field of ideological antagonism in international relations between two opposite social systems. They want to achieve the impossible... The struggle between bourgeois and socialist ideologists expresses the polarity of the vital interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between capitalism and socialism. 'Peace' between them is unthinkable. V.I. Lenin formulated the following law: 'Either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course. Hence to belittle the socialist ideology in any way, to turn aside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology.'"

4. The intensification of class struggle in capitalist countries. This class struggle is exemplified by strikes and industrial strife, racial conflict, sexual conflict, generational conflict, and general demoralization.
5. The increase in Soviet military power and the relative decrease in the power of the U.S.
6. Favorable trade policies on the part of the industrialized west towards the communist countries.
7. The discouragement of anti-communist activity within the USA while communist activity is unrestricted and encouraged.
8. The acknowledgement of the permanence of communist power in countries conquered by communism. This includes the de-emphasis of such programs as 'Capture Nations Week.'

All these programs fit into the formula for communist conquest, "External encirclement, plus internal blackmail, leads to progressive surrender." Instructive quotations from the article, Detente and Class Struggle, include the following:

"Avoidance of Thermonuclear War
International detente does not mean the rejection of antagonisms between the two social systems, the two poles of the main contradiction in our contemporary epoch, the contradiction which determines the progress of world history. The demand that the antagonisms be ended cannot be fulfilled. The real problem is to eliminate military confrontation, the use and threat of force."

"It is absurd to identify detente with stopping the class struggle in capitalist countries, with 'freezing' the emerging and current liberation movements." (Pages M-4 and M-5)

John M. Szostak

Delusions concerning the meaning of "detente" are widespread and pernicious.

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The phrase "the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism" is significant. It expresses the conviction that the whole world is moving to "socialism," characterized by communist dictatorship. This is the will of history. The communists are the in-



economic relationships with Western nations. If this policy of detente were to be put into effect, Eastern Europe would then be reduced to the same status as Latvia, Lithuania, the Ukraine, Estonia, etc.

For the first time since 1945 the map of Europe would be redrawn. Any hope of a free and independent East Europe would be dashed and Moscow given in effect permission to colonialize the remainder of Europe. World War III would not only be unavoidable, but inevitable.

History has been known to repeat itself. The Kissinger policy of detente remarkably parallels what occurred in 1938 at the Munich Conference and at Yalta in 1945. The catastrophes that these conferences caused are still fresh in human memory. Logic tells us that the same fate awaits all of the free world if Eastern Europe becomes an organic union of the Soviets. The Helsinki Agreement, together with Mr. Sonnenfeldt's statement, are simply a 1976 update of Munich and Yalta.

President Ford has banished the word "detente" from his vocabulary. A logical extension of this action would be that Mr. Ford consider banishing the architect of detente, Mr. Kissinger, and anyone associated with detente. Furthermore, the Congress of the United States should introduce a joint resolution to call for the investigation of the Sonnenfeldt statement and the secret London meeting of the American ambassadors to Europe held last December. A full-scale congressional investigation into this matter would in my opinion prevent the unthinkable consequences of Kissinger's reckless policy of detente.

—John M. Szostak
Director
Washington Liaison Services
Washington, D.C.

Sonnenfeldt Remarks

The April 3 issue of HUMAN EVENTS brought to light additional evidence that the current policy of detente is reckless beyond belief. The Evans-Novak article of March 22 in the Washington Post revealed an alarming statement by Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a key aide to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Mr. Sonnenfeldt declared in a secret briefing to an American ambassadors' meeting in London last December that a permanent organic union between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is necessary to avoid World War III.

Official sources claim that Evans and Novak used only the first page of the document for their article. The following pages are said to be far more damaging, implying what is now known is just the tip of a monstrous diplomatic iceberg.

Mr. Sonnenfeldt's statement alarmed not only free nations of the world but Eastern European nations as well. Even though they are satellites of Moscow, Eastern European governments do have the freedom to carry on diplomatic and

Poland's Rulers Isolated From Society

by John M. Szostak

Polish dissatisfaction has moved beyond the stage of dissidence to the point where the regime is threatened with becoming a figurehead which controls an official life that grows more and more out of touch with what is going on in society as a whole. If certain topics are ignored by the official universities, the flying university provides alternative courses which often draw over one hundred students to a given lecture. If official trade unions seem to have become empty shells, unofficial trade unions provide an alternative structure through which workers can express their grievances. If the censors refuse to print an article, there are several dozen unofficial periodicals in which they can be published beyond

John Szostak is the White House correspondent for over thirty ethnic newspapers.

the censor's reach. The ringleaders are harassed, but the alternative structures continue their activities. The government cannot move against them without provoking a showdown which would almost certainly lead to Soviet intervention and the replacement of the current leadership by one more subservient to the USSR. Neither the regime nor its opponents want this and what has developed is an unspoken gentlemen's agreement that neither the regime nor its critics will risk a direct confrontation which would threaten invoking what members of the opposition sometimes refer to as "the Soviet tank factor".

The government is beginning to dimly perceive the danger it faces. Last April Teodor Palimaka, head of the administration department of the party Central committee stated that:

'During the past few months new and important developments

occurred in the activities of the anti-socialist forces in People's Poland. These include the expansion and establishment of sound operational basis by a number of illegal organizations with their own publishing facilities, financial support, and various forms of channels of communication abroad, especially with subversive centers. It is the KSS, KOR, ROPCIO, SKS's in Cracow, Warsaw, Gdansk, Pozan and Wroclaw, the TKN and its "Flying Universities"; the Polish Chapter of Amnesty International, and the Independent Cultural Salon. . . Anti-socialist groups propagate their activities through an expanding publishing facility. The total single print-run of 19 illegal journals and publications reaches 20,000 copies, of which about 50% are being seized by the security

organs . . .
At the same time, central committee secretary Andrezej Werblan pointed with alarm at Kor's growing influence among the workers and the TKN as a training ground for future anti-government activities. The party wants to isolate the activities of the activists from their constituents but seems unable to do so. The last time it made the attempt, the outcry at home and abroad compelled them to grant an amnesty.

Moreover, the fact that these erstwhile revolutionaries were stalled by foreign arms denied it the even momentary hegemony over the popular imagination that is enjoyed by a party which comes to power through a revolutionary upheaval. The fact that the Russians, Poland's hereditary enemies, installed them served only to increase their isolation.

MAY 1979

The RISING TIDE

Polish Government Tries to Crush

by John M. Szostak

The struggle for human rights and free expression in Poland has entered a new phase, as the regime's opponents are harassed, beaten up, imprisoned, slandered and abused. Confident of receiving much needed infusions of hard currency from Western Bankers, dubious of America's continued commitment to human rights, and alarmed at the spread of opposition activities to smaller towns and villages, the government has gone on the offensive. Communist student organizations send rowdy vigilantes to flying university courses, forcing two of its most popular teachers to suspend their lectures. Members of the committee of social self defense have been treated with slanders ranging from accusations of being in the pay of the American CIA to being agents of the Polish secret police. The free trade union has lost one of its most militant activists to the prison cells, and once he was cut off from the outside world, his sentence was arbitrarily lengthened.

In state supported universities, ideas can be discussed only if they do not cross the line of what is permissible, and a certain amount of intellectual ossification becomes inevitable in such circumstances. As a result, the most stimulating ideas are often found in the unsanctioned courses of the "Flying University", which began its latest semester with twelve courses and an impressive seven hundred students. But two of its most popular lectures, KOR activists Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik, have since been forced to suspend their courses for the sake of their own, their families and their students safety.

The official student organizations have admitted sending members to flying university courses. On January 24th Jacek Kuron was prevented from delivering his scheduled lecture when 120 such persons entered his apartment barring regular students from entering or threatening them with "tutorial" beatings. Kuron was prevented from speaking by shouts of "Judas,

ferent people than their counterparts without, and the four promised to "straighten things out", left and the siege ended. This however, was only after one thug had bitten Kuron and another had hit his son. Stanislaw Baranczak and Tomasz Burek, the two TKN lecturers, faced similarly disruptive—if less violent—disruptions of their courses.

This was only the beginning for Kuron. The disruptive tactics continued and on March 21st those present in Kuron's apartment were subjected to terrible beatings. Before the lecture scheduled for that evening, Kuron's 74 year old father suffered a heart attack, an ambulance was called, and a notice was posted on Kuron's door announcing that the lecture had been called off. The ambulance did not arrive for three and half hours. When Henryk Wujec, a visitor arrived and the door was opened to let him in, police agents rushed out of the stairwells, and proceeded to give a thrashing to anyone they could lay their hands on. Wujec and Kuron's son were knocked in the head and inflicted-like concussion injuries, while Adam Michnik, who was also present, sustained a kidney injury. Nor did Kuron's wife escape unscathed. Her arms were twisted and she was beaten with karate blows. Barry Kalb, an American reporting for *Time Magazine* witnessed and took pictures of the incident.

The democratic opposition soon published details of the attack, and protests were made to the authorities, university professors, and to Cardinal Wyszynski, who promised to discuss the matter with the authorities. The regime tried to confuse the matter by publishing their own version in the format used by the opposition. The pseudo-samizdat account claimed that Kuron and Michnik attacked three policemen who were then rescued by their comrades, as if Kuron would decide to assault these "innocents" in his own home while their reinforcements stood just outside the door. At any rate, Kuron and Michnik decided to

the nagging fear that the government will one day try to supplant the farmer with the collective farm have all combined to create a new militancy in the countryside. Along with independent trade unions for farmers, refusals to deliver produce, the erection of illegal churches, committees of farmers self-defense and committees of believers self-defense, a country cousin of TKN has sprung up under the name of farmers university. Lectures have been given on peasant traditions, agricultural legislation, and the peasant movement which had existed before the communists eliminated it. Such things can be threatening to the powers that be, and they possibly intended the campaign against prominent TKN activists to serve as a warning to the less prominent. Michnik had been among those who lectured at the farmers university.

It is difficult to imagine a greater embarrassment for Poland's self styled workers state than evidence that the workers have little faith in it. Such evidence can be seen in the strikes which were reported in a January 2nd declaration issued by KOR and the editors of the uncensored paper *Robotnik* (the worker). "Reports of strikes reach us by chance", the statement reads. "We can assume that they show only a fragment of the wider workers movement in the whole country, for conditions in other factories are similar to those which caused the workers protests known to us". It is even more clearly shown by the fact that on an average day one million Poles stay home from work, fully eight percent of the total labor force.

This probably explains why labor militants are treated more harshly than any of the Regime's other opponents. The case which has recently attracted the most attention is that of Kazmierz Switon, a member of the movement for the defense of human and civil rights (RAPCIO) and a leader of the independent trade union movement. Switon first

While the announcement of TKN's death was premature, the events of the twenty-fourth convicted Kuron to postpone his next lecture, scheduled two days later, nevertheless, four self-styled opponents of Kuron came to his apartment, announcing that they want to talk. A few minutes after he let them in, fifty or so hooligans began kicking and beating the doors and windows of the house. Apparently the people inside were sent by dif-

the question arises as to why this tolerance came to an end. Perhaps attacking the two most prominent lecturers was designed to check a movement which seemed to be spreading too fast and too far for the unsanctioned pursuit of knowledge has ceased to be merely a phenomenon confined to a few cities. A pension plan which many farmers consider unfair, the prohibition of new churches despite widespread religious sentiment, and

against workers' protests of June 1977. He subsequently became a regional (REPCIO) representative in KATOWICE, and in February 1978, he became one of the four founders of the free trade union movement. He was subsequently detained at least twelve times until he was convicted last September of failure to register an air rifle. Only days after his release, he was arrested again, this time for dis-

July 9, 1979-THE RISING TIDE-Page 3

Human Rights Movement

turbing the peace, and was sentenced to three months. In late January, his wife received word that his sentence was to be extended by yet another month, and Switon also faced charges on beating up policemen, which could cost him up to eight years. More insidiously, the authorities have also lashed out at Switon's family. In November 1978, his two sons were charged with stealing money, a gold ring and failing to repay loans. The human rights movement has repeatedly called for his release, addressing appeals to leading officials and to Amnesty International, in addition, American labor leaders such as United Auto workers President Dough Frazier and AFL-CIO head

George Meany have expressed their solidarity with Switon and called for his release. Following his latest trial, on March 2nd Switon appealed his new sentence of one year prison term and a fine of 12,000 Zlotys (about three months salary).

Finally the most chilling is psychiatric abuse, is that of Jan Kozlowski, an activist in the independent farmers union who has been locked up as a lunatic for his opposition activities. During the first week of January, the Committee of Social Self Defense addressed appeals on his behalf to the international psychiatric association and to Amnesty International. On January 8th he was pronounced

sane, only to be placed under arrest by the security police. Prior to the visit of Pope John Paul is a member of KOR was arrested and locked up as a lunatic for distributing pictures of the Pope in request that a petition be signed to have the papal visit covered on Polish TV. To be arrested in Poland is very simple especially if you are known to be an active member of a movement against the regime. Human rights in Polance and in all of Eastern Europe have a long way to go before they can claim to be truly free and independent states, however the beginning is there. Pope John Paul's II presence will greatly influence this change.

NewsRelease

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20045

JOHN M. SZOSTAK

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SPECIAL REPORT

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WASHINGTON D.C., May 10, 1978

HUMAN RIGHTS IN POLAND WINDOW DRESSING FOR PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE WEST

By John M. Szostak

For a moment it almost seemed as if the born-again Christian Jimmy Carter had managed to walk on water. Mormon Jack Anderson was ready and willing to add the boy from Plains, Georgia, to his list of "latter-day-saints", "Carter performs a miracle in Poland", his widely column proclaimed. The President visited Warsaw just before the New Year, right in the middle of winter of much discontent. But now that the snow has melted, the miracle seems hardly more impressive than standing up in the shower.

In view of President Carters verbose concern about human rights and the inordinate amount of ink spilled over it, a little curiosity is in order as to whether his trip in any way affected those who defend such rights in Poland. Before his arrival, Poland boasted the most relaxed and perhaps the least undemocratic of East Europe's people's democracies. That hasn't changed. Before he came, Human rights activists were vocal, and harassed to the degree that they were vocal. The same is true today. All in all, not much has changed and what has, falls somewhat short of a miracle.

In fact the "miracle" that Jack Anderson so admired consisted in little more than diplomatic gegerdemain of appearing to encourage both Party First Secretary Edward Gierek and his opponents in the human rights movement at the same time. Carter managed this slight of hand by the tried and tested method of talking out of both sides of his expressive mouth at once by saying "our concept of human rights is preserved in Poland", Carter told an officialdom already pleased with the prospect of American economic credits.

One wonders, however, just what that concept might be, since the President was forced to deplore the absence from his press conference of the correspondent of the uncensored and illegal journal OPINIA. The Polish authorities had decided to lock him out. After Swedish television had drawn attention to his forcibly being thrown out of the building where the press conference was to be held. President Carter grandly announced that he would answer the reporter's questions in writing. But the answers themselves were less than militant in their concern for human rights. In response to a question as to whether independent political activity in Poland (like that of human rights movement) could affect Detente, the President replied, "I think it would be inappropriate for me to comment on the internal affairs of another country." So much for human rights.

In all fairness, one should realize that President Carter's ability to do much about human rights in the Soviet Bloc is very limited. Nevertheless, one is struck by the fact that Carter's visit accomplished everything he had hoped for human rights in Poland--ABSOLUTELY NOTHING. Here I will cite some

has achieved.

PRIEST ASSAULTED

Less than a week after Carter's departure from Poland, Father Andrzej Bardecki, a member of the editorial board of the legal Catholic weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY was beaten up in Cracow by what official sources described as "Hooligans" after several days of calls to the journal's editorial offices protesting its interpretation of talks then going on between Gierek and the Catholic Church- an interpretation which differed markedly from the government's

Foreign papers, such as the paris daily Le Figaro, were understandably sceptical about the official version of the attack. Polish hooligans are among the most politically sensitive thugs in the world; they seem to make it a practice to manhandle with amazing regularity those who have provoked official displeasure.

ROBOTNIK EDITORS HARASSED, PAPERS SEIZED

On January 21, 1978, the Committee for Social-Self Defense (KOR) issued a declaration describing the arbitrary police measures which had been suffered by those of its members associated with the underground newspaper for workers Robotnik (The Worker). One case is particularly instructive in revealing how dissenters are dealt with by a mixture of official and "unofficial harassment". Wladyslaw Sulecki, a miner whose militancy (an earlier generation would have called it "class consciousness") had already earned him a beating by policemen while bystanders looked on last May and another attack in September by "unknown assailants" while police looked on, joined the editorial board of Robotnik last November. Soon the miner had a new supervisor who kept transferring him to progressively less-paying jobs while boasting he would "force Wladyslaw Sulecki to live on salted potatoes". The collier was arbitrarily denied his "13th wage", an extra month's pay something like a Christmas bonus but which is payable as a right and not as a favor. His locker at work was broken into. His supervisor subjected him to the indignity of a search of his person. On Christmas Eve, the doorstep of his home was bombarded with cow manure and his windows painted with oil paint. The local police refused to help.

Did Carter's visit mitigate this campaign? Not in the Least. The same sources reveal that two days after the President's departure, police entered the Crocow apartment of another Robotnik editor, Edward Zadrozynski, with a search warrant accusing his son of "suspicion of assault and robbery" The gehdamnes then concentrated their attention on the father's books and papers perhaps suspecting the son of having pressed a purloined purse between the pages of some volume. Both father and son were then hauled off to the local police station, interrogated, and attempts were made to force the son to spy on his father and his associates in KOR. This is nothing unusual, but the timing is instructive.

If harassing editors doesn't work, there is always the possibility of seizing the illegal literature itself. A police raid, reported on February 20th at a workers hostel in nearby Nova Huta managed to net thirty issues of the illegal paper along with several issues of Opinia, illegal organ of the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights (ROPCO), The circulation wasn't affected much, but at least the rats are trying.

THE SOCIETY OF SCIENTIFIC COURSES

The newest manifestation of the Polish public's determination to create unofficial self-governing institutions beyond the reach of official interference has become the target of particularly severe repression. The Society of Scientific Courses (TKN) This came into existence in January 22, 1978. The aim of this society is to create an alternative to university courses in the social sciences and humanities free from the party's ideological supervision.

The authorities, however, were not nearly so lenient. When Adam Michnik arrived in Cracow on February 10, 1978 to begin his course on Polish history, he was detained by the police. Quickly released, he attempted to deliver his lecture scheduled for the next day only to witness the meeting broken up and his 100 students sent home. Michnik decided to stay but only

to find himself arrested, beaten and once again detained for several hours. While Michnik was probably the most frequently arrested TKN member, he was certainly not alone. The KOR statement points out a systematic attempt by the authorities to frustrate discussion meetings, seminars as organized by TKN. As a final measure the police turned to arresting students as well as teachers and activists. Finally on March 5, Police in Warsaw detained at least 27 students and days following 78 more persons were arrested for taking courses from TKN. By these examples as stated how can in all honesty Poland claim to be the "least undemocratic of East Europe's peoples democracies. This indeed falls far short of the miracle that Jack Anderson has in mind. Mr. President and Mr. Anderson the miracle you see is window dressing all made special for you and everyone else in the west. The genuine miracle is yet to be seen perhaps in our life time if we are lucky. I give my regrets that Carter will not be on the list of "latter day saints" Keep trying Jimmy you got to do better than in Poland to get there -God Bless and lots of Luck .

To Ronald Wilson Reagan
40th President of the United States.
God has called to the World Stage of
Leadership Two men of similar Background,
including Karol Wojtyla of Krakow and
Ronald Reagan of California to serve Him
and mankind.

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

"The government of the people is
in the hands of God. He creates at
the right moment the leader who
suits them become love of
liberty and respect of the law
make a nation great, but it is
God who secures its future."

- Pope John Paul II -

With Best wishes and prayers
to you and Nancy,

John M. Grotto

2-9-81

COPI.

IN THE
FOOTSTEPS OF
POPE
JOHN PAUL II

To Helene von Damm
with best wishes and prayer
and all success in your work
and service to a great President
and a great Nation!

John M. Gatzke
2-9-81

REPRODUCTION COPY

ID Number 5908

Call Number BX 1378.5 S95 1980

Title In the footsteps of Pope John Paul II:

Subtitle an intimate personal portrait by his American friend

Author John M. Szostak
with Frances Spatz Leighton

Publisher Prentice-Hall

Date c1980

Descriptor John Paul II, Pope, 1920-
Popes -- Biography
Szostak, John M.

Location LG

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Sort Key Szostak, John M.

**WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 81 10 21 25

ID # 006818

GI 002

Name of Correspondent: Andy Jacobs, Jr.

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Requests appointment for Lawyer Shiroka with President Reagan for the presentation of a medallion.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>LA</u>	<u>FRIE</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>81 10 21 26</u> ^{WS}	<u>MF</u>	<u>DD A</u>	<u>81, 03, 13</u> ^{DD}
<u>SC</u>	<u>Newe</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>81, 03, 13</u>	<u>GN</u>	<u>DD A</u>	<u>81, 03, 23</u> ^{DD}
Referral Note:			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
Referral Note:			<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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PR 007 _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

- CPn - Presidential Correspondence
 - n - 0 - Unknown
 - n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
 - n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
 - n - 3 - Ron
 - n - 4 - Dutch
 - n - 5 -
- CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
 - n - 2 -
 - n - 3 -
- CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
 - n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
 - n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

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- G - Message
- H - Handcarried
- L - Letter
- M - Mailgram
- O - Memo
- P - Photo
- R - Report
- S - Sealed
- T - Telegram
- V - Telephone
- X - Miscellaneous
- Y - Study

March 23, 1981

Dear Mr. Jacobs:

Thank you for your letter expressing your interest in the invitation to the President for Mr. Shiroka to present him with a special medallion.

Regrettably, the President's busy schedule precludes the addition of this engagement to his calendar. He does want you to know, though, he appreciates your thoughtfulness in writing and that he sends you his best wishes.

Sincerely,

Gregory J. Newell
Special Assistant
to the President

The Honorable Andy Jacobs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

GJN:MR:ba
GJN-19

lec: Max Friedersdorf

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-17-81

FOR: GREG NEWELL
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
SUBJECT: Invitation to the President

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE

COMMENTS:

*Repet
3-18
TR*

March 13, 1981

Dear Andy:

With great regret for the delay, I would like to thank you for your February 23 letter requesting a meeting with the President for your constituent, Mr. Lazer Shiroka.

I have noted that Mr. Shiroka would like to present to the President a special medallion. You may be assured that I have brought your request to the attention of the President's Scheduling Office. I am certain it will be carefully considered.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Andy Jacobs, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF:CMP:KIR:kir

cc: w/inc to Greg Newell for further handling
cc: w/copy of inc to Nancy Kennedy - FYI

pw
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

ANDY JACOBS

February 23, 1981

006818

m7
Mr. Max Friedersdorf
Director of Congressional Relations
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

Myrtie Barker, whom you may remember as a columnist at the Indianapolis News has written a few columns about Lazer Shiroka who immigrated some years ago from Yugoslavia to the United States.

Mr. Shiroka is an artisan who has produced a special medallion for the Pope and has been received by the Pope for the presentation of it.

A better patriot of the United States I believe we could never find. Mr. Shiroka would like to make a special medallion in Indianapolis and have an appointment at the White House to present it to President Reagan. Do you suppose you might be able to work this out?

Warm best wishes,


ANDY JACOBS, JR.

AJ/pp

Dg

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
 - H - INTERNAL
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- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 81 102 25

ID # 00684I
610021

Name of Correspondent: James M. Collins

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Requests appointment with President Reagan for Don Mitchell for presentation of a watercolor painting.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

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<u>LA</u>	<u>FRIE</u>	<u>ORIGINATOR</u>	<u>81 102 26</u>	<u>MF</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>81 103 18</u>
<u>SC</u>	<u>NEWE</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>81 03 24</u>	<u>GN</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>81 05 05</u>
<u>SC</u>	<u>Wonalson</u>	Referral Note:	<u>81 105 07</u>		<u>C</u>	<u>1 1 1 1 1 1</u>
		Referral Note:	<u>1 1</u>			<u>1 1</u>
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 n - 5 -

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 L - Letter
 M - Mailgram
 O - Memo
 P - Photo
 R - Report
 S - Sealed
 T - Telegram
 V - Telephone
 X - Miscellaneous
 Y - Study

May 5, 1981

Dear Congressman Collins:

Max Friedersdorf forwarded to me his acknowledgement of your letter requesting a meeting with the President for your good friend, Don Mitchell, who would like to present him his water color of an eagle.

I wanted to let you know that particular notation has been made of your request, and that just as soon as it is possible to work this out I will contact you again.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Gregory J. Newell
Special Assistant
to the President

The Honorable James M. Collins
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

✓ cc & inc: Helen Donaldson
Inf copy: Nancy Kennedy
GJN:mhr:emb-42a

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 3-18-81

FOR: GREG NEWELL
FROM: MAX FRIEDERSDORF
SUBJECT: Invitation to the President

APPROVE DISAPPROVE

COMMENTS:

*For a
Congressional
Hour*

March 16, 1981

Dear Jim:

With regret for the delay, I would like to thank you for your February 24 letter requesting a meeting with the President for your good friend, Don Mitchell. You indicated that Don would like to present his water color of an eagle to the President.

You may be assured that I have brought your request to the attention of the President's Scheduling Office. I am certain it will be carefully considered.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable James M. Collins
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF:CMF:KIR:kir

cc: w/inc to Greg Newell for further handling

~~sent~~ cc: w/copy of inc to Nancy Kennedy - FYI

aw
JAMES M. COLLINS
THIRD DISTRICT, TEXAS

COMMITTEES:
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

COMMUNICATIONS
ENERGY
POLICY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

2419 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
TELEPHONE: 225-4201

12900 PRESTON ROAD
LOCK BOX 72
SUITE 317
DALLAS, TEXAS 75230
TELEPHONE: 767-4848

February 24, 1981

006841

JMC
Mr. Max Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President
for Legislative Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Max:

Recently, I heard from my good friend, Don Mitchell, who wanted to have his Eagle presented to the White House. Don is recognized as one of the great water color artists of America. He is also a great Texan. He is President of a large business and comes from a great family. He is an active Republican and a community leader in all of our various community programs.

I do not know what the procedure is down there. Enclosed is the picture and background material.

Best of luck to you,


James M. Collins, M.C.

JMC:phb

NEVER AGAIN

"Let terrorists be aware that when the rules of international behavior are violated, our policy will be one of swift and effective retribution. We hear it said that we live in an era of limits to our power. Well, let it also be understood, there are limits to our patience." President Ronald Reagan

"Mr. President, I give you 53 Americans who will always have a love affair with this country and who join you in a prayer of thanksgiving for the way in which this crisis has strengthened the spirit and resilience and strength that is the mark of a truly free country." Deputy Chief Bruce Laingen

Thus ended the Iran episode, one of the most frustrating chapters in American history. Patience and prayer had finally persevered. It was an agony all Americans shared. It was an experience through which we all suffered. It was a test of patience we all endured. In the end, it was a victory we all savored, a triumph we all cheered. It taught us a lesson we should always remember.

A new national symbol was born. Yellow was once the color of cowardice. Later it was popularized in song. Now it has become the shining beacon of welcome, of hope, of love, of human concern, of reunion, of family ties, of joy so ecstatic that mere happiness and relief do not even share the same emotional spectrum.

Through modern news media, the world saw, and perhaps for the first time really understood, a demonstration of the primary reason why this nation is different. Why it is superior. It is not the strength of arms and atoms, not the ability to win wars, not the syndrome of success and worldly accomplishment, not the good fortune of generous physical and geographical endowment.

America is superior simply because its citizens are superior. How? It's simple. We are superior in our concept and understanding of the infinite worth of the individual. In spite of our differences, our criticizing, our squabbles, our gripes and complaints, we really care about each other. Can you think of another nation on earth which would literally go bonkers with ecstasy over the privilege of paying about \$150,000,000 a head for the freedom of 52 of its citizens? That's over \$2 million for every year of 52 normal life spans. Most nations would gleefully pocket the money, laugh at the suckers they outbargained and try to sell them some more people at the same price.

The Iran experience has become a blessing in disguise. We know now how much we really mean to one another. How does it feel to be worth \$150,000,000? Great feeling, isn't it? Iran has reminded us of a wonderful truth some of us had forgotten -- that an individual life is priceless, especially to God and therefore to the citizens of a nation which tries to honor and serve Him.

But Americans learn fast, terrorists. Once is enough. Never again.

Donald F. Mitchell
(Monograph to accompany eagle painting)



Donald J. Mitchell
S. W. S.

**WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**

O - OUTGOING

H - INTERNAL

I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 81 10 21 26

ID # 006905

GI002

Name of Correspondent: Doug Barnard Jr.

MI Mail Report

User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: Encloses a cartoon, by Clyde Wells, depicting the release of the American hostages.

ROUTE TO:

ACTION

DISPOSITION

Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>LA</u>	<u>FRIE</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>81 10 27</u>	<u>MG</u>	<u>NF</u>	<u>A 81 10 25</u> ^{CD}
<u>GU</u>	<u>FREE</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>81 10 31 26</u>	<u>CP-2A</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>81 10 4 11</u> ^{CD}
Referral Note:		<u>President's letter to Clyde Wells</u>				
Referral Note:		_____				
Referral Note:		_____				
Referral Note:		_____				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comments
- D - Draft Response
- F - Fact Sheet
- I - Info Copy
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: gift picked up by Kathy of Charlie Ponticelli's office ^{MG}

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOP).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

RECORDS MANAGEMENT ONLY

CLASSIFICATION SECTION

No. of Additional Correspondents: _____ Media: L Individual Codes: 1230 _____

Prime Subject Code: GI 002 _____ Secondary Subject Codes: AR _____ PP 010.03
JL 003.03 PR 003 _____
CO 071 _____

PRESIDENTIAL REPLY

Code	Date	Comment	Form
C	_____	Time: _____	P- _____
DSP	_____	Time: _____	Media: _____

SIGNATURE CODES:

CPn - Presidential Correspondence
 n - 0 - Unknown
 n - 1 - Ronald Wilson Reagan
 n - 2 - Ronald Reagan
 n - 3 - Ron
 n - 4 - Dutch
 n - 5 -

CLn - First Lady's Correspondence
 n - 1 - Nancy Reagan
 n - 2 -
 n - 3 -

CBn - Presidential & First Lady's Correspondence
 n - 1 - Ronald Reagan - Nancy Reagan
 n - 2 - Ron - Nancy

MEDIA CODES:

B - Box/package
 C - Copy
 D - Official document
 G - Message
 H - Handcarried
 L - Letter
 M - Mailgram
 O - Memo
 P - Photo
 R - Report
 S - Sealed
 T - Telegram
 V - Telephone
 X - Miscellaneous
 Y - Study

00802

April 14, 1981

Dear Mr. Wells:

Congressman Doug Barnard, Jr., has passed along the framed cartoon on the release of the American hostages. You have certainly hit the mark, and I am pleased to have this poignant example of your work for my collection of political drawings. Many thanks for your special thoughtfulness.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Mr. Clyde Wells
Post Office Box 1988
Augusta, Georgia 30902

RR:AVH:MP:CMF:ms--

sent cc: Congressman Doug Barnard, Jr.
Max Friedersdorf, Legislative Affairs

8
81045

March 25, 1981

Dear Mr. Barnard:

With regret for the delay, the President has asked me to thank you for your letter of February 17. With that correspondence you enclosed a cartoon depicting the release of the hostages.

The drawing, created by Mr. Clyde Wells, has been forwarded to the proper White House staff members in order that an acknowledgment can be sent to him. Mr. Wells' hard work and thoughtfulness in designing this cartoon are certainly appreciated.

Again, your interest in writing and your words of support for the President were most thoughtful.

With cordial regard, I am

Sincerely,

Max L. Friedersdorf
Assistant to the President

The Honorable Doug Barnard, Jr.
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MLF:CMP:KIR:kir

cc: w/inc to Charles Free - Gift Unit - for further handling



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

DOUG BARNARD, JR.
10TH DISTRICT OF GEORGIA

February 17, 1981

006905

Dear Mr. President:

It is indeed my pleasure to enclose for you one of the most descriptive cartoons I have seen depicting the release of our hostages. Mr. Clyde Wells, the artist, is an outstanding editorial cartoonist for the Augusta Chronicle-Herald in my hometown of Augusta, Georgia.

Also, let me take this opportunity to express my congratulations on your successful election and to pledge my support as a member of the House of Representatives. I hope that as I can be of assistance to you that you will feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

Doug Barnard Jr

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

gift picked up by Kathy Ratté

X7500

Rm 331