

Gov Stratton

Sen Ed Muskie 000814  
Douglas

Congressman  
Roman Puc-Kin-Ski

Congressman  
John Kluczynski

1955  
Mrs Rozmarek  
wife of Chas Rozmarek  
Presid. of P.N.A.

ALLIES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

Excerpt from Remarks of  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
Prepared for Delivery  
Before the Polish National Alliance  
Chicago, Illinois  
May 3, 1959

I am pleased to join you in celebration of the 168th anni-

versary of Poland's adoption of the Constitution of May 3, 1791.

This great document, so much like our own basic charter, stands

as a beacon light in the darkness of Soviet oppression.- It

inspires the hope that a free Poland will one day live again.

Few people ~~on earth~~ have over the years shown a greater  
love of liberty than the Polish people. Neither partition nor

persecution has been able to stamp out the flame of liberty in

that oppressed land, pushed back and forth between two powerful  
neighbors.

No American citizen can recount the glory of the American

Revolution without paying tribute to those two great men who con-

tributed so much to the success of Washington's armies -- Generals

Kosciusko - Chen - Ski

Kosciusko and Pulaski. I am thrilled by their memory every time

Kosciusko -  
Pulaski

M John  
Marcini  
Mrs  
Semes

Father Laskowski  
River and  
class

PNA - Gust Oringston

~~pass monuments to their memory in Washington, D. C.~~

Poland has been called a pioneer in European liberalism.

Certainly freedom-loving peoples everywhere in the world must

take satisfaction from this passage in the Constitution which you

commemorate today:

*(Received Inspiration from our own constitution)*

"All power in civil society should be derived from

the will of the people, its end and object being the

preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty

and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on

a lasting foundation."

*yes* The peoples of the world know and respect the aspiration of  
the Polish people for liberty. *And,*

We are bound in spiritual ties with all the unfortunate peoples

who remain behind the Iron Curtain. I can assure you that during *my recent*

*Visit to* ~~my days in~~ the Soviet Union, I did not and could not forget the

plight of the one-hundred million people of Eastern Europe who

suffer under the cruel yoke of atheistic and imperialistic  
Communism.

The American people will never forsake them. The American  
people honor the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the  
Baltic States, and East Germany for their devotion to the cause  
of freedom and independence.

But <sup>again all,</sup> <sup>Patrol</sup> Our thoughts go out to the devout people of Poland -- that  
brave country which was first to take up arms in the defense of  
freedom in World War II, the country which was subjugated not  
by one oppressor, but by two; yet, the country whose spiritual  
voice still speaks so eloquently, so courageously through  
Cardinal Wyzinski.

yes, <sup>too,</sup> Our hearts go out to Joseph Cardinal Mindzenty and to all  
the people martyred Hungary.

The Polish people, too, have eloquent voices speaking for

*Jim Rozmarek  
congressman*

them here in the United States. Certainly none has been more effective in moulding the thinking of the United States Senate on the problems of Central and Eastern Europe than Mr.

*Stypul-Kowski*

Z. Stypulkowski -- *Chairman* Vice *National Council* Premier of the Polish ~~Government~~ in

London, and representative of Free Poland in Washington. His

insights and wisdom have stimulated much constructive thinking

among my colleagues in the Senate.

Yes, the plight of the captive nations is a subject close

to the hearts of all of us.

It is unthinkable that we in the West should abandon these great peoples behind the Iron Curtain. ~~We believe that~~ there will come a day of eventual emancipation, and we must take all prudent steps necessary to hasten that day.

*and* It is not enough simply to voice this hope and declare our dedication to their cause. The peoples of the captive nations need something more tangible to give them faith for the future.

The peoples of the Captive Nations need a Charter of Hope from the West -- a declaration of intent and concern from the leadership of the West.

First of all, we should place the fate of Poland and other countries behind the Iron Curtain on the agenda of every conference called to consider the problems of European security. We must never let the captive peoples <sup>now</sup> ~~be~~ their Soviet masters forget that we do not accept ~~this~~ as right or final the imposition of Russian communist rule in Eastern and Central Europe.

*Charter  
of  
Hope!*

*Charter  
of  
Hope*

Secondly ~~Furthermore~~, we should actively counter Soviet demands for recognition of the status quo in Eastern Europe with our own insistence that Soviet occupation forces withdraw and that free and democratic elections be held in accordance with our solemn wartime pledges. *yes*

~~that~~ *yes* Our constant objective must be the withdrawal of the ~~Red Army~~ Red Army from Eastern Germany and Central Europe. ~~We dare not compromise on this~~

Third We must not permit ourselves to bargain with the freedoms of other peoples in order to maintain a conqueror's peace. We must remain loyal to our highest principles -- that all peoples have an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Fourth We must never lose the opportunity to point out to the world <sup>*Imperialism and*</sup> the monstrous hypocrisy of Soviet colonialism: the Soviet leaders, who shed crocodile tears over the remnants of Western

colonialism, have imposed in Eastern Europe the most ~~brutal and~~  
brutal colonialism the world has ever known.

Finally, the Charter of Hope to the captive nations must  
include the unwritten assurance of courage on the part of the  
West -- the demonstration ~~that~~ that the Western Democracies will  
not yield in the face of <sup>force or</sup> terror, will never submit to blackmail,  
and will always stand firmly on what we know to be right for us  
and for all men.

Speaking of Poland, I have already proposed the establishment  
of a bi-national Polish-American Foundation -- to <sup>put to work the</sup> ~~employ the counter-~~  
~~part~~ <sup>the</sup> funds which have accumulated to the credit of the United  
States in the form of <sup>these funds from sale of our basic commodities</sup> ~~slavery~~. This foundation should be devoted  
to the building of creative institutions for the welfare of the  
Polish people.

As we approach the one thousandth year of Polish <sup>Christianity</sup> ~~independence~~  
what greater contribution could the West, and particularly the United

*Twenty*  
*Twenty*

States make, than to assist in the reconstruction of Poland's

historic capital <sup>city</sup> Warsaw?

- 361 years ago, first  
Polish to U.S.

There are many concrete things we could do in historic

Warsaw which would stand as living symbols of <sup>American</sup> ~~Western~~ concern, and

and vivid demonstration of <sup>American</sup> ~~Western~~ friendship for the courageous

people of Poland.

I am thinking, for example, of the rebuilding of Warsaw's

famous Royal Castle -- nearly destroyed ~~by the Germans~~ during

<sup>Nazi</sup>  
the siege of the capital city in 1939, and reduced to rubble

during the Warsaw uprising in 1944. The plans for rebuilding

this ancient castle in Poland's five-year Economic Plan have had

to be abandoned for lack of funds. Let us step forward with an

offer from Poland's friends in the West to rebuild the Castle

in recognition of Poland's great contribution to European

civilization.



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*Veterans Home*

↳ A second undertaking could be the provision of a home for National Army veterans. While the present Polish regime has changed the policy of persecution of the Underground Army of World War II, nothing has been done to improve the conditions under which hundreds of thousands of these veterans live. These men and women were our companions in arms equally against the tyranny of Nazism, and the oppression of the Soviet armies.

*Hospital*

↳ We could undertake a great humanitarian task in the building and financing of a large modern hospital in Warsaw -- perhaps a children's hospital. Not only would it give direct aid to

many tens of thousands, but it would be another symbol of *American* friendship ~~in a nation suffering from the effects of Soviet~~

*Compassion + friendship*

achievement in a nation suffering from the effects of Soviet colonialism -- a nation disastrously short of hospitals and medicines.

↳ How dramatic it would be to replace the war-damaged buildings that now face the monument of Stalin in a public square in *Warsaw* ~~Moscow~~

with a children's hospital -- a permanent reminder to the Polish  
people of the blessings of freedom -- directly across the square  
from Stalin's tragic reminder of oppression.

yes, And we could build workers' settlements based on Western  
models -- yes, homes for workers and yet displays of Western  
living, Western concern for people, Western initiative.

These things we could do. These concrete acts of friendship  
for the Polish people we could undertake. No Communist leader  
would be able to explain them away. Every Polish man and woman  
and child would know they came out of the open hands of the West. *and hearts America.*

*yes, indeed,*  
I believe that Poland will one day be free again.

I believe the whole world will one day be free of Communist  
oppression. I believe that mankind has the capacity to live in  
peace and justice.

But this will not come just by wishing for it.

What we must do is to prove to the world -- to the free peoples and the subjugated peoples, too -- that our free system can beat the Russian system on every front.

What we must do is compete with the Russians -- in fact, out-compete them. This competition is being forced on us by the many-faceted Soviet challenge.

We must meet and overcome the Soviet challenge in every area -- economically, culturally, militarily, and in the important field of international persuasion.

Competition with Russia will be a long, hard pull.

We cannot hope to win with a "business as usual" attitude.

We must have a new sense of urgency and purpose. The

struggle is, after all, a struggle between freedom and  
tyranny.

We cannot win this <sup>struggle</sup> ~~struggle~~ alone with H-bombs  
and missiles and the other engines of war -- we need  
also machines, farm products, technology, economic  
assistance, and above all a renewed devotion to the *human*  
values that will endure.

↳ We will do it by helping to create an atmosphere  
which gave birth to the Polish Constitution of 1791  
and the American Constitution of 1789.

↳ How can we prevail in this mighty struggle with  
Russia?

First, we must compete effectively in the fields  
of science and technology.

Let us not make the error of underrating Soviet

advances in these fields. ~~The Soviets have had much~~

*while we and our allies are still*  
~~farther to go to pull abreast of technological progress.~~

*ahead, we must admit*  
~~For this reason their rate of advance has been substantially~~

~~greater than ours.~~ *The* gap is narrowing, and they are

breathing down our necks.

*Educ* *L* We cannot afford to be complacent. We must build

the greatest educational system ever known to free

peoples and we must do it now.

*must*  
Second, we ~~will~~ compete in the field of international

persuasion, and by this I mean not only ~~mere~~ words, but

words backed by deeds.

*L* The propaganda of the deed, such as the launching

of a tangible "Food for Peace" campaign, will be far

convincing  
more ~~genuine~~ than ten million words beamed to the world

by short-wave radio.

*Is there any*  
~~There is no~~ reason why our agricultural surpluses  
should pile up in storage bins while millions of  
human beings are suffering from undernourishment and  
stark hunger? That is the heart of the "Food for Peace"  
plan which I am sponsoring in Congress. According  
to my plan America's abundance of food and fiber should  
be used as a positive instrument of foreign policy and  
a constructive force for peace.

*Third,* we must compete with Russia economically.

"The dollar competes with the ruble not only in  
the production race, but also in providing development  
capital for impoverished economies in the politically  
uncommitted areas of the world. We cannot compete  
effectively with more than four million workers

unemployed and with 29 per cent of our industrial plants idle.

Finally, we must compete militarily. We and our allies

must be strong -- yes, have superior strength, <sup>We will help</sup> ~~will help~~

our allies to maintain adequate forces. Measures of  
military strength -- missiles, nuclear power, strategic  
and tactical aircraft, and naval forces -- will weigh  
in our favor if we make sure the defense budget is  
based on the power we need and not trimmed to meet  
somebody's conception of a "balanced" budget.

*Military  
Strength*

I have always supported adequate funds for the military  
defense of this nation and the West. Indeed, without a  
strong shield of military strength we would be  
helplessly at the mercy of the Soviet Union.

Incidentally, one of the great deterrents to military  
action by the Soviet Union is <sup>its</sup> ~~their~~ lack of confidence and

and distrust of the situation in Eastern Europe.

*The Soviet Leaders*  
~~The Soviet Union~~

know that they would have to keep scores of thousands

of troops tied up to protect their rear and their supply

lines from the freedom fighters of the captive nations

if they launched a military attack on the West.

↳ But military strength can in the long run only

buy the time for more constructive approaches to peace.

↳ I have spoken about the accumulation of Polish

zlotys which has built up in past years -- now useless --

which has reached more than \$150 million in value.

And I have proposed a Polish-American Foundation to

put these zlotys to work in the interest of improving

relations between the Polish peoples and their friends

in America, through such projects as the participation

in the re-building of Warsaw.



But there is far more that we could do, in a less  
dramatic fashion -- but nevertheless in ways that would  
build hope and friendship for the West in Poland.

*L* The Foundation would stimulate programs of travel  
between the two countries. The best way for us to tell  
our story to the people of Poland and for them to tell  
their story to the people of America is by personal  
visits on a people-to-people basis. And there are  
no better ambassadors from our side than the Polish-  
Americans who know and love the democratic processes  
of our great country.

*yes, L* Through such a foundation we could help in many  
ways to provide medical education, public health  
facilities, medicine for children, school lunch  
programs -- deeds, and not just words, in the finest

Travel (

civilization  
tradition of Western/~~civilization~~ and American ideals.

It is the people we must reach <sup>yes it is,</sup> ~~the~~ the people of  
Poland and the other captive nations whom we must hold  
to the West, shield from despair, show the light of  
eventual freedom.

Here and now we must rededicate ourselves to  
strengthening America's ties to these peoples in the  
darkness of Soviet tyranny, these brave peoples whose  
tenacious courage has never failed in the face of  
repeated invasions and tyranny, and <sup>who</sup> ~~we~~ hold silently  
to the hope of freedom yet again.

Let us take inspiration from these silent allies,  
from their courage, from their determination, from their  
toughness and tenacity. They are our brothers: we shall

never forget them or give up working for their

freedom.

Their cause is the cause of every man and woman

in the world who loves liberty.

ALLIES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

*Excerpts from* Remarks of

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
*prepared for delivery*  
before the Polish National Alliance

Chicago, May 3,

I am pleased to join you in celebration of the 168th anniversary of Poland's adoption of the Constitution of May 3, 1791. This great document, so much like our own basic charter, stands as a beacon light in the darkness of Soviet oppression. ~~It~~ *It inspires the hope* ~~promise~~ <sup>^</sup> that a free Poland will one day live again.

Few people on earth have over the years shown a greater love of liberty than the Polish people. Neither partition nor persecution has been able to stamp out the flame of liberty in that oppressed land, *pushed back and forth between two powerful neighbors.*

No American citizen can recount the glory of the American Revolution without paying tribute to those two great men who contributed so much to the success of Washington's armies -- Generals Kosciusko and Pulaski. I am thrilled by their memory every time I pass ~~their~~ <sup>to their memory</sup> <sup>^</sup> monuments in Washington, D. C.

Poland has been called a pioneer in European liberalism. Certainly freedom-loving peoples everywhere in the world must

take satisfaction from this passage in the Constitution which you commemorate today:

"All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation."

The peoples of the world know and respect the aspiration of the Polish people for liberty.

I can assure you, it was not just a coincidence that before I proceeded to Moscow, I made one particular stopover; I visited the Free City of West Berlin, 110 miles behind and inside the Iron Curtain.

I went there in order to demonstrate unmistakably to the Soviet Union (which I was scheduled to visit less than a week thereafter) that the United States is bound and joined with the people of West Germany in the common effort to maintain the liberty of West Berlin, that outpost of democracy.

We are bound in spiritual ties with all the unfortunate people who remain behind the Iron Curtain. I can assure you that during my days in the Soviet Union, I did not and could not forget the plight of the one-hundred million people of Eastern Europe who suffer under the cruel yoke of atheistic and imperialistic Communism.

The American people will never forsake them. The American people honor the peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the Baltic States, the Balkan States, and East Germany for their devotion to the cause of freedom.

Our thoughts go out to the devout people of Poland -- that brave country which was first to take up arms in the defense of freedom in World War II, the country which was subjugated not by one oppressor, but by two; yet, the country whose spiritual voice still speaks so eloquently, so courageously through Cardinal Wyzinski.

Our hearts go out to Joseph Cardinal Mindzenty and to all the people of martyred Hungary.

The plight of the captive nations is a subject close to the hearts of all of us.

~~We believe in their eventual emancipation and we will work toward this great goal with zeal chastened only by prudence.~~

~~Our objective must always be the withdrawal of the Red Army from East Germany and Central Europe -- the first step towards the eventual emancipation to which we here rededicate ourselves.~~

*INSERT*  
*A*  
~~I am confident~~ <sup>believe</sup> that Poland will one day be free again, ~~as~~  
~~indeed~~ <sup>I believe</sup> the whole world will one day be free of Communist oppression, ~~or the threat of it,~~ and able to develop and flourish in an

*I believe that ~~humanity~~ mankind has the capacity to live in peace and justice*

INSERT a

It is unthinkable that we in the West should ~~hesitate to~~ abandon these great peoples behind the Iron Curtain. We believe that there will come a day of eventual emancipation, and we ~~must~~ must take all prudent steps necessary to hasten that day.

It is not enough, of course, simply to <sup>voice</sup> ~~declare~~ this hope and <sup>declare our</sup> ~~general~~ dedication <sup>to their cause.</sup> The peoples of the captive nations need something more tangible <sup>to give them faith for the future.</sup> ~~concrete upon which they can build their future plans.~~

~~But~~ The peoples of the Captive Nations need ~~in~~ a Charter of Hope from the West -- a declaration of intent and concern from the leadership of the West.

First of all, ~~we should consider the fate of Poland and the other countries behind the Iron Curtain on the agenda of every conference called to consider the European situation.~~ <sup>we should take every opportunity to place the fate of Poland and the other</sup>

<sup>problem of security.</sup> <sup>captive peoples nor their Soviet masters</sup> consider the European situation. We must never let the Soviet leaders forget -- <sup>forget</sup> <sup>(right or)</sup> not the peoples of the captive nations that we do not accept as final the <sup>Russian</sup> imposition of Soviet communist rule in Eastern and Central Europe.

<sup>actively stand for</sup> Furthermore, we should counter Soviet ~~requests~~ demands for recognition of the <sup>insistence upon</sup> <sup>that</sup> status quo in Eastern Europe with our own ~~demands for the withdrawal of Soviet~~ <sup>withdraw and that free and democratic elections be held</sup> occupation forces and the holding of democratic and free elections. <sup>in accordance with our solemn wartime pledges.</sup>



constant

hated

Our objective must ~~constantly~~ be the withdrawal of the Red Army from  
East Germany and Central Europe. We ~~must never swerve from this objective.~~  
<sup>have not</sup> ~~cannot~~ <sup>compromise</sup> <sup>on this</sup>.

We must not permit ourselves to bargain with the freedoms of other

4. <sup>a conqueror's</sup>  
peoples in order to maintain peace ~~in our times~~. We must remain loyal to our highest

all <sup>have an inalienable right to</sup>  
the principles ~~our civilization~~ --- that/peoples ~~must have self-government,~~  
self-determination through free elections. <sup>life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.</sup>

~~the right to the self-determination of peoples~~

~~the right to the self-determination of peoples~~

We must ~~never~~ lose the opportunity to point out to the world ~~that~~ the

~~the~~ monstrous hypocrisy of ~~the~~ Soviet colonialism ~~by which~~ the Soviet

leaders <sup>who</sup> ~~shed~~ shed crocodile tears over the remnants of Western colonialism <sup>have</sup>

~~while~~ <sup>imposing</sup> the most savage and brutal colonialism the world has ever known, ~~in~~

in Eastern Europe.

Finally, <sup>the</sup> Charter of Hope to the captive nations must include the

unwritten assurance of courage on the part of the West -- the demonstration ~~in~~

~~Berlin and elsewhere~~ that the Western Democracies <sup>yield in the face of</sup> will not ~~be~~ <sup>stand</sup> before terror,

will ~~never~~ submit to blackmail, and will always <sup>stand</sup>

firmly on ~~our principles~~ what we know to be right  
for us and for all men.



Marta  
-3-

*H* Speaking of  
~~With regard to~~ Poland, I have already proposed the establishment of

a bi-national Polish-American Foundation -- to employ the counterpart funds

*have accumulated*

which are ~~presently~~ to the credit of the United States in the form of zloty. This

*foundation* *creative* *welfare of*  
Should ~~be~~ building *insitutions* ~~which~~ for the Polish people.  
*be devoted to the*

*me*  
As we approach the thousandth year of Polish independence -- what greater

*H* contribution could the West, and particularly the United States make, than

to assist in the reconstruction of Poland's historic capital -- Warsaw?

*things we in Warsaw do in historic*  
There are many concrete ~~undertakings which the West could complete which~~

*Warsaw which*

would stand as living symbols of Western concern and vivid demonstrations of

*courageous*  
Western friendship for the peoples of Poland.

*famous*  
I am thinking, for example, of the rebuilding of Warsaw's Royal Castle -- *heavily destroyed*  
~~demolished~~ *the capital city*  
~~ruined~~ by the Germans during the siege of ~~Warsaw~~ in 1939, and reduced to

rubble during the Warsaw ~~insurrection~~ uprising in 1944. The ~~xxx~~ plans for rebuilding

this ancient castle in Poland's *five-* year Economic Plan have had to be abandoned *for lack of funds.*

Let us step forward with an offer ~~xxx~~ from Poland's friends in the West to

rebuild the Castle in recognition of Poland's great contribution to European civilization.

A second undertaking could be the provision of a home for National Army veterans. While the present Polish regime has changed the policy of persecution

of the Underground Army of World War II, nothing has been done to improve the conditions under which hundreds of thousands of these veterans live. These men and women were our companions in arms/against ~~tyranny~~ the tyranny of Nazism, and the oppression of the Soviet armies.

We could undertake a great humanitarian task in the <sup>building and financing</sup> ~~provision~~ of a large ~~modern~~ <sup>perhaps a children's hospital.</sup> hospital in Warsaw. Not only would it give direct aid to many tens of thousands, but it would be another symbol of Western ~~achievement~~ achievement in a nation suffering from the ~~disastrous~~ effects of Soviet colonialism -- a nation ~~disastrously~~ disastrously short of hospitals and medicines.

*How dramatic it would be to replace the war-damaged building, that now face the monument of Stalin in a public square in Moscow with a children's hospital --*  
And we could build workers' settlements based on ~~modern~~ Western models --

~~yes, homes for workers and/displays of Western living,~~ yet  
~~Western concern for people, Western initiative.~~

Now,

These things we could do. These concrete acts ~~would~~ of friendship for the Polish people we could undertake. No Communist leader would be able to explain them away. Every Polish man and woman and child would know they came out of the ~~open~~ open hands of the West.

*a permanent reminder to the Polish people of the blessings of freedom -- directly across the square from Stalin's tragic reminder of oppression*

The propaganda of the deed, <sup>such as</sup> the launching of a "Food for Peace" campaign, <sup>be far more convincing</sup> ~~for example~~ -- will <sup>put us farther ahead in</sup> ~~the competition with Russia~~ than ten million words beamed to the world by short-wave radio.

<sup>is no</sup> ~~Is~~ There <sup>any</sup> reason why our agricultural surpluses should pile up in storage bins while millions of human beings are suffering from undernourishment and <sup>stark</sup> ~~plain~~ hunger? That is the heart of the "Food for Peace" plan which I am sponsoring in Congress. ~~—~~ <sup>According to my plan</sup> ~~that~~ America's abundance of food and fiber should be used as a positive instrument of foreign policy and a constructive force for peace.

Third, we <sup>must</sup> ~~will~~ compete with Russia economically.

~~It is~~ The dollar <sup>competes with</sup> ~~against~~ the ruble not only in <sup>the</sup> ~~a~~ production race but <sup>also providing development capital for</sup> ~~in the bolstering of~~ impoverished economies in the ~~under~~ <sup>politically uncommitted</sup> ~~developed~~ areas of the world. <sup>We cannot compete effectively</sup> Our economic system must start <sup>with more than four million workers unemployed and with 20 percent of</sup> ~~hitting on all cylinders again and must enlist in the struggle~~ against totalitarianism for the duration. <sup>our industrial plant idle.</sup>

Finally, we must compete militarily.

<sup>We and our allies</sup> ~~Perhaps we can never~~ <sup>must be strong — yes, have superior</sup> ~~hope to match the Russians in ground forces, but we will come close~~ <sup>strength</sup> ~~to it~~ <sup>will help</sup> ~~if we~~ keep our allies and ~~help~~ <sup>to</sup> them maintain adequate forces.

~~The other~~ Measures of military strength -- missiles, nuclear power, strategic and tactical aircraft, and naval forces -- will weigh

*usuta =*

I have always supported adequate funds for the military defense of this nation and the West. Indeed, without a strong shield of military strength we would be helplessly at the mercy of the Soviet Union. ~~But~~

Incidentally, one of the great deterrents to military action by the Soviet Union is their lack of confidence and distrust of the situation in Eastern Europe. They ~~would not know~~ know that they would have to keep scores of thousands of troops tied up to protect their rear and their supply lines from the ~~the~~ freedom fighters of the captive nations if they launched a military attack on the West.

But military strength can in the long run only buy the time for more constructive approaches to peace.

I have spoken about the accumulation of Polish ~~zlotys~~ zlotys which has built up in past years -- now useless -- which is reach more than \$150 million in value. And I have proposed a Polish-American Foundation to put these zlotys to work in the interest of improving relations between the Polish peoples and their friends in America, through such projects as the participation in the re-building of Warsaw.

But there is far more that we could do, in a less dramatic fashion -- but *in ways that would build hope and friendship in the West in Poland.*



in our favor if we make sure the defense budget is based on ~~the Russian strength~~ <sup>the power we need</sup> and not trimmed to meet somebody's conception of a "balanced" budget. INSERT C

I have always supported adequate funds for the military.

I regard a second-to-none defense as a necessity in providing a shield of strength for our country. <sup>PH</sup> But the purpose of such military strength is not just an end in itself; it buys time for more constructive approaches to peace. ~~SECRET~~ <sup>SECRET</sup>

And now I have an immediate proposal that I believe will be of interest to each and every one of you.

The United States is accumulating more than \$150 million in Polish zlotys in exchange for American agricultural products and export-import bank aid.

This money is useless unless it is put to work. I suggest we put it to work at once.

<sup>have proposed</sup> I propose the creation of a Polish-American Foundation to utilize these Polish zlotys in the interest of improving relations between the peoples of the two countries.

The Foundation would stimulate programs of travel between the two countries. The best way for us to tell our story to the people of Poland and for them to tell their story to the people of America is by personal visits on a people-to-people basis.

And there are no better ambassadors from our side than the Polish-Americans who know and love the democratic processes of our great country.

~~Then, too, the Foundation could build much needed community improvements in Poland.~~ <sup>enterprises</sup>

~~Think for a moment of the electric effect of an American children's hospital in Warsaw. A monument of Stalin stands on a public square in Warsaw as a cruel reminder of Soviet oppression. Across the square from this monument stand war-damaged buildings. How dramatic would it be for this Foundation to replace these war-damaged buildings with a children's hospital -- a permanent reminder to the Polish people of the blessings of freedom.~~ <sup>what good could do.</sup>  
~~directly~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~right across the square from Stalin's tragic reminder of oppression.~~

We must do all that I have proposed, and much more, if our cause is to triumph.

~~We must~~ <sup>we must</sup> ~~here and now~~ <sup>^</sup> ~~rededicate ourselves to strengthening America's ties to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.~~

~~We must look upon~~ <sup>we must look upon</sup> ~~the one-hundred million oppressed peoples of the satellite nations as America's strongest allies.~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~Russian plans have to be based on the knowledge that, in a crisis, these peoples will rise~~ <sup>Certainly the Russians know now captive</sup>  
~~that~~ <sup>^</sup>

Through such a foundation we could help in many ways to provide ~~the~~ ~~kind~~ medical education, public health facilities, medicine for children, school lunch programs/ -- deeds, and not just words, in the finest tradition of ~~the~~ Western civilization and American ideals.

It is the people we must reach -- the people ~~of~~ Poland and the other captive nations whom we must hold to the West, shield from despair, show the light of eventual freedom.

Here and now we must rededicate ourselves to strengthening America's ties to these peoples in the darkness of Soviet tyranny, these brave peoples tenacious whose/courage has never failed ~~in~~ in the face of repeated invasions and tyranny, and who hold silently to the hope of freedom yet again.

~~The peoples of the captive nations are our allies; they are our friends;~~  
~~their cause is our cause//. We must never forget them.~~

~~Their courage is our inspiration~~

Let us take inspiration from ~~these~~ these silent allies, from their courage, from their determination, from their toughness and tenacity. They are our brothers: we shall never forget them or give up working for their freedom.

*If their cause is the cause of every man and woman in the world who loves liberty*

atmosphere of peace and justice.

But this will not come just by wishing for it. What we must do is to prove to the world -- to the free peoples and the subjugated peoples, too -- that our free system can beat the Russian system on every front.

What we must do is compete with the Russians -- in fact, out-compete them. This ~~is not necessarily our own choice~~; competition is being forced on us by <sup>the many-faceted</sup> Soviet challenges ~~in many fields.~~

We must meet and overcome the Soviet challenge in every area -- economically, culturally, militarily, and in the important field of <sup>international persuasion.</sup> ~~propaganda.~~

We will have to look on this as if we were a well established business on Main Street, faced with the necessity of competing with the cut-throat competition that just opened up a block down the street.

Competition with Russia will be a long, hard pull. <sup>we cannot hope to</sup> ~~It will~~ win with a ~~not be~~ "business as usual" <sup>attitude.</sup> We must have a new sense of urgency and purpose. <sup>The struggle is, after all, a struggle between</sup> ~~We are going to have to show that our dedication to the principle of competition is more than just lipservice. It will be up to us to prove to the world that we recognize that the issue involved here -- the comparative strength of freedom and tyranny -- is so basic, so important to the future of mankind, that we are~~



*H*  
prepared to dedicate ourselves and all our resources to victory  
for freedom. ~~And we cannot win this struggle alone with~~  
~~And we will do this not with~~ H-bombs and missiles  
and the other engines of war -- ~~but with~~ <sup>we used also</sup> machines, ~~and~~ farm products,  
and technology, ~~and~~ economic assistance, and above all a <sup>renewed</sup> devotion  
to the ~~human spirit~~. <sup>values that will endure.</sup>

We will do it by helping to create an atmosphere <sup>which gave</sup> ~~conducive to~~  
~~the birth and nourishment of~~ <sup>to</sup> the Polish Constitution of 1791 and  
the American Constitution of 1789.

<sup>can we prevail in this mighty struggle with Russia?</sup>  
How ~~will we out-compete the Russians?~~

<sup>much effectively</sup>  
First, we ~~will~~ compete in the fields of science and tech-  
nology.

Let us not make the error of underrating Soviet advances in  
these fields. The ~~Russians~~ <sup>Soviets</sup> have had much farther to go to pull  
abreast of technological progress, ~~and~~ <sup>For</sup> this reason their rate  
of advance has been <sup>substantially</sup> ~~far~~ greater than ours. The gap is narrowing,  
and they are breathing down our necks.

We cannot afford to be complacent. We must build the greatest  
educational system ever known to free peoples and we must do it  
now.

<sup>international persuasion</sup>  
Second, we will compete in the field of ~~propaganda~~, and by  
this I mean not only ~~propaganda of the word~~ but propaganda of the  
<sup>more words, but words backed by deeds.</sup>  
deed.

those who to  
up to aid ~~the country that~~ dares challenge their oppressor.

~~Let us never let these allies down.~~

We cannot afford to let down our silent allies whose  
courage and patience ~~have been a tribute to~~  
are a inspiration to ~~the~~ men who love liberty  
wherever they may be.



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