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(Rice/Davis/Wallace)
April 12, 1989
Draft Two
Title: Poland

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
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In my Inaugural address, I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of the individual. I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideas -- of free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will.

We should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe -- the homeland of philosophers of freedom whose ideals have been so fully realized in America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Europe . . .

For almost half a century, the cruel suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the crushing military power of the Soviet Union, has torn nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor, mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source of tension for Europe, for America and the world. As East and West seek to reduce arms, we must remember that the true danger is not be found in our weapons. The true

danger arises from the imposition of an alien political system, bolstered by force and intimidation, in Eastern and Central Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their future -- a right explicitly promised them by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War Two? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorships? The United States has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations . . .

Yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent. Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. Even the Soviet Union shows signs of change, although these changes have yet to be tested by time.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in this cradle of world conflict. The American people wish to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence and realism,

we seek to promote the evolution of freedom -- the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki accords and deepening East-West contact. In recent years, we have developed relations with each country in the region at a pace that each country could accept.

Now some regimes test the limits of the new Soviet tolerance, and seek to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held.

Yet Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics. It is the death of economics. In Poland, decades of structural distortion and institutionalized inefficiency almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise in Poland. Almost. Economic reforms

can undo the structural distortions and give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the Polish people.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the support of the West. And the West will respond. My Administration has just completed, in the National Security Council, a thorough review of our policies toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular.

I have carefully considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not act unconditionally, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We must remember that Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

But we can and must answer the call of freedom. The Congress, the Polish-American community, our allies and international financial institutions, must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root, and last. And it is particularly appropriate, here in Detroit, for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve our active support. I have decided on some specific steps, carefully chosen

to recognize reforms underway, and to encourage the reforms yet to come:

-- As Polish society opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educational, cultural and training programs to support the emerging private sector.

-- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.

-- We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, intended to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides could benefit.

-- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress to pass legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which eliminates tariffs on some products from developing countries.

-- We will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporations to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors.

-- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, supporting viable private-sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.

-- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt.

-- The United States believes that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund, to develop a program that will support sound, new market-oriented economic policies.

When I visited Poland in September, 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. So it is especially gratifying for me to witness the changes now taking place in Poland.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no internal progress without significant political and economic liberalization. Second, the West will provide help only in lockstep with liberalization -- as will our European allies.

America must renew its commitment to end the division of Europe. Such a goal requires more than arms reductions -- though we will vigorously pursue cuts. It will require a fundamental change in political relations between East and West, the root causes of arms competition.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We see the tearing down of all barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas -- especially that most notorious barrier of all, the Berlin Wall. We see Eastern European peoples free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We see Eastern European countries free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced all "rights" to militarily intervene, and all excuses for doing so -- a convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. Let the Soviet Union forever lift the specter of tanks and troops. Let Budapest go free. Let Prague go free. Let the cities of Eastern Europe go free from fear.

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues. These are not bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all of Europe.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. It would be a colossal tragedy if we wavered in our dedication to freedom now. We must maintain and modernize our forces, while pursuing arms reductions. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in such a way that lets our adversaries evade hard choices.

In short, if we are wise, strong and united, we can be remembered as the generation that made Europe free.

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot by the name of Thaddeus Kosciusko (Kosh-schoo-skooh) came to these shores to fight for freedom. He realized that the cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders. Let us honor and remember this hero of (Saratoga and Concord) by returning his message of freedom to the shipyards of Gdansk and the cobbled streets of Warsaw.

Thank you.

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ENDGAME: PRESSURING GORBO

by Michael Ledeen

The disintegration of the Soviet Empire continues apace. As Soviet journals and newspapers report the horrors of the health system, the degradation of the environment, and the miseries of the barren markets, the Red Army maintains a wary control over simmering Armenia, and the KGB clamps down on such truly free publications as *Glasnost* magazine, and prevents real Ukrainian dissidents from meeting Gorbachev on the streets of Lvov. To no avail; the Kremlin's defeat in Afghanistan has encouraged the freedom fighters throughout the empire. Hungary—with one of the highest per-capita debts in the world—has declared the end of the single-party system, and announced that the barbed wire fences and concrete guard towers along the Austrian border are coming down. Poland's Communist regime thrashes in the grips of church and Solidarity, trying to avoid the destiny of a government that has long since lost its claim to political legitimacy. Alarmed at the course of events, East Germany arrests the growing queues asking for visas to the West, and the Stalinists in Prague send playwright Vaclav Havel to jail, warning darkly that there will be no perestroika in the People's Republic of Czechoslovakia.

As always with such fundamental changes, the Soviet revolution moves in fits and starts. While it may yet be possible to reverse the course of events, I doubt that the current rulers in the Kremlin have the stomach for sending the Red Army to undo glasnost and perestroika. Without that cudgel, it is hard to imagine the genie of freedom returning to the Stalinist bottle whence she has so recently emerged. Thus, in at least some of the East European nations, and eventually in the Soviet Union itself, the empire will continue to frazzle and erode. At some point in the future—perhaps the very near future—we may even see some explosions,

Michael Ledeen is senior fellow in international affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.

as the rage pent up over the past seventy years bursts the unnatural constraints put in place by Lenin and his heirs. The Kremlin will have some very difficult decisions to make, and we may suddenly find ourselves major players in a brand new game. We must now ask ourselves what we want from all of this, and what we can do to achieve our objectives. It is hard to craft an effective strategy unless we know the definition of victory.

We must first appreciate how they got in this mess. There are many who treat the Soviet crisis as almost entirely a catastrophe of the Soviets' own making, and surely the Kremlin deserves most of the credit for the country's current plight. But in at least one major area—the substantial and growing gap between Western and Soviet technologies—our own policies have delivered a severe blow to the Soviets. Thanks to the export control policies instituted by Caspar Weinberger, Richard Perle, and Stephen Bryen, the Soviets have been unable to lay their hands on the latest bits of hardware and computer software that they need to keep pace with the remarkable rate of advance in the free marketplaces. Soviet spokesmen, from Gorbachev and Shevardnadze on down, rarely miss an opportunity to denounce the system of export controls and its Western-wide coordinating committee, COCOM. They have good reason to do so, for as long as they cannot gain access to Western technology, the Soviet system's backwardness and inefficiency will doom the Kremlin to long-term inferiority. And this fatally affects the balance of military power as well.

Knowing this, the Kremlin has mounted a massive campaign of technological espionage. Unable to buy the technology they so desperately need, or to develop it themselves, they have set about stealing it. Western intelligence services were largely unaware of the dimensions of this enterprise until the early 1980s, when French President Francois Mitterrand brought Ronald Reagan an unusual present: thousands of pages of KGB documents that

showed precisely how virtually every Soviet-Western cultural exchange, trade mission, business deal, and seminar was used by the Kremlin to steal technological secrets. This information was given the French during a brief (eight-month) operation. Codenamed "Farewell," the agent was a KGB officer who had served in the Soviet mission to Paris, and upon his return to Moscow became disillusioned with Soviet society. Farewell contacted a French businessman he had known in Paris and offered to pass the information to the French government if a secure method could be arranged. This was done when the DST—the French equivalent of the FBI—decided that the best person to serve as "case officer" for Farewell was the French businessman himself. One of the unique features of this amazing story is that from beginning to end no French intelligence officer ever spoke to (or even saw) Farewell.

The Farewell papers (along with the testimony of such key defectors as Ion Mihai Pacepa, the deputy director of Rumanian intelligence who told the American government that he had spent 80 percent of his time over twenty years engaged in technological espionage) pinpointed both the weakness of the Soviet system, and the Kremlin's recognition of it.

This should be the starting point for our policy thinking. For the one great mistake—perhaps the only truly monumental blunder—we could make would be to ease up on the export control policies that have been so effective. Yet many businessmen and government officials throughout the Western world are arguing that we should do precisely this. The loudest voices are not American—they are German (with lead tenor Hans Dietrich Genscher), Japanese (as exemplified by

Gorbachev needs us because the USSR needs cash—desperately. But what do we stand to gain—and lose?



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the host of traitors within the Toshiba cartel), and even British—but we can hear them in Washington, New York, and Los Angeles as well. Most of the time they chant a catchy chorus: "Save Gorbachev."

It's a seductive lyric, and the Soviets are doing everything possible to sell it, along with their other favorite leitmotif: "Loans, loans, credits, credits." After all, they say, don't you like

Gorbachev? Don't you like the easing of tensions? Don't you like the retreat from Afghanistan, the clearout from Angola, and the drop in military spending? Don't you like the arms control agreements? Don't you like perestroika? Would you prefer the bad old days with high tension, domestic repression, and the arms race?

Of course we prefer Gorbachev's

policies, but those policies are a result of a failed Soviet system and some of our own good decisions. Glasnost and perestroika were undertaken because the system doesn't work, not because of a mass conversion of the Politburo to the values of the Sermon on the Mount. And this is, of course, precisely what we have been waiting and working for, believing as we do that our system is superior to theirs, and that

eventually they will have to sue for peace. We must not now bail them out of a crisis that they richly deserve and for which we have worked so long and hard.

There is another consideration, one that Western bankers and businessmen should keep in mind as they chant "Save Gorbachev" at us. Today the Soviet Empire is far less creditworthy than the Latin American (and even some African) poor currently seeking our investments, credits, and technology. On sheer business grounds, we are likely to make more money in those areas than in a failed Soviet system that has proved itself utterly incapable of competing in the world marketplace. And if we succeed in Latin America and Africa, we improve our strategic position, while if we succeed in the empire, we strengthen our historic enemies. So "Save Gorbachev" has a tag line: "and increase your risk."

If they are ready to come to terms, then and only then should we be prepared to ease up on the pressure. Our objectives include the following:

- Elimination of the Soviet presence from our hemisphere.
- Freedom (and therefore, inevitably, democracy) for the East European satellites.
- Substantial reduction in Soviet military power.
- Democratization of the Soviet system.

Parts, if not all, of the first three objectives may be achievable in our lifetimes, even perhaps in the fairly near future; for anyone to seriously contemplate the fourth requires a leap of faith that I am not yet prepared to make. But the point of listing the objectives is to ask about price. What are we prepared to pay for these fundamental shifts in the strategic equation? What would we give to have the Soviets pull the plug on Fidel and his international marauders and drug-traffickers? To what extent are we prepared to invest in newly freed Poles and Hungarians? And what, if anything, are we willing to offer in return for a durable reduction in the might of the Red Army?

I don't know the price for Cuba, but I'd sure love to have the chance to bid on it. As for Eastern Europe, once the various walls, fences, and guard towers come down, and multiparty systems are in place and functioning, I think we should be willing to offer aid, investment, and assistance to freely elected governments. And if the Red Army comes down to a size appropriate for defense rather than the invasion of Western Europe, then . . . then we say "thank you," and reduce our own defense budget. But under no circumstances must we start the flow of money or technology before the promised

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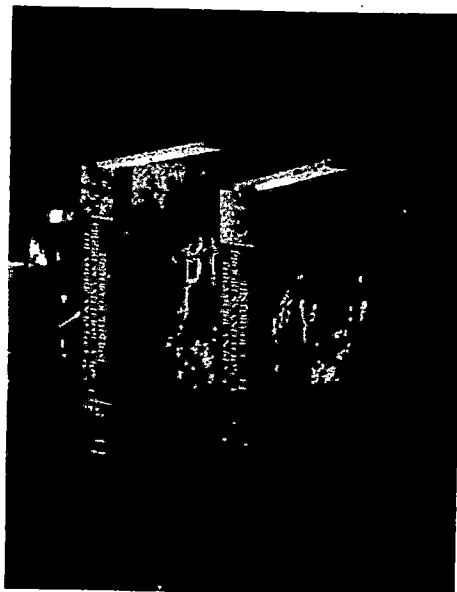
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OF (Organization)

Dr. Condolizza Rice
NSC - Am. 3628

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☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

please come see her

RECEIVED BY

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TIME

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Mrs Sweeney or Mr.

☐ PLEASE PHONE ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

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☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
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4/12 12:10

(Rice/Davis/Wallace)
April 12, 1989
Draft One
Title: Poland

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

In my Inaugural address, I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of the individual. I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideas -- of free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will.

We should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe -- the homeland of so many philosophers of freedom, whose ideals have been so fully realized in America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Europe . . .

For almost half a century, the cruel suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the preponderant military power

of the Soviet Union, has torn nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor, mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source of tension for Europe, for America and the world. As East and West seek to reduce arms, we must remember that the true danger is not to be found in our weapons. The true danger arises from the imposition of an alien political system, bolstered by force and intimidation, in Eastern and Central Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their future -- a right explicitly promised them by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War Two? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorships? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as the gap between the two halves -- political, economic, technological, moral -- is growing?

The winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent, a prosperity built on institutions of unity. Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. Even the Soviet Union shows signs of change, although these changes have yet to be tested by time.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in that cradle of world conflict.

Re-work
Thirty-six years ago, President Eisenhower (addressed this same forum) at a similar moment of opportunity just after the death of Stalin. The President said: " . . . a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union. Its links to the past, however, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make . . . Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they recognize this critical moment."

President Eisenhower went on to say: "We welcome every honest act of peace. We care nothing for rhetoric. We are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds."

That moment proved short-lived. But hope endures. And opportunity beckons again.

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The American people wish to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence and realism, we

seek to promote the evolution of freedom -- the opportunities began by the Helsinki accords and deepening East-West contact.

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In recent years, we have developed relations with each country in the region on a step-by-step basis, at whatever pace that country could accept. We looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, consular and immigration issues, control of narcotics trafficking, opposition to terrorism, and other areas of concern to us.

Get the story on the wall!

Now some regimes test the limits of the new Soviet tolerance, and seek to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been unthinkable. And in Poland, on April (date), Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Seven years ago, millions of Americans lit candles in the hope that the darkness of Poland's long night would some day be lifted, and that Solidarity would emerge into the daylight of legitimacy.

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free

opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held.

Yet Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics. It is the death of economics. In Poland, decades of structural distortion and institutionalized inefficiency almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise in Poland.

Economic reforms must undo the structural distortions and give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the Polish people. This will not be painless. But Poland's new political reforms, which make the people a partner, will also make economic recovery possible. To gain the support of Polish society, economic reforms cannot be promulgated by diktat; they must be developed cooperatively, fulfilling the promise of the Roundtable agreements. Patience and sacrifice will be necessary. Poland enters this era with no guarantees or easy successes.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of the challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the support of the West. And the West will respond.

My Administration has just completed, in the National Security Council, a thorough review of our policies toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular.

I have carefully considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not repeat the mistakes of the 1970's by throwing money at a problem, or rewarding mere promises rather than actions. We will not act unconditionally, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We must remember that Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

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America must face these changes with a renewed commitment to end the division of Europe. Such a goal will require not simply arms reductions -- through we will pursue these with all our energy. It will require a major step forward in political relations between East and West, the very conditions that motivate the military deployments.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We see the tearing down of all barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas -- especially the most notorious barrier of all, the Berlin Wall. We see Eastern European peoples free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We see Eastern European countries free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced all "rights" to militarily intervene, and all excuses for doing so -- a convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. Let the Soviet Union forever lift the specter of fear -- the fear of tanks and troops -- from Budapest, Prague and every other Eastern European capital.

Next month, at a summit of the North American Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues. They are not a bilateral matter between the United States and the Soviet Union -- though there will be occasions for us to raise our concerns with the Soviets. They are, rather, the concern of all Western allies, calling for a common approach. But it is high time we put these issues at the top of our common agenda, lest a lack of vision fritter away a historic opportunity and allow others to shape Europe's future according to a very different, ominous vision.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. It would be a colossal tragedy if we relaxed in our dedication to freedom now.

We must maintain and modernize our forces, while we pursue arms reductions. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in such a way that lets our adversaries evade hard choices.

If we are wise, strong and united, we can remember as the generation that made Europe free.

Thank you.

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(Rice/Davis/Wallace)
April 12, 1989
Draft ~~One~~ THREE
Title: Poland

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

In my Inaugural address, I spoke of a new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of the individual. I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideas -- of free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will.

We should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe -- the homeland of philosophers of freedom whose ideals have been so fully realized in America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Europe . . .

For almost half a century, the cruel suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the crushing military power of

the Soviet Union, has torn nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor, mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source of tension for Europe, for America and the world. As East and West seek to reduce arms, we must remember that the true danger is not be found in our weapons. The true danger arises from the imposition of an alien political system, bolstered by force and intimidation, in Eastern and Central Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their future -- a right explicitly promised them by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War Two? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorships? The United States has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations . . .

Yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent. Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. Even the Soviet Union shows signs of change, although these changes have yet to be tested by time.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in that cradle of world conflict.

Thirty-six years ago, President Eisenhower (addressed this same forum) at a similar moment of opportunity just after the death of Stalin. The President said: " . . . a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union. Its links to the past, however, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make . . . Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they recognize this critical moment."

President Eisenhower went on to say: "We welcome every honest act of peace. We care nothing for rhetoric. We are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds." That moment proved short-lived. But hope endures, and opportunity beckons again as we near a new century.

The American people wish to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence and realism, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom -- the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki accords and deepening East-West contact.

In recent years, we have developed relations with each country in the region at a pace that each country could accept. In each case, we looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, consular and immigration issues, control of narcotics trafficking, opposition to terrorism, and other areas of concern to us.

Now some regimes test the limits of the new Soviet tolerance, and seek to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held.

Yet Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics. It is the death of

economics. In Poland, decades of structural distortion and institutionalized inefficiency almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise in Poland. Almost.

Economic reforms must undo the structural distortions and give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the Polish people. This will not be painless. But Poland's new political reforms, which make the people a partner, will also make economic recovery possible. To gain the support of Polish society, economic reforms cannot be promulgated by diktat; they must be developed cooperatively, fulfilling the promise of the Roundtable agreements. Patience and sacrifice will be necessary. Poland enters this era with no guarantees or easy successes.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the support of the West. And the West will respond.

My Administration has just completed, in the National Security Council, a thorough review of our policies toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular.

I have carefully considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not act unconditionally, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We must remember that Poland is

still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

But we can and must answer the call of freedom. The Congress, the Polish-American community, our allies and international financial institutions, must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root, and last. And it is particularly appropriate, here in Detroit, for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve our active support. I have decided on some specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway, and to encourage the reforms yet to come:

-- As Polish society opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educational, cultural and training programs to support the emerging private sector.

-- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.

-- We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, intended to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides could benefit.

-- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress for legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which eliminates tariffs on some products from developing countries.

-- We will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporations to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors.

-- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, supporting viable private-sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.

-- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt.

-- The United States believes that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund, to develop a program that will support sound, new market-oriented economic policies.

When I visited Poland in September, 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. So it is especially gratifying for me to witness the changes now taking place in Poland.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no internal progress without significant political and economic liberalization. Second, the West will provide help only in lockstep with liberalization -- as will our European allies.

America must face these changes with a renewed commitment to end the division of Europe. Such a goal will require not simply arms reductions -- though we will pursue these with all our energy. It will require a fundamental change in political relations between East and West, the root causes of arms competition.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We see the tearing down of all barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas -- especially that most notorious barrier of all, the Berlin Wall. We see Eastern European peoples free to choose their system of government and to

vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We see Eastern European countries free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced all "rights" to militarily intervene, and all excuses for doing so -- a convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. Let the Soviet Union forever lift the specter of fear -- the fear of tanks and troops -- from Budapest, Prague and every other capital of Eastern Europe . . .

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues. These are not bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all Europe.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. It would be a colossal tragedy if we wavered in our dedication to freedom now.

We must maintain and modernize our forces, while pursuing arms reductions. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in such a way that lets our adversaries evade hard choices.

In short, if we are wise, strong and united, we can be remembered as the generation that made Europe free.

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot by the name of Thaddeus Kosciusko (Kosh-schoo-skooh) came to these shores to fight for freedom. He realized that the cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders. Let us remember this hero of (Saratoga and Concord). Let us remember him in Gdansk and Warsaw.

Thank you.

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3912

NSC redraft: 4/4/89

ENDING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE

Draft Presidential Speech

In my inaugural address I spoke of the new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I spoke of the spreading recognition of the free market, and the creative genius of the individual, as the true sources of prosperity. I spoke of the power of the idea of democracy -- of free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.

A Movement of Opportunity for Europe

We should not be surprised that those ideas have new relevance today in Europe -- that continent so central to our own history, the world's history, and the history of those very ideas.

Liberty and democracy are ideas whose time has come to Eastern Europe.

For over 40 years, the suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the preponderant military power of the Soviet Union, has cruelly and artificially divided the continent. The result has been continual confrontation and tension, for Europe, for our country, and for the world. As East and West today seek to reduce arms, they cannot forget that the true source of danger is not the arms, which are just the symptom, but the imposition of an alien political system in Eastern and Central Europe sustained by force and intimidation.

How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their own future -- a right explicitly promised them by the agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations that used to be leading industrial powers are continually impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorship? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as the gap between the two halves -- political, economic, technological, moral -- is growing?

Today, the winds of change are sweeping across the entire continent -- a resurgence of Western Europe and its institutions of unity; a reawakening of yearnings in Eastern Europe for democracy, independence, and economic progress. Soviet policy,

too, shows signs of change, though these have not yet been finally tested.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reduction to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in Eastern Europe.

Thirty-six years ago, President Eisenhower spoke [addressed this same forum] at a similar moment of opportunity. Stalin had just died:

"Now a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union [he said]. Its links to the past, however strong, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make. ... Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they recognize this critical moment.

"We welcome every honest act of peace.

"We care nothing for mere rhetoric.

"We are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds."

The opportunity then proved short-lived. But our hope remains, and the moment beckons again.

Poland and United States Policy

The United States has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence denying nations their sovereign rights.

The American people want to see East and Central Europe free and prosperous, and at peace. Prudently and realistically we have sought to promote an evolution in this direction, pursuing the opportunities afforded by the Helsinki accords and the deepening process of East-West interchange they began.

In recent years, we have developed relations with each country in the region on a step-by-step basis, at whatever pace that country could accept. We looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, consular and emigration issues, control of narcotics trafficking, opposition to terrorism, and other areas of concern to us.

Now some regimes are testing the limits of the new Soviet tolerance and seeking to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with

reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been unthinkable. And in Poland, on April __, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Seven years ago, millions of Americans lit candles in support of Poland's freedom, in the hope that the darkness of repression would some day be lifted and that Solidarity would resume its rightful place in Polish life.

According to the Roundtable agreements, among the many steps to be taken, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held.

Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. Decades of structural distortion and institutionalized inefficiency -- the inevitable product of a Communist system -- have taken a terrible toll on Poland's well-being. Economic recovery will be slow and very, very difficult.

There must be economic reforms that undo the structural distortions and give free rein to the enterprising and creative spirit of the Polish people. This will not be painless. But

Poland's new political reforms, making the people a partner, will make economic recovery possible. To gain the support of Polish society, economic reforms cannot be promulgated by diktat; they must be developed cooperatively, utilizing to the full the greater degree of democracy established by the Roundtable agreements. Patience and sacrifice will be necessary. There are no guarantees or easy successes.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of the challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the West's help. I believe the West should respond.

We have just completed, in the National Security Council, a thorough review of our policy toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular.

I have carefully considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not repeat the mistakes of the 1970's by throwing money at a problem, or rewarding mere promises rather than actions. We will not take unconditional steps, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We have to remember that, even as Poland takes steps of political reform, it is still a member of the Warsaw Pact, and we will take no steps that compromise our security.

But we can and should respond. The Congress, the Polish-American community, U.S. labor leaders, the American people, and our allies and the international financial institutions, should work together to support democracy in Poland as political and economic reforms take root over time.

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve support. I have decided on some specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway and to encourage the reforms yet to come:

- As Polish society opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educations, cultural, and training programs to reach out and support the emerging private sector.
- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity and for charitable, humanitarian, and environmental projects.
- We will offer to begin negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, intended to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides could benefit.

- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress for legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), which eliminates tariffs on some products from developing countries.
- We will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to operate in Poland. OPIC can benefit both Poland and U.S. investors.
- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, supporting viable private sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.
- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debts.

-- *The US believes that* *clear the way for* ~~As the Roundtable accords are implemented, Poland will be~~ *on a stand-by arrangement*
to develop a program ~~able to work with the International Monetary Fund and the~~
~~that will support sound, new, market-oriented economic policies~~
~~World Bank on programs that support sound, new, market-~~
~~oriented economic policies.~~

For me, this new development brings special gratification. When I visited Poland in September 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a

significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. And I will keep my word.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While the countries of Eastern Europe differ, and we must still differentiate among them, Poland holds a lesson for others: There will be no internal progress without significant political and economic liberalization; the West will provide help in step with such steps of liberalization. Our European allies share this philosophy.

Ending Europe's Division

This is a moment for America to renew its historic commitment to seek an end to the division of Europe. Such a goal will require not simply arms reductions -- though we will pursue these with all our energy. It will require a major step forward in the political relations between East and West, the political conditions that underlie the military deployments.

The West need no longer hesitate to describe its vision of Europe's future: We see the elimination of all barriers to free movement of people, goods, and ideas -- most notoriously the Berlin Wall, but all the barriers along the dividing line. We see East European peoples free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular,

contested elections. We see East European countries free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has definitively and authoritatively renounced all right to intervene militarily and all excuses for doing so -- a convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine.

The Soviet Union can be assured, in turn, that a free, democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country. Such an evolution would imply, and reinforce, the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions -- arms reductions, political relations, trade -- in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

Soviet leaders talk of a "Common European Home," suggesting a new approach to European security. But they frequently say it must be built on "existing realities." That's the catch. The denial of self-determination and democracy in Eastern Europe is an "existing reality" that we cannot accept and that offers no hope for peace, security, and cooperation in Europe. Nor is it consistent with the letter and spirit of the Helsinki accords or the United Nations Charter.

Next month, at a Summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues.

They are not a bilateral matter between the United States and the Soviet Union -- though there will be occasions for us to raise our concerns with the Soviets. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. But it is high time we put these issues at the top of our common agenda, lest a lack of vision fritter away a historic opportunity and allow others -- dangerously -- to shape Europe's future according to a very different vision.

We may be at a turning point in Europe's postwar history -- but we will see our vision realized only if we have the discipline and courage to do what is right. It is the unity and strength of the democracies that brought us to this point; this is not the moment to relax those policies.

We must maintain and modernize our forces, while we pursue arms reduction. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in a way that lets our adversaries evade their hard choices.

There is so much to be gained. If we are wise, and strong, and united, we can be the generation that made Europe free.

Thank you.

SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

Draft Presidential Statement

Seven years ago, Americans lit candles in support of Poland's freedom, in the hope that the darkness of repression would some day be lifted and that Solidarity would resume its rightful place in Polish life.

This week, Poland took a great stride forward. In Warsaw, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

According to the Roundtable agreements, among the many steps to be taken, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and free national elections for a new Polish senate will be held.

These agreements do not bring full democracy. But the degree of pluralism and of freedom that they institutionalize will take Poland far from totalitarianism.

The Roundtable agreements are inspiring testimony to the indomitable spirit of the Polish people; to the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa and Solidarity; to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church; and to the realism of the Polish authorities.

Poland has started on an uphill road of peaceful change. It represents a historic opportunity, but major challenges remain.

The legacy of mistrust and bad faith cannot be erased overnight. Many are skeptical about whether the Polish authorities will keep their word as people begin to test their new freedoms to the full. So, steps toward democracy must be taken and not reversed. Agreements must be implemented. Disputes must be worked out fairly.

Second, Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. Structural reforms are needed to undo the institutionalized waste and mismanagement that are the product of the Communist system, and to give free rein to the enterprising and creative spirit of the Polish people. Patience and indeed sacrifice will be necessary in the short run if the benefits of freedom are to be fully realized. That is why the political reforms -- making the Polish people partners -- are so important. But there are no guarantees and there will be no easy successes.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of the challenge. Poland's democratic forces have asked for the West's help. While they pursue democratization and economic reform, their friends should stand with them, not just in words, but in actions.

The United States Government has just completed a thorough review, in the National Security Council, of our policy toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular. I have considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not repeat

the mistakes of the 1970's by throwing money at a problem, or rewarding promises rather than actions. We will not take unconditional steps, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. And even as Poland takes steps of political reform, it is still a member of the Warsaw Pact, and we will take no steps that compromise our security.

But we can and should respond now. The Congress, the Polish-American community, U.S. labor leaders, the American people, and our allies and international financial institutions should work together to support the cause of democracy in Poland as political and economic reforms take root over time.

Specifically:

- As Poland opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educational, cultural, and training programs to reach out and support the emerging private sector.
- My administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity and for charitable, humanitarian, and environmental projects.
- We will offer to begin negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses.
- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress for legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized

System of Preferences (GSP), which eliminates tariffs on products from developing countries.

- I will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to operate in Poland. OPIC can benefit both Poland and U.S. investors.
- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, viable private sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.
- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debts.
- [-- As the Roundtable accords are implemented, Poland will be able to work with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on programs that support sound, new, market-oriented economic policies.]

For me, this development brings special gratification. When I visited Poland in September 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. And I will keep my word.

We recall the words of the Polish fighters for independence: "For your freedom and ours." We know that Poland's struggle for democracy is our struggle too. If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. A cornerstone for true, sustainable, and democratic stability in Europe will have been laid.

America today renews its historic commitment to see the division of Europe ended. The winds of change are sweeping across Europe -- a resurgence of Western Europe and its institutions of unity; a reawakening of yearnings in Eastern Europe for freedom, democracy, independence, and prosperity. Soviet policy, too, shows signs of change, though these have not yet been finally tested. As East and West seek to reduce arms and the danger of war, they cannot forget that the true source of tension and instability in Europe is not the arms but the continuing, cruel, and unacceptable division of the continent imposed by Soviet power.

The Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end there as well.

While all the countries of that region differ, they all deserve better than the dead hand of a discredited system imposed upon them. Perhaps Poland will mark a new beginning for all of Eastern Europe. The American people surely hope so, and will engage constructively, creatively, and generously toward that end.

Pack'er (pāk'ēr), Asa. 1805-1879. American businessman, b. Groton, Conn.; to Pennsylvania (1822); acquired coal lands and canalboats to carry coal; built, and held controlling interest in, Lehigh Valley Railroad; founded and endowed Lehigh U. (chartered 1866).

Packington. = PAKINGTON.

Pa-cu'vi-us (pā-kū'vī-ŭs), Marcus. 220?-7132 B.C. Roman playwright, poet, and painter; nephew of Ennius; noted esp. for tragedies. Only fragments of his works are extant.

Pad'dock (pād'ŭk), Benjamin Henry. 1828-1891. American Protestant Episcopal clergyman; bishop of Massachusetts (1873-91).

Pa'de-loup' (pā'dlōō'). Family of Paris bookbinders, including: Antoine, 17th-century founder of the family, and his three sons, Nicolas (b. 1642), Philippe (1650-1728), and Michel (1654-1725); three sons of Michel, Sylvestre Antoine (1676-1720), Philippe (1680-1754), and Antoine Michel (1685-1758), most famous of the family, known for his mosaics and dentelle borders; a son of Antoine Michel, Jean (b. 1716).

Pa'de-rew'ski (pā'dē-rēf'skē; Angl. pād'ē-), I'gnace' (Fr. ē'nyās'), Pol. Ignacy, Jan (yān). 1860-1941. Polish pianist and statesman, b. in Podolia, then a province of Russian Poland; studied in Warsaw, and in Vienna under Leschetizky; professional debut in Vienna (1887), Paris (1889), London (1890), U.S. (1891); established himself as interpreter of Schumann, Chopin, Liszt, and Rubinstein. Composer of an opera (*Manru*), a symphony in B minor, concertos, and many orchestral and piano pieces, including well-known minuet. During World War I, he devoted himself to the Polish cause; aided in organizing a "general committee of assistance for the victims of the war in Poland" (1914); toured U.S., raising funds by concerts for Polish relief. After war, went to Warsaw and formed coalition ministry, in which he was prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, and which held office for ten months (Jan. 17, 1919-Nov. 27, 1919).

Pa-dil'la (pā-thē'yā), Ezequiel. 1890-1971. Mexican lawyer and politician; foreign minister of Mexico (1940-45).

Padilla, Juan de. 1500?-71544. Spanish Franciscan missionary; to New Spain (c. 1528); accompanied Coronado into New Mexico (1540-42); established first mission in the Southwest; murdered by Indians.

Pa-dil'la (pā-thē'yā), Juan López de. 1490-1521. Spanish revolutionist; led uprising of the communes against absolutism (1520); defeated, captured, and executed. His wife, **María Pa-che'co** [pā-chā'kō] (d. 1531), led rebellion after husband's death and defended Toledo (1521-22); took refuge in Portugal after fall of Toledo.

Pad'ma-sam'bha-va (pūd'mā-sūm'bā-vā), i.e. "born of the lotus." Real name not known. fl. 8th century A.D. Buddhist scholar and monk; from Kafiristan carried Buddhist religion into Tibet; founded Lamaism (c. 770); his life and work obscured in legends.

Padovanino, il. See under DARIO VAROTARI.

Pae-o'ni-us (pē-ō'nī-ŭs). Greek sculptor of late 5th century B.C., of Mende in Thrace; chiefly known for his Nike (Victory), carved for Messenians and Naupactians and placed at Olympia as a trophy, discovered in 1875.

Pa'er (pā'ēr), Ferdinando. 1771-1839. Italian composer, esp. of operas; appointed by Napoleon director of Théâtre Italien; became (1832) music director for Louis Philippe, and a professor at conservatory of music, Paris. Among his notable operas are *Circe* (1791), *Camilla* (1801), *Sargino* (1803), *Eleonora* (1804), *L'Agnese* (1811), and *Un Caprice de Femme* (1834).

Paes (pish), Sidônio Bernardino Cardoso da Silva. 1872-

1918. Portuguese statesman; active in republican movement; member of cabinet (1911); minister to Germany (1913-16); a leader in the revolt (1917); president Portugal (Dec., 1917-Dec., 1918); assassinated.

Paesiello. See PAISIELLO.

Paets (pāts), = PÄTS.

Paetus, Caecina. See ARRIA.

Pá'ez (pā'ās), Federico. Ecuadorian political leader made provisional president of Ecuador (called "Supreme Head of the State") by the army (Sept. 26, 1930); elected provisional president (Aug. 10, 1937); resigned (Oct. 23) under pressure of armed forces.

Páez, José Antonio. 1790-1873. Venezuelan soldier; political leader; in War of Independence (1810-22), victories over Spanish that were chiefly responsible bringing Venezuela into new republic of Great Colombia led in revolt against Bolívar (1829) and became 1st president of new republic of Venezuela (1830); president and dictator (1831-46); led revolt, as leader of conservatives, against President Monagas (1847); was captured and imprisoned (1847-50); went into exile (1850); returned (1858) and was made minister to U.S. (1861). Again proclaimed dictator (1861), but forced to resign (1863) and go into exile.

Pa'ga-ni'ni (pā'gā-nē'nē), Niccolò. 1782-1840. Italian violinist; toured Europe with great success (1798-1805 ff.). Among his compositions are 6 violin concertos, 24 caprices, 12 sonatas for violin and guitar, and many variations for violin.

Page (pāj), Charles Grafton. 1812-1868. American physicist, b. Salem, Mass.; developed induction apparatus which in principle is the modern induction coil; made a small reciprocating electromagnetic engine (1846), and an electric locomotive (1850-51).

Page, Curtis Hidden. 1870-1946. American educator and writer; professor of English, Dartmouth (from 1900); author of *A History of Japanese Poetry* (1923); translator of many French works, including Molière's *Tartuffe*; Anatole France's *The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife*.

Page, Frederick Handley. 1885-1962. English airplane manufacturer; managing director, Handley Page, Inc. **Page, John.** 1743-1808. American Revolutionary leader and close friend of Thomas Jefferson; lieutenant governor of Virginia (1776-79); colonel in Continental Army Yorktown campaign; member, U.S. House of Representatives (1789-97); governor of Virginia (1802-1803). His grandson **Thomas Jefferson Page** (1808-1899) a naval officer and explorer; commanded *Water Witch* in exploring La Plata River (1853-56); his ship was fired upon (Feb. 1, 1855) by a Paraguayan fort; second midable expedition, with Page as fleet captain, negotiated treaty with Paraguay, and Page continued explorations up Paraguay River (1859-60); served Confederate navy through Civil War. See also THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

Page, Leigh. 1884-1952. American physicist; professor of mathematical physics (1922-52), Yale; developed theory of electromagnetism.

Page, Thomas Nelson. 1853-1922. Great-grandson of John Page (1743-1808). American novelist and diplomat, b. in Hanover County, Va.; practiced law, Richmond, Va. (1874-93); moved to Washington, D.C. (1893), and devoted himself to writing; U.S. ambassador to Italy (1913-19). Among the best known of his books are *In Ole Virginia* (1887), *Two Little Confederates* (1888), *The Old South* (1892), *Social Life in Old Virginia* (1897), *The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock* (1898), *The Old Dominion* (1908), *Robert Lee, Man and Soldier* (1911), *Italy and the World* (1920).

āle, chaotic, care (7), ādd, account, ārm, ask (11), sofā; ēve, hēre (18), ēvent, ēnd, silēnt, makēr; ice, ill, charlōld, ōbey, ōrb, ōdd (40), sōft (41), cōnnect; fōod, fōot; out, oll; cūbe, ūnite, ūrn, ūp, circūs, ū = u in Fr. met

at, makēr; īce, īll, charīty
circūſ, ū = u in Fr. menu

For explanation of abbreviations, etc., see the pa

Köst'lin (kûst'lēn), Christian Reinhold. *Pseudonym*
C. Rein'hold (rin'hölt). 1813-1856. German jurist,
 κ = ch in Ger. ich, ach; Fr. bon; yet; zh = z in azure

For explanation of abbreviations, etc., see the page immediately preceding the main vocabulary.

(Rice/Davis/Wallace)
April 12, 1989
Draft One TWO
Title: Poland

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

In my Inaugural address, I spoke of a new breeze of freedom gaining strength around the world. "In man's heart," I said, "if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of the individual. I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideas -- of free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will.

We should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe -- the homeland of philosophers of freedom whose ideals have been so fully realized in America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Europe . . .

For almost half a century, the cruel suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the crushing military power of

the Soviet Union, has torn nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor, mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source of tension for Europe, for America and the world. As East and West seek to reduce arms, we must remember that the true danger is not to be found in our weapons. The true danger arises from the imposition of an alien political system, bolstered by force and intimidation, in Eastern and Central Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their future -- a right explicitly promised them by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War Two? How can there be stability and security in Europe so long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorships? The United States has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations.

Yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent. Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. Even the Soviet Union shows signs of change, although ~~these~~ these changes have yet to be tested by time.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in that cradle of world conflict.

Thirty-six years ago, President Eisenhower (addressed this same forum) at a similar moment of opportunity just after the death of Stalin. The President said: " . . . a new leadership has assumed power in the Soviet Union. Its links to the past, however, cannot bind it completely. Its future is, in great part, its own to make . . . Recent statements and gestures of Soviet leaders give some evidence that they recognize this critical moment." President Eisenhower went on to say: "We welcome every honest act of peace. We care nothing for rhetoric. We are only for sincerity of peaceful purpose attested by deeds."

That moment proved short-lived. But hope endures, and opportunity beckons again as we near a new century.

The American people wish to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence and realism, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom -- the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki accords and deepening East-West contact.

In recent years, we have developed relations with each country in the region at whatever pace that country could accept. We looked for progress in its international posture and internal

practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, consular and immigration issues, control of narcotics trafficking, opposition to terrorism, and other areas of concern to us,

Now some regimes test the limits of the new Soviet tolerance, and seek to win popular legitimacy through reforms. In Hungary, a new leadership is experimenting with reforms that may permit a political pluralism that only a few years ago would have been unthinkable. And in Poland, on April 5 (date), Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and Interior Minister Kiszczak signed agreements that, if honestly implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Seven years ago, millions of Americans lit candles in the hope that the darkness of Poland's long night would some day be lifted, and that Solidarity would emerge into the daylight of legitimacy.

- change tense?

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held.

Yet Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that communism is not another form of economics. It is the death of

economics. In Poland, decades of structural distortion and institutionalized inefficiency almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise in Poland. Almost.

Economic reforms must undo the structural distortions and give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the Polish people. This will not be painless. But Poland's new political reforms, which make the people a partner, will also make economic recovery possible. To gain the support of Polish society, economic reforms cannot be promulgated by diktat; they must be developed cooperatively, fulfilling the promise of the Roundtable agreements. Patience and sacrifice will be necessary. Poland enters this era with no guarantees or easy successes.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the support of the West. And the West will respond.

My Administration has just completed, in the National Security Council, a thorough review of our policies toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular.

I have carefully considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not repeat the mistakes of the 1970's by throwing money at a problem, or rewarding mere promises rather than actions. We will not act unconditionally, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We must remember that Poland is still

a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

But we can and must answer the call of freedom. The Congress, the Polish-American community, U.S. labor leaders, our allies and international financial institutions, must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root, and last.

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve our active support. I have decided on some specific steps, carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway, and to encourage the reforms yet to come:

-- As Polish society opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative exchange, educational, cultural and training programs to support the emerging private sector.

-- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together creative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.

-- We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland, intended to facilitate cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides could benefit.

-- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress for legislation to provide Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences ~~(GSP)~~, which eliminates tariffs on some products from developing countries.

-- We will seek legislation to authorize the Overseas Private Investment Corporations ~~(OPIC)~~ to operate in Poland. OPIC can benefit both Polish and U.S. investors.

-- The United States will continue to consider, on their merits, supporting viable private-sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.

-- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt.

-- The United States believes that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund, to develop a program that will support sound, new market-oriented economic policies.

When I visited Poland in September, 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to a significant internal reform of the kind we ~~see~~ now. Both sides valued that assurance. So it is especially gratifying for me to witness the changes now taking place in Poland.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no internal progress without significant political and economic liberalization. Second, the West will provide help only in lockstep with liberalization -- as will our European allies.

America must face these changes with a renewed commitment to end the division of Europe. Such a goal will require not simply arms reductions -- though we will pursue these with all our energy. It will require a fundamental change in political relations between East and West, the root causes of arms competition.

*Hungary Austria
Wall?*

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We see the tearing down of all barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas -- especially that most notorious barrier of all, the Berlin Wall. We see Eastern European peoples free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We see Eastern European countries free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced all "rights" to militarily intervene, and all excuses for doing so -- a convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. Let the Soviet Union forever lift the specter of fear

-- the fear of tanks and troops -- from Budapest, Prague and every other capital of Eastern Europe.

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues. They are not a bilateral matter between the United States and the Soviet Union -- though there will be occasions for us to raise our concerns with the Soviets. They are, rather, the concern of all Western allies, calling for a common approach.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. It would be a colossal tragedy if we relaxed in our dedication to freedom now.

We must maintain and modernize our forces, while we pursue arms reductions. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in such a way that lets our adversaries evade hard choices.

If we are wise, strong and united, we can be remembered as the generation that made Europe free.

Thank you.

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APR 14 '89 17:53 HEALTH ALLIANCE EXCE.

PAGE.01

HEALTH ALLIANCE PLAN
2850 WEST GRAND BOULEVARD
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202
313/872-8100

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Lisa Pasbjerg

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World Medical Relief

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WORLD MEDICAL RELIEF INC.

11745 Rosa Parks Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48206 • Area Code 313 Phone 698-5333

A PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATION CONTRIBUTING MEDICAL NEEDS FOR THE CARE OF THE WORLD'S DESTITUTE SICK

April 14, 1989

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Photocopy-Preservation

Dear Mr. President:

During your visit to Detroit on Monday, I understand you will be speaking on American aid to Poland. As president of World Medical Relief, a Detroit-based volunteer organization, I thought you might be interested knowing that we have been contributing medical supplies to Poland since the early part of this decade.

In fact, since 1982 World Medical Relief has provided fifty fourty-foot ocean freight containers of medical supplies to hospitals in Poland. Without World Medical Relief's effort, many ordinary Polish citizens might have have denied proper medical care. Much of our success in Poland--and in our work throughout the world--could not have been accomplished without the help of other volunteer organizations, like the Polish American Congress.

You might also be interested to know that World Medical Relief's founder, Irene Auberlin, began this organization in 1953. Her mission was simple: to help the world's poor, sick and needy. Her motive was equally simple: compassion for refugee children during the time of the Korean conflict. Mrs. Auberlin's work was acknowledged twice by President Reagan through the President's Volunteer Action Award Citation in 1983, and the President's Volunteer Action Award in 1984.

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*Member of Executive Committee

All contributions to World Medical Relief, Inc., a non-profit agency, are tax deductible as required by law.



APR 14 '89 17:55 HEALTH ALLIANCE EXCE.

PAGE 02

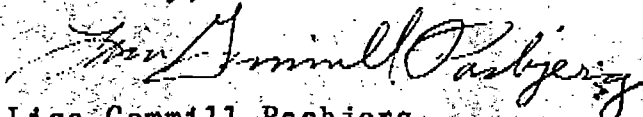
President George Bush
April 14, 1989
Page two

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Thus, Mr. President, I extend to you an invitation to visit World Medical Relief during your visit to Detroit. Our facility is located about ten minutes from where you will be speaking in Hamtramck. I hope you accept this invitation, because your presence would be a great inspiration for our volunteers.

World Medical Relief is an example of the kind of effort from the private sector you admire. I, too, believe it exemplifies the ideals of private sector initiative, volunteerism and cooperation. Most important, it works to improve the condition of less fortunate people at home and abroad.

Sincerely,



Lisa Gemmill Pasbjerg
President and Chief Executive Officer

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WORLD MEDICAL RELIEF INC.

11745 Rosa Parks Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48206 • Area Code 313 Phone 866-5333

A PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATION CONTRIBUTING MEDICAL NEEDS FOR THE CARE OF THE WORLD'S DESTITUTE SICK
FACT SHEET: April 14, 1989

WORLD MEDICAL RELIEF AID TO POLAND

- * Since 1982, World Medical Relief has provided fifty 40 foot ocean freight containers of hospital supplies, or over a million pounds with a value of over \$31 million dollars to the Polish people.
- * Working with local Polish American Congress Foundation volunteers, 15 million dollars worth of medical supplies were shipped in the past year alone.
- * Included in these shipments are 1) medical equipment (such as sterilizers, E.K.G. machines, instruments, centrifuges and pediatric incubators), 2) medical supplies (such as sutures, catheters, gloves, hospital gowns, gauze and bandages) and 3) medications.
- * Goods are shipped through the Polish Episcopate Charitable Commission headed by Bishop Czeslaw Domin in Katowice Poland to those hospitals in need of such supplies and unable to obtain them from any other source.
- * World Medical Relief is a Detroit-based non-profit organization whose mission is to provide help for the ill, the injured and the poor throughout the world.
- * World Medical Relief programs, under the leadership of Lisa Gemmill Pasbjerg, President and Chief Executive Officer, serve the medical needs of those as far away as Haiti, the Philippines, Tanzania and Poland; and as close to home as Hamtramck, Highland Park and the City of Detroit.
- * World Medical Relief is located at 11745 Rosa Parks Boulevard in Detroit. The telephone number is (313) 866-5333. The Office hours are Monday through Friday from 8 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.

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*Member of Executive Committee

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(Rice/Davis/Wallace)
April 12, 1989
Draft Three
Title: Poland

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

In my Inaugural address, I spoke of the spreading recognition that prosperity can only come from a free market and the creative genius of the individual. I spoke of the new potency of democratic ideas -- of free speech, free elections and the exercise of free will.

We should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe -- the homeland of philosophers of freedom whose ideals have been so fully realized in America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." My friends, liberty is an idea whose time has come in Eastern Europe . . .

For almost half a century, the cruel suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the crushing military power of the Soviet Union, has torn nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor, mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source of tension for Europe, for America and the world. Danger arises from the imposition of an alien political system, bolstered by force and intimidation, in Eastern and Central Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their future -- a right explicitly promised them by agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War Two? How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling dictatorships? The United States has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations . . .

Yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent. Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. The Soviet Union itself is changing. We are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent, and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful and lasting change.

East and West are negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe; if it is to end, it must end in this cradle of world conflict. The American people want to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence and realism, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom -- the opportunities

sparked by the Helsinki accords and deepening East-West contact.

In recent years, we have developed relations with each country of the region. In each case, we looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, immigration issues, opposition to terrorism. And we held them accountable for acts of technology theft and hostile intelligence against us.

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

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held.

Yet Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time, severe economic problems. A modern French writer observed that

communism is not another form of economics. It is the death of economics. In Poland, an economic system crippled by the inefficiencies of central planning, almost proved the death of initiative and enterprise. Almost. Economic reforms can still give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the Polish people.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the support of the West. And the West will respond. My Administration has just completed a thorough review of our policies toward Eastern Europe, and Poland in particular.

I have carefully considered ways we could help, and pitfalls to be avoided. We will not act unconditionally, offer untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We must remember that Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no steps that compromise the security of the West.

But we can and must answer the call of freedom. The Congress, the Polish-American community, the American labor movement, our allies and international financial institutions, must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root, and last. And it is particularly appropriate, here in Detroit, for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve our active support. I have decided on some specific steps by the United States, which have been carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway, and to encourage the reforms yet to come:

-- As Polish society opens up, the United States will pursue imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

-- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together innovative programs to swap Polish debt for investment equity; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects. In a phrase, we will export free enterprise to Poland.

-- We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides can benefit.

-- When Solidarity is legal again, I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences. This will allow the United States to match lowered political barriers with lowered economic barriers.

-- I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors.

-- The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable private-sector loans by the International Finance Corporation, a World Bank affiliate.

-- We will work with our allies and friends to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, lifting a heavy burden so that a free market can flourish.

-- The United States believes that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund, to develop a program that will support sound, new market-oriented economic policies.

When I visited Poland in September, 1987, I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind we see now. Both sides valued that assurance. So it is especially gratifying for me to witness the changes now taking place in Poland, and to announce these important changes in U.S. policy.

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. Second, the West will provide help only in lockstep with liberalization -- as will our European allies.

America must renew its commitment to end the division of Europe. Such a goal requires more than arms reductions -- though we will vigorously pursue cuts. It will require a fundamental change in political relations between East and West, the root causes of arms competition. I call on the Soviet Union to renounce all "rights" for military intervention. I call on the Soviet Union to explicitly and immediately repudiate the Brezhnev Doctrine. And I call on the Soviet Union to let Prague go free. Let Budapest go free. Let all the peoples of Europe live in freedom . . .

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas -- especially that most notorious barrier of all, the Berlin Wall. We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their

own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe.

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues. These are not bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all of Europe.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. It would be a colossal tragedy if we wavered in our dedication to freedom now.

We must maintain and modernize our forces, while pursuing arms reductions. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in such a way that lets the East evade hard choices.

In short, if we are wise, strong and united, we will be remembered as the generation that made Europe free.

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot by the name of Thaddeus Kosciuszko (Kosh-schoo-skoooh) came to these American shores to fight for freedom. He realized that the cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

Let us honor and remember this hero of Saratoga by extending our hand to those who work the shipyards of Gdansk, and walk the cobbled streets of Warsaw.

Thank you.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Hamtramck, Michigan)

For Immediate Release

April 17, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO CITIZENS OF HAMTRAMCK

Hamtramck City Hall
Hamtramck, Michigan

11:53 A.M. EDT

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

I'm delighted to be here. Bread and salt are both of the earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. And in this same spirit, I wish you all the same. And now, if I may, I want to address at this important gathering the health and prosperity of a whole nation -- the proud people of Poland. (Applause.)

You know, we Americans are not mildly sympathetic spectators of events in Poland. We are bound to Poland by a very special bond -- a bond of blood, of culture, and shared values. And so it is only natural that as dramatic change comes to Poland we share the aspirations and excitement of the Polish people.

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

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

For almost half a century, the suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the military power of the Soviet Union, has kept nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor. And as East and West now seek to reduce arms, it must not be forgotten that arms are a symptom, not a source, of tension. The true source of tension is the imposed and unnatural division of Europe.

How can there be stability and security in Europe and the world as long as nations and peoples are denied the right to determine their own future -- a right explicitly promised by

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agreements among the victorious powers at the end of World War II? How can there be stability and security in Europe as long as nations, which once stood proudly at the front rank of industrial powers, are impoverished by a discredited ideology and stifling authoritarianism? The United States -- and let's be clear on this -- has never accepted the legitimacy of Europe's division. We accept no spheres of influence that deny the sovereign rights of nations. (Applause.)

And yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny. Western Europe is resurgent and Eastern Europe is awakening to yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. In the Soviet Union itself we are encouraged by the sound of voices long silent and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled. We see new thinking in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy. We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting and far more-reaching change.

So let no one doubt the sincerity of the American people and their government in our desire to see reform succeed inside the Soviet Union. We welcome the changes that have taken place and we will encourage -- continue to encourage greater recognition of human rights, market incentives, and free elections. (Applause.)

East and West are now negotiating on a broad range of issues, from arms reductions to the environment. But the Cold War began in Eastern Europe, and if it is to end, it will end in this crucible of world conflict -- and it must end. The American people want to see East and Central Europe free, prosperous and at peace. With prudence, realism and patience, we seek to promote the evolution of freedom -- the opportunities sparked by the Helsinki Accords and the deepening East-West contact.

In recent years, we have improved relations with countries in the region, and in each case, we looked for progress in international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, emigration issues, opposition to international terror.

While we want relations to improve, there are certain acts we will not condone or accept -- behavior that can shift relations in the wrong direction -- human rights abuses, technology theft and hostile intelligence or foreign policy actions against us.

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

Under the auspices of the Roundtable Agreements, the free trade union Solidarnosc was today -- this very day, under those agreements -- Solidarnosc was today formally restored. (Applause.) And the agreements also provide that a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of General Jaruzelski and his colleagues, and they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic Church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people, and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa. (Applause.)

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

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

The Congress, the Polish-American community -- and I support, I endorse strongly Ed Moskal and what he is doing in the Polish American Congress, I might say, and I'm delighted he's here. Good Chicago boy right here in Hamtramck. (Applause.) That the Congress, the Polish-American community, the American labor movement, our allies and international financial institutions -- our allies all must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root anew and sustain itself. And we can and must answer this call to freedom. And it is particularly appropriate here in Hamtramck for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through its darkest days. Labor deserves great credit for that. (Applause.)

Now, the Poles are now taking steps that deserve our active support. And I have decided as your President on specific steps to be taken by the United States, carefully chosen to recognize the reforms underway and to encourage reforms yet to come now that Solidarnosc is legal:

I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries.

We will work with our allies and friends in the Paris Club to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, easing a heavy burden so that a free market can grow.

I will also ask Congress to join me in authorizing the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, to the benefit of both Polish and U.S. investors.

We will propose negotiations for a private business agreement with Poland to encourage cooperation between U.S. firms and Poland's private businesses. Both sides can benefit.

The United States will continue to consider supporting, on their merits, viable loans to the private sector by the International Finance Corporation.

We believe that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, market-oriented economic policies.

We will encourage business and private nonprofit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects.

We will support imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

You know, when I visited Poland in September of 1987, I was then Vice President, and I told Chairman Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa that the American people and government would respond quickly and imaginatively to significant internal reform of the kind that we now see. Both of them valued that assurance. So it is especially

gratifying for me today to witness the changes now taking place in Poland and to announce these important changes in U.S. policy. The United States of America keeps its promises. (Applause.)

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

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

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

What has brought us to this opening? The unity and strength of the democracies, yes. And something else -- the bold, new thinking in the Soviet Union, the innate desire -- the innate desire for freedom in the hearts of all men. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. And if we're wise, united and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all Europe free.

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

God bless Poland. God bless the United States of America. Thank you all very much. "Nieck Zyje Polska." (Let Poland Live.) Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

12:14 P.M. EDT