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Toast at State Dinner in Poland 7/10/89 [OA 6266]

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(McNally/Simon)  
June 25, 1989, 6:30 p.m.  
Draft One (TOAST)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE STATE DINNER IN POLAND  
RADZIWIŁL PALACE, WARSAW  
MONDAY, JULY 10, 1989, ~~7:55~~ P.M.

✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓  
Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, Members of the Polish  
delegation -- thank you for your hospitality tonight, and  
throughout our stay. We are very pleased and honored to be here.

As has been true since the beginnings of our history -- and  
as with the American people we are here to represent -- I have a  
special interest in Poland. And in recent months we have watched  
some remarkable events unfold in your country.

And so this is not an ordinary visit -- for in Poland these  
are not ordinary times.

9/87  
When I was last here, almost two years ago, our relations  
had just emerged from a long, chilly period. But -- beginning  
with that visit -- we have made fast progress. In our 1987  
meetings with President Jaruzelski, we covered many issues --  
cultural, commercial, consular, scientific, communications,  
counterterrorism, human rights and others. And -- on virtually  
every issue -- both governments have made concrete progress.

Mr. President, the rewards for successful effort are, as  
always, more and greater challenges. Poland is entering a new  
era. It is beginning once again to command its own history.  
Polish energy and creativity are being tapped. Great steps have  
been taken already -- the negotiation of the remarkable

Roundtable accords, the legalization of Solidarity, the holding of fair elections, the restoration of a freely-elected Polish Senate. And more steps await on the road ahead.

Poland has surpassed the expectations even of its friends. And we respect you for it.

Reform is a difficult process, as you well know. There are neither easy answers, nor cost-free solutions. But there is a sound basis for hope. Poland has a well-trained labor force, and enormous agricultural potential. Both could perform well if given sufficient incentives. And today, you have the goodwill of an expectant and hopeful world.

Ultimately, Poland's responsibility for its economic reform and recovery places a special burden on Poles of all political views -- to work together honestly, and seriously. It will be hard. But I believe you will succeed. And I believe Poland can fulfill the promise of the Roundtable accords, and negotiation of democratic reform. That is the destiny of the Polish people. And it is the destiny of the American people to stand with you.

1989  
almanac

Tomorrow marks the birthday of an American patriot, President John Quincy Adams. In 1821, during his service as Secretary of State, he spoke of America's role overseas:

see  
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"Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been, or shall be, unfurled -- there will America's heart, her benedictions, and prayers be. [[PAUSE]] But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and the vindicator only of her own."

Our message here today reflects Adams's sentiments. We want Poland to succeed in this historic effort. And we will stand with you and help as best we can. We have outlined for you ways in which the United States can help Poland help itself. Both our governments have a great deal of work to do.

My government will continue to move ahead with prudence and realism -- and with our eyes on the great tasks that lie ahead. Our hearts -- as always -- will remain filled with the abiding commitment the American people feel for this land and her people.

You know, over the past two years the American people have celebrated the 200th anniversary of perhaps the most important landmark in our history -- the signing and ratification of the U.S. Constitution. And yet, not every American knows that a short time later -- on May 3, 1791 -- the first written constitution in Europe, and the second in the world, was adopted by the Polish Parliament. It stands with our Constitution as a founding charter of Western liberty.

*Encyclopedia  
Britannica  
see  
file*

And today, I believe the spirit that produced the 3rd May Constitution lives on in Warsaw, in Krakow, in Gdansk. And my wish for you is that -- two years from now, on the bicentennial of your constitution -- the Polish people will have the kind of reforms in place that a people with your proud heritage deserve.

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister --

Let us lift our glasses to the progress in relations we have made -- and to our determination to proceed on an ever-ascending path, toward better days and great achievements still to come.

McNally

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT THE STATE DINNER

July 10, 1989

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MEMBERS OF THE POLISH DELEGATION, I APPRECIATE YOUR HOSPITALITY TONIGHT AND THROUGHOUT MY STAY. I AM ESPECIALLY PLEASED TO BE HERE NOW, BOTH BECAUSE I HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN POLAND AND BECAUSE I HAVE WATCHED SOME REMARKABLE EVENTS TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY.

THIS IS THE FIRST VISIT OF A U.S. PRESIDENT TO POLAND IN ALMOST TWELVE YEARS. IT IS NOT AN ORDINARY VISIT, FOR THESE ARE NOT ORDINARY TIMES FOR POLAND. WHEN I WAS LAST HERE, IN SEPTEMBER 1987, U.S.-POLISH RELATIONS HAD JUST EMERGED FROM A LONG, CHILLY PERIOD.

OUR RELATIONS HAVE PROGRESSED VERY QUICKLY SINCE THEN. PRESIDENT JARUZELSKI AND I COVERED A LOT OF ISSUES IN OUR MEETINGS IN 1987 -- CULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, CONSULAR, SCIENTIFIC, COMMUNICATION, COUNTERTERRORISM, HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHERS -- AND ON VIRTUALLY EVERY ISSUE BOTH GOVERNMENTS HAVE MADE CONCRETE PROGRESS SINCE.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE REWARDS FOR SUCCESSFUL EFFORT ARE, AS ALWAYS, MORE AND GREATER CHALLENGES. I RECALL THAT AS OUR GOVERNMENTS PICKED UP THE PACE OF OFFICIAL DIALOGUE, THE POLISH SIDE RAISED THE QUESTION OF SOMEHOW PROCEEDING TO A NEW

STAGE OF RELATIONS. I THINK IT IS CLEAR THAT LIFE ITSELF HAS BROUGHT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND POLAND, AND BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND POLISH PEOPLES, TO A NEW AND CHALLENGING STAGE.

POLAND IS ENTERING A NEW ERA. IT IS BEGINNING ONCE AGAIN TO COMMAND ITS OWN HISTORY. POLISH ENERGY AND CREATIVITY ARE BEING TAPPED. GREAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN ALREADY -- THE NEGOTIATION OF THE REMARKABLE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, THE LEGALIZATION OF SOLIDARITY, THE HOLDING OF FAIR ELECTIONS, THE RESTORATION OF A FREELY-ELECTED POLISH SENATE -- AND MORE STEPS WILL BE TAKEN ON THE ROAD AHEAD.

POLAND HAS SURPASSED THE EXPECTATIONS EVEN OF ITS FRIENDS. AND WE RESPECT YOU FOR IT.

REFORM IS A DIFFICULT PROCESS, AS YOU WELL KNOW. THERE ARE NEITHER EASY ANSWERS NOR COST-FREE SOLUTIONS. POLAND'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS ECONOMIC REFORM AND RECOVERY PLACES A SPECIAL BURDEN ON POLES OF ALL POLITICAL VIEWS TO WORK TOGETHER HONESTLY AND SERIOUSLY.

IT IS HARD. BUT POLAND CAN NOW BEGIN TO LOOK TO A FUTURE OF HOPE, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG TIME, AND NOT RETURN TO THE PATTERN OF DESPAIR.

I BELIEVE YOU WILL SUCCEED. I BELIEVE POLAND CAN FULFILL THE PROMISE OF THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, AND NEGOTIATION OF DEMOCRATIC REFORM. I BELIEVE THE SPIRIT THAT PRODUCED THAT CONSTITUTION OF MAY 3, 1791, A DOCUMENT CONTEMPORARY WITH OUR OWN CONSTITUTION AS A FOUNDING CHARTER OF WESTERN LIBERTY, LIVES ON IN WARSAW, IN KRAKOW, IN GDANSK.

POLAND DOES NOT STAND ALONE IN THIS HISTORIC EFFORT. WE WANT POLAND TO SUCCEED. WE WILL STAND WITH YOU AND HELP AS BEST WE CAN. I HAVE OUTLINED FOR YOU WAYS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP POLAND HELP ITSELF. BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE A GOOD DEAL OF WORK TO DO.

MY GOVERNMENT WILL PROCEED FORWARD WITH PRUDENCE AND REALISM, AS WE HAVE DONE SO FAR, BUT WITH OUR EYES ON THE GREAT TASKS THAT LIE AHEAD. OUR HEARTS, AS ALWAYS, WILL REMAIN FILLED WITH THE ABIDING COMMITMENT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL FOR POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE.

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. PRIME MINISTER, LET US LIFT OUR GLASSES TO THE PROGRESS IN RELATIONS WE HAVE MADE, AND TO OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED ON AN EVER ASCENDING PATH TOWARD BETTER DAYS AND GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS STILL TO COME.

tus II the pretext to start the war. Then the Tsar turned east and put down the last Cossack rebellion in the Polish Ukraine (1702–04), which the Polish Sejm had provoked by despotically deciding to disband the Cossacks in 1699.

*The Prussian situation.* The Hohenzollern prince Frederick III had assumed the title of king of Prussia in 1701, with consent of Augustus but without the approval of the republic, which alone had the power to grant this title. In 1715 King Frederick William I tried to acquire the Polish Prussian territory, again with the approval of Augustus. The intervention of Peter the Great, who resided in Gdańsk at the time, frustrated this attempt in 1716, and the Russian troops remained in control of the southern coast of the Baltic Sea. Peter the Great thus assumed the role of protector of the territorial integrity of the Polish republic. From then on, Poland was to all intents and purposes a protectorate of the Russian government, and this relationship lasted until the dissolution of the republic in 1795.

**Augustus III, 1733–63.** The French-supported candidate, Stanisław Leszczyński, was elected king for the second time after the death of Augustus II in 1733. The Russian and Saxonian armies interfered, however, forcing the election of his opponent, Augustus III, the son of Augustus II. It was in his reign that Prussia definitely and conclusively achieved the position of a European power under its king, Frederick II the Great (1740–86). He annexed Silesia between 1740 and 1745, securing control of the western boundaries of Poland as well as of Polish foreign trade at the points where it was shipped overland to central and western Europe. Inhabited mainly by Poles, the southeastern half of Silesia still retained close political and cultural ties with Poland, but the Prussian annexation ended the church sovereignty of the metropolitanate of Gniezno over Silesia.

*The Seven Years' War.* During the Seven Years' War (q.v.; 1756–63), the Russian army used the territories of Gdańsk, Toruń, and Poznań as operational bases in their war against Prussia. Frederick II ordered the counterfeiting of Polish money, a measure that severely damaged and inflated the monetary system of the republic.

*Social, religious, and political change.* During the long and peaceful era between 1716 and 1768, the population grew rapidly, due to both the steady immigration of Germans and the mass exodus of an enslaved peasantry from Russia. By 1772 Poland's population numbered approximately 11,420,000. Comprising more than one-half of all the Jews in the world, the Jewish population of Poland lived in all parts of the country. The Counter-Reformation reached its zenith under the spiritual leadership of the Jesuits, who trained 20,000 students of noble birth annually in their 51 greater colleges and other educational institutions. In 1717 and 1733, laws were passed that restricted the spiritual and secular rights of the dissident (non-Catholic) population. Popular education fell to its lowest level. Spreading through all the other parts of Europe, the Age of Reason affected Poland only by virtue of some individual achievements. Parliamentary life came to an almost complete standstill. Under the reign of Augustus II only four of a total of 13 *sejms* came to an orderly conclusion; under Augustus III only one out of 13 did so, as the result of the use of the liberum veto.

#### REFORM AND PARTITION DURING THE REIGN OF STANISLAW II AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI, 1764–95

A former diplomat, Stanisław II August Poniatowski gained the crown of Poland with the help of Russian troops in 1764. Aided by his relatives, the Czartoryski, he tried to introduce political reforms, among other things the temporary abolition of the liberum veto in 1764–66, but his plans failed because of the objections of Catherine II the Great, the Russian empress. Taking advantage of the religious quarrels in Poland, the Empress sent Prince Nikolai V. Repnin as Russian minister to Warsaw with instructions that led to further discord in Polish affairs. Of Poland's population of 11,500,000, about 1,000,000 were dissidents, one-half Protestant and one-half Orthodox. For these people, who had been largely deprived of their rights by the laws of 1717 and 1773, Repnin, in the

name of the Russian empress, demanded absolute religious and political equality with the Catholic population of Poland. He was well aware that an aristocratic and Catholic assembly like the Sejm would never concede such a demand.

Early in 1767 a confederation was formed at Repnin's instigation to send a deputation to Catherine, petitioning her to guarantee the liberties of the republic. Subsequently, but not without a stubborn resistance, the Sejm accepted Catherine's authority, and the so-called fundamental laws were enacted, guaranteeing the liberum veto and all the other ancient abuses as unalterable parts of a Polish constitution ensured by Russia. All the restrictions against the dissidents were repealed at the same time.

*Confederation of Bar.* These events led to a Catholic uprising known as the Confederation of Bar, aided by the Turks. After four years of fighting (1768–72), the Russian troops were able to gain the upper hand over the confederates. Frederick II of Prussia tried to use this civil war to achieve a partition of Poland, but he met with the resistance of Catherine II. Only the threat of Austrian troops advancing against Russia and the Austrian annexation of some Polish territory in the Carpathian Mountains (1770) forced Catherine to seek help from the Prussian king on his terms—namely, the partition of Poland.

*First Partition, 1772.* With the First Partition of Poland in 1772, the republic lost about 28 percent of its territory, the Livonian and White Ruthenian regions north of the Dvina River and east of the Druć River falling to Russia. Austria received Little Poland south of the Vistula River and almost all of the Red Ruthenian territory under the name of the Kingdom of Galicia. Prussia obtained the smallest but most valuable property, namely, Royal Prussia, comprising Warmia (Ermland) and a part of Great Poland on both sides of the Noteć River, though without the cities of Gdańsk and Toruń. Through this annexation Prussia had not only acquired the desired land connection between Western Pomerania and East Prussia that it had tried to secure for almost 120 years, but it had also gained control over approximately four-fifths of the total foreign trade of Poland. By levying enormous custom duties on the Polish foreign trade going via this route, Prussia made this its most important source of income. In fact, the partition of Poland was of vital importance to Prussia, for it was now able to shake off the last vestiges of the old Polish sovereign rights. The treaty of 1773 established the full and complete sovereignty of Prussia over its lands.

*The period of reform.* The shock of the First Partition caused political and economic reforms in Poland—as far as Russia would permit. The taxation system and the army were thoroughly reorganized, and with the Permanent Council, in 1775, Poland installed its first real central government. Many landed estate owners carried out individual peasant emancipations, and almost 200,000 Germans and at least 300,000 Russians emigrated to Poland, a land that was considered free. Slowly, the cities began to flourish again, and the beginnings of an industrial revolution could be observed with the rise in mining activities, the advances of the textile industry, the founding of the first joint-stock companies, and the employment of the first machine equipment. Polish intellectual pursuit and reasoning received fresh impetus when the Age of Reason was finally accepted. The King promoted the political theories of such men as Edmund Burke and George Washington, while the educated Poles advanced the political theories of Montesquieu and Rousseau. But whatever the theory, the concept of modern democracy, including all ranks and classes of society, quickly became established in Poland. The first governmental department for public education in Europe was established in conjunction with the appointment of an education commission in Poland in 1773. Its task was the reorganization of the universities of Cracow and Wilno, as well as the supervision of approximately 80 gymnasiums. The printing of books and the publication of magazines and journals also flourished.

*The Constitution of May 3, 1791.* The first codified constitution in Europe since antiquity and the second in

Population growth

Intervention by Catherine the Great of Russia

Prussian control of foreign trade

Improvements in education



The partitions of Poland, 1772-95.

Prussian control of foreign trade

Improvements in education

the world after the United States, the new Polish constitution passed by the "Four Years Sejm" embodied the following ideas: first, the precept of a "people's sovereignty," which included the nobility as well as the metropolitan bourgeoisie; second, the constitutional separation of powers between the executive, legislature, and judiciary; and third, the responsibility of the cabinet to parliament. The liberum veto and all the obstructive machinery of the anomalous old system were abolished. According to its own rules, this constitution had to be revised after 25 years at the latest. But Catherine II considered such a constitution dangerous to the existence and continuation of her own autocratic governmental system; she therefore ordered her troops to invade Poland in 1792, and the reforms were destroyed by force.

*The Second and Third Partitions.* The Russo-Prussian treaty of 1793 (the Second Partition) placed almost all the Red Ruthenian and White Ruthenian lands under Russian rule, while Prussia received Gdańsk, Toruń, Great Poland, and part of Mazovia. The reaction was inevitable, and in 1794 a general popular insurrection broke out under the leadership of Tadeusz Kościuszko against this latest Russo-Prussian humiliation. Kościuszko achieved a partial liberation of the peasant class and began a general armament of the people, mobilizing more than 150,000 men. At first the Polish forces were almost universally successful; but ultimately Kościuszko was defeated by the Russian troops under Aleksandr Suvorov at the Battle of Maciejowice, and Warsaw capitulated at the end of 1794. Now Russia and Austria—joined later also by Prussia—agreed to the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. Russia annexed the entire territory east of the Niemen and Bug rivers, Austria took almost all of

Little Poland, including Cracow, and Prussia received the remaining lands, including Warsaw. Stanisław II abdicated officially in 1795. For all official purposes, at least, this was the end of the Republic of Poland, which was eradicated from the map of Europe for the next 123 years.

### III. Poland under partition, 1795-1914

#### FOREIGN RULE AND THE DUCHY OF WARSAW, 1795-1815

*The Russian sector.* With the Third Partition of Poland in 1795, the largest part of the territory fell to Russia. Officially, Catherine II called these partitions a return of Russian territory, even though such a claim dated back 450 years. Proclaiming the unity of all Russians, the largest part of the Uniate Church returned to the fold of the Eastern Orthodox faith. In spite of this, the Polish constitution and culture remained fairly unaffected at first in these "Russian" parts, where at least 1,800,000 Poles, including over 640,000 nobles, still held positions of influence. Because Russia's level of civilization was still extremely low under the reign of the tsars Paul I (1796-1801) and Alexander I (1801-25), the government was unable to administer the area without Polish help. The land had been divided into eight governmental units in 1801; and since the Poles retained basic administrative control, the municipal rights, control of the Polish county courts and of the Polish Sejm remained in force for a number of years (1796-1831). An added factor was that this region had the highest standard of civilization, culture, and education within the realm of the Russian Empire—with the exception of the Baltic Sea provinces—and the fundamental principles of the Russian educational system were based on the essential features of the Polish educational institutions of this region.

Bob

FINAL

REMARKS: TOAST AT THE STATE DINNER IN POLAND  
RADZIWILL PALACE, WARSAW  
MONDAY, JULY 10, 1989, 7:55 P.M.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MEMBERS OF THE  
POLISH DELEGATION -- THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY  
TONIGHT, AND THROUGHOUT OUR STAY. WE ARE VERY PLEASED  
AND HONORED TO BE HERE.

- 2 -

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A SPECIAL AND ENDURING  
INTEREST IN POLAND. AND IN RECENT MONTHS WE HAVE  
WATCHED REMARKABLE EVENTS UNFOLD HERE.

AND SO THIS IS NOT AN ORDINARY VISIT -- FOR IN  
POLAND THESE ARE NOT ORDINARY TIMES.

WHEN I WAS LAST HERE, ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO, OUR  
RELATIONS HAD JUST EMERGED FROM A LONG, CHILLY PERIOD.

BUT WE HAVE MADE GREAT PROGRESS, AND COVERED MANY ISSUES -- CULTURAL, COMMERCIAL, CONSULAR, SCIENTIFIC, COMMUNICATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS AND OTHERS.

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THERE ARE NEITHER EASY ANSWERS, NOR COST-FREE SOLUTIONS. BUT THERE IS A SOUND BASIS FOR HOPE. AND TODAY, YOU HAVE THE GOODWILL OF AN EXPECTANT AND HOPEFUL WORLD.

WE SEE HOPE, NOT ONLY FOR A NEW BEGINNING IN POLAND BUT FOR THE BEGINNING OF EUROPE'S RECONCILIATION, FOR MAKING EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE AND AT PEACE WITH ITSELF.

WE WANT POLAND TO SUCCEED IN THIS HISTORIC EFFORT. AND WE HAVE OUTLINED FOR YOU WAYS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN HELP POLAND HELP ITSELF. BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF WORK TO DO.

OUR HEARTS -- AS ALWAYS -- WILL BE FILLED WITH THE ABIDING COMMITMENT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FEEL FOR THIS LAND AND HER PEOPLE.

YOU KNOW, OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS WE HAVE CELEBRATED THE 200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION. AND YET, NOT EVERY AMERICAN KNOWS THAT A SHORT TIME LATER -- THE WORLD'S SECOND WRITTEN CONSTITUTION WAS ADOPTED BY THE POLISH PARLIAMENT.

AND TODAY, I BELIEVE THE SPIRIT THAT PRODUCED THE 3RD MAY CONSTITUTION LIVES ON IN WARSAW, IN KRAKOW (KRA-KOV), IN GDANSK.

AND MY WISH FOR YOU IS THAT TWO YEARS FROM NOW, ON THE BICENTENNIAL OF YOUR CONSTITUTION, THE POLISH PEOPLE WILL HAVE ACHIEVED THE KIND OF POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION SO LONG AWAITED, SO LONG DEFERRED.

- 9 -

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. PRIME MINISTER -- LET US LIFT OUR  
GLASSES TO THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN RELATIONS --  
AND TO OUR DETERMINATION TO PROCEED TOWARD THE BETTER  
DAYS AND GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS STILL TO COME.

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