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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in KWIC format.

The Associated Press

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April 8, 1987, Wednesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 888 words

HEADLINE: Polish College Is Closing; Low on Money, Students

BYLINE: By BOB DVORCHAK, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: CAMBRIDGE SPRINGS, Pa.

KEYWORD: Alliance Broken

BODY:

... Alliance has a 37-member Polish dance troupe called Kujawiaki, which has performed at the White House and in Warsaw.

Honorary doctorates were given to Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and the late Liberace. The faculty has names such as Matejczyk, Zbrzezni and Mieszczak.

Degrees were granted ...

Imprisoned Polish Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa was honored in absentia as a "symbol of the longing of the Polish people for freedom" at Providence College commencement in Rhode Island.

PAGE 6

Proprietary to the United Press International, May 22, 1982

An empty chair on the stage of the cavernous Providence Civic Center symbolized Walesa's jailing since December.

"You are an electrician whose light cannot be obscured by the darkness of despotism. You are a free man whose spirit cannot be confined," read the honorary doctor of laws degree bestowed upon Walesa.

"As the interned symbol of the longing of the Polish people for freedom, you are in the hearts of free people everywhere.

"Providence college is privileged to honor you. For yours is a life that exemplifies honor's true meaning. Loyal to God, loyal the finest and best in our humanity, you remind us of what it means to walk the earth as the sons and daughters of the living God."

Rev. George C. Higgins, a longtime social activist and parttime professor at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., expressed optimism for the illegal Polish labor union in his commencement address.

"Solidarity will emerge, Phoenix-like, from the current Polish crisis and will again become what it miraculously started out to be - the most significant social movement of its kind in recent hisotry and perhaps the most significant workers' movement since the beginning of the industrial revolution," Higgins said. CBS newsmen Mike Wallace at the University of Pennsylvania told the graduates they "are about as sensitive, as pure probably, as you will ever be in your life."

"Your minds are open," he said.

But he warned students that their decisions in the future would "narrow, not broaden your vision of life."

"Your intellectual arteries, you will find, will begin to harden. Your emotional arteries, too."

Among parents in cheering sections during the graduation season, it would be hard to imagine any prouder than Charles and Lois Branche of Washington, D.C.

Seated among the 106 members of Howard Univesity's graduating medical class were not one, but two Branches -- a son and daughter -- the first physicians in the family's history.

Robert Freeman Branche, 21, and his sister, Cheryl Louise Branche, 23, earned the bachelor and medical degrees in just six years -- instead of the normal seven.

"Our parents," said Robert, "simply asked us, 'Why not be excellent?'"

29TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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March 19, 1982, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 180 words

HEADLINE: Names in the News

DATELINE: JACKSONVILLE, Ill.

217-245-6151

KEYWORD: Names

BODY:

Lech Walesa, the labor leader detained by the Polish government since martial law was declared in Poland late last year, will be given an honorary degree by MacMurray College.

The leader of the independent Solidarity labor movement was chosen as one of five honorary degree winners by the small, private college.

Walesa was awarded the degree because his fight against oppression is in harmony with the school's liberal arts philosophy, college spokesman Jim Murphy said Thursday.

"As a recognized champion of individual rights and freedoms, you have attracted the attention of others around the world who also champion these precepts," college officials wrote to Walesa last week, inviting him to Jacksonville for ceremonies May 23.

With help from state and federal lawmakers, and the Chicago-based Polish National Alliance, Murphy said the college hopes Walesa will hear of the award and be able to accept it himself.

The college will ask a member of the labor leader's family or an American human rights advocate to accept the award if Walesa can't come to Jacksonville.

GRAPHIC: Laserphoto NY14

The Associated Press

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September 6, 1982, Monday, AM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 560 words

HEADLINE: Polish college preserves cultural heritage

DATELINE: CAMBRIDGE SPRINGS, Pa.

KEYWORD: Polish College

Services of Mead Data Central

BODY:

Fall classes begin Tuesday at Alliance College, a school of 300 students created to preserve Polish culture that survives after 70 years because of "that indomitable Polish drill."

"The founding fathers wanted an institution where their children could not only get a good education for a career or profession, but also get a flavor of Polish customs, traditions and values," said school president Casimir Kowalski.

"Out of the 3,300 institutions of higher learning in the U.S., we are the only non-sectarian college around carrying on the culture of a specific ethnic group," said the Polish-born Kowalski.

"There are a lot of religious colleges or denominational and church-related colleges, but none of any ethnic origin such as Alliance," he added in a telephone interview.

"All ethnic groups are returning back to a pride in their roots, but I think that's especially true of the Polish people because of national and international circumstances," said Kowalski.

"The election of Pope John Paul II, for example, has meant a tremendous re-awakening, a resurgence in our ethnic program," he added. "The foundation of that will never be lost."

Alliance opened as a technical school for 326 male students on Sept. 7, 1912, nine years after the Polish National Alliance began collecting contributions to build it. President William Howard Taft dedicated the school on Oct. 26.

Classes originally were held in the Rider Hotel in this northwestern Pennsylvania community, and the first degrees were conferred by Ignace Paderewski, the Polish statesman and composer.

In 1931, the school rebuilt after the building burned to the ground. Today, about 300 male and female students have 10 buildings on a 193-acre campus, with landscaping that includes 150 varieties of trees from Poland.

The Associated Press, September 6, 1982

The college, which became co-educational in 1948 and was accredited four years later, is noted for its liberal arts program and a Polish studies program rivaled only by Yale University.

Its library has an unmatched collection of Polish volumes and research books. In addition, the college has a folk dance troupe that tours the country, and it sponsors a Krakow festival every spring. At the commencement dance, the music is mostly polkas and mazurkas.

A formal celebration paying tribute to Alliance College will be held Nov. 13 in Philadelphia and will include a meeting of the Polish National Alliance at the Hall of Congress and a broadcast to Radio Free Europe.

At a banquet, there will be 10 empty chairs at one table in honor of Solidarity, the now-outlawed Polish labor movement, and its captive leader Lech Walesa, who was accorded an honorary doctorate degree in absentia last year by Alliance.

"The word struggle is dominant in Alliance history. It reflects the history of the Polish people, who have been struggling for their freedom for hundreds of centuries," said Hilary Czaplicki, chairman of the board of trustees.

About 14 million to 16 million people of Polish heritage live in the United States, Czaplicki said.

"We've been in a 70-year struggle as a small institution. We don't have a rich benefactor or corporation. The school was founded through the nickles and dimes of immigrants of meager means," said Czaplicki, a 1949 graduate.

"It takes that indomitable Polish grit to stick with the poor kid on the educational block," he added.

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23RD STORY of Level 1 printed in VAR KWIC format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1982

May 15, 1982, Saturday, BC cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 2168 words

HEADLINE: Commencement 1982 arrives on nation's campuses

BYLINE: By PATRICIA MCCORMACK, UPI Education Editor

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BODY:

... transitory; and when western nations begin to emerge from the recession, demand will pick up.

'However, we will still be in OPEC's political and economic grip until we become reasonably self-sufficient in satisfying our energy needs.'

In Springvale, Maine, an honorary degree for Lech Walesa, the imprisoned Polish labor leader, was awarded to a fellow countryman at commencement exercises at Nason College.

Jakub Karpinski, a refugee from Poland who now teaches at the State University of New York at Albany, accepted the ...

207-324-5340

207-457-1458

Robert
Stone

3RD STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1982

May 7, 1982, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: Domestic News

LENGTH: 124 words

HEADLINE: QUOTE OF THE DAY

BYLINE: By JOAN HANAUER, United Press International

KEYWORD: Peopletalk

BODY:

Lech Walesa, leader of Poland's Solidarity labor union, will get an honorary doctor of laws degree in absentia from Rhode Island's Providence College. An empty chair will symbolize his plight. The degree will be accepted May 17 by Romuald Spasowski, former Polish ambassador to the United States, who defected after martial law was imposed last December. Dr. Rodney Delasanta, English professor and commencement committee chairman, called the Poles "two powerful symbols of the condition of Western man in the 20th century," and added: "Lech Walesa is a worker in prison. Spasowski is an intellectual in exile. Both represent the common effort of the Polish people to defend traditional Western values against the new barbarianism."

BYLINE: CATHLEEN MCGUIGAN

BODY:

Danuta Walesa had begged the Polish authorities to allow her husband to attend their daughter's christening, but her pleas were met with silence. "I am in despair. These people are not humans, these are devils," she said. Lech Walesa, interned in a Warsaw suburb since martial law was declared Dec. 13, has never seen his twomonth-old baby. So Maria Wiktoria, his seventh child, was baptized in a humble wooden church on the outskirts of Gdansk, with an empty chair placed near the altar to symbolize her father's absence. Outside the packed church, 6,000 people listened to the ritual on loudspeakers, and when it was over they broke into chants: "Solidarity! Solidarity! Give us Lech back!"

GRAPHIC: Picture, Danuta, baby Maria: Lech's empty chair

Newsweek

4-5-82

PAGE 3
Proprietary to the United Press International, June 5, 1982

At some commencements, speakers called for more spending for human needs and less for the military. Jobs seemed much on graduates' minds, as evidenced from the letters j-o-b painted or pinned on mortarboards. Many speakers pointed out some graduates may face the pain of unemployment.

Feminists, including Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, beat the drums for the Equal Rights Amendment - whose time for ratification runs out the end of June.

Her plea came in a speech at Chatham College in Pittsburgh, Pa.

As commencement, 1982, moved into its fourth week, the lightest touch of all continued to be the mortarboard top. In fact, it became the medium for many messages -- greetings to loved ones, sighs of relief, pleas for jobs.

The softest touch -- seen in the commencement at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y.: a long-stemmed red rose atop one mortarboard.

Lech Walesa has become the commencement season's most honored man-who-wasn't-there. An empty chair on the platform or stage at a commencement came to mean the Polish Solidarity leader was getting another honorary degree in absentia.

One honorary degree for Walesa was presented at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Mass. Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, accepted the award honoring Walesa.

Walesa came to prominence as leader of the now-banned Polish labor organization Solidarity during strikes at the Gdansk shipyards in 1980. He has been interned by the Polish government since martial law was declared last December.

In conferring the degree, Rev. John E. Brooks, S.J.

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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May 20, 1984, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

SECTION: Section 1; Part 1; Page 36, Column 3; Metropolitan Desk

LENGTH: 970 words

HEADLINE: FORDHAM GRADUATION HONORS WALESA IN ABSENTIA

BYLINE: By ERIC PACE

BODY:

Lech Walesa, the founder of the Polish union Solidarity, declared in a letter made public at Fordham University's graduation ceremonies yesterday that the Polish people could not "forsake their dialogue" with the Warsaw regime "without risking confrontation."

The president of Fordham, the Rev. James C. Finlay, received the letter last week and read it in awarding Mr. Walesa an honorary degree in absentia.

Eight thousand students, faculty members and other onlookers at the university's Rose Hill campus in the Bronx applauded and cheered during a 30-second standing ovation after it was announced that Mr. Walesa was being awarded the degree.

The Polish labor leader was given the honorary Doctor of Laws degree in absentia because he had informed the university that he could not attend in person.

Two Letters From Poland

Fordham officials said Mr. Walesa had sent Father Finlay two letters - one saying he could not attend the graduation and the other providing the message read at the ceremonies.

In the first letter, Mr. Walesa wrote without elaborating that he could not go to the ceremonies because "political considerations make it impossible for me to leave Poland presently."

Father Finlay, standing on the terrace of Keating Hall, read the second letter from Mr. Walesa, who was in Gdansk, according to university officials.

"I regard the doctorate which I have the privilege of receiving," the letter said, "as due not so much to my personal merits but rather as a gesture of support for the ideals of Solidarity and its peaceful struggle on behalf of mankind's right to a better life, an aspiration shared by many peoples. I hope that they, too - all those anonymous fighters who defend these ideals - may one day receive their reward."

An 'Inconspicuous' Fight

Mr. Walesa's letter, which was addressed to the university's president and faculty as well as others attending the graduation ceremonies, went on to say:

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June 26, 1963

I AM proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.

Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was "*civis Romanus sum*." Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "*Ich bin ein Berliner*."

I appreciate my interpreter translating my German!

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are

some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. *Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen*. Let them come to Berlin.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your

John F. Kennedy, 1963

June 26 [270]

Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

What is true of this city is true of Germany—real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you, as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the

day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.

Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "*Ich bin ein Berliner*."

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. from a platform erected on the steps of the Schöneberger Rathaus, West Berlin's city hall, where he signed the Golden Book and remained for lunch. In his opening remarks he referred to Mayor Willy Brandt, Chancellor Adenauer, and Gen. Lucius D. Clay.

Remarks on East-West Relations at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin

June 12, 1987

Thank you very much. Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the city hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer, Paul Lincke, understood something about American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: "*Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin.*" [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the good will of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I

join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: *Es gibt nur ein Berlin.* [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guardtowers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed guards and checkpoints all the same—still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsäcker has said: "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of

triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State—as you've been told—George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium—virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the *Wirtschaftswunder*. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty—that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany—busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of park land. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance—food, clothing, automobiles—the wonderful goods of the *Ku'damm*. From

devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But, my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on—*Berliner herz, Berliner humor, ja, und Berliner schnauze*. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner *schnauze*.] [Laughter]

In the 1950's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace.

There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

I understand the fear of war and the pain

of division that afflict this continent—and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides. Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counterdeployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counterdeployment, there were difficult days—days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city—and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then—I invite those who protest today—to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative—research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the

world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place—a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete. Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world.

And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world. To open Berlin still further to

all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation. There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain, will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you many have noted that the Republic of Korea—South Korea—has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats—the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life—not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud

city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love—love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the Sun strikes that sphere—that sphere that towers over all Berlin—the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner, "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. at the Brandenburg Gate.

WESTMINSTER COLLEGE
Fulton, Missouri
October 18, 1988

I have come here to talk about peace and foreign policy. But I also came here to draw strength -- strength from you, the youth of America. And strength from the two men whose names will always be known: Winston Churchill and Harry Truman. Those two men offer a very personal lesson for me. They knew the ups and downs of political life like few others. They knew that public opinion polls can be misleading. They knew that no vote can be taken for granted. And above all, they knew that no election was over until it was really over.

Two years ago, I had the privilege of speaking to you on the 40th anniversary of Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain speech. And today I am deeply honored to be here again at this historic place -- historic not only because Winston Churchill spoke here but also because of St. Mary's church, transplanted from London to grace your campus. This church was designed centuries ago by Christopher Wren, one of the supreme architects of Western civilization. It withstood the Nazi blitz of London in World War II. It's a monument to faith -- to our faith in God, and to our faith in ourselves, and to our ability to rise to the challenge, no matter how bleak the prospect, no matter how difficult the circumstances.

That was the faith of Winston Churchill and you can feel his spirit in this place. But there's another spirit here, too. It is our spirit, the spirit of America -- our faith in God, our willingness to stand for freedom, our commitment to defend freedom beyond our shores.

When Churchill came here in 1946, to deliver his famous commencement address, he came seeking that spirit. And he found it.

Here in America's heartland, he was introduced by America's President from the heartland, Harry Truman. It was a cold March day. Winter was still upon the land. And Churchill had a cold message to deliver, as cold as the truth itself.

Here stood Winston Churchill, the man who had risked his political career by opposing the Munich sell-out, who had risen from political oblivion to lead his country in its hour of mortal peril. Now after a victorious war, Churchill was compelled to state the truth once more. Freedom was again in danger. Peace was again in danger. The burst of sunlight brought upon the world by the victory over Hitler was being overshadowed by the dark cloud of Soviet ambition. As Churchill put it, in his most famous line, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." It was an iron curtain that had already shut out the light of freedom and progress from the historic capitals of Eastern and central Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia. These great cities rooted in a thousand years of Western civilization, rescued from Hitler, were now dominated by Stalin. And Churchill saw signs of Soviet aggression and expansion elsewhere in Europe and on other continents.

So he came, in Truman's company, to state the truth; to describe the danger but also to provide a way to overcome it. "The safety of the world," he said, "requires a new unity in Europe." "Twice", he noted, "the United States has had to send millions of its own men across the Atlantic to fight a war." Only through the strength of democratic unity he argued, could a new war be prevented and the hopes of a lasting peace be revived. That was because, as he observed, "From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness."

And, I might add, so it continues to be.

Though his was a message of hope for the future, not many people wanted to hear Winston Churchill. We were demobilizing. We wanted nothing more than to get on with our lives, just as you want to get on with yours. To strike out in new directions. To enjoy that sunlight we had fought so hard and sacrificed so much to achieve. Churchill was criticized, disavowed by many here and abroad.

But Churchill was right.

Now, four decades later, he has been vindicated. We and our allies did not prevent the iron curtain from shutting out the light to the East. But we did secure peace and freedom for the West. And we broadened it, took it beyond Europe to Asia and other regions. It wasn't easy. There were mistakes and setbacks. But when we kept to Churchill's advice of peace through strength, the strength of democratic unity, we succeeded.

My generation has lived in the shadows of war -- World War and Cold War. We have lived our lives partly in the sunlight but always in the shadow of struggle, of rivalry with the Soviet Union. That struggle, that rivalry, is not yet over. But I'll tell you this. Your generation has an opportunity to emerge from that shadow, and finally to enjoy the sunlight without fear.

The Iron Curtain still stretches from Stettin to Trieste. But it's a rusting curtain. Shafts of light from the Western side, our side, the free and prosperous side, are piercing the gloom of failure and despair on the other side. The Kremlin, which echoed once to the ominous footsteps of Stalin, now resounds to a denunciation of Stalinism. There is new hope of change. The truth is being sought as never before. The peoples of Eastern Europe, the peoples of the Soviet Union itself, are demanding more freedom, demanding their place in the sun.

Now there are some who see this situation and conclude that Moscow is too weak, too weak to make any trouble. I've spoken with Mr. Gorbachev. I know some of his advisors. They do face a serious situation. The people they rule want to know why they lack bread, why they lack freedom. Why life expectancy has decreased. Why public services and consumer goods are so poor and in such short supply. So seventy years after the Russian Revolution, Marxism is losing its luster.

It would be far too simple, even dangerous, to conclude, however, that Soviet foreign policy is driven exclusively by economic weakness. Russia was a great power before the Revolution and the Soviet Union is a military superpower today. In Europe and in other parts of the world, we have yet to see the full promise of Soviet change turn into change itself. Where we have seen flexibility, it has come because the price of aggression was too high -- because we supported the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan. It has come because intimidation failed -- because we deployed the Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe. Now the Soviet Army is leaving Afghanistan. We have an INF Treaty, eliminating an entire generation of nuclear missiles for the first time.

The evidence is clear. The facts are in. Now is not the time to abandon realism about what moves the Soviet Union. Yes, the Soviets are restrained by their own troubles. But they are also restrained by our strength, our ability to deter aggression, the unity of the democracies. To abandon that, to turn away from that path, is to invite trouble.

Abandoning the policy of peace through strength in the hopes of self-induced Soviet restraint means also to miss a crucial opportunity. It is an opportunity that Churchill described, when he called for a united West to use its strength to reach "a good understanding on all points with Moscow."

That is what our agenda is all about. We are using our strength, we and our allies, to make progress on many fronts. We're already carrying out the INF treaty. A few weeks ago, in Marshall, Texas, I witnessed an historic moment as two of those INF weapons were destroyed. I was proud --

proud of NATO's unity and determination -- proud of our strength and of our courage in reaching such an agreement. Now we'll seek a further reduction of strategic weapons. Working with our allies, we'll seek a balance of conventional arms in Europe, a balance based on asymmetrical Soviet reductions in tanks and artillery -- the weapons that make an attack thinkable. Conventional arms reduction will be a high priority for me and it is vital for keeping the peace. It is time to redouble our efforts to safeguard against the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to seek the ultimate ban on chemical and biological weapons. We'll also seek human rights, the ultimate guarantor of a peaceful world.

So the hope of progress is there. The respect for America and for our allies is growing. And with Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Shevardnadze, tough though they may be, there is a new and more enlightened generation of Soviet leaders in the Kremlin -- much better able to communicate with the west, more committed to openness and internal reform.

This offers promise, but in no way should lessen our commitment to peace through strength -- a policy we must continue.

This objective of a more stable and less tense relationship with the Soviet Union is part of a larger vision of a free world at peace -- a vision that beckons to your generation in a way that could only be a gleam in the farseeing eye of a Churchill. It's our challenge as Americans to help bring it about. A growing concert of nations awaits our leadership to make it happen. And this above all I believe -- America can do it!

On that great commencement day in 1946, when Winston Churchill spoke, our President, Harry Truman, was also awarded an honorary degree. He responded that he hoped to deserve it. He said he wanted to deserve it. And then he said, "We are either headed for complete destruction or we are facing the greatest age in history."

Like Harry Truman, I believe we are facing the greatest age in history, the greatest time for America. You, the youth of America, our future, have a vital role to play to see that we follow through. I know we can achieve that great age for all Americans, and with your help, I will be the next President of the United States.

May 31 / Administration of George Bush, 1989

ment. In his opening remarks, he referred to Vernon A. Walters, U.S. Ambassador to West Germany. In his closing remarks, the President referred to Harold W. Geisel, administrative officer to the U.S. Embassy in Bonn; Secretary of State James A. Baker III; and West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks to Citizens in Mainz, West Germany

May 31, 1989

Thank you, Chancellor Kohl. At the outset, let me tell you that—lest you think that he has forgotten his home state because he is the Chancellor of the Federal Republic—I will only tell you that in the last 24 hours Chancellor Kohl has been convincing me that when I came to this State and to Mainz, I would be coming to heaven. [Laughter] And having gotten here, I think he may just about be right, I'll tell you. Thank you all very much.

Dr. Wagner and Lord Mayor, distinguished hosts, I want to also thank these two bands, West German and American, for that stirring music. And Chancellor Kohl, I especially want to thank you again for inviting me to this beautiful and ancient city on my first Presidential trip to the Republic of Germany—the Federal Republic. And Herr Kohl and I have concluded now our deliberations at the NATO summit in Brussels, an excellent start to our working partnership as Chancellor and President.

And here in Mainz, by the banks of the Rhine, it's often said that this heartland of mountain vineyards and villages embodies the very soul of Germany. So, Mainz provides a fitting forum for an American President to address the German people. Today I come to speak not just of our mutual defense but of our shared values. I come to speak not just of the matters of the mind but of the deeper aspirations of the heart. Just this morning, Barbara and I were charmed with the experiences we had. I

met with a small group of German students, bright young men and women who studied in the United States. Their knowledge of our country and the world was impressive, to say the least. But sadly, too many in the West, Americans and Europeans alike, seem to have forgotten the lessons of our common heritage and how the world we know came to be. And that should not be, and that cannot be. We must recall that the generation coming into its own in America and Western Europe is heir to gifts greater than those bestowed to any generation in history: peace, freedom, and prosperity. This inheritance is possible because 40 years ago the nations of the West joined in that noble, common cause called NATO [North Atlantic Treaty Organization]. And first, there was the vision, the concept of free peoples in North America and Europe working to protect their values. And second, there was the practical sharing of risks and burdens, and a realistic recognition of Soviet expansionism. And finally, there was the determination to look beyond old animosities. The NATO alliance did nothing less than provide a way for Western Europe to heal centuries-old rivalries, to begin an era of reconciliation and restoration. It has been, in fact, a second Renaissance of Europe.

As you know best, this is not just the 40th birthday of the alliance, it's also the 40th birthday of the Federal Republic: a republic born in hope, tempered by challenge. And at the height of the Berlin crisis in 1948, Ernst Reuter called on Germans to stand firm and confident, and you did—courageously, magnificently.

And the historic genius of the German people has flourished in this age of peace, and your nation has become a leader in technology and the fourth largest economy on Earth. But more important, you have inspired the world by forcefully promoting the principles of human rights, democracy, and freedom. The United States and the Federal Republic have always been firm friends and allies, but today we share an added role: partners in leadership.

Of course, leadership has a constant companion: responsibility. And our responsibility is to look ahead and grasp the promise

of the future. I said recently that we're at the end of one era and at the beginning of another. And I noted that in regard to the Soviet Union, our policy is to move beyond containment. For 40 years, the seeds of democracy in Eastern Europe lay dormant, buried under the frozen tundra of the Cold War. And for 40 years, the world has waited for the Cold War to end. And decade after decade, time after time, the flowering human spirit withered from the chill of conflict and oppression. And again, the world waited. But the passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. The world has waited long enough. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free.

To the founders of the alliance, this aspiration was a distant dream, and now it's the new mission of NATO. If ancient rivals like Britain and France, or France and Germany, can reconcile, then why not the nations of the East and West? In the East, brave men and women are showing us the way. Look at Poland, where Solidarity, Solidarność, and the Catholic Church have won legal status. The forces of freedom are putting the Soviet status quo on the defensive. And in the West, we have succeeded because we've been faithful to our values and our vision. And on the other side of the rusting Iron Curtain, their vision failed.

The Cold War began with the division of Europe. It can only end when Europe is whole. Today it is this very concept of a divided Europe that is under siege. And that's why our hopes run especially high, because the division of Europe is under siege not by armies but by the spread of ideas that began here, right here. It was a son of Mainz, Johannes Gutenberg, who liberated the mind of man through the power of the printed word. And that same liberating power is unleashed today in a hundred new forms. The Voice of America, Deutsche Welle allow us to enlighten millions deep within Eastern Europe and throughout the world. Television satellites allow us to bear witness from the shipyards of Gdansk to Tiananmen Square. But the momentum for freedom does not just come from the printed word or the transistor or the television screen; it comes from a single powerful idea: democracy.

This one idea is sweeping across Eurasia. This one idea is why the Communist world,

from Budapest to Beijing, is in ferment. Of course, for the leaders of the East, it's not just freedom for freedom's sake. But whatever their motivation, they are unleashing a force they will find difficult to channel or control: the hunger for liberty of oppressed peoples who've tasted freedom.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Eastern Europe, the birthplace of the Cold War. In Poland, at the end of World War II, the Soviet Army prevented the free elections promised by Stalin at Yalta. And today Poles are taking the first steps toward real election, so long promised, so long deferred. And in Hungary, at last we see a chance for multiparty competition at the ballot box.

As President, I will continue to do all I can to help open the closed societies of the East. We seek self-determination for all of Germany and all of Eastern Europe. And we will not relax, and we must not waver. Again, the world has waited long enough.

But democracy's journey East is not easy. Intellectuals like the great Czech playwright Vaclav Havel still work under the shadow of coercion. And repression still menaces too many peoples of Eastern Europe. Barriers and barbed wire still fence in nations. So, when I visit Poland and Hungary this summer, I will deliver this message: There cannot be a common European home until all within it are free to move from room to room. And I'll take another message: The path of freedom leads to a larger home, a home where West meets East, a democratic home, the commonwealth of free nations.

And I said that positive steps by the Soviets would be met by steps of our own. And this is why I announced on May 12th a readiness to consider granting to the Soviets temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik trade restrictions if they liberalize emigration. And this is also why I announced on Monday that the United States is prepared to drop the "no exceptions" standard that has guided our approach to controlling the export of technology to the Soviet Union, lifting a sanction enacted in response to their invasion of Afghanistan.

And in this same spirit, I set forth four proposals to heal Europe's tragic division, to help Europe become whole and free.

First, I propose we strengthen and broaden the Helsinki process to promote free elections and political pluralism in Eastern Europe. As the forces of freedom and democracy rise in the East, so should our expectations. And weaving together the slender threads of freedom in the East will require much from the Western democracies.

In particular, the great political parties of the West must assume an historic responsibility to lend counsel and support to those brave men and women who are trying to form the first truly representative political parties in the East, to advance freedom and democracy, to part the Iron Curtain.

In fact, it's already begun to part. The frontier of barbed wire and minefields between Hungary and Austria is being removed, foot by foot, mile by mile. Just as the barriers are coming down in Hungary, so must they fall throughout all of Eastern Europe. Let Berlin be next. Let Berlin be next! Nowhere is the division between East and West seen more clearly than in Berlin. And there this brutal wall cuts neighbor from neighbor, brother from brother. And that wall stands as a monument to the failure of communism. It must come down.

Now, *glasnost* may be a Russian word, but "openness" is a Western concept. West Berlin has always enjoyed the openness of a free city, and our proposal would make all Berlin a center of commerce between East and West, a place of cooperation, not a point of confrontation. And we rededicate ourselves to the 1987 allied initiative to strengthen freedom and security in that divided city. And this, then, is my second proposal: Bring *glasnost* to East Berlin.

My generation remembers a Europe ravaged by war. And of course, Europe has long since rebuilt its proud cities and restored its majestic cathedrals. But what a tragedy it would be if your continent was again spoiled, this time by a more subtle and insidious danger—Chancellor referred to—that of poisoned rivers and acid rain. America's faced an environmental tragedy in Alaska. Countries from France to Finland suffered after Chernobyl. West Germany is struggling to save the Black Forest today. And throughout, we have all learned a terrible lesson: Environmental destruction respects no borders.

So, my third proposal is to work together on these environmental problems, with the United States and Western Europe extending a hand to the East. Since much remains to be done in both East and West, we ask Eastern Europe to join us in this common struggle. We can offer technical training, and assistance in drafting laws and regulations, and new technologies for tackling these awesome problems. And I invite the environmentalists and engineers of the East to visit the West, to share knowledge so we can succeed in this great cause.

My fourth proposal, actually a set of proposals, concerns a less militarized Europe, the most heavily armed continent in the world. Nowhere is this more important than in the two Germanys. And that's why our quest to safely reduce armament has a special significance for the German people.

To those who are impatient with our measured pace in arms reductions, I respectfully suggest that history teaches us a lesson: that unity and strength are the catalyst and prerequisite to arms control. We've always believed that a strong Western defense is the best road to peace. Forty years of experience have proven us right. But we've done more than just keep the peace. By standing together, we have convinced the Soviets that their arms buildup has been costly and pointless. Let us not give them incentives to return to the policies of the past. Let us give them every reason to abandon the arms race for the sake of the human race.

In this era of both negotiation and armed camps, America understands that West Germany bears a special burden. Of course, in this nuclear age, every nation is on the front line, but not all free nations are called to endure the tension of regular military activity or the constant presence of foreign military forces. We are sensitive to these special conditions that this needed presence imposes.

To significantly ease the burden of armed camps in Europe, we must be aggressive in our pursuit of solid, verifiable agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. On Monday, with my NATO colleagues in Brussels, I shared my great hope for the future of conventional arms negotiations in Europe. I shared with them a proposal for

achieving significant reductions in the near future.

And as you know, the Warsaw Pact has now accepted major elements of our Western approach to the new conventional arms negotiations in Vienna. The Eastern bloc acknowledges that a substantial imbalance exists between the conventional forces of the two alliances, and they've moved closer to NATO's position by accepting most elements of our initial conventional arms proposal. These encouraging steps have produced the opportunity for creative and decisive action, and we shall not let that opportunity pass.

Our proposal has several key initiatives. I propose that we lock in the Eastern agreement to Western-proposed ceilings on tanks and armored troop carriers. We should also seek an agreement on common numerical ceiling for artillery in the range between NATO's and that of the Warsaw Pact, provided these definitional problems can be solved. And the weapons we remove must be destroyed.

We should expand our current offer to include all land-based combat aircraft and helicopters by proposing that both sides reduce in these categories to a level 15 percent below the current NATO totals. Given the Warsaw Pact's advantage in numbers, the Pact would have to make far deeper reductions than NATO to establish parity at those lower levels. Again, the weapons we remove must be destroyed.

I propose a 20-percent cut in combat manpower in U.S.-stationed forces and a resulting ceiling on U.S. and Soviet ground and air forces stationed outside of national territory in the Atlantic-to-the-Urals zone at approximately 275,000 each. This reduction to parity, a fair and balanced level of strength, would compel the Soviets to reduce their 600,000-strong Red Army in Eastern Europe by 325,000. And these withdrawn forces must be demobilized.

And finally, I call on President Gorbachev to accelerate the timetable for reaching these agreements. There is no reason why the 5-to-6-year timetable as suggested by Moscow is necessary. I propose a much more ambitious schedule. And we should aim to reach an agreement within 6 months to a year and accomplish reductions by 1992, or 1993 at the latest.

In addition to my conventional arms proposals, I believe that we ought to strive to improve the openness with which we and the Soviets conduct our military activities. And therefore, I want to reiterate my support for greater transparency. I renew my proposal that the Soviet Union and its allies open their skies to reciprocal, unarmed aerial surveillance flights, conducted on short notice, to watch military activities. Satellites are a very important way to verify arms control agreements, but they do not provide constant coverage of the Soviet Union. An open skies policy would move both sides closer to a total continuity of coverage while symbolizing greater openness between East and West.

These are my proposals to achieve a less militarized Europe. A short time ago, they would have been too revolutionary to consider, and yet today we may well be on the verge of a more ambitious agreement in Europe than anyone considered possible.

But we're also challenged by developments outside of NATO's traditional areas of concern. Every Western nation still faces the global proliferation of lethal technologies, including ballistic missiles and chemical weapons. We must collectively control the spread of these growing threats. So, we should begin as soon as possible with a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

Growing political freedom in the East, a Berlin without barriers, a cleaner environment, a less militarized Europe—each is a noble goal, and taken together they are the foundation of our larger vision: a Europe that is free and at peace with itself. And so, let the Soviets know that our goal is not to undermine their legitimate security interests. Our goal is to convince them, step-by-step, that their definition of security is obsolete, that their deepest fears are unfounded.

When Western Europe takes its giant step in 1992, it will institutionalize what's been true for years: borders open to people, commerce, and ideas. No shadow of suspicion, no sinister fear is cast between you. The very prospect of war within the West is unthinkable to our citizens. But such a peaceful integration of nations into a world community does not mean that any nation must relinquish its culture, much less its sovereignty.

This process of integration, a subtle weaving of shared interests, which is so nearly complete in Western Europe, has now finally begun in the East. We want to help the nations of Eastern Europe realize what we, the nations of Western Europe, learned long ago: The foundation of lasting security comes not from tanks, troops, or barbed wire; it is built on shared values and agreements that link free peoples. The nations of Eastern Europe are rediscovering the glories of their national heritage. So, let the colors and hues of national culture return to these grey societies of the East. Let Europe forgo a peace of tension for a peace of trust, one in which the peoples of the East and West can rejoice, a continent that is diverse yet whole.

Forty years of Cold War have tested Western resolve and the strength of our values. NATO's first mission is now nearly complete. But if we are to fulfill our vision—our European vision—the challenges of the next 40 years will ask no less of us. Together, we shall answer the call. The world has waited long enough.

Thank you for inviting me to Mainz. May God bless you all. Long live the friendship between Germany and the United States. Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:16 p.m. in the Rheingoldhalle, an auditorium in Mainz. In his opening remarks, he referred to Dr. Carl-Ludwig Wagner, Minister-President of Rheinland-Pfalz, and Lord-Mayor Herman-Harmut Weyel.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session Following Discussions With Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London, United Kingdom

June 1, 1989

The President. Let me just thank the Prime Minister on behalf of our entire traveling squad. She and I talked in detail about a wide array of issues. I want to thank her, and I want to assert here that the special relationship that has existed between the United Kingdom and the United States is

continuing and will continue. And once again, Madam Prime Minister, my sincere thanks to you for a very encouraging and frank exchange that we had. It's only with friends that you can take off the gloves and talk from the heart. And I felt that I was with a friend today, and I can assure the people in the United Kingdom that, from our side of the Atlantic, this relationship is strong and will continue to be.

The Prime Minister. Thank you very much, Mr. President. Ladies and gentlemen, the President comes here after a very, very successful NATO summit due to the leadership of the United States under the Presidency of George Bush. We talked about the followup to these matters. We talked also about the very difficult situation in the Middle East. We talked about the situation in China. We talked about matters in South Africa. And we have talked about matters in the Argentine and in Central America.

And so, I think you'll agree we have covered an extremely wide range of subjects, and yet the morning has been too short. We spoke together for about an hour and three-quarters and then joined our foreign ministers and Mr. Scowcroft [Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs]. And they, too, had considered some of these matters and others. We then also talked about the problems in Cambodia and the problems with the Vietnamese boat people still going to Hong Kong.

So, you can see that we have compressed a great deal into the time. We think very much the same way, which isn't surprising. And we're absolutely delighted that we have in President Bush a President of the United States who is staunch and steadfast on everything which is of fundamental value to democracy, freedom, and justice—necessary to keep our country secure, and yet forever stretching out the hand of friendship with other nations across the European divide, trying to extend to the world some of the benefits which we enjoy, but take for granted.

We are in a period when, as the President has said in some of his most excellent speeches, it's the end of containment. It's freedom on the offensive—a peaceful offensive—throughout the world. I think they

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Edward McNalley to David Demarest, re: The "T" Word is Over. (4 pp.)	11/10/89	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Lech Walesa - Medal of Freedom 11/13/89 [2]

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 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

November 10, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: EDWARD McNALLY
SUBJECT: THE "T" WORD IS OVER

SUMMARY

Set forth below is a five-point plan for you to become the architect of the most popular presidency in modern history.

1. Go to Berlin this weekend.
2. Bump Monday's ceremony into a prime-time address to the nation, saluting L.W. as the spiritual godfather of the phenomenon sweeping Europe.
3. Go to Malta with a bold new proposal to start "bringing the troops home for Christmas" (symbolic numbers -- 10,000, 20,000...)
4. Follow with a Christmas Eve Address to the Nation from Camp David -- reflecting on this incredible year of change, the 50 years since WWII began, and our entering the final decade before the new Millennium.
5. Follow with a State of the Union Address that (without proposing any defense reductions) focuses on visionary proposals on space, the environment and the like -- proposals fitting what may be a new era.

DISCUSSION

1. GO TO BERLIN

The networks are treating this like the Second Coming. For us, this phenomenon could become the basis for a second term.

The East Germans are now saying that the "People Power" party atop the Berlin Wall will last through the weekend. The President should fly there Saturday-Sunday as he did to San Francisco -- with little fanfare, no speeches, and a lean traveling party.

— MORE —

The President should go to the Wall and welcome the East Germans into the family of nations -- into every room of our common European house. He should tell the East Germans that they have nothing to fear, that we stand with them, and that, where we're able, we'd like to lend a hand.

"Historic opportunity" has been overused, and cheapened. But this is different. This is the real thing. History has offered this President a chance to place his stamp on an era -- not at the end of an era, after it's proven itself out -- but at the beginning, at the turning point. The hostage situation became a "CRISIS" in part because Carter declared it one. What's happening at the Wall probably is a turning point for the Cold War. And if we declare that it is, we may help the prophecy become self-fulfilling.

All the world believes that there is a parade afoot -- it is pulling out whether we join it or not. Let's get out in front and lead the parade.

Unlike San Francisco, we shouldn't wait a few days or a week until the situation sorts itself out. We don't need an advance team to tell us where the photo op there is.

Seize the day. What's to lose? If the Warsaw Pact ultimately responds with tanks, the American people -- and freedom-lovers around the world -- will only love the President more for having taken a bold and decisive stand early on. No one -- not in Congress, not in Europe, not in the networks -- has paid a political price for being too euphoric when things looked promising in China. And we Americans are an emotional people. We feel things. And although we don't like leaders who act hastily, we like it when our leaders can express their personal feelings about dramatic events in the same way that we are in our bars and barbershops and offices.

And, of course, if the Pact ultimately responds with tanks, that only makes America's cry of support more dramatic. The reason that the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981 -- and in China in 1989 -- was so dramatic was because of the euphoria that preceeded it.

2. MOVE MONDAY'S CEREMONY TO PRIME TIME (AND DECLARE THE COLD WAR OVER)

We've waited eight long, dark years for Lech Walesa to come to America. We've waited 30 long, dark years for the Berlin Wall to come down.

Now Walesa's movement, Solidarity, is re-born in a Poland that is swept by democratic changes, changes that have swept across the border and spilled over the Berlin Wall.

Coming as they do in the same week, Walesa's arrival and the bursting of the Wall are inexorably linked. They will be linked by the headlines and the commentators and the Congress and the people -- whether we choose to link them or not.

We should seize the double drama of the moment -- and make the Salute to Lech Walesa -- the spiritual godfather of democracy's re-birth in Eastern Europe -- an address to the nation on the startling developments of the past few days.

Yes, I realize that this is somewhat unorthodox, in a State Department, protocol sense. Some in the Kremlin may say the same of a block party atop the Berlin Wall.

But it would be highly flattering to Walesa -- a crowning moment for him -- and the Oval Office, "sitting-behind-the-desk" address to the nation is not a style embraced by this Administration in any event. The drama of the times, and of Walesa's arrival in America, would make for compelling, spectacular television.

Walesa becomes only the third private citizen to ever address a joint session of Congress. Lafayette fought a war of ideas -- a revolution -- and won. Churchill fought a war of ideas -- against fascism -- and won. And Walesa fought a war of ideas -- for democracy -- and won. And in precisely that sense -- the battlefield of ideas -- the President should declare Monday night that the Cold War is over.

(If we don't do it -- Walesa probably will when he goes before Congress later in the week. We should do it first -- and stamp the President's name on this new and startling era.)

— MORE —

3. CONCLUSION

In the prepared text for Monday's remarks, it's noted that: "The story of our times is the story of brave men and women who seized a moment -- who took a stand."

Carter was crushed by history. Nixon seized it -- with both China and the Soviet Union -- despite the drag of an unpopular war. And, of course, our greatest presidents were made by history -- Washington by a revolution, Lincoln by a rebellion.

Now for the 10th time in 10 months, the newscasters are reporting "reaction at the White House is muted."

As we approach the end of the first year, let's step up to the plate. They say the President is not a power hitter. They're wrong. With the year almost over, the bases are loaded. Let's point to our field. And hit one out of the park.

[[NOTE -- Dave -- The following pages include copies of some speeches that will add some perspective to all of this -- Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner," RR's "Tear down this Wall," and GB's speeches at Mainz and at Westminster College last year -- when he almost said the Cold War is over...]]

[[Tomorrow, I'll be transmitting some possible rhetoric that might work for Monday -- that takes proper credit for America's steadfast commitment to peace in Europe -- without the Berlin Airlift and three generations of U.S. and Allied soldiers having defended Berlin, there would be no West Berlin for the East Germans to cross over into...]]

PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM

The Presidential Medal of Freedom as it now exists was established by Executive Order 11085 of February 22, 1963, as amended by E.O. 11515 of March 13, 1970. It is the highest civil award of our Government. It may be awarded only by the President of the United States to persons who have made especially meritorious contributions to the security or national interests of the United States, to world peace, or to cultural or other significant public or private endeavors. The Medal may be awarded to citizens of other nations and may be awarded posthumously.

There are two degrees of the Medal: The Presidential Medal of Freedom with Distinction, the higher degree, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom. The recipient receives a medal and a citation signed by the President.

President Kennedy announced the first Presidential Medal of Freedom awards in 1963. However, President Johnson made the first presentations of the Medal in a ceremony at the White House on December 6, 1963.

HISTORICAL NOTE:

As originally established by President Truman in 1945 by Executive Order, the following were authorized to award the Medal of Freedom:

The President
The Secretary of State
The Secretary of War
The Secretary of Navy

or

by such officers as the Secretaries might designate

In April 1952 the list was amended to include the following:

The President
The Secretary of State
The Secretary of Defense
The Secretary of the Army
The Secretary of the Navy
The Secretary of the Air Force

or

by such officers as the Secretaries might designate

RECIPIENTS OF PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Abel, I.W.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Abshire, David	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Acheson, Dean G.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	09/14/64
Adams, Ansel	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Albright, Horace M.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	12/08/80
Aldrin, Edwin E.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Nixon	08/13/69
Anderson, Marian	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Anderson, Robert B.	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	08/03/55
Annenberg, Walter H.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
APOLLO XIII Mission Ops Team	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/18/70
Armitage, Richard	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Armstrong, Anne Legendre	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
Armstrong, Neil A.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Nixon	08/13/69
Astor, Brooke Russell	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/19/88
Bailey, Pearl Bellson	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/17/88
Baker, Howard H., Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Balanchine, George	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Baldrige, Malcolm	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	10/17/88
Baldwin, Roger Nash	Pres Medal of Freedom (1/16)	Carter	01/14/81
Ball, Lucille	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Bush	07/06/89
Ballantine, Hubert Dickey	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	07/22/82
Bardeen, John	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Basie, William count	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	05/23/85
Beckman, Arnold	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Behrens, Earl Charles	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
Benson, Ezra Taft	Presidential Citizens	Bush	07/28/89
Berlin, Irving	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Black, Eugene R.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	01/20/69
Blaik, Earl H. "Red"	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
Blake, James H. Eubie	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/09/81
Borlaug, Norman	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Bradley, Omar N.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Brady, James Scott	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Bronk, Detlev W.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Brosio, Manlio	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	09/29/71

(D) = With Distinction

(P) = Posthumous

* = JFK selectees

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Brown, Harold	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Brown, Irving	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/17/88
Bruce, David K.E.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	02/10/76
Bryant, Paul W.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	02/23/83
Brzezinski, Zbigniew	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Buckley, William F., Jr.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Bunche, Ralph J.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Bundy, McGeorge	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Bunker, Ellsworth	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Bunker, Ellsworth	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	02/06/68
Burger, Warren E.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/17/88
Burke, Admiral Arleigh	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Burnham, James	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Cagney, James Francis	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Calder, Alexander	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)(D)	Ford	01/10/77
Carlucci, Frank C.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	04/28/83
Carrington, The Lord	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/10/88
Carson, Rachel	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	06/09/80
Casals, Pablo	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Catton, Bruce	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Caulfield, Genevieve	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Chambers, Whittaker	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Reagan	03/26/84
Charman, William H.	Medal of Freedom	Truman	01/26/46
Chase, Lucia	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Cheek, James Edward	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Cherne, Leo	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Christopher, Warren	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Clemente, Roberto	Presidential Citizens (P)	Nixon	05/14/73
Clifford, Clark	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	01/20/69
Collins, Michael	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Nixon	08/13/69
Conant, James B.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Cooke, Terence Cardinal	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	04/05/84
Cooley, Denton Arthur, M.D.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Copeland, Aaron	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Cousteau, Jacques-Yves	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Crocker, Chester A.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Cronkite, Walter	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Culvahouse, Arthur B., Jr.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Dart, Justin	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	06/23/87
DeBakey, Dr. Michael E.	Pres medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
DeKooning, Willem	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Delaney, Joseph Alton	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	07/13/83
Dillon, C. Douglas	Pres Medal of Freedom	Bush	07/06/89
DiMaggio, Joe	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Disney, Walter	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Dobie, J. Frank	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Dole, Bob	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Doolittle, James H.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Bush	07/06/89
Douglas, James H.	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	01/18/61
Douglas, Kirk	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Duberstein, Kenneth M.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Dubinsky, David	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Dulles, John Foster	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	05/19/59
Durant, Ariel	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Durant, Will	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Edwards, Lena F.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
El-Sadat, Mohamed Anwer	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Eliot, Thomas Stearns	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Ellington, Edward K.(Duke)	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/29/69
Ellison, Ralph	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Enders, John F.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Feulner, Edwin J., Jr.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Fiedler, Arthur	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Fisher, Max M.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Folliard, Edward T.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
Fontanne, Lynn (& A. Lunt)	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Ford, Henry II	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Ford, John	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	03/31/73
Ford, Tennessee Ernie	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Fortier, Donald R.	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	01/18/89

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Frankfurter, Felix	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Friedman, Milton	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/17/88
Friendly, Judge Henry J.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Fuller, R. Buckminster	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Galard-Terraube, Genevieve de	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	06/29/54
Garcia, Hector P., M.D.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Garner, John W.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Gates, Thomas S.	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	01/18/61
Goldberg, Arthur J.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	07/26/78
Goldwater, Senator Barry	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
Goldwyn, Samuel	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	03/27/71
Goodpaster, General Andrew J.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Graham, Martha	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	10/14/76
Graham, Reverend Billy	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Grasso, Ella T.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	10/09/81
Gray, Gordon	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	01/18/61
Habib, Philip C.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Reagan	09/07/82
Haise, Fred Wallace, Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/18/70
Harlow, Bryce N.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/09/81
Harriman, W. Averell	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	01/20/69
Hayes, Helen MacArthur	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
Height, Dorothy I.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Henry, William M.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Nixon	04/22/70
Herrington, John S.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Herter, Christian A.	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	01/18/61
Hesburgh, Theodore M.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Heston, Charlton	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Hodel, Don	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Hoffer, Eric	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Hoffman, Paul G.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	06/21/74
Holland, Jerome H.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	05/23/85
Hook, Sidney	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85
Hope, Bob	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Hopkins, William J.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	06/02/71
Horowitz, Vladimir	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	07/28/86

RECIPIENTS OF PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Horton, Karl	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Howe, George L.	Medal of Freedom	Truman	02/18/46
Humphrey, Hubert H.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	06/09/80
Hunt, Leamon R.	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	04/17/84
Iakovos, Archbishop	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Jackson, Gordon Thorpe	Medal of Freedom	Truman	02/18/46
Jackson, Henry Martin	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	06/26/84
Jackson, Samuel C.	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	11/19/82
Javits, Jacob K.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Johnson, Clarence L.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Johnson, Lady Bird	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Johnson, Lyndon B.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	06/09/80
Judd, Walter H.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/09/81
Kahn, Herman	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	01/18/89
Kaiser, Edgar F.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Kampelman, Max M.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Kappel, Frederick	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Kaufman, Irving	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/07/87
Kaye, Danny	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	06/23/87
Keller, Helen	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Kennedy, John Fitzgerald	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)(D)	Johnson	12/06/63
Kennen, George F.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Bush	07/06/89
Keogh, Dennis W.	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	07/09/84
King, Martin Luther, Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	07/11/77
Kiputh, Robert J.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Kirk, Russell	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Kirkpatrick, Jeane J.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85
Kirstein, Lincoln	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Kissinger, Henry A.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/13/77
Kistiakowsky, George Bogdan	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	01/18/61
Komer, Robert W.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	02/06/68
Krock, Arthur	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
L'Amour, Louis	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Laird, Melvin R.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	03/26/74
Land, Edwin H.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Lasker, Mary	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Lawrence, David	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
Lehman, Herbert H.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Leibman, Morris I.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/09/81
Lemnitzer, Lyman L.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
Lewis, John L.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Lincoln, George Gould	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
Lippmann, Walter	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Locke, Eugene Murphy	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	02/07/68
Lovelace, Alan M.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	05/19/81
Lovell, James A., Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/18/70
Lovett, Robert A.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Low, George M.	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	05/23/85
Lowman, Dr. Charles LeRoy	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	07/27/74
Luce, Clare Boothe	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Luns, Joseph M.A.H.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/30/84
Lunt, Alfred (& L. Fountain)	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
MacArthur, Jean Faircloth	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/17/88
MacDonald, J. Clifford	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Johnson *	12/06/63
MacLeish, Archibald	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Macy, John W., Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Malone, Dumas	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Mansfield, Michael	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	01/19/89
Marriott, J. Willard	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	10/17/88
Marsh, John O., Jr.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Mathews, Martin	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	07/22/82
Mazzarini, Richard	Medal of Freedom	Truman	02/18/46
McCloy, John J.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
McCone, John	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
McElroy, Neil	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	12/01/59
McGill, Ralph	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
McLaughlin, Ann	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Mcnamara, Margaret Craig	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
McNamara, Robert S.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	02/28/68
Mead, Margaret	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	01/20/79

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Meany, George	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Meiklejohn, Alexander	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Menninger, Karl	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Mercer, Mabel	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83
Michel, Bob	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Michener, James Albert	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Miller, Paul C.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	05/22/86
Mitchell, Clarence M., Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Moley, Raymond	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
Monnet, Jean	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Morison, Samuel Eliot	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Mumford, Lewis	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Munoz-Marin, Luis	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Murrow, Edward R.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	09/14/64
Muskie, Edmund S.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Niebuhr, Reinhold	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Nitze, Paul H.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	11/07/85
O'Keefe, Georgia	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Ormandy, Eugene	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	01/24/70
Owens, Jesse	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	08/05/76
Packard, David	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/17/88
Paton, David M.D.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	11/05/87
Patterson, Frederick D.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
Peale, Norman Vincent	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Peck, Gregory	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/64
Pepper, Claude D.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Bush	05/25/89
Perlmutter, Nathan	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
Peterson, Esther	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Peterson, Roger Tory	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Pope John XXIII	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)(D)	Johnson *	12/06/63
Poullet, Pierre A., Father	Medal of Freedom	Truman	01/26/46
Price, Leontyne	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Puleston, Dennis	Medal of Freedom	Truman	02/18/46
Quarles, Donald A.	Medal of Freedom (P)	Eisenhower	07/09/59
Ramo, Simon	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	02/23/83

RECIPIENTS OF PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Randall, Clarence B.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Randolph, A. Philip	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Raphel, Arnold Lewis	Presidential Citizens (P)	Reagan	01/18/89
Reynolds, Frank	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	05/23/85
Rickover, H.G.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Ridgeway, General M.B.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
Ridgway, Rozanne L.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Ripley II, S. Dillon	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85
Robinson, Jack Roosevelt	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	03/26/84
Rockefeller, Laurance S.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Rockefeller, Nelson A.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Rockwell, Norman	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Rogers, Adele	Presidential Citizens	Nixon	10/15/73
Rogers, John F.W.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	02/12/85
Rogers, William P.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	10/15/73
Romulo, General Carlos P.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	01/12/84
Rostow, Walt Whitman	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	01/20/69
Rostropovich, Mstislav	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
Rowny, Edward L.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Royster, Vermont	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
Rubinstein, Arthur	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	04/01/76
Rumsfeld, Donald H.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Rusk, Dean	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	01/16/69
Rutan, Elbert L.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	12/29/86
Rutan, Richard G.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	12/29/86
Sabin, Dr. Albert B.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/13/86
Salk, Jonas E., Dr	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	07/11/77
Sandburg, Carl	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Serkin, Rudolf	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Shouse, Katherine Filene	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Shriver, Eunice Kennedy	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	03/26/84
Shultz, George Pratt	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	01/19/89
Sills, Beverly Greenough	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Sinatra, Frank	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	05/23/85
Smith, Gerard c.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Smith, Kate	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/26/82
Smith, Margaret Chase	Pres Medal of Freedom	Bush	07/06/89
Smith, Merriman	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Spaak, Paul-Henri	Medal of Freedom	Kennedy	02/21/61
Speakes, Larry M.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/30/87
Spencer, Stuart K.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
St. Johns, Adela Rogers	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/22/70
Statts, Elmer B.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	03/23/81
Steichen, Edward	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Steinbeck, John	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Stevens, Roger L.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	01/13/88
Stewart, James M.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85
Strauss, Lewis L.	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	07/14/58
Strauss, Robert S.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Sun, Chen	Medal of Freedom	Truman	02/18/46
Swigert, John Leonard, Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	04/18/70
Taft, William H., IV	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Taussig, Helen B.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Taylor, George W.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Teller, Edward	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Teresa, Mother M., M.C.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/20/85
Thomas, Lowell	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Thornton, Charles B.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	10/09/81
Thurmond, Strom	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Truly, Richard H.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Tuttle, Elbert	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81
Valladares, Armando	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Van Der Rohe, Ludwig Mies	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Vance, Cyrus R.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	01/20/69
Vann, John Paul	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Nixon	06/16/72
Vinson, Carl	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Johnson	09/14/64
Volpe, John A.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	12/13/83
Von Neumann, Dr. John	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	02/15/56
Wallace, Dewitt	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	01/28/72
Wallace, Lila	Pres Medal of Freedom	Nixon	01/28/72

RECIPIENTS OF PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Walsh, William B., M.D.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	06/23/87
Walters, Vernon A.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Warren, Earl	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	01/16/81
Warren, Robert Penn	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Waterman, Alan T.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Watson, James D.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Ford	01/10/77
Watson, Mark S.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Watson, Thomas J., Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
Wauneka, Annie D.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Wayne, John	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Carter	06/09/80
Webb, James E.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	12/09/68
Wedemeyer, Albert C.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85
Weeks, Raymond	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	11/11/82
Weinberger, Caspar W.	Pres Medal of Freedom (D)	Reagan	11/17/87
Welty, Eudora	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
West, Norman H.	Medal of Freedom	Truman	01/26/46
Wheeler, William M., Jr.	Medal of Freedom	Truman	02/18/46
White, E. B.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
White, Paul Dudley	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	09/14/64
White, William S.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Whitehead, John C.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Wick, Charles Z.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Wilder, Thornton N.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Wilkins, Roy	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69
Williams, Tennessee	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	06/09/80
Willson, Meredith (Mr.)	Pres Medal of Freedom (P)	Reagan	06/23/87
Wilson, Charles E.	Medal of Freedom	Eisenhower	10/09/57
Wilson, Edmund	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Woihlstetter, Roberta and Albert	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	11/07/85
Wright, Joseph R., Jr.	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	01/18/89
Wyeth, Andrew	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson *	12/06/63
Yeager, Charles E.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Reagan	05/23/85
Yeager, Jeana	Presidential Citizens	Reagan	12/29/86
Young, Andrew	Pres Medal of Freedom	Carter	01/16/81

RECIPIENTS OF PRESIDENTIAL AWARDS

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RECIPIENT	AWARDED	PRESIDENT	DATE
Young, Whitney M., Jr.	Pres Medal of Freedom	Johnson	01/20/69

McNally / Simon

REMARKS: LECH WALESA MEDAL OF FREEDOM
THE EAST ROOM, THE WHITE HOUSE
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1989

JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS, 1981, A DARKNESS DESCENDED
ACROSS POLAND FOR THE THIRD TIME THIS CENTURY. WHAT
HAD BEGUN AS A YEAR OF HOPE AND FREEDOM ENDED IN
VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION. \\\

IN SNOW-FILLED CROSSROADS AND TOWN SQUARES ACROSS
POLAND, IRON TANKS RUMBLED TO A STOP. LECH WALESA
[[LECK VA-WEN-SAJ]] MADE THE SIGN OF THE CROSS ON THE
FOREHEADS OF HIS SLEEPING CHILDREN, AND WAS TAKEN AWAY
INTO THE NIGHT. SOLIDARITY, A MOVEMENT EMBRACING THE
POLISH NATION, WAS OUTLAWED. COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE
OUTSIDE WORLD WERE CUT OFF. AND POLAND AWOKE TO SNOW
AND STEEL AND SILENCE, AN ENTIRE NATION
IMPRISONED. \\\

BUT YOU CAN'T LOCK UP A DREAM. ONE BY ONE,
CANDLES LIT THE WINDOWS OF POLAND'S FARMHOUSES AND
TENEMENTS, SILENT BEACONS OF THE LIBERTY STILL BURNING
IN THE HEARTS OF A BRAVE AND ANCIENT PEOPLE. AND THAT
CHRISTMAS EVE, NOT FAR FROM WHERE WE STAND, A CANDLE
BURNED ALL NIGHT IN THE WHITE HOUSE, LIKE OTHERS ALL
ACROSS AMERICA, GLOWING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLISH
PEOPLE. \\\

WHEN SPRING CAME, A TIME OF RENEWAL AND REBIRTH,
LECH WALESA'S FATE WAS STILL UNKNOWN. AND AS COLLEGES
AND UNIVERSITIES APPROACHED GRADUATION, ONE BY ONE,
AGAIN AND AGAIN, THE SAME TWO NAMES WERE HEARD. \\
LECH WALESA. \\ SOLIDARITY.

OF COURSE, LECH WALESA COULD NOT COME TO ACCEPT
THOSE HONORARY DEGREES. AND SO IN CROWDED ASSEMBLY
HALLS AND PACKED ARENAS ACROSS AMERICA, WHERE EVERY
PRECIOUS SPACE WAS FILLED WITH PROUD AND LOVING
FAMILIES, STAGE AFTER STAGE HELD A SINGLE, UNFILLED
PLACE -- AN EMPTY CHAIR, BEARING ONLY THE SOLIDARITY
BANNER -- AWAITING THE RELEASE OF LECH WALESA, AND THE
LIBERATION OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

WE SAW EMPTY CHAIRS IN MAINE AND PENNSYLVANIA,
RHODE ISLAND AND ILLINOIS. AT NOTRE DAME, THE CROWD
STOOD FOR THREE MINUTES IN CHEERING TRIBUTE TO THE
EMPTY CHAIR AND THE MAN WHO WASN'T THERE. AT HOLY
CROSS, LANE KIRKLAND ACCEPTED THE AWARD ON LECH
WALESA'S BEHALF. AND BACK IN POLAND, IN A HUMBLE
WOODEN CHURCH ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF GDANSK, AN EMPTY
CHAIR WAS PLACED NEAR THE ALTAR FOR THE BAPTISM OF TINY
MARIA-VICTORIA, LECH'S SEVENTH CHILD, A LITTLE GIRL HE
HAD NEVER SEEN. \\\

FOR EIGHT YEARS, THESE EMPTY CHAIRS, AND THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE, HAVE WAITED FOR YOU TO COME. WE
WAITED BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN FREEDOM. WE WAITED
BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN POLAND. WE WAITED BECAUSE WE
BELIEVE IN YOU. \\\

TODAY, THE WAITING IS OVER. TODAY, LECH WALESA --
MAN OF FREEDOM, IS AT THE WHITE HOUSE -- THE HOUSE OF
FREEDOM. \\\

[[TURN TO WALESA]] LECH WALESA, ON BEHALF OF THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, I AM PROUD TO SAY TO YOU
TODAY: "TAKE YOUR PLACE IN THIS HOUSE OF FREEDOM.
TAKE YOUR PLACE IN THE EMPTY CHAIR." [[GESTURE TO
CHAIR WITH SOLIDARITY BANNER]] \\\

IN JUST A FEW DAYS, YOU WILL BE THE ^{second} ~~THIRD~~ PRIVATE
^(FROM ABROAD) ~~CITIZEN~~ ^{from another country} ~~IN OUR HISTORY~~ ^{EVER} TO ADDRESS A JOINT ^{meeting} ~~SESSION~~ OF
CONGRESS -- AFTER THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE ^{IN 1824} ~~AND WINSTON~~
~~CHURCHILL.~~

^{HIM,}
LIKE THEM, YOU HELPED WIN AN IMPORTANT STRUGGLE ^{FOR FREEDOM}
~~AGAINST TYRANNICAL ADVERSARIES.~~ ^{HIM,} AND LIKE ~~THEM~~, YOU
REPRESENT NOT ONLY A PEOPLE BUT ALSO AN IDEA -- AN IDEA
WHOSE TIME HAS COME. AND NOTHING CAN STOP AN IDEA
WHOSE TIME HAS COME. \\\

THE IDEA IS FREEDOM. \\\ AND THE TIME IS NOW. \\\

YOU WERE CALLED A "NOBODY." BUT LENIN AND STALIN HAVE BEEN DISPROVED, NOT BY PRESIDENTS OR PRINCES, BUT BY THE LIKES OF AN ELECTRICIAN FROM GDANSK AND HIS FELLOW WORKERS IN A BRAVE UNION CALLED SOLIDARITY. THE IRON CURTAIN IS FAST BECOMING A RUSTED, ABANDONED RELIC, SYMBOLIZING A LOST ERA AND A FAILED IDEOLOGY.

THE CHANGE IS EVERYWHERE. POLAND. \\
HUNGARY. \\
CZECHOSLOVAKIA. \\
AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN -- THE WEEK THAT BROUGHT LECH WALESZA TO AMERICA -- IS THE WEEK THE HEADLINES PROCLAIMED: "AND THE WALL COMES TUMBLING DOWN." \\\

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN BERLIN, AND ON OUR TELEVISION SCREENS, IS ASTOUNDING. WHEN ONLY A BOY, I JOINED A CONFLICT THAT CONSUMED HALF OF HUMANITY, AND LEFT THE WORLD DIVIDED BETWEEN THE FREE AND THE UNFREE. MOST OF US ALIVE TODAY WERE BORN INTO THAT SUNDERED WORLD.

NOW ALMOST 50 YEARS HAVE PASSED. SOME HAVE
WONDERED, ALL THESE YEARS, WHY WE STAYED IN BERLIN.
LET ME TELL YOU. WE STAYED BECAUSE WE KNEW -- WE KNEW
THIS DAY WOULD COME. \\\

AND NOW A CENTURY THAT WAS BORN IN WAR AND
REVOLUTION MAY BEQUEATH A LEGACY OF PEACE UNTHINKABLE
ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO. \

THE STORY OF OUR TIMES IS THE STORY OF BRAVE MEN
AND WOMEN WHO SEIZED A MOMENT, WHO TOOK A STAND. LECH
WALESA SHOWED HOW ONE INDIVIDUAL COULD INSPIRE IN
OTHERS A FAITH SO POWERFUL THAT IT VINDICATED ITSELF,
AND CHANGED THE COURSE OF A NATION. HISTORY MAY MAKE
MEN. BUT LECH WALESA HAS MADE HISTORY. \

AND I BELIEVE HISTORY CONTINUES TO BE MADE, EVERY DAY, BY SMALL, DAILY ACTS OF COURAGE, BY PEOPLE WHO STRIVE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE. SUCH PEOPLE, SAYS LECH, "ARE EVERYWHERE, IN EVERY FACTORY, STEEL MILL, MINE AND SHIPYARD, EVERYWHERE." AND WE'VE CERTAINLY SEEN THEM IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, WHERE FROM THE LEADERSHIP OF LANE KIRKLAND TO THE RANK AND FILE ACROSS THE NATION, THEY HAVE STRUGGLED IN THE VANGUARD OF THE FREE LABOR MOVEMENT AROUND THE WORLD.

OUR OWN HUMBLE ELECTRICIAN, BEN FRANKLIN, DECLARED THAT "OUR CAUSE IS THE CAUSE OF ALL MANKIND, FOR WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THEIR LIBERTY IN DEFENDING OUR OWN." AND LIKE FRANKLIN -- WHO SEIZED LIGHTNING FROM THE SKIES AND BROUGHT IT TO EARTH -- LECH WALESIA SEIZED AN IDEA -- A POWERFUL IDEA -- AND WITH IT ELECTRIFIED THE WORLD. THE IDEA IS FREEDOM. \ \ AND THE TIME IS NOW. \ \

COUNTRY BY COUNTRY, PEOPLE BY PEOPLE, YEAR BY YEAR, COURAGEOUS NEW VOICES ARE RAISED IN A HUNDRED LANGUAGES. IN SPANISH. GERMAN. CHINESE. RUSSIAN. AFGHAN. AND YET, FROM THESE VARIED LIPS COMES A WORD ALL CAN UNDERSTAND. FREEDOM. AS IF WITH ONE VOICE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD HAVE SPOKEN. FREEDOM.

IN AMERICA, IT IS OUR GREATEST NATURAL RESOURCE, THE SECRET OF OUR SUCCESS. AND FREEDOM WILL BRING SUCCESS TO POLAND, TOO. AMERICAN AID HAS BEGUN AND MORE IS COMING. FROM WASHINGTON TO WARSAW, FROM KANSAS CITY TO KRAKOW, FROM GREEN BAY TO GDANSK, AMERICANS ARE LINKED IN SPIRIT WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE IN THEIR BRAVE STRUGGLE FOR OPPORTUNITY, PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM. \\\

TEN DAYS FROM NOW, AMERICANS WILL BOW THEIR HEADS IN PRAYER AS WE CELEBRATE THANKSGIVING. THANKSGIVING IS THE OLDEST, THE MOST AMERICAN OF HOLIDAYS, DATING BACK TO OUR VERY ORIGINS AS A PEOPLE. \\\ IT IS A TIME OF GRATITUDE. A TIME TO GIVE THANKS. A TIME TO REMEMBER WHAT WE STAND FOR -- AND WHY OUR FORBEARERS SACRIFICED SO MUCH TO COME HERE AND TO BUILD THIS GREAT LAND.

AMERICA. THE VERY WORD EXCITED VISIONS IN EUROPE FROM THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE EXPLORERS. AMERICA IS A REFUGE FOR HOPE, A PLACE WHERE IDEAS AND DREAMS AND PEOPLE ARE PROTECTED, LIKE A CANDLE FROM THE WIND, TO KEEP HOPE ALIVE UNTIL THE DARKNESS LIFTS AND THE SUN SHINES ON A PEOPLE FREE AND SECURE. \\\

TODAY, LECH WALESA, YOU TAKE YOUR RIGHTFUL SEAT IN THIS BASTION OF DEMOCRACY, HERE IN THIS HOUSE OF FREEDOM. BUT THERE ARE OTHERS STILL WAITING AROUND THE WORLD. AND OUR WORK REMAINS UNDONE, SO LONG AS A SINGLE CHAIR REMAINS UNFILLED. SO LONG AS THE PROMISE OF FREEDOM REMAINS UNKEPT. \\\

LECH WALESA, BY YOUR ABIDING FAITH, AND BY THE MIRACLE OF DEMOCRACY'S NEW BIRTH IN YOUR HOMELAND, YOU HAVE COME TO PERSONIFY THE NEW BREEZE THAT IS SWEEPING THE WORLD EAST AND WEST, THE SPIRITUAL GODFATHER OF A NEW GENERATION OF DEMOCRACY.

EVEN WHILE SOLIDARITY WAS BANNED, YOUR EXAMPLE, AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE POLISH PEOPLE, WAS MIRRORED ACROSS ASIA WHEN "PEOPLE POWER" BECAME A CHANT, FIRST IN THE PHILIPPINES, AND THEN IN PAKISTAN, AND SOUTH KOREA, AND YES, EVEN IN TIANAMEN SQUARE.

THE WHOLE WORLD IS WATCHING. AND THE WHOLE WORLD IS WITH YOU.

THANK YOU, POLAND -- FOR SHOWING US THAT THE DREAM IS ALIVE. THANK YOU, POLAND, FOR SHOWING US THAT A DREAM WROUGHT BY FLESH AND BLOOD CANNOT BE STILLED BY WALLS OF STEEL. THANK YOU, POLAND. AND THANK YOU,
LECH WALES. \\\

AND NOW, IT IS WITH GREAT PRIDE AND HUMILITY THAT I BESTOW THE MEDAL PREVIOUSLY AWARDED TO THE LIKES OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JOHN F. KENNEDY, ANWAR SADAT AND MOTHER TERESA. IT IS OUR NATION'S HIGHEST CIVILIAN HONOR. LET ME READ THE CITATION. [[QUOTE CITATION]]

TO LECH WALES, OF GDANSK, POLAND -- THE
PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM.

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