

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

2011-2184-F

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13482
Folder ID Number: 13482-015

Folder Title:
Detroit, [Michigan], 4/17/89

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	15	6	5

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 4/13/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/14/89 9:00 AMSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	STUDDERT	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Friday, April 14, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

No Comment.
4/14/89

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1009 APR 10 PM 4:17

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

#

#

#

Unclas

CLASSIFICATION

CIRCLE ONE BELOW

IMMEDIATE

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

MODE

SECURE FAX #

ADMIN FAX #

RECORD #

PAGES

DTG

RELEASER

FROM/LOCATION

1. Jim McBride

TO/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. General Scowcroft

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

INFORMATION ADDRESSEES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

1. _____

2. _____

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Unclas

CLASSIFICATION

To Brent: Please review this.. and then get comments to Speechwriters.
I am sending this to you only at this time because of 'substance'.... but it
CAMP DAVID
must get to writers soon. all yours

1-15-89 11 A.M.

Hamtrack Speech Changes

page 1

Y (Somewhere in here I want to identify the very special interest that we have in Poland- an interest driven by the enormous numbers of Polish Americans.. People who still love their homeland. We are not just another free country yearning for Poland's freedom. We are bound by this very special bond of family, values, heritage etc. ✓

Page 3 Discuss the following with Gen. Scowcroft:

N (Possible for page 3. (end of first para).... "There is some feeling in some quarters inside the Soviet Union that certain elements in the USA want to see glasnost and perestroika fail. Not so. We salute the changes that have taken place in glasnost(openess) and perestroika (reform). We will continue to encourage more change in the field of human rights, or market incentives, or elections, or whatever. We know that these changes do not come easy whether in Eastern Europe or the Sv. Union itself; but let there be no doubt we want to see glasnost and reform continue and succeed." ✓

(Brent: I am responding, in a sense, to a conversation in N.Y. and another recent comment suggesting we want to 'failure'.)

(This may not fit here... but I'd like to see some reference.

Bottom of page 3.. I am not sure we have improved relations with Bulgaria or the GDR.... Brent: please review this para to see we are not 'overstating'. ✓

M (Last sentence "hold accountable"... what does that mean exactly... consider changing to a gentle warning.

'while we want relations to improve there are certain things that we will not condone, things that can shift relations in the wrong way... Human rights abuses, technology theft, hostile intelligence."etc. ✓

Top of Page 4: Leave out "some regimes are testing limits of Sov. tolerance"

Second para. on Page 4:... What is wrong with giving some amount of credit to Jaruzelski... we single out Lech, why not have some modest kind word about Jaruzelski...AND PERHAPS SOME OTHER Polish official. Credit for the modest changes should certainly go to Lech but also we ought not to isolate Jaruzelski from any credit. ✓

Page 5 3rd para: Leave out consultation words go direct to "I have carefully considered ways the US can help Poland".... then ✓

Y ("we will not act unconditionally. We will not offer aid, without certain sound practices, being required in return. We will not extend unsound credits" (N.B. I am trying to avoid "UNTIED" word.. no one knows what that means. ✓

CAMP DAVID

page 2 Hamtrack.

On page 8.....

I share your concern about 'repudiation of Breshnev doctrine'
but am willing to leave in if you feel it is O.K.

Bottom of main para. on page 8:

h (For the Italicized part.....Change to."My unwavering conviction is that someday all the people's of Europe will live in freedom. (get speech writers to improve my language, but leaving out POrague etc... eliminates rheorical overkill....to the barricades type stuff that cost a lot of lives in Hungary.,yet still expresses our objective....)

Page 9

u (The unity and strength of the democracies coupled with bold new thinking in the Soviet Union and thei mnate craving for freedom of pewopl everywhere have brought us to htis opening. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. If we are wise, united, and ready to seize ✓ the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that helped all of Europe reach its destiny.....

(speechwriters can embelish but I want to sugest that change ion sov union helped, too.

Call me if you want to discuss this at all.

-30- from Foggy Camp David.

Pardon my home typing. I can spell but I dont want to correct this. gb

- 29 -

WE WILL NOT WAVER IN OUR DEDICATION TO FREEDOM NOW. IF
WE ARE WISE, UNITED AND READY TO SEIZE THE MOMENT, WE
WILL BE REMEMBERED AS THE GENERATION THAT MADE ALL OF
EUROPE FREE. TWO CENTURIES AGO, A POLISH PATRIOT NAMED
THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO (KOSH-SCHOO-SKOH) CAME TO THESE
AMERICAN SHORES TO STAND FOR FREEDOM.

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

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. If we are wise, united and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all of Europe free.

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

God bless Poland, and God bless America. Thank you.

#

#

#

TIME STAMP

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

89 APR 15 A10: 17

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 2694

ACTION OFFICER: FOR RECORD PURPOSES

DUE: _____

- ☐ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates
☐ Prepare Memo For Cicconi
☐ Prepare Memo _____

- ☐ Appropriate Action
☐ Prepare Memo for Hughes
to _____

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. _____

- FYI
☐ Basora
☐ Beers
☒ Blackwill
☐ Brooks
☐ Cabelly
☐ Charles
☐ Coulson
☐ Deal
☐ Donley
☐ Dyke
☐ Ebner
☐ Grant
☐ Haass
☐ Hoffmann
☐ Hutchings
☐ Jackson
☐ LaMagna
☐ Kanter

- FYI
☐ Lampley
☐ Leach
☐ Lewis
☐ Lowenkron
☐ Mahley
☐ Mandel
☐ McCue
☐ Melby
☐ Menan
☐ Miller
☐ Miskel
☐ Needels
☐ Paal
☐ Pacelli
☐ Pastorino
☐ Popadiuk
☐ Porter
☐ Rademaker

- FYI
☐ Reiss
☒ Rice
☒ Rodman
☐ Rostow
☐ Salvetti
☐ Snider
☐ Tahir-Kheli
☐ Tobey
☐ Welch
☒ Working
☐ Zelikow
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____
☐ _____

INFORMATION ☒ Hughes
☒ Scowcroft (advance)

☒ Gates (advance)
☒ Secretariat

☒ Exec. Sec. Desk
☒ DONLEY

COMMENTS

Logged By Σ4.

Return to Secretariat

2694

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/15/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☐	☒
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☒	PORTER	☐	☒
DARMAN	☐	☒	STUDDERT	☐	☒
BATES	☐	☒	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☐	☒
DEMAREST	☐	☒		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☐	☒		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1989 APR 14 PM 9:15

April 14, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK DAVIS *MD*
THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *KG for CW*
SUBJECT: Hamtramck

Your first major foreign policy address concerns Eastern Europe and Poland. You will appear before the old Hamtramck city hall, in a working class suburb of Detroit, to announce new economic and political policies toward Poland.

General Scowcroft would like to delete the lines in brackets on Page Eight ("Let Prague be free," etc.). Dave Demarest strongly feels that these lines would add a great deal to the speech, and provide a sound bite for the evening news. They will discuss this over the weekend.

Most of the Michigan Delegation is expected to be present, although we do not have confirmations on each Member.

(Davis/Rice)
April 14, 1989
Draft Four
Title: Poland

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HAMTRAMCK
CITY HALL
MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989/noon

Thank you Paul. Cardinal Szoka (Sha-ka). Bob, thank you for that presentation. It's good to see the Michigan Delegation has turned out for this event. Bread and salt are both of the earth, an ancient symbol of a life leavened by health and prosperity. In this same spirit, I wish you all the same. Now, if I may, I want to address the health and prosperity of a whole nation -- the proud people of Poland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In recent years, we have improved relations with ~~each~~^{as in} country ~~of~~ the region. In each case, we looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, emigration issues, opposition to terrorism. ~~And we held them accountable for technology theft and hostile intelligence or foreign policy actions against us.~~ ^{have measured their performance on issues}

add Pres. language

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

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of ^{General Jaruzelski and his colleagues} ~~the Polish authorities~~. And they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people -- and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa . . .

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

still give free rein to the enterprising impulse and creative spirit of the Polish people.

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the moral, political and economic support of the West. And the West will respond. My Administration is completing a thorough review of our policies toward Poland and all of Eastern Europe.

~~After consultation with allies and friends,~~ I have carefully
 (~~considered ways~~) ~~pitfalls can be avoided,~~ and ways the United
 States can help Poland. We will not act unconditionally, ^{we will not} offer
 untied aid, or extend unsound credits. We must remember that
 Poland is still a member of the Warsaw Pact. We must take no
 steps that compromise the security of the West.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If Poland's experiment succeeds, other countries may follow. While we must still differentiate among the nations of Eastern Europe, Poland offers two lessons for all. First, there can be

no progress without significant political and economic liberalization. Second, help from the West will come in concert with liberalization. Our friends and European allies share this philosophy.

The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas. We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including closer ties with Western Europe. And we envision an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy -- on any pretext ~~[in an explicit, definitive and convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine]~~ ((I call on the Soviet Union to let Prague be free. Let Budapest be free . . . And, my friends, let Warsaw be free . . . Let ALL the peoples of Europe live in freedom.))

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these concerns. These are not bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should

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

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. If we are wise, united and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made all of Europe free.

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

God bless Poland, and God bless America. Thank you.

#

#

#

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 14, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR JIM CICCONI

FROM: G. PHILIP HUGHES 

SUBJECT: Detroit Speech

The attached draft speech for the President's appearance in Hamtramack, Michigan on Monday April 17 has been approved by General Scowcroft with the changes indicated. Please forward it urgently to the speechwriters.

Attachment
Draft Speech

cc: Chriss Winston

from Rice 205

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HAMTRAMCK
CITY HALL
MONDAY, APRIL 17, 1989/

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

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

We should not be surprised that the ideas of democracy are returning with renewed force in Europe -- the homeland of philosophers of freedom whose ideals have been so fully realized in America. Victor Hugo said: "An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come." **My friends,** liberty is an idea whose time has come in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Eastern Europe~~ ^{Stet} ~~Europe~~. . . 27

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

Union, has ^{Kept} ~~been~~ nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor,
~~mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source~~
*Drop-
attention* ~~of tension for Europe, for America and the world. As East and~~
 West seek to reduce arms, it must not be forgotten that arms are
 a symptom, not a source, of tension. The true source of tension
 is the ~~imposition of an alien political system in Eastern and~~ ^{imposed and unnatural division of}
 Central Europe.

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

Yet the winds of change are shaping a new European destiny.
 Western Europe is resurgent. Eastern Europe is awakening to
 yearnings for democracy, independence and prosperity. In the
 Soviet Union itself, we are encouraged by the sound of voices
 long silent, and the sight of the rulers consulting the ruled.
 We see "new thinking" in some aspects of Soviet foreign policy.

We are hopeful that these stirrings presage meaningful, lasting and more far-reaching change.

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

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

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

agreements that, if faithfully implemented, will be a watershed in the postwar history of Eastern Europe.

Under the auspices of the Roundtable agreements, the free trade union Solidarity will be formally restored, a free opposition press will be legalized, independent political and other free associations will be permitted, and elections for a new Polish Senate will be held. These agreements testify to the realism of the Polish authorities. And they are inspiring testimony to the spiritual guidance of the Catholic church, the indomitable spirit of the Polish people -- and the strength and wisdom of Lech Walesa . . .

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

The Polish people understand the magnitude of this challenge. Democratic forces in Poland have asked for the ^{moral, political and economic} support of the West. And the West will respond. My

Administration ^{is} ~~has~~ just completed ^{ing} a thorough review of our policies toward Poland and all Eastern Europe.

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

↙ The Congress, the Polish-American community, the American labor movement, our allies and international financial institutions, must work in concert if Polish democracy is to take root anew, and ^{sustain itself} last. ~~But~~ We can and must answer the call to freedom.

And it is particularly appropriate, here in Hamtramck, for me to salute the members and leaders of the American labor movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through its darkest days. (LONG ? NOD)

^{now} The Poles are ^{now} taking concrete steps that deserve our active support. I have decided on eight specific steps by the United States, ~~which have been~~ carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway, and to encourage reforms yet to come once Solidarity is legal:

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

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

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

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

we
-- [The United States] will support imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

we
-- [The United States] believes that the Roundtable agreements clear the way for Poland to be able to work with the International Monetary Fund on programs that support sound, new, market-oriented economic policies.

we
 -- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to develop innovative programs to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprise; and for charitable, humanitarian and environmental projects. ~~In a phrase, we will export free enterprise to Poland.~~ (V)

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

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

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

America must renew its commitment to end the division of Europe. The West can now be bold in proposing a vision of the European future: We dream of the day when there will be no barriers to the free movement of people, goods and ideas. ~~[- especially that most notorious barrier of all, the Berlin Wall.]~~ Saw
for
NA?

We dream of the day when Eastern European peoples will be free to choose their system of government and to vote for the party of their choice in regular, contested elections. We dream of the day when Eastern European countries will be free to choose their own peaceful course in the world, including closer ties with Western Europe. And we envision an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy -- on any pretext -- in an explicit, definitive and convincing repudiation of the Brehznev Doctrine. [I call on the Soviet Union to let Prague ^{be} free. Let Budapest ^{be} free . . . And . . . let Warsaw go free . . . Let all the peoples of Europe live in freedom.]

Next month, at a summit of the North Atlantic Alliance, the leaders of the Western democracies will discuss these issues. These are not bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all the Western allies, calling for common approaches. The Soviet Union should understand, in turn, that a free democratic Eastern Europe as we envision it would threaten no one and no country. Such an

evolution would imply, and reinforce, the further improvement of East-West relations in all dimensions -- arms reductions, political relations, trade -- in ways that enhance the safety and well-being of all of Europe. There is no other way.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. We will not waver in our dedication to freedom now. If we are wise, united and ready to seize the moment, we will be remembered as the generation that made ^{all of} Europe free.

This simply changes
Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot ^{named} ~~by the name of~~ Thaddeus Kosciuszko (Kosh-schoo-skoh) came to these American shores to stand for freedom. He lived up to the ideals of the later Polish fighters for independence, who said: "For your freedom and ours."

four over struggle for freedom
Let us honor and remember this hero ~~of Saratoga~~ by extending our hand to those who work the shipyards of Gdansk, and walk the cobbled streets of Warsaw. Let us support the peaceful evolution of democracy in Poland. The cause of liberty knows no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

God bless Poland, and God bless America. Thank you.

#

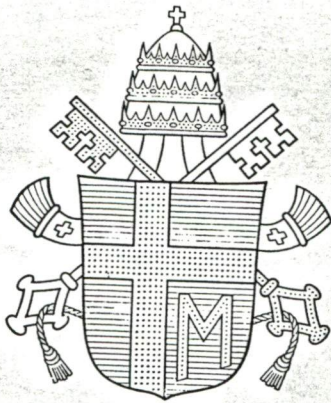
#

#

529-5300 Dominican House of Study
Fthr. Conway

CALIFORNIA • MICHIGAN • MINNESOTA • MISSISSIPPI • MISSOURI • WEST VIRGINIA • NEW YORK • NEVADA
NORTH DAKOTA • PENNSYLVANIA • SOUTH CAROLINA • SOUTH DAKOTA • MARYLAND • ARKANSAS
ALABAMA • COLORADO • ARIZONA • MAINE • TEXAS • UTAH • ALASKA • IOWA • LOUISIANA • WISCONSIN • TENNESSEE • IDAHO •
GEORGIA • DELAWARE • ILLINOIS • KANSAS • NORTH CAROLINA • OREGON • NEBRASKA • KENTUCKY
NEW HAMPSHIRE • NEW JERSEY • NEW MEXICO • CONNECTICUT • FLORIDA • MASSACHUSETTS
INDIANA • OKLAHOMA • RHODE ISLAND • MONTANA • HAWAII • WASHINGTON • VIRGINIA • VERMONT • WYOMING • OHIO

1817



1988

The Official Catholic Directory

Anno
Domini
1988

Published Annually by
P.J. Kennedy & Sons

Archdiocese of Detroit

(Archidioecesis Detroitensis)

His Eminence

JOHN CARDINAL DEARDEN, D.D.

Former Archbishop of Detroit; ordained Dec. 8, 1932; appt. Titular Bishop of Sarepta and Coadjutor Bishop of Pittsburgh "cum jure successionis" March 13, 1948; consecrated May 18, 1948; succeeded to the See of Pittsburgh December 22, 1950; Assistant at the Pontifical Throne October 15, 1957; promoted to the See of Detroit December 18, 1958; installed January 29, 1959; created Cardinal April 28, 1969; resigned as Archbishop July 15, 1980. All communications to His Eminence should be addressed to the Chancery Office, 1234 Washington Blvd., Detroit, MI 48226.

Most Reverend

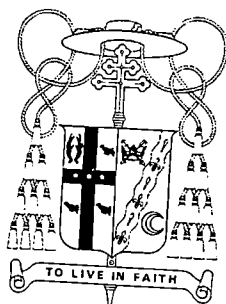
ARTHUR H. KRAWCZAK, D.D.

Retired Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Titular Bishop of Subbar; ordained May 18, 1940; appointed Feb. 8, 1973; consecrated April 3, 1973; resigned August 17, 1982. Res. St. Elizabeth Briarbank, 1315 N. Woodward, Bloomfield Hills, MI 48013.

Most Reverend

THOMAS J. GUMBLETON, D.D.

Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Titular Bishop of Ululi; ordained June 2, 1956; appointed March 8, 1968; consecrated May 1, 1968. 1234 Washington Blvd., Detroit, MI 48226.



Most Reverend

EDMUND C. SZOKA, J.C.L., D.D.

Archbishop of Detroit; ordained June 5, 1954; appointed Bishop of Gaylord June 15, 1971; consecrated and installed July 20, 1971; promoted to the See of Detroit March 28, 1981; installed May 17, 1981. Res., 75 E. Boston Blvd., Detroit, MI 48202.

Most Reverend

WALTER J. SCHOENHERR, D.D.

Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Titular Bishop of Timidana; ordained Oct. 27, 1945; appointment March 8, 1968; consecrated May 1, 1968; 1234 Washington Blvd., Detroit, MI 48226.

Most Reverend

MOSES B. ANDERSON, S.S.E., D.D.

Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Titular Bishop of Vatarba; ordained May 30, 1958; appointed December 3, 1982; consecrated January 27, 1983. 1234 Washington Blvd., Detroit, MI 48226.

Most Reverend

PATRICK R. COONEY, D.D.

Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Titular Bishop of Hodelm; ordained December 20, 1959; appointed December 3, 1982; consecrated January 27, 1983. 1234 Washington Blvd., Detroit, MI 48226.

Most Reverend

DALE J. MELCZEK, D.D.

Auxiliary Bishop of Detroit, Titular Bishop of Trau; ordained June 6, 1964; appointed December 3, 1982; consecrated January 27, 1983. Res., 528 Helene Ave., Royal Oak, MI 48067.

ESTABLISHED MARCH 8, 1833. CREATED AN ARCHBISHOPRIC AUGUST 3, 1937. Square Miles 3,901.

Comprises the Counties of Lapeer, Macomb, Monroe, Oakland, St. Clair and Wayne.

For legal titles of parishes and archdiocesan institutions, consult the Archbishop's Office.

C.S.Sp.; JAMES P. ROBINSON, S.S.E.; JOHN F. SCHWEDER.

Presbyteral Council—Rev. Msgr. WILLIAM J. SHERZER; Revs. DAVID A. BUERSMEYER; FRANCIS X. DIETZ; WILLIAM EASTON; LOUIS E. GRANDPRE; DENNIS HARRITY; ANTHONY R. KOSNIK; ROBERT J. KOTLARZ; JOHN E. NADER, C.S.Sp.; JAMES P. ROBINSON, S.S.E.; JOHN F. SCHWEDER; JOSEPH W. TOBIN, C.S.S.R.; Ex-officio members: Revs. WALTER A. HURLEY; JOHN P. ZENZ.

Archdiocesan Vicars Center City Region—Rev. LAWRENCE CARNEY, C.S.B., C.S.S.R., Core City; Rev. Msgr. ARTHUR KAREY, Downtown; Northeast Region: Revs. LEO BRODERICK, Belle River; JOHN T. GORDON, Detroit-Grosse Pointe; DAVID PREUSS, O.F.M.Cap., East Side; RAYMOND J. SAYERS, Gratiot; STEPHEN C. RECKKER, North Macomb; FREDERICK A. BODDE, Port Huron; DUANE NOVELLY, Seaf; Northwest Region: H. THOMAS JOHNSON, Birmingham-Bloomfield-Troy; Revs. ANDREW WESLEY, North Central; JEROME BRZEZINSKI, Pontiac; DONALD A. SOPIAK, Southeast Oakland; RICHARD SCHMIDBERGER, Thumb; JOHN J. SULLIVAN, Vicariate of the Lakes; FREDERICK SCHWEIHOFFER, Warren-Centerline; South Region: Revs. JAMES P. KENNEALLY, Dearborn; STANISLAUS J. REDWICK, Downriver; TERRANCE D. KERNER, Monroe; EDMUND BORYCZ, Southland; DENNIS J. NOWINSKI, Southwest; ROBERT GOODROW, Western Wayne; West Region: Revs. BERT HEISE, O.F.M., Farmington-Southfield; RONALD W. KURZAWA, Grand River; ALEX BRUNETT, Northwest Wayne; TIMOTHY O'CONNOR, C.P., West Detroit; THOMAS J. FINNIGAN, West Side Inner City.

Delegate for Religious—Sr. PATRICIA SIMPSON, O.P., 1234 Wash. Blvd., Detroit, 48226. c. 237-5847.

Department of Formation—Very Rev. F. GERALD MARTIN, Dir., 2701 W. Chicago Blvd., Detroit, 48206. c. 868-2700.

Divisions:

Deacon Internship—Rev. RAYMOND VAN DEVIERE.

Pastoral Vocations Office—Revs. GARY C. BUECHE, Dir.; JOHN H. WEST, Assoc. Dir.

Pre-Admissions—Rev. JOHN H. WEST.

Permanent Diaconate—Revs. DENNIS C. ORTMAN, Dir. of Formation for Diaconal Candidates; GEORGE

CHARNLEY, Dir. of Diaconal Ministry.

Priest's Senate—Rev. EDWARD F. HAGGERTY.

Archdiocesan Pastoral Council—PATRICIA BAHU, Exec. Sec.

Ministries:

Archdiocesan Office for Persons with Disabilities—Vacant. c. 237-5910.

Pastoral Ministry to those in Health Care Institutions—Deacon ARCHIE NOON, Coord. c. 476-6969.

Pastoral Ministry to Correctional Institutions—Rev. ROBERT SCHRAMM, O.S.F.S.

Office for Black Catholic Affairs—WYATT JONES. c. 868-2700.

Office of Hispanic Affairs—RAUL FELICIANO. c. 883-3161.

The Metropolitan Tribunal—305 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48226. c. 313-237-5865. Office Hours: Mon-Fri. 8:30-4:30.

Judicial Vicar—Very Rev. WALTER A. HURLEY, J.C.L.

Adjunct Judicial Vicars—Rev. Msgr. PIO MORALES, J.C.D.; Revs. RICARDO E. BASS, J.C.L.; MICHAEL A. MOLNAR, J.C.L.

Diocesan Judges—Rev. ROBERT BURKE; Rev. Msgr. ARTHUR M. KAREY; Revs. ROBERT M. SABLE, J.C.L.; Rev. Msgrs. JEROME SMALARZ, J.C.L.; JOHN WEIER, J.C.L.; Revs. MICHAEL N. COONEY, RICHARD MACEY; GEORGE MILLER; JOHN GAGALA, J.C.L.; Rev. Msgr. ALBERT ALLEN, J.C.L.; Revs. TIMOTHY BARCOCK; GARY TIERNEY, J.C.L.; JAMES BJORUM, J.C.L.; FRANCIS R. REISS, J.C.L.

Secretary to Tribunal—MARY COAKLEY.

Notaries—RITA ZALEWSKI; MARY COAKLEY; DIANA CALICE; MARY ERDMAN; MARJORIE SEERY; GLORIA ANFIELD; ANDREA PINTO; ALICE LILEY.

Defenders of Bond—Revs. RONALD JOZWIAK, J.C.L.; NORMAN NAWROCKI, J.C.L.

Advocates and Notaries—Revs. ROBERT BAUER; RICHARD CAVELLIER; GERARD CUPPLE; GREGORY DETERS; JOSEPH GEMBALA; JOHN HEDGES; ANDREW MCLAUGHLIN; WALTER PIAK; STEVEN VILEO.

Auditors—Revs. CHARLES KOSANKE; JOSEPH TOBIN, C.S.S.R.; Dean JOHN SCHABLE; FRANCIS SYLVESTER.

Court Experts—Rev. FRANCIS JASPER, O.F.M.

Department of Education—Rev. FRANCIS R. REISS,

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/13/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/14/89 9:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	STUDDERT	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☒	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Friday, April 14, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1030 APR 13 PM 4:15

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ~~DETROIT XXXX~~
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

APRIL 17, 1989

freezers blowing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days. *Long road.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let Warsaw go free.

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

own peaceful course in the world, including ^{close} ties with Western Europe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

#

#

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 4/13/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/14/89 9:00 AMSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	STUDDERT	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	INTERMEYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Friday, April 14, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

one error noted

SMS

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1989 APR 13 PM 4:17

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Why quote the French at all?
on page 1 you also quote Victor Hugo...*

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

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

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

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

!!
o u

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note: Can this somehow be said with a sense of the emotion he experienced?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

#

#

#

*Ends abruptly -
Needs one more sentence*

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 4/13/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/14/89 9:00 AMSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	STUDDERT	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Friday, April 14, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

See Comments

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

1989 APR 13 PM 4:17

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

While there is a new breeze blowing on the political front,
~~Yet Poland faces, and will continue to face for some time,~~
 severe economic problems. ~~A modern French writer observed that~~

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

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

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

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

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* insert

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

#

#

#

✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: NELSON LUND *NL*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Detroit

At the request of James W. Cicconi, Counsel's office has reviewed the captioned remarks. We have no legal objections. We have, however, marked some non-legal editorial suggestions directly on the attached hard copy.

Attachment

cc: James W. Cicconi

1989 APR 13 PM 4:17

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

✓
(closer)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thank you.

#

#

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 13, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Roger B. Porter ^{RBP by [initials]}
Jim Pinkerton [initials]

Re: Detroit draft

=====

This is an important speech; one of the few in which the President has discussed foreign policy; one of even fewer that deal with Europe. All eyes will be on the President: the world awaits his first articulation of the Administration's new plans for Poland. From the substance of this speech it is obvious that we are offering much more than "status quo plus." However, we think that there are some imprecisions in the draft which need to be remedied:

Pg. 1, graf 1, We start off with a reference to the Inaugural, which is terrific. Unfortunately, the draft does not seize upon the most memorable and prescient line from the Inaugural: "a new breeze is blowing." The phrase "winds of change" appears in the 2nd graf of page 2, but its use there does not summon up the memory of the President's words on the West Front of the Capitol. We recommend incorporating "breeze" at the outset.

1,2 We think the overall tenor of this graf is unnecessarily harsh. We should never hesitate to reaffirm our principles and point out the tragic history of Eastern Europe. However, we think the major goal of this speech should be to establish a constructive tone that reaches out to the world. We should look upon this speech as an opportunity to express quiet confidence in the strength of our policies and quiet optimism that our way of life will peacefully prevail. With this in mind, it seems to us that we don't have to throw around as much harsh rhetoric ("danger" etc.) as appears in this graf. It only detracts from the President's larger message on this historic occasion. X

The President should emphasize the wonderful opportunity America has to help transform Eastern Europe. Thus we should speak in an optimistic, forward-looking tone that matches the policies we are announcing on this day.

(more)

(We think, for example, that the message of the underlined sentences at the bottom of the first graf on page 2 and in the second graf of page 7 is much more important. It is also more effective because it speaks to future US foreign policy objectives, as opposed to old recriminations that obscure the positive climate we are trying to foster. Another thought that makes a more profound point but that does not instantly draw blood is to argue that the changes we are seeing in Eastern Europe truly do represent the death of Marxism.)

2,2,1 We should remember that "winds of change" is a phrase made famous by Harold Macmillan in the 50s. He was referring to the decolonialization. We're concerned that this phrase is thus pregnant with resonances that are not appropriate for this occasion. We should stick to our powerful "breeze" imagery.

2,2,2 We should first emphasize the contrast between Western and Eastern Europe before we then go on to say that with the benefit of freedom, the two halves can both advance together. As this passage reads now, we seem to be implying that Eastern and Western Europe are benefiting from the same liberalizing trend, which of course is not true at all. We would rewrite the second sentence in this graf as follows: "As Western Europe continues to evolve toward higher levels of peaceful political and economic integration, Eastern Europe is awakening..."

2,3,3-4 Mixed metaphors aside, it doesn't make historical or political sense to describe Eastern Europe as the "cradle of world conflict."

3,2,1 "developed" as it appears here has two possible meanings: first, that we started relations, ab initio; and second, that we have improved relations. Since we mean to say the latter, why not say the latter? "...we have improved relations with each country..."

4,4,6 Quite properly, we are generous in spreading credit to where credit is due. We would venture that the Congress, including Democrats such as Michigan's John Dingell -- whose surname, by the way, was changed from its Polish original -- also deserve some credit for our bipartisan foreign policy success in Eastern Europe.

5,3,2 The United States will encourage or support imaginative...programs. It's a little too much to say that we will "pursue" national policy objectives within the boundaries of another sovereign nation.

(more)

3-3-3

5,4,2 Why not say "develop" instead of "put together"?

7,1,6 In this day and age, "lockstep" is automatically pejorative -- it reminds us of "robots" and other mindless things. We suggest replacing "lockstep" with "conjunction" or "concert."

7,2 This is a great graf with big news potential. However, we note the absence of Warsaw. After all, we are speaking to Poles about Poland!

#

cc Bill Roper

2642

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 4/13/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/14/89 9:00 AM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	STUDDERT	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Friday, April 14, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

April 14, 1989

TO: Chriss Winston

NSC concurs, with changes as marked.

Brent Scowcroft

cc: J. W. Cicconi

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1039 APR 12 PM 4:17

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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

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

For almost half a century, the ~~(cruel)~~ suppression of freedom in Eastern Europe, sustained by the ~~(crushing)~~ military power of the Soviet Union, has torn nation from nation, neighbor from neighbor, mother from son. This artificial division is a continual source of tension for Europe, for America and the world.

As East and West today seek to reduce arms, they can't forget that the source of tension is not only the arms, which are a symptom, but the system, bolstered by force and intimidation, in Eastern and Central Europe.

This is
a
central
point

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

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

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

Need to
cover
Soviet
foreign
policy as
well

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

In recent years, we have developed relations with each country of the region. In each case, we looked for progress in its international posture and internal practices -- in human rights, cultural openness, ^eimmigration issues, opposition to terrorism. And we held them accountable for ~~acts of~~ ^{or foreign policy actions} technology theft and hostile intelligence [^]against us.

Need to
broaden

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

Secretary
Bailes
change

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

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

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

Important to
name the 3
parties

~~Thank you L.W. / Thank you~~

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

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

After consultation with allies and friends,

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

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

Once was a democracy before

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through the darkest days.

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

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

-- The Administration will encourage business and private non-profit groups to put together innovative programs to swap Polish debt for ^{equity} ~~investment equity~~ ^{in Polish enterprises} and for charitable, ^(help, new) humanitarian and environmental projects. ~~[In a phrase, we will export free enterprise to Poland.]~~

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

~~-- (When Solidarity is legal again) I will ask Congress to join me in providing Poland access to our Generalized System of Preferences, which offers selective tariff relief to beneficiary countries. This will allow the United States to match lowered political barriers with lowered economic barriers.~~

Our
economists'
suggestion

This will
go over
very badly in
West Germany
and Europe

Not needed

Explain

Poland
already
has MFN;
no "barriers"
exist

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

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

-- We will work with our allies and friends ^{in the Paris Club} to develop sustainable new schedules for Poland to repay its debt, ^{easing} ~~(lifting)~~ a heavy burden so that a free market can ^{grow.} ~~flourish~~.

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

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

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

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

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

Don't need this if it's on p. 1

No.
Treat
Brezhnev
Doctrine
below
(top of
p. 8)

own peaceful course in the world, including ties with Western Europe. We see an Eastern Europe in which the Soviet Union has renounced military intervention as an instrument of its policy -- on any pretext -- in an explicit, definitive, and convincing repudiation of the Brezhnev Doctrine. [LET BE free]

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

These are not bilateral issues between the United States and the Soviet Union. They are, rather, the concern of all ^{the Western allies,} ~~of Europe~~ calling for common approaches.

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. It would be a (Colossal) tragedy if we wavered in our dedication to freedom now, -- at such a moment of hope and opportunity.

[We must maintain ^{our strength} ~~and modernize our forces~~ while ^{we seek} ~~pursuing~~ ^{peace.} ~~arms reductions~~. We must wield our economic and technological assets in the service of our political objectives, not squander them in ~~such~~ a way that lets the East evade hard choices.]

In short, if we are wise, ^{and ready to seize the moment,} ~~strong and united, we will be~~ ^{can be} ~~remembered as~~ the generation that made Europe free.

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

We recall the words of the Polish fighters for independence: "For your freedom and ours." We know that Poland's struggle for democracy is our struggle too.

INSERT
m 7.8

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

Recommended
CJF

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

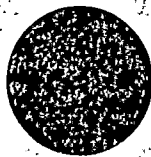
Thank you.

#

#

#

peaceful pursuit
~~struggle~~ for freedom in a ~~new~~
~~peaceful~~
~~universe~~



URGENT

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

89 APR 13 15:00

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER:

2642

ACTION OFFICER:

RODMAN

DUE:

ASAP

☐ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates☐ Appropriate Action☐ Prepare Memo For Cicconi☐ Prepare Memo for Hughes☒ Prepare Memo Scowcroftto CHARISS WINSTON w/ CC. Cicconi

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext.

3110

FYI

☐ Basora☐ Beers☒ Blackwill☐ Brooks☐ Cabelly☐ Charles☐ Coulson☒ Deal concur☐ Donley☐ Dyke☐ Ebner☐ Grant☐ Haass☐ Hoffamann☐ Hutchings☐ Jackson☐ LaMagna☐ Kanter

FYI

☐ Lampley☐ Leach☐ Lewis☐ Lowenkron☐ Mahley☐ Mandel☐ McCue☐ Melby☐ Menan☐ Miller☐ Miskel☐ Needels☐ Paal☐ Pacelli☐ Pastorino☒ Popadiuk☐ Porter☐ Rademaker

FYI

☐ Reiss☒ Rice concur☐ Rodman☐ Rostow☐ Salvetti☐ Snider☐ Tahir-Kheli☐ Tobey☐ Welch☒ Working☒ Zelikow

INFORMATION

☒ Hughes☒ Scowcroft (advance)☒ Gates (advance)☒ Secretariat☒ Exec. Sec. Desk☒ WWD

COMMENTS

URGENT

Logged By CDM

Return to Secretariat

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 4/13/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4/14/89 9:00 AMSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☒	MCCLURE	☒	☐
SUNUNU	☐	☒	NEWMAN	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☒	☐	PORTER	☒	☐
DARMAN	☒	☐	STUDDERT	☒	☐
BATES	☒	☐	UNTERMAYER	☐	☐
BREEDEN	☐	☐	ROGERS	☐	☒
CARD	☐	☒	WINSTON	☐	☒
CICCONI	☐	☒	PINKERTON	☒	☐
DEMAREST	☒	☐		☐	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☒		☐	☐
GRAY	☒	☐		☐	☐
HAGIN	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 9:00 AM, Friday, April 14, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1989 APR 13 PM 4:17

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

*No more app.
more files
summary place outside
of Polms.*

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DETROIT XXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXX

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Keep

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

*For your determination and for your patriotism
Thank you Lech Walesa.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

movement for hanging tough with Solidarity through ^{its} the darkest days.

The Poles are taking concrete steps that deserve our active support. I have decided on ^{eight} ~~some~~ specific steps by the United States, which have been carefully chosen to recognize reforms underway, and to encourage the reforms yet to come: ^{when S. is legal again}

8 -- ~~As Polish society opens up,~~ the United States will ^{A.I.} pursue imaginative educational, cultural and training programs to help liberate the creative energies of the Polish people.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The unity and strength of the democracies have brought us to this opening. ~~It would be a colossal tragedy if we wavered in~~ ^{we will not} our dedication to freedom now.

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

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

Two centuries ago, a Polish patriot by the name of Thaddeus Kosciuszko (Kosh-schoo-skooh) came to these American shores to fight for freedom. ~~He realized that the cause of liberty knows~~ ^{Like him, let us never forget} no limits; the friends of freedom, no borders.

make this
the last line

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

God Bless Poland and God bless America
Thank you.

#

#

#