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**REMARKS: POLAND ARRIVAL CEREMONY  
WARSAW AIRPORT  
SUNDAY, JULY 9, 1989  
10:10 P.M.**

**THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN, FOR YOUR KIND HOSPITALITY  
AND YOUR GRACIOUS WORDS OF WELCOME.**

**TO YOU AND TO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND -- FRIENDS AND  
COUSINS OF SO MANY IN MY HOMELAND -- WE EXTEND THE  
HEARTFELT BEST WISHES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND HERE  
IN THE HEART OF EUROPE -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE A  
FERVENT WISH -- THAT EUROPE BE WHOLE AND FREE.**

**- 2 -**

**IN MY FIRST MOMENTS AS PRESIDENT, I TOLD MY  
COUNTRYMEN THAT A NEW BREEZE WAS BLOWING ACROSS THE  
WORLD. AND THE WINDS OF CHANGE HAVE SURELY TOUCHED THE  
LAND HERE, WHERE SO MUCH HAS HAPPENED SINCE MY LAST  
VISIT.**

**IT IS WONDERFUL TO BE BACK AT SUCH AN EXCITING  
TIME. HISTORY -- WHICH HAS SO OFTEN CONSPIRED WITH  
GEOGRAPHY TO DENY THE POLISH PEOPLE THEIR FREEDOM --  
NOW OFFERS UP A NEW AND BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR POLAND.**

- 3 -

POLAND HAS STARTED ALONG AN ASCENDING PATH OF DEMOCRATIC CHANGE. THIS CLIMB IS EXHILARATING, BUT NOT ALWAYS EASY, AND WILL REQUIRE FURTHER SACRIFICES. BUT -- IF FOLLOWED -- IT WILL LEAD TO A RENAISSANCE FOR THIS REMARKABLE NATION.

THESE ARE GREAT DAYS FOR POLAND. SOLIDARITY IS AGAIN LEGAL. THE BEGINNINGS OF A FREE PRESS NOW EXIST. A NEW PARLIAMENT IS IN PLACE. THE POLISH SENATE HAS BEEN RESTORED THROUGH FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

- 4 -

POLAND IS MAKING ITS OWN HISTORY. AND AMERICA -- AND THE WORLD -- IS WATCHING. THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND AND YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN, HAVE SHOWN WISDOM AND COURAGE IN TAKING THE PATH OF THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS. THE WORLD IS INSPIRED BY WHAT IS HAPPENING HERE.

- 5 -

MR. CHAIRMAN, WE LOOK FORWARD TO OUR TALKS WITH YOU AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT -- AND WITH THE DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION. WHILE IN YOUR COUNTRY, I WANT TO HEAR THE MANY VOICES OF THE PEOPLE OF POLAND.

- 6 -

AND AS WE BEGIN THESE DISCUSSIONS, I CARRY WITH ME MANY HAPPY MEMORIES OF MY FIRST VISIT TO POLAND. AND MY THOUGHTS TURN TO THE MEMORY OF ANOTHER SUNDAY OUTSIDE WARSAW, WHEN WE ATTENDED MORNING MASS AT ST. MARGARET'S CHURCH IN LOMIANKI [[WOE-MEE AHN-KA]]. THE CRACKS OF HER HISTORIC WALLS WERE FILLED WITH FLOWERS, AND THE CHURCH ITSELF WAS FILLED TO OVERFLOWING WITH YOUR COUNTRYMEN, THEIR DEVOTED FACES TOUCHED BY TEARS OF JOY.

- 7 -

IT REMINDS ME OF OTHER CHURCHES I'VE VISITED SINCE THAT MORNING AT ST. MARGARET'S. CHURCHES LIKE ST. ADALBERT'S IN PHILADELPHIA, AND ST. HYACINTH'S IN CHICAGO. CHURCHES BUILT BY POLISH HANDS, AND NURTURED BY POLISH DREAMS. IN AMERICA -- AND IN POLAND -- THOSE DREAMS ARE AS ANCIENT AND AS FUNDAMENTAL AS THE COURAGEOUS SPIRIT OF THE POLISH PEOPLE.

- 8 -

AND AS WE MEET THIS EVENING IN WARSAW, THE SUN STILL SHINES ON THOSE CHURCHES ACROSS THE SEA. THERE IT IS STILL SUNDAY AFTERNOON, AND AMERICA'S CHURCHES ARE FILLED WITH PEOPLE IN PRAYER. AND AS WE BEGIN THESE DISCUSSIONS -- AND AS YOUR COUNTRY CONTINUES THE HARD JOURNEY UP THE PATH IT HAS CHOSEN -- MY PRAYERS, AND THE PRAYERS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, REMAIN WITH POLAND -- AS THEY HAVE THROUGHOUT ITS LONG STRUGGLE.

- 9 -

THERE IS A GOOD DEAL OF WORK TO BE DONE. AND WE  
WILL WORK TOGETHER TO GAIN NEW GROUND -- TO EXPAND OUR  
COMMON GROUND -- IN U.S.-POLISH TIES.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR THIS WARM WELCOME. REST WELL  
ON THIS SUNDAY NIGHT. AND -- "LONG LIVE POLAND."

# # #

FINAL

PRESIDENT'S TOAST AT AMBASSADOR'S LUNCH  
FOR THE POLISH INDEPENDENT INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY  
JULY 10, 1989

- 0 IT IS AN HONOR AND PRIVILEGE TO BE WITH YOU HERE TODAY. SOME OF US MET TWO YEARS AGO, IN WARSAW. SO MUCH HAS CHANGED.
  
- 0 THESE ARE HOPEFUL TIMES FOR POLAND. IT'S A SPECIAL MOMENT IN POLAND'S HISTORY, PERHAPS THE MOST PROFOUNDLY CHALLENGING PERIOD IN MANY DECADES.

- 2 -

- 0 POLAND HAS ALREADY MOVED BEYOND HISTORICAL PRECEDENT. YOU ARE AGAIN MAKING YOUR OWN HISTORY BY BUILDING A NEW NATION. POLES ARE FACING A TREMENDOUS TASK COURAGEOUSLY -- AND YOU ARE BLAZING A TRAIL FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW.

- 3 -

0 YOU, THE ARCHITECTS OF INDEPENDENT POLISH SOCIETY, ARE LEADING THE WAY. YOU ARE NOT DOING IT ALONE -- BUT WITHOUT YOU, IT WOULD NOT BE HAPPENING. IF THIS CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS SUCCEEDS, AS IT MUST, YOU WILL BE AMONG THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF A NEW POLAND, AND IN TURN, A NEW EUROPE ... WHOLE AND FREE.

- 4 -

0 MY COUNTRY AND THE WORLD ARE INSPIRED BY POLAND'S SUCCESS AT THE ROUNDTABLE AND BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ROUNDTABLE'S PROVISIONS.

0 BUT WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE MANY DIFFICULTIES AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES THAT LIE AHEAD. YOUR CHALLENGE IS TO RISE ABOVE MISTRUST TO BRING THE POLISH PEOPLE TOGETHER FOR A COMMON PURPOSE.

- 5 -

- 0 I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND WITH POLAND. WE WILL SUPPORT POLAND'S HOPEFUL MISSION, UNPARALLELED IN YOUR HISTORY.
  
- 0 WITH DEEP RESPECT FOR YOU, FOR SOLIDARITY, FOR THE ROUNDTABLE PROCESS, AND FOR ALL THE GUESTS AT THIS LUNCHEON THAT MADE THE ROUNDTABLE WORK.

# # #

FINAL

REMARKS: POLAND'S JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT  
THE SEJM  
JULY 10, 1989  
2:30 P.M.

CHAIRMAN JARUZELSKI, MARSHALLS KOZAKIEWICZ [KOZA-  
KEH-VICH] AND STELMACHOWSKI [STEL-MA-HOV-SKY], PRIME  
MINISTER RAKOWSKI, SENATORS, AND DELEGATES.

ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA, I AM HONORED TO GREET THE NEWLY-ELECTED  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH PARLIAMENT. TO BE HERE  
WITH YOU ON THIS OCCASION IS PROOF THAT WE LIVE IN  
EXTRAORDINARY, INDEED THRILLING TIMES.

THE POWER AND POTENTIAL OF THIS MOMENT WAS FIRST  
MADE CLEAR TO ME, WHEN I SAW A PHOTO OF GENERAL  
JARUZELSKI AND SOLIDARITY LEADER LECH WALESA [VAH-WEN-  
SAH] SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER AT THE OPENING SESSION OF  
PARLIAMENT -- COMMITTED TO NEW PROGRESS IN POLAND.

POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES ARE BOUND, IT IS  
OFTEN SAID, BY TIES OF KINSHIP AND CULTURE. BUT OUR  
PEOPLES ARE LINKED BY MORE THAN SENTIMENT.

THE MAY 3 CONSTITUTION OF 1791 SET POLAND AHEAD OF HER PEERS -- AND AHEAD OF HER TIME -- IN THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRATIC IDEAS, JUST AS THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1787 SET NEW STANDARDS FOR PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

FOR DECADES, BEGINNING WITH THE VERSAILLES PEACE CONFERENCE, THE UNITED STATES HAS STOOD FOR POLISH INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, AND PROSPERITY. WE ARE PROUD OF OUR EARLY AND LONGSTANDING COMMITMENT TO POLISH SELF-DETERMINATION. AS AMERICA'S PRESIDENT, I AM HERE TODAY TO REAFFIRM THAT PROFOUND COMMITMENT.

I UNDERSTAND SOMETHING OF THE WORK YOU ARE COMMENCING, FOR I BEGAN MY PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE AMERICAN CONGRESS. DEMOCRATICALLY CHOSEN LEGISLATURES ARE AMONG MANKIND'S GREATEST FORUMS FOR DEBATE AND DIALOGUE. AND WHILE I HAVE BEEN TO POLAND BEFORE, I DID NOT EXPECT TO RETURN SO SOON -- NOR TO SUCH ALTERED CIRCUMSTANCES IN YOUR COUNTRY. SO TOO, PERHAPS, MANY OF YOU DID NOT EXPECT TO BE HERE -- SERVING IN THIS, OR IN ANY POLISH PARLIAMENT. YOUR ACHIEVEMENT HAS SURPASSED ALL EXPECTATIONS AND HAS EARNED ALL OUR ADMIRATION.

OUR MEETING TODAY BEARS WITNESS TO THE CHARACTER OF OUR AGE. SOME FOUR HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS AGO, WHEN THE POLISH ASTRONOMER NICOLAUS COPERNICUS CAME TO UNDERSTAND THE NATURAL ORDER OF THE PLANETS -- AND HAD THE COURAGE TO QUESTION ACCEPTED WISDOM -- THE WORLD WAS CHANGED FOREVER. FROM THIS YEAR FORWARD, AS POLAND WORKS TO REAFFIRM THE NATURAL ORDER OF MAN AND GOVERNMENT, SO TOO WILL POLAND BE CHANGED FOREVER.

FOR TODAY THE SCOPE OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE IN POLAND IS INDEED COPERNICAN. A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN PERSPECTIVE, THAT PLACES THE PEOPLE AT THE CENTER. A NEW UNDERSTANDING, THAT THE GOVERNED ARE THE TRUE SOURCE OF LASTING SOCIAL PEACE AND ECONOMIC PROSPERITY -- AROUND WHICH GOVERNMENT REVOLVES, AND EXISTS TO SERVE.

POLAND HAS A RICH DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE. THE MAY 3RD CONSTITUTION WAS A STROKE OF GENIUS. TODAY, AT THE DAWN OF THAT DOCUMENT'S THIRD CENTURY, YOU ARE CALLED UPON TO MATCH ITS GENIUS WITH CONTEMPORARY ACTION. TO MAKE A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TOWARD POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RENEWAL -- THROUGH REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT THAT EXPRESSES THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

I SAID A FEW WEEKS AGO HERE IN EUROPE THAT EAST AND WEST HAVE ARRIVED AT THE END OF ONE ERA, AND AT THE BEGINNING OF ANOTHER. CHAIRMAN JARUZELSKI RECENTLY SAID OF POLAND THAT "THE LIFE OF THE NATION HAS UNDERGONE DEEP CHANGES... SOCIETY HAS THE FULL RIGHT TO ASK WHEN A RAY OF SUN WILL SHINE OVER POLAND." IN TRUTH, THIS APPLIES NOT JUST TO POLAND, BUT TO THE ENTIRETY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

A PROFOUND CYCLE OF TURMOIL AND GREAT CHANGE IS SWEEPING THE WORLD FROM POLAND TO THE PACIFIC. IT IS SOMETIMES INSPIRING, AS HERE, IN WARSAW. SOMETIMES IT IS AGONIZING, AS IN CHINA TODAY. BUT THE MAGNITUDE OF CHANGE WE SENSE AROUND THE WORLD COMPELS US TO LOOK WITHIN OURSELVES -- AND TO GOD -- TO FORGE A RARE ALLOY OF COURAGE AND RESTRAINT.

THE FUTURE BECKONS WITH BOTH HOPE AND UNCERTAINTY. POLAND AND HUNGARY FIND THEMSELVES AT A CROSSROADS. EACH HAS STARTED DOWN ITS OWN ROAD TO REFORM, WITHOUT GUARANTEE OF EASY SUCCESS. THE PEOPLE OF THESE NATIONS -- AND THE COURAGE OF THEIR LEADERS -- COMMAND OUR ADMIRATION. THE WAY IS HARD. BUT THE MOMENT IS RIGHT, BOTH INTERNALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY, FOR POLAND TO WALK ITS OWN PATH.

ON THE DAY SOLIDARITY WAS RESTORED, I SPOKE OF MY SUPPORT AND ADMIRATION FOR THE POLITICAL EXPERIMENT JUST GETTING UNDERWAY IN POLAND. YOU HAVE SINCE PROCEEDED FURTHER ALONG THAT ROAD -- INCLUDING HOLDING THE REMARKABLE ELECTIONS THAT PRODUCED THIS PARLIAMENT. LET US CONSIDER WHAT YOUR EXPERIMENT MAY MEAN, NOT JUST FOR POLAND, BUT FOR EUROPE AND THE WORLD.

THE DIVIDED WORLD OF THE MODERN AGE BEGAN HERE, IN POLAND, FIFTY YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER. YOUR COUNTRY -- AND THEN NEARLY ALL OF EUROPE -- WAS FIRST BESIEGED AND THEN OCCUPIED BY TOTALITARIAN, DESPOTIC FORCES. A COURAGEOUS POLAND WAS OUR ALLY. IN THAT FEARFUL TIME, FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT AND WINSTON CHURCHILL DEvised THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, WHICH OUTLINED PRINCIPLES ON WHICH WE HOPED TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD -- INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM WANT AND FEAR, AND THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO CHOOSE THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT UNDER WHICH THEY WILL LIVE.

BUT AS YOU KNOW BETTER THAN ANYONE, THE WORLD WE SOUGHT THEN WAS NOT TO BE. STALINIST SYSTEMS WERE IMPOSED OVER A THIRD OF A CONTINENT. THE COLD WAR BEGAN. THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST ORGANIZED THEMSELVES IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. WE PROPOSED THAT THE MARSHALL PLAN INCLUDE EASTERN EUROPE. BUT AGAIN, IT WAS NOT TO BE.

THE WESTERN STRATEGY OF CONTAINMENT WAS A MEANS, BUT WAS NEVER AN END IN ITSELF. IT WAS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A FREE AND UNITED EUROPE. WE DID NOT FORGET THE FRUSTRATED AND LOST HOPES OF 1945, NOR THE PROMISE OF A BETTER WORLD. NEITHER DID THE POLISH PEOPLE. YOU HAVE BEEN A CRUCIBLE OF CONFLICT. YOU ARE NOW BECOMING A VESSEL FOR CHANGE.

POLAND IS WHERE THE COLD WAR BEGAN -- AND NOW THE PEOPLE OF POLAND CAN HELP BRING THE DIVISION OF EUROPE TO AN END. THE TIME HAS COME TO MOVE BEYOND CONTAINMENT TO A WORLD TOO LONG DEFERRED -- A BETTER WORLD. NOW, AT LONG LAST, TWO DEVELOPMENTS HAVE ALLOWED US TO REDEEM THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER FOR WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND POLAND FOUGHT AS ALLIES. ONE IS THE MANIFEST FAILURE OF THE CLASSIC STALINIST SYSTEM. THE OTHER IS THE INDOMITABLE WILL OF THE PEOPLE -- THROUGH LEADERS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, WHO ARE WORKING TO OVERCOME THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST WITH HONESTY, CREATIVITY, AND COURAGE. THE WORLD WATCHES IN ADMIRATION.

NOW -- IN PART BECAUSE OF WHAT YOU ARE DOING HERE -- THE GENUINE OPPORTUNITY EXISTS FOR ALL OF US TO BUILD A EUROPE WHICH MANY THOUGHT WAS DESTROYED FOREVER IN THE 1940S. THAT EUROPE -- THE EUROPE OF OUR CHILDREN -- WILL BE OPEN, WHOLE, AND FREE.

WE CAN MAKE IT SO IN TWO WAYS.

FIRST, A NEW EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP MUST REST ON GREATLY REDUCED LEVELS OF ARMS. WE IN THE WEST HAVE PROPOSED DRAMATIC REDUCTIONS IN CONVENTIONAL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE, REDUCTIONS THAT PROMISE TO TRANSFORM THE MILITARY MAP OF EUROPE AND DIMINISH THE VERY THREAT OF WAR. THE NEW WILLINGNESS IN MOSCOW TO ACCEPT THIS WESTERN FRAMEWORK FOR REDUCTIONS IN TROOPS, TANKS, AIRCRAFT, AND OTHER CATEGORIES OF WEAPONS GIVES US HOPE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA WILL SUCCEED. A GOOD BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE. CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS ARE BEING OFFERED ON BOTH SIDES. WE ARE DETERMINED TO PUSH HARD FOR AN EARLY AND SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION TO THESE TALKS.

SECOND, REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY FORCES WILL GO FURTHER AND BE MORE SUSTAINABLE IF THEY TAKE PLACE IN PARALLEL WITH POLITICAL CHANGE. EXCESSIVE LEVELS OF ARMS, WE BELIEVE, ARE THE SYMPTOM AND NOT THE SOURCE OF POLITICAL TENSIONS. IN EUROPE, THOSE TENSIONS SPRING FROM AN UNNATURAL AND CRUEL DIVISION.

POLAND'S DECISION TO EMBRACE POLITICAL REFORM -- AND HUNGARY'S MOVEMENTS IN THE SAME DIRECTION -- THUS HAVE GREAT IMPORTANCE BEYOND THEIR BORDERS. BY CREATING POLITICAL STRUCTURES LEGITIMIZED BY POPULAR WILL, YOUR REFORMS CAN BE THE FOUNDATION OF STABILITY, SECURITY, AND PROSPERITY -- NOT JUST HERE, BUT IN ALL OF EUROPE, NOW AND INTO THE NEXT CENTURY.

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV HAS WRITTEN, "UNIVERSAL SECURITY RESTS ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF EVERY NATION TO CHOOSE ITS OWN PATH OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ON THE RENUNCIATION OF INTERFERENCE IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF OTHER STATES. A NATION MAY CHOOSE EITHER CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM. THIS IS ITS SOVEREIGN RIGHT." IN PRINCIPLE, I AGREE. BUT I MIGHT WELL HAVE SAID THAT THE PEOPLE OF A NATION MAY FREELY CHOOSE EITHER A FREE MARKET ECONOMY, OR SOCIALISM. THAT IS THEIR RIGHT.

AND SO THE WEST WORKS NOT TO DISRUPT, NOT TO INTERFERE, NOT TO THREATEN ANY NATION'S SECURITY, BUT TO HELP FORGE CLOSER AND ENDURING TIES BETWEEN POLAND AND THE REST OF EUROPE.

AS A RESULT OF THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, POLAND'S FATE LIES MORE THAN EVER IN POLISH HANDS. AND THERE IT MUST EVER REMAIN.

YOUR RESPONSIBILITY FOR YOUR COUNTRY'S FUTURE IS IMMENSE. POLAND'S FRIENDS, INCLUDING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WANT POLAND TO BE FREE, PROSPEROUS, DEMOCRATIC, AND INDEPENDENT -- TRUE TO THE BEST TRADITIONS OF YOUR NATION'S PAST.

THE REGIME IS MOVING FORWARD WITH A SENSE OF REALISM AND COURAGE, IN A TIME OF GREAT DIFFICULTY AND CHALLENGE. LECH WALESZA AND SOLIDARITY ARE DEEPLY COMMITTED TO INSTITUTIONS IN POLAND THAT WILL SERVE ALL ITS PEOPLE. THIS PARLIAMENT, BY ITS VERY EXISTENCE, IS ADVANCING PLURALISM. AND THE CHURCH HAS SERVED AS A SOURCE OF SPIRITUAL GUIDANCE AND UNITY IN TURBULENT TIMES. BUT ABOVE ALL, THERE ARE THE PEOPLE OF POLAND - - PEOPLE WHO ARE STEADFASTLY WORKING TOWARD PRODUCTIVE CHANGE.

YET, EVEN UNDER THE BEST CIRCUMSTANCES, REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT HAS ITS OWN CHALLENGES. IT REQUIRES PATIENCE, TOLERANCE, AND GIVE-AND-TAKE BETWEEN POLITICAL OPPONENTS. BUT ITS VIRTUE IS THAT IT GRANTS LEGITIMACY TO LEADERS AND THEIR POLICIES. IT GIVES GOVERNMENTS AND SOCIETIES THE MANDATE TO MAKE HARD CHOICES. AND THROUGH THEIR INVOLVEMENT, IT GIVES THE PEOPLE A STAKE IN THE CHOICES THAT ARE MADE.

FOR OVER TWO HUNDRED YEARS, AMERICANS HAVE WRESTLED OVER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS, OVER INDIVIDUAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS, AND THE ROLE OF A LOYAL OPPOSITION. DEMOCRACY IS NOT A CONCLUSION, IT IS A PROCESS -- AND PERFECTING IT NEVER ENDS. BUT HISTORY HAS TAUGHT AMERICANS ONE VERY CLEAR LESSON: DEMOCRACY WORKS.

WE UNDERSTAND IN MY COUNTRY THE ENORMOUS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS YOU FACE. ECONOMIC PRIVATION IS A DANGER THAT CAN THREATEN ANY GREAT DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT. I MUST SPEAK HONESTLY: ECONOMIC REFORM AND RECOVERY CANNOT OCCUR WITHOUT SACRIFICES. EVEN IN AN ECONOMY AS PRODUCTIVE AS OURS, WE STILL DEBATE THE ROLE AND LIMITS OF GOVERNMENT: HOW TO REGULATE THE PRIVATE SECTOR WITHOUT DISCOURAGING INNOVATION. HOW TO REDUCE OUR OWN BUDGET DEFICIT. HOW TO BALANCE WORKERS' NEEDS AND INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY. HOW TO HANDLE THE PAINFUL DISRUPTIONS OF CHANGE -- FOR THE SAKE OF PRODUCTIVITY, PROGRESS, AND PROSPERITY.

THE REFORM OF THE POLISH ECONOMY WILL BE AN HISTORIC CHALLENGE. THERE CAN BE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR POLAND'S OWN EFFORTS. BUT I WANT TO STRESS TO YOU TODAY THAT POLAND IS NOT ALONE. GIVEN THE ENORMITY OF THIS MOMENT, THE UNITED STATES STANDS READY TO HELP YOU AS YOU HELP YOURSELVES.

IN HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN, THREE MONTHS AGO, I OUTLINED A POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR THE REFORMS THEN JUST BEGINNING IN POLAND. I PROPOSED SPECIFIC STEPS, CAREFULLY CHOSEN TO RECOGNIZE THE REFORMS UNDERWAY, AND TO ENCOURAGE REFORMS YET TO COME. IT IS A POLICY BUILT ON THE DYNAMIC INTERPLAY OF PROGRESS IN POLAND, AND WESTERN ENGAGEMENT -- AND NOT ON UNSOUND CREDITS MADE WITHOUT REGARD TO NECESSARY REFORMS. THAT WAS THE RECORD OF THE 1970S, THAT POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES NEED NOT REPEAT. OUR EFFORTS WILL BE CAREFULLY TARGETED IN SUPPORT OF AN EMERGING NEW POLAND.

WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS ON THE STEPS ANNOUNCED AT  
HAMTRAMCK. THIS IS WHERE WE STAND:

-- LEGISLATION IS WELL UNDERWAY THAT WILL HELP POLISH  
EXPORTERS COMPETE MORE EFFECTIVELY IN THE U.S. MARKET  
THROUGH OUR GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES; AND THAT  
WILL AUTHORIZE OUR OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT  
CORPORATION TO OPERATE IN POLAND, PROVIDING INVESTMENT  
INSURANCE AND SETTING UP MISSIONS TO STIMULATE U.S.  
INVESTMENT AND JOINT VENTURES HERE.

-- THE UNITED STATES IS PROPOSING A PRIVATE BUSINESS  
AGREEMENT THAT WILL PROMOTE CONTACTS BETWEEN POLAND'S  
GROWING PRIVATE BUSINESS SECTOR AND ITS AMERICAN  
COUNTERPARTS. WE HOPE TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT SOON,  
TO BUILD ON WHAT PROMISES TO BE UNPRECEDENTED  
OPPORTUNITY.

-- THERE IS GREAT INTEREST AND EXCITEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES ABOUT WHAT YOU ARE DOING IN POLAND, AND A CLEAR-CUT DESIRE TO HELP THE REFORM PROCESS. I HOSTED A WHITE HOUSE SYMPOSIUM ON JULY 6, TO BRING TOGETHER CITIZENS OF MY COUNTRY INTERESTED IN PROMOTING INVESTMENT, TRADE, AND ACADEMIC EXCHANGE WITH POLAND AND HUNGARY. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL BE INVOLVED IN YOUR DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT.

I HAVE SAID THAT AS POLAND REFORMS ITSELF, THE U.S. WILL RESPOND. MUCH HAS HAPPENED EVEN IN THE SHORT TIME SINCE HAMTRAMCK. SO TODAY, I'M PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT WE PLAN TO DO MORE -- AND GO FARTHER -- FOR THE SAKE OF A STABLE AND PROSPEROUS POLAND:

-- FIRST, I WILL PROPOSE AT THE UPCOMING ECONOMIC SUMMIT IN PARIS THAT THE NATIONS OF THE SUMMIT SEVEN INTENSIFY THEIR COORDINATION AND CONCERTED ACTION TO PROMOTE DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, AND TO HELP MANAGE COMPASSIONATELY THE PROCESS OF CHANGE. WE WILL WORK WITH OUR PARTNERS AT THE SUMMIT, MOVING QUICKLY WITH INCREASED WESTERN AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THIS CONCERTED ACTION WILL COMPLEMENT EXISTING INSTITUTIONS LIKE THE WORLD BANK, PARIS CLUB, AND IMF, AND ADDRESS NEEDED ECONOMIC REFORMS, CREDITS, MANAGEMENT AND TRAINING INITIATIVES, SOCIAL SAFETY NETS, HOUSING, AND OTHER ISSUES IMPORTANT TO POLAND.

-- SECOND, I WILL ASK THE U.S. CONGRESS TO PROVIDE A \$100 MILLION FUND TO CAPITALIZE AND INVIGORATE THE POLISH PRIVATE SECTOR -- AND WE WILL ENCOURAGE PARALLEL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM OTHER NATIONS OF THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT.

-- THIRD, I WILL ENCOURAGE THE WORLD BANK TO MOVE AHEAD WITH \$325 MILLION IN ECONOMICALLY VIABLE LOANS TO HELP POLISH AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY REACH THE PRODUCTION LEVELS THEY ARE SO CLEARLY CAPABLE OF.

-- FOURTH, I WILL ASK MY COUNTERPARTS IN THE WEST TO SUPPORT AN EARLY AND GENEROUS RESCHEDULING OF POLISH DEBT. THIS COULD PROVIDE DEFERRAL OF DEBT PAYMENTS AMOUNTING TO ABOUT \$5 BILLION THIS YEAR -- IF OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN THE PARIS CLUB AGREE TO JOIN US IN OFFERING LIBERALIZED TERMS. I PLAN TO DISCUSS THIS ISSUE WITH MY COLLEAGUES AT THE PARIS SUMMIT.

-- FIFTH, ECONOMIC PROGRESS SHOULD NOT COME AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR COMMON INHERITANCE -- THE ENVIRONMENT. IN FACT, SOUND ECOLOGY AND A STRONG ECONOMY CAN AND MUST COEXIST. AIR AND WATER POLLUTION KNOW NO BOUNDARIES: THE CONCERN IS WORLDWIDE. ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO I VISITED KRAKOW [KRA-KOV], YOUR FORMER ROYAL CAPITAL -- A CITY RECOGNIZED BY UNESCO AS AN INTERNATIONAL TREASURE. TODAY KRAKOW IS UNDER SIEGE BY POLLUTION. ITS PRICELESS MONUMENTS ARE BEING DESTROYED. KRAKOW MUST BE RECLAIMED. THE UNITED STATES WILL HELP. [PAUSE] I WILL ASK THE CONGRESS FOR \$15 MILLION FOR A COOPERATIVE VENTURE WITH POLAND TO HELP FIGHT AIR AND WATER POLLUTION IN KRAKOW.

-- SIXTH, AND FINALLY: WHEN I BEGAN MY REMARKS I MENTIONED THE SHARED CULTURED HERITAGE OF OUR TWO NATIONS. TODAY, I'M PROUD TO ANNOUNCE THAT MY COUNTRY WILL ESTABLISH A CULTURAL AND INFORMATION CENTER IN WARSAW -- AND WE WILL ASK POLAND TO ESTABLISH A SIMILAR CENTER IN THE UNITED STATES. THIS WILL BE THE FIRST TIME THAT EITHER OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL BE ABLE TO CONDUCT EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS OUTSIDE OF OUR EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES.

THE ELECTIONS WHICH BROUGHT US TOGETHER HERE TODAY MEAN THAT THE PATH THE POLISH PEOPLE HAVE CHOSEN IS THAT OF POLITICAL PLURALISM AND ECONOMIC REBIRTH. THE ROAD AHEAD IS A LONG ONE. BUT IT IS THE ONLY ROAD WHICH LEADS TO PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL PEACE. POLAND'S PROGRESS ALONG THIS ROAD WILL SHOW THE WAY TOWARD A NEW ERA THROUGHOUT EUROPE, AN ERA BASED ON COMMON VALUES AND NOT JUST GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY. THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL STAND WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE, AND OTHER PEOPLES OF THIS REGION.

DEMOCRACY HAS CAPTURED THE SPIRIT OF OUR TIME. LIKE ALL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, THOUGH IT MAY BE DEFENDED, DEMOCRACY CANNOT BE IMPOSED. WE BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY. FOR WITHOUT DOUBT, THOUGH DEMOCRACY MAY BE A DREAM DEFERRED FOR MANY, IT REMAINS THE DESTINY OF MAN.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTIONS WERE ADOPTED BY THREE NATIONS, EMBODYING THE POWERFUL INFLUENCE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT -- AS A TESTAMENT TO IDEAS THAT ENDURE.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION WAS FIRST, AND HAS STOOD THE TEST OF HISTORY FOR THE OVER 200 YEARS OF OUR EXISTENCE AS A REPUBLIC. CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE BEGAN TWO CENTURIES AGO THIS SUMMER. AND IN A FEW DAYS, LEADERS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD WILL BE IN PARIS TO CELEBRATE THE ANNIVERSARY OF ITS BIRTH.

ON MAY 3, 1991, THE POLISH CONSTITUTION WILL ALSO BE 200 YEARS OLD. YOUR CONSTITUTION OF 1791 WAS CRUELLY CRUSHED, BUT NEVER FORGOTTEN. NOW, THIS GENERATION'S CALLING IS TO REDEEM THE PROMISE OF A FREE POLISH REPUBLIC. POLAND HAS NOT BEEN LOST SO LONG AS THE POLISH SPIRIT LIVES.

AMERICA WISHES YOU WELL WITH ALL ITS HEART. GOD IN HIS INFINITE WISDOM AND LOVE IS WITH US IN THIS CHAMBER. MAY GOD BLESS YOU AND YOUR EFFORTS.

# # #

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLISH LITTLE LEAGUE

FILE

WARSAW, POLAND

MONDAY, JULY 10, 1989

4:15 P.M.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, BOYS AND GIRLS, FRIENDS OF  
POLAND AND AMERICA. THANK YOU FOR THOSE WORDS OF  
WELCOME. IT IS A PLEASURE FOR ME TO BE WITH YOU IN  
THIS GREAT AND LOVELY CITY.

- 2 -

YOU KNOW, FIFTY YEARS AGO AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION  
WAS BORN: LITTLE LEAGUE BASEBALL. AND IT'S GROWN TO  
BECOME AMERICA'S AMBASSADOR OF GOODWILL, AND THE  
LARGEST YOUTH SPORTS PROGRAM IN THE WORLD.

THIS YEAR, THAT PROGRAM HAS COME TO POLAND. AS  
HAVE THESE WORDS OF THE LITTLE LEAGUE PLEDGE: "I TRUST  
IN GOD. I LOVE MY COUNTRY, AND WILL RESPECT ITS LAWS.  
I WILL PLAY FAIR TO STRIVE TO WIN. BUT WIN OR LOSE, I  
WILL ALWAYS DO MY BEST."

YOU KIDS HERE TODAY -- PLEASE REMEMBER THOSE WORDS.  
FOR THEIR SPIRIT IS POLAND'S SPIRIT. AND OVER THE  
YEARS THAT SPIRIT HAS INSPIRED THE MANY POLES WHO'VE  
ENRICHED AMERICAN BASEBALL.

I THINK, FOR INSTANCE, OF BIG-LEAGUERS LIKE TED  
KLUSZEWSKI [KLA ZOO SKI] -- NICKNAMED BIG KLU. OR GREG  
LUZINSKI [LOU ZIN SKI] -- THE BULL. OR TONY KUBEK [KOO  
BECK] -- NOW A NOTED SPORTSCASTER. OR THE NIEKRO [NEEK  
RO] BOYS -- PHIL AND JOE --WHO WON MORE GAMES THAN ANY  
PAIR OF BROTHERS IN BIG-LEAGUE HISTORY.

OVER THE YEARS, POLAND'S GIVEN A LOT TO AMERICAN  
BASEBALL. AND NOW, IT'S OUR TURN TO RETURN THE FAVOR.

FOR WE'RE HERE TO PRESENT POLAND'S CHARTERS FOR LITTLE LEAGUE BASEBALL. AND TO PRESENT ENOUGH EQUIPMENT TO FIELD TEN TEAMS. PERHAPS NOTHING IS MORE AMERICAN THAN LITTLE LEAGUE BASEBALL. WELL, FEW THINGS SHOW AMERICA'S LOVE FOR POLAND LIKE BRINGING OUR NATIONAL PASTIME TO YOU.

LITTLE LEAGUE WAS BORN ON A MAKESHIFT DIAMOND -- THREE TEAMS, 36 KIDS, A HANDFUL OF ADULT VOLUNTEERS. AND IT STARTED IN WILLIAMSPORT, PENNSYLVANIA -- A STATE WITH MANY CITIES WITH A LARGE POLISH POPULATION -- PITTSBURGH, PHILADELPHIA, SCRANTON, WILKES-BARRE.

SINCE THEN, MORE THAN 20 MILLION YOUNGSTERS HAVE WORN THE LITTLE LEAGUE UNIFORM -- KIDS IN PENNSYLVANIA, AND NOW IN POLAND. THEY'VE HAD THE CHANCE TO COMPETE, AND THE CHANCE TO LEARN.

LEARN THE VALUE OF SPORTSMANSHIP, GENEROSITY, AND TEAMWORK. LEARN THE LESSONS SO CENTRAL TO LIFE.

IN ONE SENSE, THEN, YOU KIDS HERE ARE HEIRS TO A TRADITION. BUT IN ANOTHER SENSE, YOU'RE PIONEERS. FOR YOU ARE AMONG THE FIRST 1,000 KIDS TO PLAY ON 18 LITTLE LEAGUE TEAMS IN FOUR OF YOUR CITIES. JOINING MILLIONS OF BOYS AND GIRLS IN 32 OTHER COUNTRIES.

THIS EQUIPMENT WILL HELP YOU. AND I WANT TO THANK THE RAWLINGS COMPANY. LET ME THANK THE COACHES HERE -- LIKE I USED TO WHEN I WAS COACHING LITTLE LEAGUE, I KNOW YOU'LL HAVE A BALL. AND A SPECIAL SALUTE TO THE MAN WHO SPURRED THE DRIVE TO BRING LITTLE LEAGUE TO POLAND: STAN KOKOSKA [KO KO SKA] OF WINDHAM, CONNECTICUT.

THANKS TO ALL OF YOU, THESE ARE GREAT TIMES FOR POLAND'S LITTLE LEAGUE. AND ANOTHER GREAT MOMENT WILL COME 13 DAYS FROM NOW. FOR ON THAT DAY AMERICA'S BASEBALL HALL OF FAME WILL INDUCT THE FIRST FORMER LITTLE LEAGUER. HE'S MY GOOD FRIEND CARL YASTRZEMSKI OF THE BOSTON RED SOX. AND HE'S A POLISH-AMERICAN.

IN COOPERSTOWN, NEW YORK, WHERE THE HALL OF FAME IS LOCATED, YASTRZEMSKI WILL JOIN THREE OTHER POLISH-AMERICANS.

AL SIMMONS AND STAN COVELESKI [COV EL EH SKI]. AND THE MAN OF WHOM IT ONCE WAS SAID: "HERE STANDS BASEBALL'S PERFECT WARRIOR. HERE STANDS BASEBALL'S PERFECT KNIGHT."

AS THE SON OF POLISH IMMIGRANTS IN DONORA [DA NOR A], PENNSYLVANIA, STAN MUSIAL HAD A DREAM: TO MAKE THE BIG LEAGUES. LIKE SO MANY POLES, HARD WORK MADE HIS DREAM COME TRUE.

STAN THE MAN WAS ALREADY CLIMBING TOWARD THE MAJORS WHEN LITTLE LEAGUE BEGAN. HE NEVER PLAYED IT, BUT HE EMBODIED ITS QUALITIES. FOR HE WAS A HUMBLE WINNER, AND A GRACIOUS LOSER. A MAN OF SELF-DISCIPLINE AND PRIDE.

IN TIME, STAN MUSIAL BECAME PERHAPS THE MOST FAMOUS POLISH-AMERICAN. AND AFTER HE RETIRED, HE SAID, SIMPLY, WHAT CARL YASTRZEMSKI AND MILLIONS OF OTHER PLAYERS BELIEVE: "MY GREATEST THRILL WAS JUST PUTTING MY UNIFORM ON EVERY DAY."

MY FRIENDS, I SUSPECT YOU'LL FEEL THE SAME. THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, GOD BLESS POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES, AND "PODAJ-PILKE" [PO-DIE PIL-KEH] -- PLAY BALL.

# # #

FINAL

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

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

- 2 -

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

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

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

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

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE REWARDS FOR SUCCESSFUL EFFORT ARE, AS ALWAYS, MORE AND GREATER CHALLENGES. POLAND IS ENTERING A NEW ERA. IT IS BEGINNING ONCE AGAIN TO COMMAND ITS OWN DESTINY. POLISH ENERGY AND CREATIVITY ARE BEING TAPPED.

GREAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN ALREADY -- THE REMARKABLE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, SOLIDARITY'S LEGALIZATION, THE HOLDING OF FAIR ELECTIONS, THE RESTORATION OF A FREELY-ELECTED POLISH SENATE. AND MORE STEPS AWAIT ON THE ROAD AHEAD.

POLAND HAS SURPASSED ALL EXPECTATIONS. AND WE RESPECT YOU FOR IT.

REFORM IS A DIFFICULT PROCESS, AS YOU WELL KNOW.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 9 -

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

**# # #**

PRESIDENTIAL TALKING POINTS: POLISH EMBASSY COMMUNITY  
WARSAW, POLAND  
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

- \* IT'S WONDERFUL TO BE HERE AGAIN -- AND TO SEE SO MANY FAMILIAR FACES.
- \* BARBARA AND I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR THE TREMENDOUS EFFORTS YOU MADE TO MAKE THIS VISIT SO SUCCESSFUL. I KNOW FROM EXPERIENCE HOW MUCH GOES INTO TRIPS LIKE THIS -- AND I WANT YOU TO KNOW, WE APPRECIATE IT.

- 2 -

- \* ANY AMERICAN EMBASSY -- ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD -- HAS A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY TO SERVE AMERICAN INTERESTS, CARRY OUT U.S. PROGRAMS AND INITIATIVES, AND KEEP THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND MYSELF WELL INFORMED ABOUT NEW DEVELOPMENTS.

\* BUT THIS EMBASSY IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT RIGHT NOW. YOU HAVE BEEN LIVING AND WORKING THROUGH EXTRAORDINARY TIMES HERE IN POLAND. YOU UNDERSTAND THAT THE PRESENT FERMENT OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS CAN UNLEASH THE ENTERPRISE AND CREATIVITY OF A GREAT PEOPLE. AND YOUR PERFORMANCE AMID THE TURBULENCE AND EXCITEMENT OF RECENT MONTHS HAS BEEN OUTSTANDING.

\* MR. AMBASSADOR, MRS. DAVIS -- YOU HAVE A FIRST-RATE GROUP OF PEOPLE HERE, HOLDING UP THE BEST TRADITIONS OF GOVERNMENT SERVICE. YOUR PROFESSIONAL DEDICATION IS HELPING US MOVE FORWARD, TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN POLAND, AND STRENGTHEN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF POLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

\* KEEP UP THE FINE WORK. THANK YOU. AND GOD BLESS YOU.

REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT  
LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK  
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989  
2:10 P.M.

THANK YOU. HELLO LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]] HELLO  
SOLIDARNOSC. [[PAUSE]] HELLO POLSKA. [[PAUSE]]  
CONGRATULATIONS ON WHAT YOU HAVE DONE SINCE LAST I  
VISITED -- THE FIRST FREE ELECTIONS IN MODERN POLSKA.  
[[PAUSE]]

POLAND HAS A SPECIAL PLACE IN THE AMERICAN HEART -  
- AND IN MY HEART. WHEN YOU HURT, WE FEEL PAIN. WHEN  
YOU DREAM, WE FEEL HOPE. WHEN YOU SUCCEED, WE FEEL  
JOY. IT GOES FAR BEYOND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS --IT'S  
MORE LIKE FAMILY RELATIONS. AND COMING TO POLAND IS  
LIKE COMING HOME. [[PAUSE]]

THIS SPECIAL KINSHIP IS THE KINSHIP OF AN ANCIENT  
DREAM -- A RECURRING DREAM -- THE DREAM OF FREEDOM.  
"THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED TO LIBERTY," WROTE A BYZANTINE  
HISTORIAN ABOUT THE SLAVIC PEOPLE MORE THAN A THOUSAND  
YEARS AGO. AND THE SPIRIT OF THE POLES HAS BEEN  
CONVEYED ACROSS THE CENTURIES AND ACROSS THE OCEANS --  
A DREAM THAT WOULD NOT DIE. [[PAUSE]]

THAT DREAM WAS SEVERELY TESTED HERE IN GDANSK. FIFTY YEARS AGO THIS SUMMER, THE PRE-DAWN QUIET OF THIS PEACEFUL BALTIC HARBOR WAS SHATTERED BY THUNDER FROM THE 15-INCH GUNS OF THE NAZI WARSHIP SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN [[SHLES-VIG HOLE-SHTINE]]. WITHIN THE HOUR, IRON PANZERS ROLLED ACROSS THE POLISH FRONTIER. AND EUROPE WAS PLUNGED INTO A DARKNESS THAT WOULD ENGULF THE WORLD.

FOR POLAND THE CHOICES WERE FEW: SURRENDER TO TYRANNY -- OR RESIST AGAINST IMPOSSIBLE ODDS. AND IN THE BRUTAL FIGHTING THAT FOLLOWED, YOU SET A STANDARD FOR COURAGE THAT WILL NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. [[PAUSE]] IN WORLD WAR II POLAND LOST EVERYTHING -- EXCEPT HER HONOR -- EXCEPT HER DREAMS. [[PAUSE]]

BEFORE POLAND FELL, YOU GAVE THE ALLIES "ENIGMA" - - THE NAZI'S SECRET CODING MACHINE. BREAKING THE "UNBREAKABLE" AXIS CODES SAVED TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ALLIED LIVES -- OF AMERICAN LIVES -- AND FOR THIS YOU HAVE THE ENDURING GRATITUDE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND, ULTIMATELY, ENIGMA AND POLISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN WINNING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

BUT FOR YOU, THE WAR'S END DID NOT END THE DARKNESS. THE COLD WAR BROUGHT A LONG AND CHILLY NIGHT OF SORROW AND HARDSHIP. AND THE DREAM WAS AGAIN DENIED.

AND YET, THERE WERE GLIMMERS OF THE LONG-AWAITED DAWN. IN THE SUMMER OF 1980, YOU OCCUPIED THE SHIPYARDS WHERE WE STAND. AND A PATRIOTIC ELECTRICIAN CLAMBERED OVER THESE IRON GATES -- AND EMERGED AS ONE OF THE HEROES OF OUR TIMES -- LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]]

AND ABOVE YOUR STREETS A GRACEFUL MONUMENT ROSE -- IN THE TRADITION OF OUR OWN STATUE OF LIBERTY -- TO BECOME A SYMBOL RECOGNIZED AROUND THE WORLD AS A BEACON OF HOPE.

BUT THE HOPE -- LIKE THE DAWN -- PROVED FLEETING. FOR UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS, THE ELECTRICIAN WAS ARRESTED AND YOUR MOVEMENT OUTLAWED. AND IN THE ICY COLD OF A SAVAGE WINTER, A MODERN NATION WAS SEALED OFF FROM THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

BUT STILL THE DREAM WOULD NOT DIE. IN THE WINTRY DARKNESS, CANDLES APPEARED IN SILENT PROTEST, LIGHTING THE WINDOWS OF YOUR VILLAGES AND CITIES. AND AS THE YEARS UNFOLDED AND AS THE WORLD WATCHED IN WONDER, YOU -- THE POLISH PEOPLE -- AND YOUR LEADERS -- TURNED DESPAIR INTO HOPE -- TURNED DARKNESS INTO DREAMS.

HOPE AND HARD WORK WERE THE FOUNDATION OF POLAND'S RESURRECTION AS A STATE IN 1918. AGAINST ENORMOUS ODDS -- CONFIDENCE AND DETERMINATION MADE THAT DREAM A REALITY. AND THESE SAME QUALITIES HAVE BROUGHT YOU TO THIS NEW CROSSROADS IN HISTORY. YOUR TIME HAS COME. IT IS POLAND'S TIME OF POSSIBILITIES. ITS TIME OF RESPONSIBILITIES. ITS TIME OF DESTINY. [[PAUSE]]

A TIME WHEN DREAMS CAN LIVE AGAIN. SOLIDARITY REBORN. PRODUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE. AND THE FIRST FRUITS OF DEMOCRACY -- ELECTIONS. AT ANOTHER TIME, IN ANOTHER CITY WHERE THE HUMAN SPIRIT WAS BEING TESTED, A GREAT AMERICAN PRESIDENT, JOHN KENNEDY, SPOKE ELOQUENTLY ABOUT THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY. TODAY THE WORLD WATCHES THE INEVITABLE OUTCOME OF THAT STRUGGLE.

TODAY TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT HOPES CAN BE FOREVER  
SUPPRESSED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND.

[[PAUSE]]

TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT FREEDOM CAN BE FOREVER  
DENIED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

TO THOSE WHO THINK THAT DREAMS CAN BE FOREVER  
REPRESSED -- I SAY -- LET THEM LOOK AT POLAND.

[[PAUSE]] FOR HERE IN POLAND --THE DREAM IS ALIVE.

[[PAUSE]]

TODAY THE BRAVE WORKERS OF GDANSK STAND BESIDE  
THIS MONUMENT AS A BEACON OF HOPE, A SYMBOL OF THAT  
DREAM. AND THE BRAVE WORKERS OF GDANSK KNOW POLAND IS  
NOT ALONE. AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

BECAUSE AMERICANS ARE SO FREE TO DREAM -- WE FEEL A SPECIAL KINSHIP WITH THOSE WHO DREAM OF A BETTER FUTURE. HERE IN POLAND, THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE ROUNDTABLE ACCORDS, AND APPLAUDS THE WISDOM, TENACITY AND PATIENCE OF ONE OF POLAND'S GREAT LEADERS --LECH WALESA. [[PAUSE]] AND WE CHEER A MOVEMENT THAT HAS TOUCHED THE IMAGINATION OF THE WORLD -- SOLIDARNOSC. [[PAUSE]] AND WE APPLAUD THOSE WHO HAVE MADE THIS PROGRESS POSSIBLE -- THE POLISH PEOPLE. [[PAUSE]]

WE RECOGNIZE, TOO, THAT THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS SHOWN WISDOM AND CREATIVITY -- AND COURAGE -- IN PROCEEDING WITH THESE HISTORIC STEPS.

POLES AND AMERICANS SHARE A COMMITMENT TO OVERCOME THE DIVISION OF EUROPE -- AND TO REDEEM THE PROMISE THAT IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. POLES AND AMERICANS WANT EUROPE TO BE WHOLE AND FREE. [[PAUSE]]

A MORE DEMOCRATIC POLAND CAN BE A MORE PROSPEROUS POLAND. THE ROUNDTABLE PROVISIONS -- AS THEY CONTINUE TO BE CARRIED OUT -- CAN LIBERATE THE ENERGY OF A DYNAMIC PEOPLE, TO WORK TOGETHER TO BUILD A BETTER LIFE.

WE UNDERSTAND THE LEGACY OF DISTRUST AND SHATTERED DREAMS AS POLES OF ALL POLITICAL COMPLEXIONS TRAVEL TOGETHER DOWN THE PATH OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE. YOUR CHALLENGE IS TO RISE ABOVE DISTRUST AND BRING THE POLISH PEOPLE TOGETHER TOWARD A COMMON PURPOSE.

SPEAKING BEFORE THE NEW PARLIAMENT AND THE SENATE -- YOUR FREELY-ELECTED SENATE [[PAUSE]] -- I OUTLINED STEPS AMERICA IS PREPARED TO TAKE TO ASSIST POLAND AS YOU MOVE FORWARD ON THE PATH OF REFORM.

IT WILL NOT BE EASY. SACRIFICE AND ECONOMIC  
HARDSHIP HAVE ALREADY BEEN THE LOT OF THE POLISH  
PEOPLE. AND HARD TIMES ARE NOT YET AT AN END.  
ECONOMIC REFORM REQUIRES HARD WORK AND RESTRAINT BEFORE  
THE BENEFITS ARE REALIZED. AND IT REQUIRES PATIENCE  
AND DETERMINATION. BUT THE POLISH PEOPLE ARE NO  
STRANGERS TO HARD WORK, AND HAVE TAUGHT THE WORLD ABOUT  
DETERMINATION.

SO I SAY: FOLLOW YOUR DREAM OF A BETTER LIFE FOR  
YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN. YOU CAN SEE A NEW AND  
PROSPEROUS POLAND. NOT OVERNIGHT -- NOT IN A YEAR.  
BUT YES, A NEW AND PROSPEROUS POLAND IN YOUR LIFETIME.

IT HAS BEEN DONE BY POLISH PEOPLE BEFORE. HOPEFUL  
IMMIGRANTS CAME TO THAT MAGICAL PLACE CALLED "AMERICA"  
-- AND BUILT A NEW LIFE FOR THEMSELVES IN A SINGLE  
GENERATION. AND IT CAN BE DONE BY POLISH PEOPLE AGAIN.  
BUT THIS TIME -- IT CAN BE DONE IN POLAND. [[PAUSE]]

A FEW DAYS AGO, I WAS ASKED IN MY OFFICE BY ONE OF YOUR JOURNALISTS -- IF I WOULD LEAVE POLAND AND GO TO AMERICA, WERE I A YOUNG POLE. I ANSWERED THAT -- IN THIS TIME OF BRIGHT PROMISE, OF HISTORIC TRANSITION, OF UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY -- I WOULD WANT TO STAY AND BE A PART OF IT -- TO HELP MAKE THE DREAM COME TRUE.

THE MAGIC OF AMERICA IS NOT FOUND IN THE MAJESTY OF HER LAND. YES, AMERICA HAS BEEN BLESSED. BUT POLAND, TOO, IS A LAND OF NATURAL BEAUTY -- WITH AMPLE TIMBER, ORE, WATER AND COAL -- ABUNDANT AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL -- AND A TALENTED AND CREATIVE PEOPLE THAT IS DETERMINED TO SUCCEED.

NO, THE MAGIC OF AMERICA IS IN AN IDEA. I DESCRIBED IT IN MY FIRST MOMENTS AS PRESIDENT:

"WE KNOW WHAT WORKS: FREEDOM WORKS. WE KNOW WHAT'S RIGHT: FREEDOM IS RIGHT. WE KNOW HOW TO SECURE A MORE JUST AND PROSPEROUS LIFE FOR MAN ON EARTH."

TODAY, YOU CAN REDISCOVER A NEW LAND -- A LAND OF YOUR DREAMS -- A LAND OF YOUR OWN MAKING. A POLAND, STRONG AND PROUD. POLAND IS WHERE WORLD WAR II BEGAN. AND POLAND IS WHERE -- AND WHY -- THE COLD WAR STARTED. AND IT IS HERE -- IN POLAND -- WHERE WE CAN WORK TO END THE DIVISION OF EUROPE.

IT IS IN YOUR POWER TO HELP END THIS DIVISION OF EUROPE. I CAN THINK OF NO FINER OR MORE CAPABLE PEOPLE WITH WHOM TO ENTRUST THIS MISSION. AND JUST AS A SON OF POLAND HAS SHOWN THE WORLD THE HEIGHTS OF SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN THE VATICAN -- SO THE PEOPLE OF POLAND CAN SHOW THE WORLD WHAT A FREE PEOPLE WITH COMMITMENT AND ENERGY CAN ACCOMPLISH.

A NEW CENTURY IS ALMOST UPON US. IT IS ALIVE WITH POSSIBILITIES. AND IN YOUR PEACEFUL QUEST FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR YOURSELVES AND YOUR CHILDREN -- AMERICA STANDS SHOULDER TO SHOULDER WITH THE POLISH PEOPLE -- IN SOLIDARITY. [[PAUSE]]

AMERICANS AND POLES BOTH KNOW THAT NOTHING CAN  
STOP AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME. THE DREAM IS A  
POLAND REBORN -- AND THE DREAM IS ALIVE. [[PAUSE]]

"POLAND IS NOT LOST, WHILE POLES STILL LIVE."  
[[PAUSE -- GIVE THE "V" FOR VICTORY SIGN]] GOODBYE --  
GOD BLESS YOU -- AND "GOD SAVE POLAND."

# # #

REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT  
GDANSK AIRPORT  
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989  
4:40 P.M.

FILE

THIS HAS BEEN A REMARKABLE VISIT, TO AN EXCEPTIONAL COUNTRY -- WITH AN INSPIRING PEOPLE.

I AM DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO MY HOST, CHAIRMAN JARUZELSKI, AND TO MRS. JARUZELSKI, FOR THEIR HOSPITALITY. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO THANK AMBASSADOR JOHN DAVIS, AND HELEN DAVIS.

- 2 -

THIS HAS BEEN THE FIRST VISIT OF AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO POLAND IN ALMOST 12 YEARS. THAT, IN ITSELF, IS SOMETHING OF A MILESTONE. AND IT HAS BEEN A GREAT HONOR TO BE HERE.

BUT WHAT HAS MADE THIS VISIT MOST NOTEWORTHY, IN MY MIND, ARE THE EXTRAORDINARY OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES NOW FACED BY POLAND AND HER PEOPLE.

IN MY TWO DAYS HERE, I MET WITH LEADERS OF A GOVERNMENT THAT IS BOTH RESPONSIVE, AND RESPONSIBLE -- AND DETERMINED THAT POLAND SHALL FIND HER OWN ROAD TO RECOVERY.

I MET WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FREE SOLIDARITY TRADE UNION, LECH WALESZA WHOSE COURAGE AND MORAL GUIDANCE HAVE CARRIED POLAND'S PEOPLE FROM THE DARK OF NIGHT TO THE THRESHOLD OF A BRILLIANT FUTURE.

I MET WITH SENATORS AND PARLIAMENTARY LEADERS OF A DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION, NOW LEGALIZED. WE DISCUSSED THEIR NEW AND WEIGHTY RESPONSIBILITIES AS POLAND ENTERS A NEW ERA.

AND I MET WITH POLISH CITIZENS, FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE -- INCLUDING THE CITIZENS OF THE GREAT CITY OF GDANSK, AT A MONUMENT TO COURAGE AND FREEDOM.

POLAND IS BLAZING HER OWN PATH TO A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OF HER PEOPLE. WITH EVERY MEETING, WITH EVERY CONVERSATION, WE HAVE HAD MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES OF POLAND'S UNIQUE EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRATIC REFORM.

I HAVE EXPLAINED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL RESPOND WITH SPECIFIC, APPROPRIATE MEASURES DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE FUTURE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REFORM -- REFORM THAT IS CRUCIAL TO POLAND'S LONG TERM ECONOMIC HEALTH.

BUT THE REAL WORK BEGINS NOW -- AS POLAND JOINS THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS COMMITTED TO OPEN ELECTIONS, AND OPEN MARKETS AND THE OPEN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS.

I ADD MY VOICE TO THOSE OF SO MANY AROUND THE WORLD, WHO ARE IMPRESSED WITH POLAND'S COURAGE -- AND COMMITTED TO HELP A GREAT NATION FULFILL ITS DESTINY.

POLAND'S WISDOM AND STRENGTH WILL BE TESTED. BUT  
SUCH A NATION -- FULLY ENGAGED IN SUCH AN ENTERPRISE --  
NEED ONLY SUMMON THE WILL OF HER PEOPLE TO SUCCEED.  
THE WORLD WATCHES, CONFIDENT THAT THEY WILL TRIUMPH.

# # #

**TALKING POINTS -- MEETING WITH HUNGARIAN AND  
AMERICAN STUDENTS  
PRISON AT OLD CASTLE HILL**

**FICE**

- 0 IT IS MOVING FOR ME TO MEET WITH YOU AT THE SITE WHERE ONE OF HUNGARY'S GREATEST FREEDOM FIGHTERS, LAJOS KOSSUTH ((LA-YOSH KO-SHOOT)) WAS IMPRISONED FOR HAVING DEFENDED HIS IDEALS. HE ALSO TAUGHT HIMSELF ENGLISH HERE.**

**- 2 -**

**FOR AMERICANS, HE IS AN EXAMPLE OF DEDICATION AND HEROIC SELFLESSNESS IN THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY.**

- 0 THIS IS ANOTHER HISTORIC PERIOD FOR HUNGARY AND FOR EAST CENTRAL EUROPE, AS CHANGES IN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIES ARE SWEEPING MANY NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.**

- 0 YOU, AS YOUNG PEOPLE, HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THE FUTURE, YOUR OWN AND YOUR COUNTRY'S.
- 0 EDUCATION IS THE KEY -- TO ECONOMIC GROWTH, POLITICAL FREEDOM, AND PERSONAL DIRECTION. MOST OF ALL, IT PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY. ACADEMIC EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WHICH MY ADMINISTRATION STRONGLY SUPPORTS, ARE A GOOD EXAMPLE, AND WE HOPE TO HAVE MORE OF THEM SOON.

- 0 IT IS GRATIFYING TO SEE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN ACTIVELY INTERESTED IN THE AFFAIRS OF THEIR COUNTRY -- ESPECIALLY THOSE OF YOU INVOLVED IN ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS FIDESZ ((FEE-DESS)) [THE MOST DEMOCRATIC YOUTH GROUP] AND OTHERS LIKE IT.
- 0 I'D LIKE TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON CURRENT EVENTS:  
-- WHAT DO YOU FEEL ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED IN YOUR COUNTRY?

- 5 -

-- HOW DO YOU ENVISION YOUR ROLE IN THIS REFORM PERIOD?

-- WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE?

-- ONE OF YOU WILL BE GOING TO THE UNITED STATES ON JULY 14 FOR AN EXCHANGE PROGRAM [WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA] ON THE CONSTITUTION AND THE RULE OF LAW. HOW CAN THE UNITED STATES HELP HERE IN CREATING A SOCIETY BASED ON DEMOCRATIC LAWS AND FREE ELECTIONS?

- 6 -

-- THOSE OF YOU WHO ARE AMERICAN STUDENTS HERE, WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCE IN HUNGARY?

# # #