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*Bob Holcomb*

(Lange/Wallace)  
July 1, 1989  
1:15 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

*7/5/89*

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS:

POLAND'S JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT  
THE SEJM  
JULY 10, 1989  
[TIME]

President Jaruzel  
[respective president  
elected], Prime Minister

*From the desk of  
George Bush*



On behalf of the  
honored to greet the  
Parliament. To be her  
live in extraordinary,  
Poland and the Ur  
ties of kinship and cu  
than sentiment.

*Brent*

*Maybe we will  
want to 'personalize'  
a little Jaruzelski  
sitting down next to  
Walesa ???*

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ore

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 <sup>(date)</sup> set new standards for  
protection of the rights of the individual.

For decades, beginning with President Wilson's Fourteen Points,  
the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, and  
prosperity. We are proud of our early and long standing 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 mankind's greatest forums for debate and

*Rev 9/27/04*

dialogue. And while I have been to Poland before, I did not expect to return so soon -- nor in 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.

**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 Poland today is undergoing the political and economic equivalent of a Copernican transformation. 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 of 1791 was a masterpiece of constitutional genius. Today, at the dawn of its third century, you are called upon to match that 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. Prime Minister Rakowski said recently that the system which emerged in the 1940s is now throwing off its skin -- that the system to replace it is only now beginning to take shape. In fact, 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 democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for some, it remains the destiny of man.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland and Hungary find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to democratic change, without guarantee of easy success. Leaders <sup>in</sup> of these nations deserve our admiration. The way is hard. But the moment is right, both internally and internationally, for Poland to walk its own path, in its own way. *restored*

✓ On the day Solidarity was <sup>3</sup> re-legalized, *(Heart Crowned)* I spoke in Washington of my support 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.

A divided Europe which has characterized our modern age began here, in Poland, fifty years ago this ~~summer~~<sup>September</sup>. Your country -- and then nearly all of Europe -- was <sup>first</sup> besieged <sup>then occupied</sup> by totalitarian, despotic forces.

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: the right of peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; freedom from want; the right to peace within secure borders; and a shared dedication to economic growth, security and disarmament.

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. <sup>in defense of democratic principles</sup> The countries of the West organized themselves ~~and their defenses~~. The Cold War began.

Despite periods of tension and crisis, the West <sup>in freedom</sup> prospered behind a shield of mutual self-defense and a policy called containment. <sup>in Poland</sup> But ~~the East, did not prosper. Poland did not.~~ Forty years of civil strife, wasted resources and dashed hopes marred the lives of an entire generation. Nor did the division of Europe bring stability as the recurring upheavals endured in Poland made so painfully clear.

Such has been the world your children have known for their entire lives.

The Western strategy of containment was a necessary means, and served its function. <sup>But</sup> It was never an end in itself. It was no

*is this to "lecturing" them*

substitute for a Europe whole and free. We did not forget the hopes of 1945, nor the promise of free elections and a better world. Neither did the Polish people. Poland is where the Cold War began - <sup>now the people of</sup> - and Poland can help bring the Cold War to an end. The time has come -- God willing -- to move beyond containment to the better world too long deferred.

Now, at long last, two events 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 old Stalinist <sup>models</sup> ~~models~~. The other is the emergence of leaders in Poland and Hungary who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity, and courage. The world watches, in awe and admiration.

Now -- in part because of what you are doing here -- the genuine opportunity exists for us to build a Europe which many thought was destroyed forever in the 1940s. That Europe -- the Europe of our children -- will be 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. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops, tanks, 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

*children?  
No way*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

on both sides. We must continue 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 the unnatural imposition of unpopular -- and therefore unstable -- political systems, and from the cruel division of Europe, *they produced.*

From the desk of  
George Bush

*Maybe, while giving Gorb credit we can make the distinction between the "Nation" & self to "people"*

democratic reform -- and Hungary's thus have great importance political structures legitimized can be the foundation of -- not just in your country, but next century.

universal security rests on the right to choose its own path of domestic affairs of other states. A nation may choose either

capitalism or socialism. This is its sovereign right." I agree.

And so the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security, but to help build bridges between Poland and the rest of Europe.

As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. Your responsibility for that fate is

*And no outside force must ever again intervene. To stop all hands from doing Poland's work.*

*But I might well have said The people of a nation may freely choose principal And so the West works not to disrupt, not to interfere, not to threaten any nation's security, but to help build bridges between C on? That's the right Avenue of cooperation Love Love for your country's that fate 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. But we cannot realize these goals for you.

General Jaruzelski for his part is doing the work of a statesman, moving forward with a sense of realism, in a time of great difficulty. Lech Walesa and Solidarity are deeply committed to institutions in Poland that will serve all its people. And this Parliament by its very existence is advancing pluralism, and moving toward democracy.

Yet, even under the best circumstances, democracy 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 a mandate to make hard choices. You know and I know that hard choices and austerity lie ahead for Poland. My country understands this.

For over two hundred years, Americans have wrestled over political and economic interest<sup>s</sup>, 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 us one very clear lesson: democracy works.

We understand in my country the enormous economic problems you face. Economic privation is a cloud of danger that hangs over this great democratic experiment. I must speak honestly: economic

reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, Americans 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 union rights 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, and Poland needs no <sup>repetition</sup> repeat of it. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

-- We've 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.

*should we pursue price tag?*

-- There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you are doing in Poland. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6, to bring together citizens of my country interested in investment, trade, and cultural and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. I can assure you that the American people will be ever more 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 form an International Consortium for Poland and Hungary. I will ask our allies at the Summit, to move quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance.

*we work w/ our partners*

- Second, I will ask the U.S. Congress to provide a \$100 million grant to capitalize and invigorate the Polish private sector -- and we will encourage parallel contributions from the other nations of the Economic Summit.
- Third, I will ask the World Bank to move rapidly ahead with \$325 million in economically viable loans, to help Polish agriculture and industry reach the production levels they are so clearly capable of. Another \$500 million will be available as your reform process moves along.
- Fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt -- and will be discussing this at the Paris Summit.
- Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of the environment; (environmental initiative)]

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. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region.

Two hundred years ago, Democratic constitutions were adopted by three nations, embodying the powerful and enduring influence of the Enlightenment -- of 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, including myself, 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.

America wishes you well with all its heart. God in his infinite wisdom and love is with us in this Chamber. God bless you and your efforts. Niech Zyje Polska (Nee-Yeck Gee-Yay Pole-Skah).  
(Long Live Poland)

# # #

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 WALESZA [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 WALESIA 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.

# # #

(Lange/Wallace)  
July 8, 1989  
1:30 p.m.  
[POLAND.DOC]

REC JUL - 10 1989

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

Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshalls <sup>(Kozak-KEH-nich)</sup> Kozakiewicz and <sup>(Stel-ma-~~sh~~ov-sky)</sup> Stelmachowski,  
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 <sup>a photo of</sup> General Jaruzelski and Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa [vah-WEN-sah] ~~sitting~~ shoulder-to-shoulder -- committed to new progress in Poland. at the opening session of Parliament

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 ~~March 4,~~ 1787 set new standards for protection of the rights of the individual.

For decades, beginning with <sup>The Versailles Peace Conference,</sup> ~~President Wilson's fourteen~~ ~~points~~, 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 <sup>has</sup> ~~and earned~~ *all an admittance*.

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 ~~Poland~~ today ~~the scope of~~ ~~the~~ political and economic change in Poland is indeed ~~Copernican~~ ~~revolution~~. 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 ~~fact,~~<sup>truth,</sup> 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 <sup>Division of Europe</sup> cold war to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ world too long deferred, <sup>-- a better world</sup>

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 <sup>all of</sup> 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, <sup>↓</sup> The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops, tanks, <sup>aircraft,</sup> 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 <sup>are determined</sup> ~~are determined~~ to push hard for an early and successful conclusion to these talks.

reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war.

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 ~~in~~ <sup>here</sup> ~~your~~ country, 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~~ <sup>said</sup> 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 no (outside force) must ever again intervene to stop Polish hands from doing Poland's work~~

*and there it  
must ever remain*

Your responsibility for your country's <sup>future</sup> ~~is~~ 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. (~~But we cannot realize these goals for you.~~)

The regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty <sup>and challenge.</sup> Lech Walesa 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 moving toward democracy.~~ 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, <sup>representative government</sup> ~~democracy~~ 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 <sup>the</sup> mandate to make hard choices. ~~And through their involvement, it gives the people a stake in the choices that are made.~~  
~~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 <sup>can</sup> threaten <sup>any</sup> ~~the~~ 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 <sup>workers' needs</sup> ~~workers' rights~~ 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, <sup>and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process,</sup> I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6, to bring together citizens of my country interested in <sup>promoting</sup> investment, trade, and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. I can assure you that <sup>more than ever before,</sup> the American people will be ~~even more~~ 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, <sup>and to help manage compassionately the process of change,</sup> 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 <sup>encourage</sup> ~~ask~~ the World Bank to move ~~urgently~~ 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 <sup>deferral of debt payments</sup> ~~debt relief~~ amounting to <sup>about</sup> ~~almost~~ \$5 billion this year -- if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering <sup>liberalized</sup> ~~generous~~ 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: <sup>the concern is</sup> ~~the concern is~~ worldwide, ~~concern~~

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, <sup>an era based on common values and not just geographic proximity</sup> 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, <sup>democracy</sup> ~~it~~ 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.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 28, 1989 89 JUN 28 P5:40

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Poland Arrival  
Ceremony

As requested, my office has reviewed and concurs with the attached Presidential Remarks on the Poland Arrival Ceremony.

Attachment

c: James W. Cicconi

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 12:00 NOON, 6/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLAND ARRIVAL CEREMONY

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please forward your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston (Ext. 2930, Rm. 122), with an info copy to my office, no later than 12:00, NOON, WEDNESDAY, 6/28/89. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

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

(McNally/Simon)  
June 26, 1989  
2:00 P.M. JUN 27 AM 10:37  
Draft Two  
(POLAND)

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: POLAND ARRIVAL CEREMONY  
WARSAW AIRPORT  
SUNDAY, JULY 9, 1989  
9:50 P.M.

Thank you, Mr. President, 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.

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 chance for Poland to do what has never been done before.

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 second renaissance for this great nation.

We have great hopes for Poland. Solidarity is again legal. The beginnings of a free press now exist. A new Parliament is in place and the Polish Senate has been restored through free and

fair elections. Poland is making its own history. And America -- and the world -- is watching.

The government of Poland and you, Mr. President, have shown wisdom and courage in taking the path of the Roundtable accords. The world is inspired by what is happening here.

Mr. President, we look forward to our talks with you and other representatives of the Polish government -- and with the democratic opposition. I hope to meet as many of the Polish people as possible, and to hear candid views from all walks of life.

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.

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.

And as we meet this evening in Warsaw, the sun still shines on those churches across the seas. There it is still Sunday afternoon, and America's churches are filled with people in

prayer. And as we begin these discussions -- and as you begin the hard journey up the path you have chosen -- my prayers, and the prayers of the American people, remain with you -- as they have throughout your long struggle.

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."

# # #

(Lange/Wallace)  
July 8, 1989  
1:30 p.m.  
[POLAND.DOC]

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

Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshals \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_,  
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 General Jaruzelski and Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa [vah-WEN-sah] sitting shoulder-to-shoulder -- 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 March 4, 1789 set new standards for protection of the rights of the individual.

For decades, beginning with President Wilson's Fourteen Points, 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.

**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 Poland today is undergoing the political and economic equivalent of a Copernican revolution. 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 fact, 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 Cold War to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to the better world too long deferred.

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 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. The new willingness in Moscow to accept this Western framework for reductions in troops, tanks, 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 must continue 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 in your country, 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 no outside force must ever again intervene to stop Polish hands from doing Poland's work.

Your responsibility for your country's fate 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. But we cannot realize these goals for you.

The regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty. Lech Walesa 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 moving toward democracy. 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, democracy 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 a mandate to make hard choices. You and I know that hard choices and austerity lie ahead for Poland. My country understands this.

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 threatens this 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 union rights 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.

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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. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6, to bring together citizens of my country interested in investment, trade, and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. I can assure you that the American people will be ever more 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. 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.

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-- Fourth, I will ask my counterparts in the West to support an **early and generous rescheduling of Polish debt**. This could provide debt relief amounting to almost \$5 billion this year -- if our allies and friends in the Paris Club agree to join us in offering generous 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, but are a worldwide concern.

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. 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, it 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.**

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.

# # #

89 JUN 30 P 3: 35

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton

Re: Comments on Joint Session and Monument drafts

Joint Session

I really liked this draft. It is bold, both rhetorically and substantively. I suppose the news in America will be whatever policies are proposed, but I have to believe that the Polish people will be impressed by the deft use of Copernicus and the blunt account of the Red Army's role in post-war Poland.

I have a few nitpicks:

Pg. 2, graf 5, line 1 The reputation of the efficacy of 18th century Polish government is pretty low. That is, the Poles are seen by history as having contributed to their own demise in three successive partitions due to their inability to rally together. I will take on faith that the constitution of 1791 was indeed a substantial improvement, that Poles remember as such. But we should make sure of this. After all, Poland ceased to exist just a few years later!

3,2,3 I think that "terribly painful" is insufficient. I certainly support the President's restraint in the wake of the Tian An Men square massacre, but this is a little too soft line.

3,4,1 It's a small thing, but to simply say Solidarity was "re-legalized" understates the immense significance. I would add "restored" first.

Monument

2,3,4 I wouldn't call Walesa an "improbable" hero. That's not particularly complimentary in English; I worry about how well it will translate into Polish!

6,1,1 I'm glad to see the "what works" riff back.

(Lange/Wallace)  
July 8, 1989  
1:30 p.m.  
[POLAND.DOC]

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

Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshals \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_,  
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.

*check*  
The power and potential of this moment was first made clear  
to me, when I saw <sup>a photo of</sup> General Jaruzelski and Solidarity Leader Lech  
Walesa [vah-WEN-sah] ~~sitting~~ shoulder-to-shoulder <sup>at the opening session of Parliament</sup> - 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 March 4,  
1789 set new standards for protection of the rights of the  
individual.

For decades, beginning with <sup>the Versailles Peace Conference,</sup> ~~President Wilson's Fourteen~~  
~~Points~~, 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 <sup>has</sup> ~~and 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 ~~Poland~~ today <sup>the scope of</sup> ~~the~~ 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,~~ <sup>truth,</sup> this applies not just to Poland, but to the entirety of relations between East and West.

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Poland is where the Cold War began -- and now the people of Poland can help bring the ~~Cold War~~ <sup>Division of Europe</sup> to an end. The time has come to move beyond containment to ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> world too long deferred <sup>7 - a better world.</sup>

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.

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reductions that promise to transform the military map of Europe and diminish the very threat of war.

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As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. ~~And no (outside force) must ever again intervene to stop Polish hands from doing Poland's work~~

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Your responsibility for your country's ~~is~~ <sup>future</sup> 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. (~~But we cannot realize these goals for you.~~)

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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.

# # #