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(Lange/Wallace)
July ~~7~~, 1989
4:30 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 is made most clear to me, when I see General Jaruzelski and Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa 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 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 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 of 1791 was a stroke of constitutional 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 -- toward 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... the tired 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. 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. 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 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 -- and tyranny's victim no longer. 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 -- God willing -- 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 emergence of leaders in 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 open, whole, and free once again.

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 capitalism 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.

General Jaruzelski for his part is doing statesmanlike work, 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.

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.

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,

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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.

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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.**

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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 capitalism 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.

General Jaruzelski for his part is doing statesmanlike work, 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.

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.

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.

-- 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 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 form an International Consortium for Poland and Hungary. We will work with our partners at the Summit, to move quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance.

-- 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 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. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy **can** and **must** coexist. So (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 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.

#

(Lange/Wallace)
July ~~7~~, 1989
: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 is made most clear to me, when I see General Jaruzelski and Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa 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 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 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 of 1791 was a stroke of constitutional 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 -- toward 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... the tired 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. 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. 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 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 -- and tyranny's victim no longer. **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 -- God willing -- 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 emergence of leaders in 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 open, whole, and free once again.**

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

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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 name~~
~~General Jaruzelski for his~~ ^{its} ~~part is doing statesmanlike work,~~
 15 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.

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.

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Describe more
[-- First, I will propose at the upcoming Economic Summit in Paris that the nations of the Summit Seven form an ~~International Consortium~~ Consortium for Poland and Hungary. ~~We will work with our partners at the Summit, to move quickly with increased Western aid and technical assistance.~~

-- 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 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~~ *This could provide credit relief amounting to over 3 billion dollars for our allies and discussing this at the Paris Summit.* *friends in the Paris Club agree to provide in offering generous terms.*

-- Fifth, economic progress should not come at the expense of ~~the environment.~~ *our common inheritance* In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and **must** coexist. So (environmental initiative)].

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I plan to discuss this with my coll. at the P.S.

toward a new era throughout Europe. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region.

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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.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/29/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION OF POLISH PARLIAMENT

	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 <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, Friday, June 30, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

89 JUN 29 5:10

RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Wallace)
June 29, 1989
11:00 a.m.
[POLAND.STA]

1989 JUL 20 12

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

President 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 times.

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 ideals. And throughout her history, Poland has courageously struggled, and survived, the assaults of both ideology and armaments.

For decades, beginning with President Wilson's Fourteen Points, the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, and prosperity. Americans are proud of their early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. I am here today to reaffirm it.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my public service in the American Congress. Such bodies

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 in such altered circumstances. So too, perhaps, many of you did not expect to be here -- serving in this, or in any Polish parliament. But much has happened. Our experience 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 quiet change in perspective, that places the **people** at the center. A new understanding, that the governed are the true source of lasting social and economic power -- around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

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 action. To make a peaceful transition, toward representative government that exercises the will of the people.

I said in Mainz a few weeks ago 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. I agree. 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 terribly painful, as in China today. But democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains the destiny of man.

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. 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 re-legalized, 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 besieged by totalitarian, despotic forces. The

West made common cause with the Soviet Union to defeat Hitler. Poland was our ally. Hitler was vanquished.

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 -- and the Red Army turned from liberator to occupier. In response, the countries of the West organized themselves and their defenses. The Cold War began.

Despite periods of tension and crisis, the West prospered behind a shield of mutual self-defense and a policy called containment. But the East did not prosper. Poland in particular 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 recurring tragedies endured in Poland since 1953 have witnessed. Such has been the world our children have known for their entire lives.

Containment was a necessary means, and served its function. But it was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. We did not forget the 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 a vessel for change -- and tyranny's victim no longer. Poland is where the Cold War began -- and Poland can bring the Cold War to an end.

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 model, imposed on Central and Eastern Europe to

provide political legitimacy and economic prosperity. The other is the emergence of responsible leaders -- in government and in the opposition -- in Poland, Hungary, and the USSR -- who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity, and courage.

Today we have the opportunity, unique in the post-war period, to move beyond containment in East-West relations. To set the stage for unprecedented social and economic progress in Poland. **And to see the Copernican revolution of representative government succeed.**

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 will be open, whole, and free once again.**

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.

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.

Mikhail Gorbachev has said that security has to be mutual -- that one country's security could not be assured unless other nations also felt secure. I agree.

A Europe untrammelled by hegemonic ambition depends on a productive U.S.- Soviet relationship. Stalin did not understand that. But Mikhail Gorbachev is a leader of different quality and character. I believe he understands the benefits that a Europe whole and free can bring to all nations.

A constructive relationship between the United States and the USSR does **not** mean that we regard Poland, Hungary, or any other nation as pieces on some larger chessboard -- but as active agents for their own future. As John Quincy Adams, our Secretary of State said on the 4th of July, 1821, America "goes **not** abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." **And so we work neither to disrupt nor interfere, but to help reconcile Poland and her people to the Europe they helped create -- and to promote the cause of freedom everywhere.**

As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. Your 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. Only Poles can make the hard choices.

General Jaruzelski is doing statesmanlike work, moving forward with a sense of realism, in a time of great difficulty. And this Parliament 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, and gives governments a mandate to make hard choices.

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 Democracy works. And having come so far so fast, the Polish people, both in the government and opposition, have already shown the wisdom and daring to succeed.

We understand the enormous economic problems and challenges 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 balance union rights and industrial efficiency. How to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, progress, and prosperity.

We have found that only the hard decisions lead to lasting results. I believe your experience will show the same.

The reform of the Polish economy will be a great challenge. But Poland does not stand alone. Given the enormity of this historical moment, the United States stands ready to help you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, three months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. A dynamic interplay of progress and engagement -- and not a repeat of the unsound credit policies of the 1970s. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We have made progress:

-- Legislation has been [prepared/passed] that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market, by providing selective tariff relief under the generalized system of preferences.

-- We will soon authorize our Overseas Private Investment Corporation to operate in Poland, setting up missions to stimulate U.S. investment and joint ventures here. The next step is an investment agreement between the Polish government and OPIC. I hope negotiations can get underway soon. Sound projects can demonstrate how management, free labor unions and foreign partners can cooperate to produce wealth for an emerging new Poland.

-- The United States [has presented/will shortly present] for negotiation a draft private business agreement that will promote

contacts between Poland's rapidly growing private business sector and its American counterparts. We hope to conclude an agreement soon.

-- We will also continue to support viable private sector loans by the International Finance Corporation.

-- The United States Information Agency is putting together new and imaginative exchange programs to reach out to independent groups now emerging. These programs can help build institutions that will lead your country in the next century.

-- 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 Americans interested in investment, trade, and cultural and academic exchange with the countries of East and Central Europe. This conference will also encourage private initiatives to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises -- and for humanitarian, charitable, and environmental projects.

We are committed to a wide-ranging program of economic, environmental, and educational initiatives. 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:

[new policy here -- approx 30 lines]

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 stability. Poland's progress along this road will light the way toward a new era throughout East and Central Europe. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region, when they too are ready.

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 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 -- just as Poland was rent and yet reborn in this century. **Now, this generation's calling is to redeem the promise of a free Polish republic.**

Today I challenge you to attain -- and sustain -- a genuine democracy. Your momentum must remain undaunted by economic difficulties. Working together, you can ensure that the May 3rd Constitution enters its third century as a living document. You can ensure that Poland's people reap all of the benefits of a free society.

God has turned His face to Poland. Man must now reaffirm the value of the individual voice -- and the limitless power of freedom -- through the principles of representative government.

America wishes you well with all its heart. God bless you, and God bless Poland.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RB for*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks on Poland

This responds to requests for views on two Presidential remarks, one before the joint session of the Polish parliament, and the other before the Solidarity Workers Monument. I have no objection to either draft. However, the remarks before the joint session omit the core of the message: the statement of new policies. We will stand ready to comment on that part of the text whenever it is ready.

cc: Jim Cicconi

89 JUN 30 P 5 : 43

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/29/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION OF POLISH PARLIAMENT

	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"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, Friday, June 30, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

89 JUN 30 4:26

RESPONSE: *No Comment*

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

(Lange/Wallace)
June 29, 1989
11:00 a.m.
[POLAND.STA]

1989 JUN 30 12

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

President 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 times.

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 ideals. And throughout her history, **Poland has courageously struggled, and survived, the assaults of both ideology and armaments.**

For decades, beginning with President Wilson's Fourteen Points, the United States has stood for Polish independence, freedom, and prosperity. Americans are proud of their early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. **I am here today to reaffirm it.**

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my public service in the American Congress. Such bodies

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 in such altered circumstances. So too, perhaps, many of you did not expect to be here -- serving in this, or in any Polish parliament. But much has happened. Our experience 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 quiet change in perspective, that places the people at the center. A new understanding, that the governed are the true source of lasting social and economic power -- around which government revolves, and exists to serve.

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 action. To make a peaceful transition, toward representative government that exercises the will of the people.

I said in Mainz a few weeks ago 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. I agree. 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 terribly painful, as in China today. But democracy has captured the spirit of our time. Without doubt, **though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains the destiny of man.**

The future beckons with both hope and uncertainty. Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union find themselves at a crossroads. Each has started down its own road to reform, without guarantee of easy success. 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 re-legalized, 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 besieged by totalitarian, despotic forces. The

West made common cause with the Soviet Union to defeat Hitler. Poland was our ally. Hitler was vanquished.

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 -- and the Red Army turned from liberator to occupier. In response, the countries of the West organized themselves and their defenses. The Cold War began.

Despite periods of tension and crisis, the West prospered behind a shield of mutual self-defense and a policy called containment. But the East did not prosper. Poland in particular 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 recurring tragedies endured in Poland since 1953 have witnessed. Such has been the world our children have known for their entire lives.

Containment was a necessary means, and served its function. But it was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. We did not forget the 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 a vessel for change -- and tyranny's victim no longer. Poland is where the Cold War began -- and Poland can bring the Cold War to an end.

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 model, imposed on Central and Eastern Europe to

provide political legitimacy and economic prosperity. The other is the emergence of responsible leaders -- in government and in the opposition -- in Poland, Hungary, and the USSR -- who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity, and courage.

Today we have the opportunity, unique in the post-war period, to move beyond containment in East-West relations. To set the stage for unprecedented social and economic progress in Poland. And to see the Copernican revolution of representative government succeed.

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 will be open, whole, and free once again.**

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.

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.

Mikhail Gorbachev has said that security has to be mutual -- that one country's security could not be assured unless other nations also felt secure. I agree.

A Europe untrammelled by hegemonic ambition depends on a productive U.S.- Soviet relationship. Stalin did not understand that. But Mikhail Gorbachev is a leader of different quality and character. I believe he understands the benefits that a Europe whole and free can bring to all nations.

A constructive relationship between the United States and the USSR does not mean that we regard Poland, Hungary, or any other nation as pieces on some larger chessboard -- but as active agents for their own future. As John Quincy Adams, our Secretary of State said on the 4th of July, 1821, America "goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own." And so we work neither to disrupt nor interfere, but to help reconcile Poland and her people to the Europe they helped create -- and to promote the cause of freedom everywhere.

As a result of the Roundtable Accords, Poland's fate lies more than ever in Polish hands. Your 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. Only Poles can make the hard choices.

General Jaruzelski is doing statesmanlike work, moving forward with a sense of realism, in a time of great difficulty. And this Parliament 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, and gives governments a mandate to make hard choices.

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 Democracy works. And having come so far so fast, the Polish people, both in the government and opposition, have already shown the wisdom and daring to succeed.

We understand the enormous economic problems and challenges 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 balance union rights and industrial efficiency. How to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, progress, and prosperity.

We have found that only the hard decisions lead to lasting results. I believe your experience will show the same.

The reform of the Polish economy will be a great challenge. But Poland does not stand alone. Given the enormity of this historical moment, the United States stands ready to help you help yourselves.

In Hamtramck, Michigan, three months ago, I outlined a policy of support for the reforms then just beginning in Poland. A dynamic interplay of progress and engagement -- and **not** a repeat of the unsound credit policies of the 1970s. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We have made progress:

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#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: LEE S. LIBERMAN *LSL*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Joint Session of
Polish Parliament

The Counsel's Office has no objection to, or comment on, the draft Presidential remarks, except to note that "were" should be used in place of "was" in the last line of page 3.

Attachment

cc: James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUMDATE: 6/29/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 6:00 PMSUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: JOINT SESSION OF POLISH PARLIAMENT

	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"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, Friday, June 30, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Wallace)
June 29, 1989
11:00 a.m.
[POLAND.STA]

1989 JUN 28 7 12

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

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were

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provide political legitimacy and economic prosperity. The other is the emergence of responsible leaders -- in government and in the opposition -- in Poland, Hungary, and the USSR -- who are working to overcome the mistakes of the past with honesty, creativity, and courage.

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-- The United States Information Agency is putting together new and imaginative exchange programs to reach out to independent groups now emerging. These programs can help build institutions that will lead your country in the next century.

-- 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 Americans interested in investment, trade, and cultural and academic exchange with the countries of East and Central Europe. This conference will also encourage private initiatives to swap Polish debt for equity in Polish enterprises -- and for humanitarian, charitable, and environmental projects.

We are committed to a wide-ranging program of economic, environmental, and educational initiatives. 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:

[new policy here -- approx 30 lines]

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 stability. Poland's progress along this road will light the way toward a new era throughout East and Central Europe. The Western democracies will stand with the Polish people, and other peoples of this region, when they too are ready.

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 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 -- just as Poland was rent and yet reborn in this century. **Now, this generation's calling is to redeem the promise of a free Polish republic.**

Today I challenge you to attain -- and sustain -- a genuine democracy. Your momentum must remain undaunted by economic difficulties. Working together, you can ensure that the May 3rd Constitution enters its third century as a living document. You can ensure that Poland's people reap all of the benefits of a free society.

God has turned His face to Poland. Man must now reaffirm the value of the individual voice -- and the limitless power of freedom -- through the principles of representative government.

America wishes you well with all its heart. God bless you, and God bless Poland.

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