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OA/ID Number: 13494
Folder ID Number: 13494-014

Folder Title:
Poland Parliament 7/10/89 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	25	6	3	7

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 20, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORDS MANAGEMENT

FROM: DRUCIE SCALING
Communications Administrative Officer
Room 122, 2930

SUBJECT: FILING OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH FOLDERS

Enclosed please find the speech folders for President Bush's speeches, video messages, and talking points from September 22, 1989 through October 2, 1989, as well as from January 5, 1990 through January 23, 1990. Also enclosed are two folders of speeches delivered prior to these dates, on May 23, 1989, and June 14, 1989. The folder for overall communications strategy from July 6, 1989 is also included. Listed speeches and talking points were reconciled and edited by Chriss Winston, Deputy Assistant to the President for Communications and Director of Speechwriting and reviewed by David F. Demarest, Jr., Assistant to the President for Communications.

The writers were Mark Davis, Edward McNally, Curt Smith, Mary Kate Grant, Chriss Winston, Mark Lange, Dan McGroarty, Barry Tron, Maria Sheehan, and Sichan Siv, Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison. The researchers were Stephanie Blessey, Carolyn Cawley, Bob Simon, Christina Martin, and Peggy Dooley. The folders correspond to the following speeches, video messages, and talking points delivered by the President (with dates of delivery and speechwriters' names):

1. Photographers Dinner	05/23/89	McNally/Simon
2. Korean War Vets Memorial	06/14/89	Smith/Blessey
3. Overall Communications Strategy	07/06/89	
4. 200th Anniversary of Atty. Gen.	09/22/89	McNally/Simon
5. NJ Republican Fundraiser Lunch	09/22/89	Smith/Blessey
6. Catholic Lawyers Guild Luncheon	09/23/89	Grant/McNally/ Martin
7. 44th Session-UN Gen. Assembly	09/25/89	McGroarty/Dooley
8. Talking Points/US Mission to UN	09/25/89	McNally/Simon
9. Film Institute-Washington, DC	09/26/89	Smith/Blessey
10. World Bank/IMF Annual Meeting	09/27/89	McNally/Simon
11. Governor's Dinner-Montecello	09/27/89	Grant/Martin
12. Opening Address-Educ. Summit	09/27/89	Grant/Martin
13. Educ. Convocation-Univ. of VA	09/27/89	Davis/Martin
14. Arrival Statement	09/28/89	
15. Retirement of Admiral William J. Crowe	09/29/89	McGroarty/Dooley
16. Rep. Senatorial Inner Circle	10/02/89	McGroarty/Dooley

17.	Video Message-Interstate Natural Gas Association	10/02/89	Sheehan
18.	Video Message-Small Bus. Adm.	10/02/89	Sheehan
19.	GSP to Poland Talking Points	01/05/90	Davis
20.	American Bar Association	01/90	McNally/Tron
21.	Lincoln Lecture	01/07/90	Smith/Blessey
22.	American Farm Bureau	01/08/90	Grant/Cawley
23.	Video Session	01/09/90	Tron/Sheehan
	1) WHCA Film		
	2) Cincinnati Youth Collaborative		
	3) Volunteerism PSA for Cecil Productions		
	4) Thurmond for Senate TV Commercial		
	5) For Jobs for America's Graduates		
	6) Video Message for Census		
	7) Station Manager Participation in Census		
24.	MLK Proclamation Ceremony	01/09/90	Smith/Blessey
25.	USA Today Presidential Message	01/09/90	Winston/Grant
26.	Fort Worth Star Telegram	01/10/90	Grant
27.	Prime Minister Silva Photo-Op	01/11/90	
28.	Depart. of Prime Minister Silva	01/11/90	Lange/Cawley
29.	Robert A. Taft High School	01/12/90	Lange/Cawley
30.	Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce	01/12/90	McNally/Simon
31.	GOP Asian Leaders Briefing	01/12/90	Siv/Winston
32.	MLK Essay for Washington Times	01/15/90	Grant
33.	Heads of Law Enforcement	01/17/90	
34.	Thurman and Cheney Photo-Op	01/17/90	
35.	Video Session	01/17/90	Tron/Sheehan
	a) FINE Foundation		
	b) Natl. Wildlife Federation		
	c) NFL Alumni "Old Hero" Awards Dinner		
	d) Ileitis and Coletis Found.		
36.	Space Shuttle Columbia Phone Conversation	01/18/90	
37.	Bush/Quayle Campaign Reunion	01/18/90	Lange/Cawley
38.	Executive Forum	01/18/90	Smith/Blessey
39.	Natl. Assoc. of Home Builders	01/19/90	Davis/Martin
40.	Gov. Bob Martinez Fundraiser	01/19/90	Davis/Martin
41.	American Spectator Dinner	01/22/90	McGroarty/Dooley
42.	Kansas Crime Address	01/23/90	McNally/Simon

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"/>

89 JUN 29 P 5: 02

89 JUN 30 P 1: 11

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: *See comments p. 8 Jm*

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 29 11:00

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]~~ ^{is being considered in the U.S. Congress} 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

is being considered in the U.S. Congress
passed by the U.S. House of Representatives and which will be considered shortly by the Senate



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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Warsaw, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 10, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENTThe Sejm
Warsaw, Poland

2:28 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshall Kozakiewicz and Stelmachowski, Prime Minister Rakowski and senators and delegates, on behalf of the people of the United States, 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 -- a worldwide photo -- flashed all around the world -- a photo of General Jaruzelski, Senator Leader Lech Walesa shoulder-to-shoulder -- Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa -- shoulder-to-shoulder at the opening session of this Parliament -- committed to new progress in Poland. Believe me, that sent a wonderful signal all around the world.

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 3rd Constitution of 1791 set Poland ahead of her peers -- ahead of her time -- in the pursuit of freedom and democratic ideas, just as our Constitution -- 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, prosperity. And we are proud of our early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. As America's President, I am here today to reaffirm that proud commitment.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my own public service in the American Congress. Democratically-chosen legislatures are among mankind's greatest forums for debate and dialogue. And while I've been to Poland before, I did not expect to return so soon -- nor to such altered circumstances in your country. And so, too, perhaps many of you didn't expect to be here -- serving in this, or any Polish parliament. And your achievement has surpassed all expectation and has earned all our admiration.

Our meeting today bears witness to the character of our age.

Some 450 years ago, when the Polish astronomer 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, the world will be changed forever.

For today the scope of political and economic change in Poland is indeed Copernican. A fundamental change in perspective

MORE

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're 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. (Applause.)

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. And sometimes it's 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've since proceeded further along that road -- including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean, not just for Poland, but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here -- right here -- in Poland, 50 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. And 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 that 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. And we proposed that the Mashall Plan include Eastern Europe. But again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy -- our strategy of containment -- was a means, but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. And 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're 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. And 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. And 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, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And 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. I notice what General Jaruzelzki said on that point, and I support him. 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 and tanks and 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 movement in the same direction -- thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will -- by that, 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, independent -- true to the best tradition of your nation's past. (Applause.) And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty and challenge. 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 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.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponent. 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 200 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's 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. And I must speak honestly. Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government -- how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation, how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit, how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency, how to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents 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 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 here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on 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. Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through generalized systems 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 an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

I've 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 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, the 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 United States 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.

And 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 heritage -- our common inheritance -- the environment. In fact, sound ecology and a strong economy can and must coexist. Air and water pollution know no boundaries. And this concern is worldwide. Almost two years ago I visited Krakow, 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. And the United States will help. (Applause.) And I'll ask the Congress for \$15 million for a cooperative venture with Poland to help fight air and water pollution there.

Sixth, and finally, when I began my remarks, I mentioned the shared cultured heritage of our two nations. (Applause.) Today, I'm proud to announce that the United States will establish a Cultural and Information Center in Warsaw, and we'll 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 -- all of 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 can never be imposed. We believe in democracy. For without doubt, though democracy may be a dream deferred for many, it remains, in my view, 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 crushed, but never forgotten. And 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. (Applause.)

America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless you and your efforts. Long live Poland. Long live Poland. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:58 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Warsaw, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 10, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT JOINT SESSION OF PARLIAMENTThe Sejm
Warsaw, Poland

2:28 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Chairman Jaruzelski, Marshall Kozakiewicz and Stelmachowski, Prime Minister Rakowski and senators and delegates, on behalf of the people of the United States, 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 -- a worldwide photo -- flashed all around the world -- a photo of General Jaruzelski, Senator Leader Lech Walesa shoulder-to-shoulder -- Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa -- shoulder-to-shoulder at the opening session of this Parliament -- committed to new progress in Poland. Believe me, that sent a wonderful signal all around the world.

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 3rd Constitution of 1791 set Poland ahead of her peers -- ahead of her time -- in the pursuit of freedom and democratic ideas, just as our Constitution -- 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, prosperity. And we are proud of our early and longstanding commitment to Polish self-determination. As America's President, I am here today to reaffirm that proud commitment.

I understand something of the work you are commencing, for I began my own public service in the American Congress. Democratically-chosen legislatures are among mankind's greatest forums for debate and dialogue. And while I've been to Poland before, I did not expect to return so soon -- nor to such altered circumstances in your country. And so, too, perhaps many of you didn't expect to be here -- serving in this, or any Polish parliament. And your achievement has surpassed all expectation and has earned all our admiration.

Our meeting today bears witness to the character of our age.

Some 450 years ago, when the Polish astronomer 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

MORE

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're 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. (Applause.)

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. And sometimes it's 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've since proceeded further along that road -- including holding the remarkable elections that produced this Parliament. And let us consider what your experiment may mean, not just for Poland, but for Europe and for the entire world.

The divided world of the modern age began here -- right here -- in Poland, 50 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. And 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 that 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. And we proposed that the Marshall Plan include Eastern Europe. But again, that was not to be.

The Western strategy -- our strategy of containment -- was a means, but was never an end in itself. It was no substitute for a free and united Europe. And 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're 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. And 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. And 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, yes, courage. The world watches in admiration.

And 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. I notice what General Jaruzelzki said on that point, and I support him. 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 and tanks and 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 movement in the same direction -- thus have great importance beyond their borders. By creating political structures legitimized by popular will -- by that, 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, independent -- true to the best tradition of your nation's past. (Applause.) And this regime is moving forward with a sense of realism and courage, in a time of great difficulty and challenge. 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 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.

And yet, even under the best circumstances, representative government has its own challenges. It requires patience, tolerance, and give-and-take between political opponent. 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 200 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's 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. And I must speak honestly. Economic reform and recovery cannot occur without sacrifices. Even in an economy as productive as ours, we still debate the roles and limits of government -- how to regulate the private sector without discouraging innovation, how to reduce our own enormous budget deficit, how to balance workers' needs and industrial efficiency, how to handle the painful disruptions of change -- for the sake of productivity, the sake of progress, for the sake of prosperity.

The reform of the Polish economy presents 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 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 here and to encourage reforms yet to come. It is a policy built on 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. Poland and the United States need not repeat that. Our efforts will be carefully targeted in support of an emerging new Poland.

We've made progress on the steps announced at Hamtramck, and this is where we stand.

Legislation is well underway that will help Polish exporters compete more effectively in the U.S. market through generalized systems 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 an unprecedented opportunity.

There is great interest and excitement in the United States about what you're doing in Poland and a clear-cut desire to help the reform process. I hosted a White House Symposium on July 6th to bring together citizens of my country interested in promoting investment, trade and academic exchange with Poland and Hungary. And I can assure you that, more than ever before, the American people will be involved in your democratic experiment.

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First, I will propose at the upcoming economic summit in Paris that the nations of the summit -- that 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, the Paris Club, and IMF; and address needed economic reforms, credits, management and training initiatives, social safety nets, housing, and other issues important to Poland.

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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 crushed, but never forgotten. And 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. (Applause.)

America wishes you well as you face the tough problems today. I salute General Jaruzelski for his leadership and his extraordinary hospitality to me. I salute the leaders and members of these two great legislative bodies. God, in His infinite wisdom and love, is with us in this chamber. May God bless you and your efforts. Long live Poland. Long live Poland. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END

2:58 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *WJ*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

I. SUMMARY

On the evening of July 11, you will deliver a toast at the state dinner in the "Hunt Room" at the Parliament in Budapest. There will be forty Americans and sixty Hungarians at the dinner. The Hungarians are all guests of the government, but are not all necessarily members of Parliament.

II. DISCUSSION

Toasts on such occasions are customarily a "mini-speech" -- hence more substantive -- than toasts normally given. The toast praises Hungary's reform movement focusing on the growing freedom and openness of Hungary's economic and political systems.

7/3/89
LG
CARPS

McGroarty/Dooley
June 30, 1989
6:30 pm
Draft 2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
0:00 PM

[Introductory remarks....] I am delighted to have this opportunity to visit Hungary once again, and to see -- first-hand -- the remarkable changes taking place here.

We live at a great moment in human affairs -- an era when change is shaking the existing order. From Beijing to Budapest - - from Tiananmen Square, to the long-delayed day of healing in Heroes' Square less than a month ago -- we're witnessing the expression of democratic ideas whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide.

Here in the heart of Central Europe, Hungary is at the center of change. Your nation is involved in an unprecedented experiment -- a Communist system seeking to evolve towards a more open economy, towards a more open and pluralistic political system.

No one now denies that reform is the path to the future. In nation after nation, decades of experience have proven beyond any doubt the **poverty of an idea**: the idea that progress is the

product of the state. On the contrary, progress is the product of the people.

State control simply cannot provide sustained economic growth -- nor can it provide a regime the political legitimacy it needs to govern. Most of all, the State is in constant conflict with human liberty.

In Hungary today, there is a deepening consensus on the direction reform must take -- on a new model for state and society: in economics, the free market; in politics, democratic pluralism and human rights.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work. That means an end to inefficient government intervention in the marketplace -- an end to the dead weight that drags down overall economic growth. It means factories and enterprises of all kinds playing by the rules of the free marketplace -- according to the laws of supply and demand. In other words, rules that work for the individual and the common good.

And economic competition has a parallel in the political sphere. Pluralism is nothing more than an open and honest competition between parties -- a competition between points of view. Pluralism is what we in the West call the marketplace of ideas. The free and open elections Hungary has promised will

mark a great advance for democracy and political freedom, and allow your great nation to enjoy the benefits of pluralism. The hopeful process of Helsinki points the way to the enhancement of freedom in Central Europe -- to a new basis for security and cooperation in all of Europe.

All Hungarians should look to the future with confidence in what Hungary can be. This is only the beginning: I see in Hungary's future a country of hundreds of thousands of small enterprises -- sources of innovation, productivity and prosperity. I see in Hungary's future new voices speaking out, shaping the course of national affairs. I see a Hungary at peace with itself, a Hungary assuming its rightful place as a vital part of an emerging Europe -- a Europe whole and free.

The road ahead will be difficult -- there's no denying that. But I believe in Hungary. I believe in her ability to meet and master that challenge -- to make reform succeed.

The key is Hungary's most precious resource: her people. Each individual is an infinity of possibilities -- and in the collective capability of those individual talents lies the future of your nation.

So let us now raise our glasses:

To the friendship between the American and Hungarian people;

To the future of Hungarian reform;

And to the renaissance of the Hungarian nation.

Egeszsegukre [EGG-esh-SHAY-goo-kray].

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
 (06/27 6:00 p.m. draft)

	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input 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"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

1st thing in am

RESPONSE:

91 : 8 v 82 JUN 28 89

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

McGroarty/Dooley
June 27, 1989
6:00 pm
Draft 1

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
0:00 PM

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We live at a great moment in human affairs -- an era when change is shaking the existing order. From Beijing to Budapest -- from ~~the dashed hopes of~~ Tiananmen Square, to the long-delayed day of healing in Hero's Square less than a month ago -- we're witnessing the ^{expression} ~~emergence~~ of democratic ideas whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide.

Here in the heart of Central Europe, Hungary is at the center of change. Your nation is involved in an unprecedented experiment -- ^{a Communist system seeking to evolve} ~~an evolution~~ towards a more open economy, towards a more open and pluralistic political system.

No one now denies that reform is the path to the future. In nation after nation, decades of experience have proven beyond any doubt the **poverty of an idea**: the idea that progress is the product of ^{the} state control. *On the contrary, progress is the product of the people.*

State control simply cannot provide sustained economic growth -- nor can it provide a regime the political legitimacy it needs to govern. *Most of all, the State is in constant conflict with human liberty.*

In Hungary today, there is a deepening consensus on the direction reform must take -- on a new model for state and society: in economics, the free market; in politics, pluralism, *democratic* and human rights.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work. That means an end to ~~state ownership~~. *inefficient government intervention in the marketplace -- an end to the subsidies for loss-making firms --* dead weight that drags down overall economic growth. It means factories and enterprises of all kinds ~~run according to the rules of the marketplace~~ *play by* ^{free} according to the laws of supply and demand, ~~not the dictates of the Party.~~ *in other words -- rules that work for the individual and for the common good.*

And economic competition has a parallel in the political sphere. Pluralism is nothing more than an open and honest competition between parties -- a competition between points of view. Pluralism is what we in the West call the marketplace of ideas. The free and open elections Hungary will hold next year will mark a great advance for democracy and political freedom, *and allow your generation to enjoy the benefits of pluralism.*

insert A

All Hungarians should look to the future with confidence in what Hungary can be. This is only the beginning: I see in Hungary's future a country of hundreds of thousands of small

enterprises -- sources of innovation, productivity and prosperity. I see in Hungary's future new voices speaking out, shaping the course of national affairs. *I see a Hungary at peace with itself -- a Hungary assuming its rightful place as a vital part of an emerging Europe -- a Europe whole and free.*

The road ahead will be difficult -- there's no denying that. But I ~~have no doubt at all~~ ^{believe} in Hungary's ^(I believe in her) ability to meet and master that challenge -- to make reform succeed.

The key is Hungary's most precious resource: ^{her} its people. Each individual is an **infinity of possibilities** -- and in the collective capability of those individual talents lies the future of your nation.

So let us now raise our glasses:

To the friendship between the American and Hungarian people;

To the future of Hungarian reform;

And to the renaissance of the Hungarian nation. Kedves

egeszsegukre [~~KED-vesh~~ AGAYS-shegookray.]

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/1/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

SUBJECT: JULY 11, 1989

(6/30 - 6:30 p.m. draft 2)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input 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"/>	PINKERTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input checked="" 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 type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

89 JUN 4 11:45

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *WJ*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

I. SUMMARY

On the evening of July 11, you will deliver a toast at the state dinner in the "Hunt Room" at the Parliament in Budapest. There will be forty Americans and sixty Hungarians at the dinner. The Hungarians are all guests of the government, but are not all necessarily members of Parliament.

II. DISCUSSION

Toasts on such occasions are customarily a "mini-speech" -- hence more substantive -- than toasts normally given. The toast praises Hungary's reform movement focusing on the growing freedom and openness of Hungary's economic and political systems.

McGroarty/Dooley
June 30, 1989
6:30 pm
Draft 2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
0:00 PM

[Introductory remarks....] I am delighted to have this opportunity to visit Hungary once again, and to see -- first-hand -- the remarkable changes taking place here.

We live at a great moment in human affairs -- an era when change is shaking the existing order. From Beijing to Budapest -- from Tiananmen Square, to the long-delayed day of healing in Heroes' Square less than a month ago -- we're witnessing the expression of democratic ideas whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide.

Here in the heart of Central Europe, Hungary is at the center of change. Your nation is involved in an unprecedented experiment -- a Communist system seeking to evolve towards a more open economy, towards a more open and pluralistic political system.

No one now denies that reform is the path to the future. In nation after nation, decades of experience have proven beyond any doubt the poverty of an idea: the idea that progress is the

product of the state. On the contrary, progress is the product of the people.

State control simply cannot provide sustained economic growth -- nor can it provide a regime the political legitimacy it needs to govern. Most of all, the State is in constant conflict with human liberty.

In Hungary today, there is a deepening consensus on the direction reform must take -- on a new model for state and society: in economics, the free market; in politics, democratic pluralism and human rights.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work. That means an end to inefficient government intervention in the marketplace -- an end to the dead weight that drags down overall economic growth. It means factories and enterprises of all kinds playing by the rules of the free marketplace -- according to the laws of supply and demand. In other words, rules that work for the individual and the common good.

And economic competition has a parallel in the political sphere. Pluralism is nothing more than an open and honest competition between parties -- a competition between points of view. Pluralism is what we in the West call the marketplace of ideas. The free and open elections Hungary has promised will

mark a great advance for democracy and political freedom, and allow your great nation to enjoy the benefits of pluralism. The hopeful process of Helsinki points the way to the enhancement of freedom in Central Europe -- to a new basis for security and cooperation in all of Europe.

All Hungarians should look to the future with confidence in what Hungary can be. This is only the beginning: I see in Hungary's future a country of hundreds of thousands of small enterprises -- sources of innovation, productivity and prosperity. I see in Hungary's future new voices speaking out, shaping the course of national affairs. I see a Hungary at peace with itself, a Hungary assuming its rightful place as a vital part of an emerging Europe -- a Europe whole and free.

The road ahead will be difficult -- there's no denying that. But I believe in Hungary. I believe in her ability to meet and master that challenge -- to make reform succeed.

The key is Hungary's most precious resource: her people. Each individual is an infinity of possibilities -- and in the collective capability of those individual talents lies the future of your nation.

So let us now raise our glasses:

To the friendship between the American and Hungarian people;

To the future of Hungarian reform;

And to the renaissance of the Hungarian nation.
Egeszsegukre [EGG-esh-SHAY-goo-kray].

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *WJ*

FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMG*

SUBJECT: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

I. SUMMARY

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McGroarty/Dooley
June 30, 1989
6:30 pm
Draft 2

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BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
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McGroarty/Dooley
June 30, 1989
11:30 am
Draft 2

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BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
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FROM: DANIEL MCGROARTY *DMG*

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#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 05:58 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
(06/27 6:00 p.m. draft)

	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input 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"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" 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 provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: June 30, 1989

To: Chriss Winston

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.

Brent Scowcroft
Brent Scowcroft

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

McGroarty/Dooley
June 27, 1989
6:00 pm
Draft 1

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
0:00 PM

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930A 6/28/89

Document No. 048447

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
(06/27 6:00 p.m. draft)

	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</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 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"/>
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*See comments
JW*

RESPONSE:

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

McGroarty/Dooley
June 27, 1989
6:00 pm
Draft 1

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2

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*insert **

~~the role that Hungary~~

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#

Ked-vesh

Egg-ags shegookray

Egg-Ace shegookray

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

89 JUN 29 48:28

June 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Comments on Departure Statement and Hungarian
Toast

Attached are edited versions of a draft Presidential departure statement and a draft toast at the Hungarian Parliament. The changes to the departure statement are especially important in order to provide a clear description of the President's objectives at the Paris Economic Summit.

Attachments
As stated

cc: James W. Cicconi

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
 (06/27 6:00 p.m. draft)

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 Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
June 27, 1989
6:00 pm
Draft 1

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2

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To the future of Hungarian reform;

And to the renaissance of the Hungarian nation. Kedves

egeszsegukre [KED-vesh AGAYS-shegookray.]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

89 JUN 28 , P6 : 29

June 28, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton

Subject: Toast At The Hungarian Parliament -- Draft

Pg. 2, para. 1 The statement that state control cannot provide either economic growth nor political legitimacy skirts the central issue that state control endangers liberty. The point is better seen if one considers that even if state control yielded growth and legitimacy, it would not be worth the sacrifice of the rights of man -- the theme of the President's trip to Europe.

Thus we suggest adding a sentence: "Most of all, the state is in constant conflict with human liberty."

2,3, line 5 We suggest always adding "free" to "marketplace."

2,4,4 Again, it should be "free marketplace."

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

89 JUN 28 P1:44

DATE: 06/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
(06/27 6:00 p.m. draft)

	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</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 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 provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *OK*
(RW) 6/28

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER *SR*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Toast at the Hungarian
Parliament

Pursuant to James Cicconi's request, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. Counsel's Office has no legal objection to the Presidential Remarks as drafted.

Thank you for bringing this matter to our attention.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 JUN 28 P5:05

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

- O - OUTGOING
- H - INTERNAL
- I - INCOMING

Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1/1

Name of Correspondent: James W. Ciccone

MI Mail Report User Codes: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

Subject: President's Remarks: Toast at the Hungarian Parliament

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	DISPOSITION			
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
<u>Cross</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>891028</u>			<u>1/1</u>
<u>Cyat 14</u>	Referral Note: <u>R</u>	<u>891028</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>891028</u>
	Referral Note:				<u>15:00p.m.</u>
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				
		<u>1/1</u>			<u>1/1</u>
	Referral Note:				

ACTION CODES:

- A - Appropriate Action
- C - Comment/Recommendation
- D - Draft Response
- F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
- I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
- R - Direct Reply w/Copy
- S - For Signature
- X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:

- A - Answered
- B - Non-Special Referral
- C - Completed
- S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:

- Type of Response = Initials of Signer
- Code = "A"
- Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: Please provide any comments/recommendation directly to Cross Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 6/28, w/ an a/c copy to Ciccone.
Thanks!

Keep this worksheet attached to the original incoming letter.
Send all routing updates to Central Reference (Room 75, OEOb).
Always return completed correspondence record to Central Files.
Refer questions about the correspondence tracking system to Central Reference, ext. 2590.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 5:00 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
(06/27 6:00 p.m. draft)

	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 type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</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"/>
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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 provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

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

McGroarty/Dooley
June 27, 1989
6:00 pm
Draft 1

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
JULY 11, 1989
0:00 PM

[Introductory remarks....] I am delighted to have this opportunity to visit Hungary once again, and to see -- first-hand -- the remarkable changes taking place here.

We live at a great moment in human affairs -- an era when change is shaking the existing order. From Beijing to Budapest -- from the dashed hopes of Tiananmen Square, to the long-delayed day of healing in Hero's Square less than a month ago -- we're witnessing the emergence of democratic ideas whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide.

Here in the heart of Central Europe, Hungary is at the center of change. Your nation is involved in an unprecedented experiment -- an evolution towards a more open economy, towards a more open and pluralistic political system.

No one now denies that reform is the path to the future. In nation after nation, decades of experience have proven beyond any doubt the poverty of an idea: the idea that progress is the product of state control.

State control simply cannot provide sustained economic growth -- nor can it provide a regime the political legitimacy it needs to govern.

In Hungary today, there is a deepening consensus on the direction reform must take -- on a new model for state and society: in economics, the free market; in politics, pluralism.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work. That means an end to state ownership. It means an end to subsidies for loss-making firms -- dead weight that drags down overall economic growth. It means factories and enterprises of all kinds run according to the rules of the marketplace -- according to the laws of supply and demand -- not the dictates of the Party.

And economic competition has a parallel in the political sphere. Pluralism is nothing more than an open and honest competition between parties -- a competition between points of view. Pluralism is what we in the West call the marketplace of ideas. The free and open elections Hungary will hold next year will mark a great advance for democracy and political freedom.

All Hungarians should look to the future with confidence in what Hungary can be. This is only the beginning: I see in Hungary's future a country of hundreds of thousands of small

enterprises -- sources of innovation, productivity and prosperity. I see in Hungary's future new voices speaking out, shaping the course of national affairs.

The road ahead will be difficult -- there's no denying that. But I have no doubt at all in Hungary's ability to meet and master that challenge -- to make reform succeed.

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egeszsegukre [KED-vesh AGAYS-shegookray.]

#

Comp

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SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 5:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

No Scow

RESPONSE:

To: Chriss Winston

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.

G. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretariat

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



NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

TIME STAMP

89 JUN 28 10:09 AM '89
URGENT

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 5108

ACTION OFFICER: RICE

DUE: 4:00 P.M. 28 JUN 89

Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates

Appropriate Action

Prepare Memo For Cicconi

Prepare Memo for Hughes

Prepare Memo SCOWCROFT

to WINSTON W/CC: CICCONI

CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS*

PHONE* to action officer at ext. 3912

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

- FYI
- Lampley
 - Leach
 - Levin
 - Lewis
 - Mahley
 - Mandel
 - McCue
 - Melby
 - Menan
 - Miller
 - Miskel
 - Needels
 - Paal
 - Pacelli
 - Passage
 - Popadiuk
 - Porter
 - Pryce

- FYI
- Rademaker
 - Reiss
 - Rice
 - Rodman
 - Rostow
 - Salvetti
 - Snider
 - Tilley
 - Tobey
 - Welch
 - Whitley
 - Working
 - Zelikow
 - _____
 - _____
 - _____
 - _____

INFORMATION

Hughes
 Scowcroft (advance)

Gates (advance)
 Secretariat

Exec. Sec. Desk
 SITTMANN

COMMENTS

URGENT

Logged By SA

Return to Secretariat

McGroarty/Dooley
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Draft 1

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Process

The hopeful progress of Helsinki points the way to the enhancement of freedom and Central Europe, which in turn will be the new basis for security and cooperation in all of Europe.

~~the role that Hungary~~

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egeszsegukre [KED-vesh AGAYS-shegookray.]

#

Ked-vesh

Egg-ays shegookray

Egg-ACK shegookray