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

OA/ID Number: 13494
Folder ID Number: 13494-021

Folder Title:
Kossuth Square, Budapest 7/11/89 [3]

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/28/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C phone</i>	<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 <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMEYER	<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"/>
<i>5026 Rademaker</i>			_____	<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 NOON, 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

(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

1989 JUN 28 PM 2:4

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

[SHAHN-door
PET-oo-fee]

Mr. President, My Hungarian and American Friends.

That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi, once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities lovelier than Budapest. And I have seldom seen a city more alive. Alive with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alive with a people who believe that like a lamp ^{lighting} shining in the blackness, ^{darkest night} liberty can light the ^{world} darkest night.

In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. And as I speak, I will recall how 137 years ago a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house which embodied freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

2
stands
His name was Lajos Kossuth. His statue rests behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust ~~in~~ to the future of republicanism." And then he added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon." [LOY-osh KO-shooth]

Even now, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery, and of dreams. He knew that a courageous people would not bow to bayonets and barbed wire. He knew that the lamp of liberty would shine forever. [light]

This great man became the conscience of Hungary. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany and Imre Nagy sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew that no matter how much suffering beset this Nation, its lamp of liberty would shine forever. [LOY-osh B AHT-on-ee] [IM-reh MAW-dawch]

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that great literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

My friends, our mission is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. ~~Proclaim~~

it through ballots, not bullets. For The Victory of Man can help Hungary's future be worthy of her history. And help ~~us~~ live for what ~~some~~ have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

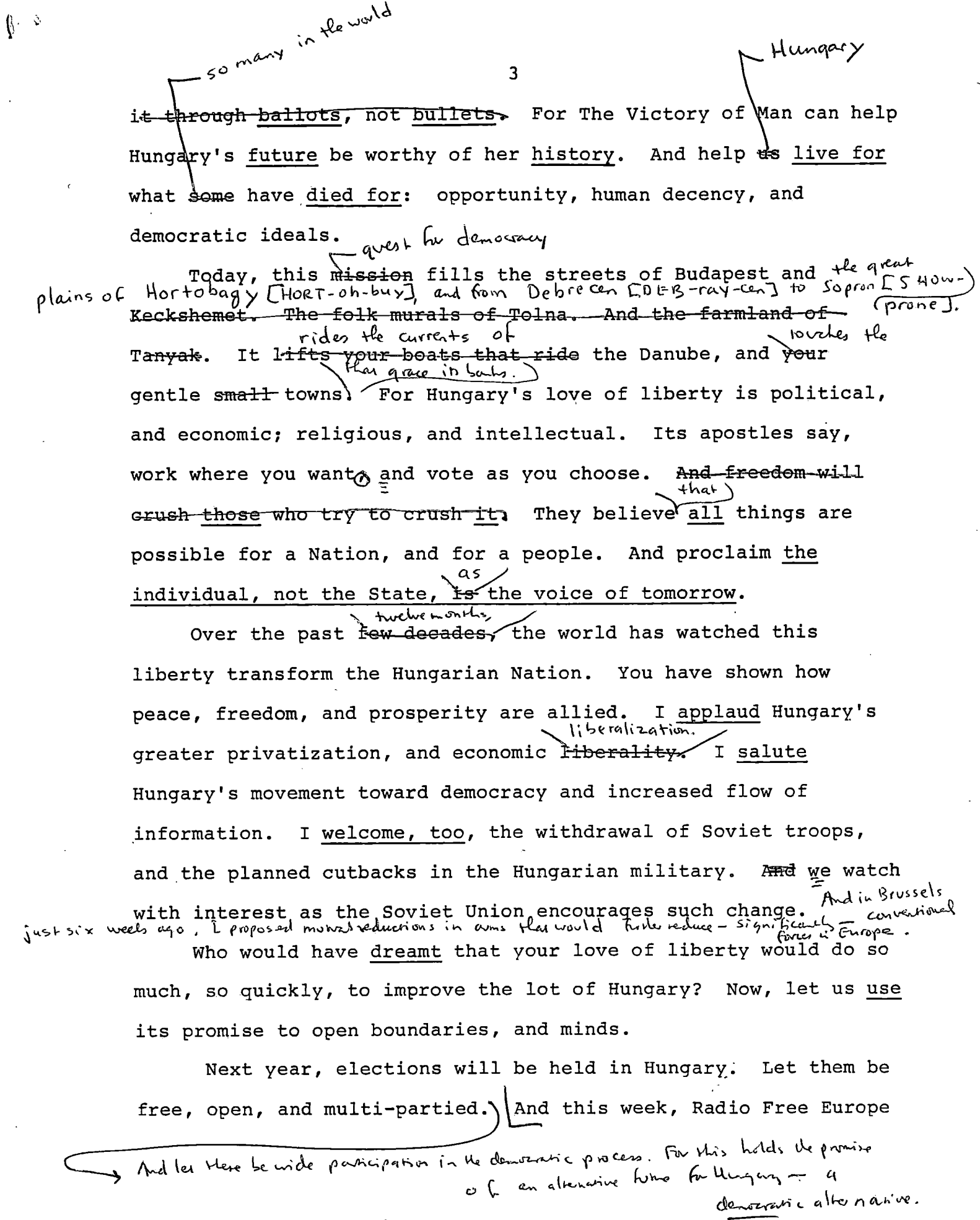
Today, this ^{quest for democracy} mission fills the streets of Budapest and ^{the great} plains of Hortobagy [HORT-oh-buy], and from Debrecen [DEB-ray-cen] to Sopron [S 40w-^{prone}]. ~~The folk murals of Tolna. And the farmland of~~ Tanyak. It ^{rides the currents of} lifts ~~your boats that ride~~ the Danube, and ^{touches the} your gentle ~~small towns~~. For Hungary's love of liberty is political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say, work where you want, and vote as you choose. ~~And freedom will~~ ^{that} ~~crush those who try to crush it.~~ They believe all things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim the individual, not the State, ^{as} is the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past ^{twelve months} ~~few decades~~, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. You have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic ^{liberalization.} liberality. I salute Hungary's movement toward democracy and increased flow of information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military. ~~And we~~ watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change.

^{just six weeks ago, I proposed major reductions in arms that would ~~triple~~ reduce - significantly - ^{conventional} forces in Europe.} Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

Next year, elections will be held in Hungary. Let them be free, open, and multi-partied.) And this week, Radio Free Europe

And let there be wide participation in the democratic process. For this holds the promise of an alternative ^{for Hungary - a} democratic alternative.



originating from

4

begins broadcasts in Hungary -- the first in a Communist country. Let its coverage spur an even closer merging of East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, we must remember that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free. ~~And to the community of Nations.~~

Lajos Kossuth came to America after Hungary had, for the moment, ~~disappeared from that community.~~ ^{lost its freedom.} Yet his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of ^{self} self-government." They opposed closed societies. And they believed in helping individuals, and Nations, who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were determined to ensure that ^{light} ~~the lamp~~ of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. We see it in the lives of the ^{nearly two} million Americans of Hungarian descent. ^{giant} Heroes like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. ^{Or} Conductor Eugene Ormandy, ^{who proved that} ~~proving how~~ music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovach ^{KO-vach} ~~[Kov-es ezredes]~~, who founded the U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War.

Americans also admire

But this kinship isn't one-way: ~~It also touches Hungarians-~~
~~for whom America feels such admiration.~~ ^{Hungarians whose deeds inspire us.} ~~Heroes~~ ^{the great founder of the} ~~People like~~ ^{Hungarian State,} ~~Saint~~
^{great} Stephen, and ^{like} composers Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many
 winners of Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or the great patriot
 by the name of ^{Janos} ~~Ganesh~~ Hunyadi [^{YANN-osh HOON-yah-dee} ~~Parosh Hoondundu~~] ^{Turkish} who more than
 five centuries ago stopped a would-be invasion. In his honor,
 Pope ^{Catholic} ~~ordered~~ each church to ring a bell at the time of day the
 battle ended. And since then, ^{Catholic} church bells all over the world
 ring precisely at mid-day.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. But there are other,
^{winther in Lake} ~~unknown~~ heroes, too -- the student in Budapest, the ~~Great Alfold~~
^{Balaton} ~~shop-keeper,~~ ^[BAHL-ah-ton] the artist in Sarkoz) ^[SHAHR - kooz] Today, it is they -- you --
 who are reducing the chasm between East and West. Enriching, and
 making possible, a more open, peaceful world. You are proving
 how liberty can expand Hungary's horizons. And enlarge the
 possibilities of her people. For liberty reflects the values of
 individuality, self-reliance, and respect for others. Values
 which underscore the dignity of man.

Four weeks ago, thousands filled this city's Heroes Square -
 - peacefully, movingly -- to honor the hero, and spirit, of the
 1956 ~~uprising~~ ^{uprising.} Among them was a ^{patriot} ~~man,~~ ^{And who now -} Tibor Kalmar, who, ^{with many others,} took part
 in that rebellion. ~~Astonished~~ ^{es} by the turnout, this gentle
 patriot found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in her future.
 "Today, ~~he said,~~ "this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder." For
 this day, it is worth living and forgiving." ^{he said.} It was worth it to
 go through everything."

My friends, you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love ^{Hungary} ~~democracy~~ -- as Imre Nagy did. ^{Overcome} ~~Confront~~ oppression -- as Lajos Kossuth did. Show the world that the ^{light} ~~lamp~~ of liberty will shine forever.

^{Your} ~~The~~ bell resounds. ^{Your light} ~~The light~~ expands. ~~The lamp~~ grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/28/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

	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"/>
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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 NOON, Friday, June 30, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

89 JUN 30 P 3: 53

RESPONSE:


*No Comment
6/30/89*

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 89 JUN 28 1989 PI: 16 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 NOON

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

	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"/>

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RESPONSE: *See comments - pp. 3, 4, 5*

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

(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

1000 JUN 29 PM 2:4

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BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

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Moein
x3060

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it through ballots, not bullets. For The Victory of Man can help Hungary's future be worthy of her history. And help us live for what some have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

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Next year, elections will be held in Hungary. Let them be free, open, and multi-partied. And this week, Radio Free Europe

begins broadcasts in Hungary -- the first in a Communist country. Let its coverage spur an even closer merging of East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, we must remember that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free. And to the community of Nations.

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Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of self-government." They opposed closed societies. And they believed in helping individuals, and Nations, who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were determined to ensure that the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. We see it in the lives of the ___ million Americans of Hungarian descent. Heroes like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Conductor Eugene Ormandy, proving how music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovach [Kov cs ezredes], who founded the U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War.

*Mullin
x 3060*

But this kinship isn't one-way: It also touches Hungarians for whom America feels such admiration. People like Saint Stephen, and composers Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or the great patriot by the name of Ganosz Hunyadi [Parosh Hoondundu] who more than five centuries ago stopped a would-be invasion. In his honor, Pope __ ordered each church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, church bells all over the world ring precisely at mid-day.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. But there are other, unknown heroes, too -- the student in Budapest, the Great Alfold shop-keeper, the artist in Sarkoz. Today, it is they -- you -- who are reducing the chasm between East and West. Enriching, and making possible, a more open, peaceful world. You are proving how liberty can expand Hungary's horizons. And enlarge the possibilities of her people. For liberty reflects the values of individuality, self-reliance, and respect for others. Values which underscore the dignity of man.

Four weeks ago, thousands filled this city's Heroes Square - - peacefully, movingly -- to honor the hero, and spirit, of the 1956 uprising. Among them was a man, Tibor Kalmar, who took part in that rebellion. Astonished by the turnout, this gentle patriot found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in her future. "Today," he said, "this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder. For this day, it is worth living and forgiving. It was worth it to go through everything."

*Made
x3060
?*

My friends, you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love democracy -- as Imre Nagy did. Confront oppression -- as Lajos Kossuth did. Show the world that the lamp of liberty will shine forever.

The bell resounds. The light expands. The lamp grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: STEPHEN G. RADEMAKER ^{SR}
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Kossuth Square, Budapest, Hungary

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 bring this matter to our attention.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 JUN 30 PM 12:13

**WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET**



- O - OUTGOING
 - H - INTERNAL
 - I - INCOMING
- Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) 1 1

Name of Correspondent: James W. Cecconi

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

Subject: Presidential Remarks; Kosuth Square, Budapest, Hungary

ROUTE TO:	ACTION	Tracking Date	Type of Response	Disposition Code	Completion Date
Office/Agency (Staff Name)	Action Code	YY/MM/DD		Code	YY/MM/DD
<u>Croft</u>	ORIGINATOR	<u>891028</u>			<u>1 1</u>
<u>Cyrt 14</u>	Referral Note:	<u>R 891028</u>		<u>S</u>	<u>891030</u>
	Referral Note:				
	Referral Note:				
	Referral Note:				
	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 forward comments directly to Chris Winston, Rm 122 V29 30 US State Dept 12:00 Friday, June 30 1989. Willan wife

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.

Copy to Cecconi's office.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/28/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 NOON

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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:

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RESPONSE:

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

(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

1989 JUN 28 PM 2:4

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

Mr. President, My Hungarian and American Friends.

That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi, once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

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In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. And as I speak, I will recall how 137 years ago a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house which embodied freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

His name was Lajos Kossuth. His statue rests behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust in the future of republicanism." And then he added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

Even now, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery, and of dreams. He knew that a courageous people would not bow to bayonets and barbed wire. He knew that the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

This great man became the conscience of Hungary. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany and Imre Nagy sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew that no matter how much suffering beset this Nation, its lamp of liberty would shine forever.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that great literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

My friends, our mission is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. Proclaim

it through ballots, not bullets. For The Victory of Man can help Hungary's future be worthy of her history. And help us live for what some have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

Today, this mission fills the streets of Budapest and Keckshemet. The folk murals of Tolna. And the farmland of Tanyak. It lifts your boats that ride the Danube, and your gentle small towns. For Hungary's love of liberty is political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say, work where you want, and vote as you choose. And freedom will crush those who try to crush it. They believe all things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past few decades, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. You have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberality. I salute Hungary's movement toward democracy and increased flow of information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military. And we watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change.

Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

Next year, elections will be held in Hungary. Let them be free, open, and multi-partied. And this week, Radio Free Europe

begins broadcasts in Hungary -- the first in a Communist country. Let its coverage spur an even closer merging of East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, we must remember that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free. And to the community of Nations.

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Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of self-government." They opposed closed societies. And they believed in helping individuals, and Nations, who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were determined to ensure that the lamp of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. We see it in the lives of the million Americans of Hungarian descent. Heroes like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Conductor Eugene Ormandy, proving how music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovach [Kovacs ezredes], who founded the U.S. Cavalry during the Civil War.

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Four weeks ago, thousands filled this city's Heroes Square - - peacefully, movingly -- to honor the hero, and spirit, of the 1956 uprising. Among them was a man, Tibor Kalmar, who took part in that rebellion. Astonished by the turnout, this gentle patriot found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in her future. "Today," he said, "this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder. For this day, it is worth living and forgiving. It was worth it to go through everything."

My friends, you have endured much. And survived through family, and faith in God. And the spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, you write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. democracy -- as Imre Nagy did. Confront oppression Kossuth did. Show the world that the lamp of liberty forever.

The bell resounds. The light expands. The light brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what "the morning star of liberty." The star that can tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The


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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

89 JUN 29 AM : 41

June 29, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From: Jim Pinkerton 
Subject: Kossuth Square Speech Draft

A good speech.

We offer as a suggestion the usefulness of especially stressing the President's existing theme of a united free Europe. This has powerful resonance in Hungary. According to a recent correspondent there, "The theme that recurs, again and again, in every program, speech, and conversation, official as well as unofficial: the return to something called 'Europe.'"

Thus, the President could say at some point, "Let Hungary return to Europe." This phrase could be tied in with his themes of "Europe whole and free" and opening the "house of Europe."

It seems especially effective for the person most associated with the New World to speak of the New World's admiration and interest in the destiny of the Old World. This theme applies as much to Central Europe as it does to the coming events in France.

One particular comment:

3,3,4 "I applaud Hungary's greater privatization...." While this is true, the term "privatization" has a more particular meaning for the West. Therefore, we suggest something like "expansion of free enterprise."

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(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

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When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that great literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

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The bell resounds. The light expands. The lamp grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

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(Smith/Blessey)
June 28, 1989
Draft Six
HUNGARY

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

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Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

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draft

(Smith/Blessey)
July 6, 1989
Draft Eight
HUNGARY1

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

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That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi [SHAHN-door PET-oo-fee], once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first acting American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities lovelier than Budapest. And I have seldom seen a city more alive. Alive with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alive with a people who believe that like a lamp lighting the darkest night, liberty can light the globe.

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His name was Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth]. His statue stands behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust to the future of republicanism." And he also added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

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My friends, our mission is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. For The Victory of Man can help Hungary's future be worthy of her history. And help Hungary live for what so many in the world have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

Today, this quest for democracy fills the streets of Budapest and the great plains of Hortobagy [HORT-oh-buy], and from Debrecen [DEB-ray-cen] to Sopron [SHOW-prone]. It rides the currents of the Danube, and touches the gentle towns that grace its banks. For Hungary's love of liberty is political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say, work where you want. And vote as you choose. They believe that all things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim the individual, not the State, as the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past twelve months, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. You have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberalization. I salute Hungary's movement toward democracy and increased flow of information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military.

We watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change. Indeed, we salute General Secretary Gorbachev as he encourages change through reform. Let us be clear: We want perestroika to succeed. And in Brussels just six weeks ago, I

proposed mutual reductions in arms that would further reduce -- significantly -- conventional forces in Europe.

Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

We salute your decision for elections to be held in Hungary. We salute your decision to encourage more participation in the democratic process. For this holds the promise of an alternative future for Hungary -- a democratic alternative.

And this week, Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts originating from Hungary -- the first in a Communist country. Let its coverage spur even closer ties between East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, we must remember that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free.

Lajos Kossuth came to America after Hungary had, for the moment, failed to secure its freedom. Yet his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

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Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. For your gallantry evokes our admiration. Your example is our inspiration. Our Nations are linked by many things -- hard work, the role of community, and a deep religious devotion. And we will be with you always. As partners. And as friends.

We see this kinship in the nearly two million Americans of Hungarian descent. In giants like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Or conductor Eugene Ormandy, who proved that music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovacs^t [KO-vach], who ~~commanded the~~ ^{commanded the} founded a U.S. Cavalry Unit during the American Revolution.

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That great poet of the 1848 Revolution, Sandor Petofi [SHAHN-door PET-oo-fee], once wrote, "Let me address you in the name of millions." Today, let me address you in the name of millions who convey their warmest greetings: The people of the United States.

Six years ago, I became the highest-ranking American official to visit Hungary. Today, I become the first acting American President to travel here. Now, as then, Barbara and I are moved by your reception. And we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

I want to say to all of you that I have seen few cities lovelier than Budapest. And I have seldom seen a city more alive. Alive with commerce, change, and, above all, hope. Alive with a people who believe that like a lamp lighting the darkest night, liberty can light the globe.

In a few moments I will be received in a symbol of that liberty -- the Hungarian Parliament. And as I speak, I will recall how 137 years ago a true Hungarian patriot was received in another house which embodied freedom -- the Congress of the United States.

His name was Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth]. His statue stands behind me. And he arrived in America after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. For he believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

"I have a steady faith in principles," he said. "I trust to the future of republicanism." And he also added: "Bayonets may support, but afford no chair to sit upon."

Even now, the memory of Lajos Kossuth lifts us, teaches us. For his life was a celebration of bravery, and of dreams. He knew that a courageous people would not bow to bayonets and barbed wire. He knew that the light of liberty would shine forever.

This great man became the conscience of Hungary. And just two blocks away -- here, too, an eternal flame lights the fire of democracy. Like other Hungarian heroes, Lajos Batthyany [LOY-osh BAHT-on-ee] sought free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. They knew that no matter how much suffering beset this Nation, its light of liberty would shine forever.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief -- the belief that free expression would conquer tyranny. And he wrote those words in that timeless literary work ironically entitled, "The Tragedy of Man."

My friends, our mission is to help liberty proclaim The Victory of Man. Proclaim it peacefully, not violently. For The Victory of Man can help Hungary's future be worthy of her history. And help Hungary live for what so many in the world have died for: opportunity, human decency, and democratic ideals.

Today, this quest for democracy fills the streets of Budapest and the great plains of Hortobagy [HORT-oh-buy], and from Debrecen [DEB-ray-cen] to Sopron [SHOW-prone]. It rides the currents of the Danube, and touches the gentle towns that grace its banks. For Hungary's love of liberty is political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. Its apostles say, work where you want. And vote as you choose. They believe that all things are possible for a Nation, and for a people. And proclaim the individual, not the State, as the voice of tomorrow.

Over the past twelve months, the world has watched this liberty transform the Hungarian Nation. You have shown how peace, freedom, and prosperity are allied. I applaud Hungary's greater privatization, and economic liberalization. I salute Hungary's movement toward democracy and increased flow of information. I welcome, too, the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the planned cutbacks in the Hungarian military.

We watch with interest as the Soviet Union encourages such change. Indeed, we salute General Secretary Gorbachev as he encourages change through reform. Let us be clear: We want perestroika to succeed. And in Brussels just six weeks ago, I

proposed mutual reductions in arms that would further reduce -- significantly -- conventional forces in Europe.

Who would have dreamt that your love of liberty would do so much, so quickly, to improve the lot of Hungary? Now, let us use its promise to open boundaries, and minds.

We salute your decision for elections to be held in Hungary. We salute your decision to encourage more participation in the democratic process. For this holds the promise of an alternative future for Hungary -- a democratic alternative.

And this week, Radio Free Europe begins broadcasts originating from Hungary -- the first in a Communist country. Let its coverage spur even closer ties between East and West. In trade, as we remove unfair barriers, we must remember that only when economic and political freedom go hand-in-hand can Hungary be true to her heritage, and to her children. Becoming central to a Europe that is whole and free.

Lajos Kossuth came to America after Hungary had, for the moment, failed to secure its freedom. Yet his reception showed how our two peoples share a common love of liberty. In New York Harbor, an armada of ships sounded horns to celebrate his arrival. And when the City of New York held a parade in his honor, thousands rushed his open carriage. Perhaps no visitor since Lafayette had been greeted so emotionally.

Like Hungarians, the Americans of that time admired those who love what Kossuth called "the principle of . . . self-government." They opposed closed societies. And they believed

in helping individuals, and Nations, who understood that real freedom makes all progress possible. For they, like you, were determined to ensure that the light of liberty would shine forever.

Today, more than ever, this kinship binds the peoples of the United States and Hungary. For your gallantry evokes our admiration. Your example is our inspiration. Our Nations are linked by many things -- hard work, the role of community, and a deep religious devotion. And we will be with you always. As partners. And as friends.

We see this kinship in the nearly two million Americans of Hungarian descent. In giants like nuclear scientist Edward Teller. Or conductor Eugene Ormandy, who proved that music "is the universal language." Or Colonel Kovats [KO-vach], who commanded the first U.S. Cavalry Unit during the American Revolution.

But this kinship isn't one-way: Americans admire Hungarians whose deeds so inspire us. Heroes like the great founder of the Hungarian State, Saint Stephen, and great composers like Liszt and Bartok. Or Hungary's many winners of Nobel Prizes and Olympic Medals. Or that great patriot by the name of Janos Hunyadi [YAHN-osh HOON-yah-dee] who more than five centuries ago stopped a would-be Turkish invasion. In his honor, the Pope ordered each Catholic church to ring a bell at the time of day the battle ended. And since then, Catholic church bells all over the world ring precisely at mid-day.

Heroes, yes -- American, Hungarian. But there are other, unknown heroes, too -- the student in Budapest, the vintner in Lake Balaton [BAHL-ah-ton], the artist in Sarkoz [SHAHR-kooz]. Today, it is they -- you -- who are reducing the chasm between East and West. Enriching, and making possible, a more open, peaceful world. You are proving how liberty can expand Hungary's horizons. And enlarge the possibilities of her people. For liberty reflects the values of individuality, self-reliance, and respect for others. Values which underscore the dignity of man.

Four weeks ago, thousands filled this city's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the heroes, and spirit, of 1956. Among them was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in her future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today, this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

My friends, you have endured much. And survived everything. Survived through family, and faith in God. And through the human spirit, oft-abused yet free. In coming years, your heroism can write a new chapter in the history of your Nation. Love Hungary -- as Imre Nagy [IM-reh NUDGE] did. Overcome oppression -- as Lajos Kossuth did. Show the world that the light of liberty will shine forever.

The darkness lifts. The bell resounds. The light grows brighter by the day. Together, let us raise what Kossuth called

"the morning star of liberty." The star that can lead us toward tomorrow. And bless the children of the globe.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, God bless America -- and as your National Anthem proclaims so unforgettably, "God Bless The Hungarians."

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REMARKS: KOSSUTH SQUARE
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

FINAL
Steph

MR. PRESIDENT, MY HUNGARIAN AND AMERICAN FRIENDS.
THAT GREAT POET OF THE 1848 REVOLUTION, SANDOR
PETOFI [SHAHN-DOOR PET-OO-FEE], ONCE WROTE, "LET ME
ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS." TODAY, LET ME
ADDRESS YOU IN THE NAME OF MILLIONS WHO CONVEY THEIR
WARMEST GREETINGS: THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

- 2 -

SIX YEARS AGO, I BECAME THE HIGHEST-RANKING
AMERICAN OFFICIAL TO VISIT HUNGARY. TODAY, I BECOME
THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO TRAVEL HERE. NOW, AS
THEN, BARBARA AND I ARE MOVED BY YOUR RECEPTION. AND
WE THANK YOU FROM THE BOTTOM OF OUR HEARTS.

I WANT TO SAY TO ALL OF YOU THAT I HAVE SEEN FEW
CITIES LOVELIER THAN BUDAPEST. AND I HAVE SELDOM SEEN
A CITY MORE ALIVE. ALIVE WITH COMMERCE, CHANGE, AND,
ABOVE ALL, HOPE.

ALIVE WITH A PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE THAT LIKE A LAMP
LIGHTING THE DARKEST NIGHT, LIBERTY CAN LIGHT THE
GLOBE.

IN A FEW MOMENTS I WILL BE RECEIVED IN THE
HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT. AND AS I SPEAK, I WILL RECALL
HOW 137 YEARS AGO A TRUE HUNGARIAN PATRIOT WAS RECEIVED
IN ANOTHER HOUSE WHICH EMBODIES FREEDOM -- THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

HIS NAME WAS LAJOS KOSSUTH [LOY-OSH KO-SHOOTH].
HIS STATUE STANDS BEHIND ME. AND HE ARRIVED IN AMERICA
AFTER HUNGARY'S STRUGGLE HAD, TEMPORARILY, BEEN LOST.
YET IN HIS REMARKS TO CONGRESS, HE WAS HOPEFUL, NOT
EMBITTERED. FOR HE BELIEVED IN THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH
LINKS THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE
WORLD.

"I HAVE A STEADY FAITH IN PRINCIPLES," HE SAID. "I TRUST TO THE FUTURE OF REPUBLICANISM." AND HE ALSO ADDED: "BAYONETS MAY SUPPORT, BUT AFFORD NO CHAIR TO SIT UPON."

EVEN NOW, THE MEMORY OF LAJOS KOSSUTH LIFTS US, TEACHES US. FOR HIS LIFE WAS A CELEBRATION OF BRAVERY, AND OF DREAMS. HE KNEW THAT A COURAGEOUS PEOPLE WOULD NOT BOW TO BAYONETS AND BARBED WIRE. HE KNEW THAT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD SHINE FOREVER.

THIS GREAT MAN BECAME THE CONSCIENCE OF HUNGARY. AND JUST TWO BLOCKS AWAY -- HERE, TOO, AN ETERNAL FLAME OF HOPE LIGHTS THE NIGHT. LIKE OTHER HUNGARIAN HEROES, LAJOS BATTHYANY [LOY-OSH BAHT-ON-EE] SOUGHT FREE ASSEMBLY, PRESS, SPEECH, AND RELIGION. THEY KNEW THAT NO MATTER HOW MUCH SUFFERING BESET THIS NATION, ITS LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD SHINE FOREVER.

WHEN THE HUNGARIAN PLAYWRIGHT IMRE MADACH [IM-REH MAW-DAWCH] OBSERVED, "IT IS SO GREAT FREELY TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THE GOOD AND SINFUL WAYS," HE WAS DESCRIBING THAT BELIEF -- THE BELIEF THAT OPEN EXPRESSION WOULD CONQUER TYRANNY. AND HE WROTE THOSE WORDS IN THAT TIMELESS LITERARY WORK IRONICALLY ENTITLED, "THE TRAGEDY OF MAN."

MY FRIENDS, OUR MISSION IS TO HELP YOU PROCLAIM THE VICTORY OF MAN. PROCLAIM IT PEACEFULLY, NOT VIOLENTLY.

FOR THE VICTORY OF MAN CAN HELP HUNGARY'S FUTURE BE WORTHY OF HER PAST. AND HELP HUNGARY LIVE FOR WHAT SO MANY IN THE WORLD HAVE DIED FOR: OPPORTUNITY, HUMAN DECENCY, AND SHARED IDEALS.

TODAY, FROM THE STREETS OF BUDAPEST, TO THE GREAT PLAINS, TO THE CURRENTS OF THE DANUBE, AND THE GENTLE TOWNS THAT GRACE ITS BANKS, HUNGARY'S QUEST IS POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC; RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL. ITS APOSTLES SAY, WORK WHERE YOU WANT.

AND VOTE AS YOU CHOOSE. THEY BELIEVE THAT ALL THINGS ARE POSSIBLE FOR A NATION, AND FOR A PEOPLE. AND PROCLAIM THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE STATE, AS THE VOICE OF TOMORROW.

OVER THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, THE WORLD HAS WATCHED THIS NEW OPENESS TRANSFORM THE HUNGARIAN NATION. YOU HAVE SHOWN HOW PEACE, FREEDOM, AND PROSPERITY ARE ALLIED. I APPLAUD HUNGARY'S GREATER PRIVATIZATION, AND ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION.

I SALUTE HUNGARY'S MOVEMENT TOWARD REFORM AND INCREASED FLOW OF INFORMATION. I WELCOME, TOO, THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS, AND THE PLANNED CUTBACKS IN THE HUNGARIAN MILITARY. [PAUSE]

WE WATCH WITH INTEREST AS THE SOVIET UNION ENCOURAGES SUCH CHANGE. INDEED, WE SALUTE GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV AS HE ENCOURAGES CHANGE THROUGH REFORM. LET US BE CLEAR: WE WANT PERESTROIKA TO SUCCEED.

AND IN BRUSSELS JUST SIX WEEKS AGO, I PROPOSED MUTUAL REDUCTIONS IN ARMS THAT WOULD FURTHER REDUCE -- SIGNIFICANTLY -- CONVENTIONAL FORCES IN EUROPE.

WHO WOULD HAVE DREAMT THAT YOU WOULD HAVE DONE SO MUCH, SO QUICKLY, TO IMPROVE THE LOT OF HUNGARY? NOW, LET US USE ITS PROMISE TO OPEN BOUNDARIES, AND MINDS.

WE SALUTE YOUR DECISION FOR ELECTIONS TO BE HELD IN HUNGARY. WE SALUTE YOUR DECISION TO ENCOURAGE MORE PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF GOVERNING.

AND THIS WEEK, RADIO FREE EUROPE BEGINS BROADCASTS ORIGINATING FROM HUNGARY -- THE FIRST IN A COMMUNIST COUNTRY. LET ITS COVERAGE SPUR EVEN CLOSER TIES BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. IN TRADE, AS WE REMOVE UNFAIR BARRIERS, WE MUST REMEMBER THAT ONLY WHEN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION GO HAND-IN-HAND CAN HUNGARY BE TRUE TO HER HERITAGE, AND TO HER CHILDREN. BECOMING CENTRAL TO A EUROPE THAT IS WHOLE AND FREE.

WHEN LAJOS KOSSUTH CAME TO AMERICA, HIS RECEPTION SHOWED HOW OUR TWO PEOPLES SHARE A COMMON LOVE OF LIBERTY. IN NEW YORK HARBOR, AN ARMADA OF SHIPS SOUNDED HORNS TO CELEBRATE HIS ARRIVAL. AND WHEN THE CITY OF NEW YORK HELD A PARADE IN HIS HONOR, THOUSANDS RUSHED HIS OPEN CARRIAGE. PERHAPS NO VISITOR SINCE LAFAYETTE HAD BEEN GREETED SO EMOTIONALLY.

LIKE HUNGARIANS, THE AMERICANS OF THAT TIME ADMIRERD THOSE WHO LOVE WHAT KOSSUTH CALLED "THE PRINCIPLE OF . . . SELF-GOVERNMENT." THEY OPPOSED CLOSED SOCIETIES. AND THEY BELIEVED IN HELPING INDIVIDUALS, AND NATIONS, WHO UNDERSTOOD THAT REAL FREEDOM MAKES ALL PROGRESS POSSIBLE. FOR THEY, LIKE YOU, WERE DETERMINED TO ENSURE THAT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD SHINE FOREVER.

TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, THIS KINSHIP BINDS THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED STATES AND HUNGARY. FOR YOUR GALLANTRY EVOKES OUR ADMIRATION. YOUR EXAMPLE IS OUR INSPIRATION. OUR NATIONS ARE LINKED BY MANY THINGS -- HARD WORK, THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY, AND A DEEP RELIGIOUS DEVOTION. AND WE WILL BE WITH YOU ALWAYS. AS PARTNERS. AND AS FRIENDS.

WE SEE THIS KINSHIP IN THE NEARLY TWO MILLION AMERICANS OF HUNGARIAN DESCENT.

IN GIANTS LIKE NUCLEAR SCIENTIST EDWARD TELLER. OR CONDUCTOR EUGENE ORMANDY, WHO PROVED THAT MUSIC "IS THE UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE." OR COLONEL KOVATS [KO-VACH], WHO GAVE HIS LIFE FOR AMERICA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM DURING OUR REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

BUT THIS KINSHIP ISN'T ONE-WAY: AMERICANS ADMIRE HUNGARIANS WHOSE DEEDS SO INSPIRE US.

HEROES LIKE THE GREAT FOUNDER OF THE HUNGARIAN STATE, SAINT STEPHEN, AND GREAT COMPOSERS LIKE LISZT AND BARTOK. OR HUNGARY'S MANY WINNERS OF NOBEL PRIZES AND OLYMPIC MEDALS. OR THAT GREAT PATRIOT JANOS HUNYADI [YAHN-OSH HOON-YAH-DEE] WHO MORE THAN FIVE CENTURIES AGO STOPPED A WOULD-BE TURKISH INVASION. IN HIS HONOR, THE POPE ORDERED EACH CATHOLIC CHURCH TO RING A BELL AT THE TIME OF DAY THE BATTLE ENDED.

AND SINCE THEN, CATHOLIC CHURCH BELLS ALL OVER THE WORLD RING PRECISELY AT MID-DAY.

HEROES, YES -- AMERICAN, HUNGARIAN. BUT THERE ARE OTHER, UNKNOWN HEROES, TOO -- THE STUDENT IN BUDAPEST, THE VINTNER NEAR LAKE BALATON [BAHL-AH-TON], THE ARTIST IN SARKOZ [SHAHR-KOOZ]. TODAY, IT IS THEY -- YOU -- WHO ARE REDUCING THE CHASM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. ENRICHING, AND MAKING POSSIBLE, A MORE OPEN, PEACEFUL WORLD.

YOU ARE PROVING HOW PROGRESS AND REFORM CAN EXPAND HUNGARY'S HORIZONS. AND ENLARGE THE POSSIBILITIES OF HER PEOPLE. YOUR EFFORTS REFLECT THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUALITY, SELF-RELIANCE, AND RESPECT FOR OTHERS. VALUES WHICH UNDERSCORE THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

FOUR WEEKS AGO, THOUSANDS FILLED THIS CITY'S HEROES SQUARE -- PEACEFULLY, MOVINGLY -- TO HONOR THE HEROES, AND SPIRIT, OF 1956. AMONG THEM WAS A PATRIOT WHO, WITH MANY OTHERS, TOOK PART IN THAT REVOLUTION.

ASTONISHED BY THE TURNOUT, HE FOUND PRIDE IN HUNGARY'S PAST -- AND HOPE IN HER FUTURE. "FOR THIS DAY," HE SAID, "IT IS WORTH LIVING AND FORGIVING. TODAY, THIS UNITY IS A KIND OF HUNGARIAN WONDER."

MY FRIENDS, YOU HAVE ENDURED MUCH. AND SURVIVED EVERYTHING. SURVIVED THROUGH FAMILY, AND FAITH IN GOD. AND THROUGH THE HUMAN SPIRIT, OFT-ABUSED YET FREE. IN COMING YEARS, YOUR HEROISM CAN WRITE A NEW CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF YOUR NATION.

LOVE HUNGARY -- AS IMRE NAGY [IM-REH NUDGE] DID -- AS LAJOS KOSSUTH DID. SHOW THE WORLD THAT THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WILL SHINE FOREVER.

THE DARKNESS LIFTS. THE BELL RESOUNDS. THE LIGHT GROWS BRIGHTER BY THE DAY. TOGETHER, LET US RAISE WHAT KOSSUTH CALLED "THE MORNING STAR OF LIBERTY." THE STAR THAT CAN LEAD US TOWARD TOMORROW. AND BLESS THE CHILDREN OF THE GLOBE.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WONDERFUL OCCASION. I WILL NEVER FORGET IT. GOD BLESS YOU, GOD BLESS AMERICA -- AND AS YOUR NATIONAL ANTHEM PROCLAIMS SO UNFORGETTABLY, "GOD BLESS THE HUNGARIANS."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Budapest, Hungary)

For Immediate Release

July 11, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN AN EXCHANGE OF TOASTS
TO HUNGARIAN PARLIAMENT

Hunter's Hall, Parliament
Budapest, Hungary

8:50 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you, sir, for those very warm words of welcome. And I'm delighted to have this opportunity to visit Hungary once again to see firsthand 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 Heroe's Square less than a month ago. We're witnessing the expression of democratic idea whose appeal is universal, whose impact is worldwide.

And 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 of 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.

And 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 that reform must take -- on a new model for state and society -- in economics, the competitive market, in politics, pluralism and human rights.

The key to economic success is letting the market do its work. And 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 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 open elections that Hungary has promised will mark a great advance 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. And 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 the 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 capacity of those individual talents lies the future of your nation.

So now let us raise our glasses:

To the future of Hungarian reform;

To the friendship, the genuine friendship, between the American and Hungarian people. And thank you for this warm welcome. (Applause.)

(An exchange of toasts is offered.)

END

8:54 P.M. (L)