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Folder Title:
Solidarity Workers Monument 7/11/89 [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Gdansk, Poland)

For Immediate Release

July 11, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT SOLIDARITY WORKERS' MONUMENTLenin Shipyard Gates
Gdansk, Poland

2:32 P.M. (L)

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much. Hello Lech Walesa; hello Solidarnosc; hello Polska. (Applause.) And congratulations on what you've done since I last visited -- the first free elections in modern Polska. (Applause.)

Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. And when you hurt, we feel pain. And when you dream, we feel hope. And when you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations -- it's more like family relations. And coming to Poland is like coming home. (Applause.)

This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream -- a recurring dream -- the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans -- a dream that would not die.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 15-inch guns of Nazi warship Schleswig-Holstein. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. (Applause.) In World War II Poland lost everything -- except her honor, except her dreams.

Before Poland fell, you gave the allies "Enigma" -- the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the "unbreakable" Axis codes saved tens of thousands of allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. (Applause.) And, ultimately, Enigma and freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship. And the dream was again denied.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa. (Applause.)

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For

MORE

under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. (Applause.)

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages, of your cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned despair into hope -- turned darkness into dreams. (Applause.)

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds, confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities. It's time of responsibilities. It is Poland's time of destiny. (Applause.)

A time when dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between the government of Poland and the Polish people. And the first fruits of democracy -- elections. At another time, in another city where the human spirit was being tested, a great American President spoke eloquently about the struggle for liberty. Today the world watches the inevitable outcome of that struggle.

Today to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say, let them look at Poland. (Applause.)

To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say, let them look at Poland.

And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say, let at Poland. For here in Poland, the dream is alive. (Applause.)

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. America stands with you. (Applause.)

THE AUDIENCE: President Bush. President Bush. President Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: Because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of a better future. Here in Poland, the United States supports the Roundtable Accords, and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. (Applause.) And again --

THE AUDIENCE: Lech Walesa. Lech Walesa. Lech Walesa.

THE PRESIDENT: And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. That movement is Solidarnosc. And we applaud those who have made this progress possible -- the Polish people. (Applause.) We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. (Applause.)

A more democratic Poland can be a more prosperous Poland. The Roundtable provisions -- as they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a dynamic people to work together to build a better life.

We understand the legacy of distrust and shattered dreams as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path of negotiation and compromise. Your challenge is to rise above

distrust and bring the Polish people together toward a common purpose.

Speaking before the new Parliament and the Senate -- your freely-elected Senate -- I outlined steps that America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path of reform.

It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and restraint before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and determination. But the Polish people are no strangers to hard work, and have taught the world about determination.

So I say follow your dream of a better life for you and for your children. You can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not overnight -- not in a year. But yes, a new and prosperous Poland in your lifetime. (Applause.)

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it can be done by Polish people again. But this time, it will be done in Poland. (Applause.)

Just before I left a few days ago, I was asked in my beautiful Oval Office in the White House by one of your journalists if I would leave Poland and go to America, were I a young Pole. And I answered that in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to stay in Poland and be a part of it, help make the dream come true for all the Polish people. (Applause.)

The magic of America --

AUDIENCE: President Bush. President Bush. President Bush.

THE PRESIDENT: The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land; and yes, our country has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- ample timber and ore and water and coal -- abundant agriculture potential -- and a talented, creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea. I described it in my first moments as President of the United States.

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. (Applause.) We know how to secure a more just and prosperous land for man on Earth."

And today, you can rediscover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A Poland, strong and proud.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War got started. And it is here, in Poland, where we can work to end the division of Europe.

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican, so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish. (Applause.)

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and for those wonderful children that I saw coming in from the airport -- in that quest America stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. (Applause.)

Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. The dream is a Poland reborn, and the dream is alive.

Poland is not lost while Poles still live. (Applause.)
I came here to assure you we will help Poland. (Applause.)
Good-bye, God bless you, and God save this wonderful country of Poland. (Applause.)

END

2:53 P.M. (L)

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT
 LENIN SHIPYARD GATES, GDANSK
 SUBJECT: TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

(7/1 - 7:30 p.m. draft 5)

	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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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89 JUN 4 4:45

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 1, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST D.D.
FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EM*
SUBJECT: ADDRESS AT THE LENIN SHIPYARD GATES IN GDANSK
-- AND "COMMENTS" ON THE FOUR "MAJOR" SPEECHES
FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your consideration and review are draft remarks for your potentially historic address at the Solidarity Workers Monument, at the gates of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland.

II. DISCUSSION

At approximately 2:10 p.m. (8:10 a.m. on the U.S. East Coast) on Tuesday, July 11, 1989 -- following your lunch at the home of Lech Walesa -- you are scheduled to make an unprecedented address at the Lenin Shipyard gates in Gdansk. Crowd estimates range from the tens of thousands to the hundreds of thousands.

As the speech is still ten days away, the attached draft -- as with the forthcoming drafts for your addresses at the Polish Parliament, Budapest's Kossuth Memorial Square, and Karl Marx University -- is presented to provide you with an opportunity to make a first cut at the text.

We would welcome any guidance you might offer -- general or specific -- as well as any personal reflections you might want to include from your previous visits to Poland and Hungary. And we anticipate that you will have another opportunity to consider the re-worked drafts prior to your departure.

(McNally/Simon)
July 1, 1989, 7:30 p.m.
Draft Five (GDANSK)

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

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello
Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]]
Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the
first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

[[But you are spoiling us with these large, wonderful
crowds. Now when we go home to America -- the reporters won't be
impressed unless I attract a million people.]] [[PAUSE]]

The history of Gdansk is the history of our times. Fifty
years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic
harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of a Nazi
warship. 28 minutes later, iron panzers rolled across the Polish
frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that would
engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or
resist against impossible odds. And during the occupation, you
paid a terrible price for your decision to fight back -- and set
a standard for courage for the rest of the world. [[PAUSE]]

Before Poland fell, you gave the democracies "Enigma" -- the
only copy ever obtained of the Nazi's secret coding machine.
Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of
Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the

enduring thanks of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought for you a long winter of sorrow and hardship.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa.

[[PAUSE]]

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- colder than ever before.

But as the world is learning anew -- from Gdansk to Guangzhou -- freedom is "an idea whose time has come." And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

And in the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned away from despair.

Confidence, hope, and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918 -- against enormous odds. And those same qualities have brought you to this moment in time. A time of possibilities. A time of responsibilities. A time of greatness.

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between Poland's government and Polish society. And the first fruits of democracy. In this land of deep faith -- it seems nothing less than a miracle.

The United States supports the Roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] And we applaud the Polish people who have made these moves toward democracy possible.

We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity -- and courage -- in proceeding with historic steps.

Hope, confidence and hard work are also the basis of my government's policy toward Poland. Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women

throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free.

My government supports honest efforts to make Poland a more democratic and prosperous country. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life. This holds the promise of an alternative future for Poland -- a democratic alternative.

We understand the legacy of fear and suspicion as Poles of all political complexions proceed together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland, as you move forward on the path of democracy and economic reform.

It will not be easy. Sacrifices and economic hardships have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and austerity before the benefits are realized.

But I do tell you this: **The dreams you have of a better life for yourselves and your children can be achieved.** It can't be done overnight -- and certainly not in a year -- but you can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not only in your lifetime, but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and

built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland.

I was asked by one of your journalists in my office a few days ago, if I would go to America were I a young Pole. I answered that -- in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity -- I would want to stay and be a part of it -- to help make the dream come true.

The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a work force that is well-trained and ready to go.

The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

Today, you can discover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A free Poland. And the passport to prosperity is already in your hands -- it is called the ballot.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. **And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.**

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican -- so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your peaceful quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- **America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.**

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

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Meeting with the head of a superpower, a superpower in all areas—in other words, a superpower economically and politically—we hope that in this situation we have a chance to adjust our situation. We're not after any loans; we're after cooperation—cooperation in which one partner would be \$10 billion. If we succeed in opening branches of Western banks which would keep \$10 billion and could strike a good deal in Poland, that would fix our economic problems. And this is what I asked Mr. President about, and that was my primary appeal and request.

Q. What about this \$10 billion, Mr. President? What about it?

The President. You heard carefully what he said. He is not asking for \$10 billion; he's asking for investment and the potential to build through the private sector to the tune of American banks being in Poland carrying \$10 billion. That could be American banks, other banks. And to me it's interesting and quite different than the interpretation that I've seen placed on this figure by other people.

We had a very good luncheon in the sense that it was—having met Mr. Walesa before, I really rejoiced in his hospitality, he and his Danuta, giving us the hospitality of being in their home. And we talked about a wide array of issues. I clearly salute today, as I have in the past, his contribution to the enormous political reforms that have taken place, and I have told him that I want to work with him and with Poland in every way possible on the economic reforms.

So, now I will go to the economic summit. I will take with me the detail—he gave me a detailed paper—the details of his proposals, and we'll see where we come out. But in terms of his emphasis on the private sector and on job opportunity through private investment and private and competitive business practice, I must say I can give strong support to that, standing right here in his yard.

Note: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. at the Walesa residence. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks at the Solidarity Workers Monument in Gdansk, Poland

July 11, 1989

The President. Hello, Lech Walesa! Hello, *Solidarność!* Hello, *Polska!* And congratulations on what you've done since I last visited: the first free elections in modern *Polska*. Poland has a special place in the American heart and in my heart. And when you hurt, we feel pain. And when you dream, we feel hope. And when you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond diplomatic relations; it's more like family relations. And coming to Poland is like coming home. This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream—a recurring dream—the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people more than a thousand years ago. And the spirit of the Poles has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans, a dream that would not die.

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years ago this summer, the predawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic harbor was shattered by the thunder from the 15-inch guns of Nazi warship *Schlewswig-Holstein*. Within the hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe was plunged into darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: surrender to tyranny or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. In World War II, Poland lost everything—except her honor, except her dreams.

Before Poland fell, you gave the Allies "Enigma," the Nazis' secret coding machine. Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of Allied lives, of American lives; and for this, you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And ultimately, "Enigma" and freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship. And the dream was again denied. And yet there were glimmers of the long-awaited

dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And a patriotic electrician clambered over these iron gates and emerged as one of the heroes of our times—Lech Walesa. And above your streets a graceful monument rose, in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty, to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of hope.

But the hope, like the dawn, proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world.

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages, of your cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you, the Polish people, and your leaders turned despair into hope, turned darkness into dreams.

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds, confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities, its time of responsibilities. It is Poland's time of destiny, a time when dreams can live again: Solidarity reborn, productive negotiations between the Government of Poland and the Polish people, and the first fruits of democracy—elections. At another time, in another city, where the human spirit was being tested, a great American President spoke eloquently about the struggle for liberty. Today the world watches the inevitable outcome of that struggle.

Today, to those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed, I say: Let them look at Poland. To those who think that freedom can be forever denied, I say: Let them look at Poland. And to those who think that dreams can be forever repressed, I say: Look at Poland. For here in Poland, the dream is alive.

Yes, today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope, a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know Poland is not alone. America stands with you.

The Audience. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. Because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of a better future. Here in Poland, the United States supports the roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity, and patience of one of Poland's great leaders: Lech Walesa. And again—

The Audience. Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa! Lech Walesa!

The President. And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world. That movement is *Solidarność*. And we applaud those who have made this progress possible: the Polish people. We recognize, too, that the Polish Government has shown wisdom and creativity and courage in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe and to redeem the promise that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. A more democratic Poland can be a more prosperous Poland. The roundtable provisions, as they continue to be carried out, can liberate the energy of a dynamic people to work together to build a better life.

We understand the legacy of distrust and shattered dreams as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path of negotiation and compromise. Your challenge is to rise above distrust and bring the Polish people together toward a common purpose.

Speaking before the new Parliament and the Senate—your freely elected Senate—I outlined steps that America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path of reform. It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and restraint before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and determination. But the Polish people are no strangers to hard work and have taught the world about determination.

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Just before I left a few days ago, I was asked in my beautiful Oval Office in the White House by one of your journalists if I would leave Poland and go to America, were I a young Pole. And I answered that in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to stay in Poland and be a part of it, help make the dream come true for all the Polish people. The magic of America—

The Audience. President Bush! President Bush! President Bush!

The President. The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. And, yes, our country has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty—ample timber and ore and water and coal, abundant agriculture potential—and a talented, creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea. I described it in my first moments as President of the United States: "We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous land for man on Earth." And today you can rediscover a new land: a land of your dreams, a land of your own making, a Poland, strong and proud.

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A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and for

those wonderful children that I saw coming in from the airport—in that quest America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people in solidarity. Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. The dream is a Poland reborn, and the dream is alive.

Poland is not lost while Poles still live. I came here to assure you we will help Poland. Goodbye, God bless you, and God save this wonderful country of Poland.

Note: The President spoke at 2:32 p.m. outside the Lenin Shipyard. In his remarks, he referred to Solidarity leader Lech Walesa. Prior to his remarks, the President participated in a wreath-laying ceremony at the monument.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on United States Technical Assistance for Poland

July 11, 1989

The President today announced a decision to provide technical assistance to Polish independent trade unionists, government officials, and employers to ease the burden of adjustment during the period of economic transition and reform. The workers of Poland will ultimately benefit from their country's reform efforts, but the difficult transition period could jeopardize the reform process, with unemployment possibly being a particularly acute problem.

The Department of Labor, working with the AFL-CIO and American business, will assist Poland in eight areas: training and retraining; job search and employment services; unemployment insurance; entrepreneurial development, self-employment, and employee ownership; labor-management relations; labor statistics; worker safety and health, including mine safety; and women in the work force.

The Department of Labor will provide a mix of in-country technical assistance and U.S. domestic activities and, along with other U.S. Government agencies, will help develop policies and programs to set up an effective labor safety net in each of the

eight priority areas. The cost of the initiative is approximately \$4 million.

Advance Text of Remarks at the Departure Ceremony in Gdansk, Poland

July 11, 1989

This has been the first visit of an American President to Poland in almost 12 years. That, in itself, is something of a milestone. And it has been a great honor to be here. But what has made this visit most noteworthy, in my mind, are the extraordinary opportunities and challenges now faced by Poland and her people. In my 2 days here, I met with leaders of a government that is both responsive and responsible, and determined that Poland shall find her own road to recovery.

I met with the chairman of the Free Solidarity Trade Union, Lech Walesa, whose courage and moral guidance have carried Poland's people from the dark of night to the threshold of a brilliant future. I met with Senators and Parliamentary leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized. We discussed their new and weighty responsibilities as Poland enters a new era. And I met with Polish citizens, from all walks of life, including the citizens of the great city of Gdansk, at a monument to courage and freedom.

Poland is blazing her own path to a better life for all of her people. With every meeting, with every conversation, we have had meaningful discussions about the possibilities and challenges of Poland's unique experiment in reform. I have explained that the United States will respond with specific, appropriate measures designed to encourage future economic and political reform, reform that is crucial to Poland's long term economic health. But the real work begins now, as Poland joins the community of nations committed to open elections and open markets and the open exchange of ideas.

I add my voice to those of so many around the world who are impressed with Poland's courage and committed to help a great nation fulfill its destiny. Poland's wisdom and strength will be tested. But

such a nation, fully engaged in such an enterprise, need only summon the will of her people to succeed. The world watches, confident that they will triumph.

Note: The President spoke at approximately 4:50 p.m. on the tarmac at Gdansk Airport. The Office of the Press Secretary has issued this advance text, but a transcript of the actual address has not been released.

Remarks at the Arrival Ceremony in Budapest, Hungary

July 11, 1989

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very, very much. Thank you, Mr. President. Is somebody going to translate this? I'm going to take this speech, and I'm going to tear it up. You've been out here too long.

Let me just speak to you from the heart, and I'll be brief. Tear that thing up. [Applause] Thank you. You've been standing here long enough. But Barbara and I feel the warmth of this welcome, and the rain doesn't make a darn bit of difference. We feel at home right here in this great capital.

And I salute the leaders of Hungary; I salute the reforms and change that is taking place in this wonderful country. And I want you to know that I am here as President of the United States because we have in our country a special affection and feeling for the people of Hungary. We are delighted to be here. We're only here for 2 nights and 1 day, but I am looking forward to my consultations and my discussions with the leaders of this great country. And I will be bringing them the warm greetings from the American people and the conviction of the people of the United States that we must work with Hungary. We want to work with Hungary to continue the changes and the reforms that are going forward in your great country as of today.

So, thank you very much for this welcome. You'll have to listen to me tomorrow, I'm sure, at some drier time and drier place. But once again, once again, long after this rain is gone, I'm going to remember the warmth of the welcome from the people of Hungary.

Thank you
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Thank you a

*Note: The P
Kossuth Squ
to Bruno S.
Presidential*

**Toast at the
Hungary**
July 11, 1989

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 6/29/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6/30/89 3:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SOLIDARITY WORKERS MONUMENT, LENIN SHIPYARDS, GDANSK, POLAND

3:25

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER <i>N/C phone</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>N/C</i>	<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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REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, Friday, June 30, 1989 with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

89 JUN 30 4 6: 59

RESPONSE:

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

(McNally/Simon)
June 29, 1989, 4:00 p.m.
Draft Three (GDANSK)

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

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello
Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]]
Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the
first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

But you are spoiling us with these large, wonderful crowds.
Now when we go home to America -- the reporters won't be
impressed unless I attract a million people. [[PAUSE]]

The history of Gdansk is the history of our times. Fifty
years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic
harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of a Nazi
warship. 28 minutes later, iron panzers rolled across the Polish
frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that was to
engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or
resist against impossible odds. Either way, the cause was
hopeless. And during the occupation, you paid a terrible price
for your decision to fight back -- and set a standard for courage
for the rest of the world.

And before Poland fell, you gave the democracies "Enigma" --
the only copy ever obtained of the Nazi's secret coding machine.
Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of

*stumbled
says "out"*

Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the thanks of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. They called it the Cold War, and for you this long winter brought times of sorrow and hardship.

Yes, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and became one of history's more improbable heroes -- Lech Walesa.

And above your streets a monument rose -- like America's Statue of Liberty or the Goddess of Democracy in Tiananmen Square -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- colder than ever before.

But as the world is learning anew from Budapest to Beijing -- nothing can stop "an idea whose time has come." The idea is freedom -- and the time is now.

And even in the wintry darkness, candles began to appear in silent protest, lighting the windows in your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you

*student:
"so strong"*

-- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned away from despair.

Confidence, hope, and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918 -- against enormous odds. And those same qualities have brought you to this moment in time. A time of possibilities. A time of greatness.

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again.

Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between Poland's government and Polish society. And the first fruits of democracy. In this land of deep faith -- it is nothing less than a miracle.

The United States supports the Roundtable accords and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] And we applaud the Polish people who have made these moves toward democracy possible.

And we recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity, even courage, in proceeding with historic steps.

Hope, confidence and hard work are also the basis of my government's policy toward Poland. Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in my heart. Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women

throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to again be whole and free.

My government supports honest efforts to make Poland a more democratic and prosperous country. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life.

And we understand the legacy of fear and even suspicion as Poles of all political complexions proceed together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland, as you move forward on the path of democracy and economic reform.

It will not be easy. Sacrifices and economic hardships have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work before the benefits are realized.

On the plains of Texas, where my wife Barbara and I raised our children, there was a pioneer tradition that said: "Plant plums for yourself -- and pecans for your grandchildren."

A hundred years ago, Texas farmers would carefully nurture pecan seedlings with hours of back-breaking work, hauling water in the hot prairie sun. But pecan trees grow very slowly -- and the farmer himself wouldn't live to see the trees he planted provide shade or food. It was called a "grandchildren's grove."

Other farmers thought that work that went unrewarded for a generation was a waste. Instead, they planted fast-growing plum trees. But soon the soft wood split -- and sprouted scraggly, unproductive plum bushes. Instead of enjoying tall, stately pecan trees -- their grandchildren had the burden of clearing a thicket.

It's planting time now for Poland. Your decisions can either shade and nourish the future -- or produce only thickets.

But I do tell you this: The dreams you have of a better life for yourselves and your children can be had. It can't be done overnight -- and certainly not in a year -- but you can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not only in your lifetime, but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Penniless immigrants came to that magical place called "America" and did earn their fortune in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland.

Because the magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a work force that is well-trained and ready to go.

The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

It used to be to experience freedom you had to vote with your feet. Today, you can emigrate to a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. Free Poland. And the visas are already in your hands -- they are called ballots.

Poland is where World War II began. Poland is also why World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.

It is in your power to help end a "war" that has divided Europe for two generations. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission -- to do what has never been done before. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of spiritual leadership in Rome -- so the people of Poland can shown the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

#

*Demarest
Comments*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST

FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY

SUBJECT: ADDRESS AT THE LENIN SHIPYARD GATES IN GDANSK
-- AND "COMMENTS" ON THE FOUR "MAJOR" SPEECHES
FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY

I. SUMMARY

Attached for your consideration and review are draft remarks for your potentially historic address at the Solidarity Workers Monument, at the gates of the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland.

II. DISCUSSION

At approximately 2:10 p.m. (8:10 a.m. on the U.S. East Coast) on Tuesday, July 11, 1989 -- following your lunch at the home of Lech Walesa -- you are scheduled to make an unprecedented address at the Lenin Shipyard gates in Gdansk. Crowd estimates range from the tens of thousands to the hundreds of thousands.

As the speech is still ten days away, the attached draft -- as with the forthcoming drafts for your addresses at the Polish Parliament, Budapest's Kossuth Memorial Square, and Karl Marx University -- is presented to provide you with an opportunity to make a first cut at the text.

We would welcome any guidance you might offer -- general or specific -- as well as any personal reflections you might want to include from your previous visits to Poland and Hungary. And we anticipate that you will have another opportunity to consider the re-worked drafts prior to your departure.

(McNally/Simon)
July 1, 1989, 7:30 p.m.
Draft Five (GDANSK)

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

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello
Solidarinosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]]
Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the
first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

[[But you are spoiling us with these large, wonderful
crowds. Now when we go home to America -- the reporters won't be
impressed unless I attract a million people.]] [[PAUSE]]

The history of Gdansk is the history of our times. Fifty
years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic
harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of a Nazi
warship. 28 minutes later, iron panzers rolled across the Polish
frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that would
engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or
resist against impossible odds. And during the occupation, you
paid a terrible price for your decision to fight back -- ^{but you} ~~and~~ ^{to the rest of the world} set the
~~standard for courage for the rest of the world~~. [[PAUSE]] ✓

Before Poland fell, you gave the democracies "Enigma" -- the
only copy ever obtained of the Nazi's secret coding machine.
Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of
Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the

enduring ^{gratitude} ~~thanks~~ of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War. ✓

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought for you a long winter of sorrow and hardship.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa.

[[PAUSE]]

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- ^{darker and} colder than ~~ever~~ before. ✓

But as the world is learning anew -- from Gdansk to Guangzhou -- freedom is "an idea whose time has come." And nothing ^{can} stop an idea whose time has come. ?

And in the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned ~~away from~~ despair ^{into hope}. ✓

~~Confidence, hope, and hard work were the foundation of~~

Think back for a moment to

Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. ~~Against enormous~~
confidence and determination made that dream a reality.

odds. And those same qualities have brought you to this moment

special moment in history.

Hope - hard work - commitment. Now is Poland's
in time. * time of possibilities. * time of responsibilities.

H's

H's & time of greatness.

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots

in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams ~~can live again.~~
are everlasting

Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between Poland ~~the~~

the government of

~~government~~ and ^{the} Polish ^{people's} society. ~~And~~ the first fruits of

democracy. ^{Elections.} In this land of deep faith -- it seems nothing less

And where the word "miracle" is not applied lightly - the metaphor of miracle

than a miracle.

The United States supports the Roundtable accords and

applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's

great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement

that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarinosc.

[[PAUSE]] And we applaud ^{those} ~~the Polish people~~ who have made these

moves toward democracy possible the Polish people.

We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown

wisdom and creativity -- and courage -- in proceeding with

historic steps.

and commitment

Hope, confidence and hard work are also the basis of my

government's policy toward Poland. Poland has a special place in

the American heart -- and in my heart. Poles and Americans share

a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem

the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women

changed to parallel DD's new language above)

throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free.

My government supports ^{a more democratic} honest efforts to make Poland, ~~a more democratic and prosperous country.~~ ^{And a more democratic Poland is a more democratic and prosperous} ~~country.~~ The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life. This holds the promise of an alternative future for Poland -- a democratic alternative.

We understand the legacy of fear and suspicion as Poles of all political complexions ^{walk travel} ~~proceed together~~ down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected ^(PAUSE) senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland. ~~as you move forward on the path of~~ ^{But the way to} democracy and economic reform is not easy.

~~It will not be~~ ^{And while} ~~easy.~~ Sacrifices and economic hardships have already been the lot of the Polish people, ^{there will be} ~~and~~ hard times ~~are~~ ^{ahead.} ~~not yet at an end.~~ Economic reform requires hard work and austerity before the benefits are realized.

But I do tell you this: ^{follow you} ~~The dreams you have of a better life for yourselves and your children can be achieved.~~ It can't be done overnight -- and certainly not in a year -- but you can see a new and prosperous Poland. ^{Not overnight - not in a year perhaps} ~~Not only in your lifetime, but in one generation.~~ but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and



But yes, a new and prosperous Poland - not only

built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland.

I was asked by one of your journalists in my office a few days ago, if I would go to America were I a young Pole. I answered that -- in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity -- I would want to stay and be a part of it -- to help make the dream come true.

The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a work force that is well-trained and ready to go.

No, The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

Today, you can discover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A free Poland. And the passport to prosperity is already in your hands -- it is called the ballot.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican -- so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. ~~And~~ In your peaceful quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- **America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.**

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

#

And Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. That idea is freedom.

Note:
This does not match the language at the bottom of page 2.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/5/89

July 1, 1989

Some minor changes
1 Good length
2 Good material
3 Let's try to think of one sentence that the speech will be remembered for

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST D.D.
FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *EM*
SUBJECT: ADDRESS AT THE LENIN SHIPYARD GATES IN GDANSK
-- AND "COMMENTS" ON THE FOUR "MAJOR" SPEECHES
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impressed unless ~~I~~ attract a million people.]] [[PAUSE]]

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years ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic
harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of ~~the~~ Nazi
warship ^(name) 28 minutes later, iron panzers rolled across the Polish
frontier. And Europe was plunged into a darkness that would
engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or
resist against impossible odds. And during the occupation, you
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Breaking the unbreakable Axis codes saved tens of thousands of
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In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between Poland's government and Polish society. And the first fruits of democracy. In this land of deep faith -- it seems nothing less than a miracle.

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built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland.

I was asked by one of your journalists in my office a few days ago, if I would go to America were I a young Pole. I answered that -- in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity -- I would want to stay and be a part of it -- to help make the dream come true.

The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a work force that is well-trained and ready to go.

The magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

"We know what works: Freedom works. We know what's right: Freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on Earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state."

Today, you can discover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A free Poland. And the passport to prosperity is already in your hands -- it is called the ballot.

Poland is where World War II began. And Poland is where -- and why -- the Cold War started. And it is here -- in Poland -- that the Cold War should be buried.

It is in your power to help end the division of Europe. I can think of no finer or more capable people with whom to entrust this mission. And just as a son of Poland has shown the world the highest heights of spiritual leadership in the Vatican -- so the people of Poland can show the world what a free people with commitment and energy can accomplish.

A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your peaceful quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.

Thank you. Long live Poland and the free Polish people.

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(McNally/Simon)
July 7, 1989, 6:30 p.m.
Draft Nine (GDANSK)

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

Thank you. Hello Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] Hello
Solidarnosc. [[PAUSE]] Hello Polska. [[PAUSE]]
Congratulations on what you have done since last I visited -- the
first free elections in modern Polska. [[PAUSE]]

Poland has a special place in the American heart -- and in
my heart. When you hurt, we feel pain. When you dream, we feel
hope. When you succeed, we feel joy. It goes far beyond
diplomatic relations --it's more like family relations. **And**
coming to Poland is like coming home. [[PAUSE]]

This special kinship is the kinship of an ancient dream --
a recurring dream -- the dream of freedom. "They are accustomed
to liberty," wrote a Byzantine historian about the Slavic people
more than a thousand years ago. And the free spirit of the Poles
has been conveyed across the centuries and across the oceans -- a
dream that would not die. [[PAUSE]]

That dream was severely tested here in Gdansk. Fifty years
ago this summer, the pre-dawn quiet of this peaceful Baltic
harbor was shattered by thunder from the 15-inch guns of the Nazi
warship Schleswig-Holstein [[SHLES-vig HOLE-shtine]]. Within the
hour, iron panzers rolled across the Polish frontier. And Europe
was plunged into a darkness that would engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or resist against impossible odds. And in the brutal fighting that followed, you set a standard for courage that will never be forgotten. [[PAUSE]] In World War II Poland lost everything -- except her honor -- except her dreams. [[PAUSE]]

Before Poland fell, you gave the Allies "Enigma" -- the Nazi's secret coding machine. Breaking the "unbreakable" Axis codes saved tens of thousands of Allied lives -- of American lives -- and for this you have the enduring gratitude of the American people. And, ultimately, Enigma and Polish freedom fighters played a major role in winning the Second World War.

But for you, the war's end did not end the darkness. The Cold War brought a long and chilly night of sorrow and hardship. And the dream was still denied.

And yet, there were glimmers of the long-awaited dawn. In the summer of 1980, you occupied the shipyards where we stand. And an unemployed electrician clambered over these iron gates -- and emerged as one of the heroes of our times -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]]

And above your streets a graceful monument rose -- in the tradition of our own Statue of Liberty -- to become a symbol recognized around the world as a beacon of freedom and hope.

But the hope -- like the dawn -- proved fleeting. For under cover of darkness, the electrician was arrested and your movement outlawed. And in the icy cold of a savage winter, a modern

nation was sealed off from the outside world. And the Cold War returned -- darker and colder than before.

But still the dream would not die. In the wintry darkness, candles appeared in silent protest, lighting the windows of your villages and cities. And as the years unfolded and as the world watched in wonder, you -- the Polish people -- and your leaders -- turned despair into hope -- turned darkness into dreams.

Hope and hard work were the foundation of Poland's resurrection as a state in 1918. Against enormous odds -- confidence and determination made that dream a reality. And these same qualities have brought you to this new crossroads in history. Your time has come. It is Poland's time of possibilities. Its time of responsibilities. Its time of greatness. [[PAUSE]]

In a week where people faced bullets in Beijing, the ballots in Warsaw provided vivid proof that dreams can live again. Solidarity reborn. Productive negotiations between the government of Poland and the Polish people. And the first fruits of democracy -- elections.

To those who think that hopes can be forever suppressed -- I say -- let them look at Poland. [[PAUSE]]

To those who think that freedom can be forever denied -- I say -- let them look at Poland. [[PAUSE]]

To those who think that dreams can be forever repressed -- I say -- let them look at Poland. [[PAUSE]] For here in Poland -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive. [[PAUSE]]

Today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument as a beacon of hope. For Poland is not alone.

In Budapest and Bucharest -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

Across Latin America -- on both sides of the Andes -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

In Karachi, Seoul, and Manila -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

And even in Beijing -- like a faint candle in the wind -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

Because Americans are so free to dream -- we feel a special kinship with those who dream of being free. Here in Poland, the United States supports the Roundtable accords, and applauds the wisdom, tenacity and patience of one of Poland's great leaders -- Lech Walesa. [[PAUSE]] And we cheer a movement that has touched the imagination of the world -- Solidarnosc. [[PAUSE]] And we applaud those who have made these moves toward democracy possible -- the Polish people. [[PAUSE]]

We recognize, too, that the Polish government has shown wisdom and creativity -- and courage -- in proceeding with these historic steps.

Poles and Americans share a commitment to overcome the division of Europe -- and to redeem the promise of freedom that is the birthright of men and women throughout the world. Poles and Americans want Europe to be whole and free. [[PAUSE]]

My government supports a more democratic Poland. And a more democratic Poland is a more prosperous Poland. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- if they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a freer people, to work together to build a better life. This holds the promise of an alternative future for Poland -- a democratic alternative.

We understand the legacy of fear and suspicion as Poles of all political complexions travel together down the path of negotiation and compromise.

Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate [[PAUSE]] -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path to democracy and economic reform. [[INSERT: HIGHLIGHTS OF AID PACKAGE.]]

It will not be easy. Sacrifice and economic hardship have already been the lot of the Polish people. And hard times are not yet at an end. Economic reform requires hard work and austerity before the benefits are realized. And it requires patience and restraint.

But I do tell you this: Follow your dream of a better life for you and your children. You can see a new and prosperous Poland. Not overnight -- not in a year. But yes, a new and prosperous Poland -- not only in your lifetime -- but in one generation.

It has been done by Polish people before. Hopeful immigrants came to that magical place called "America" -- and

built a new life for themselves in a single generation. And it will be done by Polish people again. But this time -- it can be done in Poland. [[PAUSE]]

A few days ago, I was asked in my office by one of your journalists -- if I would go to America, were I a young Pole. I answered that -- in this time of bright promise, of historic transition, of unique opportunity -- I would want to stay and be a part of it -- to help make the dream come true.

The magic of America is not found in the majesty of her land. Yes, America has been blessed. But Poland, too, is a land of natural beauty -- with ample timber, ore, water and coal -- abundant agricultural potential -- and a talented and creative people that is determined to succeed.

No, the magic of America is in an idea -- an idea now within your grasp. I described it in my first moments as President:

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A new century is almost upon us. It is alive with possibilities. And in your peaceful quest for a better future for yourselves and your children -- **America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.** [[PAUSE]]

Americans and Poles both know that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. **The dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.** [[PAUSE]]

"Poland is not lost, while Poles still live." [[PAUSE -- GIVE THE "V" FOR VICTORY SIGN]] Goodbye -- God bless you -- and "God Save Poland."

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