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# FOIA MARKER

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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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13495  
**Folder ID Number:** 13495-003

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**Folder Title:**  
Solidarity Workers Monument 7/11/89 [2]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

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CW - Here's my best effort to deliver what the President asked for - one memorable speech by which the speech will be remembered. JH

(McNally/Simon)  
July 7, 1989, 3:30 p.m.  
Draft Seven (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. (Of all the people on earth, we are perhaps closer in spirit than the people of any other two countries.) 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.

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.

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 <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ Nazi warship ~~Schleswig-Holstein~~. 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 <sup>allies</sup> ~~democracies~~ "Enigma" -- the 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 winter 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. (For as the world is learning anew -- from <sup>Warsaw</sup> Gdansk to <sup>Wuhan</sup> Guangzhou -- freedom is "an idea whose time has come." And nothing can stop an idea whose time has come. [[PAUSE]])

(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 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.

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. <sup>pause</sup> To those who think that freedom

can be forever denied -- I say -- let them look at Poland. To those who think that dreams can be forever repressed -- I say -- let them look at Poland. <sup>(Pause)</sup> For here in Poland -- **the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.**

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.

Among America's own allies -- in Karachi, Seoul, and Manila -- once wrapped in the darkness of martial law -- the dream is democracy -- and the dream is alive.

And even in Beijing -- like a <sup>faint</sup> 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.

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.

It will not be easy. *Courage & restraint* 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.

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.

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 ~~work force that is well-trained and ready to go.~~ <sup>talented people with imagination and spirit</sup>

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.** [[PAUSE]]

~~And~~ 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]]

Long live Poland and the free Polish people. [[PAUSE]]  
Goodbye -- God bless you -- and "God Save Poland."

# # #

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 -- 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.

# # #

5189

**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

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

**REMARKS:**

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

89 JUN 30 4:03:37

**RESPONSE:**

To: Chriss Winston

July 1, 1989

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.

*Brent Scowcroft*  
Brent Scowcroft

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

(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 <sup>would</sup> ~~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

*enduring*  
 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~~ *brought to you a* ~~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 *that* ~~from Budapest to Beijing~~  
~~nothing can stop "an idea whose time has come."~~ The idea is  
~~freedom and the time is now~~

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

A time of  
responsibilities

-- 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. *L seems*

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~~ <sup>and</sup> 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

*This holds <sup>the</sup> promise of an  
alterative future ~~for~~ -  
a democratic alternative.*

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.

*Lord austerity  
S. M. [unclear]*

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~~<sup>realized/achieved</sup>. 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.

*I was asked by one of your journalists in my office a few days ago if I would go to America if 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.*

~~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 <sup>the division of</sup> 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 ~~the~~ <sup>the Vatican</sup> -- 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~~ <sup>peaceful</sup> 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.

# # #

5189

# 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

	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"/>
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BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE:

To: Chriss Winston

July 1, 1989

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.

*Brent Scowcroft*  
Brent Scowcroft

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

(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 <sup>would</sup> ~~was to~~  
engulf the world.

For Poland the choices were few: Surrender to tyranny -- or  
resist against impossible odds. ~~Either way, the cause was~~  
~~honorable~~. 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

*enduring*  
 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~~ <sup>brought to you a</sup> 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.

*brackets*  
 But as the world is learning anew <sup>that</sup> ~~from Budapest to Beijing~~ nothing can stop "an idea whose time has come." The idea is freedom, ~~and the time is now~~

~~And~~ <sup>And</sup> 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

-- 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~~ <sup>and</sup> 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

A time of possibilities.

seems

*This holds promise of an  
alternative future ~~to~~ -  
4 a democratic alternative*

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.

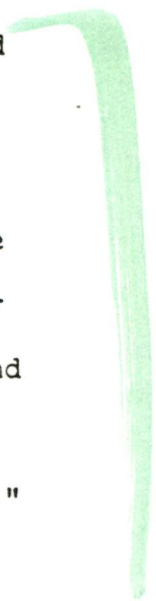
Speaking before the new parliament and the senate -- your freely-elected senate -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland, as you move forward on the path of democracy and economic reform:

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. *Low austerity*

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."

*fractured*



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~~<sup>achieved</sup>. 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.

*fractals* ✓  
 I was asked by one of your journalists in my office a few days ago if I would ~~It has been done by Polish people before. Penniless~~ go to America ~~if~~ were I a young Pole. I answered that in this time of bright promise, ~~immigrants came to that magical place called "America" and did~~ of historic transition, of unique opportunity, I would want to stay and be a part of it -- ~~earn their fortune in a single generation. And it will be done~~ to help make the dream come true. ~~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."

*bracket*  
~~It used to be to experience freedom you had to vote with your feet. Today, you can <sup>find</sup> emigrate to a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. <sup>a</sup> 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.

*bracket*  
 It is in your power to help end <sup>The division of</sup> 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 <sup>The Vatican</sup> ~~Rome~~ -- 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~~ <sup>peaceful</sup> 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.

# # #

*Sent to Hughes 6/30 1700*

5189

# 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

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>ROGERS</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<u>PINKERTON</u>	<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 3:00 PM, Friday, June 30, 1989, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*No Scow*

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.

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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

*enduring*  
 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~~ *brought to you a* ~~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 *that* ~~from Budapest to Beijing~~ *nothing can stop "an idea whose time has come."* The idea is freedom -- and the time is now.

~~And~~ *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

-- 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.

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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

A time of possibilities

seems

*This holds <sup>the</sup> promise of an  
alterative future for future <sup>Poland</sup> -  
a democratic alternative.*

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."

*Low austerity*

~~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.

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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.

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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 your children -- America stands shoulder to shoulder with the Polish people -- in solidarity.

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

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RB*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks on Poland

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

cc: Jim Cicconi

89 JUN 30 P5:43

# 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

	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"/>
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BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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

RESPONSE: *No comment*

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

89 JUN 30 4:27 PM

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

1989 JUN 29 11 30

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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.

# # #

To Steph  
Date 6/30 Time \_\_\_\_\_

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M Steve Ferraro  
of \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Area Code	Number	Extension
TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message Roger Porter  
cleared Pres  
remarks in hour  
shop

Operator \_\_\_\_\_

# 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

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

REMARKS:

Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 3:00 PM, 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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

Memorandum to Chriss Winston

From:

Jim Pinkerton

Re:

Comments on Joint Session and Monument drafts

Joint Session

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

I have a few nitpicks:

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

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

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

Monument

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: ROBERT J. PORTMAN <sup>RJP</sup>  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Solidarity Workers  
Monument, Lenin Shipyards

Pursuant to James W. Cicconi's staffing memorandum of June 29, 1989, Counsel's Office has reviewed the above-referenced Presidential remarks. We have no legal objection to the contents of these remarks.

Thank you for bringing this matter to our attention.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 JUN 30 PM 12: 04