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Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13495
Folder ID Number: 13495-004

Folder Title:
Solidarity Workers Monument 7/11/89 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	25	6	4	1

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.

89 JUN 30 AM 11:41

RESPONSE:

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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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:

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

89 JUN 30 P5: 08

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

1989 JUL 11 11 10

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]]

out { 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

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

#60
shiny

-- 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.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1989 JUL 31 PM 7: 31

July 1, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST *D.D.*
FROM: EDWARD E. McNALLY *emw*
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.

[Note: In the attached Gdansk address, we have "bracketed" several phrases or paragraphs that the NSC has suggested be deleted. We would also appreciate any guidance you might offer on these particular sections.]

(McNally/Simon)
July 1, 1989, 6:30 p.m.
Draft Four (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 ^{one of the} as a hero^s for 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 Budapest to Beijing]]~~ *freedom is an idea whose time has come. And* -- 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 -- 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.

~~[[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, some far-sighted Texas farmers planted tiny pecan seedlings. It took hours of back-breaking work, hauling water in the hot prairie sun. But pecan trees grow very slowly -- and the farmer himself would never live to see the~~

trees provide shade or food. It was called a "grandchildren's grove."

Other farmers wanted quick results. They planted fast-growing plum trees. And, for a few years, they got good fruit. But soon the soft wood split -- and sprouted tangled, barren 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 your children -- or bequeath them only another generation of thickets.]]

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} ~~Penniless~~ immigrants came to that magical place called "America" and ~~did~~ ^{built a new life for themselves} ~~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.]]

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,} ~~visas~~ are already in your hands -- they are called ballots.]]

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

FILE

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]]

- 2 -

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 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 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. [[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 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 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 DESTINY. [[PAUSE]]

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, JOHN KENNEDY, 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.

[[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 ALIVE.

[[PAUSE]]

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.

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. [[PAUSE]]

AND WE CHEER A MOVEMENT THAT HAS TOUCHED THE IMAGINATION OF THE WORLD -- SOLIDARNOSC. [[PAUSE]]
AND WE APPLAUD THOSE WHO HAVE MADE THIS PROGRESS 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 THAT IS THE BIRTHRIGHT OF MEN AND WOMEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. POLES AND AMERICANS WANT EUROPE TO BE WHOLE AND FREE. [[PAUSE]]

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.

- 17 -

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 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.

- 18 -

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 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.

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 CAN BE DONE IN POLAND.
[[PAUSE]]

A FEW DAYS AGO, I WAS ASKED IN MY OFFICE BY ONE OF YOUR JOURNALISTS -- IF I WOULD LEAVE POLAND AND 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. 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."

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 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 THIS 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.

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 A POLAND REBORN -- 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."

#

Ignore all circled
words unless a ~~the~~ sub.
word is there.

1989 JUL -8 11:40

(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~~^{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 ~~young~~^{patriotic} 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~~ 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.~~

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 destiny. ~~prospects~~. [[PAUSE]]

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, John Kennedy, spoke of the conflict between liberty and the forces of oppression. 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. [[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 alive.~~ the dream is alive. [[PAUSE]]

Today the brave workers of Gdansk stand beside this monument ^{a symbol of that dream. And the brave workers of Gdansk know} as a beacon of hope. ~~Poland is not alone.~~ Poland is not alone. America stands with you.

~~In Krakow [KRA-KOV] and Kiev the dream is democracy and the dream is alive.~~

~~Across the American continent the dream is democracy and the dream is alive.~~

~~And across the Polish land 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 ^{a better future.} ~~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, ^{can be} a more prosperous Poland. The Roundtable provisions for greater democracy -- as they continue to be carried out -- can liberate the energy of a ^{dynamic} ~~free~~ people, to work together to build a better life. ~~These are the promises of an~~

We understand the legacy of ~~our past~~ ^{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 [[PAUSE]] -- I outlined steps America is prepared to take to assist Poland as you move forward on the path to democracy and economic reform. ~~These are the~~

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, ^{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~~ 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 in your lifetime.

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 can be done in Poland. [[PAUSE]]

A few days ago, I was asked in my office by one of your journalists -- if I would ^{leave Poland and} 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:

"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 ^{re-}discover a new land -- a land of your dreams -- a land of your own making. A ~~free~~ Poland, ^{strong and proud.}

~~to prosperity and peace and justice for all~~

~~to~~

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

~~where we can see the division of Europe~~
~~that the Cold War should be buried.~~

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.

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. ^{a Poland reborn} The dream is ~~reborn~~ -- 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."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARK LANGE *ML*
THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
SUBJECT: STATEMENT UPON DEPARTURE FROM GDANSK

I. SUMMARY

Attached is your statement to be given upon your departure from Gdansk at the Gdansk Airport, on Tuesday, July 11 at 4:40 p.m.

II. DISCUSSION

This statement provides a brief summary of the events and progress of your visit to Poland, and offers final encouragement to the Polish people in their efforts to attain political and economic freedom.

(Lange/Wallace)
June 26, 1989
5:45 p.m.
[POLANDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
GDANSK AIRPORT
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
[TIME]

This has been a remarkable visit, to an exceptional country
-- with an inspiring people.

I am deeply grateful to my host, President Jaruzelski, and
to Mrs. Jaruzelski, for their hospitality. I would also like to
thank Ambassador John Davis, and Helen Davis.

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.

For the first time in human history, a communist nation is
moving, of its own accord, toward the freedoms that only
democracy can provide.

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 freedom -- and 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 democratic 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 free ideas, free elections, and free markets unfettered.

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 build a democracy that endures.

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.

#

(Lange/Wallace)
June 26, 1989
5:45 p.m.
[POLANDEP.DOC]

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I have explained how the U.S. will help in this process, as Poland moves forward. But the real work begins now -- as Poland joins the community of nations committed to free ideas, free elections, and free markets unfettered by the state.

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#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6:00 p.m. 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT, GDANSK AIRPORT
(06/26 5:45 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 6:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

memo comments
AD

JUN 28 5:05 AM '89

RESPONSE:

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

(Lange/Wallace)

June 26, 1989

5:45 p.m.

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2 [POLANDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
GDANSK AIRPORT
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
[TIME]

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But what has made this visit most noteworthy, in my mind,
are the extraordinary opportunities and challenges now faced by
Poland and her people.

For the first time in human history, a communist nation is
moving, of its own accord, toward the freedoms that only
democracy can provide.

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. I met with Senators and Parliamentary Leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized.

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 freedom -- and to a better life for all of her people. With every meeting, with every conversation, ~~we have had meaningful discussions~~ *we saw optimism* about the possibilities and challenges of Poland's unique experiment in democratic reform.

I have explained how the U.S. will help in this process, as Poland moves forward. But the real work begins now -- as Poland joins the community of nations committed to free ideas, free elections, and free markets. ~~unfettered by the state.~~

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 build a democracy that endures.

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.

#

(Lange/Wallace)
June 26, 1989
5:45 p.m.
[POLANDEP.DOC]

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#

89 JUN 2 P3:19

~~CRPDS~~
165
7/3/89

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I. SUMMARY

INFORMATION
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: MARK LANGER
THROUGH: CHRIS WINSTON
SUBJECT: STATEMENT UPON DEPARTURE FROM GDANSK

Handwritten notes:
p. 1
7-3
M
OK

June 30, 1989

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(Lange/Wallace)
June 26, 1989
5:45 P.M.
[POLANDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
GDANSK AIRPORT
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT

GDANSK AIRPORT

SUBJECT: TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989

(6/26 - 5:45 p.m. draft)

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

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

89 JUN 28 P4:23

June 28, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: PATRICIA MACK BRYAN *PMB*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Departure Statement,
Gdansk Airport

Pursuant to James W. Cicconi's staffing memorandum of June 27, 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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: JUN 28 06/27/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6:00 p.m. 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT, GDANSK AIRPORT
(06/26 5:45 p.m. draft)

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

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston by 6:00 p.m. on Wednesday, 06/28, with an info copy to my office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

No Comments.

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

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

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RESPONSE: *OK BSW 6/28*

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

5112

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 06/27/89 ^{89 JUN 30 P 5: 58} ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 6:00 p.m. 06/28/89

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT, GDANSK AIRPORT
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REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:

June 30, 1989

To: Chriss Winston

The NSC concurs with changes, as noted.

Brent Scowcroft
Brent Scowcroft

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

89 JUN 28 A10: 10



88 JUN 30 62: 28

(Lange/Wallace)

June 26, 1989

5:45 p.m.

1000 JUN 27 PM 7:2 [POLANDEP.DOC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT
GDANSK AIRPORT
TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1989
[TIME]

This has been a remarkable visit, to an exceptional country
-- with an inspiring people.

I am deeply grateful to my host, President Jaruzelski, and
to Mrs. Jaruzelski, for their hospitality. I would also like to
thank Ambassador John Davis, and Helen Davis.

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.

For the first time in human history, a communist nation is
moving, of its own accord, toward the freedoms that only
democracy can provide.

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 bright future*
I met with Senators and Parliamentary Leaders of a democratic opposition, now legalized. ~~The exceptional people who made up the~~ *and* ~~These remarkable people~~ *through moral leadership* 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 freedom -- and 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 democratic reform.

~~I have explained that the United States~~
~~I have explained how the U.S. will help in this process, as Poland moves forward.~~ *But the real work begins now -- as Poland joins the community of nations committed to free ideas, free elections, and free markets unfettered by the state.*

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 build a democracy that endures.

I have explained that the US will respond with specific appropriate measures designed to encourage further economic and political reform -- reform that is crucial to Poland's long-term economic health

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.

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RESPONSE: _____

91 : 8 v 82 JUN 28 89

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

(Lange/Wallace)

June 26, 1989

5:45 p.m.

1989 JUN 27 PM 7:2 [POLANDEP.DOC]

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