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Folder Title:
Captive Nations Week 7/21/89

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JULY 20, 1989

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: JULY 21 CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK EVENT

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, July 21, at 10 A.M., you will salute Captive Nations Week at a ceremony in the Rose Garden. About 200 people are expected to attend, including seven immigrants from Captive Nations who will flank you on the dias.

II. DISCUSSION

The enclosed remarks (9-10 minutes) use your recent trip to Poland and Hungary as a reference for "the movement toward democracy taking place in the world." They reaffirm your commitment to freedom for the peoples of Captive Nations, and express the belief that the tide toward liberty can, and will, spread from Poland and Hungary to other Captive Nations.

(Smith/Blessey)
July 20, 1989
Draft Four
CAPTIVE2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. And to an occasion -- Captive Nations Week -- marked by sadness, but blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary endured what has been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to despair. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom-fighter who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

My friends, the heroism of such patriots inspires us, and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week. The spirit which says that freedom around the world is not divisible. And which lives in the brave immigrants from Captive Nations who stand beside me: Maria Agüero [AH-gwer-row], for instance, a political prisoner in Cuba before fleeing to America. Or Haing Ngor [Hang Gnaw], who fled Cambodia after the holocaust and won an Academy Award for his role in the Killing Fields.

These seven people are heroes. For they have shown the power of courage and free expression. And last week, I saw how

the peoples of Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future -- casting rays of light on other Nations that are not as fortunate. For within these Nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty, often at enormous cost. A cause the Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el] once called the act of "Living in Truth."

This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week. For it dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. "Living in Truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success. The hated system of apartheid is on the defensive. Truth endures in China -- where the voice of freedom will yet be heard. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a complete and verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

Today, the light of liberty is illuminating the face of Eastern and Central Europe. And reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. Such openness prompted the barbed wire fence between Austria and Hungary to be dismantled. The portion I received as a gift is now on display here for all ~~Americans to see.~~ And liberty lights the Baltic States --

Handwritten signature

Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- striving anew to recapture their national history.

My friends, these Nations know -- as we know -- how the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to Nations of Eastern and Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the peoples of China, Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: **America stands with you.**

Indeed, to all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot forever be intimidated by force. For history shows -- and the human will proclaims -- that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday, thousands filled the streets in Gdansk -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that democracy underscores the dignity of man.

Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past -- and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles -- cheering, many crying -- flanked our motorcade, Lech

Walesa turned to me and said simply: "This is fantastic." He was moved -- stirred -- by the wonder of the moment.

In coming years, that wonder can uplift the world. In Prague and Kabul. In Tallinn [TAL in], Riga [Ree ga], and Vilnius [VIL nee us]. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in an open and peaceful world. And who have endured much -- and will survive everything -- through the triumph of the heart.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week.

We love them, and we are with them. For we will never waver, nor surrender. Together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can help all captive peoples know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, thank you coming to the White House, and God bless this beloved land -- the United States of America.

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1/20

Document No. _____

SENSITIVE

MASTER

5660

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 07/15/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Sunday 07/16

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(07/15 draft 2)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<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"/>	_____	<input 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 n/c	<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 in the Senior Staff Office, ~~Room 1051~~, by ~~NOON~~, Sunday ~~07/16~~, with an info copy to Jim Cicconi, ~~Room 1051~~. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

SENSITIVE

July 20, 1989

TO: CHRISS WINSTON

The NSC concurs with the changes indicated.

Bates
BRENT SCOWCROFT

CC: James W. Cicconi

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

(Smith/Blessey)
July 19, 1989
Draft Three
CAPTIVE2

2:30 p.m.
7/19/89

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I want to welcome you to the White House. And to an occasion -- Captive Nations Week -- marked by sadness, but blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary ~~like so many captive Nations~~ endured what has been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to ~~bayonets and barbed wire~~ ^{despair}. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom-fighter who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

~~Said he: "I trust to the principles of republicanism."~~]

My friends, the heroism of such patriots inspires us, and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week. Their spirit says that freedom around the world is not divisible. ~~And celebrates the bravery that lifts the peoples of Cuba and Afghanistan, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia -- the conscience that says that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.~~]

Last week, I saw how ^{the people of} Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future -- casting rays of light on ^{others} Nations

not so fortunate
[still suffering under repressive regimes.] For within these Nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty, often at enormous cost. A cause the Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el] once called the act of "Living in Truth."

This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week. For it dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. "Living in Truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success. *The hated system of apartheid is on the defensive* ~~in freely-elected governments and free markets.~~ And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a *complete and* ~~verified~~ *Vietnamese* withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

Today, the light of liberty is illuminating the face of East and Central Europe. And reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. In particular, the Baltic States -- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- are striving anew to recapture their national *history* ~~destinies.~~ ~~[Their insistent calls for freedom -- now heard openly -- cannot long be denied.]~~

My friends, these Nations know -- as we know -- how the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Eastern and Central

Therefore, to Nations of ~~East-Central~~ Europe, striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: **America stands with you.**

Angola Ethiopia

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, ~~Ethiopia~~, and Nicaragua striving for freedom, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: **America stands with you.**

Indeed, to all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot ^{prevail} be intimidated by force, ~~or beaten into suppression.~~ For history shows -- and the human will proclaims -- that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday, thousands filled the streets in Gdansk -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. ~~And honored the spirit -- and the heroism -- of captive peoples everywhere.~~

Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past -- and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles -- cheering, many crying -- flanked our motorcade, Lech Walesa turned to me and said simply: "This is fantastic." He was moved -- stirred -- by the wonder of the moment.

In coming years, that wonder can uplift the world. In Prague and Kabul. In Tallinn [TAL in], Riga [Ree ga], and Vilnius [VIL nee us]. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who

believe in an open and peaceful world. And who have endured much -- and will survive everything -- through the triumph of the heart.

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We love them, and we are with them. For we will never waver, nor surrender. Together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can help all captive peoples know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, thank you coming to the White House, and God bless this beloved land -- the United States of America.

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SENSITIVE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/15/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Sunday 07/16

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
 (07/15 draft 2)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE <i>N/C</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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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 <i>Stu Rodemaker 5026</i>	<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 in the Senior Staff Office, Rm. 1051, by NOON, Sunday 07/16, with an info copy to Jim Cicconi, Rm. 1051. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

SENSITIVE

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

(Smith/Blessey)
July 19, 1989
Draft Three
CAPTIVE2

2:30 p.m.
7/19/89

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THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
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Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive Nations -- endured what has been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom-fighter who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the principles of republicanism."

My friends, the heroism of such patriots inspires us, and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week. Their spirit says that freedom around the world is not divisible. And celebrates the bravery that lifts the peoples of Cuba and Afghanistan, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia -- the conscience that says that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

Last week, I saw how Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future -- casting rays of light on Nations

*Countries
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Captive Nations*

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This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week. For it dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. "Living in Truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

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Today, the light of liberty is illuminating the face of East and Central Europe. And reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. In particular, the Baltic States -- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- are striving anew to recapture their national destinies. Their insistent calls for freedom -- now heard openly -- cannot long be denied.

My friends, these Nations know -- as we know -- how the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to Nations of East Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: **America stands with you.**

Indeed, to all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression. For history shows -- and the human will proclaims -- that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday, thousands filled the streets in Gdansk -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. And honored the spirit -- and the heroism -- of captive peoples everywhere.

Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past -- and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles -- cheering, many crying -- flanked our motorcade, Lech Walesa turned to me and said simply: "This is fantastic." He was moved -- stirred -- by the wonder of the moment.

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#

(Smith/Blessey)
July 15, 1989
Draft Two
[Captive]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, but it is also blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement towards democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

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For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth inspires us, and teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery and of conscience: The bravery that inspires the peoples of [Angola and Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cuba]; the conscience that teaches that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-rch MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech

writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. That democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

~~We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan.~~ In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

The tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. Around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to nations of East Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national destinies, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom we say: **America stands with you.** To all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression.

We know that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. Five weeks ago, thousands symbolized that democracy as they

Sandy Charles

filled Budapest's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to pay homage to the heroes, and the spirit of Hungary's 1956 rebellion. But their presence did more. It honored the spirit of captive peoples everywhere.

Among the celebrants was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in freedom's future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

My friends, that wonder is liberty's wonder. In Kabul and Prague. Warsaw and Managua. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in ballots, not bullets. And who survive -- who will triumph -- through courage and determination.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. Like them, we must never waver, nor surrender. Instead, let us raise -- together -- what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty," the star that can lead us toward the day when all captive peoples know the joy of freedom.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, and God bless America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 16, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Captive Nations Week

The draft for the President's Rose Garden remarks on Captive Nations Week is excellent. I have two suggestions that I hope will help improve it.

The President will have just returned from his European trip with some vivid memories of incidents in both Poland and Hungary. There is one paragraph one page two that identifies his address to thousands in Kossuth Square. But other than that, the draft is full of good rhetoric but few anecdotes. The language is excellent; but an anecdote or two would strengthen it.

Secondly, there is no mention of China. You will recall that the President said the world stood with the Chinese student who faced the tanks in Beijing. He should mention that he stands with those in China who similarly yearn for democracy and freedom.

cc: James W. Cicconi

SENSITIVE**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 07/15/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Sunday 07/16SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(07/15 draft 2)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</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"/>	_____	<input 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 provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston in the Senior Staff Office, Rm. 1051, by NOON, Sunday 07/16, with an info copy to Jim Cicconi, Rm. 1051. Thanks.

RESPONSE:SENSITIVE

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

(Smith/Blessey)
July 15, 1989
Draft Two
[Captive]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, but it is also blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement towards democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth inspires us, and teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery and of conscience: The bravery that inspires the peoples of Angola and Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cuba; the conscience that teaches that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-rch MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech

writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. That democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan. In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

The tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. Around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to nations of East Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national destinies, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the peoples of Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom we say: **America stands with you.** To all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot be intimidated by force, or beaten into suppression.

We know that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. Five weeks ago, thousands symbolized that democracy as they

filled Budapest's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to pay homage to the heroes, and the spirit of Hungary's 1956 rebellion. But their presence did more. It honored the spirit of captive peoples everywhere.

Among the celebrants was a patriot who, with many others, took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in freedom's future. "For this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

My friends, that wonder is liberty's wonder. In Kabul and Prague. Warsaw and Managua. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in ballots, not bullets. And who survive -- who will triumph -- through courage and determination.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week. Like them, we must never waver, nor surrender. Instead, let us raise -- together -- what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty," the star that can lead us toward the day when all captive peoples know the joy of freedom.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, and God bless America.

#

SENSITIVE**WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM**DATE: 07/15/89ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Sunday 07/16SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

(07/15 draft 2)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input 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 checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</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"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

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RESPONSE:SENSITIVE

(1) China? never mentioned

(2) there were wonderfully graphic examples of the hope of freedom seen in the faces of the tens of thousands along the motorcade routes in Poland and Hungary - experienced as jailor & jailee dined together in Warsaw with the best of the US - wonderful personal moments of this week. H.L. as PD through the...

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

(Smith/Blessey)
July 15, 1989
Draft Two
[Captive]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, but it is also blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement towards democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth inspires us, and teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery and of conscience: The bravery that inspires the peoples of Angola and Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cuba; the conscience that teaches that free expression and courage will conquer tyranny and oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-rch MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech

writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. That democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan. In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

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We know that only democracy can underscore the dignity of man. Five weeks ago, thousands symbolized that democracy as they

humanity

filled Budapest's Heroes Square -- peacefully, movingly -- to pay
homage to the heroes, and the spirit of Hungary's 1956 rebellion.
But their presence did more. It honored the spirit of captive
peoples everywhere.

What about the
thousands in Gdansk?
(You mention Hungary
lots, Poland little.)

4

Among the celebrants was a patriot who, with many others,
took part in that uprising. Astonished by the turnout, he found
pride in Hungary's past -- and hope in freedom's future. "For
this day," he said, "it is worth living and forgiving. Today
this unity is a kind of Hungarian wonder."

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Prague. Warsaw and Managua. In the hopes, and dreams, of people
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liberty," the star that can lead us toward the day when all
captive peoples know the joy of freedom.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget
it. God bless you, and God bless America.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



July 17, 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: Captive Nations Week
(7/15 draft 2)

Pursuant to your staffing memorandum of July 15, 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 JUL 17 PM 2:17

(Smith/Blessey)
July 14, 1989
Draft One
CAPTIVE2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House -- ~~and to say what a privilege it is to meet with you, fellow lovers of democracy.~~ ^{But} ~~For~~ although Captive Nations Week is an occasion marked by sadness, it is also blessed by hope.

① Today, we ~~sound~~ ^{meet to signal our deep concern} our outrage at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. ^{and} ~~But~~ we also applaud ^{the movement towards democracy} ~~more than ever~~ those changes already taking place, and the changes yet to come. *in the world*

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. ^{Freedom is in the air.} ~~New leaves are growing.~~ Liberty is on the march.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary -- like so many captive Nations -- endured what has been called "the dilemma of the single alternative": one political party, one definition of

national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to bayonets and barbed wire. There, as elsewhere, the lamp of liberty would not go out.

Eight days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a patriot who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality. Said he: "I trust to the future of republicanism."

My friends, the memory of Lajos Kossuth ^{inspires and} ~~teaches~~ us, teaches us. For he embodies the spirit of Captive Nations Week. His life was a celebration of bravery, and of conscience: The bravery that ^{inspires} ~~teaches~~ the peoples of Angola and Afghanistan, Cambodia and Cuba; the conscience that ^{teaches} ~~says~~ that free expression ^{and} ~~and~~ will conquer tyranny ~~and~~ ^{and} courage, oppression.

When the Hungarian playwright Imre Madach [IM-reh MAW-dawch] observed, "It is so great freely to choose between the good and sinful ways," he was describing that belief. And so is the Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el], when he speaks of the need for captive people, in captive Nations, to "live in truth."

This truth dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. That people work where they want. And vote as they choose. ~~It suggests~~ that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth across East and Central Europe. In the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan. In Africa, liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success in freely-elected governments and free markets. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

~~Now, there are some who say: We've done enough. Well, we haven't. For until liberty lives among all God's children, then none of us is free. Who can forget the blood of Panama City? Or the massacre in Tiananmen Square? But the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. And ^{the world, we see} ~~captivity~~ is receding across Europe, and the world. Globally, and historically, democracy is winning. Opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.~~

- 7 -

MY FRIENDS, THE HEROISM OF SUCH PATRIOTS INSPIRES US, AND TEACHES US. FOR THEY EMBODY THE SPIRIT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. THE SPIRIT WHICH SAYS THAT FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD IS NOT DIVISIBLE. AND WHICH LIVES IN THE BRAVE IMMIGRANTS FROM CAPTIVE NATIONS WHO ARE BESIDE ME: POLITA GRAU DE AGUERO [Po-LEE-TA GRAUW DAY AH-GWER-ROW], FOR INSTANCE, A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CUBA BEFORE FLEEING TO AMERICA.

REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
FRIENDS. I WANT TO WELCOME YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE.
AND TO AN OCCASION -- CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK -- MARKED BY
SADNESS, BUT BLESSED BY HOPE.

- 2 -

TODAY, WE MEET TO SIGNAL OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE
FATE OF NATIONS AND PEOPLES WHOSE LIBERTY HAS BEEN HELD
CAPTIVE. AND WE APPLAUD THE MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY
TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD, AND THE CHANGES YET TO COME.

SIX MONTHS AGO THIS WEEK, I SAID IN MY INAUGURAL
ADDRESS: "IN MAN'S HEART, IF NOT IN FACT, THE DAY OF
THE DICTATOR IS OVER. THE TOTALITARIAN ERA IS PASSING,
ITS OLD IDEAS BLOWN AWAY LIKE LEAVES FROM AN ANCIENT
LIFELESS TREE."

WELL, I HAVE JUST RETURNED -- HOPEFUL, AND ENCOURAGED -- FROM VISITS TO POLAND AND HUNGARY, TWO NATIONS ON THE THRESHOLD OF HISTORIC CHANGE. AND I CAN SAY TO YOU: THE OLD IDEAS ARE BLOWING AWAY. FREEDOM IS IN THE AIR.

FOR FORTY YEARS, POLAND AND HUNGARY ENDURED WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE DILEMMA OF THE SINGLE ALTERNATIVE: ONE POLITICAL PARTY, ONE DEFINITION OF NATIONAL INTEREST, ONE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MODEL. IN SHORT, ONE FUTURE -- PRESCRIBED BY AN ALIEN IDEOLOGY.

BUT IN FACT, THAT FUTURE MEANT NO FUTURE. FOR IT DENIED TO INDIVIDUALS, CHOICE; TO SOCIETIES, PLURALISM; AND TO NATIONS, SELF-DETERMINATION.

YET IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, A COURAGEOUS PEOPLE WOULD NOT YIELD TO DESPAIR. THERE, AS ELSEWHERE, THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD NOT GO OUT.

TEN DAYS AGO, I WATCHED THOUSANDS BRAVE A DRIVING RAIN TO ACCLAIM THIS LOVE OF LIBERTY. THEY CHEERED FOR FREE ASSEMBLY, FREE PRESS AND SPEECH, AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

AND FILLED A SQUARE IN BUDAPEST NAMED AFTER A FREEDOM-FIGHTER WHO BELIEVED IN THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH LINKS THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

LAJOS KOSSUTH [LOY-OSH KO-SHOOT] ARRIVED IN AMERICA IN 1851 AFTER HUNGARY'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM HAD, TEMPORARILY, BEEN LOST. YET IN HIS REMARKS TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, HE WAS HOPEFUL, NOT EMBITTERED. HE SPOKE OF HIS "STEADY FAITH IN [THE] PRINCIPLES" OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, OPPORTUNITY, AND INDIVIDUALITY.

- 7 -

MY FRIENDS, THE HEROISM OF SUCH PATRIOTS INSPIRES US, AND TEACHES US. FOR THEY EMBODY THE SPIRIT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. THE SPIRIT WHICH SAYS THAT FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD IS NOT DIVISIBLE. AND WHICH LIVES IN THE BRAVE IMMIGRANTS FROM CAPTIVE NATIONS WHO STAND BESIDE ME: POLITA GRAU DE AGUERO [PO-LEE-TA GRAUW DAY AH-GWER-ROW], FOR INSTANCE, A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CUBA BEFORE FLEEING TO AMERICA.

- 8 -

OR HAING NGOR [HANG NAW], WHO FLED CAMBODIA AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND WON AN ACADEMY AWARD FOR HIS ROLE IN THE KILLING FIELDS.

THESE SEVEN PEOPLE ARE HEROES. FOR THEY HAVE SHOWN THE POWER OF COURAGE AND FREE EXPRESSION. AND LAST WEEK, I SAW HOW THE PEOPLES OF POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE LEADING THE WAY TOWARD THIS DEMOCRATIC FUTURE -- CASTING RAYS OF LIGHT ON OTHER NATIONS THAT ARE NOT AS FORTUNATE.

FOR WITHIN THESE NATIONS, MEN AND WOMEN ARE STANDING UP FOR THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY, OFTEN AT ENORMOUS COST. A CAUSE THE CZECH WRITER VALAV HAVEL [VATS-LAV HAV-EL] ONCE CALLED THE ACT OF "LIVING IN TRUTH."

THIS TRUTH FORMS THE HEART OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. FOR IT DICTATES THAT LIBERTY BE POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC; RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL. "LIVING IN TRUTH" SUGGESTS THAT DEMOCRATIC IDEALS CAN MAKE ALL THINGS POSSIBLE FOR A NATION, AND ITS PEOPLE.

AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE STATE, IS THE VOICE OF TOMORROW.

WE SEE THAT TRUTH IN THE SUCCESSFUL RETURN OF DEMOCRACY TO PAKISTAN. AND IN AFRICA, WHERE LIBERTY LIGHTS THOSE NATIONS MOVING AWAY FROM STATE SOCIALISM, WITH NEW SUCCESS. THE HATED SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

AND IN OUR HOPE FOR A CAMBODIA WITH SELF-DETERMINATION FOR HER PEOPLE -- AND A COMPLETE AND VERIFIED VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL, WITH NO RETURN TO POWER BY THE KHMER ROUGE.

TODAY, THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY IS ILLUMINATING THE FACE OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE. AND REFLECTING THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION -- TOWARD GREATER OPENNESS AT HOME AND AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION ABROAD.

SUCH OPENNESS PROMPTED THE BARBED WIRE FENCE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY TO BE DISMANTLED. THE PORTION I RECEIVED AS A GIFT IS NOW ON DISPLAY HERE. AND A SPIRIT OF RENEWAL LIGHTS THE BALTIC STATES -- LATVIA, LITHUANIA, ESTONIA -- STRIVING TO RECAPTURE THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY.

MY FRIENDS, THESE NATIONS KNOW -- AS WE KNOW -- HOW THE TIDE IS MOVING -- TOWARD CHANGE, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL.

FOR AROUND THE WORLD, WE SEE DEMOCRACY OPENING MARKETS,
AND BOUNDARIES. FREEING HEARTS. FREEING MINDS.

THEREFORE, TO NATIONS OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL
EUROPE, STRIVING TO RECLAIM THEIR NATIONAL HERITAGE, WE
SAY: AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

TO THE PEOPLES OF CHINA, VIETNAM AND LAOS, ETHIOPIA
AND NICARAGUA STRIVING FOR FREEDOM, WE SAY: AMERICA
STANDS WITH YOU.

TO THE ETHNIC TURKS IN BULGARIA UPROOTED FROM THEIR
HOMES AND FORCED TO FLEE ACROSS THE BORDER, WE SAY:
AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

INDEED, TO ALL NATIONS, AMERICA PROCLAIMS THAT
TRUTH CANNOT FOREVER BE INTIMIDATED BY FORCE. FOR
HISTORY SHOWS -- AND THE HUMAN WILL PROCLAIMS -- THAT
LIBERTY CAN LIGHT THE DARKEST NIGHT.

LAST TUESDAY, THOUSANDS FILLED THE STREETS IN GDANSK -- PEACEFULLY, MOVINGLY -- TO HONOR THE SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY. BUT THEIR PRESENCE DID MORE. IT EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT DEMOCRACY UNDERSCORES THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

AMONG THE CELEBRANTS WAS THE PATRIOT WHO, ABOVE ALL OTHERS, HAS MADE POLAND'S FUTURE POSSIBLE. ASTONISHED BY THE TURNOUT, HE FOUND PRIDE IN FREEDOM'S PAST -- AND HOPE IN ITS TOMORROW.

AS POLES -- CHEERING, MANY CRYING -- FLANKED OUR MOTORCADE, LECH WALESZA TURNED TO ME AND SAID SIMPLY: "THIS IS FANTASTIC." HE WAS MOVED -- STIRRED -- BY THE WONDER OF THE MOMENT.

IN COMING YEARS, THAT WONDER CAN UPLIFT THE WORLD. IN PRAGUE AND KABUL. IN TALLINN [TAL IN], RIGA [REE GA], AND VILNIUS [VIL NEE US].

IN THE HOPES, AND DREAMS, OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN AN OPEN AND PEACEFUL WORLD. AND WHO HAVE ENDURED MUCH -- AND WILL SURVIVE EVERYTHING -- THROUGH THE TRIUMPH OF THE HEART.

TO LOVE FREEDOM -- TO OVERCOME OPPRESSION -- THIS IS THEIR SPIRIT -- AND THE MEANING OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK.

WE LOVE THEM, AND WE ARE WITH THEM. FOR WE WILL NEVER WAVER, NOR SURRENDER.

TOGETHER, LET US RAISE WHAT LAJOS KOSSUTH CALLED "THE MORNING STAR OF LIBERTY." THE STAR THAT CAN HELP ALL CAPTIVE PEOPLES KNOW THE DIGNITY THAT SETS MEN FREE.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WONDERFUL OCCASION. I WILL NEVER FORGET IT. GOD BLESS YOU, THANK YOU FOR COMING TO THE WHITE HOUSE, AND GOD BLESS THIS BELOVED LAND -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

#

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/20/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

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

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JULY 20, 1989

1989 JUL 20 PM 4:01

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *W*
FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*
SUBJECT: JULY 21 CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK EVENT

I. SUMMARY

On Friday, July 21, at 10 A.M., you will salute Captive Nations Week at a ceremony in the Rose Garden. About 200 people are expected to attend, including seven immigrants from Captive Nations who will flank you on the dias.

II. DISCUSSION

The enclosed remarks (9-10 minutes) use your recent trip to Poland and Hungary as a reference for "the movement toward democracy taking place in the world." They reaffirm your commitment to freedom for the peoples of Captive Nations, and express the belief that the tide toward liberty can, and will, spread from Poland and Hungary to other Captive Nations.

(Smith/Blessey)
July 20, 1989
Draft Four
CAPTIVE2

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, friends. I want to welcome you to the White House. And to an occasion -- Captive Nations Week -- marked by sadness, but blessed by hope.

Today, we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of Nations and peoples whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree."

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two Nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary endured what has been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to Nations, self-determination. Yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to despair. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

Ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion. And filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom-fighter who believed in that democracy which links the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth [LOY-osh KO-shooth] arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had, temporarily, been lost. Yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "steady faith in [the] principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

My friends, the heroism of such patriots inspires us, and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week. The spirit which says that freedom around the world is not divisible. And which lives in the brave immigrants from Captive Nations who stand beside me: Maria Agüero [AH-gwer-row], for instance, a political prisoner in Cuba before fleeing to America. Or Haing Ngor [Hang Gnaw], who fled Cambodia after the holocaust and won an Academy Award for his role in the Killing Fields.

These seven people are heroes. For they have shown the power of courage and free expression. And last week, I saw how

the peoples of Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future -- casting rays of light on other Nations that are not as fortunate. For within these Nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty, often at enormous cost. A cause the Czech writer Valav Havel [VATS-lav HAV-el] once called the act of "Living in Truth."

This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week. For it dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. "Living in Truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a Nation, and its people. And that the individual, not the State, is the voice of tomorrow.

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those Nations moving away from state socialism, with new success. The hated system of apartheid is on the defensive. [Truth endures in China *del*, -- where the voice of freedom will yet be heard.] And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a complete and verified withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge.

Today, the light of liberty is illuminating the face of Eastern and Central Europe. And reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. Such openness prompted the barbed wire fence between Austria and Hungary to be dismantled. The portion I received as a gift is now on display here for all Americans to see. And ~~liberty~~ lights the Baltic States --

a spirit of renewal

Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- striving ~~anew~~ to recapture their national history.

My friends, these Nations know -- as we know -- how the tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

Therefore, to Nations of Eastern and Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the peoples of China, Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom, we say: **America stands with you.**

To the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: **America stands with you.**

Indeed, to all Nations, America proclaims that truth cannot forever be intimidated by force. For history shows -- and the human will proclaims -- that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday, thousands filled the streets in Gdansk -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that democracy underscores the dignity of man.

Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past -- and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles -- cheering, many crying -- flanked our motorcade, Lech

Walesa turned to me and said simply: "This is fantastic." He was moved -- stirred -- by the wonder of the moment.

In coming years, that wonder can uplift the world. In Prague and Kabul. In Tallinn [TAL in], Riga [Ree ga], and Vilnius [VIL nee us]. In the hopes, and dreams, of people who believe in an open and peaceful world. And who have endured much -- and will survive everything -- through the triumph of the heart.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week.

We love them, and we are with them. For we will never waver, nor surrender. Together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can help all captive peoples know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for this wonderful occasion. I will never forget it. God bless you, thank you coming to the White House, and God bless this beloved land -- the United States of America.

* * * *

REMARKS: CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK
THE ROSE GARDEN
FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1989
10:00 A.M.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
FRIENDS. I WANT TO WELCOME YOU TO THE WHITE HOUSE.
AND TO AN OCCASION -- CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK -- MARKED BY
SADNESS, BUT BLESSED BY HOPE.

- 2 -

TODAY, WE MEET TO SIGNAL OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE
FATE OF NATIONS AND PEOPLES WHOSE LIBERTY HAS BEEN HELD
CAPTIVE. AND WE APPLAUD THE MOVEMENT TOWARD DEMOCRACY
TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD, AND THE CHANGES YET TO COME.

SIX MONTHS AGO THIS WEEK, I SAID IN MY INAUGURAL
ADDRESS: "IN MAN'S HEART, IF NOT IN FACT, THE DAY OF
THE DICTATOR IS OVER. THE TOTALITARIAN ERA IS PASSING,
ITS OLD IDEAS BLOWN AWAY LIKE LEAVES FROM AN ANCIENT
LIFELESS TREE."

WELL, I HAVE JUST RETURNED -- HOPEFUL, AND ENCOURAGED -- FROM VISITS TO POLAND AND HUNGARY, TWO NATIONS ON THE THRESHOLD OF HISTORIC CHANGE. AND I CAN SAY TO YOU: THE OLD IDEAS ARE BLOWING AWAY. FREEDOM IS IN THE AIR.

FOR FORTY YEARS, POLAND AND HUNGARY ENDURED WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE DILEMMA OF THE SINGLE ALTERNATIVE: ONE POLITICAL PARTY, ONE DEFINITION OF NATIONAL INTEREST, ONE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC MODEL. IN SHORT, ONE FUTURE -- PRESCRIBED BY AN ALIEN IDEOLOGY.

BUT IN FACT, THAT FUTURE MEANT NO FUTURE. FOR IT DENIED TO INDIVIDUALS, CHOICE; TO SOCIETIES, PLURALISM; AND TO NATIONS, SELF-DETERMINATION.

YET IN POLAND AND HUNGARY, A COURAGEOUS PEOPLE WOULD NOT YIELD TO DESPAIR. THERE, AS ELSEWHERE, THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY WOULD NOT GO OUT.

TEN DAYS AGO, I WATCHED THOUSANDS BRAVE A DRIVING RAIN TO ACCLAIM THIS LOVE OF LIBERTY. THEY CHEERED FOR FREE ASSEMBLY, FREE PRESS AND SPEECH, AND FREEDOM OF RELIGION.

- 6 -

AND FILLED A SQUARE IN BUDAPEST NAMED AFTER A FREEDOM-FIGHTER WHO BELIEVED IN THAT DEMOCRACY WHICH LINKS THE PEOPLE OF HUNGARY WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

LAJOS KOSSUTH [LOY-OSH KO-SHOOT] ARRIVED IN AMERICA IN 1851 AFTER HUNGARY'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM HAD, TEMPORARILY, BEEN LOST. YET IN HIS REMARKS TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, HE WAS HOPEFUL, NOT EMBITTERED. HE SPOKE OF HIS "STEADY FAITH IN [THE] PRINCIPLES" OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, OPPORTUNITY, AND INDIVIDUALITY.

MY FRIENDS, THE HEROISM OF SUCH PATRIOTS INSPIRES US, AND TEACHES US. FOR THEY EMBODY THE SPIRIT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. THE SPIRIT WHICH SAYS THAT FREEDOM AROUND THE WORLD IS NOT DIVISIBLE. AND WHICH LIVES IN THE BRAVE IMMIGRANTS FROM CAPTIVE NATIONS WHO STAND BESIDE ME: POLITA GRAU DE AGUERO [PO-LEE-TA GRAUW DAY AH-GWER-ROW], FOR INSTANCE, A POLITICAL PRISONER IN CUBA BEFORE FLEEING TO AMERICA.

OR HAING NGOR [HANG NAW], WHO FLED CAMBODIA AFTER THE HOLOCAUST AND WON AN ACADEMY AWARD FOR HIS ROLE IN THE KILLING FIELDS.

THESE SEVEN PEOPLE ARE HEROES. FOR THEY HAVE SHOWN THE POWER OF COURAGE AND FREE EXPRESSION. AND LAST WEEK, I SAW HOW THE PEOPLES OF POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE LEADING THE WAY TOWARD THIS DEMOCRATIC FUTURE -- CASTING RAYS OF LIGHT ON OTHER NATIONS THAT ARE NOT AS FORTUNATE.

FOR WITHIN THESE NATIONS, MEN AND WOMEN ARE STANDING UP FOR THE CAUSE OF LIBERTY, OFTEN AT ENORMOUS COST. A CAUSE THE CZECH WRITER VALAV HAVEL [VATS-LAV HAV-EL] ONCE CALLED THE ACT OF "LIVING IN TRUTH."

THIS TRUTH FORMS THE HEART OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK. FOR IT DICTATES THAT LIBERTY BE POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC; RELIGIOUS, AND INTELLECTUAL. "LIVING IN TRUTH" SUGGESTS THAT DEMOCRATIC IDEALS CAN MAKE ALL THINGS POSSIBLE FOR A NATION, AND ITS PEOPLE.

AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL, NOT THE STATE, IS THE VOICE OF TOMORROW.

WE SEE THAT TRUTH IN THE SUCCESSFUL RETURN OF DEMOCRACY TO PAKISTAN. AND IN AFRICA, WHERE LIBERTY LIGHTS THOSE NATIONS MOVING AWAY FROM STATE SOCIALISM, WITH NEW SUCCESS. THE HATED SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IS ON THE DEFENSIVE.

AND IN OUR HOPE FOR A CAMBODIA WITH SELF-DETERMINATION FOR HER PEOPLE -- AND A COMPLETE AND VERIFIED VIETNAMESE WITHDRAWAL, WITH NO RETURN TO POWER BY THE KHMER ROUGE.

TODAY, THE LIGHT OF LIBERTY IS ILLUMINATING THE FACE OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE. AND REFLECTING THE CHANGES TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION -- TOWARD GREATER OPENNESS AT HOME AND AWAY FROM CONFRONTATION ABROAD.

SUCH OPENNESS PROMPTED THE BARBED WIRE FENCE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY TO BE DISMANTLED. THE PORTION I RECEIVED AS A GIFT IS NOW ON DISPLAY HERE. AND A SPIRIT OF RENEWAL LIGHTS THE BALTIC STATES -- LATVIA, LITHUANIA, ESTONIA -- STRIVING TO RECAPTURE THEIR NATIONAL HISTORY.

MY FRIENDS, THESE NATIONS KNOW -- AS WE KNOW -- HOW THE TIDE IS MOVING -- TOWARD CHANGE, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL.

FOR AROUND THE WORLD, WE SEE DEMOCRACY OPENING MARKETS,
AND BOUNDARIES. FREEING HEARTS. FREEING MINDS.

THEREFORE, TO NATIONS OF EASTERN AND CENTRAL
EUROPE, STRIVING TO RECLAIM THEIR NATIONAL HERITAGE, WE
SAY: AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

TO THE PEOPLES OF CHINA, VIETNAM AND LAOS, ETHIOPIA
AND NICARAGUA STRIVING FOR FREEDOM, WE SAY: AMERICA
STANDS WITH YOU.

TO THE ETHNIC TURKS IN BULGARIA UPROOTED FROM THEIR
HOMES AND FORCED TO FLEE ACROSS THE BORDER, WE SAY:
AMERICA STANDS WITH YOU.

INDEED, TO ALL NATIONS, AMERICA PROCLAIMS THAT
TRUTH CANNOT FOREVER BE INTIMIDATED BY FORCE. FOR
HISTORY SHOWS -- AND THE HUMAN WILL PROCLAIMS -- THAT
LIBERTY CAN LIGHT THE DARKEST NIGHT.

LAST TUESDAY, THOUSANDS FILLED THE STREETS IN GDANSK -- PEACEFULLY, MOVINGLY -- TO HONOR THE SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY. BUT THEIR PRESENCE DID MORE. IT EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT DEMOCRACY UNDERSCORES THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

AMONG THE CELEBRANTS WAS THE PATRIOT WHO, ABOVE ALL OTHERS, HAS MADE POLAND'S FUTURE POSSIBLE. ASTONISHED BY THE TURNOUT, HE FOUND PRIDE IN FREEDOM'S PAST -- AND HOPE IN ITS TOMORROW.

AS POLES -- CHEERING, MANY CRYING -- FLANKED OUR MOTORCADE, LECH WALESZA TURNED TO ME AND SAID SIMPLY: "THIS IS FANTASTIC." HE WAS MOVED -- STIRRED -- BY THE WONDER OF THE MOMENT.

IN COMING YEARS, THAT WONDER CAN UPLIFT THE WORLD. IN PRAGUE AND KABUL. IN TALLINN [TAL IN], RIGA [REE GA], AND VILNIUS [VIL NEE US].

IN THE HOPES, AND DREAMS, OF PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN AN OPEN AND PEACEFUL WORLD. AND WHO HAVE ENDURED MUCH -- AND WILL SURVIVE EVERYTHING -- THROUGH THE TRIUMPH OF THE HEART.

TO LOVE FREEDOM -- TO OVERCOME OPPRESSION -- THIS IS THEIR SPIRIT -- AND THE MEANING OF CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK.

WE LOVE THEM, AND WE ARE WITH THEM. FOR WE WILL NEVER WAVER, NOR SURRENDER.

TOGETHER, LET US RAISE WHAT LAJOS KOSSUTH CALLED "THE MORNING STAR OF LIBERTY." THE STAR THAT CAN HELP ALL CAPTIVE PEOPLES KNOW THE DIGNITY THAT SETS MEN FREE.

THANK YOU FOR THIS WONDERFUL OCCASION. I WILL NEVER FORGET IT. GOD BLESS YOU, THANK YOU FOR COMING TO THE WHITE HOUSE, AND GOD BLESS THIS BELOVED LAND -- THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 21, 1989

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING CEREMONY FOR
CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK

The Rose Garden

10:02 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all for coming today to the White House. And I want to welcome you to the White House and to an occasion -- Captive Nations Week -- marked by sadness, but blessed by hope.

And today we meet to signal our deep concern at the fate of nations, and peoples as well, whose liberty has been held captive. And we applaud the movement toward democracy taking place in the world, and the changes yet to come.

Six months ago this week, I said in my Inaugural Address: "In man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree." (Applause.)

Well, I have just returned -- hopeful, and encouraged -- from visits to Poland and Hungary, two nations on the threshold of historic change. And I can say to you: The old ideas are blowing away. Freedom is in the air.

For forty years, Poland and Hungary endured what's been called the dilemma of the single alternative: one political party, one definition of national interest, one social and economic model. In short, one future -- prescribed by an alien ideology.

But in fact, that future meant no future. For it denied to individuals, choice; to societies, pluralism; and to nations, self-determination. And yet in Poland and Hungary, a courageous people would not yield to despair. There, as elsewhere, the light of liberty would not go out.

And ten days ago, I watched thousands brave a driving rain to acclaim this love of liberty. They cheered for free assembly, free press and speech, and freedom of religion, and filled a square in Budapest named after a freedom fighter who believed in that democracy which linked the people of Hungary with the peoples of the world.

Lajos Kossuth arrived in America in 1851 after Hungary's struggle for freedom had temporarily been lost. And yet in his remarks to the United States Congress, he was hopeful, not embittered. He spoke of his "Steady faith in principles" of self-government, opportunity, and individuality.

The heroism of such patriots inspires us, and teaches us. For they embody the spirit of Captive Nations Week -- the spirit which says that freedom around the world is not divisible, and which lives in the brave immigrants from Captive Nations who are beside me: Polita Grau de Aguerro, for instance, a political prisoner in Cuba before fleeing to America. Or Haing Ngor, who fled Cambodia after the holocaust and won an Academy Award for his role in the "Killing Fields."

These seven people are heroes. For they have shown the

MORE

power of courage and free expression. And last week, I saw how the peoples of Poland and Hungary are leading the way toward this democratic future -- casting rays of light on other nations that are not as fortunate. For within these nations, men and women are standing up for the cause of liberty, often at enormous cost. A cause the Czech writer Valav Havel once called the "Living in Truth."

This truth forms the heart of Captive Nations Week. For it dictates that liberty be political, and economic; religious, and intellectual. "Living in Truth" suggests that democratic ideals can make all things possible for a nation, and for its people, and that the individual, not the state, is the voice of tomorrow. (Applause.)

We see that truth in the successful return of democracy to Pakistan. And in Africa, where liberty lights those nations moving away from state socialism with new success. The hated system of apartheid is on the defensive. And in our hope for a Cambodia with self-determination for her people -- and a complete and verified Vietnamese withdrawal, with no return to power by the Khmer Rouge. (Applause.)

And today, the light of liberty is illuminating the face of Eastern and Central Europe, and reflecting the changes taking place within the Soviet Union -- toward greater openness at home and away from confrontation abroad. Such openness prompted the barbed wire fence between Austria and Hungary to be dismantled. And the portion I received -- sitting right here -- the portion I received as a gift is now on display, and I'd love to have you all take a look at it after this.

And a spirit of renewal lights the Baltic States -- Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia -- striving to recapture -- (applause) -- their national history.

These nations know -- as we know -- that that tide is moving -- toward change, economic and political. For around the world, we see democracy opening markets, and boundaries. Freeing hearts. Freeing minds.

And therefore, to nations of Eastern and Central Europe, striving to reclaim their national heritage, we say: America stands with you. (Applause.)

And to the peoples of China, and Vietnam and Laos, Ethiopia and Nicaragua striving for freedom, we say: America stands with you. (Applause.)

And to the ethnic Turks in Bulgaria uprooted from their homes and forced to flee across the border, we say: America stands with you. (Applause.)

Indeed, to all nations, America proclaims the truth cannot forever be intimidated by force. For history shows -- and the human will proclaims -- that liberty can light the darkest night.

Last Tuesday, thousands filled the streets in Gdansk -- peacefully, movingly -- to honor the spirit of Solidarity. But their presence did more. It expressed the belief that democracy underscores the dignity of man.

Among the celebrants was the patriot who, above all others, has made Poland's future possible. Astonished by the turnout, he found pride in freedom's past -- and hope in its tomorrow. As Poles -- cheering, many crying -- flanked our motorcade, Lech Walesa turned to me -- (applause) -- and said simply: "This is fantastic." And he was moved -- and stirred -- by the wonder of the moment, and the crowds that came out to pay their respects to the freedom that the United States of America epitomizes. (Applause.)

And in coming years, that wonder can uplift the world -- in Prague and Kabul -- Tallinn, Riga, Vilinius -- in the hopes and dreams of people who believe in an open and peaceful world, and who have endured much -- and who will survive everything -- through the triumph of the heart.

To love freedom -- to overcome oppression -- this is their spirit -- and the meaning of Captive Nations Week.

We love them, and we are with them, for we will never waiver nor surrender. And so together, let us raise what Lajos Kossuth called "the morning star of liberty." The star that can help all captive peoples know the dignity that sets men free.

Thank you for your participation in this wonderful occasion. I'll never forget it. And God bless you, and thanks for coming to the White House, and God bless the United States of America, and all that we stand for. Thank you very, very much.

END

10:12 A.M. EDT