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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
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**Series:** Speech File Draft Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13530  
**Folder ID Number:** 13530-011

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**Folder Title:**

University of South Carolina Commencement Address 5/12/90 [OA 5374] [1]

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**Stack:**

**G**

**Row:**

**26**

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**Shelf:**

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Columbia, South Carolina)

For Immediate Release

May 12, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
IN UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

University of South Carolina  
Columbia, South Carolina

11:25 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, President Holderman. Distinguished officials of this wonderful university. My special respects to two great United States Senators, Senators Strom Thurmond, Fritz Hollings, over here. I'm proud to be with them today. (Applause.) And to Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson, with us. Of course, to my dear friend, your Governor, Carroll Campbell, who's a tremendous partner in our national crusade for excellence in education. (Applause.)

I also want to say how pleased I am to be on this stage with Archbishop Iakovos, one of the great church leaders of today. (Applause.)

I know, looking around, that tickets were hard to come by today. It wasn't simply parking. Barbara's here. (Laughter and applause.) Thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree there because it was the only way I could get her a seat in this big place. (Laughter.) But thank you for honoring her.

And she's in great company, as am I, with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is about as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation. (Laughter.) Congratulations to you, sir. (Applause.)

And to Michael Eisner: The success that he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret's simple: just surround yourself with the best and the brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy. (Laughter and applause.) But what you may not know and you should is I salute him, too, for his commitment to this concept of "points of light" -- the best impulse of America -- and Michael Eisner exemplifies it -- one American willing to pitch in and help another. He's a great American. (Applause.)

Now to you all. I've saluted -- hope I have -- your faculty. I should; they're outstanding. The trustees and those who govern this great institution, and to the class who I'm here to help these others honor. You've gone to school for four years -- the last thing you want to hear is a long lecture. But I wanted to use this great university as a forum for some serious foreign policy observations. I've chosen to make each of several commencement speeches this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, down in Texas at Texas A & I, I spoke about technology and the vast frontier of space.

This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- about the new world of freedom opening up in Eastern Europe. Now, that's pretty serious business -- (applause) -- but I'm going to ask you to bear with me, but telling you I do remember a graduation at Yale, where the graduation speaker got up -- my alma mater -- Y is for youth. That took 20 minutes. A is for altruism; young people be altruistic. Another 32 minutes. L for

MORE

loyalty. Brushed that one off in about 18 minutes. E obviously for excellence. Another 32 minutes. When he left, one student left, praying. And the speaker walked down. "I see you're giving thanks to the Lord." He said, "Yes, sir, I am. I'm giving thanks that I did not go to the University of South Carolina." (Laughter.)

So bear with me, because we are living in exciting times. In the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering -- tremendous economic damage. We've all seen the images of long lines and empty shelves. But what we can't see so easily -- what's beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: the deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any challenge to the rule of the state became the enemy of the state. Believers were persecuted, churches and cemeteries razed. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History -- well, it was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes airbrushed from the pages of history. Milan Kundera, the Czech author, called it "organized forgetting."

Of course, these nations had laws. They had courts. They had constitutions. All in service to the state. They had -- in name at least -- rights and freedoms. In reality -- the empty shell of liberty.

Not the rule of law -- but the perversion of law: rules made not to serve the will of the people, but the whim of the party. That's how, in Romania, the law made it illegal for three or more people to have a conversation in the street. That's how, in another country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion -- was jailed for six months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule: a breakdown of trust. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. As Aristotle wrote: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." The bond that makes the collection of individuals into a community -- into a nation.

Fortunately. the moral destruction in Eastern Europe, as you all know, was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain an inner strength -- their moral compass. To sustain the will to break through the regime's wall of lies. They did so, as Vaclav Havel put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights -- an authentic "civil society" beyond the reach of the ruling establishment.

And today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. And they've begun to build on the ruins of communist rule; democratic systems based on trust.

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations secure their freedoms, become a part of a Europe whole and free. Early this year in the State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an idea -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. And that idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of 1989.

Let me share a story with you about a recent American visitor to Romania who asked the people she met what they needed now, what was most important to them. This simple question produced some unexpected answers. In Timisoara, one woman pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, containing a bicentennial copy of the United States Constitution. And she held it out to the American visitor. And she said, "What we need is more of these."

And there on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food is in short supply, where homes are without heat and streets dark at night -- there a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to -- is democratic life based on justice and the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons, their Hamiltons, their Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The nation builders who will set in place the firm foundations of self-government?

Some of them we know by name -- the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's constitution builders, the work has only now begun. Because the fate of freedom depends not just on the character of the people who govern, but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.

And just as the framers of our own Constitution looked to the lessons of history -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past. To Europe's example. And, of course, to our own American Constitution. And that's why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government.

Already we're actively engaged with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, with an ongoing series of exchanges bringing jurists and parliamentarians, political leaders here to the United States to meet their American counterparts. And today, I'm pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps that the United States will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

First, America will continue to act to advance economic freedom. In the past year, we've committed more than \$1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. We've extended loans and credits, opened our markets through most-favored-nation status, and promoted American investment. And today, I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative -- the Export-Import Bank will provide Poland a new line of medium-term export credits and loan guarantees for purchasing machinery, technology and services from American suppliers.

And second, the United States will work to help ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe. And next week, we'll send a presidential delegation to observe the elections in Romania; and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Less than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the United States will take part in a conference on human rights including free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law. And I've instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman, head of our delegation, to seek a new consensus on these cornerstones of freedoms, rights and democracy. As I said last week at Oklahoma State University, we must work within the CSCE to bring Eastern Europe's new democracies into this commonwealth of free nations.

Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society in Eastern Europe, and I am pleased to announce today the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps. Its first mission: to establish a center and a clearinghouse for American

private sector assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know the real strength of our democracy is its citizens, the collective strength of individual Americans. We're going to focus that energy where it can do the most good.

America has much to contribute, much it can do to help these nations move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must. Systems based on respect for property and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes, not to build towers of gold and greed; but to provide for ourselves, for our families. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties -- the building blocks of a free society. We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law.

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on Earth for millions of men and women. We've learned, through hard experience, that the only alternative to tyranny of man is the rule of law.

That's the essence of our vision for Europe. A Europe where not only are the dictators dethroned, but where the rule of law -- reflecting the will of the people -- ensures the freedoms millions have fought so hard to gain.

There is still work to be done. In the Baltic States where people struggle for the right to determine their own future, we Americans -- so free to chart our own course -- identify with their hopes and aspirations. For, you see, we're committed to self-determination for Lithuania and Latvia and Estonia. And ultimately, the Soviet Union itself, now committed to openness and reform, will benefit from a Europe that's whole and free. Democracy and freedom threaten absolutely no one.

We sometimes hear today that with freedom's great triumph -- and oh, what exciting times we're living in -- that America's work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth. I want to close today with a story about the enduring power of the American idea and the unfinished business that awaits the generation that you proudly represent.

It's about a town called Pilsen in Czechoslovakia; a town that just last week celebrated the day, 45 years ago, when it was liberated by American troops. Of course, within a few short years, Pilsen's dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain and with it, the truth about that day back in 1945. A generation grew up being taught that Pilsen had been freed not by your fathers and granddads in the United States Army, but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people -- the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. And now it falls upon you, the graduating class of this great University, to uphold our American ideals; not in times of war, thank God, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom that your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedom millions only dreamed of, until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day

with you, your families and your friends. Thank you, and may God bless this great University and the Class of 1990. Thank you all very, very much. Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you all.

END

11:40 A.M. EDT

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

BUREAU OF HUMAN RIGHTS &amp; HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

Room 7802

Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520-7812

FAX: (202)647-9519

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE RECEIPT OF THIS MATERIAL:        NO   X   YESSender's Name: JOHN GILDERDate: 5/7/90Phone: 647-2264No of Pages: 2  
(incl. cover page)Classification:                     MESSAGE DESCRIPTION:                                     TO: (Organization): Dan McGreevyDeliver to:                      Rm. No.            Tel. No.           Remarks:                                     FOR: Clearance                     Information                     Per Request                     Comment

Already, we are actively engaged with the Soviets in this area. Under the direction of the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, Ambassador Richard Schifter, we are in the midst of an on-going series of exchanges on the rule of law.

- Just recently, ten Soviet jurists came over to study at our
- 1) National Judicial College, then went on to Washington, where they met with the Supreme Court and the Justice Department and talked about everything from federalism, to checks and balances to--most especially--the independence of the judiciary. In the
  - 2) future we hope to bring Soviet legal reformers and law students here to study and to send some of our best professors over
  - 3) there. On a recent trip to Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Ambassador Schifter discussed extending these programs to these countries and met with an eager response everywhere he went.

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/4/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 5/7/90SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEME

|                | 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 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"/>            | ROGICH     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BATES          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CARD           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CICCONI        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WINSTON    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PINKERTON  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN     | <input checked="" 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 your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy of my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

*No remarks -  
great rhetoric! -!*

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 4, 1990  
3:00 pm  
[USC]

1990 MAY -4 PM 3.32

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. [Introductory acknowledgements.] And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

President Holderman has done a masterful job in bringing this bi-partisan group together on stage. [[Democrat and Republican -- side by side -- in an election year. This hasn't happened since political parties were first formed in South Carolina. / I know because Strom Thurmond told me. // And he was there.]]

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Weber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And of course, **Michael Eisner**. The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide.

His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, at the University of South Carolina, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- the new frontier of freedom taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //

Over the past year, one nation after another in Eastern Europe has pulled itself out from under communism, and onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard by now about the extent of the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any external challenge to the rule of the State -- became the enemy of the State.

Believers were persecuted, churches razed -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned against one

another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street.

Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history books -- a practice Czech author Milan Kundera called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts.  
// All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name at least -- rights, freedoms. People's Democracy. An empty shell of liberty -- **that fooled no one.**

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created and changed by the regime. Prosecutor, judge and jailors -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose real crime in the eyes of the State was teaching others about his religion, was jailed for 6 months. The charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. The principle product of four decades of communist rule in Eastern Europe. //

For any society, the most serious consequence of this kind of assault is the **breakdown of trust**. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the **link between the law and trust**. In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: **The law as a promise** -- an agreement between citizens, an agreement across generations. The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community** -- into a **nation**.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of lies. To survive the climate of fear -- a climate that raised walls between each and every citizen. And today, they are beginning to build a system **based on trust**.

We know about the tremendous challenges these new democracies now face -- the period of reconstruction and reform they've entered. Most have begun the move toward free markets -- and many have held, or will soon hold, free elections. Today, I want to focus on the **next step** towards true democracy -- on how America can help these nations build free societies on the ruins of the communist system.

Early this year, in my State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere.

That idea was without doubt a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- a story about a recent American visitor to Romania, who everywhere on her travels in that country, conducted an informal, one-woman opinion poll. She asked the Romanians she met what they needed -- what was most important to them? //

This simple question produced some unexpected answers. One woman, on the streets of Timisoara, pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, a special bicentennial edition, folded open to a copy of the U.S. Constitution. //

She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- is more of these."

There, on the streets of Bucharest -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy would be arrested on the spot.

What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe must develop for themselves -- is the rule of law.

For true democracy, free elections are essential. But free elections alone are not enough. The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- they deserve more -- than a dictatorship of the elected. The fate of their freedom depends **not on the character**

*That's  
history for democracy  
related  
matter*

of the people who govern -- but whether they are themselves governed by the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Madisons? Their Hamiltons and Jeffersons -- their men and women of towering genius? The **nation-builders** who will set in place the **firm foundations of democracy and self-government?**

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

This much we know: just as the Framers of our own **Constitution looked to history** -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. To the traditions of the common law and the civil code. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government, and the rule of law.

And that is why -- less than a month from now -- as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States will take part in a conference on **free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law**. I have instructed the chief of the U.S. Delegation, Ambassador Max Kampelman -- Chairman of the human rights

organization, Freedom House -- to make our goal at the Copenhagen Conference expanding the mandate of the CSCE. Broadening its scope, so that the human rights and fundamental freedoms it seeks to preserve include free elections, pluralism -- and the rule of law. Concepts that are the **very bone and marrow of democracy**.

[[NSC INSERT TO COME]]

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

- o Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must.
- o Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our family. To enable every parent to protect and pass on to their children the fruits of their labor.
- o We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve the freedoms we enjoy;
- o And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race, whatever their ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law. //

[[CONCLUDING ANECDOTE TO COME]]

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. //

Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO: Jim C

I think we need a sentence or  
two about self determination  
in Baltic States...about understanding  
their yearnings to be free, to call  
their own shots....

Discuss htis with brent, but need  
some mention.. some identity  
with their hopes.

gb

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

*Revised*  
*2:45 PM*

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 10, 1990  
2:30 PM  
[USC] MAY 10 PM 2:43

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you. President Holderman. Senators Thurmond and Hollings. Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson.  
*my dear friend*  
Governor Carroll Campbell -- ~~[[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]]~~ *who's* ~~he's~~ been a tremendous partner to this President in our national crusade for excellence in education. //

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat.]]

[[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation.]] [[And Michael Eisner: The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] And I salute him for his commitment to our "Points of Light" concept -- the best impulse of America: one American willing to pitch in to help another.

You've gone to school for four years -- the last thing you want to hear is one more long lecture -- but I wanted to use this

great University as a forum for some serious foreign policy observations. // I've chosen to make each of my commencement speeches this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- about the new world of freedom opening up in Eastern Europe. //

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Of course, these nations had laws. Courts. Constitutions. All in service to the State. / They had -- in name at least -- rights and freedoms. In reality -- the empty shell of liberty.

Not the rule of law -- but the perversion of law: rules made not to serve the will of the people, but the whim of the Party. That's how, in Romania, the law made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street. That's how, in another country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion -- was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. // We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

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Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass. To sustain the will to break through the regime's wall of lies. They did so, as Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers

taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights -- an authentic "civil society" beyond the reach of the ruling establishment.

Today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. And they've begun to build on the ruins of communist rule democratic systems based on trust.

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations secure their freedoms -- become a part of a Europe whole and free. Early this year, in the State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an idea -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. That idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- about a recent American visitor to Romania, who asked the people she met what they needed now -- what was most important to them. // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. In Timisoara, one woman pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, containing a bicentennial copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- **is more of these.**"

There, on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food is in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. // What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all

the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to -- is democratic life based on justice and the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons? Their Hamiltons and Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The nation-builders who will set in place the firm foundations of self-government?

Some of them we know by name -- the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun. Because the fate of freedom depends not just on the character of the people who govern -- but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.

And just as the Framers of our own Constitution looked to the lessons of history -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past. To Europe's example. And of course, to our own American Constitution. That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government. //

Already, we're actively engaged with Eastern Europe and the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges bringing jurists, parliamentarians and political leaders here to the U.S. to meet their American counterparts. And today, I am pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps the U.S. will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

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Third, America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE -- the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Less than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the United States will take part in a conference on free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law. I have instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman -- head of our delegation -- to seek a new consensus on these cornerstones of freedom, rights and democracy. As I said last week at Oklahoma State University, we must work within the CSCE to bring Eastern Europe's new democracies into the commonwealth of free nations. //

Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society in Eastern Europe -- and I am pleased to announce today the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps. Its first mission: to establish a center and clearing-house for American private sector assistance and volunteer activities in

Eastern Europe. We know the real strength of our democracy is its citizens -- the collective strength of individual Americans. We're going to focus that energy where it can do the most good.

America has much to contribute -- much it can do to help these nations move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must. // Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our families. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties: the building blocks of free society. We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. // And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law. //

That's the essence of a Europe whole and free. A Europe where -- East and West -- not only are the dictators dethroned. But where the rule of law -- reflecting the will of the people -- ensures the freedoms millions have fought so hard to gain. //

2 sentences  
on BALTIMORE  
HERE.

times hear today that with freedom's great triumph, work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth. Those today with a story about the enduring power of idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

It's about a town called Pilsen in Czechoslovakia -- a town that just last week celebrated the day, 45 years ago, when it was liberated by American troops. Of course, within a few short years, Pilsen's dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation grew up being taught that Pilsen had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- not in time of war, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with you, your families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

University  
of South  
Carolina

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RI> We sometimes hear today that with freedom's great triumph, America's work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth. I want to close today with a story about the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

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There is still work to be done. In the Baltic States where people struggle for the right to determine their own future -- we Americans -- so free to chart our own course -- identify with their hopes and aspirations. Ultimately, the Soviet Union itself will benefit from a Europe whole and free, ~~at~~ democracy and freedom threaten no one.

Don  
McGroarty

Nancy Benson  
1-26-66

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/10/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CARLINA COMMENCEMENT

|                | 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 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"/> | ROGICH     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| BATES          | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CARD           | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| CICCONI        | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WINSTON    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST       | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | PINKERTON  | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN     | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" 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:

*Karen Mc Henderson*

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 10, 1990  
2:30 pm  
[USC] MAY 10 PM 2:43

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you. President Holderman. Senators Thurmond and Hollings. Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson. Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in our national crusade for excellence in education. //

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat.]]

[[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation.]] [[And Michael Eisner: The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] And I salute him for his commitment to our "Points of Light" concept -- the best impulse of America: one American willing to pitch in to help another.

You've gone to school for four years -- the last thing you want to hear is one more long lecture -- but I wanted to use this

great University as a forum for some serious foreign policy observations. // I've chosen to make each of my commencement speeches this spring **a reflection on democratic change**. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- **about the new world of freedom opening up in Eastern Europe**. //

In the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering -- tremendous economic damage. We've all seen the images of long lines and empty shelves. But what we can't see so easily -- what's beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any challenge to the rule of the State -- became the enemy of the State. // Believers were persecuted, churches and cemeteries razed. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history. Milan Kundera, the Czech author, called it "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Courts. Constitutions. All in service to the State. / They had -- in name at least -- rights and freedoms. In reality -- the empty shell of liberty.

Not the rule of law -- but the perversion of law: rules made not to serve the will of the people, but the whim of the Party. That's how, in Romania, the law made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street. That's how, in another country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion -- was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. // We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule: a breakdown of trust. // From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. As Aristotle wrote: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a community -- into a nation.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass. To sustain the will to break through the regime's wall of lies. They did so, as Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers

taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights -- an authentic "civil society" beyond the reach of the ruling establishment.

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But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- not in time of war, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with you, your families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

THANK YOU. PRESIDENT HOLDERMAN. SENATORS  
THURMOND AND HOLLINGS. REPRESENTATIVES FLOYD SPENCE  
AND ELIZABETH PATTERSON. MY DEAR FRIEND GOVERNOR  
CARROLL CAMPBELL -- WHO'S A TREMENDOUS PARTNER TO THIS  
PRESIDENT IN OUR NATIONAL CRUSADE FOR EXCELLENCE IN  
EDUCATION. //

~~AND LET ME MENTION ONE USC ALUMNUS WHO CAN'T BE  
HERE TODAY. A GOOD FRIEND AND A REAL FIGHTER: LEE  
ATWATER. LEE GOT HIS MASTER'S DEGREE HERE. HE TELLS  
ME HE'S GOING TO FINISH HIS PH.D. -- AND ONE DAY, HE'D  
LIKE TO COME BACK TO HIS ALMA MATER TO JOIN THE FACULTY  
AND TEACH HERE.~~

[[I KNOW TICKETS WERE HARD TO COME BY TODAY.  
BARBARA'S HERE -- THANK GOODNESS SHE'S GETTING AN  
HONORARY DEGREE. IT WAS THE ONLY WAY I COULD GET HER A  
SEAT.]]

[[AND SHE'S IN GREAT COMPANY WITH TODAY'S OTHER RECIPIENTS OF HONORARY DEGREES. I DON'T KNOW HOW MANY OF YOU HAVE HEARD ME SPEAK BEFORE, BUT BEING ON STAGE WITH ANDREW LLOYD WEBBER IS AS CLOSE AS I'LL EVER GET TO A DRAMATIC PRESENTATION.]] [[AND MICHAEL EISNER: THE SUCCESS HE'S ACHIEVED AT DISNEY IS THE ENVY OF CEOS WORLD-WIDE. HIS SECRET IS SIMPLE: JUST SURROUND YOURSELF WITH THE BEST AND BRIGHTEST -- DOPEY, DUMBO, GOOFY.]] AND I SALUTE HIM FOR HIS COMMITMENT TO OUR "POINTS OF LIGHT" CONCEPT -- THE BEST IMPULSE OF AMERICA: ONE AMERICAN WILLING TO PITCH IN TO HELP ANOTHER.

YOU'VE GONE TO SCHOOL FOR FOUR YEARS -- THE LAST THING YOU WANT TO HEAR IS ONE MORE LONG LECTURE -- BUT I WANTED TO USE THIS GREAT UNIVERSITY AS A FORUM FOR SOME SERIOUS FOREIGN POLICY OBSERVATIONS. // I'VE CHOSEN TO MAKE EACH OF MY COMMENCEMENT SPEECHES THIS SPRING A REFLECTION ON DEMOCRATIC CHANGE. LAST WEEK, AT OKLAHOMA STATE, I FOCUSED ON THE NEW ROLE OF OUR ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. YESTERDAY, AT TEXAS A&I, I SPOKE ABOUT TECHNOLOGY, AND THE VAST FRONTIER OF SPACE. THIS MORNING, I WANT TO TALK ABOUT A FRONTIER OF A DIFFERENT SORT -- ABOUT THE NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM OPENING UP IN EASTERN EUROPE. //

IN THE PAST YEAR, ONE NATION AFTER ANOTHER HAS PULLED ITSELF OUT FROM UNDER COMMUNISM, ONTO THE THRESHOLD OF DEMOCRACY. EACH HAS ENDURED GREAT SUFFERING -- TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC DAMAGE. WE'VE ALL SEEN THE IMAGES OF LONG LINES AND EMPTY SHELVES. BUT WHAT WE CAN'T SEE SO EASILY -- WHAT'S BENEATH THE SURFACE, BUT NO LESS REAL -- IS THE MORAL DAMAGE: THE DEEP SCARS ON THE SPIRIT LEFT BY FOUR DECADES OF COMMUNIST RULE.

BECAUSE IN THESE REGIMES, THE HUMAN SPIRIT WAS  
SUBJECT TO SYSTEMATIC ASSAULT. RELIGION, MORALITY,  
RIGHT AND WRONG -- ANY CHALLENGE TO THE RULE OF THE  
STATE -- BECAME THE ENEMY OF THE STATE. // BELIEVERS  
WERE PERSECUTED, CHURCHES AND CEMETARIES RAZED.  
CITIZENS WERE TURNED AGAINST ONE ANOTHER -- ENLISTED  
INTO THE RANKS OF THE REGIME'S INFORMERS. NOTHING  
STOOD OUTSIDE THE REACH OF THE REGIME -- NOT EVEN THE  
PAST. HISTORY WAS REWRITTEN TO SUIT THE NEEDS OF THE  
PRESENT -- YESTERDAY'S HEROES AIR-BRUSHED FROM THE  
PAGES OF HISTORY. MILAN KUNDERA, THE CZECH AUTHOR,  
CALLED IT "ORGANIZED FORGETTING." //

OF COURSE, THESE NATIONS HAD LAWS. COURTS.  
CONSTITUTIONS. ALL IN SERVICE TO THE STATE. / THEY  
HAD -- IN NAME AT LEAST -- RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. IN  
REALITY -- THE EMPTY SHELL OF LIBERTY.

NOT THE RULE OF LAW -- BUT THE PERVERSION OF LAW:  
RULES MADE NOT TO SERVE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, BUT THE  
WHIM OF THE PARTY. THAT'S HOW, IN ROMANIA, THE LAW  
MADE IT ILLEGAL FOR 3 OR MORE PEOPLE TO HAVE A  
CONVERSATION IN THE STREET. THAT'S HOW, IN ANOTHER  
COUNTRY, A MAN WHOSE SO-CALLED "CRIME" WAS TEACHING  
OTHERS ABOUT RELIGION -- WAS JAILED FOR 6 MONTHS. THE  
TRUMPED-UP CHARGE: WALKING ON FLOWER BEDS. // WE  
WILL NEVER KNOW HOW MANY DISSIDENTS WERE PUNISHED AS  
"COMMON CRIMINALS" -- AND HOW MANY MILLIONS OF OTHERS  
WERE FROZEN BY FEAR INTO SILENCE AND SUBMISSION.

THAT'S THE LEGACY -- THE LANDSCAPE OF MORAL  
DESTRUCTION. THE TRAGIC CONSEQUENCE OF FOUR DECADES OF  
COMMUNIST RULE: A BREAKDOWN OF TRUST. // FROM  
ANCIENT TIMES, THE GREAT MINDS HAVE RECOGNIZED THE LINK  
BETWEEN THE LAW AND TRUST. AS ARISTOTLE WROTE: "LAW  
IS A PLEDGE THAT THE CITIZENS OF A STATE WILL DO  
JUSTICE TO ONE ANOTHER." THE BOND THAT MAKES A  
COLLECTION OF INDIVIDUALS INTO A COMMUNITY -- INTO A  
NATION.

FORTUNATELY, THE MORAL DESTRUCTION IN EASTERN EUROPE WAS NOT COMPLETE. INDIVIDUALS SOMEHOW MANAGED TO MAINTAIN THE INNER STRENGTH -- THEIR MORAL COMPASS. TO SUSTAIN THE WILL TO BREAK THROUGH THE REGIME'S WALL OF LIES. THEY DID SO, AS VACLAV HAVEL [VATS-LAHV HA-VEL] PUT IT, BY THE SIMPLE ACT OF "LIVING IN TRUTH." THEY CREATED "FLYING UNIVERSITIES," WHERE LECTURERS TAUGHT IN PRIVATE HOMES. THEY FORMED UNDERGROUND PUBLISHING HOUSES AND GROUPS TO MONITOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- AN AUTHENTIC "CIVIL SOCIETY" BEYOND THE REACH OF THE RULING ESTABLISHMENT.

TODAY, THE BUILDERS OF THOSE CIVIL SOCIETIES NO LONGER LIVE UNDERGROUND. THEY ARE THE NEW LEADERS OF EASTERN EUROPE. AND THEY'VE BEGUN TO BUILD ON THE RUINS OF COMMUNIST RULE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS BASED ON TRUST.

TODAY, I WANT TO FOCUS ON HOW AMERICA CAN HELP THESE NATIONS SECURE THEIR FREEDOMS -- BECOME A PART OF A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. EARLY THIS YEAR, IN THE STATE OF THE UNION, I TALKED ABOUT AMERICA'S ROLE AS A SHINING EXAMPLE. ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF AMERICA -- NOT AS A NATION, BUT AS AN IDEA -- ALIVE IN THE MINDS OF MEN AND WOMEN EVERYWHERE. THAT IDEA WAS, WITHOUT DOUBT, A GUIDING FORCE IN THE REVOLUTION OF '89. //

LET ME SHARE A STORY WITH YOU -- ABOUT A RECENT AMERICAN VISITOR TO ROMANIA, WHO ASKED THE PEOPLE SHE MET WHAT THEY NEEDED NOW -- WHAT WAS MOST IMPORTANT TO THEM. // THIS SIMPLE QUESTION PRODUCED SOME UNEXPECTED ANSWERS. IN TIMISOARA, ONE WOMAN PULLED FROM HER PURSE A WORN COPY OF TV GUIDE, AN ISSUE FROM JULY 1987, CONTAINING A BICENTENNIAL COPY OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION. // SHE HELD IT OUT TO THE AMERICAN VISITOR. SHE SAID: "WHAT WE NEED -- IS MORE OF THESE."

THERE, ON THE STREETS OF TIMISOARA -- IN A COUNTRY WHERE FOOD IS IN SHORT SUPPLY, WHERE HOMES ARE WITHOUT HEAT, AND STREETS DARK AT NIGHT -- THERE, A WOMAN PINS HER HOPES ON OUR CONSTITUTION. // WHAT THAT ROMANIAN WOMAN WANTED -- WHAT ALL THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE ASPIRE TO -- IS DEMOCRATIC LIFE BASED ON JUSTICE AND THE RULE OF LAW.

POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND HUNGARY STAND NOW, IN THE SPRING OF 1990, AS AMERICA STOOD IN THE SUMMER OF 1787. WHO WILL BE THEIR FRANKLINS, THEIR WASHINGTONS? THEIR HAMILTONS AND MADISONS -- THEIR MEN AND WOMEN OF TOWERING GENIUS? THE NATION-BUILDERS WHO WILL SET IN PLACE THE FIRM FOUNDATIONS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT?

SOME OF THEM WE KNOW BY NAME -- THE HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION OF '89. BUT FOR EASTERN EUROPE'S CONSTITUTION-BUILDERS, THE WORK HAS ONLY NOW BEGUN. BECAUSE THE FATE OF FREEDOM DEPENDS NOT JUST ON THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE WHO GOVERN -- BUT WHETHER THEY THEMSELVES ARE GOVERNED BY THE RULE OF LAW.

AND JUST AS THE FRAMERS OF OUR OWN CONSTITUTION  
LOOKED TO THE LESSONS OF HISTORY -- EASTERN EUROPE'S  
NEW DEMOCRACIES WILL LOOK TO THEIR OWN PARLIAMENTARY  
PAST. TO EUROPE'S EXAMPLE. AND OF COURSE, TO OUR OWN  
AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. THAT IS WHY WE MUST EXPORT OUR  
EXPERIENCE -- OUR TWO CENTURIES OF ACCUMULATED WISDOM  
ON THE WORKINGS OF FREE GOVERNMENT. //

ALREADY, WE'RE ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH EASTERN  
EUROPE AND THE USSR -- WITH AN ON-GOING SERIES OF  
EXCHANGES BRINGING JURISTS, PARLIAMENTARIANS AND  
POLITICAL LEADERS HERE TO THE U.S. TO MEET THEIR  
AMERICAN COUNTERPARTS. AND TODAY, I AM PLEASED TO  
ANNOUNCE FOUR NEW INITIATIVES -- FOUR STEPS THE U.S.  
WILL TAKE TO SUPPORT DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT IN EASTERN  
EUROPE.

FIRST, AMERICA WILL CONTINUE TO ACT TO ADVANCE ECONOMIC FREEDOM. IN THE PAST YEAR, WE'VE COMMITTED MORE THAN \$1 BILLION IN DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE. WE HAVE EXTENDED LOANS AND CREDITS, OPENED OUR MARKETS THROUGH MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS, AND PROMOTED AMERICAN INVESTMENT. TODAY, I'M PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE YET ANOTHER ECONOMIC INITIATIVE: THE EXPORT IMPORT BANK WILL PROVIDE POLAND A NEW LINE OF MEDIUM-TERM EXPORT CREDITS AND LOAN GUARANTEES FOR PURCHASING MACHINERY, TECHNOLOGY AND SERVICES FROM AMERICAN SUPPLIERS.

SECOND, THE U.S. WILL WORK TO HELP ENSURE FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE. NEXT WEEK, WE WILL SEND A PRESIDENTIAL DELEGATION TO OBSERVE THE ELECTIONS IN ROMANIA -- AND ANOTHER TEAM TO NEXT MONTH'S ELECTIONS IN BULGARIA.

THIRD, AMERICA WILL WORK TO BROADEN THE MANDATE OF THE CSCE -- THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. LESS THAN A MONTH FROM NOW, AS ONE OF THE 35 NATIONS OF THE CSCE, THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE PART IN A CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS -- INCLUDING FREE ELECTIONS, POLITICAL PLURALISM, AND THE RULE OF LAW. I HAVE INSTRUCTED AMBASSADOR MAX KAMPELMAN -- HEAD OF OUR DELEGATION -- TO SEEK A NEW CONSENSUS ON THESE CORNERSTONES OF FREEDOM, RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY. AS I SAID LAST WEEK AT OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY, WE MUST WORK WITHIN THE CSCE TO BRING EASTERN EUROPE'S NEW DEMOCRACIES INTO THE COMMONWEALTH OF FREE NATIONS. //

FOURTH AND FINALLY, WE WILL WORK TO STRENGTHEN THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREE SOCIETY IN EASTERN EUROPE -- AND I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THE CREATION OF A CITIZENS DEMOCRACY CORPS. ITS FIRST MISSION: TO ESTABLISH A CENTER AND CLEARING-HOUSE FOR AMERICAN PRIVATE SECTOR ASSISTANCE AND VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE KNOW THE REAL STRENGTH OF OUR DEMOCRACY IS ITS CITIZENS -- THE COLLECTIVE STRENGTH OF INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS. WE'RE GOING TO FOCUS THAT ENERGY WHERE IT CAN DO THE MOST GOOD.

AMERICA HAS MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE -- MUCH IT CAN DO TO HELP THESE NATIONS MOVE FORWARD ON THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY. WE CAN HELP THEM BUILD POLITICAL SYSTEMS BASED ON:

RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS. FOR THE RIGHT TO SPEAK OUR MIND, TO LIVE AS WE WISH, AND TO WORSHIP AS OUR CONSCIENCE TELLS US WE MUST. // SYSTEMS BASED ON RESPECT FOR PROPERTY -- AND THE SANCTITY OF CONTRACT. LAWS THAT ARE NECESSARY NOT TO AMASS FORTUNES -- NOT TO BUILD TOWERS OF GOLD AND GREED. BUT TO PROVIDE FOR OURSELVES, FOR OUR FAMILIES. SYSTEMS THAT ALLOW FREE ASSOCIATIONS -- TRADE UNIONS, PROFESSIONAL GROUPS, POLITICAL PARTIES: THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF FREE SOCIETY.

WE'VE GOT TO HELP THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES BUILD LEGAL SYSTEMS THAT SECURE THE PROCEDURAL RIGHTS THAT PRESERVE FREEDOM. // AND ABOVE ALL, A SYSTEM THAT SUPPORTS A STRICT EQUALITY OF RIGHTS. ONE THAT GUARANTEES THAT ALL MEN AND WOMEN -- WHATEVER THEIR RACE OR ANCESTRY -- STAND EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW. //

IN THIS CENTURY, WE'VE LEARNED A PAINFUL TRUTH -- ABOUT THE MONUMENTAL EVIL THAT CAN BE DONE IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY. WE'VE LEARNED HOW A VISION OF UTOPIA CAN BECOME A HELL ON EARTH FOR MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN. WE'VE LEARNED -- THROUGH HARD EXPERIENCE -- THAT THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THE TYRANNY OF MAN IS THE RULE OF LAW. //

THAT'S THE ESSENCE OF OUR VISION OF EUROPE. A EUROPE WHERE NOT ONLY ARE THE DICTATORS DETHRONED. BUT WHERE THE RULE OF LAW -- REFLECTING THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE -- ENSURES THE FREEDOMS MILLIONS HAVE FOUGHT SO HARD TO GAIN. //

THERE IS STILL WORK TO BE DONE. IN THE BALTIC STATES WHERE PEOPLE STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE -- WE AMERICANS -- SO FREE TO CHART OUR OWN COURSE -- IDENTIFY WITH THEIR HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS. ULTIMATELY, THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF WILL BENEFIT FROM A EUROPE WHOLE AND FREE. DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM THREATEN NO ONE.

WE SOMETIMES HEAR TODAY THAT WITH FREEDOM'S GREAT TRIUMPH, AMERICA'S WORK IS DONE. NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH. I WANT TO CLOSE TODAY WITH A STORY ABOUT THE ENDURING POWER OF THE AMERICAN IDEA -- AND THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS THAT AWAITS THE GENERATION YOU REPRESENT.

IT'S ABOUT A TOWN CALLED PILSEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA -- A TOWN THAT JUST LAST WEEK CELEBRATED THE DAY, 45 YEARS AGO, WHEN IT WAS LIBERATED BY AMERICAN TROOPS. OF COURSE, WITHIN A FEW SHORT YEARS, PILSEN'S DREAM OF FREEDOM VANISHED BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN -- AND WITH IT, THE TRUTH ABOUT THAT DAY IN 1945. A GENERATION GREW UP BEING TAUGHT THAT PILSEN HAD BEEN FREED NOT BY THE U.S. ARMY -- BUT BY SOVIET SOLDIERS, DRESSED IN AMERICAN UNIFORMS.

BUT THE PEOPLE OF PILSEN KNEW BETTER. THEY NEVER FORGOT. AND TODAY -- FINALLY FREE TO SPEAK THE TRUTH -- THE TOWN INVITED THEIR TRUE LIBERATORS BACK. AFTER 45 LONG YEARS, THOSE OLD AMERICAN SOLDIERS RETURNED TO THE STREETS OF PILSEN, TO THE SOUNDS OF THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER -- TO A HERO'S WELCOME.

THOSE G.I.'S, MY GENERATION, WERE YOUR AGE IN 1945. NOW, IT FALLS TO YOU TO UPHOLD OUR AMERICAN IDEALS -- NOT IN TIME OF WAR, BUT IN A TIME OF TREMENDOUS EXCITEMENT -- HELPING THESE NATIONS SECURE THE FREEDOM YOUR FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS FOUGHT FOR. THE FREEDOMS MILLIONS ONLY DREAMED OF -- UNTIL TODAY.

ONCE AGAIN, IT'S BEEN MY HONOR TO SHARE THIS SPECIAL DAY WITH YOU, YOUR FAMILIES AND FRIENDS. // THANK YOU. MAY GOD BLESS THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA -- AND THE CLASS OF 1990.

# # #

JC/NSC  
cleared  
by Brent

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 8, 1990  
6:30 pm  
[USC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. Senators Strom Thurmond and Fritz Hollings. Congressman Floyd Spence. And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation.]] [[And of course, Michael Eisner. The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and

In my speech at Hamtramck, Michigan,  
just over a year ago, I pledged America's  
strong support for the process of democratic  
change in Eastern Europe

the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a  
frontier of a different sort -- the new frontier of freedom  
taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //

~~Over the past year,~~ <sup>Since then,</sup> one nation after another has pulled  
itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy.  
Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard about the  
economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves,  
long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike.  
But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface,  
but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the  
spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to  
systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any  
external challenge to the rule of the State -- became the enemy  
of the State. // Believers were persecuted, churches razed --  
others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of  
worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned  
against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's  
informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more  
people to have a conversation in the street. // Nothing stood  
outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History  
was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's  
heroes air-brushed from the pages of history -- a practice Czech  
author Milan Kundera called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts.  
// All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name

at least -- rights, freedoms. It was called People's Democracy.  
*But it wasn't democracy, and it didn't belong to the people*  
~~An empty shell of liberty that fooled no one.~~

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created by the regime, for the regime. Prosecutor, judge and jailers -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion, was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule. //

For any society, the most serious result of this kind of assault is the breakdown of trust. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: The law as a promise -- an agreement between citizens, an "agreement across generations." The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a community -- into a nation.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of

lies -- survive the climate of fear that raised walls between each and every citizen. They did so, as President Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple, individual act of "living in truth." By building an authentic "civil society" -- a society of free men and women -- beyond the reach of the ruling establishment. They created "flying universities" where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and human rights monitoring groups.

Today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. United in courage and conviction, they have begun to build on the ruins of communist rule democratic systems based on trust.

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations become stable democratic states -- full participants in a Europe whole and free. // Early this year, in my State of the Union address, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an idea -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. / That idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- a story about a recent American visitor to Romania, who everywhere on her travels in that country, conducted an informal, one-woman opinion poll. She asked the Romanians she met what they needed -- what was most important to them? // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. One woman, on the streets of Timisoara,

pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, a special bicentennial edition, folded open to a copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- is more of these."

There, on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy would be arrested on the spot. // What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to -- is democratic life based on the rule of law.

*It begins with free elections. And it ~~must~~ prosper then the building.*  
~~And this means more than free elections alone. The nations.~~  
~~Those elements that go into the making of a free society~~  
~~of Eastern Europe want more -- deserve more -- than a~~  
~~dictatorship of the elected. The fate of freedom depends not~~  
~~on~~  
 the character of the people who govern -- but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons? Their Hamiltons and Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The nation-builders who will set in place the firm foundations of self-government?

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

This much we know: just as the Framers of our own Constitution looked to history, Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past -- and to the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government, and the rule of law. //

Already, we're actively engaged with <sup>Eastern Europe and</sup> the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges, (~~sponsored by our State Department Bureau for Human Rights~~), <sup>parliamentarians, and political leaders</sup> bringing Soviet jurists here to the U.S. to meet with America's (~~legal~~) experts. And today, I am pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps the U.S. will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

First, America will continue to act to advance economic freedom. In the past year, the U.S. has committed more than \$1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. Today, I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative: the Export Import Bank will provide Poland a new line of export grants and loan credits for purchasing machinery and technology from American suppliers.

Second, the U.S. will work to ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe. Next week, we will send a U.S. delegation [[headed by -----]] to observe the elections in Romania -- and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

We have extended loans and credits, opened our markets through Most Favored Nation status, and promoted American investment in Eastern Europe.

And as I said at Oklahoma State University a week ago,  
we want the CSCE to take on a still more ambitious agenda  
to bring Eastern Europe's new democracies fully within the  
Commonwealth of free nations and assure them a voice in the  
Third, America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE <sup>to support East European</sup> ~~in the~~ <sup>Less</sup> ~~Europe~~

-- the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, <sup>Less</sup> ~~Europe~~  
than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the  
United States will take part in a conference on free elections,  
political pluralism, and the rule of law. I have instructed  
Ambassador Max Kampelman -- head of our delegation -- to seek a  
new consensus <sup>on</sup> ~~within the CSCE recognizing~~ these ~~(key)~~ cornerstones  
of freedom, rights and democracy. //

[[Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the  
citizen's democracy. I am therefore pleased to announce today  
foundations of free society -- through the creation of a  
Citizen's Democracy Corps for Eastern Europe. Its mission: to  
establish a center and clearing-house for American private sector  
assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know  
the real source and strength of our democracy is our private  
sector -- and the collective strength of individual Americans.  
Through this new Democracy Corps, we're going to focus that  
energy where it can do the most good.]] ///

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we  
share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them  
move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build  
political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our  
mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells  
us we must. // Systems based on respect for property -- and the  
sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass  
fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to

provide for ourselves, for our families. To enable us to protect and pass on to our children the fruits of our labor. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties: the building blocks of free society.

We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. // And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law. //

In the aftermath of the great triumph of freedom we've witnessed this past year, we sometimes hear that America's work in the world is done. Let me close today with a story -- a story that illustrates the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

You may have heard about a celebration last week in a ~~Czechoslovakian~~ <sup>in Czechoslovakia</sup> town called Pilsen -- a celebration of the day 45 years ago when that town was liberated by American army troops. Of course, within a few short years, that dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation of Czech schoolchildren grew up

being taught that they had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- Pilsen invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- <sup>not through war but in the exciting challenge of helping</sup> ~~to help~~ the nations of Eastern Europe and all the world secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms you've enjoyed. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

*Kimmit*

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 8, 1990  
6:30 pm  
[USC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. Senators Strom Thurmond and Fritz Hollings. Congressman Floyd Spence. And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with Andrew Lloyd Webber is as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation.]] [[And of course, Michael Eisner. The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and

the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a mission of discovery frontier of a different sort -- the <sup>vest world</sup> new frontier of freedom opening up in taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //

Over the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard about the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any external challenge to the rule of the State -- became the enemy of the State. // Believers were persecuted, churches razed -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned against one another -- <sup>and some were</sup> enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street. // Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history -- a practice Czech author Milan Kundera called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts. // All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name

at least -- rights, freedoms. It was called People's Democracy.  
An empty shell of liberty -- that fooled no one.

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created by the regime, for the regime. Prosecutor, judge and jailers -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion, was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy, -- *with which the people of Eastern Europe must now contend* ~~the landscape of moral destruction.~~

*a 4-decade*  
The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule *and its assault on the moral fiber of these societies*

For any society, the most serious result of this kind of assault is the breakdown of trust. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: The law as a promise -- an agreement between citizens, an "agreement across generations." The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a community -- into a nation.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of

lies -- survive the climate of fear that raised walls between each and every citizen. They did so, as President Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple, individual act of "living in truth." By building an authentic "civil society" -- a society of free men and women -- beyond the reach of the ruling establishment. They created "flying universities" where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and human rights monitoring groups.

Today, the builders of those civil societies no longer ~~live~~ <sup>have to work</sup> underground. <sup>Many have become</sup> They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. United in courage and conviction, they have begun to build on the ruins of communist rule democratic systems based on trust.

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations become stable democratic states -- full participants in a Europe whole and free. // Early this year, in my State of the Union address, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an idea -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. / That idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- a story about a recent American visitor to Romania, who everywhere on her travels in that country, conducted an informal, one-woman opinion poll. She asked the Romanians she met what they needed -- what was most important to them? // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. One woman, on the streets of Timisoara,

pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, a special bicentennial edition, folded open to a copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- is more of these."

There, on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy would be arrested on the spot. // What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the nations of <sup>Central and</sup> Eastern Europe aspire to -- is democratic life based on the rule of law.

And this means more than free elections alone. The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- <sup>they</sup> deserve more -- <sup>They too want</sup> ~~than a~~ life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. <sup>only</sup> ~~dictatorship of the elected~~. The fate of freedom depends not <sup>also</sup> on the character of the people who govern -- but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons? Their Hamiltons and Madisons -- their men and women <sup>who will write the laws that ensure the lasting</sup> ~~of towering genius?~~ The nation-builders <sup>exercise of democratic freedoms!</sup> who will set in place the firm foundations of self-government?

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

This much we know: just as the Framers of our own Constitution looked to history, Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past -- and to the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must <sup>share</sup> ~~export~~ our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of <sup>accountable</sup> ~~free~~ government, <sup>free markets</sup> and the rule of law. //

*changed*  
Already, we're actively engaged with the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges, sponsored by <sup>the Administration</sup> ~~our State Department~~ Bureau for Human Rights, bringing Soviet jurists here to the U.S. to meet with America's legal experts. And today, I am pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps the U.S. will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

*✓ ✓ and services*  
First, America will continue to act to advance economic freedom. In the past year, the U.S. has committed more than \$1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. Today, I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative: the Export Import Bank will <sup>medium-term</sup> provide Poland a new line of export ~~grants and loan credits~~ <sup>and loan guarantees</sup> for purchasing machinery, ~~and~~ technology, from American suppliers.

Second, the U.S. will work to ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe. Next week, we will send a U.S. delegation [[headed by -----]] to observe the elections in Romania -- and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, America will work to ~~broaden the mandate of the CSCE~~  
~~the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.~~ <sup>process</sup> Less

than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the  
 United States will take part in <sup>the Copenhagen Human Rights</sup> a conference on free elections, <sup>where we will advance the cause of</sup>  
 political pluralism, and the rule of law. I have instructed  
 Ambassador Max Kampelman -- head of our delegation -- to seek a  
 new consensus within the CSCE, recognizing <sup>as</sup> these key <sup>building blocks</sup> cornerstones  
 of freedom, rights and democracy. // <sup>in Eastern Europe</sup>

[[Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the  
 foundations of free society -- through the creation of a  
Citizen's Democracy Corps for Eastern Europe. Its <sup>first</sup> mission: to  
 establish a center <sup>to help mobilize and coordinate</sup> and clearing-house <sup>for</sup> American private sector  
 assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know  
 the real source and strength of our democracy is <sup>through citizen action</sup> our private  
 sector -- and the collective strength of individual Americans.  
 Through this new Democracy Corps, <sup>we</sup> we're going to focus that  
 energy where it can do the most good.]] ///

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we  
 share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them  
 move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build  
 political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our  
mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells  
us we must. // Systems based on respect for property -- and the  
sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass  
 fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to

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provide for ourselves, for our families. To enable us to protect and pass on to our children the fruits of our labor. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties: the building blocks of free society.

We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights <sup>.. the due process ..</sup> that preserve freedom.

// And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the <sup>false</sup> name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of <sup>just</sup> law. //

In the aftermath of the great triumph of freedom we've witnessed this past year, we sometimes hear that America's work in the world is done. Let me close today with a story -- a story that illustrates the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

You may have heard about a celebration last week in a Czechoslovakian town called Pilsen -- a celebration of the day 45 years ago when that town was liberated by American army troops. Of course, within a few short years, that dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation of Czech <sup>and Slovak</sup> schoolchildren grew up

being taught that they had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- Pilsen invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- to help the nations of Eastern Europe and all the world secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms you've enjoyed. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today. *and have only just begun to realize*

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

Chriss'  
copy.

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 10, 1990  
8:30 am  
[USC]

90 MAY 10 49:41

KS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you. President Holderman. Senators Thurmond and Hollings. Representatives Floyd Spence and Elizabeth Patterson. Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in our national crusade for excellence in education. //

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat.]]

[[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Webber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And **Michael Eisner:** The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide. His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] And I salute him for his commitment to our "Points of Light" concept -- the best impulse of America: one American willing to pitch in to help another.

You've gone to school for four years -- the last thing you want to hear is one more long lecture -- but I wanted to use this great University as a forum for some serious foreign policy

observations. // I've chosen to make each of my commencement speeches this spring a **reflection on democratic change**. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- **about the new world of freedom opening up in Eastern Europe**. //

In the past year, one nation after another has pulled itself out from under communism, onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering -- tremendous economic damage. We've all seen the images of long lines and empty shelves. But what we can't see so easily -- what's beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any challenge to the **rule of the State** -- became the **enemy of the State**. // Believers were persecuted, churches and cemeteries razed. Citizens were turned against one another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history. Milan Kundera, the Czech author, called it "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Courts. Constitutions. All in service to the State. / They had -- in name at least -- rights and freedoms. In reality -- **the empty shell of liberty**.

In one country, a man whose so-called "crime" was teaching others about religion was jailed for 6 months. The trumped-up charge: walking on flower beds. Stories like this one are not unique. We will never know how many dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- **the landscape of moral destruction**. **The tragic consequence of four decades of communist rule: a breakdown of trust.** // From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. As Aristotle wrote: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community -- into a nation**.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass. To sustain the will to break through the regime's **wall of lies**. They did so, as Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, by the simple act of "living in truth." They created "flying universities," where lecturers taught in private homes. They formed underground publishing houses and groups to monitor human rights -- an authentic "civil society" beyond the reach of the ruling establishment.

Today, the builders of those civil societies no longer live underground. They are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. And they've begun to build on the ruins of **communist rule** democratic systems based on trust.

Today, I want to focus on how America can help these nations secure their freedoms -- become a part of a Europe **whole and free**. Early this year, in the State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere. That idea was, without doubt, a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- about a recent American visitor to Romania, who asked the people she met what they needed now -- what was most important to them. // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. In Timisoara, one woman pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, an edition containing a bicentennial copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- **is more of these**."

There, on the streets of Timisoara -- in a country where food is in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. // What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all the nations of Eastern Europe aspire to -- is **democratic life based on justice and the rule of law**.

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Washingtons? Their Hamiltons and Madisons -- their men and women of towering genius? The **nation-builders** who will set in place the **firm foundations of self-government?**

Some of them we know by name -- the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun. **Because the fate of freedom depends not just on the character of the people who govern -- but whether they themselves are governed by the rule of law.**

And just as the Framers of our own Constitution looked to the lessons of history -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to their own parliamentary past. To Europe's example. And of course, to our own American Constitution. That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government. //

Already, we're actively engaged with Eastern Europe and the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges bringing jurists, parliamentarians and political leaders here to the U.S. to meet their American counterparts. And today, I am pleased to announce four new initiatives -- four steps the U.S. will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe.

First, **America will continue to act to advance economic freedom.** In the past year, we've committed more than \$1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe. We have extended loans and credits, opened our markets through Most

Favored Nation status, and promoted American investment. Today, I'm pleased to announce yet another economic initiative: the **Export Import Bank** will provide Poland a new line of medium-term export credits and loan guarantees for purchasing machinery, technology and services from American suppliers.

Second, the U.S. will work to ensure free and fair elections in Eastern Europe. Next week, we will send a U.S. delegation [[headed by -----]] to observe the elections in Romania -- and another team to next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, America will work to broaden the mandate of the CSCE -- the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Less than a month from now, as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the United States will take part in a conference on free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law. I have instructed Ambassador Max Kampelman -- head of our delegation -- to seek a new consensus on these cornerstones of freedom, rights and democracy. As I said last week at Oklahoma State University, we must work within the CSCE to bring Eastern Europe's new democracies into the commonwealth of free nations. //

Fourth and finally, we will work to strengthen the foundations of free society in Eastern Europe -- through the creation of a Citizens Democracy Corps. Its first mission: to establish a center and clearing-house for American private sector assistance and volunteer activities in Eastern Europe. We know the real strength of our democracy is its citizens -- the

collective strength of individual Americans. We're going to focus that energy where it can do the most good. ///

America has much to contribute -- much it can do to help these nations move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must. // Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract. Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our families. Systems that allow free associations -- trade unions, professional groups, political parties: the building blocks of free society. We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve freedom. // And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race or ancestry -- stand equal before the law. ///

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law. //

We sometimes hear today that with freedom's great triumph, America's work is done. Nothing could be further from the truth.

I want to close today with a story about the enduring power of the American idea -- and the unfinished business that awaits the generation you represent.

It's about a town called Pilsen in Czechoslovakia -- a town that just last week celebrated the day, 45 years ago, when it was liberated by American troops. Of course, within a few short years, Pilsen's dream of freedom vanished behind the Iron Curtain -- and with it, the truth about that day in 1945. A generation grew up being taught that Pilsen had been freed not by the U.S. Army -- but by Soviet soldiers, dressed in American uniforms.

But the people of Pilsen knew better. They never forgot. And today -- finally free to speak the truth -- the town invited their true liberators back. After 45 long years, those old American soldiers returned to the streets of Pilsen, to the sounds of the Star Spangled Banner -- to a hero's welcome.

Those GIs, my generation, were your age in 1945. Now, it falls to you to uphold our American ideals -- not in time of war, but in a time of tremendous excitement -- helping these nations secure the freedom your fathers and grandfathers fought for. The freedoms millions only dreamed of -- until today.

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with you, your families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- **and the Class of 1990.**

# # #

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/4/90 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 4:00 5/7/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT

|                | 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 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"/>            | ROGICH     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BATES          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | UNTERMEYER | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CARD           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CICCONI        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WINSTON    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PINKERTON  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN     | <input checked="" 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 your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with a copy of my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

May 9, 1990

NSC Staff concurs with the changes indicated.

  
 Brent Scowcroft

11:24 6 MAY 90

cc: James Cicconi

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 4, 1990  
3:00 pm  
[USC]

1990 MAY -4 PM 3.32

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. [Introductory acknowledgements.] And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

President Holderman has done a masterful job in bringing this bi-partisan group together on stage. [[Democrat and Republican -- side by side -- in an election year. This hasn't happened since political parties were first formed in South Carolina. / I know because Strom Thurmond told me. // And he was there.]]

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Weber** is as close as I'll ever get to **a dramatic presentation.**]] [[And of course, **Michael Eisner**. The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide.

His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, at the University of South Carolina, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- the new frontier of freedom taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //

Over the past year, one nation after another in Eastern Europe has pulled itself out from under communism, and onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard by now about the extent of the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any external challenge to the rule of the State -- became the enemy of the State.

Believers were persecuted, <sup>many</sup> churches razed -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens <sup>was</sup> were turned against one

<sup>Citizen</sup>  
[another] -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street.

Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history books -- a practice Czech author Milan <sup>Kundera</sup> ~~Kundera~~ called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts.  
// All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name at least -- rights, freedoms. <sup>It was called</sup> People's Democracy, <sup>-- but it was no</sup> An empty <sup>democracy, and was not of the people.</sup> shell of liberty -- that fooled no one.

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created and changed by the regime, <sup>for the regime.</sup> Prosecutor, judge and jailors -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose real crime in the eyes of the State was teaching others about his religion, was jailed for 6 months. ~~(The charge: walking on flower beds.)~~ <sup>(Obscene)</sup> Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. The <sup>tragic consequence</sup> ~~(principle)~~ product of four decades of communist rule in Eastern Europe. //

For any society, the most serious consequence of this kind of assault is the **breakdown of trust**. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: **The law as a promise** -- an agreement between citizens, an agreement across generations. The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community** -- into a nation.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault. They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of lies. ~~To survive the climate of fear -- a climate that raised walls between each and every citizen. And today, they are beginning to build a system based on trust.~~

We know about the tremendous challenges these new democracies now face -- the period of reconstruction and reform they've entered. Most have begun the move toward free markets - - and many have held, or will soon hold, free elections. Today, I want to focus on the **next step** towards true democracy -- on how America can help ~~these nations build free societies on the ruins of the communist system.~~ *them become stable, free-standing democratic states, full participants in a Europe whole and free.*

Early this year, in my State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere.

That idea was without doubt a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- a story about a recent American visitor to Romania, who everywhere on her travels in that country, conducted an informal, one-woman opinion poll. She asked the Romanians she met what they needed -- what was most important to them? // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. One woman, on the streets of Timisoara, pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, a special bicentennial edition, folded open to a copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- is more of these."

There, on the streets of Bucharest -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy would be arrested on the spot.

What that Romanian woman wanted -- what all ~~the emerging~~ <sup>aspires to</sup> democracies of Eastern Europe <sup>democratic life based on</sup> must develop for themselves -- is the rule of law.

<sup>^</sup> ~~[For true democracy, free elections are essential. But free elections alone are not enough. The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- they deserve more -- than a dictatorship of the elected. The fate of their freedom depends not on the character~~

~~of the people who govern -- but whether they are themselves governed by the rule of law.~~

*(points all made below)*

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Madisons? Their Hamiltons and Jeffersons -- their men and women of towering genius? The **nation-builders** who will set in place the **firm foundations of democracy and self-government?**

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

This much we know: just as the Framers of our own Constitution looked to history -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to <sup>their own parliamentary past and to</sup> the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. To the traditions of the common law and the civil code. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government, and the rule of law.

And that is why -- less than a month from now -- as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States will take part in a conference on **free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law.** I have instructed the chief of the U.S. Delegation, Ambassador Max Kampelman -- Chairman of the human rights

organization, Freedom House -- to make our goal at the Copenhagen Conference expanding the mandate of the CSCE. Broadening its scope, so that the human rights and fundamental freedoms it seeks to preserve include free elections, pluralism -- and the rule of law. Concepts that are the **very bone and marrow of democracy**.

INSERT

2

[[NSC INSERT TO COME]]

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

- o Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must.

- o Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract, ~~Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our family.~~ To enable every parent to protect and pass on to their children the fruits of their labor.

- o We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve the freedoms we enjoy;

- o And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race, whatever their ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

- o To form free associations -- trade unions, professional associations, political parties. And not just form them but to make them work as the building blocks of a free society.

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law. //

[[CONCLUDING ANECDOTE TO COME]]

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. // Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

# INSERT 1

As President Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, they did so by the simple act of "living in truth." And they did so by building an authentic "civil society" -- their own society of free men and women, operating outside the ruling establishment. They created "flying universities" where lecturers taught in private homes. They established underground publishing houses and formed human rights monitoring groups. And in Poland they built an independent, self-governing trade union -- Solidarity.

Today, the builders of those civil societies are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. They are united in courage and conviction in an historic effort to build on the ruins of Communist rule democratic systems based on trust.

INSERT 2

Today, I am pleased to announce several new measures -- steps the United States will take to support democratic development in Eastern Europe, steps that symbolize America's commitment to the new Eastern Europe.

First, economic freedom -- on which political freedom also depends. In the past year, the United States has committed more than \$1 billion in direct economic assistance to Eastern Europe, in an ongoing and sustained effort to support economic recovery and democratic change. On April 30, I announced the creation of the Eastern Europe growth fund, a new program of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation -- to be a magnet for new investments in the region. Today I am pleased to announce that the Export Import Bank will open up for Poland a new program of medium-term export grants and loan credits for purchasing major items of machinery and technology from U.S. suppliers.

Second, free elections -- the first guarantee of government by the people, for the people. We have sent observer delegations to help insure free and fair elections in Yugoslavia and Hungary. At our initiative, the Romanian and Bulgarian Governments have invited the United States and other member states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to send official delegations to observe their forthcoming elections. Accordingly, I am naming \_\_\_\_\_ to lead a Presidential delegation to observe the May 20 elections in Romania and will send a similar delegation to observe next month's elections in Bulgaria.

Third, free media -- the people's voice in a free society, and the people's check on those who govern in their name. In Prague this February, Secretary Baker announced the creation of the Fund for Independent Broadcasting and a Free Press, which will help Eastern Europe develop strong, independent, and vibrant media. Today I am pleased to announce that Ambassador Henry Grunwald, former managing editor of Time and Ambassador to Austria, has agreed to direct the launching of this new venture.

[[And fourth, citizen's democracy -- the foundation of a free society. Since my trips to Poland and Hungary last year, there has been an outpouring of initiatives from private Americans and voluntary organizations -- all wanting to play a constructive part in Eastern Europe's road to democracy. Some of you in this audience have been among those volunteers. Your response has been heartening, and we want to help you put your talents to the best use in support of East European democracy.]]

[[Accordingly, I am announcing today the creation of a Citizen's Democracy Corps for Eastern Europe. Its mission will be to establish a center and clearinghouse for U.S. private volunteer assistance programs to Eastern Europe. It will draw on the American private sector -- the real source and strength of our democracy -- and channel its energies and initiatives where they

can be put to the best use in Eastern Europe. It will provide practical help where Eastern Europe needs it most. And it will be a symbol of America's enduring commitment to Eastern Europe's democratic transformation.]]

TIME STAMP

RECEIVED

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT STAFFING DOCUMENT

SYSTEM LOG NUMBER: 3616

30 MAY 7 11:36

ACTION OFFICER: RODMAN

DUE: IMMEDIATELY, 7 MAY

☐ Prepare Memo For Scowcroft/Gates☐ Appropriate Action☐ Prepare Memo For Cicconi☐ Prepare Memo for Hughes☒ Prepare Memo SCOWCROFT

to WINSTON W/ INFO CICCONI

URGENT

## CONCURRENCES/COMMENTS\*

PHONE\* to action officer at ext. 6907

## FYI

☐ Basora  
☐ Beers  
☒ Blackwill  
☐ Charles  
☐ Coulson  
☐ Davis  
☐ Deal  
☐ Dorminey  
☐ Dyke  
☐ Gordon  
☐ Grimes  
☐ Haass  
☐ Hayden  
☒ Hutchings  
☐ Jackson  
☐ Kanter  
☐ Kitchen  
☐ LaMagna

## FYI

☐ Lampley  
☐ Levin  
☐ Mahley  
☐ Mandel  
☐ Melby  
☐ Menan  
☐ Merchant  
☐ Miller  
☐ Needels  
☐ Paal  
☐ Pacelli  
☐ Passage  
☐ Pilling  
☒ Popadiuk  
☐ Pryce  
☐ Rademaker  
☐ Rice  
☐ Rodman

## FYI

☐ Rostow  
☐ Salvetti  
☐ Tilley  
☐ Tobey  
☐ Van Eron  
☐ Watson  
☐ Welch  
☐ Whitley  
☐ Wilson  
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INFORMATION ☐ Hughes☒ Scowcroft (advance)☒ Sittmann☒ Gates (advance)☒ Exec. Sec. Desk☒ Secretariat

## COMMENTS

Logged By AC

Return to Secretariat

## WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/4/90

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

4:00 5/7/90

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEME

|                | 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 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"/>            | ROGICH     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| BATES          | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | UNTERMAYER | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CARD           | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | ROGERS     | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| CICCONI        | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WINSTON    | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| DEMAREST       | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            | PINKERTON  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| FITZWATER      | <input type="checkbox"/>            | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | BOSKIN     | <input checked="" 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 your comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy of my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

## RESPONSE:

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

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 4, 1990  
3:00 pm  
[USC]

1990 MAY -4 PM 3.32

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT  
COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA  
MAY 12, 1990  
10:00 A.M.

Thank you, President Holderman. [Introductory acknowledgements.] And a special thanks to Governor Carroll Campbell -- [[he may not be much of a hunting partner -- but]] he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating our national education goals, and as a leader in the crusade for excellence in education. //

President Holderman has done a masterful job in bringing this bi-partisan group together on stage. [[Democrat and Republican -- side by side -- in an election year. This hasn't happened since political parties were first formed in South Carolina. / I know because Strom Thurmond told me. // And he was there.]]

[[I know tickets were hard to come by today. Barbara's here -- thank goodness she's getting an honorary degree. It was the only way I could get her a seat. //]] [[And she's in great company with today's other recipients of honorary degrees. I don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being on stage with **Andrew Lloyd Weber** is as close as I'll ever get to a dramatic presentation.]] [[And of course, **Michael Eisner**. The success he's achieved at Disney is the envy of CEOs world-wide.

His secret is simple: just surround yourself with the best and brightest -- Dopey, Dumbo, Goofy.]] //

I've chosen to make each of my commencement addresses this spring a reflection on democratic change. Last week, at Oklahoma State, I focused on the new role of our Atlantic Alliance. Yesterday, at Texas A&I, I spoke about technology and change, and the vast frontier of space. This morning, at the University of South Carolina, I want to talk about a frontier of a different sort -- the new frontier of freedom taking shape in the nations of Eastern Europe. //

Over the past year, one nation after another in Eastern Europe has pulled itself out from under communism, and onto the threshold of democracy. Each has endured great suffering. We've all heard by now about the extent of the economic damage. We've all seen the images of empty shelves, long lines -- the gray and grime of cities and countryside alike. But what we can't see so easily -- what is beneath the surface, but no less real -- is the moral damage: The deep scars on the spirit left by four decades of communist rule.

Because in these regimes, the human spirit was subject to systematic assault. Religion, morality, right and wrong -- any external challenge to the rule of the State -- became the enemy of the State.

Believers were persecuted, churches razed -- others, among them some of Europe's most beautiful houses of worship, stood padlocked, silent and empty. Citizens were turned against one

another -- enlisted into the ranks of the regime's informers. In Romania, authorities made it illegal for 3 or more people to have a conversation in the street.

Nothing stood outside the reach of the regime -- not even the past. History was rewritten to suit the needs of the present -- yesterday's heroes air-brushed from the pages of history books -- a practice Czech author Milan <sup>Kundera</sup> ~~Kundera~~ called "organized forgetting." //

Of course, these nations had laws. Constitutions. Courts.  
 // All in service to the State. / These nations had -- in name at least -- rights, freedoms. <sup>It was called</sup> People's Democracy, <sup>-- but it was no</sup> An empty-shell of liberty <sup>democracy, and was a sort of the people.</sup> ~~-- that fooled no one.~~

Under communism, the law was not -- as it is for us -- a refuge, or a remedy for wrongs done -- but a web of rules, created and changed by the regime, <sup>for the regime.</sup> Prosecutor, judge and jailors -- all at the Party's command. In one country, a man whose real crime in the eyes of the State was teaching others about his religion, was jailed for 6 months. ~~(The charge: walking on flower-beds.)~~ <sup>observed</sup> Stories like this one are, unfortunately, not unique. We will never know how many religious or political dissidents were punished as "common criminals" -- and how many millions of others were frozen by fear into silence and submission.

That's the legacy -- the landscape of moral destruction. <sup>tragic consequence of</sup>  
 The principle-product of four decades of communist rule in Eastern Europe. //

For any society, the most serious consequence of this kind of assault is the **breakdown of trust**. From ancient times, the great minds have recognized the link between the law and trust. In the words of Aristotle: "Law is a pledge that the citizens of a state will do justice to one another." // Think about that definition of law: **The law as a promise** -- an agreement between citizens, an agreement across generations. The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a **community** -- into a **nation**.

Fortunately, the moral destruction in Eastern Europe was not complete. Individuals somehow managed to maintain the inner strength -- their moral compass -- in the face of this assault.

They managed to sustain the will to break through the wall of lies. <sup>As</sup> ~~To survive the climate of fear -- a climate that raised~~

~~walls between each and every citizen. And today, they are~~  
*To keep alive -- in the underground --*  
~~beginning to build a system based on trust.~~

We know about the tremendous challenges these new democracies now face -- the period of reconstruction and reform they've entered. Most have begun the move toward free markets - - and many have held, or will soon hold, free elections. Today,

I want to focus on the **next step** towards true democracy -- on how America can help ~~these nations~~ <sup>them become stable, free-standing</sup> ~~build free societies on the~~  
~~democratic states, full participants in a Europe whole and free.~~  
~~ruins of the communist system.~~

Early this year, in my State of the Union, I talked about America's role as a shining example to the world. About the importance of America -- not as a nation, but as an **idea** -- alive in the minds of men and women everywhere.

That idea was without doubt a guiding force in the Revolution of '89. //

Let me share a story with you -- a story about a recent American visitor to Romania, who everywhere on her travels in that country, conducted an informal, one-woman opinion poll. She asked the Romanians she met what they needed -- what was most important to them? // This simple question produced some unexpected answers. One woman, on the streets of Timisoara, pulled from her purse a worn copy of TV Guide, an issue from July 1987, a special bicentennial edition, folded open to a copy of the U.S. Constitution. // She held it out to the American visitor. She said: "What we need -- is more of these."

There, on the streets of Bucharest -- in a country where food and other essential goods are in short supply, where homes are without heat, and streets dark at night -- there, a woman pins her hopes on our Constitution. A woman carries with her a piece of paper deemed so dangerous by the dictator who ruled Romania that anyone caught with a copy would be arrested on the spot.

What that Romanian woman wanted -- what <sup>aspires to</sup> all the emerging democracies of Eastern Europe <sup>democratic life based on</sup> must develop for themselves -- is the rule of law.

<sup>^</sup> ~~[For true democracy, free elections are essential. But free elections alone are not enough. The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- they deserve more -- than a dictatorship of the elected. The fate of their freedom depends not on the character~~

~~of the people who govern -- but whether they are themselves governed by the rule of law.~~

(point all made below)

Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary stand now, in the spring of 1990, as America stood in the summer of 1787. Who will be their Franklins, their Madisons? Their Hamiltons and Jeffersons -- their men and women of towering genius? The nation-builders who will set in place the firm foundations of democracy and self-government?

Some of them we know by name -- they are the heroes of the Revolution of '89. But for Eastern Europe's Constitution-builders, the work has only now begun.

✓ This much we know: just as the Framers of our own Constitution looked to history -- Eastern Europe's new democracies will look to <sup>their own parliamentary past and to</sup> the example of other nations. To Europe's great parliamentary systems. To the traditions of the common law and the civil code. And of course, to our own American Constitution.

That is why we must export our experience -- our two centuries of accumulated wisdom on the workings of free government, and the rule of law.

And that is why -- less than a month from now -- as one of the 35 nations of the CSCE, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the United States will take part in a conference on free elections, political pluralism, and the rule of law. I have instructed the chief of the U.S. Delegation, Ambassador Max Kampelman -- Chairman of the human rights

organization, Freedom House -- to make our goal at the Copenhagen Conference expanding the mandate of the CSCE. Broadening its scope, so that the human rights and fundamental freedoms it seeks to preserve include free elections, pluralism -- and the rule of law. Concepts that are the **very bone and marrow of democracy**.

INSERT

[[NSC INSERT TO COME]]

2

America has much to contribute to these nations with whom we share a common desire to live in freedom. America can help them move forward on the path to democracy. We can help them build political systems based on:

- o Respect for individual freedoms. For the right to speak our mind, to live as we wish, and to worship as our conscience tells us we must.

- o <sup>s</sup>Systems based on respect for property -- and the sanctity of contract, ~~Laws that are necessary not to amass fortunes -- not to build towers of gold and greed. But to provide for ourselves, for our family.~~ To enable every parent to protect and pass on to their children the fruits of their labor.

- o We've got to help the emerging democracies build legal systems that secure the procedural rights that preserve the freedoms we enjoy;

- o And above all, a system that supports a strict equality of rights. One that guarantees that all men and women -- whatever their race, whatever their ancestry -- stand equal before the law. //

o To form free associations -- trade unions, professional associations, political parties. ~~And not just from them but to make them work as the~~ <sup>basic</sup> building blocks of a free society.

In this century, we've learned a painful truth -- about the monumental evil that can be done in the name of Humanity. We've learned how a vision of Utopia can become a hell on earth for millions of men and women. We've learned -- through hard experience -- that the only alternative to the tyranny of man is the rule of law. //

[[CONCLUDING ANECDOTE TO COME]]

Once again, it's been my honor to share this special day with all of you -- with your parents, families and friends. //

Thank you. May God bless the University of South Carolina -- and the Class of 1990.

# # #

INSERT 1

As President Vaclav Havel [VATS-lahv HA-vel] put it, they did so by the simple act of "living in truth." And they did so by building an authentic "civil society" -- their own society of free men and women, operating outside the ruling establishment. They created "flying universities" where lecturers taught in private homes. They established underground publishing houses and formed human rights monitoring groups. ~~And in Poland they built an independent, self-governing trade union -- Solidarity.~~

Today, the builders of those civil societies are the new leaders of Eastern Europe. ~~They are~~ united in courage and conviction, ~~in~~ *they have* an historic effort to build on the ruins of Communist rule democratic systems based on trust.