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# FOIA MARKER

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

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**OA/ID Number:** 13531  
**Folder ID Number:** 13531-001

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**Folder Title:**  
University of South Carolina Commencement Address 5/12/90 [OA 5374] [2]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>

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# 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 <i>n/c</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN <i>n/c</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH <i>n/c</i>	<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 <i>n/c</i>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**REMARKS:**

Please provide your commetns/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy ot my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

*11 AM  
5/8/90*

*All changes but  
NSC's.*

**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.

*Senators Strom Thurmond and  
Fritz Hollings, Congressmen Alroy Spence.*  
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 <sup>trumped up</sup> 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 <sup>al</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.

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.

Burke  
?

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** ?

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 <sup>Freedom.</sup> 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

May 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: JIM PINKERTON

SUBJECT: Univ. of South Carolina Commencement Draft

This draft will be a significant speech because its theme takes the public discussion about Eastern Europe one step farther. That discussion has been about the introduction there of democracy, or at least, of free elections, and the introduction of capitalism -- to these is now added the rule of law and implicitly, constitutionalism.

Unfortunately, these are abstract concepts that most people find dull. First, the draft could stand more illustrative anecdotes, and references to the particular leaders of Eastern Europe -- Walesa, Mazowiecki, Havel, etc. -- who have brought their countries to the point where the rule of law is a concern.

Second, the draft should also point to Hernando de Soto, whom the President has praised in previous speeches, inasmuch as de Soto is the leading figure in the world today who is encouraging the establishment of the rule of law as the foundation for prosperity [see 4,1,8 below]. And third, on a related point, the draft should make the point, as de Soto does, that the rule of law applies not just to the Second World, not just to white people, but to the 90% of the world's population in the Third World, as well.

One comment: the jokes on pg. 1 seem a little mean: Gov. Campbell is not a good hunting partner, Strom Thurmond is old, the First Lady couldn't have gotten a seat had she not been awarded an honorary degree. We suggest a kinder, gentler touch.

pg. 3, para. 4, line 6 "The charge: walking on flower beds."

We suggest adding "trumped-up" before "charge" in order to make the meaning clearer.

90 MAY 7 5:06

2-2-2

4,1,6 "The law...as an agreement across generations."

We should credit this line to Edmund Burke.

4,1,8 "The bond that makes a collection of individuals into a community -- into a nation."

This sentence ends the graf on the notion of the rule of law and precedes the graf applying this to Eastern Europe. Accordingly, we suggest this as a natural place to point out

"These bonds of the law are nevertheless liberating constraints, that can free the poorest from the anarchy that is one feature of poverty. In the Third World especially, the lack of a solid legal structure prevents the poor from accumulating property. Hernando de Soto, the Peruvian economist, found for example, that only 6% of the land in Peru was titled land. The lack of titles means that mortgages are difficult to obtain and therefore the ordinary commerce in property that we take for granted is stymied by the lack of law, especially for the poor. Thus, the rule of law is needed not just in Eastern Europe, but all over the world, wherever the common struggle for freedom continues."

4,4,1 These lines about the "moral destruction" of Eastern Europe express admiration for the East European's ability for having managed "to maintain their inner strength." The other side of the coin is that in many ways the East Europeans are, in the realm of the spirit, stronger than their counterparts in the West. Perhaps the draft could suggest that in addition to the West helping to rekindle the institutions of freedom in the East, we can also learn a great deal from people who have so admirably demonstrated such spiritual aspects as deep religious faith, family values, appreciation for higher culture, and in many instances, individual heroism.

4,3,5 Typo: "Societies" instead of "socioities."

4,4,1 "In my State of the Union..."

Here, as at 2,2,1, the draft very effectively refers back to previous speeches, thereby putting the present theme in wider perspective. This technique could be overdone but is very effective here.

5,5,1 "For true democracy, free elections are essential. But free elections are not enough. The nations of Eastern Europe want more -- they deserve more -- than a dictatorship of the elected."

This is great stuff and will come to most people as something they hadn't really thought about before. It will help people to understand why the American system is so unique; why, for example, the British are discussing the introduction of a Bill of Rights there; and why the President advocates a Balanced Budget Amendment here -- the popular will (including the popularity of greater government spending) has to be tempered by institutional guarantees of popular and individual liberty. Still, the the prospect of a "dictatorship of the elected" in Eastern Europe must seem a little remote to some people. What this phrase seems to be getting at is the more common phrase "tyranny of the majority." Inasmuch as this latter phrase may strike some as having right wing connotations, and in the absence of an alternative, we suggest simply dropping "dictatorship of the elected."

7,1,2 "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." ✓

We suggest, instead of "the very bone and marrow of democracy," the more comprehensive phrase, "the very bone and marrow of freedom." Individual rights are not so much the bone and marrow of democracy as they are counterweights to democracy's rarely acknowledged but undeniable faults, such as abuses of minorities by majorities -- the very problem anticipated in Eastern Europe's future.

###

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 8, 1990  
6:00 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 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 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.  
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**.

And this means more than **free elections alone**. The nations 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 the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges, sponsored by our State Department Bureau for Human Rights, bringing Soviet jurists to here to the U.S. to meet with America's legal experts. But 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.

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 within the CSCE recognizing these key cornerstones of freedom, rights and democracy. //

[[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 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 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 -- 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.

# # #

*Action, Susan Collins*

Document No. \_\_\_\_\_

# 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 COMMENCEMI

	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"/>
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GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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**REMARKS:**

Please provide your commetns/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy ot my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

90 MAY 7 P 2:39

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**

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?**

Not at Const. Convention.

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

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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 <sup>2</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, <sup>ies</sup> 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.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

90 MAY 7 P5:08

DATE: 5/4/90

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

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CARLOINA 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 commetns/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy ot my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*No Comments.  
Please see addition of expected  
Congressional participants on p. 1.*

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.

Senators ~~Blaise~~ Strom Thurmond and  
Fritz Hollings, Congressman  
Floyd Spence.

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acknowledgements.] And a special thanks to Governor Carroll  
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he's been a tremendous partner to this President in formulating  
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don't know how many of you have heard me speak before, but being  
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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.

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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]]

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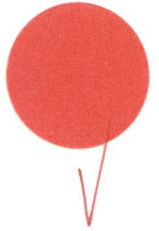
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# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1990



MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR  
COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: JAY S. BYBEE *JTB*  
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: University of South  
Carolina Commencement

Counsel's office has reviewed the above-referenced matter. We have no legal objections.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on this matter.

cc: James W. Cicconi

90 MAY 7 4:30

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM



DATE: 5/4/90

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

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CARLOINA 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"/>
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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 commetns/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy ot my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

**RESPONSE:**

92:44 7 MAY 08

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.

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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.

# # #

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/4/90

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

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CARLOINA 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 commetns/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy ot my office by 4:00 Monday, May 7. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

*See Comments. Thanks.  
Holly Williamson*

*5-7-90  
90 MAY 7 3:57 PM*

**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 <sup>principal</sup> 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~~ <sup>assault on the people of</sup> in Eastern Europe was not <sup>successful</sup> 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 <sup>only</sup> on the character ✓

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?**

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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]]

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- 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.
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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.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
May 9, 1990  
7:30 pm  
[USC]

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

Thank you. President Holderman. Senators 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 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.]] 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. I know relatively long, serious commencement speeches can be a bore -- 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. //

Just over a year ago, in Hamtramck, Michigan, I pledged America's strong support for the process of democratic change in Eastern Europe. Since then, 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, a bicentennial edition containing 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 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 -- 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 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. ~~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. //

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.**

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*  
SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: University of South  
Carolina

We have reviewed the attached draft and have no suggested changes from a policy standpoint. We approve of the draft remarks in their current form.

cc: James W. Cicconi

90 MAY 7 16:19

# WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 5/4/90

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

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CARLOINA COMMENCEMI

	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 commetns/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston's office with an copy ot 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. //

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

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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.

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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.

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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**

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 PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1990

*Front end needs a little tightening*  
*I like specific*  
*Needs about 4 points*  
*1 page less*  
1990 MAY - 8 11 58

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

CHRISS WINSTON *aw*

FROM:

DAN MCGROARTY *Dmcy*

SUBJECT:

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA COMMENCEMENT

I. SUMMARY

On Saturday, May 12, you will address the University of South Carolina commencement at 10:00 a.m. You will be awarded an honorary doctorate of economics degree before you speak. Governor Campbell will introduce you. President Holderman and Provost Arthur Smith will read the degree, and the Secretary of the Board of Trustees Thomas Stepp will hood you. You will then begin the remarks.

✓ Mrs. Bush, composer Andrew Lloyd Webber, and Disney CEO Michael Eisner are also receiving honorary degrees.

On stage with you will be the Board of Trustees, the Academic Deans, President Holderman, Andrew Lloyd Webber, Michael Eisner, Governor Campbell, and Senators Thurmond and Hollings. Several Congressmen are expected, but will be sitting in the audience.

II. DISCUSSION

The speech (20 min./teleprompter) discusses the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, emphasizing that -- along with greater freedom and economic reform -- there is also a need to develop the **rule of law**.

Four new initiatives are announced in the speech: 1) extending a new line of credit to Eastern Europe from the Export/Import Bank; 2) sending a delegation of election observers to Romania and Bulgaria; 3) working to broaden the mandate of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and 4) creating a Democracy Corps to send to Eastern Europe.

Andy Card and Air Force Military Aide Major Bruce Caughman are both University of South Carolina graduates, and will be at the speech with you.

*4) 1 anecdote*  
*around*  
*3 on 4*  
*EB*

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. //

??  
Don't  
get it

[[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.]] // "points of light concept" - the

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

And I salute him for his commitment to our  
"points of light concept" - the  
best  
impulse  
of America  
one America  
willing to  
pitch in  
to help  
another.

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, 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

I know relatively long serious comment speeches can be a bore - but I wanted to see this great University as a forum for some serious foreign policy observations

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 -- 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.**

And this means more than **free elections alone**. The nations 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 the USSR -- with an on-going series of exchanges, sponsored by 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.

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.

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 within the CSCE recognizing these key cornerstones of freedom, rights and democracy. //

[[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 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 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 -- 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.

# # #

You are coming of age during a Golden Age of space. And there's no better example of this than the miracle now orbiting 380 miles above Kingsville -- the Hubble Space Telescope. It will see to the furthest reaches of the universe, to the very edges of time. (It will, quite literally, even enable astronomers to see back in time -- perhaps far enough back to when the Dallas Cowboys last had a winning season!) \\\

And it's hoped that the telescope will see objects so clearly that, in theory, it could pick out the writing on a dime -- 100 miles away. \\ **Talk about the "Vision Thing!"** \\\

And even while Galileo and Hubble begin looking out across space -- another array of new satellites will be looking back at Earth -- and taking the pulse of the most important planet in the universe. (You may remember a couple years back when Time magazine named Earth "Planet of the Year." Comedian Jay Leno said: **"What did you expect? All the judges came from Earth!"**)

We call this initiative "Mission to Planet Earth." It's an effort of such magnitude, it dwarfs everything in the past -- a worldwide study of the complex interactions between land, sea, ice and air -- as well as between the Earth and the Sun. It's an effort of global interest, in which we're inviting other nations to join. As Chairman of the National Space Council, the Vice President has just returned from Europe, where our allies expressed serious interest in both Mission to Planet Earth and in our continuing exploration of the Solar System.

We also recognize that these initiatives are of global interest, and we intend to invite other nations to join with us as we move forward. The Vice President, in his capacity as Chairman of the National Space Council, has just returned from discussions with our allies. He got a warm reception and expressions of interest in both our space exploration plans and our Mission to Planet Earth.

↑  
SERIOUS

From Liz:


3<sup>rd</sup> full P on pg. 6 - looks like best place to them.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 10, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: C. GREGG PETERSMEYER   
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT  
AND DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF NATIONAL SERVICE

SUBJ: POTUS Commencement Address, 5/12/90, at U.S.C.

I understand that Michael Eisner will be joining the President during his commencement address on Saturday and will also be receiving an honorary degree from U.S.C.

I would appreciate your consideration of the President acknowledging Eisner as a Founding Director of the President's Points of Light Initiative Foundation. The President is very grateful to Eisner who is becoming very involved in the work of the Foundation.

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.

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